

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1911.

VOLUME XV.

UNITED PROVINCES
OF
AGRA AND OUDH..

PART I.
REPORT.

BY
E. A. H. BLUNT, I.C.S.,
SUPERINTENDENT, CENSUS OPERATIONS.



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MAP
of
U. P. OF AGRA AND OUDH.

SCALE OF MILES.



REFERENCES.

- Province or State Boundary ————
- District Boundary - - - - -
- Native States N.S.
- 1. Bundelkhand Agency.



NOTE.—This map is placed here as a key map to the marginal maps in the text. The large figures—1 to 8—refer to the various languages spoken in the province and though they appear in all the marginal maps which are reduced from this, have no meaning save here or in the map in Chapter IX.

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LIST OF ERRATA.

Besides a few unimportant misprints, the following corrections should be made:—

Page 36, paragraph 20.—For the sentence “The figures so taken . . . this volume,” read “The figures so taken have been abstracted for Cawnpore, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Fyzabad, for tables VII and XV, and will be found in the provincial volume.” An examination of the figures did not bring to light any important differences; the excess was spread over most categories.

Page 30, table appended to diagram.—In column 3 for 9629 read 962 against age 0: and in column 4, for 62 read 962.

Subsidiary table VI, page 36.—Column 7 against Sambhal for 14·00 read 5·69.

Ditto Column 8 against Fyzabad *cum* Ajodhya for 4·86 read 4·84.

Ditto Column 8 against Koil for 11·30 read 14·55.

Ditto Column 9 against Cawnpore for 24·61 read 24·89.

Ditto Column 10 against Sambhal for 25·07 read 23·50.

Ditto Column 10 against Mirzapur *cum* Bindhachal for 26·88 read 26·62.

Ditto Column 11 against Amroha for 21·50 read 18·57.

Ditto Column 11 against Bareilly for 25·71 read 23·82.

Ditto Column 11 against Benares for 16·33 read 14·33.

Ditto Column 11 against Cawnpore for 45·44 read 41·85.

Ditto Column 11 against Mirzapur *cum* Bindhachal for 51·94 read 42·03.

Ditto Column 11 against Sambhal for 3·40 read 8·77.

Subsidiary table I, page 79.—Column 2 against Himalaya, West for 10·4 read 10·7.

Ditto Column 2 against Sub-Himalaya, East for 3·5 read 3·2.

Ditto Column 2 against Gorakhpur for 8·9 read 8·3.

Ditto Column 2 against Indo-Gangetic Plain, East for 5·5 read 5·2.

Ditto Column 3 against Sub-Himalaya, East for 2 read 5.

Ditto Column 3 against Indo-Gangetic Plain, East for 7·0 read 7·3.

Ditto Column 4 against Central India Plateau for 2·2 read 4·2.

Ditto Column 4 against Jhansi for 9·4 read 17·4.

Ditto Column 12, there are obvious misprints against Allahabad (−11), Azamgarh (−25), Tehri-Garhwal (+8) and Rampur (−5).

Subsidiary table III, page 81.—Column 7 against Naini Tal for 14,133 read 14,134, against Agra for 5,364 read 3,364, against Jhansi for 53,057 read 43,057.

Subsidiary table I, page 99.—Against United Provinces for 403 and 133 in columns 11 and 12 read 425 and 155, and against British Territory in columns 2, 3 and 4 for 46,523, 24,349 and 22,174 read 46,457, 24,322 and 22,135 respectively.

Subsidiary table II, page 100.—Columns 2, 3 and 4 against British Territory for 46,523, 24,349 and 22,174 read 46,457, 24,322 and 22,135 respectively.

Subsidiary table VII, page 155.—Against Himalaya, West column 4, for 3,587 read 3,581: against United Provinces for 67,625 read 67,628: against Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central for 1,652 read 1,625.

Subsidiary table II, page 173.—Column 3 against age-periods 15—20 and 20—25 under United Provinces for 758 and 927 read 756 and 929 respectively.

Ditto Column 3 against age-periods 10—15 under Himalaya, West for 1,078 read 1,073.

Ditto Last column against age-period 0—5 under Central India Plateau for 1,389 read 1,388.

Subsidiary table III, page 174.—Column 7 against age-period 15—20 under Muhamma-
dan for 751 read 759.

Subsidiary table VI, page 177.—Column headed “all ages” against 1881—1891 under
United Provinces for 6·34 read 6·25.

Ditto Column headed “all ages” against 1901—1911 under
Himalaya, West for 1·73 read 10·73.

Ditto Column headed “all ages” against 1901—1911 under Sub-
Himalaya, West for 1·10 read 1·01.

Ditto Column headed “all ages” against 1891—1901 under
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West for 1·09 read 10·0.

Ditto Column headed “all ages” against 1901—1911 under
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West for +2·01 read -2·01.

Ditto Column headed “all ages” against 1881—1891 under
Sub-Himalaya, East for 6·84 read 13·20.

Ditto Column headed “all ages” against 1891—1901 under
Sub-Himalaya, East for -·14 read +·51.

Ditto Column headed “all ages” against 1891—1901 under
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East for -2·97 read -7·35.

Page 205,—*dele* footnote.

Subsidiary table II, page 241—Column “widowed” under 10—15 against Hindus for 14
read 15.

Page 258, table.—In column 8 against Meerut, *dele* 64.

Subsidiary table II, page 268.—Columns 10 and 12 against United Provinces (British
Territory) for nil and 9 read 9 and 6 respectively.

Subsidiary table VI, page 273.—Columns 2 and 5 against Barhai for 12 and 982 read
13 and 987 respectively.

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REPORT
ON THE
CENSUS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES
OF AGRA AND OUDH
1911.

INTRODUCTION.

(i) **Date of Census.**—The fourth synchronous census of the whole of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh was taken on the 10th March 1911 ; it is also the fifth synchronous census of the two provinces separately. The series of single synchronous enumerations for the two provinces together began in 1881, but previous to that Oudh had been enumerated in 1869 and Agra (then the North-Western Provinces) in 1872. A full account of the procedure adopted (which was in all essentials the same as that of 1901) will be found in the Administrative Report as also of the method of drawing up the resultant statistics. Here some of the salient characteristics of census procedure alone need mention.

(ii) **Arrangements for the enumeration.**—The dearth of literate persons in India makes it impossible to follow the European method of giving the head of each family a form of schedule on which to fill up the desired particulars for his household ; and as on previous occasions the census was taken by persons called enumerators, specially appointed for the purpose, each of whom dealt with a specified number of houses, usually about 40. These men had the qualification of literacy, but their education was usually of a very low standard, and consequently to obtain correct results it was necessary to drill them carefully. With this object regular grades of census officers were appointed. In the census army the privates were the enumerators, the non-commissioned officers were the supervisors, the regimental officers were the charge superintendents and the district magistrate was the commanding officer with a district census officer as his adjutant. The supervisors were in rural tracts almost entirely officials of the patwari class, much better educated than the enumerator and (a most important point) thoroughly used to handling complicated forms ; to them the filling up of a schedule was little more than child's play. The supervisor's duty was to train the enumerators (of whom each supervisor had usually 10 to 15 under him) and to examine their work : but despite his superior qualifications he too required oral instruction and careful supervision. This was provided by the charge superintendents, who were chiefly supervisor kanungos, well educated men of the revenue establishment. These were subordinate directly to the district census officer, a gazetted officer specially appointed to be in primary charge of the census operations under the district magistrate, and with the assistance of all other magistrates. The procedure in detail was so arranged that the district census officer in practice did all the work required, and kept the district magistrate merely informed of the action taken by him. One of my chief objects was to avoid the imposition of any actual addition to the district magistrate's labours ; for I fully realized that to a hard worked officer census could appear nothing but an unmitigated nuisance. The result was, to me at all events, satisfactory : for district magistrates all through kept a close eye on the proceedings without having themselves to do anything. Many however went out of their way to assist personally, especially in such matters as ethnography. The local census subdivisions corresponded to these grades of officers. The block (of 30 to 50 houses) was the enumerator's local charge : the circle (of 10 to 15 blocks) was the supervisor's : the charge (of 10,000 to 15,000 houses) was the charge superintendent's. So far as possible existing local subdivisions were maintained, especially the kanungo's revenue circle, corresponding to the charge. There were 295,026 enumerators, 26,269 supervisors and 1,185 charge superintendents in the province.

(iii) **House numbering.**—The first direct step towards the taking of the census was the numbering of the houses. The definition of a house is given in Chapter I and need not be repeated. When all had been numbered a statement showing the number of houses and their allocation to the various grades of census officers was sent to the Provincial Superintendent, who used it to correct the rough indent for forms already sent to the press.

(iv) **Preliminary record.**—The next step was the preparation of the preliminary record, i.e. the entry in the enumeration schedules of the necessary particulars regarding all ordinary residents of each house. The information recorded consisted of name, religion, sex, age, civil condition, caste, occupation, mother tongue, birth place, literacy or illiteracy, literacy or illiteracy in English, and certain infirmities. The staff was thoroughly trained in the method of filling in the schedule. First the charge superintendents filled in forms which were read out, criticized and corrected in a full meeting of charge superintendents and superior officers and then sent to the Provincial Superintendent. Next the charge superintendents similarly instructed the supervisors, whose knowledge was independently checked by superior inspecting officers, and lastly the supervisors instructed the enumerators. Classes were held everywhere at which the rules were explained and schedules experimentally filled in. The Provincial Superintendent and his assistant (Mr. B. H. Bourdillon, C.S.) held similar classes when on tour. Questions were invited and answered on the spot and the schedules filled in were corrected. In one district, the district census officer instituted regular night census schools for the municipal census staff. The original entries of the preliminary record were most frequently made on plain paper and not copied into the forms until they had been corrected by the supervisors. Every single officer who could be spared assisted in the work of checking. The preliminary record in rural tracts was begun on the 15th January and finished on the 10th February: in towns it was begun and finished some 10 days later. The remaining period was utilized in checking the entries as described above.

(v) **The actual census.**—The actual census was taken between 7 p. m. and midnight on the 10th March 1911. Each enumerator visited in turn every house in his beat and brought the record up to date by striking out the entries relating to persons no longer present and entering the necessary particulars for all newcomers. In a few tracts (e.g. on the hill sides of Dehra Dun where an enumerator could not climb about the khuds in the dark without running a grave risk of breaking his neck) the final revision began a few hours earlier and was completed by nightfall. In Kumaun hill tracts the preliminary enumeration was made in October 1910, as there is considerable migration from the hills to the plains in November and back again 6 months later. The actual census in the same tract was spread over several days. Special arrangements were made for the enumeration of travellers by rail, road, steamer and boat. As regards travellers by rail, the principle adopted may be briefly described as inquiring of every traveller on arrival and departure at a station whether he had or had not already been counted, and if not taking the necessary details from him: and at 6 a. m. on the morning of the 11th, stopping every train, and going systematically through it to enumerate the odds and ends which remained. Boats were caught if possible at *ghats*, or if not, pursued till caught: an enumerator in one district rode several miles after a boat containing some British officers and enumerated them on their lying up for the night. Travellers on the main roads were systematically stopped by posts established every few miles.

(vi) **The provisional results.**—On the morning after the census the enumerators of each circle met their supervisor and prepared an abstract, which was carefully checked by a fellow enumerator, and posted by the supervisor in a summary for his circle. The supervisors similarly met their charge superintendent and a similar procedure resulted in the preparation of a charge summary which was sent to headquarters, where the provisional totals for the district were compiled. The arrangements to get their totals ready as soon as possible were worked out in the most minute detail by district census officers. Every available means of conveyance was used—pony, *ekka*, bicycle, train, even camels and motor cars, generously lent by public spirited gentlemen. One district census officer went so far as to duplicate his means of conveyance: if a bicycle orderly was to bring in a charge summary, he was accompanied by an *ekka* in case he punctured a tyre—a piece of forethought which was justified in one instance

where precisely that accident occurred. The first total to be received was from Rampur State. It was brought to me at 6.35 a.m., on the morning of the 11th, 35 minutes after train enumeration began: it was despatched at 6.20. The next was received from Muzaffarnagar at 9.55. Rampur State's total once again was the first total received in the whole of India; Muzaffarnagar broke its own record of 1901 by nearly an hour. There were practically no corrections wired, save one, which I received before I had had time to forward the first wire to the Census Commissioner. A few telegrams had telegraphic mistakes but they were generally obvious, though I had all such figures verified and rewired. By the 15th every total save one had come in, and this province was in a fair way to getting its totals out first of all provinces. Then however occurred a most unhappy disaster, in which two men, a forest peon named Chabbi Singh and a forest *dak* runner named Buddhi Singh, lost their lives. These men were despatched to bring in certain figures from a remote tract of Chakrata tahsil to Chakrata in Dehra Dun district. Rain had been falling heavily and the rivers were in spate and in attempting to cross one of them both were drowned. It took a day or two to restore the figures. Government was moved and agreed to grant pensions to the families of these men, who had thus lost their lives in the discharge of their humble duty. The provisional total differed from the figure arrived at after tabulation by 11,063 ($-\cdot 02$ per cent.). The difference would have been much smaller but for an unfortunate error in Ballia, where the difference was 8,327. Several districts had exceedingly small differences, e.g. Budaun 13 and Hamirpur 9.

(vii) **Preparation of final tables.**—The method used was the same as that of 1901, namely the slip system of Dr. Georg Von Mayr, the famous statistician and kindly though searching critic of Indian census returns. A separate slip containing all prescribed details was prepared for each person enumerated and these slips were then sorted for all the final tables in turn. Slips of different colours were used for the different religions and symbols printed on them to indicate sex and civil condition. So far as religion, sex and civil condition was concerned therefore no entry was made: the mere selection of the right slip took its place. The labour of copying was further reduced by the judicious use of abbreviations. Once copied the slips were sorted: each sorter had a set of pigeon holes, which he labelled according to the classification he was engaged on. If it was "language" for instance, each language had its own pigeon hole and each slip with that language on it was put in that pigeon hole. These slips were then counted and the results noted on a form called the "sorter's ticket"; which in compilation were entered in another form of register and added up to form the district total.

(viii) **Central census offices.**—The work of copying, sorting and compilation was done in 8 central offices, at Agra, Sitapur, Shahjahanpur, Cawnpore, Fyzabad, Mirzapur, Gorakhpur and Naini Tal. Each was under a Deputy Superintendent selected from the ex-district census officers. His staff consisted of a head assistant, 5 inspectors (during copying and sorting) and a number of supervisors in charge of gangs of copyists, sorters or compilers. Copying and sorting was paid by the piece: and though owing to plague no office was ever at full strength all through its time, yet copying was finished within some 2 months of the census. The copyists employed averaged about 2,300. Sorting took longer, and required very careful check and a good deal of correspondence, but it was practically finished by the end of September. Compilation was finished in some offices by the end of October, in most by the end of November or middle of December and they were all finally closed by the early days of January 1912. The head office had meantime been occupied in getting out the final tables themselves. Of these all but the occupation tables were finished and sent to press by the end of April. Occupation however took a very great deal of time and did not finally go to press till the end of July. A great deal of checking in the head office was required for certain tables, especially birth place (where certain political changes necessitated a partial reabstraction) and caste, which was even more complicated than usual. The work moreover was done very slowly: on the other hand it was done very carefully and errors were few, save those of transcription—inevitable when dozens of pages of figures have to be copied out. To test the difficulty of compilation, I personally superintended and took a considerable share in the compilation of one table (VII), which from beginning to end was done in my presence. I can

therefore vouch of my own experience for the fact that it is wise to sacrifice speed rather than risk inaccuracy; for a single error of any magnitude may take a couple of days to put straight.

(ix) **The report.**—I commenced writing the report as soon as I had any figures ready to work on, which was in November 1911. I usually did the whole of important subsidiary tables and important figures in others myself, partly because it relieved my already overworked office of the task, partly because in working them out, I could note the points which would require consideration. At a later date I was able to use more freely the services of my Head Clerk and some others. They carried into the preparation of the subsidiary tables the same care which they had already displayed in the imperial tables. I can put it most briefly in the form that they were never satisfied with a calculation to less than two places of decimals whether a decimal was actually required or not.

The report is some 153 pages longer than the report of 1901. This is due chiefly to the greater detail in which such subjects as density and the movement of the population have been treated, to the greater complexity of the subjects dealt with in the chapters on religion and caste, to the discussion of marriage customs in Chapter VII, and to certain additions to the chapter on occupation. I cannot conscientiously make any apology for this increase in length. A census report is a work of reference and it seems to me that completeness must be preferred to brevity. I need merely add that I have by no means made use of all the materials at my disposal for certain of the longer discussions. The files containing the raw material for the caste and marriage chapters when piled on top of each other stood some 7 or 8 feet high.

(x) **Expenditure.**—The total expenditure of all kinds on the census of the

	Rs.	a.	p.	
(1) Net expenditure for 1910-1911. Financial figures	53,090	10	0	United Provinces was as in the margin. It averages Rs. 5·9 per 1,000 of population as compared with 5·1 per 1,000 in 1901.
(2) Net expenditure for 1911-1912. Financial figures	2,06,018	12	1	There has been no reduction in cost, thanks chiefly to increased expenditure on the staff of the census central offices. I cannot think that it was not justified. The work is particularly laborious and requires great
(3) Budget for 1912-1913. Finan- cial figures	18,900	0	0	and unremitting care. Good men are required and good men can only be obtained at a good price.
Total 1910—1913	2,78,009	6	1	

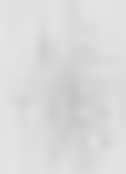
and unremitting care. Good men are required and good men can only be obtained at a good price.

(xi) **Acknowledgments.**—In conclusion I have to express my gratitude to many who assisted me, and firstly to the district magistrates, and other district officers for their cordial co-operation at all stages. Secondly and chiefly to the district census officers, who bore the whole brunt of the operations from start to finish. To them is due such success as has attended those operations. Census is a complicated matter at the best of times, involving an enormous amount of organization and attention to detail; neglect of any single detail may involve a disaster out of all proportion to its apparent importance. Many of these officers were busy enough in other directions, but they worked ungrudgingly right through. Where all did well it is almost invidious to name a few: but besides the eight officers, who were subsequently selected as Deputy Superintendents, perhaps the best work was done by Messrs. A. G. P. Pullan (Hamirpur), V. N. Mehta (Bara Banki), Panna Lal (Almora), B. S. Kisch (Moradabad), C. W. Gwynne (Benares), L. S. Dacres (Rae Bareli), E. H. H. Edye (Gorakhpur) and J. N. G. Johnson (Cawnpore), amongst civilians and Babu Ram Narayan (Muzaffarnagar), Pandit Krishnanand Joshi (Jalaun), Babu Ram Prasad (Muttra), Babu Jwala Prasad (Mirzapur), Munshi Ala-ul-Hasan (Sultanpur) and Munshi Zain-ud-din (Ghazi-ipur). The eight Deputy Superintendents were Mr. B. H. Bourdillon (Naini Tal), Babu Pridumana Krishna (Agra), Munshi Lutf Husain (Cawnpore), Babu Anrudh Lal Mahendra (Mirzapur), Munshi Gada Husain (Sitapur), Munshi Mahabir Prasad (Fyzabad), Pandit Badri Narayan Misra, Rai Bahadur (Gorakhpur) and Babu Jhumak Lal (Shahjahanpur). Of these Babu Pridumana Krishna and Munshi Lutf Husain were the two best Deputy Superintendents of the 1901 census and they fully maintained their high reputation. It is difficult to draw distinctions between the others, for nearly all were up to the high standard set by their two more

* A sum of Rs. 707-15-10 is not yet traced in Accountant-General's office and as it is on account of the recoveries made from the municipalities and the refunds credited into the treasury by the Central Offices, the expenditure for 1911-1912 will be raised by this amount, if it is not admitted by the Accountant-General.

experienced colleagues. Babu Anrudh Lal Mahendra with a very indifferent set of clerks had the hardest task, but his own personal labours and those of his head assistant Babu Guru Narayan resulted in his figures being as satisfactory as those of any more lucky office. Munshi Mahabir Prasad by skilful arrangements finished his work and closed his office before any other. Another class of officers deserves mention—the ethnographical officers. These were officers selected to collect the material for the purely ethnographical part of the work. Their reports naturally varied in merit, but most gave me useful notes and some produced contributions of the greatest value. I would mention first and foremost Babu Gobind Prasad (Moradabad), who made enquires that were exceedingly full and varied, and sent in reports on no less than 33 castes. He also compiled for me an exceedingly full list of proverbs chiefly on every phase of marriage. The contribution of Mr. J. N. G. Johnson was also careful and showed a considerable power of appreciating evidence: whilst those of Messrs. A. G. P. Pullan, E. H. H. Edey, Panna Lal and V. N. Mehta, Babu Sirdar Singh, and K. Aziz-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur, were also extremely full and useful. I am also deeply indebted to Mr. V. A. Stowell, deputy commissioner of Garhwal, who put his great knowledge of the hill tribes at my disposal in many valuable notes. I have also reason for especial gratitude to Mr. E. H. Ashworth, who carried on my duties whilst I was ill in September 1910, and to Mr. B. H. Bourdillon, my personal assistant for 3 months in 1910-1911, who relieved me of much of my touring and inspection work. He subsequently took up the post of Deputy Superintendent of the Naini Tal Office, but even when his direct connection with census ceased, he continued to assist me, by reducing to order and making précis of the mass of ethnographical reports, a piece of work which reduced my labours on Chapters VII and XI by at least half. His assistance all through has been nothing less than invaluable. Finally, I must express my deep obligations to my office. From start to finish they have worked in the most ungrudging fashion; holiday or working day have always been alike to them, and there have been times, chiefly in the two or three months just preceding or succeeding census or when compilation was heaviest, when their working hours were anything from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. Babu Raj Bihari Lal Mathur, my Head Clerk, has done his work and run his office in the most satisfactory way. To him as also to Munshi Muhammad Hafiz-ul-Karim, my head compiler, I am deeply obliged. I have also to thank Mr. Luker, Superintendent of the Government Press, and Mr. Abel, Deputy Superintendent, for the close personal attention they have given to the printing of this report. No less than about nine tons of type were in use at one time.

(xii) **The co-operation of the people.**—But it would be absurd and ungrateful to close this long list of acknowledgments without mentioning the rank and file of the census army, the enumerators, supervisors and charge superintendents who whether private persons or officials gave their services free of cost and spared neither themselves nor any body else in the discharge of their duties. They displayed, once more, some of them, the same powers of painstaking accuracy which were displayed in 1901. Mr. Burn had one versified edition of the instructions: I had two, both of which were sung to Mr. Bourdillon in Jalaun. Everybody once more was anxious to know how to deal with the deaf and dumblunatic found wandering about by himself on census night: but this *rara avis* materialized at this census, for two years later a civilian district census officer told me that when he went forth on census night, the very first persons he met were an enumerator and a deaf mute lunatic struggling to comprehend each other. Though plague frightened a few into resigning their posts the majority needed but very little, if any, persuasion not to leave them. It is not too much to say that in India the people counts itself, and Government's share in the business is restricted to showing them how to do it.



REFERENCES.	
Divisional boundary, - - - - -	
District - - - - - do., - - - - -	
Tahsil - - - - - do., - - - - -	
River, - - - - -	
Canal, - - - - -	
Railway, - - - - -	

- NATURAL DIVISIONS.
- 1 Himalaya, West.
 - 2 Sub-Himalaya, West.
 - 3 Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.
 - 4 Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.
 - 5 Central India Plateau.
 - 6 East Satpuras.
 - 7 Sub-Himalaya, East.
 - 8 Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.

MAP
OF
U. P. OF AGRA & OUDH,
showing the
NATURAL DIVISIONS.

Scale—53 Miles = 1 Inch.
0 134 53 106



Chapter I.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION (1).

PART I.

1. **Topography.**—The territory administered by the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh lies between north latitude $23^{\circ} 52'$ (Mirzapur) and $31^{\circ} 18'$ (Garhwal) and east longitude $77^{\circ} 3'$ (Muzaffarnagar) and $84^{\circ} 39'$ (Ballia). The total area is 107,267 square miles or 93 square miles more than in 1901. Only two districts (Garhwal and Benares) have not varied at all in area; remeasurement and minor reallocations of boundaries due to fluvial action explain most of these changes. Of the 93 square miles 75 are accounted for in Jalaun where in 1901 the area of certain jagirs, which are enumerated as part of British territory but are in a state of semi-independence, was omitted. To get the true area of British territory as it stands at the present day it is necessary to deduct 865 square miles on account of the Benares State, which came into existence on the 1st April 1911, three weeks after the census, viz. 864 from the area of Mirzapur and 1 from Benares. The area of the States (Rampur and Tehri-Garhwal) amounts to 5,079 square miles, making a total of 112,346 square miles in all. The British territory is divided into 48 districts, which on the 10th March 1911 were grouped into nine revenue divisions as shown in the imperial tables. Two of these constitute Oudh, the other seven (six plains divisions and one hill division, Kumaun) make up the Province of Agra. But at the end of the year a new Commissioner's charge or revenue division was created to be known as Bundelkhand or Jhansi. It consists of the four districts of Jalaun, Jhansi, Hamirpur and Banda. This involved a rearrangement of certain other divisions, Meerut losing Aligarh to Agra, Agra losing Farrukhabad and Etawah to Allahabad. The chief changes in figures caused by this rearrangement, and by the separation of the Benares State are exhibited in an appendix in the provincial volume.

The "natural divisions" in which the districts are classed in the subsidiary tables in this report are so arranged as to correspond as far as possible to geological, agricultural, linguistic, and ethnological regions. They are the same as in 1901. The process indeed could be carried further and even districts could be subdivided in this manner. But to do so would introduce an unnecessary elaboration into the figures. The statistics for different portions of a district are not therefore differentiated: but in case any reader should desire to carry out the process of making natural divisions any further, mention is made below, in describing the natural divisions, of all important tracts within them that are dissimilar to the division as a whole. The natural divisions were fully described in 1901 and their description is now much abridged.

2. **Natural divisions**—(1) *Himalaya, West.*—This consists of Kumaun revenue division, viz. Naini Tal, Almora and Garhwal districts, and the Dehra Dun district in the Meerut division. Its area is 14,912 (2) square miles (13.9 per cent. of the total area), its population is 1,533,865 or 3.2 of the total population. With this goes the State of Tehri-Garhwal (area 4,180, population 300,819). This natural division includes both montane and sub-montane tracts. The montane tracts comprise practically the whole of Almora and Garhwal, the hill patts of Naini Tal district and the Chakrata tahsil of Dehra Dun. The sub-montane tracts comprise nearly the whole of the tahsil of Dehra, the Bhabar and Tarai in Naini Tal, and some small tracts of Bhabar in Almora and Garhwal. The Dehra portion, the famous Dun, is the garden of the United Provinces; it lies between the Siwalik and the Himalaya ranges, and partly on the lower slopes of both. It is sufficiently healthy for Dehra itself to possess a large European colony of pensioners who have settled down in the country. The Tarai

(1) Subsidiary table I.—Density, water supply and crops.
 Ditto II.—Distribution of the population classified according to density (with the tahsil as unit).
 Ditto III.— Ditto ditto between towns and villages.
 Ditto IV.—Number per mille of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns.
 Ditto V.—Towns classified by population.
 Ditto VI.—Figures of density, variation, &c. of Cities.
 Ditto VII.—Persons per house and houses per square mile.

(2) For these and all similar figures in this paragraph, see subsidiary table II.

and Bhabar on the other hand are some of the most unhealthy regions in the whole of India. The Bhabar lies immediately below the hills : it is largely covered with forests, the home of tigers and elephants. The hill torrents which rush into it sink and are lost, except in the rainy season, below a mass of boulders and gravel. The Tarai is a damp and marshy tract beyond the Bhabar, where the streams reappear. It is largely covered with jungle and tall grass. The population is chiefly migratory : cultivators come in from the neighbouring plains districts to the Tarai and from the hills to the Bhabar, and depart after cutting their crops. Only the fever-proof Tharu can stand the Tarai climate throughout the year.

For purposes of further differentiation, the tract can be roughly subdivided thus—

Montane tracts—

Almora, Garhwal, Chakrata tahsil of Dehra Dun.

Naini Tal tahsil in Naini Tal.

Sub-montane tracts—

(1) *Tarai and Bhabar*—Rest of Naini Tal.

(2) *Other*—Dehra tahsil.

(2) *Sub-Himalaya, West*.—Immediately south of the districts just described lie five districts : Saharanpur in Meerut division, Bareilly, Bijnor and Pilibhit in Rohilkhand division and Kheri in Lucknow division. Saharanpur lies south of the Siwalik range, the rest extend north to the Tarai and include portions of it in their border. Saharanpur, Bijnor, Pilibhit and Kheri all include considerable forest areas. The total area is 9,919 square miles (9·2 per cent. of the total area), the population is 4,334,049, also 9·2 per cent. of the population. With this tract goes Rampur State (area 899 square miles, population 531,217). The only differentiation between tracts that need be made is between the forest and unfor-ested areas. The forest areas are in Saharanpur 295 square miles, in Bijnor 99 square miles, in Pilibhit 149 square miles and in Kheri 563 square miles. The population in these is so sparse that in calculating averages it could almost be neglected.

(3) *Indo-Gangetic Plain, West* (1).—This is a large tract of 13 districts : Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Aligarh in Meerut division, the whole of the Agra division : and Budaun, Moradabad and Shahjahanpur in the Rohilkhand division. Its area is 23,972 square miles (22·4 per cent. of the total area) and population 12,887,153, or 27·3 of the total population. The greatest part of this division consists of a sloping alluvial plain, with no rock or stone near the surface of the soil, except some beds of nodular limestone (*kankar*). The rest consists of those parts of Muttra and Agra which are on the west or south of the Jumna, where there are a great number of ravines, and some red stone hillocks marking the eastern termination of the Aravalli hills. These parts are however well protected by canals and it is unnecessary to draw any distinction between the two portions.

(4) *Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central* (2).—This tract consists of 12 districts : Cawnpore, Fatehpur and Allahabad in the Allahabad division, the whole of the Lucknow division except Kheri (five districts) and Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, and Bara Banki in the Fyzabad division. Its area is 22,600 square miles (21·1 per cent. of the total area) : its population is 12,425,268 (26·3 per cent. of the total population). It is, like the last mentioned division, entirely composed of alluvial soil, with the solitary exception of three Allahabad tahsils lying south of the Jumna. The greater part of these two divisions belong to the Jumna-Ganges Doab, though the three Rohilkhand districts lie entirely north of the Ganges, and the whole of the Oudh districts between the Ganges and Ghagra. The three Allahabad tahsils mentioned above—Meja, Bara and Karchhana—should certainly be differentiated from the rest. They are of exactly the same character as the next natural division.

(5) *Central India Plateau* (3).—South of the Jumna lie the four districts of the new Jhansi Commissionership, which form part of the tract known as Bundelkhand. The area is 10,440 square miles (9·7 per cent. of the total area) and the population is 2,207,923 (4·7 per cent. of the total population). They lie on the eastern slopes of the Central India Plateau and are broken up by low rocky hills, covered with stunted trees and jungle, which are outlying spurs of the Vindhya mountains. The soil is chiefly of the type known as black cotton soil ; the tract is perhaps the most precarious in the province.

(1) Often referred to as "Western Plain." (2) Often referred to as "Central Plain." (3) Often referred to as "Plateau."

(6) *East Satpuras*.—To this division only one district, Mirzapur, belongs, together with the new Benares State. Its area is 5,232 square miles (4·9 per cent. of the total area); its population 1,071,046 (2·3 of the total population); of this amount the northern portion (north of the Ganges), consisting of the tahsil of Konrh and minor tracts, really belong to the Gangetic Plain. The middle portion from the Ganges to the Son and consisting of the tahsils of Mirzapur, Chakia (in the Benares State), Chunar and the greater part of Robertsganj belongs to the Vindhya Plateau. South of the Son (tahsil Duddhi) are the hilly tracts of the Kaimurs, some of the wildest country in the province, covered with forest, broken up with ravines, with occasional alluvial basins surrounded by hills, and the home of the few really primitive tribes the province possesses.

(7) *Sub-Himalaya, East*.—Gorakhpur and Basti districts in the Gorakhpur division, and Gonda and Bahraich districts in the Fyzabad division form a compact block between the Ghagra on the south, the Gandak on the east, and the Nepal border. This division lies well south of the Himalaya system; its area is 12,784 square miles (11·9 per cent. of the total area) and its population is 7,491,490 (15·9 per cent. of the total population). The soil is mostly alluvial; there are extensive tracts of forest in Bahraich (334 square miles), Gonda and Gorakhpur. There are some 160 square miles of reserved forest in Gonda, besides private forest, and 173 square miles in Gorakhpur.

(8) *Indo-Gangetic Plain, East* ⁽¹⁾.—In this tract lies the whole of the Benares division (except Mirzapur) and Azamgarh district in the Gorakhpur division. It lies between the Ghagra and Ganges, though some parts of Benares and Ghazipur districts are also south of the latter. The soil is alluvial; the area is 7,408 square miles (6·9 per cent. of the whole area), the population is 5,231,250 (11·1 per cent. of the whole population).

An examination of the map and the above facts will show therefore that the province falls into four well defined tracts:—

- (1) the montane tract (Himalaya, West);
- (2) the sub-montane tract (Sub-Himalaya, West and East);
- (3) the Indo-Gangetic Plain (Indo-Gangetic Plain, West, Central and East);
- (4) the trans-Jumna tract (Central India Plateau and East Satpuras).

This cross division need only be mentioned here, but it is of importance because, as will be seen when we come to consider the health of the province in the past decade, the first, second and fourth tracts have been comparatively healthy and show an increase in population: the third, on the other hand, has suffered severely from disease and shows a decrease in population.

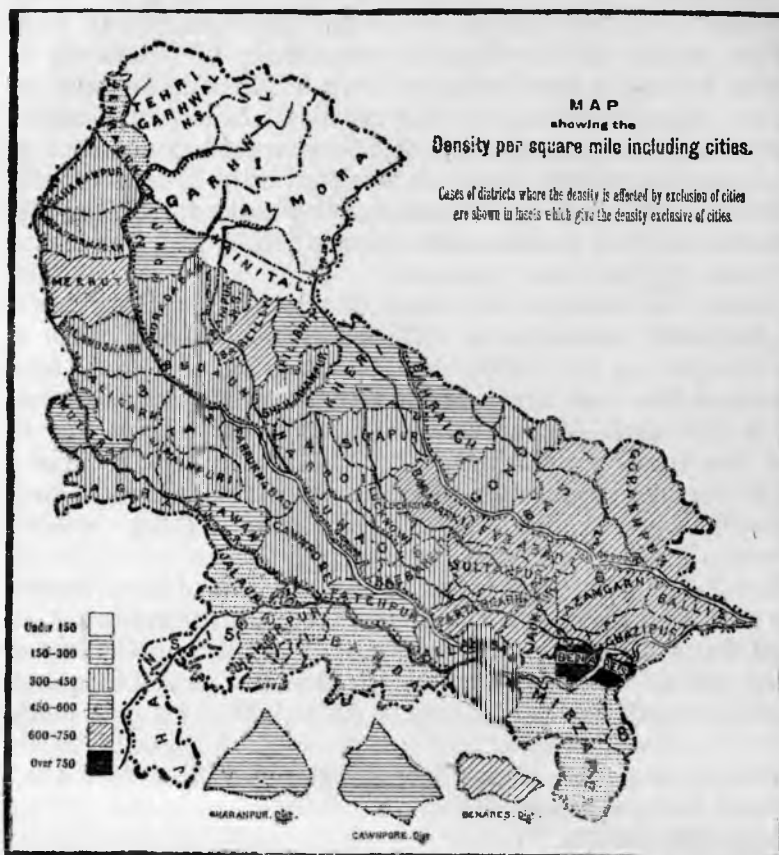
PART II.—AREA, POPULATION AND DENSITY.

3. **Introductory**.—The density of the province is dealt with in different ways in subsidiary tables I and II. Table I gives the mean density per square mile as calculated on the area and population of the districts and divisions. Table II shows, on the basis of tahsils, the area in each natural division which falls under particular degrees of density. Table I, by itself, is somewhat misleading. The mean divisional densities may be taken as fairly correctly representing the density of the major part of the division, but the district density does not similarly represent the density of the major part of the district. For instance, in Dehra Dun there are two tahsils; the density of one is 123, of the other 201; the density of the district is 172, and it is safe to say that the density of no considerable part of the district is 172. Again, the district figures are vitiated in many cases by the presence of cities, where very large populations are collected in a very small space, thus greatly increasing the density. To show the true facts the figures in these cases are worked out both on the total population and on the population, omitting the city population, and how great a difference it occasionally makes is seen in the case of such places as Agra (551 as against 462), Moradabad (553 as against 514), Cawnpore (482 as against 415), Jhansi (187 as against 171) and Benares, a very small district (890 as against 691).

Table II to some extent correlates the figures. It will generally be found that the divisional mean density then corresponds to the density of the greater part of the division when worked out on tahsil figures. In Himalaya West

⁽¹⁾ Often referred to as "Eastern Plain."

93·7 per cent. of the area has a density of under 150 ; the divisional density is 103.

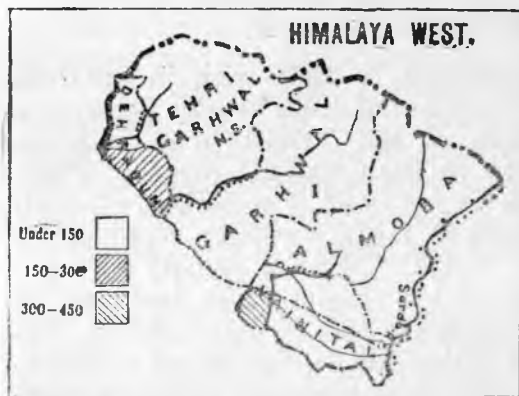


In Sub-Himalaya West 47·9 per cent. of the area has a density between 300 and 450 ; the divisional density is 437. And so with all divisions save two, the divisional density lies in the same class as the greatest part of the division which is in any one class. The two exceptions are the East Satpuras of which 50 per cent. lies in the class "under 150," whilst the divisional density is 205 ; but here the division and district correspond, and the case is really one of district density ; and the Sub-Himalaya East (density 586) of which the greatest proportion in any one class (29·4 per cent.) lies in class 600 to 750 with all but 18·5 per cent. in classes below

that density. The same applies to the United Provinces as a whole (density 440), where 29·9 per cent., the greatest proportion in any one class, lies between 450 and 600 : but 57 per cent. is in classes of lesser density and only 23 per cent. in classes of greater density.

4. **Density and physical conditions**—(A) *By divisions*.—The densities of various tahsils in each division are shown in a series of divisional maps. I propose to deal first with the facts and figures relating to each division.

(1) *Himalaya, West*.—This is a division with a very low density—93·7 (1) per cent. of it has a density of under 150 ; the tahsils in this tract are Chakrata (Dehra Dun),



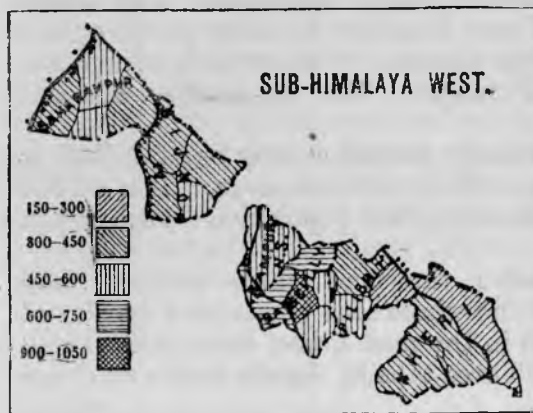
the whole of Almora and Garhwal districts and of Naini Tal except Kashipur. The cause in every tahsil, except Haldwani and Kichha in Naini Tal district, is simply that the tract is hilly and covered with forest, and no further explanation is needed. In Haldwani and Kichha the circumstances are different. These are the Tarai and Bhabar tracts described above, and the density has decreased. It is never high, simply because the tract is so unhealthy, and a very large proportion of it is forest and jungle grass ; and the

decrease is due to purely temporary causes. The major part of the population is migratory, as already stated. The people come in to sow and reap their crops, and graze their cattle. Normally the census occurs just before their return to their permanent homes. On this occasion not only was the date later by ten days but there was a scare of plague which emptied the Tarai and Bhabar rather earlier than usual. The population was already on the move when the census took place, which artificially decreased the density. One tahsil (Dehra Dun) has a density between 150 and 300, and one (Kashipur) in Naini Tal a density between 300 and 450. Dehra Dun is a tahsil with mixed characteristics it consists of the very fertile Dun, lying between the Siwalik and Himalaya slopes

(1) For this and all similar figures in paragraphs 4 and 5, see subsidiary table II.

whilst other parts lie on both these slopes. These portions are very largely forest which amounts to some 278 square miles out of 766. This fact explains the low density. The Kashipur tahsil (189 square miles) closely resembles the adjoining parts of Rohilkhand, includes two towns and is much less damp than the Tarai. Rice and wheat are the principal crops: it contains a considerable amount of forest. This tahsil, after a period of deterioration, is again on the up grade; its density has increased from 294 to 325. In this division the only explanation needed of the generally low density is the hilly nature of the country and its many forests.

(2) *Sub-Himalaya, West.*—By far the greatest part of this division in any one class (47·9 per cent.) has a density of



between 300 and 450, 23·2 per cent. has a density between 450 and 600 and 17·7 a density of 150 to 300; 9·2 per cent. has a density higher than 600. To take the biggest tract first, it consists of 4,752 square miles, comprising the tahsils of Rurki and Nakur (Saharanpur), Najibabad, Nagina, and Bijnor (Bijnor), Pilibhit (Pilibhit), Lakhimpur and Muhamdi in Kheri. Rurki, Najibabad, Nagina, Pilibhit and Lakhimpur are homogeneous. In all of them there are large tracts of forest which diminish the density. They possess large urban populations (save in the case of

Lakhimpur), and fertile soils, apart from the forests, which grow chiefly wheat, millets, and rice. They are well irrigated and their communications are good. But for the presence of the forests their densities would be higher than they are: all alike show increases in population.

Bijnor is a tahsil of diverse soils, bad, indifferent and good. It is not particularly well irrigated and possesses no railway, though its roads are fair. Its crops vary with the soils, but generally speaking rice, millets and barley are its chief products. It has however a considerable urban population engaged in trade and industry and this has materially increased its density. It is an improving tahsil and its density has grown greater with each decade till it is now 440, the provincial average.

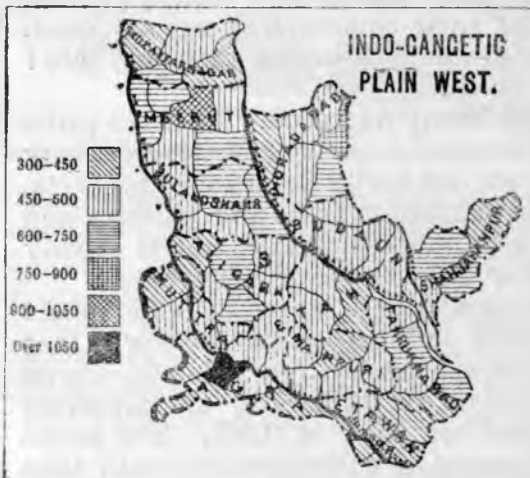
Muhamdi is like the first class of tahsils mentioned in possessing large jungle tracts which diminish its density, but is different in many other respects. It is badly served by railways, is a tahsil of mixed soils, some far from valuable, has no urban population of importance and many swamps. It is however an improving tahsil, which has only suffered a single slight set back in 1901. The jungle moreover is of a kind that can be and is being cleared for cultivation, and with time it should become more valuable. Its density has risen from 389 to 410. Nakur's case is very different. It has all the advantages of fertile soils growing valuable crops, such as wheat and millets, it is well protected by wells and canals and is well served by railways and roads. Yet it has suffered severely during this decade, partly because of plague and malaria, partly because of the decaying state of its eight towns. Its density has dropped from 475 to 429; its population is the lowest on record since 1853. Two thousand three hundred and two square miles in this division show a density between 450 and 600. The area includes Saharanpur and Deoband tahsils (Saharanpur), Faridpur and Nawabganj (Bareilly), Dhampur (Bijnor) and Bisalpur (Pilibhit)—roughly speaking the most southern tracts of the division. The soils are good and well watered, growing valuable crops; there is little or no forest (save in Saharanpur where, however, there is also a city to keep the density high), and the conditions approximate to those of the Doab lands south of the tract. Not less than 70 per cent. and occasionally as much as 84 per cent. of the total area is cultivated. Not only so, but the tract has a considerable urban population. The densities have risen, save in Deoband and Saharanpur, which have suffered severely from plague and malaria. Eight hundred and one square miles have a density between 600 and 750, and 310 one of between 900 and 1,050; all the tahsils concerned are in Bareilly district. Baheri has a damp malarious climate, and is a tract where rice is largely grown. Mirganj and Aonla are fertile tracts; the former has also much natural moisture. Baheri and Mirganj have increased in population: Aonla has decreased. The urban population is small. Bareilly is similar to Aonla; its huge density (1,027) is attributable to the presence of the city,

but it has decreased considerably. One thousand seven hundred and fifty-four square miles, comprising the tahsils of Puranpur in Pilibhit and Nighasan in Kheri, show densities between 150 and 300. Puranpur has many disadvantages. It has 100 square miles of forest besides private forest and this extends round three sides of its border : on the fourth is a large swamp. The central portion is a sandy plain where cultivation is precarious. Only about 190 square miles out of 512 are cultivated, and the rest, however, it may be classed for practical purposes, is waste land. The whole area is damp and unhealthy, the population is poor and always ready to migrate. Rice is the chief crop, with wheat, but of an indifferent quality. The density of this miserable tract has however greatly increased. The conditions in Nighasan are much the same. There is a tract of forest of 267 square miles, much tarai country and an extremely bad climate. The crops and agricultural conditions are similar to those in Puranpur. Yet its density has also increased.

In this division, whilst the density is actually normal, it may be said that it would be much higher but for the presence of large forested areas. It is on the whole rich, fertile and healthy, with a considerable urban population : such tracts as Puranpur and Nighasan are exceptional.

(3) *Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.*—Twelve thousand three hundred and seventy-nine square miles or 51·6 per cent. of the whole area possesses a density of over 450 and under 600, 6,129 square miles fall in the next lowest class (300 to 450) and 4,579 in the next highest (600 to 750). Three tahsils, thanks to the presence of cities, show higher densities still.

Taking the chief class first the area mentioned includes the tahsils of Muzaffarnagar (Muzaffarnagar), Mawana and Ghaziabad (Meerut), Sikandrabad and Khurja (Bulandshahr), Iglas, Atrauli and Sikandra Rao (Aligarh), Muttra, Mahaban and Sadabad (Muttra), Itmadpur, Firozabad and Fatehabad (Agra), Chhibramau, Kaimganj and Aligarh (Farrukhabad), all Mainpuri district save the Mainpuri tahsil, Etawah (Etawah), all Etah district save the Aliganj tahsil, the whole of Budaun, Thakurdwara, Sambhal and Amroha (Moradabad), and Jalalabad (Shahjahanpur). This division has already been described as the most fertile and best irrigated in the province. Its food crops are chiefly the millets and wheat and barley, but it grows an unusually high proportion of



other crops, which are of a valuable kind. In this tract some 8,500 square miles are annually cultivated of which 3,000 are irrigated. It also contains some 90 towns, including the cities of Muttra, Etawah, Sambhal and Amroha. For every reason then the density should be high ; it would have been higher still but for the ravages of plague and malaria. Excluding the Rohilkhand tahsils (where increase was general), only six tahsils show increases of population (Iglas, Fatehabad, Karhal, Shikohabad, Etawah and Kasganj).

The 6,129 square miles in class "300 to 450" comprise the following tahsils classed according to the nature of the facts relating to them :—

- (1) Kairana and Jansath (Muzaffarnagar), Kiraoli (Agra), Tirwa (Farrukhabad), Mainpuri (Mainpuri), the whole of Etawah save Etawah tahsil ;
- (2) Chhata, Mat (Muttra), Khairagarh (Agra) ;
- (3) Khair (Aligarh), Bah (Agra), Aliganj (Etah), Hasanpur (Moradabad), Pawayan (Shahjahanpur).

Class (1) are fertile tahsils, well watered, with many towns, similar in all respects to the tracts in this division with a density of over 450. In 1901 they all had such a density ; their present decrease is due solely to the havoc caused by plague and malaria.

Class (2) are the least fertile tahsils in the division. Chhata and Khairagarh belong to the trans-Jumna portion already described [paragraph 2 (3)]. They too have lost population from plague and malaria.

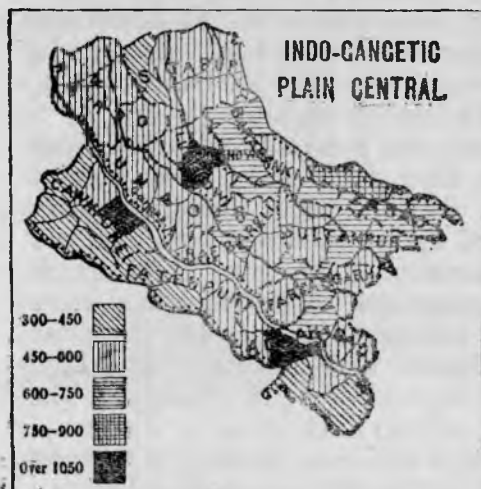
Class (3) all show increased densities, but for various reasons are less valuable and less densely populated than the rest of the division. Khair and Hasanpur, in place of forest, possess large tracts of grazing ground unfit for cultivation. Bah is in many parts very similar to the Central India Plateau, and naturally shows a low density. Aliganj lies in a very precarious tract. Pawayan possesses a great deal of forest and swamp and is like similar tracts in the Sub-Himalayan division.

The area in the class "600 to 750" includes the tahsils of Budhana (Muzaffarnagar), Baghpat, Sardhana and Hapur (Meerut), Anupshahr and Bulandshahr (Bulandshahr), Aligarh and Hathras (Aligarh), Kanauj and Farrukhabad (Farrukhabad), Bilari (Moradabad), Shahjahanpur and Tilhar (Shahjahanpur). One tahsil of 313 square miles, Moradabad, has a density between 750 and 900; one of 363 square miles, Meerut, a density of between 900 and 1,050; one (Agra, 209 square miles) a density of over 1,050 (1,379). The differences between these tracts and the major part of the division are entirely of degree. The proportions of area that are cultivated are larger and there are proportionately more and larger towns, including seven large cities, of which three make all the difference between a normal and an abnormal density. The tract has suffered very severely from plague and malaria, and only four tahsils (Hapur, Bulandshahr, Kanauj and Bilari) show increases of population.

The chief features of this division are very great fertility, very great facilities for irrigation, and many towns, all of which make for a high density. It is all the more noteworthy therefore that plague and malaria have done so much damage.

(4) *Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central*.—The greatest part of the division (12,622 square miles or 55·8 per cent. of the whole area) has a density between 450 and 600, with 4,516 square miles showing a density between 600 and 750, 3,233 square miles showing one between 300 and 450 and a few tahsils exhibiting higher and lower densities.

The largest tract, with a density between 450 and 600, includes the tahsils of Sheorajpur (Cawnpore), Fatehpur and Khaga (Fatehpur), Sirathu, Manjhanpur, Phulpur, Handia and Karchhana (Allahabad), Mohanlalganj and Malihabad (Lucknow), the whole of Unao, the whole of Rae Bareli except the Sadr tahsil, the whole of Sitapur except Misrikh, the whole of Hardoi, Amethi and Kadipur (Sultanpur), Kunda and Patti (Partabgarh), and Ramsanehighat (Bara Banki). This tract is very similar to the tract in the Western division of the Indo-Gangetic Plain which falls in this class. It is not quite so fertile nor so well irrigated: only 7,700 square miles are normally cultivated and 2,700 irrigated, there are fewer towns, but generally speaking the difference between the two tracts is of degree, not of kind. The losses from



plague have, however, been more severe in the Central than the Western Plain, for only four tahsils (Sirathu, Hardoi, Shahabad and Patti) show increases, five others are stationary, and the rest show large decreases.

The tract of 4,516 square miles with a density between 600 and 750 includes the tahsils of Soraoon (Allahabad), Rae Bareli (Rae Bareli), three tahsils out of four in Fyzabad, Sultanpur and Musafirkhana (Sultanpur), Partabgarh (Partabgarh), and three tahsils out of four in Bara Banki. These differ again from the main tract only in degree: they have larger cultivated and irrigated areas and more towns. All save Rae Bareli have lost severely from plague and malaria. The tract of 3,233 square miles, with a density between 300 and 450, comprises Misrikh in Sitapur and the whole of Cawnpore and Fatehpur save two tahsils in each case. Misrikh is something of a puzzle, for it does not appear to be in any way subject to natural disadvantages sufficient to account for its low density. The soil is mostly good loam; there is certainly a precarious sandy tract, but it is not infertile in ordinary years. The cultivated area is considerable and the staples (millets, barley and wheat) are normal. Nor has it been worse affected than the rest of the district by plague. A possible cause may be that it possesses a comparatively

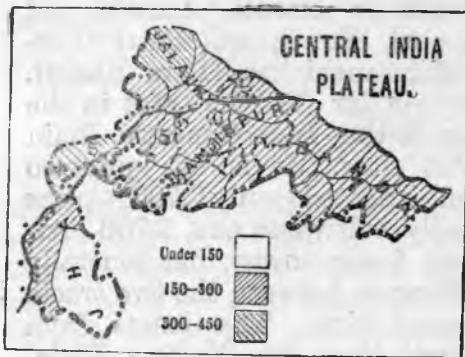
low percentage of females: the figures in 1901 were 866 per 1,000 males, as against 893 over the district, in 1911 were 841 females as against 878 over the district. There is a considerable amount of emigration of females from Sitapur owing to the transactions of the marriage market, and it would appear that Mirikh loses something more than its fair share in this way. Its Rajputs for instance belong chiefly to clans high in the social scale, and their women might well have to go far afield to find husbands of higher clans still. Another possible cause is that the tahsil though fair is scarcely good enough to attract settlers.

The rest of the tract forms a compact block at a spot where the Jumna and Ganges approach each other. As will be seen in the Central India Plateau, and has been seen in the case of the trans-Jumna portions of the Western Plain, soils removed from the influence of the Ganges and subject to the influence of the Jumna are less fertile than the Gangetic alluvial soils. The Jumna usually flows between steep banks furrowed by deep ravines, and whether it is due to the Jumna or not, the soils on its banks or beyond are generally of a particular kind, which will be described in considering the Central India Plateau. So it is in this tract. There is a considerable area of ordinary Doab soils, but there is also a proportion of the characteristic Bundelkhand soils. It also contains an unusual proportion of totally uncultivable land, mostly *usar*. Though irrigation is good the crops are not of the first class (millets and barley). These natural disadvantages would always prevent a very high density, but there has also been severe loss from plague and there is a continuous stream of migration from the rural tracts to Cawnpore city.

The 921 square miles with a density under 300 and the 1,308 square miles with densities over 750 can be briefly dismissed. The former consists of the Bara and Meja tahsils in Allahabad which really belong in nature to the Central India Plateau, the rest consists of the tahsils of Fyzabad (359 square miles, density between 750 and 900), and Cawnpore, Allahabad and Lucknow (densities 1,072, 1,071, and 1,241), where the presence of a large city population affects the figures.

Generally speaking this tract is similar to the Western division of the plain, but it is somewhat less fertile and less well irrigated, has more uncultivable land and fewer towns, and also includes tracts which do not really belong to it. In spite of these facts, it shows higher density than the Western Plain (550 including cities, 523 excluding cities, as compared with 538 and 508 respectively).

(5) *Central India Plateau*.—Eight thousand five hundred and sixty-seven



square miles, or 82·1 per cent. of the whole of the area of this division, has a density between 150 and 300: 887 square miles show a lower and 986 a higher density. The tract therefore is remarkably homogeneous. The 986 square miles with a density between 300 and 450 comprise the tahsils of Jhansi and Jalaun. The high density here is explicable by the fact that the soils are better, of their kind, than in the rest of the Plateau, whilst Jhansi is affected by the presence of a city. The 887 square miles with a density under 150 consists of the tahsil of

Mahroni in Jhansi, which is very largely composed of jungle and rock, with very poor soils, so that a low density is natural. The division can, with these exceptions, be considered as a whole: and what applies to it can also be taken to apply to the Meja and Bara tahsils in Allahabad district.

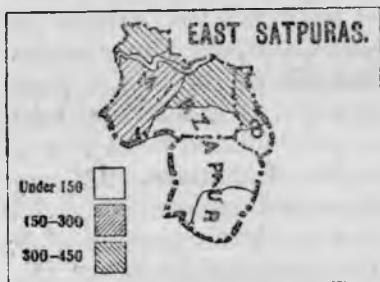
The soils are totally different to the Doab soils and far less valuable. *Mar*, the best black cotton soil, is no doubt often very fertile, whilst good *kabar*, the second quality of black cotton soil, though more difficult to work than *mar*, also produces good crops. There is also a considerable amount of loam. But a very little makes all the difference between a good and bad season. Black cotton soils are peculiarly retentive of moisture: if there is too much rain, therefore, the crops rot. They are, when dry, so hard as to be almost unworkable: if there is too little rain, therefore, nothing can be sown at all. A very closely defined set of favourable circumstances must be present to ensure a good crop. Where the surface is uneven, which it always is in the neighbourhood of the smallest watercourse (all the more so that the proximity of these watercourses to their sources in the Vindhyan Plateau turns most of them into torrents at certain times of the year, which may

flow in spate for a few days and then degenerate into mere trickles), erosion deprives the soil of its fertile constituents and turns it into what is known as *rakar*, a soil that has frequently little more consistency or fertility than a gravel heap.

The tract is specially cursed by the presence of a weed called *kans* (*Saccharum spontaneum*), which grows to tremendous depth and absolutely prevents any cultivation till it is eradicated. The chief crops are *juar* and gram; no tract produces such quantities of millets and gram as this, the percentages being 30·9 and 29·4 as against 17·5 and 11·5, the provincial average. Both are cheap food crops. The facilities for irrigation are of the poorest, the water level is low and the rivers flow in deep channels. The Ken canal, a new work, has protected a considerable portion of Banda, whilst the nature of the soil makes it possible to protect scattered fields and areas with small embankments which retain the moisture. There are considerable areas of rock and jungles, for instance the Karwi (Banda) Patha, where cultivable areas are clustered round wretched villages, with large tracts of scrub jungle between them of which the sole product is thorns, each larger and stronger than the last. The climate is far from healthy and malaria is very prevalent; but the tract has been always free from plague, and the severe malaria epidemic of 1908 did not cause any excessive mortality.

The history of the tract, too, is all against a high density. Up to 1804 it was a sort of cock-pit for the powers to fight in. Details are unnecessary. It was not likely that a tract which was always liable to being laid waste would have a dense population. When the British Government got the country in the early years of the last century, quiet ensued. But from the first, as old records show, the mistake was made of over-estimating the value of the tract and the settlements were far too high. The people, probably at no time good cultivators (they were hardly likely to be so amid the constant wars and rumours of wars that went on around them), had been rack-rented under the Maratha rule, whilst the errors made in settlement in the early years of British rule resulted generally in the people becoming overburdened with debt. In spite of various expedients of the nature of Encumbered Estates Acts a succession of bad years (1867, 1868, 1869, 1872, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897 and 1906, 1908, all had their troubles), has made the people, as a whole, the worst cultivators, the most impoverished and, though without extravagance, the least provident, community in the province. Nothing but a low density could be expected in such circumstances; and it is a tribute to the efficacy of the last measures for the relief of this tract that, in spite of the famines of 1906 and 1907 and 1907-08 it is once more on the up grade. Its population has considerably and generally increased; the density is now what it was in 1881 though still less than the figure of 1891.

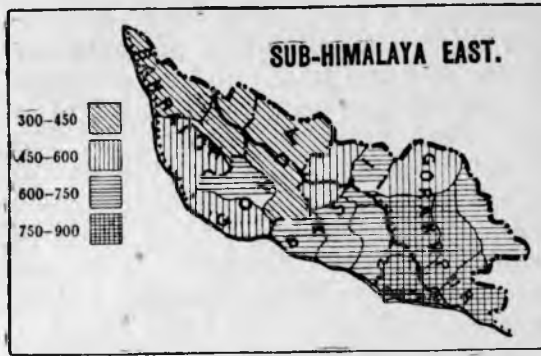
(6) *East Satpuras*.—This consists of a single district and the figures are somewhat misleading. The major portion, 2,621 square miles, consisting of the tahsils of Robertsganj and Duddhi, has a density of under 150. The former tahsil consists of a tract on the Vindhyan Plateau, Duddhi of a tangled mass of hills covered with jungle interspersed with fertile valleys and basins; it is the wildest part of the province and possesses the most primitive population. Its density is naturally low. The Mirzapur tahsil is mostly on the Vindhyan Plateau, but has a small portion north of



the Ganges; its density (258) is slightly higher. Lastly Chunar and the Benares State have a density of over 300. Chunar has a good deal of land north of the Ganges, whilst of the state one portion (Konrh) is entirely north of that river and possesses a high density, whilst the rest (Chakia) is largely forest and has a very low one. Mirzapur has lost severely in the last decade through plague: Chunar is stationary, whilst Robertsganj and Duddhi have greatly increased. The state has decreased slightly.

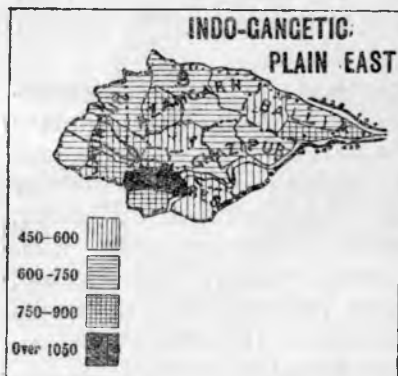
(7) *Sub-Himalaya, East*.—It is difficult to say that any portion of this tract is characteristic of the whole. Three thousand five hundred and twenty-seven square miles (27·6 per cent. of the whole area) has a density over 300 and under 450; 3,133 square miles (24·5 per cent.) has a density over 450 and under 600; 3,763 square miles (29·4 per cent.) has a density over 600 and under 750; and 2,361 square miles (18·5 per cent.) has a density over 750 and under 900. In the first tract lie the tahsils of Utraula (Gonda) and Nanpara and Bahraich

(Bahraich). These all contain very large areas of forest and tarai which affect the density; they are otherwise similar to the same class of tahsil in the Western Sub-Himalayan division. All have increased in population. In the second are included the tahsils of Maharajganj (Gorakhpur), Domariaganj (Basti), Tarabganj (Gonda), and Kaisarganj (Bahraich). Maharajganj with a large forest and tarai area is not healthy; rice is the staple crop. Partly because it has escaped cheaply from plague and malaria, partly because of an increase in the cultivated area as jungle is cleared, its population has increased considerably.



Tarabganj has no forest but half of it is "tarhar," or tarai; Domariaganj and Kaisarganj have none. All three are fertile in the same way as the next tracts to be mentioned; but they have suffered from plague; and the whole tract has lost by emigration. The third tract comprises Padrauna (Gorakhpur), four tahsils in Basti and Gonda (Gonda). The tract is particularly fertile and well irrigated, and, on the whole not unhealthy. Rice is the chief crop. Basti and Haraiya show decreases in population, due in some measure to emigration; the rest show increases. In the most populous tract are included four tahsils in Gorakhpur, Bangsaon, Hata, Deoria and Gorakhpur. In Gorakhpur itself the presence of the city has affected the figures, but this tract has always been very thickly populated and the density has greatly increased except in Deoria. The district of Gorakhpur and in a similar though less degree the district of Basti are in many ways well off. The climate is normally good though relaxing. Improvements in agriculture, reclamations of waste land and the introduction of valuable crops are constantly going on largely through the agency of European planters; in 40 years the cultivated area increased by 16 per cent. and the double-cropped area was doubled. It has escaped the severer visitations of plague and malaria, and has profited, perhaps in greater measure than any other part of the country, from the security afforded by a settled government; and so in spite of emigration its population has enormously increased.

(8) *Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.*—This is by far the most thickly populated part of the province; 3,722 square miles or 50·2 per cent. of the whole have a density of 600 to 750; 1,618 square miles one of 450 to 600; 1,604 square miles one of 750 to 900, and 464 square miles one of over 1,050. In the first named tract fall the tahsils of Machhlishahr and Shahganj (Jaunpur), three tahsils out of four in Ghazipur, Bansdih in Ballia and four tahsils out of six in Azamgarh. It is a fertile tract growing large crops of rice, and inclined to be damp, but not exposed to extremes of climate. It has suffered severely from plague and emigration. All the tahsils have lost population; the densities of 9 out of the 10 tahsils have been reduced by over 20,



and the reduction goes as high in one place as 99. Chandauli (Benares), Zamania (Ghazipur), Rasra (Ballia) and Deogaon (Azamgarh) make up the tract with a density of under 600. Chandauli has a clay soil and defective drainage; rice is its chief crop. Zamania is largely composed of rich alluvial soil, as is Rasra: both grow rice and other valuable crops such as sugarcane. Deogaon is a swampy, unhealthy, rice-growing tahsil, but its population and density are stationary, whilst Chandauli shows an increase and the other two tahsils a serious decrease due to plague. The tract with a density between 750 and 900 includes the tahsils of Jaunpur, Mariahu and Kirakat in Jaunpur, Ballia in Ballia, Nizamabad in Azamgarh and Gangapur in Benares; the tahsil with a population of over 1,050 per square mile is of course Benares itself. This is an extremely fertile and well irrigated and not unhealthy tract growing rice and barley with a large proportion of more valuable crops. Ballia, Jaunpur and Nizamabad have suffered very severe losses from plague—Ballia perhaps more than any other single tahsil in the province; the other tracts have increased. Generally speaking, the Eastern Indo-Gangetic Plain is as valuable as the Western Plain and more so than the Central. It does not sow quite so large an area as the

Western Plain, but it has a bigger double cropped area and more irrigation. But its staples are different; it grows far more rice and less millets than the Western or Central Plain in the autumn and less wheat and barley in the spring harvest than the Western, but as much as the Central Plain. In spite of emigration and plague, of the first of which the Western and Central Plains are comparatively free whilst they suffered less severely from the second, it still maintains its position as the most densely populated tract in the province.

5. It is now possible to summarise the connection of density with the various physical conditions incidentally referred to.

Density under 150.—Area concerned 17,487 square miles (16·3 per cent. of the whole).

Characteristics.—Large forest areas and mountainous country; little cultivable country; climate, usually healthy (in the hills); in the sub-montane and other tracts usually unhealthy (malarious).

Density 150 to 300.—Area concerned 13,171 square miles (12·3 per cent. of the whole).

Characteristics.—(1) Small fertile area, with good climate, but extensive forests.

(2) Bad soils (either sandy or liable to floods or “Bundelkhand” as the case may be); unhealthy malarious climate; large forest areas and swamps in some parts. Crops, rice in damp soils, millets and gram elsewhere; in the greater portion of unfavourable historical antecedents.

Density 300 to 450.—Area concerned 20,242 square miles (18·9 per cent. of the whole).

Characteristics.—(1) Mixture between poor soils (Bundelkhandi) and better soils (doab); climate, healthy; irrigation, moderate.

(2) Similar to the next class, but with large forest areas.

(3) Similar to the next class, but with abnormal circumstances such as unusually good soils or large urban populations.

Density 450 to 600.—Area concerned 32,054 square miles (29·9 per cent. of the whole).

Characteristics.—Good alluvial doab soils; healthy climate as a rule; excellent irrigation; excellent crops, chiefly wheat, barley, millet, and others. This represents the true mean density of the province though the arithmetical average density is slightly less.

Density 600 to 750.—Area concerned 17,381 square miles (16·1 per cent. of the whole).

Density 750 to 900.—Area concerned 4,637 square miles (4·3 per cent. of the whole).

Density 900 to 1,050.—Area concerned 673 square miles (·6 per cent. of the whole).

Density 1,050 or over.—Area concerned 1,622 square miles (1·5 per cent. of the whole).

Characteristics.—In all these cases either the conditions are slightly more favourable in degree though similar in kind to the density next below these or there are abnormal circumstances, such as (and generally) the presence of a large city.

6. **General correlation between density and separate physical characteristics.**—Many circumstances combine to produce density—not only physical but psychological, historical, social—in fact the whole environment of the particular population tends to affect it. Of these the most important are the physical circumstances included in the environment. It is a well-worn maxim of political economy that population centres round fertile tracts; it is true not only of a village but of a continent. It is for this reason that, if there are no special causes to prevent it, the best lands of a village are found next to the village site, and it is also for this reason that, generally speaking, and if there are no counteracting causes, the most fertile parts of a country are the most thickly populated⁽¹⁾. The first circumstance then that affects density is the fertility of the soil.

(1) *Density and soil fertility.*—M. Vidal de la Blache in his work “Le peuple de l’Inde” traces a casual connection between density and the rainfall; the two, generally speaking, increase and diminish together. It needs no demonstration

⁽¹⁾ If the best lands lie low, their neighbourhood may not be fit for inhabitation, and the village site will then be at a distance from them. On the other hand whatever the lands nearest to the site may be liked, they will always be improved by the fact that they get manure from the village.

that in an agricultural country the rainfall is the chief cause of the fertility of the soil, and consequently is the ultimate cause of density. But it is a wide generalization, which has numerous exceptions. In a hilly country or a forested area, for instance the Himalayan and the Satpura tracts, the rainfall is high but the density low. The nature of the soil itself also affects the question. If the rain falls alike on the just and the unjust, it also falls alike on good and bad soils with varying effect. Moreover the distribution of the rainfall is even more important than its amount, and not only the distribution with regard to time, but the distribution with regard to place. The rainfall of some Sub-Himalayan districts for instance would be a source of disaster in Bundelkhand. Finally it is not merely a question of rainfall but of facilities for irrigation. The rainfall directly benefits only the autumn crop; it is of value to the spring crop only as increasing the store of water available for agricultural purposes. And, indeed, when the figures of density and of rainfall alone are compared there is no correspondence between them: but if we consider both irrigation and rainfall together—a combination that can be expressed by the term “agricultural water supply”—then the correspondence for divisions becomes almost exact, provided we omit the East Satpuras and the Himalayan divisions, which are differentiated as hilly and forested areas. The value of the irrigation and that of the rainfall cannot be easily compared: but an approximation can be obtained in this way. It can be taken that the whole *kharij* area is watered by the rainfall: to this *kharij* area, the irrigated area can be added. The two together then give a fairly accurate idea of the extent to which a tract benefits by its water supply. The result of this calculation

Natural division.	Density.	Percentage of watered to cultivated tract.	Order according to density.	Order according to watered area.
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	437	84	5	4
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	538	91	4	3
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	550	98	3	2
Central India Plateau ..	211	67	6	6
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	586	81	2	5
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East..	706	108	1	1

is shown in the margin. The East Satpuras and the Himalayan tract are omitted. It will be seen that but for the Eastern Sub-Himalayan tract the correspondence between water supply and density would be exact. This is due to the fact that this tract requires less moisture than others. The East Sub-Himalayas for instance has some 22 lakhs of acres under rice and irrigates only 8,000 of them; out of 7 lakhs of acres under maize it irrigates exactly 1

acre. In the single district of Saharanpur in the Western Sub-Himalayas, 5,000 acres out of 120,000 under rice are irrigated, in the Western Plain 128,000 acres out of 7 lakhs under maize are irrigated. But density as has already been said is the result not of one cause, but many, and as will presently be seen, the Eastern Sub-Himalayas possesses other characteristics making for a high density in greater measure than the rest of the province.

8. *Density and cultivation.*—The figures of cultivable and cultivated area are also a fair index to the density. It is obvious that the more cultivable land there is and the more of it is cultivated in a tract, the better able is the tract to support a dense population. The figures are shown in subsidiary table I, but before they are used require a little explanation.

They are based on the figures of 1909-10, the last which were at the time available. This year was somewhat better than usual as regards the area sown, which exceeded the normal by 2·4 per cent. over the whole province. The excess was spread over all divisions, save the East Satpuras. The difference however was nowhere large enough to affect any calculations based on the figures, and can be neglected.

Secondly, the figures of cultivable area are somewhat misleading. The cultivable area is the sum of the cultivable waste, old and new fallows, and the cultivated area. But more or less all over the province the cultivable waste includes a large percentage of land which is really barren; either because, though it could be cultivated, it could never be cultivated at a profit, or because it is required for other uses subsidiary to agriculture. It includes for instance threshing floors, well-runs and village paths. It was calculated at the Rae Bareilly settlement (a good average district), that the amount of so called cultivable waste which was really cultivable was 3 per cent. of the whole area instead of 18·5 per cent. as returned. This fact very seriously affects the proportions of cultivated to cultivable and cultivable to total. In an endeavour to redress this, I have taken the true cultivable waste to be never more than 5 per cent. of the total; though I have not made the calculation for Himalaya West, where the areas are

mostly estimated only. The fresh figures are exhibited below with the ones based on the actual returns. It is probable that even 5 per cent. in some parts, e.g. Bundelkhand, is an over liberal estimate; for there not only is much land returned as cultivable waste which is permanently barren but there is also a great deal which must remain barren over an extended period, owing to the presence of *kans* grass.

The influence of cultivation on density depends on three factors:—

- (a) the quantity of land cultivable and cultivated—shown by the proportions of cultivable and cultivated land to the total;
- (b) the quality of land cultivable and cultivated—shown by the proportions of cultivated land to cultivable, and irrigated to cultivated;
- (c) the amount of effort made by the cultivator—shown partly by the above figures and partly by the amount which he double crops; an item which also bears on the quality of the soil.

The figures are exhibited below; in all proportions where the cultivable area is concerned, I have shown the corrected cultivable area first, and the returned cultivable area in brackets. I omit Himalaya West and East Satpuras for reasons already given:—

Natural division.	Density.	Percentage of—				
		Cultivable to total.	Cultivated to total.	Cultivated to cultivable.	Irrigated to cultivated.	Double cropped cultivable.
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	437	68·2 (79·6)	56·9	83·5 (71·5)	14·8	17·9 (15·4)
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	538	77·8 (86·5)	69·4	89·2 (80·2)	30·2	14·7 (13·2)
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	550	68·7 (80·9)	60·3	87·8 (74·5)	32·1	17·7 (15·0)
Central India Plateau ..	211	61·6 (83·1)	45·2	73·4 (54·4)	6·3	4·5 (23·4)
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	586	76·4 (86·0)	67·9	88·9 (79·0)	28·7	29·3 (26·1)
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	706	75·1 (84·0)	65·1	86·7 (77·5)	44·7	20·5 (18·4)

Perhaps the most important column in this table is the last. Looking merely at the proportions of land that is cultivable and cultivated, the Western Plain would appear to be first by a considerable margin. But the double cropped area restores the balance. If we add together double cropped and net cultivated, we shall get the gross cultivated area, and it will then be seen that in a year not very much over the normal the Eastern Sub-Himalayan tract by means of double cropping cultivated no less than 18·2 per cent. more than the cultivable area, whilst the Eastern Plain cultivated 7·2 per cent. more, the Central Plain 5·5 per cent. more and the Western Plain only 3·9 per cent. more. This gives a very good index to the comparative crop-bearing values of the various divisions and is the best possible indication of the quantity and quality of the soil cultivated and the quality of the cultivation put into it. And it will be seen that the figures correspond very closely to the order or density.

Natural division.	Density.	Percentage of gross cultivated to cultivable area.	Order according to density.	Gross cultivated area.
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	437	101·4	5	5
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	538	103·9	4	4
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	550	105·5	3	3
Central India Plateau ..	211	77·9	6	6
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	586	118·2	2	1
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	106	107·2	1	2

The Eastern Plain and Eastern Sub-Himalayan tract interchange places, but there is no other gap in the correspondence.

9. (3) *Density and particular crops.*—M. de la Blache remarks on the fact that the most

densely inhabited tracts are those where rice is chiefly grown, and attributes this to its nutritive power. One cannot doubt that more nutritive food stuffs will produce, *ceteris paribus*, a greater density, but if one argues on this basis it is obviously necessary to prove not only that a particular food stuff is grown in a particular place, but that it is specially eaten there. And this it would not be easy to do. Wheat, for instance, is the staple of the province. It is grown everywhere, mostly no doubt in the Western and Central Plains. But it is also a great article of export; probably the greater part of the wheat crop passes into the markets of the provinces, whilst a considerable share leaves it altogether elsewhere. This, so far as its nutritive value is concerned, diffuses it far and wide and not very much more over one tract than another; consequently, from this point of view, it cannot be said to affect density more in the tracts where it is chiefly grown than in other tracts. The money it brings in no doubt increases the standard of comfort in

the places where it is the chief staple and a higher standard of comfort goes with higher density. But from this point of view it is useless to consider any particular crop separately; it becomes necessary to consider all the valuable crops together since they all bring in money. Rice however is not on quite the same plane as wheat and other food crops which are exported or sold. It is a well known fact that the Indian cultivator looks on the autumn crop to a great extent as his food crop, the one which will produce the actual food stuffs which he and his dependants will eat. The spring crop he regards as the crop which will produce the money by which he will pay his rent or revenue, buy his clothes and his other necessaries, marry his daughter, and obtain other more expensive articles of diet than those he grows. In a word the *kharij* gives him his bread, the spring crop gives him his other necessaries, including the cheese to go with the bread. So marked is this distinction in some places that the revenue is divided into unequal instalments accordingly, the *kharij* paying the lesser and the *rabi* the greater share. Rice is an autumn crop; its alternative is the various millets, which form so large a part of the Indian cultivator's food. And where one is grown in excess, the other as a rule is grown in defect. The provincial average area under rice is 14·0 per cent. of the total: the millets area is 17·5 per cent. Seventeen districts grow rice over an area above this normal; of these all but two grow considerably less millets than the normal. Twenty-four districts grow more millets than the normal; most of them grow no rice or a very small amount of it. And there seems to be no doubt that where the millets are not grown at the *kharij* rice takes their place to a certain extent as an article of diet ⁽¹⁾.

If this is so, one should, according to M. de la Blache, find higher densities where rice is chiefly grown. And generally speaking this is so. Out of 43 districts (omitting the Satpura and Himalayan divisions) 17 grow more rice than the normal; 12 of these have densities greater than the normal density of these 43 districts, viz. 510. The five exceptions are Bijnor, Pilibhit, Allahabad, Gonda and Bahraich and the figures of four of them are affected by the presence of forests, and of the fifth by the presence of a large Bundelkhand tract.

The effect of crops on density must also be regarded from another point of view, viz. their effect in raising the standard of comfort. For this purpose we can consider rice (which is largely sold), wheat and "other crops." The last include the oil seeds, maize, sugarcane, cotton, opium, tobacco, garden stuffs and fodder: all of them valuable either as fetching good prices or improving the diet of the people who grow them. The figures are as in the margin.

Natural division.	Density.	Percentage of valuable crops to total area sown.			Total.
		Rice.	Wheat.	Other crops.	
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	437	17·3	21·5	27·7	66·5
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	538	3·3	20·2	34·4	57·9
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	550	15·0	12·7	27·6	55·3
Central India Plateau ..	211	2·5	6·3	27·4	36·2
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	586	29·0	14·0	27·3	70·2
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	706	19·2	6·7	33·6	59·5

It will be seen that the Eastern Plain in spite of its high density only stands third; the next most densely populated tract, the Eastern Sub-Himalayan tract, stands first. The Western Sub-Himalayan tract, with a low density,

stands second; the Western Plain stands before the Central Plain though its density is less. The truth is simply that the mere possession of money matters nothing, if it is wasted, and this enquiry has to be completed by considering the effect of social customs. The effect of physical conditions on density may now be summarised from the figures already given.

Natural division.	Order according to density.	Order according to—			Total of columns 3—5.	Order according to physical conditions.
		Water supply.	Cultivation.	Crops.		
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	5	4	5	2	11	4
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	4	3	4	4	11	4
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	3	2	3	5	10	3
Central India Plateau ..	6	6	6	6	18	6
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	2	5	1	1	7	2
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	1	1	2	3	6	1

This shows how very closely the sum of the physical conditions correspond to the density. The sole difference is that the

(1) But only to a certain extent. It is by no means the only food even in rice tracts. Indeed millets and maize are eaten by those who can get them in preference to rice; and though it may be one article of diet I doubt if it ever is the staple food. For these figures see subsidiary table I.

Sub-Himalayan Western tract instead of standing, as it should, a bad fifth is equal fourth. But we need go no further to explain this than to point to its large tracts of forest. These do not affect the figures of water supply, cultivation and crops, but they affect the density. Omitting the 1,000 odd square miles of forest in this tract the density becomes 492 instead of 437; whilst if we reduced the population of the Western Plain by the total of the cities, the density is 508. The two divisions are then practically level. Nor must it be forgotten that of the three causes taken as affecting density far the lowest value should be attached to the influence of the actual crops grown: and it is this factor which brings the Western Sub-Himalayan tract to its place in the order.

10. **Density and other conditions**—(1) *Historical*.—It is of course impossible to attempt to trace the effect of the historical events of the past on the density of the present; it would involve the writing of a complete history of the United Provinces. Those who would peruse the subject are referred to the various gazetteers and histories of the province. But it may be worth while to refer briefly to some few facts which are especially striking. (The case of Bundelkhand has already been dealt with.) It will be noticed that the density increases regularly from west to east of the province. There are many causes which operated to produce this, but one that is of a historical nature may be mentioned here, namely that the eastern districts came under the dominion of the British and consequently under a settled government, and the influence of almost unbroken peace, at an earlier date than the western tracts. Most of the Benares division (Indo-Gangetic Plain, East) became British territory as early as 1775. It is unnecessary to go any further with dates and treaties; but roughly speaking the earlier the date from which British sovereignty began the greater the density, and it is not unfair to regard the two facts as in part cause and effect. Oudh seems at first sight an exception, as its density is very high though it was acquired later than any other part of the country, but Oudh in all probability always had a comparatively high density; the tract is so fertile that nothing else was possible⁽¹⁾.

11. (2) *Social conditions*.—Density as has been shown, is greatest in the east and least in the west; and there is one social factor which has a curious bearing on this. Generally speaking in any caste which is spread over the whole province, the branches of a higher social standing and the wealthier branches are found in the west, the poorer and lower branches are found to the east. Similarly, among castes, the higher are found to the westwards and the lower to the eastwards. If a cause be sought, Sir H. H. Risley has supplied one. The social position of a caste or of a branch of a caste varied with the purity of its blood, real or supposed. The Aryans coming from the west became more and more mixed in blood by intermarriage with the Dravidian tribes as they passed eastwards, and consequently lost social standing. In all countries the lower strata of society increase in number more rapidly than the higher, and the aboriginal than the civilized race; the "Malthusian microbe" is not a germ that finds a favourable field amongst them, whether it takes the form of voluntary celibacy, or that other form of active check on the birth rate, with which it is usually connected, though such an interpretation might well cause the much maligned economist who gives this theory its name to turn in his grave. Further, the prohibition of widow marriage, the dislike of female offspring with its consequences, and infant marriage, which all make for a low density, are all on the whole characteristics of the higher rather than the lower castes, and consequently rather of the west than the east.

12. (3) *Railways and means of communication*.—The effects of communications on density are indefinite, but indubitable. Directly, better communications make the movement of population easier, thereby affecting the density; indirectly, they facilitate also the movement of produce, thereby bringing grain to the population and increasing its standard of comfort. One striking way in which they have indirectly affected density is in their influence on famine. Famine no longer means starvation; it amounts merely to a particular kind of unemployed problem. There is always plenty of food, there is merely a shortage of money to pay for it and a shortage of work whereby to earn the necessary money. And there is plenty of food because there is now no difficulty in moving surplus stocks of it from one place to another. Consequently famine no longer kills, or need kill, and its effect on density is appreciably less.

(1) The population of Oudh was estimated at 5 to 8 millions in 1859. In 1869 it was eleven and a quarter millions. The increase after the Mutiny was certainly rapid.

There have been numerous additions to the railway system of the province during the decade and to detail them all would be a long business. It will be more useful to give an analysis of the provincial railway system as it now stands.

There are five main lines through the province, all running roughly from west to east—

- (1) The Bengal and North-Western Railway (metre gauge) through the tract north of the Ghagra. This runs (in this province) from Gorakhpur boundary through Basti, Gonda, Bara Banki and Lucknow to Cawnpore. Branch lines tap the whole of the tract north of the main line. Other branches run south, through parts of Azamgarh and Ghazipur to Benares serving the Eastern Plain, with cross connections from Jaunpur to Aunrihar, Azamgarh, Ballia and Bengal; and from Benares to Jhusi (Allahabad) and ultimately on to Allahabad. This line connects with the next system (the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway) at Benares, Fyzabad, Bara Banki, Lucknow and Cawnpore.
- (2) The Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway runs right through the province from Moghal Sarai to Saharanpur, where it links up with the North-Western Railway; this taps the districts of Benares, Partabgarh, Rae Bareli, Lucknow, Hardoi, Shahjahanpur, Bareilly, Rampur State, Moradabad, Bijnor and Saharanpur. A loop line from Benares to Lucknow taps Jaunpur, Fyzabad and Bara Banki; whilst a cross line links up Allahabad and Jaunpur, Allahabad and Fyzabad and also Allahabad to the north-west districts through Partabgarh on the main line. There is a cross line from Cawnpore to Lucknow, and a line is under construction joining Allahabad and Cawnpore through Rae Bareli, which will carry the traffic north of the Ganges. Shahjahanpur and Sitapur are linked by a short line. From Bareilly a line joins up with the East Indian Railway system at Aligarh, and from Moradabad another serves Moradabad and Bulandshahr, running into Ghaziabad with a branch from Hapur to Meerut. Dehra Dun is linked up with the main line at Lhaksar, and Garhwal by a line from Kotdwara at the foot of the hills to Najibabad. Connected with the railway is the metre gauge Rohilkhand and Kumaun Railway, which links Lucknow to Bareilly by an alternative route through Sitapur, Kheri and Pilibhit; whilst a steam tramway connects Pawayan and Shahjahanpur. This metre gauge line also runs up to Kathgodam, tapping the sub-montane tracts of Naini Tal with cross branches to Kashipur and thence to Moradabad. Finally the line has been extended to the furthest confines of Rohilkhand through Budaun and then on to Kasganj in Etah, thus linking up with the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway.
- (3) The Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway (metre gauge in this part) running from Cawnpore through Farrukhabad, Etah, Aliganj and Muttra to Agra, links up with the Rajputana and Malwa Railway at Agra and also at Muttra, and so on to Bombay. The Nagda-Muttra branch though short in length is also important.
- (4) The East Indian Railway main line connects Howrah with the Punjab, stopping at Umballa on the main route, but running also an extension of it with through traffic to Kalka. Its main line in this province runs from Moghal Sarai near Benares to Ghaziabad, through Mirzapur, Allahabad, Fatehpur, Cawnpore, Etawah, Agra (with a branch from Tundla), Aligarh, Bulandshahr (with a cross line to Hapur) and Meerut (Ghaziabad). It has few cross lines—one from Shikohabad to Farrukhabad on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway is the chief. South from Allahabad it has a branch to Jabalpur (Central Provinces) which taps south Allahabad and east Banda. It is linked up with almost every railway in the province; with the Bengal and North-Western Railway in Bengal and at Cawnpore, with the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway at Moghal Sarai, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Aligarh, Hapur and Ghaziabad; with the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, at Cawnpore;

and with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway at Cawnpore, Manikpur and also at Jabalpur.

- (5) The Great Indian Peninsula Railway system which runs into the province at Jhansi. Thence one branch runs to Manikpur, one to Agra and one to Delhi *via* Muttra, and one to Cawnpore; the districts tapped are south Banda, south Hamirpur, Jalaun, Agra and Muttra.

Another line is the North-Western Railway which provides a link between Saharanpur and Meerut; and the Shahdara-Saharanpur Light Railway which does the same.

In a word a railway map of the province shows five lines running roughly west and east with innumerable cross lines between them. The only district untouched by the railway is Almora, as it was in 1901; but the service is now far more complete. Save feeder lines and subsidiary lines, such as, e.g. a line from south-east to north-west connecting Budaun and Moradabad, or a line tapping the north parts of Bundelkhand, there seems to be little room now for any very considerable extensions. The whole province is a network of railways and there are few gaps in the net, though no doubt it is still possible to make the network closer. I have lately learnt that a line is being built from Banda to Cawnpore through Hamirpur which will serve Northern Bundelkhand, so that one of the gaps mentioned will shortly be mended.

PART III.—VILLAGES, TOWNS, HOUSES AND FAMILIES.

13. **Villages and Towns.**—(1) *Villages.*—There are 106,020 villages and 435 towns in the United Provinces as against 105,068 and 453 in 1901 and 5,716 and 484 in 1891. It is not easy to draw a line between village and town. The village corresponds to the revenue *mauza* and consists usually of a central inhabited site, with a tract of cultivated land around it. In the western district the villages usually consist of single compact groups of houses, a relic of the precautions taken against Sikh invasion in the eighteenth century. In the centre and east hamlets are more common. These usually consist of the homestead of a landlord or large tenant, built for greater convenience in or near his holding, round which cluster the houses of his farm servants; or else of the residences of some despised caste which is not suffered to dwell in the village itself. Unless there are other circumstances, as in the west, one may usually take it that the better the land available for agricultural purposes the greater the probability of the existence of hamlets, as the tenants prefer to live near their holdings which also require more care. It must be clearly understood that the result of this is that the "census village" (i.e. the revenue *mauza*) may represent a single inhabited site, or two or more detached hamlets amongst which its population is divided.

The area included in the *mauzas* (i.e. the lands belonging to a particular village) is frequently very extensive, and the population required to cultivate it is consequently also large. In such cases, if the central site is adhered to, and hamlets are not found, the village will grow so populous that in most countries it would be considered a small town. Its inhabitants have no urban occupations themselves, but these large villages become convenient centres for itinerant merchants and rural artisans. The place therefore grows still larger, and in time special sanitary precautions become necessary. In practice this amounts to bringing the place under the provisions of the Village Sanitation Act (Act II of 1896). As soon as this has been done, the site though still a village is on the way to becoming a town.

14. (2) *Country towns.*—The next dividing line is passed when the non-agricultural population grows so large that the *chaukidari* (village watchman) cess becomes too small to pay for sufficient watch and ward. Act XX of 1856, which permits of the raising of a house tax for the payment of watchman of a better class, is imposed: as such a tax is never levied from a merely agricultural population its existence is evidence that the place is more or less urban in character. As the town increases in its non-agricultural population, it may become a notified area or a municipality; the two differ in degree rather than kind, for only certain provisions of the Municipal Act are applied to the notified area. It then loses all trace of its former connection with the revenue *mauza* and indeed its boundaries usually include two or more such *mauzas* or a part of them.

The case of Karwi-Tarauhan notified area well exemplifies the growth of a village into a town. Karwi and Tarauhan are a village of some 1,400 acres, and a decayed township respectively, lying about a mile apart. Tarauhan had been a village but had grown under Maratha dominion (this place lies in Banda district), and subsequently was the headquarters of a British tahsil. Karwi grew considerably under the influence of Government (which had a frontier cantonment there from 1808 to 1818), and of a Maratha family related to the Peshwas. When the Manikpur-Jhansi branch of the Indian Midland Railway (now Great Indian Peninsula Railway) was built in 1889, greater extensions were made and bazars were built, some of them on the lands of neighbouring villages. The place became a fairly busy trading centre, and in 1895 was brought under Act XX. The two places were connected by straggling houses and Tarauhan began to share the prosperity of its neighbour. By 1907 there was practically but a single site and the whole was amalgamated into a notified area. The typical country town therefore is an exaggerated village with a certain non-agricultural population attracted by the convenience of its site. If favourably situated for trade, it may grow considerably; but as a rule its trade all lies in its own immediate vicinity. But whether it becomes a trading centre or not it never loses its agricultural character completely, and even its trade is normally subservient to the agriculturists of the neighbourhood of which it is the centre, and often the traditional centre.

15. (3) *Cities and urban communities*.—The larger towns have a totally different origin. As Mr. Baillie said when discussing the subject in the report of 1891 (an account which I have freely used), in India “the town attracts the trade and not the trade the town.” The chief cause which in England produces towns is absent; though there may be a city or two that owe their inception to industry, the majority do not. In this province most large towns were built by different rulers for political or strategical reasons or to satisfy a passing whim. Lucknow owes its birth to the dislike of Asaf-ud-Daula for Fyzabad; Agra was Akbar’s capital; Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Farrukhabad, Rampur, Moradabad, Saharanpur, Budaun, Amroha, Sambhal, Bahraich, Banda, Shahabad were all foundations of some Muhammadan potentate or other; the descendants of the original founder and his nobles in many cases still form the local aristocracy. Other towns owe their importance to religion: Benares, Allahabad, Ajudhya, Muttra, Bindhachal and Hardwar are all centres of pilgrimage, as, to some extent, is also Gorakhpur. Meerut and Jhansi (though the latter was originally the capital of a Hindu State) are creations of the British Government. Cawnpore is the only first rate place in the province the origin of which is due to trade alone. But if other causes made the towns, yet trade is the cause which has maintained them. Lucknow, Benares, Agra, Allahabad, Bareilly, Meerut, Moradabad, Rampur, Koil, Saharanpur, Jhansi, Muttra, Hathras, Etawah and Amroha are all at present commercially important either as industrial and manufacturing centres, or centres for the collection and distribution of produce, whatever other advantages they may also possess. Lucknow, for instance, has industries of its own, both Indian and European, is a large railway centre, and is also the capital of Oudh. Benares depends chiefly on its pilgrims, who give the same sort of impetus to trade as the summer visitors do to the trade of Brighton and Scarborough. Agra was always a distributing centre, of sugar and tobacco for Central India and Rajputana, and salt, cotton, *ghi* and stone for the districts lying north of it; it is now so more than ever. Its old native industries have decayed but modern industries have replaced them. Allahabad is a place of pilgrimage and the headquarters of Government; Bareilly is a centre of the sugar refining industry; and so on. Of the rest, Farrukhabad, Mirzapur, and Ghazipur are instances of places once commercially important, which have been ruined by the advent of the railway. Farrukhabad used to have a considerable trade by water and the Grand Trunk Road, but the East Indian Railway passed it by and diverted its business. It is now a junction of two lines and matters may improve; but at present it is known to be losing steadily by emigration to bigger marts. Mirzapur was a mart as early as 1760 to 1770, so Tieffenthaler tells us; and from 1800 to 1850 was the most important trading centre in Upper India. It had an important Custom house⁽¹⁾; the cotton of the Deccan and the grain of the Doab came through it on the way to Calcutta, whilst sugar,

(1) In Mirzapur cemetery is the tomb of one H. Hope, B.C.S., died 1822. He was officiating import warehouse keeper and Naval store keeper at Mirzapur.

piece goods and metals were sent up country. Its importance lay in the fact that it was the highest point on the Ganges to which big steamers could travel. But when the East Indian Railway reached and passed it in 1864, it began to decline; its brass utensils, shellac and carpet industries alone save it now from ruin, whilst Bindhachal lends it importance as a religious centre. Ghazipur was the Mirzapur of the northern districts before the advent of the railways; it has now been steadily decaying for years and by the wish of the local authorities it is not even classed as a city at this census. Jaunpur was a capital city, long since decayed, for it has no commercial importance, no trade and no industries to speak of. Budaun is a place that with the advent of the railway should grow in importance. Sambhal has a considerable export trade; it is an old and decayed town that may revive. Gorakhpur is simply a collection of villages, a glorified country town whose area consists chiefly of huge green spaces. Though ranked as a city, its nature is rather suburban than urban. Hathras was a seat of an important Jat family and possessed a very strong fortress which was besieged and reduced in 1817. Its original position was due therefore to political and military considerations. But when the railway came it developed into a trading and industrial centre of the first rank and its factories are continually growing in numbers and importance. Lastly Cawnpore till 1778 was a mere village; then it became a frontier cantonment. In 1863 the railway reached Cawnpore, when it at once took its place as an important distributing centre. It is now the largest railway centre in the province, the junction where five lines of the first rank converge, and consequently its collecting and distributing trade is enormous. Not only so, but it has also become a great manufacturing centre; cotton, sugar, jute, woollen and flour mills, tanneries, leather, tent, brush, and cabinet factories, iron foundries, printing presses and chemical works all exist in Cawnpore.

In brief, in India as elsewhere, it is true that "God did make the country side and man did make the city." Usually, it was not so much man as a man; the rulers built their cities to suit their convenience, their interest or their pleasure. The cities of course attracted trade. But when a fresh ruler's whim selected a new city, trade declined: the English and Dutch factories at Agra were closed when the Moghal court moved to Delhi; Fyzabad declined when Lucknow became the Oudh capital. Some cities however preserved importance as distributing centres, especially those on the great waterways. When the railways came they too lost importance, unless they became also railway centres, or possessed or obtained industries of their own. The railways operated to maintain the importance of most cities and actually made others. A few are akin to the watering places of England, where their wealth is due to a periodical influx of visitors, in this case pilgrims. But unless a city is lucky enough to possess such adventitious advantages as religious sanctity or position as a Government headquarters, trade and industrial enterprise alone can make it prosper in the present century.

16. The distribution of cities, towns and villages through the province ⁽¹⁾.—As regards the mere size of the actual sites, whether urban or rural, the Western Plain possesses more large sites and less small ones. Out of every 1,000 sites of all kinds five have populations over 5,000, 33 populations between 2,000 and 5,000, 303 between 500 and 2,000 and 659 only have less than 500 inhabitants. The next division in order from this point of view is the Plateau, with only 674 sites per 1,000 with populations under 500, and 300 with populations between 500 and 2,000; whilst 22 are sites of 2,000 to 5,000 population and 4 have larger populations still. It is unnecessary to pursue the figures further, but the order of other divisions in this respect is as follows: Sub-Himalaya West, Central Plain, Sub-Himalaya East, Eastern Plain, East Satpuras and Himalaya West, where no less than 975 sites out of every 1,000 are of the smallest variety. The Western Plain has also much the largest urban population (147 per mille of population): of that population 482 per 1,000 reside in towns with populations over 20,000 and 225 in towns with populations between 5,000 and 10,000 (a fact pointing to a considerable proportion of the "country" towns). Next comes the Western Sub-Himalayas with an urban population of 140 per mille, of whom 417 reside in the largest class of town and 307 in the next largest. Third comes the Plateau with an urban population of 120 per mille: then the Central and Eastern Plains (both 92 per mille), the Western Himalayas

⁽¹⁾ For figures in this paragraph, see subsidiary table III.

(80 per mille), the East Satpuras (51 per mille) and the Eastern Himalayas, which has the smallest urban population, 34 per 1,000, save Tehri which has none at all, and no village of over 2,000 inhabitants. The rural population of the Western Himalayas resides chiefly in villages of small size, possessing none of a population over 5,000 and few over 500, and much the same is true of the East Satpuras and the Eastern Plain, though there are rather more villages of the second size and fewer of the smallest size. All the other divisions have comparatively few villages of the smallest size and a majority of the second size, with in the case of the Western Plain, Western Sub-Himalayas and Bundelkhand a large proportion, and in the Central Plain and Eastern Sub-Himalayas, a considerable proportion of larger villages still. But these remarks must be taken subject to the proviso that wherever the system of hamlets is found, each site represents not necessarily a compact group of houses but several small groups widely separated from each other.

17. **The growth of certain classes of towns.**—Subsidiary table V can safely be called the most complicated table in the report, and before using it it is necessary to understand exactly what it shows. The towns are classified according to size; column 1 shows the percentage of each class to the total urban population. But of course towns vary in class from census to census. Columns 4 to 8 therefore show the variations in each decade of the towns which were in any particular class at the census which preceded that decade. It follows therefore that there is no continuity in the figures in these columns. For instance, in class 1 the increase of 8·57 in column 7 and 17·41 in column 6 represents the increase in the total population of six towns, which were all that had populations over 100,000 in 1872 and 1881. In columns 4 and 5 the variations are those in the total populations of seven towns: for by 1891 a seventh had entered the class. In column 8 also the variation is calculated on the total population of the six towns in that class in 1872. In column 9 on the other hand the classes as a whole are compared, for instance the six towns of 1872 are compared with the seven towns of 1911 in that class. In other and larger classes the differences between the populations dealt with are still more complicated; for instance in any one class towns come in and other towns go out in one decade; in the next some of the towns that went out, plus fresh ones, come in, and some of the towns that came in plus fresh ones, go out: altogether new towns are added, in one class or another and old towns drop out altogether. Consequently it is impossible to say, e.g. that the towns in class 1 showed some increase between 1872 and 1881, a large increase between 1881 and 1891, were practically stationary between 1891 and 1901, and showed a decrease between 1901 and 1911, because they are not in all cases the same towns. All that these figures show is that any particular class of town has varied to a certain extent in successive decades. Taking the largest class first, though it contains only seven cities no less than 25·4 per cent. or over a quarter of the whole urban population belongs to it. There was a loss during the last decade, but it is the smallest loss in any class. In the previous decade the increases were considerable. This class of city has increased considerably in 40 years. In the second class of town lives 13·35 per cent. of the whole urban population. At the beginning of census history there were increases, but by 1891 decay had begun. The loss was small in the succeeding decade but considerable in the next. Mirzapur passed out of this class altogether, Farrukhabad greatly declined, so too did Fyzabad and Gorakhpur. The class contains too great a number of the unprogressive or actually decaying large towns for the figures to be favourable. The next size of town (20,000 to 50,000) contains the smallest proportion of the urban population, but it has lost very heavily indeed. It includes a few improving towns — Etawah, Sambhal, Amroha, Hathras, Dehra (the increase in which is phenomenal) and Budaun; but Mirzapur, Jaunpur, Pilibhit, Bahraich, Ghazipur, Sitapur and Banda, are all decaying or small communities with few advantages that are likely to lead to expansion. The increase in the cities that were in this class in 1872 is very considerable, but that is because places like Jhansi, Saharanpur and Fyzabad then belonged to it, whilst now they belong to a higher class. The class as a whole has scarcely increased at all since 1872. The next class (10,000 to 20,000) possesses 18·6 of the population. It possesses a very large proportion of country towns which have lost severely in this last decade. But generally speaking this class of town is flourishing. It is not a class of town likely to show any rapidity of growth but it fulfils a distinct want. Such towns

collect and distribute the produce of the country round, provide the rural population with all necessaries outside their actual food, from cloth and brass vessels to legal and medical advice, and while not possessed of any great wealth in such commodities, still have sufficient quantity of them to meet the simple needs of the peasantry whom they serve. Their very utility prevents their decay and even helps them to grow, slowly but surely. The last two classes consist of decaying towns of the same kind and overgrown villages. They are not a flourishing class simply because they are less absolutely necessary in the presence of better communications and possess all the disadvantages of the country town with less of its advantages. However the class 5,000 to 10,000 is even still numerically important, containing as it does over 19 per cent. of the total urban population.

Generally speaking the tendency of the urban community, especially that part of it which is connected with trade or industry, is to congregate in the larger class of cities. Labour follows capital which builds its mills and factories in large towns; the professions follow both, since there more money is to be made. The concentration of industrial effort is not an advantageous phenomenon, indeed from some points of view it is disquieting. It tends, as Mr. Moreland has shown, to render industrial competition unnecessarily severe, raising wages in the attempt to obtain labour. In a stay-at-home population, such as that of the United Provinces, its effect is that all available sources of labour are not used; the labourer will go a certain distance from his home and no further. Were factories and mills built in other centres they would ease the competition of the labour market by tapping fresh sources of supply, they would, possibly, assist to develop tracts which are too far from the larger centres of industry to come under their influence, and they would help to restore to prosperity old towns that are now rapidly decaying. Moreover it is possible that they might stay the flood of emigration out of the province. As the pressure of population on the land grows over severe, the labourer, however much he may desire to stay at home, is compelled to leave it. Emigration of this kind is a thing that *vires acquirit eundo*. One man goes abroad and sends home, or comes home with (for him) considerable riches; another follows his example and yet another. As a consequence the province loses the labour it requires for its development, and loses it simply because industry will not bring its work sufficiently close to the labourer. Industry and labour are in short both immobile; both stay at home and do not meet, simply because neither will go more than a certain distance to meet the other. Mr. Moreland in one of his Season and Crop reports noted some signs of improvement, but they are still but signs.

18. **Town life and religion** ⁽¹⁾.—It is a striking fact, that will meet us again and again and is not without important consequences to the development of the two communities, that the Muhammadan is much more addicted to town life than the Hindu. Out of 1,000 of each community, only 72 Hindus live in towns to 269 Muhammadans. The cause no doubt is largely that so many of the larger towns were originally Muhammadan foundations, and so it is natural that they should congregate in them, and, further, the Muhammadan invader never made any serious attempt to deprive the agricultural Hindu of his birthright. If they took to land owning, they were chiefly absentee landlords (though to-day there are a number of notable exceptions); they made their profit out of the land but did not live on it, clinging instead to urban pursuits. The figures of the various natural divisions by religion faithfully reflect the facts regarding the nature and composition of the urban communities of each religion in them. The Western Plain has far the highest urban population as a whole; this by itself accounts for the fact that there are more Hindu town dwellers in this division than in any other. The Muhammadan population, though not the highest, is very high (345); as is natural in a tract of which the major part formed part of the home countries of the Moghal Empire. The next division in order is the Western Sub-Himalayas; it contains a high proportion of both Hindus (86) and Muhammadans (282); the major part of this division was also part of the Moghal Empire's most settled tracts. Third comes the Central India Plateau; it has a very high proportion of Hindus (98), whilst more Muhammadans (414) proportionately live in towns in this division than in any other. Bundelkhand contains a very small Muhammadan rural population; its Muhammadans are nearly all in the towns in business of various kinds. The Central and Eastern Plains are equal fourth as regards their urban population, but whilst in

(1) For figures in this paragraph, see subsidiary table IV.

the Eastern Plain we find 71 Hindus living in towns, we only find 64 such in the Central Plain. Benares, the Hindu Rome, and Fyzabad-Ajudhya, another holy place, help to account for the variation. The Muhammadan figure is the same in both divisions (273); that the figure is high causes no surprise, for these divisions include such tracts as Oudh, Jaunpur and Azamgarh which were all portions of large Muhammadan States. The Himalayan tract shows a low proportion of Hindu (45) and a very high proportion of Muhammadan (277) town dwellers; the explanation is that there is a very small urban population of any kind, and that the Muhammadans are largely immigrants, in business in what towns there are. In the East Satpuras and East Sub-Himalayas there is little town life of any kind, so that all figures are low. The Christian figures are given and are very high indeed. In the Central Plain they amount to no less than 925 per 1,000, to 857 in the Plateau, to 708 in the Western Himalayas and to 684 in the East Satpuras. In the Central Plain there are very large cantonments, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Fyzabad, Allahabad, and not a large number of rural Indian Christians; the result is that the troops dominate the situation. The same applies to the Plateau where the great majority of all Christians are centred in the large cantonment of Jhansi; and to the hills, where there are not only cantonments but large civil urban communities of Europeans. In the East Satpuras (a single district) the presence of a number of missionary institutions at Mirzapur and the Christian colony of Chunar (since the middle of the eighteenth century the home of pensioners) account for the figures. In the Western Plain and Sub-Himalaya West, on the other hand, the very large number of rural converts belonging chiefly to the Methodist Episcopal church is able to counterbalance the urban civil and military communities, and the figures of urban Christians are consequently low (287 to 370).

19. **Density in cities.**—The question of the density of cities is a difficult one. In the first place it is impossible to institute any reliable comparison with former decades. The case of Allahabad is instructive. The area of Allahabad municipality is given as 24·3 square miles in the old Gazetteer of 1884. In 1891 Allahabad with a number of other towns was carefully measured, and its area was then given as 41·5 square miles. Mr. Burn nowhere mentions what figures of area he took in 1901⁽¹⁾; one thing however is clear from paragraph 30 on pages 15 and 16 of his report that the densities he gives are of the municipalities only, and since that is certain it is easy to discover the area he used by working back from his density figures. He too took the area of Allahabad municipality as 41 square miles. The municipal authorities of Allahabad report that there has been no change in municipal boundaries since 1901; yet they give the municipal area as now being 14·3 square miles; 26 square miles have vanished. The explanation is undoubtedly this. On page 96, paragraph 86 of the report of 1891, it is stated that the areas are often "doubled or trebled" by the inclusion of cantonments and civil stations. There can be no doubt whatever to anybody who knows Allahabad that this 26 square miles is the cantonment area. The figures of 1891, the result of careful measurement, might serve as a starting point for comparison if one could be sure that they always include or exclude cantonment and other areas. But there is no such certainty. In 1891 the area of Cawnpore was given at 2,947 acres and Mr. Burn in 1901 took the same figure. The area is now 8·6 square miles which includes an addition made in 1903, which (if the figures of 1891 are correct), amounted to nearly 4 square miles. Considering that the added area had a population of only 5,627 and the improbability that a town would nearly double its area at one stroke, this affords ground for suspecting the accuracy of the figures of 1891 in any case. But at all events it is quite certain that the 1891 area did not include the Cawnpore cantonments. Even if these (very considerable) cantonments only covered 2 square miles the result would be that in 1903 the municipality quadrupled its area, which is impossible. The figures of 1891 therefore (which were also used, it would seem, in 1901) sometimes do and sometimes do not include the cantonment area and are consequently valueless. At this census the areas have been carefully ascertained from the municipalities concerned; the densities and the figures in columns 4 and 5 of subsidiary table VI are worked out on the municipal figures alone, those in columns 6 to 10 on the city figures as a whole (inclusive of cantonments). As

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Burn has since told me he got the areas from the municipalities. In that case the municipalities went wrong.

will be seen presently, the figures of density are quite sufficiently obscure without making them still more so by including the large cantonment areas with their huge empty spaces, parade grounds, ranges, polo grounds, barracks, &c. Similarly the proportion of males to females would be entirely upset by including cantonments; the troops greatly increase the number of males and there are practically no females to balance them. A glance at the figures of sex for any cantonment will prove the necessity of omitting cantonment figures in this column. The same applies to column 5; the troops, whether British or Indian, are (save by accident) all foreign born and would entirely upset the figures.

But in the second place, the densities in the area within municipal boundaries are distinctly misleading, even if the total area is, as it is at this census, accurately known. Most of these cities include large civil stations with open spaces, as well as parks, gardens, waste and even cultivated land. The Lucknow municipal area includes, for instance the Wingfield Park, the large gardens between Hazratganj and the Chuttermanzil, all the open space around the Residency, and from thence on to Husainabad, as well as a large tract across the Gumti river, which has a certain number of large buildings, the Colvin school, and a factory or two on it, but is chiefly cultivation. Elsewhere the civil station is not large, or even non-existent, as at Agra, Shahjahanpur and Benares (where most of the civil European population lives in cantonments), and Farrukhabad where they all live at Fatehgarh. Even where the disturbing influence of a civil station does not exist, as at Sambhal and Amroha, the municipal boundaries often include a large uninhabited area; in Sambhal two-fifths and in Amroha less than one-fifth of the whole area is inhabited. Budaun on the other hand has a total area of 385 acres and consequently by far the highest density found in the province, 42,477. The recorded figures of density do not in the least represent the truth; and to obtain it, it would be necessary to ascertain the area of the city proper, the urban as opposed to the suburban area; though it must be understood that "suburban" is only used in contradistinction to "urban," for the suburbs of our cities are not, as English suburbs are, on the edges of the towns; as often as not they would be right in its centre. How great a difference this makes is seen by the 1891 figures when this urban area was separately measured. The density of Agra as a whole was 33, of its urban area 75 per acre; of Benares 34 and 101; of Cawnpore 55 and 187. Even in Budaun the difference was that between 82 and 113. This area however is not accurately known though 4 municipalities have sufficient uninhabited area to be able to make so much of a distinction. Jhansi's density over the whole area is 7,371, over the inhabited area 12,941; Moradabad's figures are respectively 20,292 and 46,381; Sambhal's 18,865 and 45,276 and Amroha's 17,670 and 84,820.

The larger towns normally consist of a certain number of *muhallas* or quarters, of well built stone or brick houses, and a certain number of mud and wattle huts, built around them. This distinction also seriously affects the density, for the former are usually two or more storeys high. The difference is most clearly seen in Benares where the "*pakka*" and "*kachcha*" mahals are fully differentiated. The *pakka* mahals consist chiefly of the *muhallas* in the Dasasumedh, Chauk, Kotwali and Bhelupura thanas. The buildings are of stone, several storeys high, with lanes so narrow that wheeled traffic is impossible in them; elsewhere, in the *kachcha* mahals, the thoroughfares are wider and the houses less high, whilst important streets intersect them. The streets and lanes are of widely different widths even in the same town, another matter that greatly affects density. There are lanes where a regiment could not move in the normal formation of fours: there are thoroughfares through the heart of many cities, like the Chauk at Benares, the Hazratganj at Lucknow and the Drummond Road at Agra, and some streets at Farrukhabad and Cawnpore, which are as broad as English main streets. In a word it is impossible to give an approximately accurate idea of the density of the United Provinces cities because they vary so greatly in character not only from city to city but from *muhalla* to *muhalla* within cities, and in considering the figures given it is necessary to bear these facts in mind.

Having said so much little more need be said. So far as comparison is concerned the 1901 figures of Agra, Allahabad, Jhansi, Muttra and Shahjahanpur bear no correspondence to those of 1911⁽¹⁾. In Bareilly, Benares, Cawnpore, Fyzabad,

⁽¹⁾ For figures of this census and certain figures of former censuses in this paragraph and paragraph 21, see subsidiary table VI.

Gorakhpur and Mirzapur there have been changes of area which obscure the figures. There are decreases in Farrukhabad, Jaunpur, Koil, Lucknow and Meerut, and increases in Hathras and Moradabad, which appear correct. Budaun is the most densely populated site; next comes Rampur and Meerut, both walled cities; then, with densities all just over 20,000, Benares, Moradabad, Muttra and Shahjahanpur. Next to them come Sambhal and Cawnpore, which by the addition of 1903 mentioned above has obtained much needed ground for extension; Amroha, Agra, Allahabad, Bareilly, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Hathras, Koil and Lucknow all show densities over 10,000. Five only, Jhansi, Saharanpur, Mirzapur, Jaunpur and Fyzabad, show densities under 10,000.

As regards variation from past censuses, Amroha, Etawah, Moradabad, Jhansi and Sambhal alone show increases since 1901. Three of these five are classed as cities for the first time. Allahabad shows a fractional decrease; Agra, Bareilly, Lucknow and Meerut show insignificant decreases. Large decreases are shown by Cawnpore (9·44 per cent.), Farrukhabad (11·42), Fyzabad (27·21), Gorakhpur (11·31), Hathras (11·09), Jaunpur (28·75), Koil (7·96), and Mirzapur (59·52). The cause in every case was plague, which operated not only to actually diminish the population but being prevalent at the time when the census was taken, had in many cases emptied the cities of their inhabitants who had taken refuge in uninfected localities.

20. **The second census.**—Incorrect statistics of municipal population would cause a great deal of inconvenience throughout the decade. Every calculation (for instance the birth and death rates) based on the census returns would be vitiated; whilst to the municipalities it might even involve a pecuniary loss. It was decided therefore to take a second census of certain cities at a time when plague had abated, in June and July. The figures so taken have been completely abstracted, and the results have been described in an appendix to this volume. Here however the populations so obtained may be mentioned. Cawnpore showed a total of 195,498 instead of 178,557, an increase of 16,941; Shahjahanpur a total of 72,566 instead of 71,778, an increase of 788; Jaunpur a total of 32,880 instead of 30,473, an increase of 2,407; Mirzapur a total of 55,304 instead of 32,332, an increase of 22,972 and Fyzabad a total of 62,446 instead of 54,655, an increase of 7,791. A second census was also held in Benares, Aligarh (Koil) and Gorakhpur; but the first two showed decreases, due in the first case chiefly to the fact that the pilgrim season had ceased, and in the latter a very small decrease of 118, probably due to the holidays of the schools and colleges. Gorakhpur showed an insignificant increase; in this case special methods had been adopted at the first census which succeeded in obtaining a practically complete return despite the plague exodus.

21. **Variations of the cities in 40 years.**—Save Farrukhabad, Mirzapur, Lucknow, Muttra, Sambhal and Shahjahanpur all the cities show increases varying from 10·74 in Koil to 134·03 in Jhansi (though the Jhansi figure is probably exaggerated as in 1872 the city of Jhansi belonged to the Gwalior State and its figure for that census is obviously an estimate). The causes of decrease in Farrukhabad and Mirzapur have already been described. Lucknow lost severely in the decade 1872 to 1881, but revived in the next decade. Muttra's loss is small, and practically the city is stationary. Sambhal lost very heavily in the decade 1872 to 1881 and has since been steadily progressing. Shahjahanpur began to lose ground from 1891: as a cantonment it used to be a much larger place than it now is, for the cantonment has been abolished.

22. **Houses and families.**—"In the hills, in Bundelkhand, and in parts of the Muttra and Agra districts stone is the ordinary building material. Elsewhere bricks, burnt or sundried, mud or wattles are used. Burnt bricks are however a luxury. The ordinary type of house contains a small courtyard with a sitting room opening off it, which is also the bedroom for the males, besides an inner room for females and a few small store rooms. In the Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions the apartments of from 10 to 20 families are often built round a large central court. In the sub-montane districts, where rainfall is heavy, the walls of huts are of brushwood plastered with mud. In the west flat roofs are used, but elsewhere houses are thatched or tiled."

This brief description of the houses found in the province is taken from the Imperial Gazetteer and is sufficiently accurate. The most striking thing about an Indian villager's house is the smallness of its dimensions. The roof and doors

are low, the rooms small; it is not even difficult to unroof it with one's bare hands. The inside is dark; windows are unusual and consist of small unglazed openings. When built of more substantial materials than mud, there is frequently an upper storey, reached by breakneck stairs and used as a store-room for fodder and grain, a drying place for cotton and a sleeping apartment in the summer. In cities the houses are larger, but otherwise they differ from the village house not in kind but in degree. Large mansions may have spacious rooms, but space is the privilege of the rich. In these houses a whole joint family usually resides, including two or more of what we understand by "families."

The definition of a house is always a difficult problem, and particularly so at an Indian census, though even in Europe it is far from easy. As defined at this census it had no connection whatever with a building; the Indian census makes no attempt to obtain a return of buildings as such. A suggestion was made to certain municipalities that such a return should be obtained in connection with the census, but it was far too complicated a business, involving an extensive classification of buildings and demanding the employment of a skilled staff. It would have given statistics regarding overcrowding, but where this exists it is well known. Unless there was any hope of being able to remedy the evil, it was useless to obtain figures which could only crystallise already known facts.

[In Cawnpore for instance there are huge compounds (*ahatas*) in which the houses are so close, and the whole area so thickly populated, that one only needs to look at them to see that the overcrowding is tremendous. The lanes between house and house would admit only persons walking in single file; often one foot would be on one side of a rain water drain, one on the other. The houses are tiny and very low; one could not walk about at night without running the risk of knocking head (or even chest) against the angle of a roof. No house had more than a square yard or two of space: a man could not lie full length in his "compound" without either trespassing on his neighbour's premises, or encroaching on the public way. The whole was enclosed in four walls, much higher than any single house within them and the overcrowding was apparent to the naked eye.]

The definition of a house at this census ran as follows:—

A house is the dwelling place of a single commensal family which uses the same *chulha* whether it be a building or part of a building or a temporary shelter. For the purposes of the general village register, the patwaris should be ordered to count each family which "eats from one and the same *chulha*" (*eki chulha ka pakka khate hain*).

Note 1.—Care should be taken not to tell patwaris to count the actual *chulhas*, but the families which eat from one and the same *chulha*. In practice, many commensal families from motives of convenience or necessity have more than one actual *chulha*, though still, theoretically, "eating from one and the same *chulha*."

Note 2.—Servants, residing with such a commensal family, should not be counted as forming separate families even though they do not in fact eat from the same *chulha* as the commensal family in which they serve.

The idea conveyed was of course familiar to every Indian of every caste; and it can be safely asserted that the present number of houses correspond closely to the number of independent families which are in all senses of the word joint.

There has been an enormous increase in a number of houses at this census, and it is certain that in part this is due to the form of the definition. In 1901 the definition was much the same, but in it was inserted, after "dwelling place," the phrase "having a separate entrance from the public way." Theoretically, the commensality of the family was the decisive point, practically there is no doubt that the idea of the separate doorway confused the issues. Evidence proving this came casually to my notice whilst I was on tour before the census. On several occasions persons who remembered the proceedings at last census remarked to me that the great difference between 1911 and 1901 was the fact that the "*chulha*" had replaced the *darwaza* as a means of deciding what was a house. As a matter of fact the *darwaza* was not the means of deciding this question, but the family commensality; but that several persons in different parts of the province so particularly remembered the *darwaza* proves that it influenced the results a great deal more than it was meant to do. It is possible too that the prevalence of plague artificially enhanced the number of houses. Most members of the family would be moved to another dwelling place whilst the bread winner was compelled to stay where he was, whereby such families would appear as inhabiting two houses instead of one. But the chief cause of the increase is, I think, the break up of the joint family system. That such a system might be expected to break up in the natural course of things is shown by the mere fact that the old law-givers made such elaborate provisions to meet the contingency. It compels the sons, whether middle-aged or old, to remain in semi-dependence on the head of the family all their lives, without any independent income, often with little real power even over their own children. That they are often impelled by private and personal

reasons of this kind to break off from the family is shown by the well known fact that many, whilst remaining joint as regards property, become independent as regards commensality; it is the difference between *karobar eki* and *khana eki* so well known to magistrates. Others cut themselves off completely, taking their own share of the property as well as their personal independence. The pressure of the family, as it increases, on its holding must also help to break up joint families. Every fresh co-sharer that is born causes the shares of the rest to dwindle, and means that the holding has one more person to support. The younger members therefore leave their family to seek their fortunes elsewhere, in the cities, in the army, or abroad. This specially affects the families holding by an occupancy tenure. The exile from a proprietary family need not resign his share altogether, though he will have perhaps no claim on the lands cultivated by the family itself: the ordinary tenant has nothing to resign, but merely ceases to pay any share of the rent or take any share of the profits. The occupancy tenant would probably resign his rights altogether. The question can be reserved for a latter chapter; it is sufficient to point out that such successions must inevitably tend to increase the number of families by fission.

It is not however clear when and for what immediate reasons such secessions usually occur. Doubtless they vary with circumstances. They may occur at marriage, or rather when the young bride has become old enough to resent her mother-in-law's well meant but annoying attempts to train her in her own methods; the quarrels between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are a frequent theme of folk tales. They may occur on the death of the head of the family or on the occurrence of a dispute: though usually in such cases a certain amount of bad blood would already exist, and the family might well have ceased to be commensal though still joint from the point of view of property. The break up of the family is perhaps more apparent in purely agricultural castes and communities than in occupational ones. In the latter, Lohar to Lohar succeeds, as Amurath to Amurath; he has his hereditary clientele, and if a son would set up for himself, he will find it difficult to obtain a clientele of his own, simply because there is none which is not already somebody else's. In such a case he must emigrate to the towns where general trade is the usual rule, though even in small towns old established traders are apt to resent the interloper. I have known a case where Muhammadan butchers stirred up Hindu opposition to a new comer of their own religion, on the ostensible ground that he was a beef butcher, but really to drive him out. It may, I think, be fairly claimed that the present figures are more nearly accurate than ever before. In a population on the whole so homogeneous as that of the United Provinces, the variations in the number of persons per family from district to district should be small, but this has never hitherto been the case. In 1881 ⁽¹⁾ the figures ranged from 4·4 to 9·6; in 1891 from 4·1 to 6·9; in 1901 from 4·1 to 7·7. In 1911, save in two cases (Gorakhpur 5·2 and Basti 5·3), every district shows a figure between 4 and 5. The size of the family corresponds roughly to the density; it is largest in the two Eastern divisions and least in the Central India Plateau. In famine time on the camps I found the families of people in early middle age to be generally 5, but there would also be many families with young parents less than this, many families with elderly parents whose children would be out in the world, and occasional persons with no married ties, which would bring down the average. It is therefore a trivial but additional item of evidence to show that the average family of the United Provinces may be taken, as the figures show, at something under 5.

(1) See subsidiary table VII.

Subsidiary table I.—Density, water supply and crops.

Serial number.	District and natural division.	Mean density per square mile in 1911.	Percentage to total area of—		Percentage to cultivable area of—		Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated.	Normal rainfall.	Percentage of gross cultivated area under—				
			Cultivable.	Net cultivated.	Net cultivated.	Double cropped.			Rice.	Wheat, barley.	Millet.	Gram.	Other crops.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	United Provinces (British Territory).	(423)440	72·2	53·7	73·9	15·2	27·9	..	14·0	26·8	17·5	11·5	30·2
	<i>Himalaya, West</i> (1) ..	103	14·0	9·9	70·6	21·1	29·5	..	16·1	33·1	10·3	2·8	37·7
1	Dehra Dun ..	172	25·1	13·4	53·3	21·1	29·5	88·35	16·1	33·1	10·3	2·8	37·7
2	Naini Tal ..	119	27·0	16·4	60·7	..	..	67·00	..	..	..	..	..
3	Almora ..	97	9·7	8·0	88·5	..	..	65·06	..	..	..	..	..
4	Garhwal ..	85	9·4	7·2	76·6	..	..	56·80	..	..	..	..	..
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i> ..	(419) 437	79·6	56·9	71·5	15·4	14·8	..	17·3	30·0	14·2	10·8	27·7
5	Saharanpur ..	(433) 462	75·7	63·8	84·3	19·7	19·2	38·13	11·2	35·4	8·2	11·8	33·4
6	Barcilly ..	(619) 693	90·3	78·6	87·0	23·5	19·6	47·09	18·4	25·4	13·8	14·1	28·3
7	B. jnor ..	429	79·7	56·8	71·3	11·9	5·8	43·51	22·0	30·9	10·7	8·4	28·0
8	Pilibhit ..	361	81·1	41·1	50·7	11·5	24·8	51·55	33·1	30·9	13·9	15·3	6·8
9	Kheri ..	322	75·9	47·7	62·8	11·4	9·1	45·63	12·6	27·9	23·9	6·6	29·0
	<i>Indo Gangetic Plain, West.</i>	(508) 538	86·5	69·4	80·2	13·2	30·2	..	3·3	32·0	19·0	11·3	34·4
10	Muzaffarnagar ..	483	86·7	70·1	80·8	14·6	37·1	30·26	4·5	32·7	8·3	13·8	40·7
11	Meerut ..	(616) 648	88·8	75·6	85·1	20·8	31·9	27·48	1·2	30·4	10·4	13·1	44·9
12	Bulandshahr ..	590	89·1	74·1	82·6	20·2	32·2	26·30	·3	30·6	14·2	13·0	41·9
13	Aligarh ..	(546) 599	83·7	73·9	88·3	17·2	43·4	26·02	·4	30·7	18·2	12·6	38·1
14	Muttra ..	(415) 453	92·5	74·4	80·4	6·6	31·2	24·46	..	22·8	22·9	15·8	38·5
15	Agra ..	(462) 551	81·4	68·0	83·5	7·8	26·6	26·32	..	21·6	31·3	14·7	32·4
16	Farrukhabad ..	(499) 535	84·5	61·9	73·2	13·0	32·4	34·29	3·3	35·7	19·9	10·2	30·9
17	Mainpuri ..	476	69·0	55·2	80·0	14·3	51·8	31·57	3·0	33·6	20·8	9·8	32·8
18	Etawah ..	(423) 450	78·1	51·0	65·3	11·3	38·6	32·00	3·6	21·8	23·9	15·4	35·3
19	Etah ..	504	90·2	65·6	72·9	12·5	37·9	29·38	2·0	37·8	23·4	6·7	30·1
20	Budaun ..	(505) 524	92·1	77·8	84·4	12·5	11·3	33·81	3·9	36·8	24·0	7·2	28·1
21	Moradabad ..	(514) 553	92·9	75·6	81·8	9·3	6·7	39·90	9·7	39·4	17·5	6·4	27·0
22	Shahjahanpur ..	(506) 548	89·7	71·7	78·1	8·6	24·6	37·30	11·0	36·0	20·8	8·9	23·8
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.</i>	(523) 550	80·9	60·3	74·5	15·0	32·1	..	15·0	27·2	18·6	11·6	27·6
23	Cawnpore ..	(415) 482	73·0	54·4	71·5	10·3	34·0	33·18	3·9	26·0	21·2	21·0	27·8
24	Fatehpur ..	412	74·8	53·5	71·5	9·2	37·0	34·23	13·3	23·2	19·9	23·2	20·3
25	Allahabad ..	(457) 513	79·7	57·0	71·4	12·7	25·8	37·42	18·7	22·2	21·1	18·1	19·9
26	Luoknow ..	(542) 790	81·8	60·9	75·1	12·5	30·8	36·38	11·8	24·3	22·2	8·2	33·5
27	Unao ..	510	80·0	57·6	72·0	12·8	34·9	34·72	10·9	32·9	18·1	11·3	26·5
28	Rae Bareilly ..	583	79·6	55·0	69·0	19·2	49·3	37·52	20·8	25·3	17·1	10·3	26·8
29	Sitapur ..	506	90·0	71·9	79·9	15·5	12·5	37·85	11·2	29·2	26·4	5·5	27·7
30	Hardoi ..	481	87·6	68·0	77·6	8·0	17·9	36·14	5·8	38·9	21·6	7·9	25·8
31	Fyzabad ..	(639) 666	83·2	62·6	75·2	21·6	46·4	42·54	26·0	23·7	13·2	8·2	28·9
32	Sultanpur ..	612	76·8	57·4	74·7	20·0	44·5	42·86	25·8	26·2	11·4	8·6	28·0
33	Partabgarh ..	624	74·9	55·9	74·6	20·6	48·2	38·15	17·8	29·7	16·5	7·2	28·8
34	Bara Banki ..	616	86·8	66·3	76·4	21·8	32·0	44·35	17·0	22·2	17·4	10·5	32·9
	<i>Central India Plateau</i> ..	(206) 211	83·1	45·2	54·4	3·4	6·3	..	2·5	9·8	30·9	29·4	27·4
35	Banda ..	222	91·0	48·3	53·0	4·0	5·7	40·52	6·1	7·3	24·8	39·2	22·6
36	Hamirpur ..	203	83·3	49·8	59·8	2·4	3·0	38·46	·3	7·2	33·2	28·4	30·9
37	Jhansi ..	(171) 187	79·7	35·2	43·9	3·5	8·4	36·63	1·8	10·8	40·2	13·8	33·4
38	Jalaun ..	261	79·5	59·8	75·0	3·1	8·3	32·71	·2	15·8	24·5	37·0	22·5
	<i>East Satpuras</i> ..	(198) 205	48·7	26·8	55·0	12·9	21·2	..	19·5	20·3	18·0	10·8	31·4
39	Mirzapur ..	(198) 205	48·7	26·8	55·0	12·9	21·2	41·92	19·5	20·3	18·0	10·8	31·4
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i> ..	(582) 586	86·0	67·9	79·0	26·1	28·7	..	29·0	24·2	11·4	7·2	27·2
40	Gorakhpur ..	(696) 707	88·0	73·6	83·6	27·7	34·1	48·23	31·8	24·3	12·5	6·3	25·1
41	Basti ..	653	89·7	70·7	78·8	25·2	43·2	48·78	35·8	26·4	9·8	4·8	23·2
42	Gonda ..	503	84·8	64·2	75·7	28·9	22·6	45·70	25·5	22·5	9·6	9·4	33·0
43	Babraich ..	396	79·2	68·8	74·3	20·7	6·0	45·37	18·5	23·1	13·4	9·3	35·7
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.</i>	(675) 706	84·0	65·1	77·5	18·4	44·7	..	19·2	27·0	13·4	6·8	33·6
44	Benares ..	(691) 890	88·8	72·4	81·4	16·5	38·3	39·86	20·5	25·5	11·7	8·8	33·5
45	Jaunpur ..	(726) 746	83·7	63·5	75·8	21·4	55·5	42·26	17·1	31·8	10·1	4·7	36·7
46	Ghazipur ..	603	86·7	66·8	77·0	14·8	35·0	39·48	17·1	23·2	16·8	8·6	34·3
47	Ballia ..	680	84·1	68·1	80·9	20·2	33·4	41·86	13·2	22·2	19·3	11·6	33·7
48	Azamgarh ..	675	80·1	60·2	75·1	18·6	54·3	40·95	25·4	29·7	10·6	3·0	31·3

(1) Figures of cultivation save those given are not available for the hill districts. The densities of Rampur and Tehri States are 589 and 72 respectively.

Note.—The figures in brackets in column 3 give the density omitting city population.

Subsidiary table II.—*Distribution of the population classified according to density.*

Serial number.	Natural division.	Tahsils with a population per square mile of—																Total.	
		Under 150.		150 to 300.		300 to 450.		450 to 600.		600 to 750.		750 to 900.		900 to 1,050.		1,050 and over.		Area.	Population (000's omitted).
		Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	United Provinces (British Territory).	17,487	1,667	13,177	2,823	21,057	8,302	31,240	16,506	17,262	11,453	4,755	3,834	673	653	1,622	1,924	107,267	47,182
		16·3	3·6	12·3	6·0	19·6	17·6	29·2	35·0	16·1	24·2	4·4	8·1	·6	1·4	1·5	4·1	100	100
1	Himalaya, West ..	13,979	1,322	744	150	189	62	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14,912	1,534
		93·7	86·2	5·0	9·8	1·3	4·0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13·9	3·2
2	Sub-Himalaya, West	..	..	1,754	383	4,752	1,872	2,302	1,243	801	517	..	..	310	319	..	..	9,919	4,334
		..	..	17·7	8·8	47·9	43·2	23·2	28·7	8·1	11·9	..	..	3·1	7·4	..	..	9·2	9·2
3	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.	..	..	..	..	6,943	2,872	11,565	6,080	4,579	3,063	313	253	363	335	209	284	23,972	12,887
		..	..	..	..	29·0	22·3	48·2	47·2	19·1	23·8	1·5	2·6	1·4	2·0	·9	2·2	22·4	27·3
4	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	..	..	921	227	3,233	1,264	12,622	6,658	4,516	2,922	359	279	..	..	949	1,075	22,600	12,425
		..	..	4·1	1·8	14·3	10·2	55·8	33·5	20·0	23·6	1·6	2·2	..	..	4·2	8·7	21·1	26·3
5	Central India Plateau	887	122	8,567	1,757	983	329	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,440	2,208
		8·5	5·5	82·1	79·6	9·4	14·9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9·7	4·7
6	East Satpuras ..	2,621	243	1,185	306	1,427	522	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,233	1,071
		50·1	22·6	22·7	28·6	27·2	43·8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4·9	2·3
7	Sub-Himalaya, East	..	..	..	..	3,527	1,382	3,133	1,588	3,763	2,575	2,361	1,947	..	..	..	..	12,784	7,492
		..	..	..	..	27·6	13·4	24·5	21·2	29·4	34·4	18·5	26·0	..	..	..	..	11·9	15·9
8	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,618	937	3,603	2,375	1,722	1,355	..	..	464	564	7,407	5,231
		..	..	..	..	..	..	21·8	17·9	48·6	45·4	23·2	25·9	..	..	6·2	10·78	6·9	11·1

Subsidiary table III.—*Distribution of the population between towns and villages.*

Natural division.	Average population per—		Number per mille resid- ing in—		Number per mille of urban population residing in towns with a population of—				Number per mille of rural population residing in villages with population of—			
	Towns.	Villages.	Towns.	Villages.	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
United Provinces (including States) ..	11,584·56	398·43	102·06	897·94	497·0	188·05	191·97	122·98	4·19	93·98	517·25	384·58
(1) Himalaya, West	6,813·17	133·00	79·95	920·05	314·83	274·01	255·54	155·62	..	30·68	123·40	845·92
(2) Sub-Himalaya, West	11,650·44	442·41	139·78	860·22	416·87	307·46	158·29	117·38	8·43	88·85	545·66	357·06
(3) Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	11,099·73	544·51	146·42	853·58	483·81	158·16	220·78	137·25	9·31	145·77	561·04	283·88
(4) Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	15,206·29	454·32	91·79	908·21	601·76	154·42	155·06	88·76	2·10	91·04	550·57	356·29
(5) Central India Plateau	9,807·81	471·51	119·94	880·06	344·66	278·01	217·94	159·39	3·75	111·63	576·52	308·10
(6) East Satpuras	9,143·83	238·70	51·24	948·76	589·11	..	183·86	227·03	..	37·15	357·61	605·24
(7) Sub-Himalaya, East	8,519·66	378·49	34·12	965·88	294·47	196·58	306·84	202·11	2·19	66·89	500·13	430·79
(8) Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	11,986·10	328·89	91·65	908·35	534·87	164·80	201·58	98·75	..	58·97	497·77	443·26
<i>Native States.</i>												
Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West) .. ..	..	353·42	..	1,000·00	..	..	..	..	..	..	49·32	950·68
Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	17,931·40	442·44	168·78	831·22	828·89	..	62·71	108·40	..	62·83	508·89	428·28

Subsidiary table IV.—Number per mille of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns.

Natural division.	Number of per mille who live in towns.			
	Total population.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Christians.
1	2	3	4	5
United Provinces (British Territory)	102	72	269	441
1. Himalaya, West	79	45	277	708
2. Sub-Himalaya, West	140	86	282	370
3. Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	147	103	345	287
4. Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	92	64	273	925
5. Central India Plateau	120	98	414	857
6. East Satpuras	51	43	166	684
7. Sub-Himalaya, East	34	26	79	559
8. Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	92	71	273	488

Subsidiary table V.—Towns classified by population.

Class of town.	Proportion to total urban population.	Number of females per 1,000 males.	Increase per cent. in towns as classed at previous census.				Increase per cent. in urban population of each class from 1872.	
			1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1872 to 1881.	(a) In towns as classed in 1872.	(b) In the total of each class in 1911 as compared with the corresponding total in 1872.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I.—100,000 and over	25.41	809	-3.58	+1.15	+8.08	+8.57	+14.45	+26.24
II.—50,000—100,000	13.35	841	-8.61	-1.31	+5.35	+10.95	+4.07	+11.61
III.—20,000—50,000	10.94	847	-9.81	+0.90	+7.66	+18.23	+19.21	+3.88
IV.—10,000—20,000	18.60	882	-8.08	+1.09	+2.57	+4.95	+14	+17.14
V.—5,000—10,000	19.40	885	-10.98	+2.48	-0.48	+10.62	+7.32	+2.29
VI.—Under 5,000	12.30	871	-4.15	+5.27	+1.42	+12.28	+12.34	+60.42

Subsidiary table VI.—Cities.

Serial number.	City.	Population in 1911.	Number of persons per square mile.	Number of females to 1,000 males.	Population of foreign born per mille.	Percentage of variation.				Total 1872 to 1911.
						1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1872 to 1881.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Agra	185,449	11,002	843	162	-1.37	+11.48	+5.28	+7.51	+24.46
2	Allahabad	171,697	11,246	819	146	-0.19	-1.83	+9.44	+11.42	+19.49
3	Amroha	42,410	17,670	1,064	33	+5.82	+13.76	-2.53	+3.56	+21.50
4	Bareilly	129,462	16,552	892	110	-2.8	+8.40	+6.72	+10.13	+25.71
5	Benares	203,804	20,394	938	218	-4.4	-4.62	+2.19	+22.59	+16.33
6	Budaun	38,220	42,477	907	95	-2.05	+9.37	+5.02	+1.07	+14.73
7	Cawnpore	178,557	18,260	749	420	-12.0	+4.48	+24.61	+23.36	+45.44
8	Etawah	45,850	12,957	870	236	+6.53	+9.71	+11.44	+13.65	+48.45
9	Farrukhabad-cum-Fatehgarh	59,647	15,290	865	317	-11.42	-13.70	-2.17	+70	-24.69
10	Fyzabad-cum-Ajodhya	54,655	4,168	833	270	-23.2	-4.86	+10.53	+88.88	+44.57
11	Gorakhpur	56,892	9,869	884	270	-11.81	+0.83	+6.20	+17.20	+11.30
12	Hathras	37,854	11,829	772	258	-11.09	+8.67	+12.16	+48.09	+60.47
13	Jaunpur	30,473	4,688	918	84	-23.75	-11	-06	+83.67	+30.63
14	Jhansi	70,208	17,371	932	397	+25.99	+3.62	+63.03	+9.96	+134.03
15	Koil	64,825	15,484	788	119	-7.96	+11.30	-1.53	+6.67	+10.74
16	Lucknow	259,798	11,484	825	425	-1.61	-3.29	+4.49	-8.24	-18.77
17	Meerut	116,227	26,327	817	183	-1.61	-1.06	+19.91	+22.34	+42.81
18	Mirzapur-cum-Bindhachal	32,332	9,236	911	112	-51.1	-5.07	-1.44	+26.88	-51.94
19	Moradabad	81,168	20,292	871	112	+8.00	+3.03	+5.15	+11.12	+30.04
20	Muttra	58,183	20,123	834	272	-3.10	-1.88	+6.01	-2.63	-1.85
21	Saharanpur	62,850	10,475	775	477	-5.14	+4.84	+6.76	+35.01	+43.60
22	Sambhal	45,276	18,865	949	29	+14.00	+6.69	+5.74	-25.07	-3.40
23	Shahjahanpur	71,778	20,579	949	121	-6.12	-2.63	+1.44	+7.30	-4.49
24	Rampur	74,316	28,883	961	59	-5.64	+2.64	+3.34	..	..

Subsidiary table VII.—Persons per house and houses per square mile.

Serial number.	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	10
	United Provinces (British Territory)				4·6	5·5	5·7	6·4	92	81	77	65
	<i>Himalaya, West</i>				4·6	5·2	5·7	6·4	22	18	16	14
1	Dohra Dun				4·4	4·4	5·3	4·4	39	34	26	28
2	Naini Tal				4·3	4·6	5·1	6·2	27	26	42	35
3	Almora				4·8	5·1	6·2	6·8	20	17	13	12
4	Garhwal				4·6	6·2	5·7	7·3	18	12	13	9
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>				4·4	7·0	5·6	8·0	97	79	75	50
5	Saharanpur				4·3	4·7	4·9	10·6	106	97	91	41
6	Bareilly				4·4	7·7	5·8	8·6	156	89	112	74
7	Bijnor				4·3	4·5	5·6	8·5	99	93	74	45
8	Pilibhit				4·5	4·6	6·1	7·0	79	74	58	47
9	Kheri				4·6	5·8	5·8	5·8	67	53	53	48
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>				4·6	5·7	5·5	8·2	118	96	84	63
10	Muzaffarnagar				4·5	6·3	6·9	7·8	108	85	68	59
11	Meerut				4·6	5·9	5·5	8·7	140	110	107	63
12	Bulandshahr				4·8	6·8	5·6	9·6	124	87	89	50
13	Aligarh				4·6	5·0	5·9	8·2	127	122	90	64
14	Muttra				4·3	6·0	5·5	7·8	105	88	90	59
15	Agra				4·5	4·7	5·5	5·9	123	121	100	89
16	Farrukhabad				4·5	6·8	6·5	6·8	120	80	77	78
17	Mainpuri				4·6	4·7	5·8	7·8	104	103	77	60
18	Etawah				4·8	6·1	6·0	6·8	93	77	72	62
19	Etah				4·6	5·0	6·3	7·5	108	99	64	51
20	Budaun				4·4	5·1	5·6	8·7	118	101	80	51
21	Moradabad				4·5	6·0	5·8	7·0	122	83	89	64
22	Shahjahanpur				4·5	6·4	6·3	6·9	121	82	83	70
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>				4·5	5·3	5·4	5·4	120	109	105	99
23	Cawnpore				4·1	5·9	5·1	5·9	117	91	101	84
24	Fatehpur				4·3	5·0	5·1	5·2	96	85	85	80
25	Allahabad				4·3	4·8	5·2	5·1	118	108	105	102
26	Lucknow				4·4	5·2	5·2	5·3	178	157	154	133
27	Unao				4·4	5·8	5·7	5·9	114	97	94	87
28	Rae Bareli				4·5	5·2	5·3	5·3	130	113	105	104
29	Sitapur				4·7	5·7	6·2	6·3	108	86	77	67
30	Hardoi				4·6	4·8	6·0	6·7	104	98	79	64
31	Fyzabad				4·5	5·1	5·2	5·2	147	139	135	122
32	Sultanpur				4·6	4·9	4·1	4·9	134	129	120	113
33	Partabgarh				4·6	5·1	5·3	4·4	135	122	120	135
34	Bara Banki				4·5	5·3	5·3	5·5	138	130	122	107
	<i>Central India Plateau</i>				4·3	5·0	5·3	6·1	49	40	42	35
35	Banda				4·3	4·1	5·0	5·7	52	42	46	40
36	Hamirpur				4·2	4·9	5·6	6·1	49	41	40	36
37	Jhansi				4·3	5·2	5·3	6·6	43	33	36	25
38	Jalaun				4·5	5·4	5·6	6·3	58	50	47	45
	<i>East Satpuros</i>				4·7	5·4	5·6	6·4	44	38	40	34
39	Mirzapur				4·7	5·4	5·6	6·4	44	38	40	34
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>				5·1	5·7	5·9	5·8	122	100	95	85
40	Gorakhpur				5·3	5·7	5·9	5·8	132	112	110	98
41	Basti				5·2	5·7	6·0	6·1	126	117	107	97
42	Gonda				4·9	5·4	5·8	6·2	103	91	87	71
43	Bahraich				4·7	5·8	5·5	4·9	83	68	68	65
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>				4·8	5·6	6·2	6·6	146	133	130	117
44	Benares				4·7	5·9	6·8	8·0	185	148	134	112
45	Jaunpur				4·7	5·4	5·7	5·9	158	144	143	132
46	Ghazi pur				4·9	5·5	5·9	6·1	122	119	125	113
47	Ballia				4·9	6·5	6·9	7·3	138	121	117	111
48	Azamgarh				4·9	5·3	6·1	6·5	138	135	131	114

Chapter II.—VARIATIONS IN THE POPULATION (1).

23. **Introductory remarks.**—This chapter deals with the variations in the population that have taken place since 1872. There is little or no information regarding the early population of the present United Provinces, though stray remarks are to be found in the works of travellers and officials which give a clue. One reads for instance of Lord Lake hunting tigers (with spear and pistol) in the ruins of Kanauj in the Farrukhabad district: of fires being lighted round Gorakhpur to keep out the wild animals: of the Gangetic Doab, now an unbroken stretch of cultivation, being a sandy waste at the end of the 18th century. Naini Tal was a lake in the centre of forest up to the late 40's. But such sidelights as these lead to no conclusion save that the population was much less dense than it is now. The first attempt at counting the people was made in 1826: it was founded on an actual enumeration of villages and a partial enumeration of houses and the estimate was 32 millions for the province of Agra (as it was then). In 1848 another estimate was made: a selected area was enumerated, the houses were counted and the average population per house thus ascertained. But the principles of this "census" varied from district to district and the results were untrustworthy: the total figure so obtained was 23 millions for the Agra province plus the Delhi division. In 1853 the first simultaneous enumeration took place. There was not a single entry for each person, but for each house, but the figures so obtained were considered fairly accurate. There were other enumerations of a similar kind in 1865 (Agra Province) and 1869 (Oudh). In 1872 a census on lines similar to those obtaining at the present day was taken in the province of Agra and in 1881 began the series of enumerations of the whole province of which this is the fourth. I give in the margin the total figures from 1848 to 1911. The enumerations from 1891 onwards may be taken as accurate

Tract concerned.	Total population of United Provinces from 1848 to 1911 (000's omitted).							
	1848.	1853.	1865.	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Agra (minus Dehra Dun, Jhansi, Jalaun, and Kumaun).	21,630	28,077	27,609	28,800	30,530	31,824	32,457	32,006
Dehra Dun, Jhansi, Jalaun, and Kumaun.	67	87	86	89	95	90	101	100
Oudh ... ..	...	...	1,914	1,981	2,233	2,430	2,402	2,618
			73	75	84	92	91	100
			11,321*	11,387	12,651	12,833	12,558	12,558
			89	90	101	103	100	100
Total United Provinces ...	...	...	...	42,002	44,150	46,905	47,692	47,182
				89	93	99	101	100

* Census of 1860.—Italicized figures are percentages of present population.

and complete. Mr. Baillie in 1891 estimated that the total of 1881 was 343,000 less than the true figure, of which 250,000 belonged to Oudh. The percentage of Oudh for 1881 then becomes 92 and of the United Provinces becomes 94. In 1881 Mr. White had estimated that the annual rate of increase had been 3·4 per mille since 1853; the percentage of 1853 therefore becomes 85 instead of 87, of 1865, 89 instead of 86, of 1872, 92 instead of 89.

Tract concerned.	1853.	1865.	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Agra Province (minus Dehra Dun, Jhansi, Jalaun, and Kumaun).	65	89	92	95	99	101	100
Dehra Dun, Jhansi, Jalaun, and Kumaun.	...	73	75	84	92	91	100
Agra Province	88	91	94	98	101	100
Oudh	90	92	101	103	100
United Provinces	92	94	99	101	100

This applied only to the parts enumerated since 1853; he saw no reason to disbelieve the figures of the districts added in 1865. The percentages after correcting the figures accordingly are

then as in the margin. Agra province has increased by 12 per cent. in 46 years and Oudh by 10 per cent. in 42 years. But working only up to the figures of 1901 (the decrease of 1901—11 is due to a new calamity, namely plague) we shall find that the increase has been (1) in the parts enumerated since 1853, 16 per cent. in 48 years or 3·3 per mille per annum:

- (2) for Agra province, 13 per cent. in 36 years or 3·6 per 1,000 per annum:
- (3) for Oudh, 13 per cent. in 32 years or 4·0 per 1,000 per annum:
- (4) for the United Provinces, 9 per cent. in 29 years or 3·1 per 1,000 per annum.

(1) Subsidiary Table I.—Variation in relation to density since 1872.
 Ditto II.—Variation in natural population.
 Ditto III.—Comparison with vital statistics.
 Ditto IV.—Variation by tahsils classified according to density { (a) Actual variation.
 (b) Proportional variation.

From these figures it appears that over the longest period of which we

Rate of increase per mille per annum from 1870 to 1900
in certain countries.

Country.	Rate.	Country.	Rate.
England and Wales	12·0	Portugal	7·3
Holland ..	12·0	Switzerland ..	7·2
Germany ..	10·8	Sweden ..	7·0
Denmark ..	10·3	Italy ..	6·6
Scotland ..	9·6	Spain ..	4·0
Belgium ..	9·6	France ..	1·9
Norway ..	8·5	Ireland ..	-6·5

have trustworthy records the annual rate of increase for any considerable tract varies between 3 and 4 per mille, and for the province averages 3·1—a very low rate of increase compared with the rates of European countries, some of which are given in the margin. It also shows that Mr. White's calculated rate of 3·4 in 1881 was not far from the mark.

24. Conditions of decade 1901—

11.—If, as has been shown above, the normal rate of increase of the population is about 3 per mille annually, the United Provinces should have shown in 1911 a total 3 per cent. larger than the total of 1901. As a matter of fact it shows a decrease of 1 per cent.: i.e., its population is 4 per cent. less than it ought to be. The causes of course lie in the peculiar conditions of the decade. A normal increase can only be expected in a normal decade; and the period 1901 to 1911 was in several respects abnormal.

25. (1) **Weather and crops.**—(a) *General.*—To ensure good harvests in the province it is necessary to have fairly heavy rain during the three monsoon months of July, August and September and a few inches more in December and January. From 1901 up to the kharif of 1904 the monsoons were all that could be desired, and in consequence four winter and three spring crops were satisfactory. There was no climatic set back to the general prosperity save that a very severe storm late in the season did some damage to the kharif of 1903. But with the last month of 1904 trouble began. In 1904-05 there were very heavy and continuous winter rains followed by a severe frost and the rabi of 1905 as a consequence was only 65 per cent. of the normal. Later on, the monsoon proved ill distributed and capricious and the kharif in many parts was very poor. In 1904, too, the monsoon though generally satisfactory had been badly distributed in Bundelkhand and the Agra division: and these same tracts suffered again in 1905. To add to their distress no winter rain fell till February 1906: the rabi was poor: and after four mediocre to bad crops (kharif 1904 and 1905, rabi 1905 and 1906) it was not surprising to find conditions approximating to famine prevailing in nearly the whole of Bundelkhand (Central India Plateau), in Muttra, Etawah, three tahsils in South Agra, and two tahsils in Cawnpore. An excellent monsoon bringing an equally excellent kharif and a rabi in 1907 which was good enough to mark an actual advance in prosperity restored conditions to the normal: but it was a mere gleam before severe disaster. For the monsoon of 1907 failed completely in August, there was little or no kharif and by December the province was in the grip of a severe famine. In 1908 the rabi was of course very small indeed, and famine continued till a good monsoon, promising a kharif above the normal brought relief.

26. (b) *Famine.*—The effect of the famine of 1907-8 on the various natural

Effect of famine of 1907-8 on natural divisions.

Natural division.	Number of districts classed as.—			Yield of crops (per cent. of normal).		Death rate compared with normal.
	Famine.	Scarcity.	Normal.	Kharif 1907.	Rabi 1908.	
Himalaya, West	3	1	...	...	...	Normal.
Sub-Himalaya, West	1	1	...	32	50	Normal.
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	3	6	4	43	69	Below normal save three districts.
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	6	5	1	25	66	Above normal save one district.
Central India Plateau	4	...	...	19	35	Above normal.
Eastern Satpuras	1	...	...	19	35	Above normal.
Sub-Himalaya, East	3	...	1	46	55	Above normal.
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	1	4	...	48	91	Below normal save one district.
Total	19	21	8	...	...

divisions can be shown briefly in tabular form. Nineteen districts in 7 divisions were classed as famine, 21 districts in 5 divisions were classed as scarcity districts; only 8 districts escaped. The tracts most affected were the Central Plain, the Plateau, and the Eastern Sub-Himalayas. In the 19 famine districts the death rate was 5·79 above normal: in the 21 scarcity districts 2·63 above

normal: in the 8 normal districts ·99 above normal: and for the whole United Provinces 3·88 over normal. The net loss in food crops was calculated at 7 million tons worth 28 million sterling and in other crops at about 2 million sterling more. On the arrival of the monsoon matters improved: the kharif was above normal, though in parts of Bahraich, Basti, Garhwal, and Mirzapur owing to a deficient rainfall famine conditions still continued. A failure of the winter rains

gave a slightly deficient rabi in 1909 : but the kharif of that year, thanks to an excellent monsoon was all that could be desired except in parts of Oudh, where the moral effect of famine still continued. In 1910 there was a huge rabi area and a satisfactory kharif : whilst the rabi of 1911 was a bumper crop.

27. (c) *Irrigation.*—The most important figures connected with irrigation

Canal.	Irrigation. Mileage on March 31st, 1911.				Area irrigated (acres, 000's omitted).			
	Main canal and branch.	Distributaries	Drainage cents.	Navigation escapes 1 mile channels.	Total.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1910-11.
Betwa ...	168	508	34	15	725	97	107	72
Ken ...	86	239	...	5	330	66	47	33
Dhasan ...	72	93	6	...	171	...	...	9
Pahuj ...	29	32	3	1	65	...	...	1
Ganges ...	52	3,031	1,805	165	5,161	1,305	1,052	827
Lower Ganges ...	665	3,122	1,029	115	4,931	1,164	888	751
Eastern Jumna ...	129	792	463	27	1,411	337	321	265
Agra ...	109	858	251	50	1,268	348	213	168
Other ...	...	606	14	11	631	151	147	138
Lakes and Tanks ...	...	90	...	...	90	7	5	4
Total ...	1,778	9,371	3,605	320	15,063	3,472	2,784	2,269
Total, 31st March 1911	1,509	7,659	3,622	...	12,790	...	...	...
Increase ...	269	1,712	312	...	2,293	...	...	...

are given in the margin. There has been a very great increase in the mileage, of 2,293 miles. The Ken Canal (Banda), Dhasan Canal (Hamirpur), Pahuj Canal (Jhansi), besides many minor works are all new since 1901. The whole of the Jumna-Ganges Doab up to Allahabad, most of the Plateau, Bareilly, Bijnor, and Pilibhit may now be taken as protected by canals. The average irrigated area appears to be about $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions of acres : the highest on record of the decade was over $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions

in 1905-06.

28. (d) *Chief staples.*—A careful examination of the season and crop reports for the past 10 years does not disclose any notable alteration in the kind or distribution of the chief staples, save that indigo has very greatly declined. Of the food crops, rice and millets at the kharif, wheat, barley, and gram at the rabi, still hold the chief place. Besides the surplus food stuffs specially wheat, the chief money-producing crops are sugarcane, cotton, the oilseeds, and opium. The distribution of these crops varies from year to year to some extent, chiefly according to the rainfall ; but " agricultural fashion," to use a term of Mr. Moreland's, also has its effect. If from any seasonal or other accident cultivators become disgusted with a crop, they give it up for a while : but as after one poor crop it is difficult to get seed for the next, these variations are not a mere matter of distaste, but have also an economic reason. Still generally speaking there is no tendency to change the staples.

29. (2) *The labour market, prices, and wages.*—Wages on the whole ruled high throughout the decade, though there was a downward tendency in 1904-06. Prices were low till 1905-06 when they rose and remained high till 1909-10 when they again began to fall. The demand for labour was never bad even in famine years and was generally good. High wages and low prices are an ideal condition of things for the agricultural employé, though not by any means so pleasing to his employer : but it doubtless helped the poorer classes in their struggle against famine, giving them greater capacity both to fight it and recover from it. The rise in wages is due very largely to a scarcity of labour which has been noticed again and again during the decade. Plague has doubtless operated to make labour really scarce : but apart from this the prevalence of low prices for the first half of the decade enabled the labourers to put money by and enjoy an occasional holiday. It has also enabled the thrifty labourer to take up single fields that may be available : this means that though for a time at all events he depends chiefly on the earnings of his labour, still he only gives a part of his time to the service of other cultivators, as he wants the rest for his own land ; whilst if he has luck he will extend his holding and begin to employ labour for himself. The smaller cultivator of low caste who works his land with the labour of his family and by the occasional help of other cultivators of the same kind is not affected by high wages : but the high caste cultivators who will not as a rule touch a plough themselves have begun to make their families work even if they would not do so *propria manu* ; and the richer landholders who cultivate any considerable portion of their lands themselves also feel the change acutely, and show it by their growing interest in all sorts of labour-saving machinery. High prices when they occur do not hurt the labourer so long as he can also command high wages, for he is at all events no worse off than he was when both prices and wages were low.

In the industrial towns it is probable that the centralization of industry which prevails in the province helps to make labour expensive and scarce. The mobility of labour is small and in each centre the supply of it is limited. The industries have to compete for it : whilst if industry were decentralized and new factories were built in outlying towns they could tap fresh sources of labour. There is no doubt that the decade has been on the whole, and despite famine, a prosperous period for the labouring classes.

30. (3) **Industry, trade, and manufacture.**—The outstanding feature of the decade besides a growing interest in industry generally is the rapid rise of the cotton industry and the equally rapid decline of indigo. Such figures as are available show not less than 90 new ventures in cotton mills, gins, and presses, besides fresh enterprises in fodder, and rice mills, iron and brass foundries, tanneries, oil mills, lac factories, and carpet factories. On the other hand well over 600 indigo concerns have ceased to exist. Comparative figures of exports and imports are a useful index to the prosperity of the province. The chief products of the province may be taken as agricultural produce (both foodstuffs and other, including raw cotton), with lac and *ghi*: and as a sign of prosperity it is necessary that exports in such goods should exceed imports. This has generally been the case except in the unfavourable years 1905-06 and 1907-08, when of course enormous quantity of grain were imported. In 1905-06 the imports of grain of all kinds exceeded the exports by 9 lakhs of maunds, though oilseeds, sugar, and cotton were exported in large quantities. In 1907-08 the imports amounted to no less than $18\frac{3}{4}$ million maunds in 6 months. Speaking generally, from 1901—05 the weight and value of the exports exceeded the weight and value of the imports. Imports when they increased did so chiefly in articles of comparative luxury, pointing to an increased standard of comfort; exports increased steadily in weight, though their value varied with the articles chiefly exported. 1904-05 may be taken as at the time a record year of prosperity. The imports were high and of greater value, *pro rata*, than at any time during the decade, consisting as they did very largely of European piece goods. The exports were a record, and consisted of all the products of the province,—grain, oilseeds, and raw cotton. The same applies to 1909-10, when the imports were even more considerable in weight and the exports, though less in weight, very considerably more valuable than in 1904-05: and also so far as exports are concerned (the figures for imports are not yet available) to 1910-11. In the lean years 1905-06 to 1908-09, the imports were chiefly in grain: the exports declined for the same cause in weight, though high prices kept up their value. Finally in good years and bad alike, save only 1907-08, the value of the exports has always been greater than that of the imports. The above remarks apply chiefly to the railborne traffic: the foreign traffic with Tibet and Nepal and the riverborne traffic are comparatively unimportant.

31. (4) **The public health.**—From the above paragraphs it will appear that there has been nothing unusually unfavourable in the conditions of the decade so far as its material conditions are concerned. There was a very severe famine and one year of scarcity: but the rest of the decade was favourable, and whilst few decades are without some agricultural calamity of considerable size, the process of dealing with it is increasingly efficient with each successive famine. The improvement of railway communications has made actual starvation impossible if measures of relief are undertaken in time: and the rest is organization. In its results,—the lowering of vitality and of the birthrate, and the occasional epidemic of cholera—a famine has still its effect on the population: but it is far less than it used to be. But when the question of the public health is considered matters are very different. It is not too much to say that there never has been a decade where the public health has been so unsatisfactory as it has been in this.

32. (a) **Cholera and small-pox.**—To take the death figures first, cholera was less prevalent than in the former decade: there were only 634,537 deaths in 1901—10 as against 844,659 between 1891—1900, or 1·33 per mille of the total deaths. The severest epidemics were in 1905, 1906, and 1910. Small-pox has also decreased: there were only 140,801 deaths (·29 per mille of total deaths) from this cause, as against 182,290 in 1891—1900. It was said in 1901 that small-pox came at regular periods, two bad years being succeeded by four good years; according to this 1902 and 1903 should have been bad years and then 1908 and 1909. But as a matter of

fact though 1903 was a bad year, 1902 was not nor was 1909, whilst 1906, 1907, and 1908 were. The worst year was 1908: then, a long way after, 1907 and 1903.

33. (b) *Plague*.—Plague is a new calamity in this decade. The deaths from plague have amounted to 1,315,252 or 2·76 per 1,000 of the total deaths, a most serious addition to the usual mortality. But much more serious than the mere extent of plague is its distribution among the two sexes. Since 1905, when the figures were first differentiated by sex, in every 1,000 deaths from plague 555 are of women and 445 of men. Not only so, but plague is more fatal to women at those periods when they are capable of increasing the population. Normally the ratio of female deaths to females exceeds the ratio of male deaths to males between the ages of 15 and 30, and in 8 years out of 10 also between 1 and 5; the causes for this will be discussed in the chapter on sex, but it may be mentioned here that the former excess is due to the great dangers of child-bearing in India and the latter to the neglect among Hindus of their girl children. In normal times male deaths exceed female deaths at all other periods. In 1905 when plague was at its zenith women were losing proportionately more than men at every age-period from 1 to 50.

34. There is a striking correlation between the increase in the epidemic and the widening of the danger zone in the life of women. Normally, as stated, this zone may be taken as extending from 1 to 5 and 15 to 30. In 1901 there was little plague and the figures were not affected. In 1902, the epidemic was four times as bad as in 1901 (40,000 as against 10,000 deaths). The difference between the ratios of female and male deaths in favour of the former decreased considerably at the age-periods 5 to 10 and 30 to 40, and the female rate exceeded the male at the age-periods 10 to 15. In 1903 plague was twice as fatal as in 1902. The female death rate now exceeded the male also at the period 30 to 40. With so few deaths as 84,000, therefore women were already suffering proportionately more than men from the ages of 10 to 40. In 1904 plague was over twice as fatal as in 1903 and the age-period 5 to 10 also entered the danger zone; and in 1905 as already stated, that zone extended from 1 to 50. It is unnecessary to pursue the figures in detail any further: but it may be stated generally that as plague increases women suffer more than men first at the period 10 to 15, then also at 30 to 40, next also at 5 to 10 and lastly at 40 to 50, and that as it decreases there is a tendency to re-establishment of the normal in retrograde order.

Year.	Actual number of plague deaths (000's omitted).	Effect of plague on ratios of female and male deaths. Female defect—female excess+.					Period where female deaths are in excess.	
		5—10.	10—15.	15—20.	20—30.	30—40.		40—50.
1901 ...	10	—1·11	—·65	+4·63	+2·16	—1·52	—2·44	15—30
1902 ...	40	—·59	+·26	+3·67	+2·29	—·29	—2·12	10—30
1903 ...	84	—1·15	+·63	+4·83	+3·00	+·22	—2·40	10—40
1904 ...	179	+1·62	+2·23	+8·00	+4·26	+1·94	—·39	5—40
1905 ...	384	+1·60	+3·38	+6·57	+4·49	+2·78	+·54	5—50
1906 ...	70	—1·41	+·43	+4·19	+2·33	+·20	—·24	10—40
1907 ...	329	+1·22	+3·59	+4·27	+3·27	+1·68	—1·11	5—40
1908 ...	23	—1·68	—·04	+3·80	+2·39	—·09	—2·02	15—30
1909 ...	38	—·46	—·03	+2·61	+1·06	—·81	—3·95	15—30
1910 ...	158	+·07	+·37	+2·38	+1·23	—·42	—4·35	10—30

Figures are given in the margin, showing the difference between the ratio of female deaths per 1,000 females living and of male deaths per 1,000 males living for every year of the decade at certain age periods. I have italicized the figures when a normal defect in the female ratio is turned into an excess.

They need no further comment: but to conclude these remarks on the loss inflicted by plague on women, reference may be made to the figures showing the proportion of female to male deaths which are given in the margin. The previous highest proportion was 911 in 1898. Every year of the decade 1901—10 has shown a higher figure than this; in 1904 there were actually more female than male deaths and in 1905 an all but equal number—a state of affairs totally unprecedented.

Number of female to 1,000 male deaths in various years and periods.

Year or period.	Ratio.	Remarks.
1885 ..	896	Highest proportion 1881—91.
1881—90 ..	876	
1898 ..	911	Ditto 1891—1900.
1891—1900 ..	801	
1901 ..	919	
1902 ..	937	
1903 ..	944	
1904 ..	1,006	Highest on record.
1905 ..	999	
1906 ..	955	
1907 ..	976	
1908 ..	972	
1909 ..	931	
1910 ...	914	
1901—10 ..	957	Highest decennial figure on record.

The causes why females are more liable to plague than males are two in number. Plague infection is carried by a certain rat flea. Both rat and

are two in number. Plague infection is carried by a certain rat flea. Both rat and

flea live in houses and plague is a disease, accordingly, which is the more dangerous the less life is carried on out of doors. It is well known that women live indoors more than men. The purda system compels them to do so altogether where that system is observed ; but even where it is not observed, their household duties keep them tied to their homes. Further, when the infected house is evacuated and the people take refuge in temporary dwellings, the danger is not over. The India housewife continually returns to her permanent home to see that all is as she left it, to get something that in the hurry of flight she has left behind, and so on. It is just at this time that danger is greatest. The rats die: the fleas are still there however, ready to attack the first living thing that presents itself. I understand that experiments have been made at Parel which prove the extreme danger of entering an infected house which has been evacuated for any length of time. A man, practically plague-proof from many inoculations, was sent into such a house. He stayed there a very few minutes. When he came out over 20 fleas were found on him of which all but one or two were plague fleas⁽¹⁾. The danger is probably less for women who live in purda, because if they are removed, they are probably removed to another house in another vicinity altogether and have not the same facilities for returning to their own home⁽²⁾. If it be remembered that women in the United Provinces are always fewer than men, it is obvious that the most disquieting feature in the whole of the miserable story of plague is the fact that it is so fatal to women just at the time when for the purposes of reproduction they are most valuable.

35. (c) *Malaria, epidemic, and endemic.*—Many parts of the province are peculiarly subject to malaria, which can be regarded in such cases as endemic. There are such localities all over the province ; probably wherever there is more water than the drainage can carry off, malaria is more or less endemic. So far as I can gather from various reports on the malaria of particular places, the presence of malaria is not determined by the mere quantity of water present, but by the amount of water compared with the facilities for draining it off. Water-logging, whether due to defective drainage, to a high spring level, to soils retentive of moisture or to excessive irrigation, appears to be the ultimate cause of endemic malaria. It is obviously impossible in such circumstances to give any sort of malaria map of the province: but such tracts as the Naini Tal Tarai, Bundelkhand (with its extremely spongy soil), the marshy tracts in Pilibhit, Gorakhpur and elsewhere are probably fairly good samples of a very large area which is subject to malaria. If water-logging is the ultimate cause of malaria, various kinds of anopheline mosquito are its immediate cause. They themselves become infested and carry the infection to those whom they bite.

Epidemic malaria is, in nature, endemic malaria in an enormously intensified form. Such an epidemic occurred in 1908 and (less severely) in 1909 ; it had also occurred in 1879 and 1897. The causation of it and of its peculiar distribution is extremely obscure. Major Christophers, I.M.S., in a memoir on "Malaria in the Punjab" has endeavoured to show that it is correlated with high rainfall, producing flooding, and high prices. If the Punjab expert's opinion is right, the ultimate cause of epidemic malaria is simply the ultimate cause of endemic malaria in an intensified form ; and as regards this province, though Major J. D. Graham, I.M.S. (the officer on special duty in connection with malaria), has been unable to trace the same correlation, certain facts may be noted. The epidemic in the United Provinces was locally connected with the southern epidemic in the Punjab, which had its focus in and around Gurgaon ; it chiefly affected Muttra, Agra, and parts of Meerut ; and spread over most of the Agra, Meerut, and Rohilkhand divisions, diminishing in virulence as it passed eastwards. The major part of these divisions are full of water (river or canal) and freely irrigated.

36. The causes of malaria however are not so important for my particular purposes, as its results. Unfortunately those results are obscured in the vital statistics because malaria is lumped with many other diseases under the generic term fever. The chaukidar who reports deaths and their causes is apt to call most diseases "fever" if he cannot place them under better known and

(1) I regret that I cannot quote chapter and verse. The facts were told me by Colonel C. C. Manifold, I. M. S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, United Provinces.

(2) But cf. chapter IV, paragraph 141.

easily recognizable causes of death such as small-pox, cholera, plague, suicide or snake-bite. Fever means little more in his vocabulary than "any disease accompanied by fever which is not certainly something else." Another difficulty that arises in the consideration of the results of malaria, especially of the endemic variety, is that it is not necessarily or perhaps even usually fatal in itself. It may destroy the very young or the very old to a certain extent,—those who cannot resist it. But it is not a genuine cause of death and probably most of its fatal results are produced at second hand. It does not itself cause death but it predisposes to diseases that do, especially respiratory diseases such as pneumonia, and diarrhoea or dysentery.

Various investigations ⁽¹⁾ have of late been carried out into malaria and its effects, chiefly by Major J. D. Graham. I quote chiefly from the Tarai report, as it represents a normal state of things. This report brings out several points worth noting.

(1) Fatal cases of malaria occur chiefly in children under 5. The proportion of deaths from acute malaria among the observed cases in the Tarai was 55·6 per cent. at the ages 0 to 5.

(2) Malaria co-exists with dysentery, diarrhoea, and pneumonia of various kinds.

(3) Malaria is also the indirect cause of considerable infantile mortality from such causes as inanition, premature birth, and infantile convulsions. Inanition includes cases where the mother, herself suffering from malaria, either dies or has an insufficient supply of milk, with the result that the child is practically allowed to starve to death; for artificial feeding is not particularly common or successful as practised by the Indian villager. The cases of premature birth were also clearly connected with malaria in the mother ⁽²⁾. Moreover inquiries instituted by Majors Robertson and Graham produced the figures

Caste.	Per 100 adults aged 20 to 50.			Sterile marriages.
	Births.	Children alive.	Still births.	
Tharu (1) ..	210·1	107·5	48·8	3·5
Bhoksa (1) ..	174·5	82·2	52·9	8·6
Banjara (1) ..	145·7	56·5	61·2	17·4
"Desi" (2) ..	141·1	37·8	73·2	16·0

(1) Resident castes of Tarai.

(2) Immigrants from elsewhere.

in the margin, which are important as showing the proportion of children who are born in a community which resides in a malarial tract. It is not of course arguable that these results are due only to malaria, but the evidence certainly shows that it is the chief cause of it. The epidemic of 1908 was of extraordinary severity. It has already been pointed out that other such epidemics occurred in 1879 and 1897, which shows that epidemic malaria is concomitant with famine; but it cannot be argued that famine is its cause. The epidemic affected least those districts where famine was most severe—and it affected all classes or races alike whether they had felt the pinch of famine or not. Rich and poor, Indian and European suffered, the European troops as severely as anyone. In Moradabad every European but the civil surgeon suffered from the disease: in Banda every gazetted officer went down with it and at one time half if not more of the collectorate staff were ill. But famine probably had its indirect effect. Famine causes high prices not only where it is prevalent but elsewhere: and it may well be that those who had felt the pinch of high prices and lost stamina thereby were less able to resist it. Be that as it may, the mortality (from fever generally) was 22·92 per mille during the months September to December 1908, as against 10·71 per mille, the normal fever death rate of the years 1903—07 for these months. It stopped agricultural operations: the very old and very young died from it and it is said that some villages lost half their population. It diminished vitality, which had its result in a much diminished birth rate in 1909. The damage done to the population, directly or indirectly, during those four months was enormous. The fever mortality during that period was only some 200,000 short of the total mortality from plague during the entire decennium. Moreover, it proved far more fatal to women than men. I need not dwell at any length on this point for it will be referred to again in chapter VI. The point

⁽¹⁾ Reports on the prevalence of malaria in the Tarai (in conjunction with Major J. C. Robertson, I. M. S.), Nagina, Kairana, Kosi, and Saharanpur.

⁽²⁾ Major Christophers notes the very large proportion of still births in Amritsar city at a time when it was suffering from epidemic malaria. This point is particularly interesting as showing that infantile mortality is not due entirely, as is often supposed, to tetanus or septicaemia, but to ignorance or neglect.

is not noticed in any of the reports ⁽¹⁾ : but Major Graham tells me that the cause is probably that the disease is very largely, like plague, a house disease : the mosquitoes swarm in the houses and women are more affected than men simply because they live more in their houses than men do. And the net result is that whilst plague has decimated the female population in the middle ages, malaria has decimated it at both ends of life. It is scarcely surprising that in such circumstances, the total loss of population (1·1 per cent.) falls on that sex alone.

37. **The calculated population.**—It is obvious that if a population is disturbed by no cause save birth and death, and the record of births and deaths is accurate, then the enumerated population of any one census plus the births

Calculated population.	
Population 1901	.. .. 47,692,277
Births 1901—1910	.. .. 19,764,839
Deaths 1901—1910	.. .. 18,747,113
Calculated population 1910	.. .. 48,710,003
Enumerated population 1911	.. .. 47,182,044
Difference	.. .. 1,527,959

of the decade and minus its deaths must be equal to the enumerated population of the next. The figures for this census are given in the margin. The calculated population exceeds the enumerated population by over one and a half million. The deficit may be

due either to errors in the vital statistics : or to losses from emigration : or to both.

38. **Migration.**—For the present I neglect the vital statistics and turn to migration. The movements of people from one part of the country to another complicate both the census variations and the vital statistics themselves. A province may gain or lose largely by migration, and the actual variation in such a case cannot correspond to that indicated by the excess of births over deaths. If on the other hand migration did not complicate the vital statistics then the calculated population would correspond to the natural population—i.e. to the enumerated population minus the immigrants and plus the emigrants. The

Population 1911	.. .. 47,182,044
Immigrants	.. .. 724,338
Emigrants	.. .. 1,466,841
Natural population	.. .. 47,924,047
Difference from calculated population	.. .. 785,956

natural population of the United Provinces (ignoring overseas emigration about which there is very little information) is shown in the margin. When we compare that with the calculated population we find a deficit of 785,956. This

figure however has still to be diminished by overseas emigrants. A portion of it will have to be attributed to the vital statistics. But though a rather closer correlation may be obtained by comparing the natural population and the calculated population, the method is unsatisfactory and it is necessary to look further. The sole value of these figures is that they demonstrate that a very great part of the deficit is attributable to migration.

39. **Migration and the vital statistics.**—Migration affects the vital statistics in several ways. An immigrant firstly may enter the province and die there. The result is an extra death corresponding to no person that has ever been enumerated in the province. Or secondly an immigrant may enter the province and beget (or bear) a child, subsequently leaving the province with the child. The result is an extra birth, corresponding once more to no person that has ever been enumerated in the province ⁽²⁾. Or thirdly, an emigrant may go abroad and die there. There is then one more emigrant to be considered than is shown in the next census. Moreover migrants (whether immigrants or emigrants) have to be divided into two groups ; those who migrated before the commencement of the decade in question and those who did so during that period. The former have already been counted once : and so far as the present decade is concerned must be considered part of the population of their district of adoption, and should not be treated as immigrants (or emigrants) for the purposes of calculating the natural population. The latter kind must obviously be deducted in that calculation.

40. **Estimate of the volume of migration.**—(1) *Emigration in India.*—It therefore becomes necessary to estimate the volume of migration during the decade if one is to estimate the full effect of it on the figures. But this is a difficult matter at all times and at this census it is well nigh impossible. It is obvious that if the number of permanent emigrants has not varied since 1901, there has been just enough migration during the decade to fill death vacancies : if that number has varied, then there has been a variation in migration sufficient

⁽¹⁾ I was led to the discovery when casting about for an explanation of the unusually high proportion of female to male deaths (for a famine year) in 1908. See chapter VI, paragraph 208.

⁽²⁾ This last is by no means uncommon. Married women often go to their parents' houses to be confined.

to account for the variation in the figure in a similar manner. The volume of migration is therefore calculable by a combination of the figures of emigrants in 1901, the excess or defect in that number in 1911, and the death rate amongst emigrants. But it is not possible to select a suitable death rate. It would be, as Mr. Burn showed in 1901, probably always higher than the death rate of the province to which emigration has occurred. But in an abnormal decade such as this it must be very considerably higher than the provincial rate in certain provinces, where plague has been severe. All the independent evidence points to an increase in the volume of emigration, yet there is a very considerable decrease in the actual number of emigrants found. This would be consistent with a very high death rate amongst emigrants: yet on the other hand it has to be admitted that despite the "independent evidence" referred to, emigration may well have decreased, not increased in volume. Indeed it is even probable, for with a high death rate at home, it is obvious that those who might otherwise have gone abroad, could find work at home and need not emigrate to obtain it. In Matra where there has been a most disquieting deterioration in cultivation, and also an excessively high death rate, the local explanation is summed up in the pithy phrase "*manus nahin rahe*" (there were no men). If "*manus nahin rahe*" for cultivation obviously "*manus nahin rahe*" for emigration. Nor does this necessarily cast a doubt on the credibility of the evidence I have mentioned. In a diminished population a volume of emigration which had actually decreased might have proportionately increased, and even if it had not, might well loom just as large to the casual observer. Taking all the facts into consideration, I should be inclined to say that emigration has not decreased *as a whole*; in certain parts which have lost population its volume may have decreased, but this decrease is compensated by an increase of emigration in other parts which have not lost population. Assuming this to be so, we have to calculate a volume of migration sufficient to maintain the figure of 1901, and if we take an all-round death rate of 40 per mille this would represent some 550,000 emigrants during the decade. In certain parts of India the emigrant death rate was probably even higher; and I think that the figure may be better put at some 650,000.

41. (2).—*Overseas emigration.*—To this figure we have to add the number of emigrants overseas. Emigrant labourers to Demerara, Trinidad, Mauritius, Natal, Fiji, Jamaica, and other colonies where indentured labour exists are registered under the Indian Emigration Act. But the figure registered as sailing is always less than the figure registered as actually recruited; and it is not clear what happens to the labourers who represent this difference. It is highly probable that some of them at all events are lost to the province. Again, many labourers from the United Provinces are recruited in other provinces and it is probable that a fair proportion of these should also be included. Men leave the province to find work elsewhere: if they fail in their search they may well be persuaded by the advice and inducements of the recruiting agent to cross the water. There are also no figures available for any port save that of Calcutta; and though it is unlikely that many United Provinces emigrants sail from Bombay, Karachi or Madras still some may. The Calcutta figure of emigrants during the decade was 128,513; and taking all these facts into consideration it is safe to say that the loss to the United Provinces in registered emigration was not less than 150,000. (It may be mentioned that in 1901, some 1,130,000 natives of India were enumerated in the various dependencies; in the colonies to which our labourers go there were some 250,000 Indians. Considering that the proportion of United Provinces emigrants to the total number is about 60 to 70 per cent. 150,000 is not an extravagant figure for the United Provinces share.) But besides this registered foreign emigration there is a considerable volume of similar emigration which is unregistered; cases of this kind are (1) regiments, on duty at Hong Kong, the Mauritius or in the Straits⁽¹⁾, (2) persons enlisted in the police of these colonies, (3) settlers in various parts of the world, e.g. Eastern Africa (a place for which it was at one time desired to recruit Indian labour,) the States, and Canada, (4) Muhammadans on pilgrimage to Arabia, (5) students in Europe, Japan or America, &c., &c. Any estimate of such emigration can only be the merest guess but I think that it can safely be put at 25,000 to 30,000².

(¹) E. g. the 1st Brahmans left for Singapore just before the census, the 13th Rajputs (though as these are chiefly Rajputana Rajputs they do not affect this province), were at Hong Kong.

(²) For some details of Indians actually enumerated abroad, see chapter III, paragraph 126.

42. (3) *Emigration to Nepal*.—There is no means of estimating the volume of this emigration; but as Mr. Burn in 1901 pointed out, it is considerable for land in Nepal is cheap and good and it adjoins the districts where the pressure on the land from over population is greatest. I take a mean between Mr. Burn's low and high estimates of 150,000.

We get therefore the estimates of emigration given in the margin and I am inclined to believe that they are still too low.

In India ..	650,000
<i>Foreign—</i>	
(1) Registered ..	150,000
(2) Unregistered ..	30,000
(3) Nepal ..	150,000
Total ..	980,000

43. *Temporary plague emigration*.—I have said so far nothing about immigration. There is a slight decrease in this of some 40,000, but I believe it to be purely fictitious; i.e. I believe the true (normal) immigrant population of the province to be no less than it was ten years ago: the truth is hidden by a temporary cause which has now to be described. It follows of course that I believe the total population of the province to be also rather larger than the census shows it to be. This cause has had less effect on the province as a whole than it has had on the districts comprised in it: in this latter case it has probably disturbed the figures very considerably. But it has affected both the province and the districts in exactly the same way: and to understand their figures it is imperative to deal with the matter in some detail.

I refer to those temporary movements of the population which are the result of an attempt to escape from plague. Normally, such movements are of a trivial nature, to the nearest grove, or to a distance of a few miles. But instances must occur, even in the course of such migration as this, when the boundary of a district is crossed, or even the boundary of a province, and the result is that a case of migration has occurred of some kind. It may be immigration, or emigration, or re-emigration of immigrants: but whatever it is it affects the figures. Actual instances of it came to my notice at census time ⁽¹⁾. So far, probably the effect would not be very great and the general result on the total population of any particular district might very well be nothing or next to nothing; for whole districts are not infected with plague and a case of immigration into one district from a plague-infected area in another district might be balanced by a case of emigration from the former district into the latter. But this temporary plague migration has another effect. As is well known and will be pointed out hereafter, the major part of all migration within the province is of females. It is due to the marriage customs of the country, which speaking generally, demand or rather result in the fact that women are frequently married to men in another district. The people who would move most and could move furthest to escape plague are the women and children, who, again speaking generally, could better be spared from the family fields or the family business than the men. Further, if they moved at all, a natural place for them to move to would be the homes of their relatives—that is to say of the maternal relatives, provided always that those relatives lived in a non-infected area. The result of all these facts would clearly be to diminish the number of immigrants and emigrants and increase the number of the home-born. A married woman born in district A, resides with her husband in district B: on her return to her family in district A she would decrease the number of immigrants in district B and the number of emigrants from district A, both by one, and swell the number of home-born in district B by one. Here it may be objected that though this would be true of married women, it would not *primâ facie* be true of their families. The married woman's children at all events would be born in district B and their migration would result in a decrease of the home-born of district B and an increase of the emigrants of district B and the immigrants of district A. But here another custom takes effect. It is well enough known that married women often go to their own homes to be confined: and the result is that probably as many children are born in the district where their mother was born as in the district where their father resides. They are therefore in the same case as their mothers.

The very nature of this migration makes it impossible to trace its course with any certainty. Any particular plague-infected district is a centre from which radiate lines of migration in all directions: and as but a very small minority of

⁽¹⁾ See chapter VI, paragraph 200, where they are cited as affecting the figures in another way—namely the proportion of females to males in certain districts.

districts were not plague-infected at the time of census these radiating lines would cross each other in all directions. Nor is it possible to gauge the volume of this migration: for immigrants in any district of the province (and by consequence the emigrants of various other districts) have suffered just as considerably from the calamities of the decade as the home-born population, and when one finds a decrease in the number of immigrants in a district it is impossible to say how much of it is real, due to an enhanced death rate, and how much fictitious, due to re-emigration. But the general effect is clear enough. There should be a considerable increase in the proportion of the home-born of the districts, and a considerable decrease in the proportion of the immigrants. It is unnecessary here to work out all the figures: it suffices to say that it will be found, as a normal thing, that the immigrant and emigrant population has varied out of all proportion to the total variation of the actual population. Even as regards the provincial total of home-born (which would only be very slightly affected by such a movement as this, since only those who moved over the provincial border to escape plague would be concerned) we find an increase from 98.55 per cent. of total population to 98.60.

This type of migration has a further effect. The rate of variation in any particular district as indicated by the vital statistics should generally be fairly close to the rate of variation as indicated by the census statistics. There are of course exceptional cases, but since the bulk of all migration, being due to marriage custom, is of as permanent a nature as it well could be, migration should not greatly affect the rates of variation shown by the vital statistics. At this census one frequently finds the two rates to be totally at variance, and almost invariably in such cases the rate indicated by the vital statistics is such that it would show the population of the district concerned to be larger than the census shows it to be. If that district has temporarily lost a portion of its population (mostly its permanent immigrant population), the two rates can be reconciled. Part of the contradiction is no doubt explained by errors in the vital statistics and these (as will be seen presently) consist chiefly in omissions of deaths, which would of course cause the rate of variation shown by the vital statistics to be really less favourable than it appears: but it is totally impossible that this can be the only explanation in many instances, for the difference is too large. Further it is to be noted that one generally finds such a difference as this linked to severe plague at census time and also to a large decrease in immigration.

I have dwelt at length on this matter here partly because it appears to me extremely important that its effect should be quite clear, or else the figures are often unintelligible: and partly to save the constant repetition which would be necessary when the district figures of variation come to be considered. The general position can be briefly summed up thus. Since the bulk of migration within the province is due to marriage custom, which does not vary, and since in good or bad decades alike, people marry just as much, the proportion of immigrants to total population in any district should always remain fairly constant. And if it varies greatly, it can only be from some cause which temporarily merges the immigrants back into the home-born of another district (1).

44. **Probable increase in the volume of emigration.**—Independent evidence has been mentioned above tending to show that the rate of emigration constantly increases. Inasmuch as the total number of emigrants has decreased since last census, it is necessary to give facts which point to the truth of this assertion. The explanation of this apparent contradiction has already been mentioned. The chief kinds of emigration that occur are as follows:—

(1) *Emigration in search of work.*—This is chiefly from the Eastern districts. The pressure on the land has long been considerable in these tracts; and must still be very great, though plague has ruthlessly relieved it. It is said by persons who should know that there is not a single family in the Benares division which has not at least one member in the provinces of Bengal, Assam, and Bihar and Orissa (2). This is one of those statements which cannot be taken literally: but even if it be only half true this division alone would account for

(1) The proportion of emigrants to total population will not be so constant because so much emigration is extra provincial and dictated by other causes, such as the search for work, which of course varies with the state of the labour market, and of wages and prices.

(2) *Vide* Famine Report, 1903, pages 153—55.

some 3 to 4 lakhs of emigrants. The lower classes go as labourers to Howrah, Calcutta, and the plantations of Assam, the higher to service as door-keepers, peons and so on in the factories of Bengal.

(3) *Riverain emigration.*—Practically the whole of the extensive river traffic of Bengal is in the hands of men of this province (1).

(3) *Emigration to the collieries.*—Such castes as the Pasis of Oudh go in large number to the collieries. So much is this the case, that when a Pasi thief or burglar is "wanted" and cannot be found, a stock explanation is that he has "gone to the collieries." It does not follow of course that he really has gone there but at all events the fact that the thief's friends and relations see no reason why the police should not believe the statement true, and that the policeman sees no reason why the magistrate should not also believe it true, proves that a large stream of emigration must exist, in which it is reasonable to suppose that the absconder may be lost.

(4) *Military emigration.*—Certain districts of Oudh and the Jat districts are recruiting centres. The exigencies of military service frequently take these soldiers out of the province. How great this emigration may be can be gauged from the following facts. In 1903-04, in the Rae Bareli district, there were some 3 or 4 thousand military pensioners, whether of the Imperial or States armies. They were not merely soldiers, but in service in such departments as the Supply and Transport, as drivers and what not. If this was the number of pensioners, it is obvious that the number of men serving with the colours must also have been considerable. Recruiting in Oudh however has been cut down of late.

(5) *Emigration of domestic servants.*—The Gonda and Fyzabad Kahar (2) bearers are famous all over northern India, and are emigrating in increasing numbers, especially to Burma. Jaunpur and Sultanpur supply about half the total number of syces and grasscuts from Peshawar to Calcutta: they are mostly Jaiswara Chamars and Koeris. Jaunpur also sends its famous Luniyas wherever there is earthwork to be done.

If the above facts show how great is the volume of migration,

District.	Year.	Amount (lakhs).	Amount in 1910.	
			Inland (lakhs).	Foreign (thousands).
Emigration districts—				
Ballia	1895	9½	19	5
.. .. .	1905	17	..	..
Jaunpur	1903	14	23½	31½
Ghazipur	1905	13½	16	6½
.. .. .	1895	9½	29½	130
Azamgarh	1903	14	..	..
Sultanpur	(1) 1905-7	20	23½	6½
Fyzabad .. .. .	..	..	24	11
Benares .. .. .	..	..	43	41
Basti .. .. .	..	..	12½	9
Gonda .. .. .	..	..	11½	6
Gorakhpur .. .. .	..	..	21	6½
Non-emigration districts—				
(1) With large cities—				
Agra .. .. .	..	..	31	58½
Allahabad .. .. .	..	..	40½	34
Breilly .. .. .	..	..	12	8½
Cawnpore .. .. .	..	..	46	73
(2) Ordinary districts—				
Bahraich .. .. .	..	..	3½	1
Banda .. .. .	..	..	4½	..
Bara Banki .. .. .	..	..	1½	2½
Bijnor .. .. .	..	..	1½	5
Masnpuri .. .. .	..	..	7	3

NOTES (1) Average.

(2) Agra, Allahabad, Cawnpore also send many emigrants abroad.

But most striking of all is the comparison between such emigration districts as Ballia, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, Basti, and Gonda, with districts of a similar kind which do not send many emigrants abroad, such as Bahraich, Banda, &c.

(1) Cf what is said of Mallahs in chapter VI, paragraph 210.

(2) The best are not really Kahars, but Gharuks—obviously an offshoot of the Kahar caste. They have lately claimed to be Rajputs.

(3) These figures come from the Famine report, 1908, pages 153-54.

A part of the increase is possibly due to enhanced wages, but to counterbalance this there has been a rise in prices, so that the major part of the increase must be due to an increase in emigration. To sum up, I consider that the loss to the provincial population during this decade from emigration of every kind cannot be put at a lower figure than Mr. Burn's "high rate" of 1901, viz. 1,318,000 and I should not be surprised to learn that it was even higher.

45. **The vital statistics.**—If of the total difference between the calculated and enumerated population 1,318,000 is accounted for by emigration, there remains 209,959 to be accounted for by errors in the vital statistics. I need but briefly recapitulate the method in which these are taken. In rural circles, the reporting agency is the *chaukidar*, a low paid, totally illiterate person, who brings his record of births and deaths (which is written up by the *patwari* or other literate person in the village) to the *thana* with him when he visits it. He is frequently away from his circle on duty, assisting the police, mounting guard at camps, or giving evidence in courts; and it is obvious that errors from omission in such cases must frequently occur. He is assisted occasionally by the village headman (*mukhia*) or chief landlord (*ambardar*), if these happen to be persons with some small amount of public spirit⁽¹⁾; but it is clearly quite possible that births and deaths (specially deaths in the course of epidemics) may escape his notice altogether. His powers of judging of the causes of death are not particularly great: and unless it is a well known and easily distinguishable disease, his diagnosis of a death is not reliable. Apart from deaths due to injury or accident, his knowledge of diseases is limited to small-pox, cholera, plague, and fever: everything which is not a case of one of the first three, and a good many cases that are, go down under fever. For our present purposes however this is less important than the completeness of his record.

In this decade there have been reasons why his record should be less complete than usual. When plague was raging (especially in the early years of plague when it was far more feared than it is now), the *chaukidar* may well have shirked his duties to some extent. Even if he did not, with death succeeding death in rapid succession, he may very well have failed to find out on his return all the cases that had occurred during one of his frequent absences from his circle. The same though in less degree applies to the malaria epidemic of 1908. During famine he was wanted for various other duties⁽²⁾ and was apt to neglect his duties in respect of vital statistics, for famine disorganizes most things. And lastly plague and malaria spared him no more than anyone else and registration was disorganized because of the illness or death of the reporting *chaukidar*. We might reasonably expect that though registration tends, normally, to improve with time, the calamities of the decade should have greatly retarded that improvement or even caused retrogression. Further since plague and malaria were the chief ultimate causes which would prevent him in some way or another from properly discharging his duties, and since they caused far more loss among women than men, we might also expect that the omission in the vital record would be rather of deaths than births, and rather of females than male deaths.

In towns matters are different and it can be asserted with some confidence that registration there is more satisfactory. The head of the house, the policeman of the beat, the sweeper employed in the house, one or all have to report the birth or death. Moreover the agency is far better educated: in some places (Meerut for instance) the causes of death are all tested by a medical man: and generally speaking, it is probable that little fault can be found with urban vital statistics in any respect.

46. **Accuracy of the vital statistics.**—Mr. G. F. Hardy, the actuary employed in 1901 to draw up a memorandum on the age-tables and rates of mortality, attempted to check death registration by means of the census figures as follows. He points out that the population enumerated in 1901 aged 10 and upwards represents—“*if minor considerations such as migration*” be neglected and due allowance be made for any inaccuracy in the age returns—the survivors of the total population enumerated in 1891. “*The difference between*

(1) From Major Graham, who has personally tested a considerable number of entries in different parts at various times, I understand that this type of assistance is at all events sufficient to be worth mentioning.

(2) If I remember right, escorting the distributors of gratuitous relief whilst taking money from the treasury to their villages, was one of them.

the two populations would be represented (if we suppose the deaths spread uniformly over the period) approximately by the deaths during the decennium aged 5 and upwards." This assumption is as he admits, not very accurate owing to the rapid change in the death rate during the first two or three years of life; but this he considered will be probably corrected "*by the larger probability that deaths of quite young children will escape registration.*"

I have italicized certain parts of his description of this method because I think that the assumptions involved in them vitiate the method as applied to the United Provinces, at this census at all events. Migration, as has been seen, is certainly not a minor consideration that can be neglected. The deaths in this decade are by no means spread uniformly over the period, chiefly because of plague. I cannot believe that any greater probability there may be that the deaths of quite young children will escape registration can possibly counteract the enormous change in the death-rate in the first year or two of life; no less than 5 out of 18 millions of deaths during the decade occurred in the first year alone. According to this calculation, the error in the death statistics would amount to over 2 millions: and there is certainly no reason to suspect an error of this magnitude.

But a closer figure can be obtained by adopting Mr. Hardy's principle and modifying his method. It is obvious that the population of 1901 (if we neglect migration for the time being) is equal to the population aged 10 and over in 1911, plus all deaths in the decade, minus the deaths of such persons as were born after the census of 1901 and died before that of 1911. This last figure is equivalent to—

- (1) The persons born after 1st March 1901 who died aged 0 in 1901.
- (2) The persons who died aged 0 in all other years.
- (3) The persons born after 1st March 1901 who died aged 1 in 1902.
- (4) All persons who died aged 1 after 1902:

and so on, up to age 9. Or in other words the deaths to be considered are (1) all deaths over 10, (2) all deaths at ages 1 to 9 in 1901, 2 to 9 in 1902 and so on, (3) a certain proportion of the deaths at age 0 in 1901, at age 1 in 1902, at age 2 in 1903 and so on. This last proportion I have taken at one-fourth of the total instead of one-sixth, because the persons to be considered are those born in January and February 1901, months when the birth-rate is high. Without giving the details of this tedious calculation, the result arrived at is that the difference between the population so calculated and the actual population is 1,533,002. The close correspondence between this figure and the deficit of 1,527,959 arrived at by calculating the population on the basis of births and deaths both, seems to me to point to certain conclusions.

(1) When either the total population or the population over 10 is considered, we get similar deficits, which shows that it is chiefly of adults. This points clearly to migration as a chief cause of the deficit, since migration is chiefly adult.

(2) When either births and deaths together, or a certain number of deaths mostly over 10 are considered, we get a similar deficit, which shows that in so far as the deficit is due to errors of registration, that error is chiefly in the death registration of adults. This points clearly to plague, which affects chiefly adults, as the ultimate cause of the error.

(3) When the deficit of 1,527,959 is subdivided into males and females, we find it to be made up of 666,230 males and 861,729 females. In 1901, which, from the point of view of migration and the comparative error as between the registration of the births and deaths of the two sexes, was normal, there is a similar but smaller excess of missing females. The figures were then 769,849 males and 825,737 females. This seems to me to point to the fact that such extra error in the statistics as exists at this census is due to omission of female deaths; which again points to plague as an ultimate cause, since plague affected females more than males⁽¹⁾. All these three conclusions—that migration is the chief cause of the deficit, that such error in the vital statistics as exists is chiefly of deaths, and amongst deaths, chiefly of female deaths—have all been arrived at from independent arguments. The above calculations accordingly are important as a further support to them.

47. **The test of the vital statistics.**—The vital statistics are regularly tested by superior officers and also by vaccinators. The former usually find an

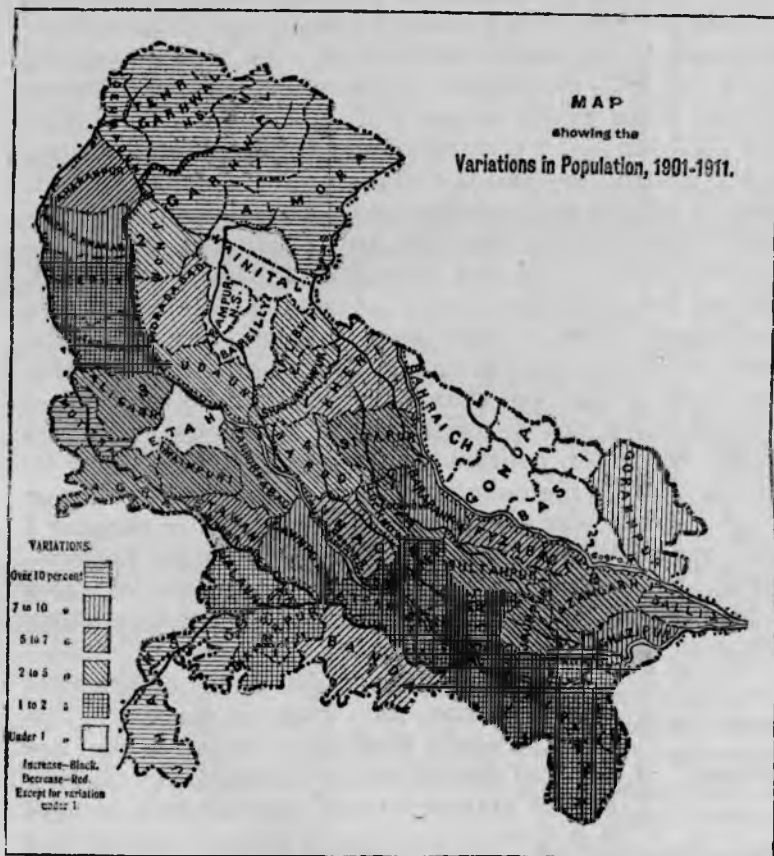
⁽¹⁾ So far as the excess of missing females over missing males is concerned, it must be chiefly attributable to a greater error in the vital statistics of females, not to migration, since females emigrate less than males. But it is quite possible that that temporary re-emigration of permanent immigrants mentioned in paragraph 43 contributed to the result at this census. It would be largely of females, since males could not leave their work.

error averaging about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of omissions for both births and deaths: the latter test far more entries, but find a much smaller error, partly perhaps because they do not like to get the chaukidars, who are valuable allies to them in their own work, into trouble. All told, about six and a half million births and five and a half million deaths were so tested and if they were tested, the errors found were obviously corrected. It can be claimed therefore that so many entries are correct. To these may be added the urban vital statistics, which for reasons already given may also be taken as correct. It would be difficult to find out the exact number of births and deaths in towns, nor is it necessary for the purposes of such a rough calculation as this. Allowing for the fact that the urban birth-rate is usually lower and the urban death-rate higher than the provincial rates and taking a proportion on the total population, the urban birth and deaths can be put at about one and three-fourth millions of each, making in all about eight and a quarter and seven and a quarter millions of births and deaths that are complete and correct. This leaves, roughly, about 11 millions of each untested. Taking the percentage of error at 2 per cent. this gives an error of omission of 220,000 births and 220,000 deaths.

Here however another fact must not be lost sight of, and that is the possibility of error from excess registration. In Bengal an experiment was made which involved the comparison of the vital statistics as recorded by the ordinary staff, and as recorded by an expert staff, in the same tract for a period of 3 years. It was then found that the error due to omission of births and deaths was in each case .3 per cent., but the error due to excess registration of births was .7 and of deaths .4 per cent. It is impossible to apply the figures found to exist in a small tract to the figures of a large province, but this at all events proves, firstly, that the possibility of excess registration is far from negligible, and secondly, that the possibility of excess registration of births is nearly twice as great as that of deaths. The excess registration of births was of cases of abortion and still birth and of double registration: and of deaths, almost entirely of cases of abortion and still births. It is quite possible that the excess registration which must undoubtedly exist in the case of births is sufficient to cancel the omissions. An omission of 220,000 spread over 10 years is by no means large; it is probable that still births alone are in sufficient number to cancel the figure if wrongly reported, and clearly a mistake in this matter could very easily be made in

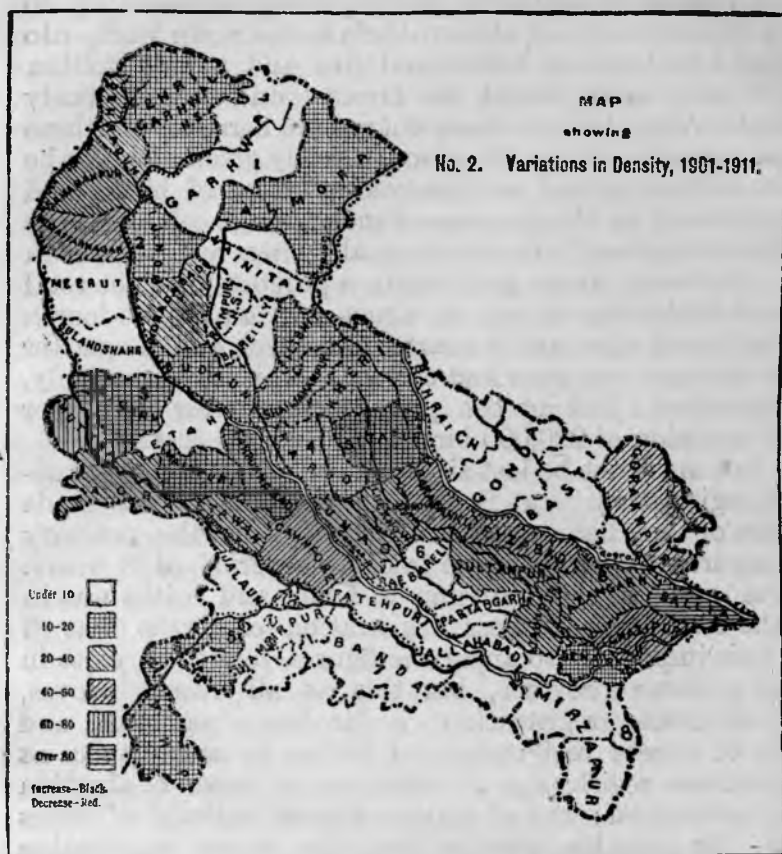
perfect good faith. But what excess registration of deaths there may be would certainly not be sufficient to cancel the omissions; and I am inclined to think that whilst the birth returns are about accurate (excess registrations cancelling omissions), the death omissions are scarcely affected at all. I should put the error in omissions of deaths at 200,000, mostly of females, and hold that the births were as near as possible correct. And if this contention is right, then the true calculated population becomes 48,510,003 or 1,327,959 more than the actual population, a figure close enough to the 1,318,000 I have already estimated for migration.

48. Variations between 1901 and 1911.—



The total decrease in population is 510,233 in British territory, or 1.1 per cent., and

480,294 in British and States territories combined, or 1 per cent. Consequently, if (as was said above) the annual increase of population is 3 per 1,000 then the gross loss is some 4 per cent. Of the natural divisions the Himalaya and Sub-Himalayan divisions and the Plateau show increases, the rest decreases.



The maps in the margin show the variations in population and the variations in density: the second is a pendant to complete the first since a very large actual increase in a thickly populated district may appear as a very small variation. Map no. 1 shows clearly the striking distribution of the increases and decreases. Increases are shown in black, decreases in red, stationary districts (where the variation is under 1 in one or the other direction) in white. A glance at

the map will show that there is a broad red belt right across the province, and north of it a large, and south of it a small, black or white belt. On examination these belts will be seen to correspond closely with the tracts mentioned in paragraph 2 (end) of chapter I. The northern belt of increase comprises the montane and sub-montane tracts: the central belt of decrease the two Doabs (Jumna-Ganges and Ghagra-Ganges): the southern belt corresponds to the trans-Jumna tract. As regards natural divisions, Himalaya West, both the Sub-Himalayan divisions except Saharanpur, the three districts in the Western Plain which lie north of the Ganges and Hardoi in the Central Plain lie in the northern belt; the rest of the three plain divisions and the Eastern Satpuras in the central belt and the Plateau in the southern belt. This local distribution necessarily affects any consideration of variation by divisions: and leads to the consideration whether there is any similarity of geographical and other physical characteristics which can have affected the figures.

The most obvious difference between these tracts or belts is the matter of water supply. The Jumna-Ganges Doab is one huge network of canals: the Ghagra-Ganges Doab possesses no canals, but has many streams and innumerable jhils. Throughout the tract there is no spot that is further than 60 to 70 miles away from a river of the first rank: it is not surprising that the country should be intersected in all directions by water courses of every kind. This water by means of irrigation is distributed all over the country: how widespread and how freely used irrigation is in this tract a glance at subsidiary table I of chapter I will show. As already pointed out above malaria is not due to the mere presence of water but to water-logging, but obviously the greater the amount of water present the greater the chance of water-logging. Almost all the tracts worst affected by the malaria epidemic of 1908 lie in the Doab.

Plague death-rates.			
Natural division.	Rate	Natural division.	Rate.
Himalaya, West	.03	Central India Plateau	.3
Sub-Himalaya West	2.1	East Satpuras	2.0
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.	3.7	Sub-Himalaya, East	1.2
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.	3.2	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	6.4

An even more serious cause of the decrease in the red tract is plague. The average yearly death-rate from plague per 1,000 of population for the decade (1) is given in the margin for each natural division, and it is obvious that the Western, Central, and Eastern Plains which form the major portion of this red tract have been by far the most

(1) Or rather for 9 years. The district figures of plague for 1901 or not available.

affected. Moreover, Saharanpur, the one district of Sub-Himalaya West in this tract, has by itself very nearly half the total plague deaths of this division: whilst the three Rohilkhand districts in the Western Plain and Hardoi in the Central Plain which in those divisions alone show increases have suffered considerably less from plague than the rest of these divisions. Hardoi has been completely free of it for three years. The Eastern Plain has also lost heavily from emigration.

49. **Summary.**—From what has been said above it is clear enough to what causes the variation in population at this census are chiefly due. There is firstly the effect of plague, resulting in a great loss of life and chiefly of female life, which indirectly must also have contributed to lower the birth-rate to some extent. There is secondly the epidemic malaria of 1908, the effect of which was similar to that of plague. There is, thirdly, famine; though this had little direct effect on mortality, it lowered the vitality of the people and consequently the birth-rate, and as will be seen it acted in some parts as an incentive to migration. There is, fourthly, migration. Immigration has slightly decreased, so far as the figures show, but in probability this is a fictitious decrease, due to the temporary re-emigration of immigrants to their birth-places. Emigration despite the decrease which the figures show has probably increased; the decrease in present emigrants is chiefly due to the fact that more emigrants have died. The rates of variation disclosed by the vital statistics frequently differ considerably from those which the census discloses; the cause is usually migration and its effect.

I now proceed to consider the figures of separate districts in the light of the above remarks. The natural features of districts and their component parts have been fully described in Chapter I and it is unnecessary to repeat the description here.

50. **Himalaya West.**—(1) *Dehra Dun.*—The Dun is on the whole (the

Tahsil.	Population 1911.	Percentage.	
		1901-11.	1891-01.
District total	205,075	+15.3	+6.0
Dehra ..	150,263	+18.4	+8.2
Chakrata ..	54,812	+7.2	+1

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	205,075	178,195	+15.3
Immigrants ..	54,644	40,089	+36.3
Emigrants ..	8,867	6,918	+28.2
Natural ..	159,298	145,024	+9.8

Eastern Dun is feverish) one of the healthiest parts of Upper India and one of the most fertile. That the population of the district and especially of Dehra tahsil, the Dun itself, has greatly increased is not therefore surprising; nor is the great and increasing immigration into it which the figures show. Plague has passed it by: it has only had 99 plague deaths in 9 years and the probability is that most of these were imported. Any approach to a real drought is unknown

in the memory of man. Immigration is probably largely casual due to pilgrimage to Hardwar (in Saharanpur) and Rikhikesh, but the tea gardens probably attract some immigrants, and the towns of Dehra and Mussooree have a large population of European pensioners and scholars, whilst Dehra and Chakrata and Landour are also important cantonments with foreign-born troops (Gurkha or British). There is little or no emigration. The population of Chakrata is naturally sparse, for "in its entire area of 478 square miles scarcely a level space of 100 yards occurs anywhere" to be cultivated.

51. (2) *Naini Tal.*—Kichha and Haldwani correspond respectively to the

Tahsil.	Percentage of variation.		
	1911.	1901-11.	1891-01.
District total	323,519	—2	—12.0
Kichha ..	117,761	—6	—13.1
Haldwani ..	85,643	—19.4	—4.8
Naini Tal ..	58,631	+34.1	—5.0
Kashipur ..	61,484	+10.5	—23.9

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	323,519	311,237	—2
Immigrants	134,557	137,756	—2.3
Emigrants	22,863	16,739	+36.5
Natural ..	211,825	190,220	+11.3

Tarai and Bhabar. Their unhealthiness has already been fully described. Malaria there is endemic. The population of both is largely migratory: hillmen come down to the Bhabar for the cold weather, and plainsmen come into the Tarai at the same period, returning with the hot weather. Variations consequently mean little: a month's difference in the date of the census would produce enormous variations. The permanent population consists chiefly of Tharus and Bhoksas; aboriginal tribes popularly supposed to be fever-proof, a

belief which Majors Graham and Robertson have lately proved to be no more correct than popular beliefs usually are. The large decrease in Haldwani is probably due, as the decrease in immigrants is, to a chance visitation of plague before census which emptied the Bhabar of its hill immigrants rather sooner than usual.

The general decrease in immigrants is smaller than the particular decrease in total population in Haldwani because this exodus began just before census and the people concerned though not in Haldwani were still in the district on their way home. Careful arrangements had to be made to enumerate them on the roads leading into the hills: and there is little doubt in my mind that the decrease in Haldwani and the increase in Naini Tal tahsil are both artificial on this account. The roads pass through Naini Tal tahsil and many were doubtless enumerated there. Emigration is of minor importance, but such as it is it has increased.

52. (3) *Almora*.—Population in this district has increased steadily at all

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total.	525,104	+15·9	+11·8
Almora ..	385,651	+16·5	+7·7
Champawat	139,453	+14·2	+24·6
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	525,104	465,893	+15·9
Immigrants ..	14,609	14,846	—1·6
Emigrants ..	53,822	43,685	+23·2
Natural ..	564,317	494,732	+14·1

enumerations, despite a considerable increase of emigration, which is chiefly of the temporary kind described above, to the Naini Tal Bhabar. Immigration is of little importance and the growth of population is due entirely to natural causes. The birth-rate for the decade was 43·1 and the death-rate only 28·2, so that it is unnecessary to look far for the causes of increase.

53. (4) *Garhwal*.—What applies

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District and tahsil (Pauri).	480,167	+11·7	+5·4
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	480,167	429,900	+11·7
Immigrants ..	13,789	15,403	+10·5
Emigrants ..	24,842	17,496	+42·0
Natural ..	491,220	431,993	+13·7

to Almora applies also to Garhwal. There has been continuous increase since 1872. Immigration and emigration are both unimportant: the latter is increasing and the former decreasing, so that the whole of the increase in population is due to natural causes a high birth-rate of 43·9, and a low death-rate of 31·0. In both these districts the rate of increase ⁽¹⁾ disclosed by the vital statistics corresponds fairly to the increase in population. In Almora the excess of births over deaths is 14·9, as against a

variation of 15·9, and in Garhwal it is 12·9, as against a variation of 11·7. It is worth while to examine this correspondence for it bears on the question of the accuracy of the vital statistics. If they were inaccurate anywhere, it would be in the hills, owing to the difficulties attending registration: whilst in these districts the disturbance caused by migration to the vital statistics is small and easily traceable. In Almora immigrants are mostly permanent settlers—planters, Gurkha soldiery, and so on—with a proportion of pilgrims and traders, temporary visitors who cannot affect the birth-rate at all, and affect the death-rate only to a negligible extent. The emigrants are mostly males and their exile is temporary, usually lasting for the cold weather months: they do not affect the birth-rate to any extent, though as they migrate to an unhealthy place, they probably die in quantities that are not negligible and the result is that the crude death-rate is lower than it would be if they stayed. Looking at the probable vital rates in the natural population, therefore, it appears that the birth-rate will be the same as the crude birth-rate, but the death-rate would be rather higher than the crude death-rate, which means that the excess of the former over the latter would be rather less than 14·9 and approximate to the 14·1 which is the rate of increase in the natural population. In Garhwal immigrants are mostly traders and pilgrims and the mortality (chiefly from cholera) amongst the latter is sufficiently high to make special sanitary and medical arrangements necessary all along the pilgrim route. Garhwali emigration is of a permanent kind: the young men take service in the military police in Burma or the United Provinces or in such levies as those in the Chin Hills, or in the Survey department. They do not affect the birth-rate very greatly, for they are mostly unmarried or find wives abroad but their absence does affect the natural death-rate, since they die in exile. The probable rates in the natural population therefore would be a birth-rate rather higher than the crude rate, but a death-rate much the same as the crude rate (since

(1) In this paragraph and in succeeding paragraphs I have frequently compared the rate of variation disclosed by vital and census statistics respectively, without describing them as "per mille" or "per cent." The former is usually shown as a rate per mille, the latter as a rate per cent, and it may seem therefore that the comparison should not be made. The explanation of course is that the former is an average annual rate, the latter is a rate for the whole decade. The rate of variation for 10 years per cent. is obviously the same as the rate of variation for 1 year per mille; and it should be understood that by the "rate of increase (or decrease) disclosed by the vital statistics" is meant the former figure, not the latter.

deaths of immigrants and emigrants for this purpose would cancel each other): and the excess of such a birth-rate over such a death-rate would be something just over 13 and again very close to 13·7, the rate of increase in the natural population. It seems clear therefore that these vital statistics are reasonably accurate and if so, it is probable that the plain statistics are, *a fortiori*, reasonably accurate too.

54. **Sub-Himalaya, West.**—(1). *Saharanpur.*—The district is subject to

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total	986,359	—5·6	+4·4	
Saharanpur.	311,164	—7·0	+7·1	
Deoband ..	204,301	—7·2	+7·1	
Rurki ..	291,160	+1·4	—1·3	
Nakur ..	179,734	—11·6	+5·1	
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	
Actual ..	986,359	1,045,230	—5·6	
Immigrants,	74,416	73,767	+·1	
Emigrants	66,078	77,973	—15·2	
Natural ..	977,021	1,049,436	—6·8	

endemic malaria though it escaped the severer epidemic visitations of 1908, save in parts of Nakur and Rurki. It has suffered very severely from plague, the death-rate from which is about 4 per mille. Its many towns have all lost population save three, of which however the only important one is Hardwar. Immigration is stationary and emigration has declined; the chief cause of decrease is the fact that the death-rate exceeded the birth-rate (44·4 to 39·7) by as much as 4·7, a figure reasonably close to the 5·6 disclosed by the

census.

55. (2) *Bareilly.*—Baheri and Nawabganj are unhealthy, but the former as

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total	1,094,663	+·4	+4·7	
Faridpur ..	130,092	+1·0	·6	
Bareilly ..	318,613	—2·2	+9·2	
Aonla ..	207,598	—2·0	+8·1	
Mirganj ..	101,676	—1·4	+8·3	
Baheri ..	208,204	+7·6	—6·6	
Nawabganj	128,480	+1·0	+2·2	
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	
Actual ..	1,094,663	1,090,117	+·4	
Immigrants	107,832	119,661	—9·9	
Emigrants ..	130,188	146,037	—10·8	
Natural ..	117,019	1,116,493	+·1	

so often with localities where endemic malaria is found, escaped the epidemic malaria of 1908. Most of the rest of the district, especially Aonla and Bareilly, suffered severely from it. Plague was mild, and its death-rate was only 1 per 1,000. The birth-rate (48·6) was larger than the death-rate (44·8) by 3·8, a considerable difference to the rate of increase of the census, ·4; which seems to point to the probability that the population is really larger than the figure returned. It is quite possible that the shortage is in immigrants. Bareilly immigration is of the normal kind

namely of women, whose husbands live in this district and whose fathers live out of it. Bareilly at the date of the census suffered from a severe epidemic of plague, and it is highly probable that many married women and their families returned to their fathers' homes in other districts to escape it.

56. (3) *Bijnor.*—This district is reported to have one of the healthiest

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901 11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	806,202	+3·3	—1·8	
Bijnor ..	211,607	+3·6	+1·9	
Najibabad ..	159,003	+3·3	—1·9	
Nagina ..	165,997	+5·8	—14·4	
Dhampur ..	269,595	+1·7	+4·4	
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	
Actual ..	806,202	779,951	+3·3	
Immigrants ..	34,301	32,446	+5·7	
Emigrants ..	68,913	86,485	—20·3	
Natural ..	840,814	833,990	+·8	

climates in the province. It has however suffered severely from plague (death-rate 3·5) and from the malaria epidemic of 1908, which was especially severe in Bijnor and Dhampur. Immigration has slightly increased but is not very extensive: emigration has considerably decreased, but this is a reversion to the normal. During the decade 1891—1900 there was serious agricultural deterioration in certain parts of Nagina which set the population wandering in unusually large numbers, mostly into the neighbouring districts. The increase is general, but the fact that it is greatest in

Nagina probably points to the fact that many of these emigrants of the last decade have returned to their homes. The birth-rate was 49·6, the death-rate 46·4, giving a rate of increase of 3·2 as against the rate shown by the census of 3·3.

57. (4) *Pilibhit*.—The figures of Pilibhit are not easy to understand. It is

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	487,617		+3·7	—3·0
Bisalpur ..	198,888		+1·3	+2·3
Pilibhit ..	195,749		+5·6	—7·1
Puranpur ..	92,980		+4·4	—6·4
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	487,617	470,339		+3·7
Immigrants ..	62,728	68,450		—8·3
Emigrants ..	59,324	60,424		—1·8
Natural ..	484,213	462,313		+4·7

a district where malaria is endemic, though only Bisalpur suffered from the epidemic of 1908. Its plague mortality was low (1 per mille): its birth-rate was 49·2 and its death-rate only 42·2, a rate of increase of 6·3 as against 3·7 the census rate of increase. It is quite probable that the error in the vital statistics is larger in Pilibhit than elsewhere, as it is a district with a great deal of jungle and swamps and difficult to traverse: but a considerable part of

it must be due to the variations in immigration. Immigration has considerably declined: it is chiefly of agricultural labourers and the death-rate amongst immigrants is high, so that the fresh sources of supply do little more than fill up the blanks caused by death. In this decade they have failed to do so, but whether the reason is that immigration has been arrested or that more immigrants have died is not clear. Emigration has also been arrested in some measure. Probably part of the immigrant population re-emigrated at census time, especially as plague was then severe in Pilibhit and all but non-existent in neighbouring districts such as Kheri and Naini Tal.

58. (5) *Kheri*.—Kheri compared to other districts has been remarkably

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	959,208		+6·0	+·2
Muhamdi ..	271,501		+5·2	—·2
Nughasan ..	290,087		+3·2	+·6
Lakhimpur ..	397,620		+8·6	+·1
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	959,208	905,138		+6·0
Immigrants ..	111,378	112,323		—·8
Emigrants ..	56,828	50,411		+12·9
Natural ..	904,658	843,226		+7·3

lucky. It has increased in population considerably, especially in Lakhimpur tahsil: it was not touched by the epidemic malaria of 1908 and its plague mortality is only ·3 per mille. Its immigration is practically at a standstill. This is probably because it was chiefly due to the advent of agricultural settlers to newly cleared jungle holdings and as the better and more accessible lands were taken up immigration decreased. Emigration has in-

creased considerably, and as it is chiefly of females and consequently due to the country's marriage customs, it may possibly point to greater prosperity. With more money fathers could afford to exercise greater discrimination in choosing and go further afield for a son-in-law. But emigration is comparatively unimportant even still, and it is obvious that, with stationary or decreasing immigration, the increase is chiefly in the resident and home-born population. The rate of increase indicated by the excess of birth-rate (47·2) over death-rate (40·3) is 6·9, an almost exact mean between the rates of increase in the actual (6·7) and natural (7·2) populations.

59. *Indo-Gangetic Plain, West*.—(1) *Muzaffarnagar*.—This district has

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	808,360		—7·8	+13·5
Muzaffarnagar ..	226,945		—5·1	+15·7
Kairana ..	204,585		—8·9	+12·2
Jansath ..	199,864		—7·4	+11·7
Budhana ..	176,966		—10·2	+14·1
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	808,360	877,188		—7·8
Immigrants ..	95,517	122,774		—22·2
Emigrants ..	67,629	79,193		—14·5
Natural ..	780,472	833,607		—6·4

suffered severely from plague (death-rate 10 per mille) and in Budhana also from the epidemic malaria of 1908. Its death-rate (44·0) exceeded its birth-rate (40·5) by 3·5 which is considerably less than the rate indicated by the census figures, and points to the fact that the population is not so much diminished as it appears to be. The probability is once more that there was a considerable amount of temporary re-emigration of immigrants and possibly emigration of the home-born to escape

plague which was extremely severe at the time of census. There is no particular reason why immigration, which is of the normal type, should decrease so greatly. The decrease in emigrants does not, probably, point to any real reduction of emigration, but to the fact that more emigrants have died. As they go chiefly to the neighbouring districts in this province and the Punjab, the high death-rates which have prevailed in this locality would easily account for this.

60. (2) *Meerut*.—Much the same applies to Meerut as to Muzaffarnagar.

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	1,519,364	—1·4	+10·7	
Meerut ..	334,466	—2·2	+4·9	
Ghaziabad ..	278,748	+·8	+11·9	
Mawana ..	197,534	—1·4	+12·7	
Baghpat ..	294,283	—1·1	+14·5	
Sardhana ..	162,665	—9·7	+7·4	
Hapur ..	251,668	+3·4	+14·8	
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,519,364	1,540,175	—1·4	
Immigrants ..	150,227	152,402	—1·4	
Emigrants ..	124,646	129,914	—4·1	
Natural ..	1,493,783	1,517,687	—1·6	

It has suffered severely from plague (death-rate 3·4), and Baghpat, Ghaziabad, and Hapur were hit, more or less severely, by the epidemic malaria of 1908. The birth-rate (41·5) exceeds the death-rate (39·2) by 2·3, as against the decrease of 1·4 indicated by the census figures, which seems to show that the population has not lost so severely as the figures indicate. It is once more quite possible that this is due to movements of population to avoid plague, which was very severe at census time—indeed Meerut was

suffering worse than any other district in the province. The rate of increase shown by the vital statistics and the decrease shown by the census statistics closely approximate to the similar figures for the whole province, but in the latter case emigration explains them. I should be inclined to say that the small decrease in the number of emigrants is due to a higher death-rate and that there has been no real reduction.

61. (3) *Bulandshahr*.—This district

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	1,123,792	—1·3	+19·8	
Anupshahr ..	276,989	—·4	+11·9	
Bulandshahr ..	333,220	+·3	+17·6	
Sikandrabad ..	254,743	—2·3	+16·2	
Khurja ..	258,840	—3·0	+20·6	
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,123,792	1,138,101	—1·3	
Immigrants ..	114,317	147,752	—22·6	
Emigrants ..	113,535	108,574	+4·5	
Natural ..	1,123,010	1,098,923	+2·5	

suffered, with more or less severity in different parts, from the epidemic malaria of 1908: Khurja lost more than Anupshahr. Plague has been comparatively mild (death-rate 1·1). The birth-rate (44·6) exceeds the death-rate (41·6) by 3, and as in the case of Meerut and Muzaffarnagar seems to point to a population in reality larger than the census shows it to be. The explanation again appears to be precisely the same—viz. temporary re-emigration to escape plague. Emigration has also increased slightly.

62. (4) *Aligarh*.—The greater part of Aligarh (excluding the headquarters

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	1,165,680	—2·9	+15·1	
Atrauli ..	203,867	+2·9	+20·7	
Aligarh ..	257,341	—4·0	+16·7	
Iglas ..	116,110	—2·3	+10·8	
Khair ..	179,152	+·2	+18·7	
Hathras ..	210,936	—6·5	+8·3	
Sikandra Rao ..	198,274	—6·3	+15·4	
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,165,680	1,200,822	—2·9	
Immigrants ..	139,478	154,340	—9·6	
Emigrants ..	150,958	160,533	—6·0	
Natural ..	1,177,160	1,207,015	—2·5	

tahsil) suffered severely from the epidemic of malaria in 1908 and also from plague. The birth-rate (40·7) exceeded the death-rate (39·0) by 1·7: the extra loss is accounted for by the excess of emigration over immigration. The presence of plague in Hathras and Aligarh cities may also have caused the usual movement of population, but as the district itself was free it probably did not have as great an effect as it did elsewhere.

63. (5) *Muttra*.—This district has an average plague death-rate of 10 per

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	656,310	—14·0	+7·0	
Muttra ..	201,372	—18·3	+4·9	
Chhata ..	139,952	—19·4	+13·2	
Mat ..	90,599	—6·9	+7·8	
Mahaban ..	122,556	—10·3	+2·2	
Sadabad ..	101,831	—6·5	+6·5	
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	656,310	763,099	—14·0	
Immigrants ..	113,238	126,561	—10·5	
Emigrants ..	112,425	124,169	—9·2	
Natural ..	655,497	760,707	—13·8	

mille whilst the mortality from the epidemic malaria of 1908 was also the greatest in the province. Muttra was the focus of that epidemic. Chhata and Muttra tahsils suffered most severely from both diseases and their population has been considerably more than decimated. The death-rate (47·8) exceeded the birth-rate (36·0) by no less than 11·8: both immigrants and emigrants have declined. With so high a death-rate it is not surprising that emigration has decreased, for there was no surplus population to spare for

other places. The appendix to this chapter deals with Muttra in detail.

64. (6) *Agra*.—Agra has suffered considerably from plague (death-rate 2·8)

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	1,021,847	—3·6	+5·7
Itimadpur ..	149,317	—6·6	+4·0
Firozabad ..	115,784	—3·3	+6·8
Bah ..	125,802	+1·8	—1·8
Fatehabad ..	115,376	+6	+5·8
Agra ..	284,210	—2·4	+6·7
Kiraoli ..	110,182	—11·0	+15·7
Kheragarh ..	121,176	—5·1	+3·1

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,021,847	1,060,528	—3·6
Immigrants ..	139,717	132,707	+5·3
Emigrants ..	172,715	151,041	+14·4
Natural ..	1,054,845	1,078,862	—2·2

and epidemic malaria which was especially severe in Kheragarh and Agra tahsils, but spared no tahsil whatever. Its birth-rate (40·5) was slightly below its death-rate (40·9) but much below the rate of decrease shown by the census. Immigration has risen considerably and emigration has risen greatly. I am personally inclined to believe that immigration is in reality even more considerable than the figures show it to be, as Agra is a large city with many trade interests and many connections through its Jain community with Rajputana. Increased

emigration also helps to account for the decreased population.

65. (7) *Farrukhabad*.—Farrukhabad

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	900,022	—2·8	+7·8
Kanauj ..	116,426	+2·0	—2·6
Tirwa ..	162,192	—9·9	+6·8
Chhibramau ..	126,540	—1	+14·0
Farrukhabad ..	243,077	—2·9	+2·2
Kaimganj ..	169,045	+3	+17·4
Aligarh ..	82,742	—3·6	+17·2

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	900,022	925,812	—2·8
Immigrants ..	108,169	107,908	+·2
Emigrants ..	110,015	123,123	—10·5
Natural ..	901,868	941,027	—4·2

suffered from the epidemic malaria of 1908, but much less severely than other neighbouring districts: all tahsils suffered alike. Plague caused a great deal of loss (death-rate 4·2). The birth-rate (44·3) was below the death-rate (47·4) by 3·1, a figure sufficiently close to the figure disclosed by the census statistics (2·8). Immigration shows an unimportant increase: emigration shows a considerable decrease.

66. (8) *Mainpuri*.—Save

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	797,624	—3·8	+8·9
Mainpuri ..	170,558	—6·8	+7·0
Bhongaon ..	219,789	—3·1	+16·1
Karhal ..	100,374	+2·0	—1·8
Shikohabad ..	157,978	+2	+12·5
Mustafabad ..	148,925	—8·7	+5·1

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	797,624	829,357	—3·8
Immigrants ..	110,389	112,337	—1·8
Emigrants ..	96,325	91,163	+5·7
Natural ..	783,560	808,183	—3·0

Shikohabad, Mainpuri escaped from the epidemic malaria of 1908, and suffered less loss from plague than many other districts. Its birth-rate (37·9) was only slightly below its death-rate (38·2), whilst the rate of decrease indicated by the census statistics is considerable. Temporary plague emigration is probably once more the cause of this divergence, for Mainpuri was suffering severely from this disease at census time. The increase in emigration is noticeable, as the bulk of emigration in this district was originally due to agricultural depression in the two

past decades, and there has been none sufficient to send up the figure again in this decade. It however accounts partly for the decrease in population.

67. (9) *Etawah*.—Etawah is usually considered healthy. Its birth-rate

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—1911.	1891—1901.
District total ..	760,121	—5·8	+10·9
Etawah ..	220,263	+1·9	+9·1
Bharthna ..	179,625	—6·0	+12·4
Bidhuna ..	181,081	—13·1	+9·9
Auraiya ..	179,152	—6·3	+12·3

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	760,121	806,798	—5·8
Immigrants ..	95,726	95,951	—2
Emigrants ..	79,966	73,839	+8·3
Natural ..	744,361	784,666	—5·1

slightly exceeds its death-rate (40·1 as against 39·6): its plague mortality has averaged 2·3 per mille, and Bharthna and most of Etawah escaped the epidemic malaria of 1908, which was however only really serious in parts of Bidhuna. Its immigrants show no variation, reflecting the fact that plague in March 1911 was not very severe. Under the circumstances it is not easy to understand the difference between the vital statistics and the rate of decrease disclosed by the census

figures, though the increase in emigration is considerable and may account for it. It is usually due to movements of labour over the border to Gwalior. This is known to be common and might well have occurred at census time, which is also harvest time.

68. (10) *Etah*.—In Etah, though plague mortality averaged 3·4 per mille,

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	871,997	+·9	+23·1
Etah ..	246,830	—5·0	+14·4
Kasganj ..	274,194	+3·4	+38·4
Aliganj ..	226,301	+9·7	+26·8
Jalesar ..	124,672	—6·5	+10·2

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	871,997	863,948	+·9
Immigrants ..	126,851	134,891	—6·0
Emigrants ..	104,837	117,699	—10·8
Natural ..	849,983	846,756	+·4

and the epidemic malaria of 1908 also caused a great deal of mortality all over the district, especially in Etah and Jalesar, yet the birth-rate (43·1) exceeds the death-rate (39·5) by no less than 3·6, in striking contrast to the census increase of ·9. This is due partly to decreased emigration. This began in the decade of 1881—91 owing to agricultural disasters, but decreased considerably by 1901 and has further decreased, because there have not been

similar causes to send the population wandering. It is probable also that immigration has increased; the figures show an actual decrease but probably this is due in part to the plague which existed at census time (though it was not so severe as elsewhere). There are now both less cause for emigration and more cause for immigration into Etah than there used to be; as the extension of the railway north to Bareilly and east to Cawnpore must have afforded work for many which did not formerly exist, land-locked tracts have now immediate access to the railway and the grain markets, and factories (chiefly for cotton ginning) have sprung up in numbers. This has all helped to keep labour at home and decrease emigration.

69. (11) *Budaun*.—Budaun suffered severely from the epidemic malaria of 1908 especially in tahsils Budaun,

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	1,053,328	+2·7	+10·6
Gunnaur ..	163,970	+1·0	+28·4
Bisauli ..	210,511	—2·5	+15·1
Sahaswan ..	204,010	+5·4	+·3
Budaun ..	251,789	+3·6	+7·3
Dataganj ..	223,048	+3·9	+9·7

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,053,328	1,025,753	+2·7
Immigrants ..	98,089	103,488	—4·2
Emigrants ..	116,499	131,873	—11·6
Natural ..	1,071,738	1,054,188	+1·7

Bisauli, and Dataganj. Its plague death-rate was 3·4 per 1,000. Its birth-rate (49·1) exceeds its death-rate (43·7) by 5·4 or double the increase shown by the census. Plague in Budaun in March 1911 was particularly severe and this has doubtless had its effect on the figures of immigration. But the flow of emigration appears to have really diminished, and there are reasons similar to those found to exist in Etah to account for it. The new Kasganj-Soron-Bareilly line (opened 1903) passes through Budaun and must certainly have had its effect in preventing emigration.

70. (12) *Moradabad*.—Moradabad has had on the whole a favourable

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	1,262,933	+6·0	+1·1
Moradabad ..	253,302	+3·2	+1·9
Thakurdwara ..	121,316	+3·9	—3·5
Bilari ..	222,124	+2·6	—6·7
Sambhal ..	266,049	+8·2	+·1
Amroha ..	216,795	+4·9	+10·9
Hasanpur ..	183,347	+13·8	+4·8

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,262,933	1,191,993	+6·0
Immigrants ..	85,381	90,307	—5·4
Emigrants ..	138,604	157,096	—11·8
Natural ..	1,316,156	1,258,782	+4·5

decade. Every tahsil shows an increase, Hasanpur and Sambhal especially. Its plague mortality was comparatively low (2·3), but only one police circle (Hasanpur) escaped from the epidemic of malaria in 1908. Its birth-rate (50·2) exceeded its death-rate (42·8) by 7·4, a figure not far removed from the 6·0 increase of the census. Immigration has slightly decreased though the decrease is probably fictitious to some extent, as temporary plague emigration at the time of census may have affected these figures; but

the figure is in any case inconsiderable, and the reason is probably that an unusually large proportion of the population is Muhammadan, and does not go so far afield for its wives as Hindus do (¹). Emigration has decreased, for reasons similar to those found in Budaun and Etah. Moradabad is a network of railways

(¹) Cf. Chapter VII. It would seem indeed that the Muhammadan marriage circle is so circumscribed that it generally lies within a very small local area.

many of them new and there must undoubtedly be far more work for labourers than there used to be. But emigration generally plays but a small part in the Moradabad variations and the gain is almost entirely in the resident population. The very high birth-rate is in part at all events the result of the considerable Muhammadan population, which as will be shown in subsequent chapters is much more prolific than the Hindu.

71. (13) *Shahjahanpur*.—The gain in one tahsil (Pawayan) more than counterbalances the small losses in the other three put together. Plague mortality has not been high; the average rate was .7 per mille. Pawayan alone escaped the epidemic malaria of 1908. Generally speaking Pawayan is a tahsil akin rather to Pilibhit and Kheri in Sub-Himalaya West, than to the Western Plain, which explains the great difference between it and the rest of the district. Immigration has gone down considerably—a curious fact since at both the two last censuses the pro-

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901-11.	1891-01.	
District total ..	945,775	+2·6	+3	
Shahjahanpur ..	264,668	—·3	—2·8	
Jalalabad ..	173,755	—1·1	+10·6	
Tilhar ..	252,903	—1·6	+8·3	
Pawayan ..	254,449	+13·9	—10·4	
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	
Actual ..	945,775	921,535	+2·6	
Immigrants ..	98,339	100,399	—2·0	
Emigrants ..	134,472	142,526	—5·7	
Natural ..	981,908	963,662	+1·9	

portion of immigrants to total population was precisely the same and there is no obvious reason why it should have decreased at this, save that plague was raging in March 1911 and probably caused temporary re-emigration (1). Emigration shows what is probably a real decrease. The volume of emigration was very large indeed with no very obvious reason to explain its size; and the probability is that it was abnormal and the present figures are a reversion to the normal. The rate of increase indicated by the vital statistics is 5·6 (birth-rate 50·6, death-rate 45·0), a figure considerably larger than the census rate of increase (2·6).

72. *Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central*.—(1) *Cawnpore*.—The district has suffered severely; every tahsil, and it may be added, the city has shared in the loss. Plague is the chief cause; its death-rate was 6 per mille. The district escaped from the epidemic malaria of 1908 almost scot-free; it caused some loss in Akbarpur but nowhere else. The birth-rate was 40·6, the death-rate 48·4, showing a rate of decrease of 7·8 which is reasonably close to the rate of decrease disclosed by the census figures. The rest is undoubtedly attributable to variations in migration, but in the case of Cawnpore it is particularly difficult to calculate this. There is very large labour

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901-11.	1891-01.	
District total ..	1,142,286	—9·3	+4·1	
Akbarpur ..	99,172	—8·1	+5·4	
Bilhaur ..	139,581	—10·7	—·8	
Bhognipur ..	133,946	—5·1	+17·0	
Cawnpore ..	296,317	—12·5	+4·3	
Derapur ..	134,230	—10·3	+6·8	
Narwal ..	88,916	—4·2	—6·0	
Sheorajpur ..	127,831	—13·6	+1	
Ghatampur ..	122,293	—1·9	—5·8	
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	
Actual ..	1,142,286	1,258,868	—9·3	
Immigrants ..	153,441	179,623	—14·6	
Emigrants ..	125,975	125,942	—1	
Natural ..	1,114,820	1,205,187	—7·5	

immigration to the city, which is chiefly from the neighbouring districts and the rural tracts of Cawnpore itself. This has gone down considerably. Such immigration as this is doubtless affected to some extent by the state of the labour market. Wages have ruled high everywhere during the decade (as stated above). Moreover other towns besides Cawnpore have now similar though still lesser attractions to offer to the labouring classes. These facts would affect Cawnpore immigration in three ways. Firstly, fewer labourers would migrate there, since money was easily made at home, and if the attachment of the Indian peasantry to the soil be remembered, it is probable that this has had no small effect. Secondly, those that did come would make their modest "piles" more quickly and not stay in Cawnpore so long. Thirdly, labour would not now find its way to Cawnpore so much as of old, but be diverted to other places, Hathras, and the other smaller manufacturing towns of the western plain, for instance. The decrease in immigration is probably to some extent real. Not only so, but plague doubtless had its effect on the immigrant population, as usual: and not only on them, but also on the home-born population. The epidemic in the

(1) The disappearance of Shahjahanpur cantonment would also assist in this process, getting rid of a battalion of British soldiers who of course were all "immigrants."

district was fairly severe ; and though the epidemic in the city was very slight at the actual date of census (there were only 4 deaths in the city during the week in question) yet just previously it had been severe enough to cause a very great deal of immigration into Unao. This was of the most temporary kind, for the emigrants came in to their work every day and left Cawnpore at night. But it affected the city figures very seriously indeed, as the difference between the figures of March and those taken in June show. Many of these emigrants would be Cawnpore-born : and the result is that emigration, which the figures as they stand show to be stationary may have decreased. The volume of emigration from Cawnpore is a puzzle, for one would imagine that labour, with Cawnpore city so close at hand, would not go further afield ; it is possible that labourers having tested the pleasure of money making in that city, are often attracted by the inducements offered by employers further away which might well be occasionally superior to the Cawnpore inducements for two reasons, firstly because they may find it less easy to get labour, and secondly because a Cawnpore labourer is worth more than other labourers, because he has already and literally, passed through the mills of Cawnpore. With all these influences at work to cause movements of population, the correspondence between the rates of variation shown by the vital and census statistics would point to the fact that the former are accurate, in spite of the many vicissitudes of the decade.

73. (2) *Fatehpur*.—Plague in Fatehpur has not been excessively severe : the

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901-11.	1891-01.
District total ..	676,939	-1.4	-1.9
Fatehpur ..	166,514	-2.9	-2.2
Khajjuha ..	193,496	-2.9	-3.6
Ghazipur ..	93,752	+2.8	-1.2
Khaga ..	223,177	-5	-1

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	676,939	686,391	-1.4
Immigrants ..	45,644	53,401	-14.2
Emigrants ..	62,212	68,697	-8.6
Natural ..	693,507	701,687	-1.2

death-rate was 2.8 per mille. The district also escaped the epidemic malaria of 1908. None the less neither birth-rate nor death-rate was favourable, the former (41.2)* being just under the provincial rate (41.4) and the latter (40.7) above the provincial rate (39.3). The rate of increase indicated by the vital statistics is thus .5 as against the census rate of decrease of 1.9. Plague at the time of census was moderately severe, and this has probably had its usual effect on the num-

ber of immigrants. The type of immigration in Fatehpur is of the normal type, caused by the marriage customs of the country. The decrease in emigration is undoubtedly real. It increased considerably in the famine of 1897-98 especially in Khajjuha and was directed chiefly to Cawnpore. But with the introduction of canal irrigation it is probable that many emigrants came home. The canal though first used in 1898, was not working everywhere or fully till 1902. The return of emigrants had as a matter of fact been anticipated as a result of the introduction of canals (Gazetteer, page 81) and the figures of this census show that the anticipation was correct. The conclusion therefore seems to be that there are in reality rather more immigrants than the figures show and that there are now fewer emigrants than of old. The true population is therefore in all probability larger than it appears to be.

74. (3) *Allahabad*.—Allahabad's plague death-rate was high (5.8 per mille)

Tahsil.	Population	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901-11.	1891-01.
District total ..	1,467,136	-1.6	-3.8
Allahabad ..	332,068	-2.0	-1.1
Sirathu ..	128,012	-8	-6
Manjhanpur ..	130,935	+9	-1.4
Soraon ..	183,047	-2.0	-1
Phulpur ..	165,477	-3.6	-2.9
Handia ..	173,182	-5.5	-2.0
Karchhana ..	127,667	+3	-5.6
Barah ..	57,210	+1.2	-13.1
Meja ..	169,538	+1.5	-14.4

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,467,136	1,489,358	-1.6
Immigrants ..	96,985	91,588	+5.9
Emigrants ..	135,203	117,508	+14.4
Natural ..	1,505,354	1,515,278	-7

but it escaped the epidemic malaria of 1908 entirely. Its birth-rate (39.8) is less than its death-rate (40.5) by .7, as against the rate of decrease shown by the census figures of 1.6. It will be noticed that both immigrants and emigrants have increased in number. Immigration has continuously increased. In 1901, the increase was due to a considerable influx from Banda in the famine of 1896-97. At this census the figures were disturbed by the persons still present in Allahabad on account of the exhibition who make up a part of the difference. The increase in emigration is probably of a permanent nature.

Allahabad emigration is mostly to the Assam plantations, the labour centre

of Bengal, and overseas. For such a large district plague was not very severe at census time and it is quite possible that the figures are further disturbed by the temporary migration consequent on an epidemic of plague; which would increase the home-born or emigrant population according as the newcomers were emigrants returning home for the time or persons of other districts who came over the border to escape infection. The increase in the three tahsils last on the list is paralleled by the increase in the Plateau, to which natural division they properly belong.

75. (4) *Lucknow*.—Lucknow has suffered severely from plague (death-rate

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	764,411	793,541	-3.6	+2.5
Lucknow ..	446,782	432,970	-1.8	+1.4
Mohankalganj ..	142,035	118,259	-4.7	+4.9
Malhabad ..	175,594	778,530	-7.8	+2.6
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	764,411	793,541		-3.6
Immigrants ..	140,650	132,970		+5.8
Emigrants ..	97,535	118,259		-17.2
Natural ..	721,296	778,530		-7.4

5.2 per mille): and Malihabad tahsil also suffered from the epidemic malaria of 1908. The birth-rate is 41.4, the death-rate 46.7; the rate of decrease is therefore 4.3 or greater than the census rate shows it to be, an unusual state of affairs. One would naturally suspect the population, as shown by the census, to be larger than it really is, which could only be explained by a considerable temporary influx of persons who do not

belong to the district, though what was the cause of this influx it is not easy to determine. The decrease in emigration may account for it. Lucknow has always been a district whence there was much emigration and its sudden decrease by 17 per cent. is curious. The number of emigrants from Lucknow have diminished especially in Cawnpore, Unao, Sitapur, Bahraich and Bara Banki, but also in many other districts. It is possible that the migration due to plague may have sent many emigrants back to their homes in Lucknow, especially from such districts as Unao and Bara Banki: whilst famine was very severe in Bahraich and it is possible that this also caused Lucknow emigrants to return home. But it would seem that there must also be some more permanent cause and it is possible that the development of certain industries in Lucknow may have kept labour at home; five or six large mills and other works in Lucknow city date their inception to this decade.

76. (5) *Unao*.—Unao, save in the extreme south-west corner, escaped the

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	910,915	976,619	-6.7	+2.4
Unao ..	184,855	82,916	-9.7	+6.2
Safipur ..	214,557	106,190	-4.8	+7.3
Purwa..	271,825	999,903	-6.5	-7
Mohan ..	239,678		-6.1	-8
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	910,915	976,619		-6.7
Immigrants ..	55,877	82,916		-32.7
Emigrants ..	95,471	106,190		-11.4
Natural ..	950,559	999,903		-4.9

epidemic malaria of 1908 altogether, but has suffered severely from plague during the decade (death-rate 5.7 per mille). Its birth-rate was 41.6, its death-rate 44.2, showing a rate of decrease of 2.6 as against 6.7, shown by the census. The difference seems to be accounted for by the decrease in immigrants. Plague in Unao at census time was excessively severe and this doubtless had its effect: but it is probable that the decrease in Unao immi-

grants is also the corollary in part of the decrease in Lucknow emigrants. On the other hand it is probable that Unao emigrants have decreased from causes similar to those prevailing in Lucknow: Unao is a district where Mr. Moreland specially noticed the results of high prices on the labour market; and it is certain that Unao contained at census time a considerable proportion of Cawnpore emigrants, refugees from plague, though many of these, doubtless, are merged in the Unao-born population.

77. (6) *Rae Bareli*.—Rae Bareli has on the whole been fortunate in this

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total...	1,016,864	1,033,761	-1.6	-3
Rae Bareli ...	224,832	81,309	+6	+7
Dalmau ...	270,468	98,135	-2	-1.8
Maharajganj ...	263,737	1,040,590	-5.2	-5
Salon ...	257,827		-1.3	-3
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ...	1,016,864	1,033,761		-1.6
Immigrants ...	65,861	81,309		-19.0
Emigrants ...	85,957	98,135		+10.0
Natural ...	1,046,960	1,040,590		-7

decade. Its plague death-rate was on the whole low (2.3 per mille): and save for a narrow tract running east and west through Dalmau and Salon it did not suffer from the epidemic malaria of 1908 (1). Its birth-rate and death-rate were both average (41.1 and 39.6 respectively): and the decrease shown by the census must be due to the effect of migration. Plague was severe at census time and this may have had its effect on the number of immigrants: but as in Unao, the

(1) It is not always possible from the map showing the incidence of the malaria epidemic which Major Graham has kindly lent me, to trace the exact locality where it was prevalent when that locality is small: but it would appear that in Rae Bareli it followed the course of a chain of hills that exists in Dalmau and Salon. In Salon where it was worst, water-logging is apt to occur in the vicinity of these hills, as I know from personal experience; and they are of course extensively used for irrigation. The necessary conditions for malaria were undoubtedly present.

decrease of Lucknow emigrants is doubtless reflected in the decrease of Rae Bareli immigrants. Emigration has considerably increased. It is of a kind that is not likely to decrease owing to the vicissitudes of the labour market; for the emigrants are largely army recruits, whilst the lower castes go to the coal mines, to Assam and abroad.

78. (7) *Sitapur*.—Sitapur has had a not unfavourable decade. It escaped

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	1,138,996	1,175,473	-3.1	+9.3
Sitapur ..	308,689	308,689	-0.8	+6.9
Biswan ..	287,954	287,954	-3.1	+9.3
Sidhauli ..	283,650	283,650	-5.9	+11.3
Misrikh ..	258,703	258,703	3.3	+10.0
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,138,996	1,175,473	-3.1	
Immigrants ..	85,144	102,328	-16.8	
Emigrants ..	101,091	101,231		
Natural ..	1,154,943	1,174,376	-1.7	

the epidemic of malaria altogether and its death-rate from plague was only 1 per mille, whilst its birth-rate (41.0) exceeded its death-rate (38.6) by 2.4, a great contrast with the rate of decrease shown by the census. There is a striking decrease in immigration, though the cause of this is by no means clear. The Lucknow immigrants have considerably decreased, as in Unao and Rae Bareli, but this is quite insufficient to account for the immigrant variation of 16.8. Nor was there any plague at census time sufficient to affect the figures. Sitapur migration is almost entirely due to the coming and going of females caused by the marriage customs of the country and in the absence of plague there is no reason why this should vary at all from census to census. A further cause of the decrease in immigration is the disappearance of the Sitapur cantonment, but for many years previous to that disappearance there had only been a couple of companies of British infantry stationed there so that its effect on the figures would not be large.

79. (8) *Hardoi*.—Hardoi has suffered little from plague (death-rate 1.4)

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	1,121,248	1,092,834	+2.6	-1.8
Hardoi ..	301,699	301,699	+6.9	-7.8
Shahabad ..	261,469	261,469	+4.3	+1.0
Bilgram ..	293,254	293,254	-3	+4.3
Sandila ..	264,826	264,826	-5	-4.0
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,121,248	1,092,834	+2.6	
Immigrants ..	73,044	92,564	-21.1	
Emigrants ..	110,815	127,557	-13.2	
Natural ..	1,159,039	1,127,827	+2.8	

whilst Shahabad and part of Hardoi escaped from the epidemic malaria of 1908. Its birth-rate (48.7) greatly exceeded its death-rate (42.8): the rate of increase 5.9 is more than double that indicated by the census. Plague was very severe in March 1911—for Hardoi exceptionally so and it is probable that the immigrant figures are therefore fictitiously low. The decrease in emigration however is in all probability real. The people of Hardoi have always been ready to

emigrate in times of distress—a habit learnt in "Nawabi" times, when they had a sufficiency of causes, and an effective remedy, since Hardoi was on the Nawabi border. They emigrated freely in 1896-07, and doubtless returned with better times. In the famine of 1907-98 Hardoi was not very seriously affected, and moreover the absence of wandering was a striking feature of that famine (cf. chapter VI, paragraph 208).

80. (9) *Fyzabad*.—Fyzabad has not

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	1,154,109	1,225,374	5.8	+7
Akba:pur ..	339,633	339,633	-2.3	-1.0
Bilapur ..	286,244	286,244	-3.5	+2.7
Fyzabad ..	278,759	278,759	-16.6	+5.6
Tanda.. ..	249,473	249,473	+1.1	-5.3
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,154,109	1,225,374	-5.8	
Immigrants ..	91,997	121,045	-24.0	
Emigrants ..	139,254	112,294	+23.8	
Natural ..	1,201,366	1,216,623	-1.3	

suffered severely from plague (death-rate 1.6) and escaped the epidemic malaria of 1908. The birth-rate was 38.2, the death-rate 36.2: the former is miserably low compared with that of other districts, the latter is well below normal, but the rate of increase of 2.0 which it indicates is in striking contrast with the rate of decrease of 5.8 shown by the census statistics. As usual plague played its part in decreasing the number of immigrants, and apparently to a considerable extent: whilst it is probable that there was also

some loss by emigration of the home-born from the same cause. But the chief loss is due to greatly increased emigration. If the high death-rates of the decades which were prevalent in most parts of India be remembered it will be

seen that a very considerable stream of emigration is necessary to increase the already high figure of 1901 by 23·7 per cent. This district is on the fringe of the tract from which emigration chiefly comes: and its people chiefly go to Assam, Burma and overseas. Extra-provincial emigration in Fyzabad amounts to considerably over one-third of the total amount.

81. (10) *Sultanpur*.—Sultanpur has suffered very little from plague (death-rate ·9 per mille) and not at all from the epidemic malaria of 1908. Its birth-rate (39·7) exceeds its death-rate (38·1) by 1·6, as against the rate of decrease shown by the census of 3·3. Plague, which at the date of the census was exceptionally severe in Sultanpur, doubtless had its usual effect in decreasing the population present in the district: emigration has increased, which in the circumstances of the past decade points to a very considerable stream of emigrants.

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	1,048,524	-3·3	+·7	
Sultanpur ..	331,577	-2·5	+2·7	
Amethi ..	205,243	-5·5	-·9	
Musafirkhana ..	252,449	-3·2	+3·9	
Kadipur ..	259,255	-2·3	-3·2	
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,048,524	1,083,904	-3·3	
Immigrants ..	82,841	98,361	-15·8	
Emigrants ..	112,563	102,253	+9·8	
Natural ..	1,078,243	1,087,796	-·9	

rants.

82. (11) *Partabgarh*.—Partabgarh escaped the epidemic malaria of 1908 altogether and its death-rate from plague was low (1·5 per mille). Its birth-rate (41·7) very considerably exceeded its death-rate (36·6) which produces another striking contrast to the census rate of decrease.

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	899,973	-1·4	+·2	
Partabgarh ..	309,882	-2·1	+3·3	
Kunda ..	314,644	-2·7	-2·8	
Patti ..	275,446	+1·0	+·4	
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	899,973	912,848	-1·4	
Immigrants ..	66,918	34,728	+92·7	
Emigrants ..	102,799	87,696	+17·2	
Natural ..	935,854	965,816	-3·1	

For the figures of immigration as they stand there is no obvious explanation. Both in 1901 and 1911 the proportion of females to males in the immigrant population is approximately 4 to 1, so that there can be little doubt of the nature of this immigration. It is the normal type of "marriage" immigration. Almost the whole of the immigrants at both enumerations came from four contiguous districts (Allahabad, Jaunpur, Sultanpur and Rae Bareli) which points to the same conclusion. Partabgarh was little affected by plague and it may be that there was a good deal of chance emigration over the border from these districts where plague was virulent but it could scarcely have affected the figures to this extent. In a word it is obvious that there has been a very great boom in extra-district marriages in Partabgarh but why it has occurred it is impossible to say. Partabgarh did not suffer at all in famine and the result is that it escaped almost entirely from all the vicissitudes of the decade. It has therefore been prosperous whilst its neighbours were suffering and it is possible that the peasant with money in his pocket has been able to go further afield for his bride. Unless the vital statistics are very erroneous, the actual decrease in population, in spite of an increase in immigration and a birth-rate largely exceeding the death-rate, can only be explained by a large increase in emigration which has as a matter of fact occurred.

83. (12) *Bara Banki*.—In Bara Banki plague has been severe (3·8 death-rate per mille). It however escaped the malaria of 1908. Its death-rate (38·0) exceeded its birth-rate (36·3) by 1·7, as against the census of decrease of 8·1. Immigrants and emigrants both show a large decrease: probably a considerable part of the former decrease is due to plague emigration as at census time plague was very virulent in Bara Banki.

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	1,083,867	-8·1	+4·3	
Ramsanehighat ..	338,995	-12·5	+2·6	
Nawabganj ..	246,179	-3·1	+4·6	
Fatehpur ..	313,487	-6·5	+6·2	
Haidarganj ..	185,206	-8·3	+3·7	
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,083,867	1,179,323	-8·1	
Immigrants ..	61,373	83,297	-26·3	
Emigrants ..	95,792	105,362	-9·1	
Natural ..	1,118,283	1,201,388	-6·9	

84. **Central India Plateau. (1) Banda.**—Banda has only lost 415 persons

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	657,237		+4.1	-10.6
Banda ..	97,258		-1.3	-12.7
Pailani ..	80,311		-.3	-9.1
Baberu ..	82,069		+6.0	-10.6
Kamasin ..	81,421		+3.4	-5.4
Mau ..	68,260		+5.1	-11.9
Karwi ..	84,759		+8.1	-10.6
Badausa ..	79,628		+6.5	-4.1
Girwan ..	83,531		+7.5	-9.7
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	
Actual ..	657,237	631,058	+4.1	
Immigrants ..	42,927	54,038	-20.5	
Emigrants ..	74,394	50,926	+46.0	
Natural ..	688,704	627,946	+9.7	

from plague during the decade and escaped the epidemic of malaria of 1908. Its birth-rate (41.4) exceeded the death-rate (35.7) by 5.4, which is a rate of increase not far removed from the census rate of 4.1. Immigration has decreased and it is probably a real decrease. There is evidence that the famine of 1896-97 brought many persons from the neighbouring native states into Banda: in 1907-08 there was practically no such immigration, as I can state from personal experience. Emigration appears to have increased enormously. The net

result is that the increase is entirely in the home-born population; the district has shown a remarkable recovery after the disasters of the former decade. The slight decreases in Banda and Pailani are possibly due to emigration caused by scarcity for these tahsils had to endure two famines during the decade, both in 1905-06 and 1907-08.

85. (2) **Hamirpur.**—The case of Hamirpur is very similar to that of

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	465,223		+1.5	-10.7
Hamirpur ..	79,506		+11.0	-11.7
Rath ..	123,055		-2.1	-9
Kulpahar ..	108,404		-3.1	-12.3
Mahoba ..	63,546		+2.6	-16.5
Maudaha ..	90,712		+3.9	-16.0
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	
Actual ..	465,223	458,542	+1.5	
Immigrants ..	53,260	55,552	-4.1	
Emigrants ..	71,608	45,075	+58.8	
Natural ..	483,571	448,065	+7.9	

Banda; there was no plague, no epidemic of malaria and the birth-rate (47.1) exceeded the death-rate (41.1) by 6.0, as against the census rate of increase of 1.5. In 1901 immigrants appreciably out-numbered emigrants: the reverse is the case in 1911. As in Banda this is probably due to diminished immigration from native states: the figure doubtless rose owing to the 1896-97 famine and subsequently declined. The enormous increase in emigrants may be in part due to the two famines of this decade,

but it has its parallel in both Jhansi and Banda and may have other causes, such as the desire to make money. I venture to suggest that possibly the new Land Alienation laws of this decade may be partly responsible; they have the effect of making it much more difficult for the cultivator to borrow money and this may have induced him to go where money can be made in other ways. But the land has few attractions to recommend it and extensive emigration is not surprising.

86. (3) **Jhansi.**—Plague and epidemic malaria passed Jhansi by: the death-

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	680,688		+10.4	-9.8
Jhansi ..	166,939		+14.8	-2
Mau ..	104,278		+4.0	-13.3
Garautha ..	72,626		+8.5	-24.7
Moth ..	55,009		-1.1	-5.8
Lalitpur ..	159,462		+10.3	-8.0
Mahroni ..	122,374		+17.8	-11.3
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	
Actual ..	680,688	616,759	+10.4	
Immigrants ..	108,653	100,601	+8.0	
Emigrants ..	72,414	33,180	+118.9	
Natural ..	644,449	549,338	+17.3	

rate from the former was only .3 per mille. The birth-rate (48.5) exceeded the death-rate (41.5) by 7.0, a figure sufficiently far from the census rate of increase of 10.4. It is noticeable that this very considerable increase has occurred in spite of an enormous increase in emigration, which is chiefly emigration out of the province. There are now 54,000 persons born in Jhansi who were found in other parts of India, as against 12,000 in 1901 whilst there are only 18,000 persons who were found in other districts of the province,

as against 20,000 in 1901. The emigrants are roughly in the proportion of 2 females to 1 male and are found chiefly in Central India and the Central Provinces. This increase in emigration seems therefore to be chiefly due to an extension of the marriage alliances between Jhansi and the neighbouring portions of India and the cause of it may possibly be its increased prosperity which would enable its

parents to go further afield and exercise more discrimination in choosing their sons-in-law.

87. (4) *Jalaun*.—Jalaun has suffered but slightly from plague (death-rate 1

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	404,775	+1.3	+0.8
Orai ..	58,463	-1.0	-12.8
Kalpi ..	79,944	+5.5	-3.9
Jalaun ..	162,191	+1.1	+9.0
Kunch ..	104,177	-0.4	+1.7

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	404,775	399,726	+1.3
Immigrants ..	51,863	52,208	-0.6
Emigrants ..	40,050	35,791	+11.3
Natural ..	392,962	383,309	+2.5

census rate).

88. *East Satpuras*.—(1) *Mirzapur*.—Mirzapur's death-rate from plague

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	1,071,046	-1.1	-6.8
Mirzapur ..	306,088	-7.9	-10.7
Chunar ..	176,042	-0.3	-4.9
Robertsganj ..	162,088	+7.7	-8.3
Dudhi ..	80,583	+13.2	-8.3
Konrh (1) ..	275,862	-3.3	-2.1
Chakia (1) ..	70,383	+5.7	-6.1

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,071,046	1,082,430	-1.1
Immigrants ..	64,573	88,113	-26.9
Emigrants ..	100,770	89,998	+11.9
Natural ..	1,107,243	1,084,315	+2.1

(1) Now comprised in the Benares State.

that in Mirzapur (in many parts a very backward district) the vital statistics are more erroneous than elsewhere. At the same time it is clear that emigration has increased especially emigration out of the United Provinces. 49,549 persons born in Mirzapur were enumerated in India outside the province as against 35,023 in 1901⁽¹⁾.

89. *Sub-Himalaya, East*.—(1) *Gorakhpur*.—Gorakhpur did not suffer very

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	3,201,180	+8.9	-1.2
Bansgaon ..	4,8893	+2.1	-2.9
Maharajganj ..	602,740	+19.5	-1.4
Padrauna ..	651,502	+9.4	-1.6
Hata ..	471,425	+9.9	-0.3
Deoria ..	513,007	+3.9	-4.6
Gorakhpur ..	533,613	+7.6	+3.9

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	3,201,180	2,957,074	+8.3
Immigrants ..	151,552	140,979	+7.5
Emigrants ..	136,324	119,000	-5.5
Natural ..	3,185,952	2,945,195	+8.2

of 3 millions.

(1) It may be noted that this emigration is largely temporary, commencing with the end of the rains and ending with the beginning of the hot weather. It is directed chiefly to labour in the jute mills of Bengal. The result is that the true population must further be increased by a large number of emigrants. It is probable therefore that there has been no decrease in population at all but an increase and this is important as it correlates the vital and census statistics. Such emigration, temporary as it is, would have little effect on either the birth or death rate.

90. (2) *Basti*.—Basti escaped the epidemic of malaria altogether, whilst

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	1,830,421	—·9	+3·4
Domariaganj ..	306,161	—5·0	+2·9
Bansi ..	415,354	+3·3	+10·9
Haraiya ..	333,918	..	—5·1
Basti ..	376,995	—4·1	+4·0
Khalilabad ..	397,993	+·8	+3·7
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,830,421	1,846,153	—·9
Immigrants ..	85,546	94,581	—9·5
Emigrants ..	137,279	121,967	+13·1
Natural ..	1,882,154	1,873,539	+·5

plague, with a death-rate of ·6 per mille, was not severe. The birth-rate (40·3) exceeded the death-rate (34·0) by 6·3, a figure very different from census rate of decrease of ·9. Plague was for Basti, severe at census time, and this may have contributed to a temporary decrease of the population, especially among immigrants; whilst it is probable that emigration has increased even more than the figures show. Famine was serious in 1907-08, and though there was little wandering of a casual kind anywhere in that year, it is natural that in a district whence emigration is usual, it should have increased at such a time. Basti is

on the Nepal border, whilst a very large number of Basti labourers go to the plantations in Fiji, the West Indies and Natal. Both the emigrants to Nepal and overseas are not included in the figure of emigrants and it is certain that if they were that figure would be very much larger than it is. The decrease of population therefore is due chiefly to an unusually large volume of emigration at the end of the decade.

91. (3) *Gonda*.—Gonda is in similar case to Basti. Plague has been very

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	1,412,212	+·6	—3·8
Gonda ..	399,158	+4·0	—5·0
Tarabganj ..	342,373	—6·2	—5·2
Utraula ..	670,581	+2·5	—2·3
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,412,212	1,403,195	+·6
Immigrants ..	93,481	102,270	—8·2
Emigrants ..	95,280	89,398	+6·7
Natural ..	1,414,011	1,390,323	+1·7

slight and the district did not suffer from epidemic malaria. The birth rate (40·3) exceeded the birth rate (33·8) considerably, so that the decrease in the population must be due to migration. In the absence of plague it seems possible that famine caused a decrease in the number of immigrants by causing settlers to return home: there is a notable diminution in the numbers of immigrants from Fyzabad and Nepal. The increase in emigration is due chiefly to the large number who emigrate from this district to Nepal or overseas, as they do in Basti. In

a district where emigration is common, it would become more common in famine: nor must it be forgotten that though parts of Gonda have occasionally suffered from scarcity, a widespread famine is a thing unknown to Gonda since, so far as records go, at least 1784. Emigration in such circumstances was a natural way out of the difficulties with which the population did not know how to grapple.

92. (4) *Bahraich*.—What is true of Gonda and Basti is true of Bahraich.

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total ..	1,047,677	—·3	+5·1
Bahraich ..	395,569	+4·8	+5·8
Kaisarganj ..	336,838	—3·2	+4·8
Nanpara ..	315,400	—3·2	+4·6
Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,047,677	1,051,347	—·3
Immigrants ..	77,178	88,304	—12·6
Emigrants ..	33,890	30,809	+10·0
Natural ..	1,004,389	993,852	+1·1

There was little plague and no malaria epidemic: the birth-rate (41·0) exceeds the death-rate (36·1) by 4·9, as against the census decrease of ·3. There has been a large decrease in immigrants probably due to the return home of settlers in famine time: and though the figures of emigration are low, they do not include the emigrants to Nepal and overseas, the former of whom are certainly numerous. Like Gonda, Bahraich knew practically nothing of famine till 1907-08, and it is not surprising therefore that the population fled from it.

93. **Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.**—(1) *Benares.*—Plague in Benares has been

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	897,035	+1·7	-4·3	
Benares ..	564,276	+1·2	-3·9	
Gangapur ..	88,831	+2·5	-3·6	
Chandauli ..	243,928	+2·6	-5·4	
Population.		1911	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	897,035	882,084	+1·7	
Immigrants ..	99,728	121,328	-19·1	
Emigrants ..	107,041	106,840	+·9	
Natural ..	904,348	867,596	+4·1	

moderately severe (death-rate 2 per mille) but the district escaped the malaria epidemic of 1908. The birth-rate (41·9) exceeded the death-rate (40·4) by 1·5, a figure very close to the census rate of increase 1·7. There has been a considerable decrease in immigrants, many of whom in Benares are pilgrims and scarcely affect the vital statistics. Emigration has slightly increased. It is obvious that the gain is almost entirely due to natural causes and not to migration.

94. (2) *Jaunpur.*—Jaunpur has suffered severely from plague (death-rate 4

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	1,156,254	-3·9	-4·9	
Jaunpur ..	248,520	-7·7	-3·4	
Mariahu ..	240,794	-1·2	-3·8	
Machhlshahr ..	225,893	-3·2	-4·6	
Khutahan ..	250,889	-6·9	-6·6	
Kirakat ..	190,158	+1·6	-6·9	
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	1,156,254	1,202,920	-3·9	
Immigrants ..	74,039	71,463	+3·6	
Emigrants ..	159,137	153,851	+4·0	
Natural ..	1,241,352	1,285,308	-3·4	

per mille). The birth-rate however is 35·6 and larger than the death-rate (33·6) by 2·0, a great contrast to the rate of decrease shown by the census. Plague was severe in Jaunpur at census time and it is probable that the number of immigrants (though it has increased) is even greater than the recorded figure on this account, for I learnt that as a matter of fact part of the increase in Benares was due to

refugees from plague from Jaunpur and elsewhere. The population has lost a great deal by emigration and indeed a great deal more than the figures show, for there is extensive overseas emigration from this district. The temporary decrease of immigrants plus the impetus given to emigration have between them turned the increase shown by the vital statistics into a decrease.

95. (3) *Ghazipur.*—Plague mortality has been very high in Ghazipur

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	839,725	-8·1	-10·8	
Ghazipur ..	246,851	-7·5	-16·4	
Muhammadabad ..	197,428	-12·9	+10·0	
Zamania ..	216,756	-8·9	-3·7	
Saidpur ..	178,690	-2·0	-11·8	
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	839,725	913,818	-8·1	
Immigrants ..	40,450	64,950	-37·7	
Emigrants ..	148,422	129,920	+14·2	
Natural ..	947,697	978,788	-3·2	

through the decade (7·3 per mille). The birth-rate (38·1) was less by 2·0 than the death-rate (40·1): whilst the virulent outbreak of plague at census time doubtless reduced, as usual, the immigrant population. The true population is therefore probably greater than the census figure. The district has lost very greatly indeed from emigration, which was always extensive and has considerably increased. The fig-

ures as they stand are however too low, as overseas emigration is not included and this in Ghazipur is considerable.

96. (4) *Ballia.*—What applies to Ghazipur applies in greater measure to

Tahsil.	Population.		Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.	
District total ..	845,418	-14·4	-·8	
Ballia ..	339,562	-16·2	-·1	
Rasra ..	252,923	-12·2	-6·3	
Bansdih ..	252,933	-18·9	+4·4	
Population.		1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual ..	845,418	987,768	-14·4	
Immigrants ..	31,649	51,034	-37·9	
Emigrants ..	135,818	121,125	+12·1	
Natural ..	949,587	1,057,859	-9·3	

Ballia. The plague mortality was no less than 13·4 per mille. The birth-rate (32·6) is less than the death-rate (40·2) by so large a figure as 7·6. Plague at census time was very severe and doubtless had its effect on the very great decrease in immigrants. Meantime emigration has greatly increased, but overseas emigrants are not included in the figure, which is

therefore considerably larger than it appears to be. Ballia has suffered very severely indeed during the decade; even its natural population has been decimated.

97. (5) *Azamgarh*.—Plague mortality has

been very high in Azamgarh (death-rate 6·3 per mille). The death-rate (39·1) has exceeded the birth-rate (37·2) by 1·9, a figure not far removed from the 3·6 decrease shown by the census. Despite the severe plague raging at census time there has been no decrease in immigrants, a fact simply accounted for, perhaps, if we remember that the neighbouring districts were just as badly infected as Azamgarh. Emigration has increased slightly :

Tahsil.	Population.	Percentage of variation.	
	1911.	1901—11.	1891—01.
District total	1,492,818	-3·6	-11·4
Nizamabad	246,762	-6·6	-8·8
Deogaon	223,811	-·5	-15·1
Mahul	305,644	-2·1	-9·4
Sagri	230,599	-1·6	-10·2
Mohammadabad	240,737	-5·9	-14·7
Ghosi	245,265	-4·5	-10·7

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual	1,492,818	1,529,785	-3·6
Immigrants	68,870	66,845	+3·0
Emigrants	200,019	188,047	+6·4
Natural	1,623,967	1,650,987	-1·6

but here again overseas emigration has to be added to the total figure.

98. **Native States.** (1) *Rampur*.—Little

can be said with regard to the States. From such vital statistics as I have seen both birth and death-rates average some 20 per mille, a figure so low that its accuracy seems dubious. Both immigration and emigration

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual	531,217	533,212	-·4
Immigrants	60,456	75,309	-19·7
Emigrants	62,282	67,758	-8·1
Natural	533,023	525,661	+1·4

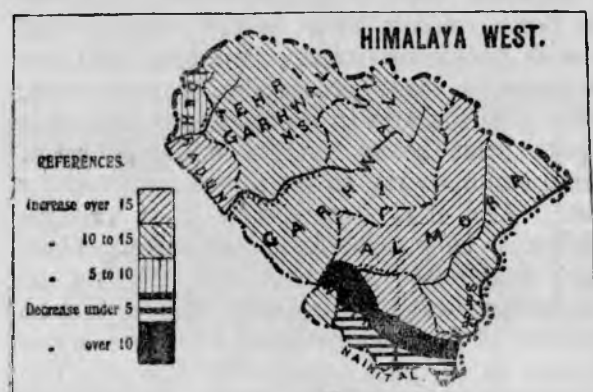
have decreased, but the former much more so than the latter : and it is probable that the presence of plague at census time had its effect in diminishing the total of immigrants.

99. (2) *Tehri*.—There is no information with regard to the vital statistics

of this State. Emigration and immigration have both decreased but are of little or no importance to the total figures.

Population.	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Actual	300,819	268,885	+11·9
Immigrants	4,694	9,445	-50·3
Emigrants	6,952	8,906	-23·1
Natural	303,077	268,346	+12·9

now able to consider the variations for the eight natural divisions of the province. Taking Himalaya West first, it has grown since 1901 by 10·4 per cent. The variations of the different tahsils in this division are indicated in the map on the

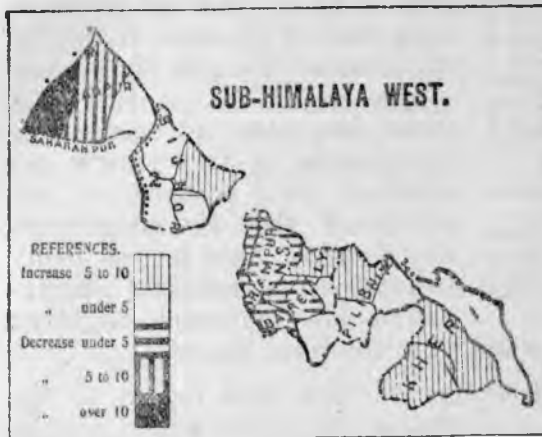


margin : it may be mentioned here that increase and decrease can be differentiated at a glance, for cases of increase are shown in white with thin lines, cases of decreases either in black or with thick black lines. The only tract which shows a decrease is the Tarai and Bhabar (Kichha and Haldwani tahsils) in Naini Tal district ; as already explained this is probably due to the chance presence of plague just before the census took place, which emptied this tract of its migratory population rather earlier than

usual, though as it is quite the most unhealthy belt of country in the whole province, a decrease would not be surprising in any case. It may be noted that it is the only purely submontane tract in the division : even the Dun is a valley among two ranges of hills and partly on the slopes of both. Everywhere else there has been an increase, which is largest in the Naini Tal, Almora and Dehra Dun tahsil. Dehra Dun and Naini Tal gain considerably from immigration of all kinds, partly permanent (European and other settlers), partly semi-permanent (soldiers especially), but chiefly temporary, either cold weather cultivators in the Tarai and Bhabar or traders and so on. This is reflected in the fact that the excess of the actual population of 1911 over that of 1901 is greater than the increase foreshadowed by the vital statistics (1). The birth-rate is somewhat below normal, but the death-rate is much the lowest in the province.

(1) Sub-Table III.

101. (2) *Sub-Himalaya, West*.—This division is not a continuous tract of country, but falls into two parts, separated by Moradabad, viz., (1) Bijnor and Saharanpur, and (2) Rampur, Bareilly, Pilibhit and Kheri. The three western tahsils of Saharanpur have lost heavily from plague and malaria combined, and



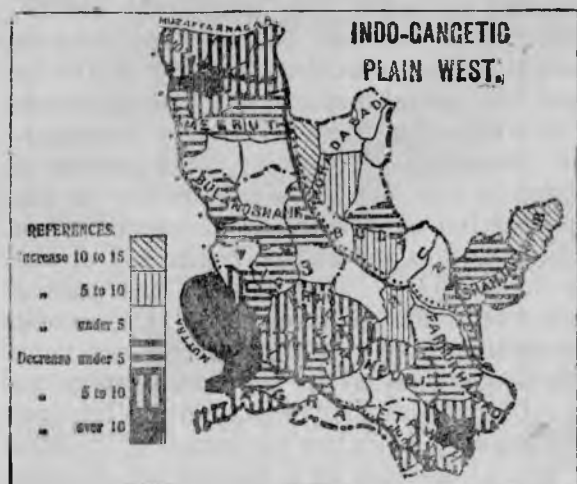
the Rampur State shows a trivial decrease, due chiefly to emigration; and three tahsils in Bareilly have also lost population from the same causes as Saharanpur. But Bijnor with the Rurki tahsil of Saharanpur, Pilibhit with three tahsils in Bareilly and Kheri have all increases, which however nowhere exceed 10 per cent. This division exemplifies curiously a fact which will meet us again and again in this discussion, that the greater the standard of prosperity, the greater has been the loss; and the more unhealthy, in normal conditions, the tract, the less its mortality in this decade. Saharanpur with a loss of 5·6 is a well

irrigated, fertile district, far more so than its immediate neighbour Bijnor. The tahsils in Bareilly which have lost population are more prosperous and fertile either than Baheri, the tahsil which shows the biggest increase in the same district, or than any part of Pilibhit or Kheri. In Pilibhit the tahsil that shows the biggest increase is Pilibhit, one of the least healthy. It is difficult to suggest a cause. It is noticeable that the deadly epidemic malaria of 1908 was least fatal (or even entirely absent) just where it is most prevalent in its endemic form. Plague too appears to follow prosperity. There was no plague in Himalaya West, a poor, mountainous country: or in the Plateau, the most precarious tract in the province. On the other hand, in the rich districts of the two Gangetic plains it was especially dangerous. The causes are obscure. Climate probably has its effect; it is conceivable that neither the plague rat nor the plague flea finds a congenial milieu in the Himalayan cold, whilst generally speaking, the colder the climate the less the ravages of plague. It has been less fatal for instance in the two Sub-Himalayan divisions than in tracts further south. Again prosperity in this country is translatable into grain: it is conceivable that where the stocks of grain are smaller, the plague rat is least common. This would explain why the poverty stricken tract of Bundelkhand is almost immune. But whatever the cause, the facts remain that firstly, plague has been most severe where the country and people are most prosperous, and the climate warmest, and least severe where there is least prosperity, or most cold, or a combination of both; and secondly the malaria in its epidemic form has attacked just the parts where it is as a rule least severe in its endemic form. This division is firstly, less prosperous than some, owing to its forest and marshy tracts; and secondly it is cooler than most. And it is noteworthy that though both plague and malaria have been present, they have done less damage than elsewhere. The divisional birth-rate and death-rate are both the highest in the province (46·4 and 43·8). The high birth-rate is probably due in part to the presence of an unusually large proportion of Muhammadans, who are more prolific than Hindus: the high death rate is in part, probably, due to the same fact. Muhammadans keep their women immured in zenanas more than Hindus do: and all experience shows that the more life is led in the open air, the less fatal is plague. Another cause is probably, the age distribution of the population. Plague and malaria have been most fatal to adults and persons in advanced age. At the beginning of the decade this division had more persons between 15 and 40 than any division save two (which were not attacked by plague), and a very high figure of persons over 40⁽¹⁾. The large number of persons between 15 and 40, of course, also helps to explain the very high birth-rate. The division has lost considerably by emigration as it always does: this is chiefly to the Naini Tal sub-montane tracts from Bareilly to Pilibhit, to Nepal from Kheri and to the Punjab from Saharanpur.

102. (3) *Indo-Gangetic Plain, West*.—The plague mortality of this division has been particularly high (3·7 per mille): and all but certain parts of Muzaffar-

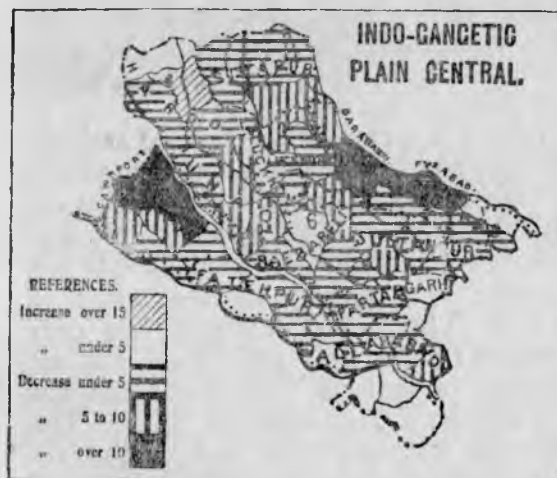
⁽¹⁾ See Chapter V, para. 188

nagar, Meerut, Aligarh, Mainpuri and Etawah, have lost heavily in the epidemic malaria of 1908. It is the most prosperous and fertile part of the province. Practically the whole of Muttra (which was both a focus of plague and malaria), one tahsil (Budhana) in Muzaffarnagar and Budhana tahsil in Etawah, have lost over 10 per cent. The rest of Muzaffarnagar and one tahsil in Meerut, a tract comprising parts of Muttra, Agra, Etah and Mainpuri, and most of Etawah have lost between 5 and 10 per cent.; whilst one tract comprising almost all Farrukhabad and Shahjahanpur, together with one tahsil in Agra and another in Budaun have lost under 5 per cent. On the other hand a large tract bordering on the Ganges and in-



cluding parts of Bulandshahr, the whole of Moradabad, most of Budaun and parts of Aligarh, Etah and Farrukhabad shows an increase; there is also a smaller similar tract in Agra, Etawah and Mainpuri bordering on the Jumna, and a few scattered tahsils, of which the most noteworthy is Pawayan in Shahjahanpur which adjoins the Sub-Himalayan tracts. It is difficult to trace any causal connection, but it is curious that the region of increase is chiefly north of the Ganges or south of the Jumna and consequently out of the Doab; or immediately on the banks of one or other of these rivers. It is of course impossible to say how far the census figures represent the real (normal) population of any given tahsil, for the population of tahsils must have been disturbed by the temporary plague migration so often referred to above just as much, or even more, than the district populations. The birth-rate (43·2) exceeds the death-rate (42·8) by only a fraction; both were high, but the excess occurs in Meerut, Bulandshahr and the three Rohilkhand divisions almost entirely and the causes of the high rates are similar to those in the Western Sub-Himalayas; namely a large proportion of Muhammadans, affecting both rates, and a large proportion, in this case, of elderly persons over 40, who were more subject to malaria and plague (perhaps especially the former) than younger folk. The division has lost very greatly from emigration, especially from Aligarh and Agra and its number of immigrants has also gone down.

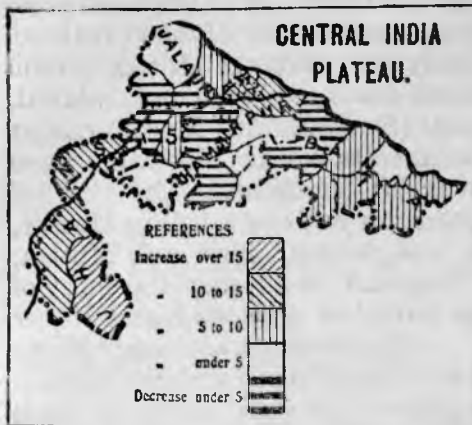
103. (4) *Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.*—The map of this division is one almost uninterrupted mass of black; the sole exceptions are scattered tahsils in Hardoi, (one of which shows the only increase over 5), Rae Bareli, Fatehpur, and Allahabad (three of which belong really to the Plateau). Partabgarh and Fyzabad, Cawnpore, Bara Banki and Fyzabad have tracts which have lost over 10 per cent. but the tract is remarkably homogeneous in its loss. The malaria of 1908 did little damage save in Hardoi and Lucknow and plague is the chief cause of mortality (death-rate 3·2 per mille) coupled with famine, or rather the increase in emigration which it caused.



This is particularly striking in Cawnpore, Fyzabad, Rae Bareli, Sultanpur and Lucknow. The death and birth-rates were equal but for a fraction (40·6 and 40·5): and the large decrease shown by the census figures is due partly to extended emigration and partly to decrease of immigration, due, as has been often said, rather to temporary re-emigration than any real decrease in the number of immigrants.

104. (5) *Central India Plateau.*—Two tahsils in Banda and a tract in Hamirpur and Jalaun show a minor decrease (under 5); the whole of the rest of the division shows an increase more or less large. There has been next to no

plague in the division and no epidemic malaria at all. The birth-rate (45·5)



considerably exceeded the death-rate (40·2), the anticipated increase in the population as based on the vital statistics is only 9,000 in excess of the actual increase and the difference is due to emigration, which is very considerable in this tract. The very rapid growth of population in this decade is in part due to the large proportion of persons at the reproductive age, which were found at the beginning of the decade (in 1901) ⁽¹⁾. This division has passed through two famines since 1901; the second was exceptionally severe (in Karwi at one time in 1908, 33 per cent. of the population were on relief). In spite of this the population has not only withstood famine, but increased at a rate

which is 1·8 above the normal provincial rate of increase in a favourable decade. The causes are partly the various measures taken by Government to protect the land, e.g. the Betwa and Ken canals, various reservoirs, tanks and lakes ⁽²⁾ in Jhansi and Banda, and many minor agricultural works, chiefly dams or embankments to retain water, often protecting no more than a single field; partly the legislation passed in the matter of land alienation and encumbered estates, which has had the effect either of preventing the thriftless Bundelkhandi from throwing away his birth right for the Indian equivalent of a mess of pottage and paying anything up to 50 per cent. for the privilege, or of freeing him from debt already contracted in this unprofitable manner (though it may also have caused an increase of emigration); partly the influx of wealth earned elsewhere by emigrants from the division. Bundelkhand has always required a good deal of nursing and has only lately got it: and the census figures prove the efficacy of the treatment meted out to it.

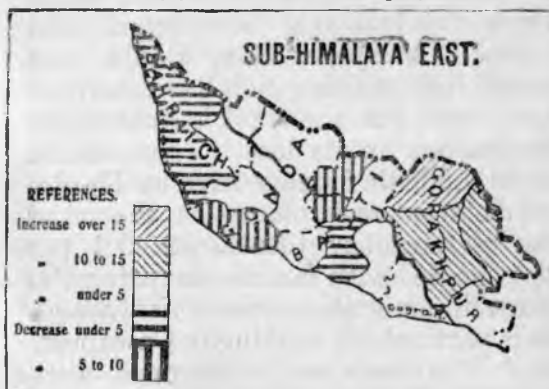
105. (6) *East Satpuras.*—Of the six tahsils comprising this division the



three northernmost have decreased in population, viz. Konrh, Mirzapur and Chunar; Chakia, Robertsganj and Dudhi have increased. The first named are much more fertile and indeed civilized than the last three, which are covered with jungle and sparsely inhabited, chiefly by almost the only Dravidian tribes which the province possesses. The birth rate was 39·0 or lower than the normal; the death rate was only 33·8. Emigration accounts for the total loss in this division; it appears to have increased

considerably in the last ten years. There has been no malaria.

106. (7) *Sub-Himalaya, East.*—The division is a curious mixture of increase



and decrease, but the cause of decrease is not so much mortality as emigration, which has always been considerable and in Gonda and Bahraich at all events has increased very greatly as the result of famine. The plague mortality has only averaged 1 per mille; and there was no epidemic of malaria. The birth-rate was 39·6 against a death-rate of 32·2. The difference between the anticipated increase in population based on the vital statistics and the actual increase is considerable. Emigration is obviously the

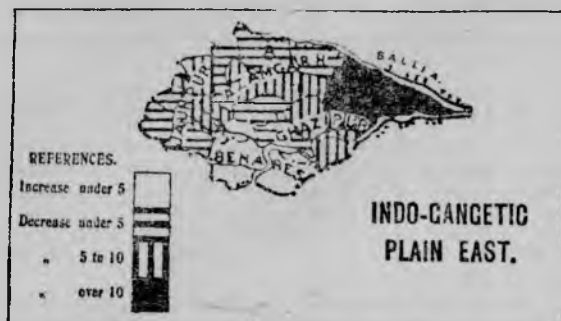
explanation: the figures as they stand are high, but exclude both overseas and Nepal emigration, which would certainly increase them by one-fourth or perhaps more.

⁽¹⁾ See Chapter V, paragraph 188.

⁽²⁾ These are not all for purposes of irrigation. In the Karwi Patha some twenty tanks were built, whose chief value is as supplying drinking water. At the beginning of the hot weather of 1908 people were going 4 or 5 miles to fetch their drinking water and taking their cattle the same distance to water them.

To Gonda and Bahraich famine is almost a novelty and it probably resulted in more emigration than it did elsewhere in consequence.

107. (8) *Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.*—With the exception of the Benares



district this division has suffered most severely, as the map shows. Its plague mortality was over 6 per mille, and apart from this it is the division from which emigration is most common. The effect of emigration on the figures of this tract can be gauged from the fact that though its births are less than its deaths by 83, 126, yet the actual decrease is 285, 125. The birth-rate (36·9) was the lowest in the province, a result due in part at all events to the absence of so many

adult males from home and their families. That emigration has caused a great portion of the loss is obvious from the fact that the death-rate is actually lower than the provincial rate, despite the ravages of plague. One tahsil of Ghazipur and the whole of Ballia show decreases of over 10 per cent.; the rest of Ghazipur, most of Azamgarh and Jaunpur decreases between 5 and 10 per cent.

108. **The varying density of population.**—It is generally assumed that the tendency is for people to move from densely inhabited tracts to those with a sparser population. As a wide generalization there may be something in the statement: but it seems obvious that for it to be completely true the two tracts must offer similar advantages, in the matter of climate and physical conditions: or at the least the more sparsely inhabited tract must show signs of having the capacity to become, when properly dealt with, equally advantageous. It is impossible to suppose for instance that there will ever be any considerable movement from the fertile lands of the Doab to the less fertile lands of the Plateau or the forests and mountains of the Himalayas. The greatest absolute increase has taken place in tahsils with a density between 300 and 450⁽¹⁾ and the increase in such tahsils is general all over the province where they occur, save in Sub-Himalaya East and the East Satpuras. But this seems to be simply because a large part of the area with this density lies in Rohilkhand and its immediate neighbourhood (Kashipur in Naini Tal district, the greater part of Bijnor, parts of Pilibhit, Kheri, Moradabad and Shahjahanpur) where neither plague nor malaria have been very severe. Similarly there is a considerable increase in certain tracts in the Central and Eastern Plains and the Eastern Sub-Himalayas, where the density is from 450 to 600; the major part of this lies in Hardoi, and certain tahsils in Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda and Bahraich, which also have escaped cheaply from the calamities of the decade. The only tract of a very high density (750 to 900) to show a considerable increase is that which is found in the Eastern Plain: and here again the cause seems to have been comparative freedom from plague and malaria. If the figures are analysed into their component tahsil figures however it will be found that even in those divisions where a tract of a particular density shows an increase on the whole, certain portions of it, which have been less favoured by fortune, show a decrease just as great as those of tracts of higher and lower density. This seems to me to make it quite clear that in this decade the variations in density are entirely due to the nature of the general conditions of life, quite irrespective of the fact that the existing density is already high or low. Where these conditions are favourable density increases, whether it was already high or not: where they are unfavourable it decreases. It is no doubt probable that where a sparsely inhabited tract suddenly begins to offer increased advantages such as cheap land obtained from clearing jungle, additional facilities for irrigation or the like, immigrants will be attracted and if so will naturally come from more densely inhabited tracts, simply because it is there that they can best be spared; and indeed there are scattered instances of this in such districts as Kheri, Gorakhpur and Bahraich. But there is no sign that this has occurred on an extensive scale, sufficient to diminish the density of the more thickly and increase the density of the less thickly inhabited tracts. There were signs ten years ago that the most densely inhabited tracts in the province, the Eastern Plain and Eastern Sub-Himalayas, were beginning to seriously feel the pressure of the population on them; but the pressure is

(¹) Sub-Table IV.

relieved not by internal emigration to other parts of the province but by emigration to the east, to Bengal and Assam, and it was the growth of this emigration which showed that the tract was getting over populated. But the pressure now is far less than it was ten years ago, for plague has proved a terrible, though effective adjunct to emigration in relieving it.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

1. *The case of Muttra.*—Muttra affords remarkable evidence supporting many of the statements made in this chapter, and it is worth while to consider its case in more detail than would be warrantable in the text itself. In the margin are given certain figures, which bear on the subject. The first points to be considered are the variation shown by the census and the vital statistics respectively, and the bearing of migration on them.

Tahsil.	Variation 1901—11.	Kind of popula- tion.	Variation 1901—11.	Vital rates.	
				Nature.	Rate.
District ..	—14·0	Actual ..	—14·0	Birth ..	36·0
Muttra ..	—18·3	Immigrants ..	—10·5	Death ..	47·8
Chhata ..	—19·4	Emigrants ..	—9·2	Plague death ..	10·0
Mat ..	—10·3	Natural ..	—13·7	Fever death ..	34·1
Sadabad ..	—6·5			Fever death in 1908 ..	54·1

Migration in Muttra is mostly of a permanent nature, being due both in the cases of immigration and emigration chiefly to reciprocal interchange of wives or else to the calls of business and trade. It

would therefore be fairly constant and since it has decreased, the decrease is probably due to the high death rates prevailing in Muttra itself, which would affect the immigrants, and in the Punjab and Rajputana, to which Muttra's emigrants chiefly go. In modification of this statement, we must allow for (1) a slight fictitious decrease in immigrants due to plague migration, which however is probably slighter than usual partly because plague was severe all round Muttra and it would be more difficult to escape it, and partly because from all accounts, the people appear to be in a state of settled despondency (for which they have good enough cause) which might induce them with oriental fatalism to take things as they come and not attempt to escape; and (2) for a probable real decrease in emigration, due to the fact that there were fewer people available to emigrate. If that is so then it is clear that the census rate of decrease is almost entirely a real decrease. The difference between it and the rate of decrease indicated by the vital statistics is 2·4 per cent. and consequently in the vital statistics there must be an error of omission of approximately 2 per cent., which again must be amongst deaths chiefly, if not entirely. This throws some light on the question of the error in the vital statistics. In a district, where everything must have been against correct registration the error is 2 per cent.; consequently taking the good districts with the bad, the error of 200,000 which I suggest as the probable one, seems to be not far from the mark.

Another interesting point is the effect of extending the water supply on public health. Muttra is a district which is extremely well supplied with canals. It has often been stated that the benefits of extended irrigation are counter-balanced by serious drawbacks, especially the spread of malaria and saline efflorescence in the soil. These evils, due to the Western Jumna canal, were at one time very marked in the Delhi and Karnal districts of the Punjab. They now appear to have spread to Muttra. The canals have caused a rise in the water level and consequent saturation. As regards malaria of the endemic type, it is (as I have pointed out) due not to the mere presence of water but to the absence of facilities to drain off superfluous water. Muttra drainage is sufficiently bad for an expensive artificial system of drains to have been built which even yet is totally insufficient; and this is especially the case in western Muttra. It is not surprising therefore to find a high fever death rate; it exceeds the provincial death rate by no less than 6·0. From information I have received from Mr. Gaskell, Joint Secretary to the Board of Revenue, it is also true that the Muttra soils have seriously deteriorated because of saline efflorescence. Much good land is now *ret* and well nigh unculturable. If the canals have raised the water level in one part of the country, elsewhere the level has sunk. This owing to the nature of the Muttra soil has had the effect of turning sweet water into brackish. This has affected cultivation, and it may also have affected health. I hesitate to affirm positively that the drinking of brackish water is deleterious to health; at least one expert in soils has denied it to me. But one would expect it to be so and to cause an increase especially in diseases of the type of diarrhoea and dysentery. To these malaria is a predisposing cause and the result would be that there are two concurrent causes, malaria and bad water, both leading to the same result (1). Another point that arises out of the case of Muttra is the comparative effect on the population of plague and a severe epidemic of malaria such as that of 1908. They both affected women more than men; plague affected them chiefly in the prime of life, malaria directly or indirectly, all through life. Muttra affords excellent evidence in this matter, for there both diseases were abnormally virulent. No other district, save Ballia, has a plague death-rate approaching Muttra's; as for malaria, from a map showing the intensity of the 1908 epidemic which Major Graham prepared, it appears that Muttra's malaria "co-efficient" ranges from 7 to 15 and averages 11·6. This co-efficient is obtained by dividing the figures of the worst malaria month by the figure of the least bad month, and it ranges from 1 to 16 all over the province. Muttra therefore suffered just as severely from malaria as from plague. Neglecting the deaths from fever of all years save 1908, we find that in that year alone there were nearly 54,000 deaths from fever as against 69,000 from plague in the whole decennium; plague therefore killed 69,000 in ten years, this epidemic killed 54,000, mostly in four months. The comparative intensity of the two over a similar period of time is as 6,900 to 54,000 or nearly 1 to 8. Moreover, 69,000 deaths in ten years will obviously

(1) These facts show clearly enough that the Indian knows what he is talking about when he describes what we call "climate" by the term "*ab hawa*" (water and air). Apparently some of the first Englishmen in India knew well the importance of both to health, for there is a letter extant from one Justinian Offley, an English factor of the E. I. C., who died at Agra in 1627, in which he attributes his ill-health at Baroda to the "air and bad water".

do far less permanent damage to the population than 54,000 at one swoop, for whilst the 69,000 are dying others are growing up to fill their places; but the loss of 54,000 all at once leaves a gap which can only be filled in an extended period of time. As regards the local distribution of the malaria of 1908, it is worth noting that it was most severe where the decrease in population has been greatest, namely in Muttra, Chhata and Mahaban.

There is one other point which must certainly affect the situation, though it is not measurable in figures, and that is the effect of a succession of such calamities on the mental disposition of the people and the result of this again on the growth of population. When calamity comes the first impulse of the Indian seems to be to make a hurried attempt to escape it; of this the disturbances caused by plague, when it first appeared, which culminated at times in riots, and the traditional methods of meeting famine, which consisted in running away from it or looting the Baniyas' shops, are evidence. But if the calamity persists, or there are a succession of calamities, flurry is succeeded by settled despair, the result of oriental fatalism. The Indian then sits still and bears whatever may come with stolidity. This would appear to be the present mental condition of Muttra's population, and it is obvious that it must have but enhanced the effect of those calamities. It is often said that the power of the people to resist adversity has increased. It seems possible that it is not so much a question of power of resistance, which in an important degree is after all a mental quality, as that they have learnt that that particular type of adversity has a remedy and that the remedy is at hand, and consequently scarcely look on the adversity as adversity at all. In the case of famine at all events this seems to be the case. The people can now "resist" famine because they have learnt by experience that Government will "see them through," and neither attempt to run from or yield to it.

2. *The hot weather population of certain hill stations.*— On the 16th September 1910 a census was taken of Naini Tal and Mussooree municipalities and Naini Tal, Almora, Ranikhet, Landaur, Chakrata and Lansdowne cantonments. The figures are exhibited at the end of table IV; it is here necessary only to explain the variations. Mussooree has increased by 18·6 per cent. The cause is said to be the opening of the Hardwar-Dehra Railway, affording greater facilities to travellers to come to the place, a large increase in house and hotel room, a change of boundary between Landaur and Mussooree, resulting in the transfer of a number of houses to the latter, and the advent of several survey parties in permanent residence. There was a similar increase in Naini Tal of 18 per cent.; the reasons are much the same. Several offices have now been located there, houses and hotels have been built, and there was an excess of births over deaths. There was a decrease in Landaur, due to the transfer abovementioned and a temporary scare of cholera, whilst a considerable increase of Europeans in Chakrata and a decrease in Indians in the same place is due to military changes of various kinds.

III.—*Preliminary figures of hill districts.*—In Garhwal, Almora, the Naini Tal hill

	1910.	1911.
Garhwal ..	462,804	480,167
Almora ..	477,696	525,104
Tehri ..	298,421	300,819
Naini Tal (hill pat- tis).	66,501	58,631

pattis and Tehri the preliminary records were drawn up in the autumn of 1910 and the results totalled for comparison with the figures of March 1911. They are as in the margin. The Almora figures are strange. They should normally be larger than the figures of March, for there is emigration to the Tarai and Bhabar which decreases the Almora population and normally occurs after the preliminary record has been taken. It is probable however both that the move down to the sub-montane tracts, and the return to the hills began rather earlier than usual. As already stated a scare of plague emptied the Bhabar unusually early, and probably many had got into Almora before the census took place. The figure of 525,104 was therefore unusually large; and if the move southwards was also unusually early, the figure of 477,696 would be too small. The Naini Tal figures support the contention, for whilst the autumn figure of 1910 is some 5,500 larger than the same figure in 1900, the census figure is 15,000 larger than the same figure in 1901. The increase of 5,000 is some 9 per cent., a very considerable figure, so that it is probable that some of them were Almora emigrants caught *en route* through the Naini Tal hill pattis: whilst the 15,000 excess is undoubtedly made up of some Naini Tal hill emigrants who had returned home or Almora emigrants on their way home. The increase in Garhwal and Tehri in March is partly accounted for by the return home of coolies, jhampanis and others who flock into Mussooree, Naini Tal and other hill stations during the hot weather months. A majority of these men everywhere are Garhwalis. But the difference between the autumn and spring figures in Garhwal is much larger than it was 10 years ago, and it would seem that Garhwalis must have taken to moving south in search of work a great deal more than of old.

Subsidiary Table I.—Variation in relation to density since 1872.

District and natural division.	Percentage of variation. Increase (+) Decrease (—).				Percentage of net variation 1872 to 1911.	Mean Density per square mile.					Increase + Decrease—, 1901 to 1911.
	1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1871 to 1881.		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
United Provinces ..	-7.7	+1.7	+6.2	+5.7	+12.3	440	445	437	472	390	-5
<i>Himalaya, West</i> ..	+10.4	+2.6	+13.4	+13.8	+46.7	103	93	90	80	70	+10
1. Dehra Dun ..	+15.3	+6.0	+16.7	+23.2	+75.5	172	149	141	121	98	+23
2. Naini Tal ..	-2	-12.0	+5.3	+27.7	+18.2	119	119	135	128	101	..
3. Almora ..	+15.9	+11.8	+15.5	+1.8	+52.3	97	84	75	65	64	+13
4. Garhwal ..	+11.7	+5.4	+17.9	+11.4	+51.5	85	76	72	61	55	+9
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i> ..	+1.0	+1.5	+5.2	+3.9	+12.0	437	432	426	405	390	+5
5. Saharanpur ..	-5.6	+4.4	+2.2	+10.8	+11.6	462	490	469	458	414	-28
6. Bareilly ..	+4	+4.7	+1.0	+1.5	+7.9	693	690	659	653	642	+3
7. Bijnor ..	+3.3	-1.8	+10.6	-2.1	+9.3	429	415	423	385	392	+14
8. Pilibhit ..	+3.7	-3.0	+7.4	-8.2	-1.0	361	348	359	334	364	+13
9. Kheri ..	+6.0	+2	+8.6	+12.7	+30.0	322	304	304	279	248	+18
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i> ..	-2.0	+10.0	+1.5	-2.1	+7.2	538	553	499	491	502	-15
10. Muzaffarnagar ..	-7.8	+13.5	+1.9	+9.9	+17.2	483	524	462	453	412	-41
11. Meerut ..	-1.4	+10.7	+6.0	+2.9	+19.1	648	657	593	560	544	-9
12. Bulandshahr ..	-1.3	+19.8	+2.7	-1.4	+19.8	590	597	498	485	492	-7
13. Aligarh ..	-2.9	+15.1	+2.2	-4.9	+8.6	599	617	596	525	551	-18
14. Muttra ..	-14.0	+7.0	+6.2	-14.1	-16.1	452	526	492	463	540	-74
15. Agra ..	-3.6	+5.7	+3.0	-9.4	-5.0	551	572	541	525	580	-21
16. Farrukhabad ..	-2.8	+7.8	-5.4	-1.0	-1.9	595	550	510	539	545	-15
17. Mainpuri ..	-3.8	+8.9	-4.9	+4.6	+4.2	476	495	455	478	457	-19
18. Etawah ..	-5.8	+10.9	+7	+8.0	+13.7	449	477	430	427	395	-28
19. Etah ..	+9	+23.1	-7.2	-8.7	+5.1	504	500	406	438	480	+4
20. Budaun ..	+2.7	+10.8	+2.1	-3.0	+12.7	524	510	460	451	465	+14
21. Moradabad ..	+6.0	+1.1	+2.1	+2.9	+12.5	553	522	516	505	491	+31
22. Shahjahanpur ..	+2.6	+3	+7.2	-9.9	-5	548	534	532	496	551	+14
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.</i> ..	-3.7	+1.3	+8.5	-0.7	+5.7	550	571	564	519	520	-21
23. Cawnpore ..	-9.3	+4.1	+2.4	+2.2	-1.2	482	531	510	498	483	-49
24. Fatehpur ..	-1.4	-1.9	+2.3	+3.0	-2.0	412	418	426	416	403	-6
25. Allahabad ..	-1.6	-3.8	+5.1	+5.6	+5.1	510	521	542	516	490	-8
26. Lucknow ..	-3.6	+2.5	+11.1	-10.4	-1.8	790	820	801	721	805	-30
27. Unao ..	-6.7	+2.4	+6.1	-5.0	-3.7	510	546	534	503	529	-36
28. Rae Bareli ..	-1.6	-3	+8.9	-3.8	+2.8	583	592	594	545	567	-9
29. Sitapur ..	-3.1	+9.3	+12.2	+2.7	+22.1	506	522	478	426	415	-16
30. Hardoi ..	+2.6	-1.8	+12.7	+6.0	+20.4	481	469	477	424	399	+12
31. Fyzabad ..	-5.8	+7	+12.5	+5.5	+12.6	666	707	702	624	591	-41
32. Sultanpur ..	-3.3	+7	+12.3	-7.9	+8	612	632	628	559	607	-20
33. Partabgarh ..	-1.4	+2	+7.5	+8.2	+15.0	624	633	631	587	542	-9
34. Bara Banki ..	-8.1	+4.3	+10.1	-7.8	-2.6	616	670	643	584	633	-54
<i>Central India Plateau</i> ..	+4.8	-8.4	+2.2	+4.0	+2.1	211	202	220	215	207	+9
35. Banda ..	+4.1	-10.6	+1.0	+1	-5.8	222	213	237	236	235	+9
36. Hamirpur ..	+1.5	-10.7	+1.3	-4.1	-12.1	203	200	224	221	231	+3
37. Jhansi ..	+10.4	-9.8	+9.4	+17.8	+28.3	187	170	188	172	146	+17
38. Jalaun ..	+1.3	+8	-5.2	+3.4	+1	261	258	256	270	261	+3
<i>East Satpuras</i> ..	-1.1	-6.8	+2.2	+11.9	+5.4	205	207	252	217	194	-2
39. Mirzapur ..	-1.1	-6.8	+2.2	+11.9	+5.4	205	207	252	217	194	-2
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i> ..	+3.5	+2	+13.2	+17.6	+38.2	586	566	565	499	424	+20
40. Gorakhpur ..	+8.9	-1.2	+14.4	+29.6	+59.6	707	649	657	574	443	+58
41. Basti ..	-9	+3.4	+9.5	+10.7	+24.3	653	659	637	582	525	-6
42. Gonda ..	+6	-3.8	+14.8	+8.8	+20.9	503	500	519	452	416	+3
43. Bahraich ..	-3	+5.1	+13.9	+13.2	+35.0	396	397	378	332	295	-1
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i> ..	-5.5	-7.0	+5.1	+20.2	+11.0	706	747	804	764	636	-41
44. Benares ..	+1.7	-4.3	+3.3	+12.4	+13.0	890	875	914	885	788	+15
45. Jaunpur ..	-3.9	-4.9	+4.5	+17.9	+12.7	746	776	816	780	662	-30
46. Ghazipur ..	-8.1	-10.8	+6.4	+15.7	+1.0	603	657	736	692	598	-54
47. Ballia ..	-14.4	-8	+2.0	+34.2	+16.3	680	794	800	784	584	-114
48. Azamgarh ..	-3.6	-11.4	+7.7	+21.8	+12.1	675	700	790	733	602	-95
<i>Native States.</i>											
49. Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West).	+11.9	+11.5	+20.7	+51.7	+128.4	72	64	58	48	31	+12
50. Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West).	-4	-3.3	+1.7	+6.9	+4.8	588	593	613	603	569	-4

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
United Provinces (British Territory).	47,182,044	724,338	1,466,341	47,924,047	47,691,782	766,093	1,606,809	48,532,498	-7.3
<i>Himalaya, West</i> ..	1,533,865	151,193	44,447	1,417,119	1,385,225	142,468	84,838	1,311,595	+8.0
1. Dehra Dun ..	205,075	54,644	8,867	159,298	178,195	40,089	6,918	145,024	+9.8
2. Naini Tal ..	323,519	134,557	22,863	211,825	311,237	137,756	16,739	190,220	+11.3
3. Almora ..	525,104	14,609	53,822	564,317	465,893	14,846	43,685	494,732	+14.1
4. Garhwal ..	480,167	13,789	24,842	491,220	429,900	15,403	17,496	431,993	+13.7
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West.</i>	4,334,049	321,913	312,660	4,324,796	4,290,775	332,967	421,330	4,379,138	-1.2
5. Saharanpur ..	986,359	74,416	66,078	978,021	1,045,230	73,767	77,973	1,049,436	-6.8
6. Bareilly ..	1,094,663	107,832	130,245	1,117,076	1,090,117	119,661	146,037	1,116,493	..
7. Bijnor ..	806,202	34,301	68,913	840,814	779,951	32,446	86,485	833,990	+.8
8. Pilibhit ..	487,617	62,778	59,324	484,213	470,339	68,450	60,424	462,313	+4.7
9. Kheri ..	959,208	111,378	56,828	904,658	905,188	112,323	50,411	843,226	+7.3
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.</i>	12,887,153	538,167	585,355	12,934,341	13,145,109	655,289	1,590,743	14,080,563	-8.1
10. Muzaffarnagar ..	808,360	95,517	67,629	780,472	877,188	122,774	79,193	833,607	-6.4
11. Meerut ..	1,519,364	150,227	124,646	1,493,783	1,540,175	152,402	129,914	1,517,687	-1.6
12. Bulandshahr ..	1,123,792	114,317	113,535	1,123,010	1,138,101	147,752	108,574	1,098,923	+2.2
13. Aligarh ..	1,165,680	189,478	150,958	1,177,160	1,200,822	154,340	160,533	1,207,015	-2.5
14. Muttra ..	656,310	113,238	112,425	655,497	763,099	126,561	124,169	760,707	-13.8
15. Agra ..	1,021,847	189,717	172,715	1,054,845	1,080,528	132,707	151,041	1,078,862	-2.2
16. Farrukhabad ..	900,022	108,169	110,015	901,868	925,812	107,908	123,123	941,027	-4.2
17. Mainpuri ..	797,624	110,889	96,325	783,560	829,357	112,337	91,163	808,183	-3.0
18. Etawah ..	760,121	95,726	79,966	744,361	806,798	95,951	73,339	784,686	-5.1
19. Etah ..	871,997	126,851	104,837	849,983	863,948	134,891	117,669	846,756	+4
20. Budaun ..	1,053,328	98,089	116,499	1,071,738	1,025,753	103,488	131,873	1,054,138	+1.7
21. Moradabad ..	1,262,933	85,381	138,604	1,316,166	1,191,993	90,907	157,096	1,258,782	+4.5
22. Shahjahanpur ..	945,775	98,339	134,472	981,908	921,635	100,399	142,526	963,662	+1.9
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.</i>	12,425,268	414,453	666,701	12,677,516	12,908,014	448,363	1,261,127	13,725,778	-7.6
23. Cawnpore ..	1,142,286	153,441	125,975	1,114,820	1,258,868	179,623	125,942	1,205,187	-7.5
24. Fatehpur ..	676,939	45,644	62,212	693,507	686,391	53,401	68,697	701,687	-1.2
25. Allahabad ..	1,467,136	96,985	135,203	1,505,354	1,489,358	91,588	117,508	1,515,278	-7
26. Lucknow ..	764,411	140,650	97,535	721,296	793,241	132,970	118,259	773,530	-7.4
27. Unao ..	910,915	55,827	95,471	950,559	976,639	82,926	106,190	999,908	-4.9
28. Rae Bareli ..	1,016,864	65,861	97,026	1,048,029	1,033,761	81,309	88,138	1,040,590	+7
29. Sitapur ..	1,138,996	85,144	101,091	1,154,943	1,175,473	102,928	101,231	1,174,376	-1.7
30. Hardoi ..	1,121,248	73,044	110,815	1,159,019	1,092,834	92,564	127,557	1,127,827	+2.8
31. Fyzabad ..	1,154,109	91,997	139,254	1,201,366	1,225,374	121,045	112,294	1,216,623	-1.3
32. Sultanpur ..	1,048,524	82,841	112,563	1,078,246	1,083,904	98,361	102,253	1,087,796	-9
33. Partabgarh ..	899,973	66,918	102,799	935,854	912,848	34,728	87,696	965,816	-3.1
34. Bara Banki ..	1,083,867	61,373	95,792	1,118,286	1,179,323	83,297	105,362	1,201,388	-6.9
<i>Central India Plateau.</i>	2,207,923	199,845	202,005	2,210,083	2,106,085	193,049	164,972	2,078,008	+6.4
35. Banda ..	657,237	42,927	74,394	688,704	631,058	54,038	50,926	627,946	+9.7
36. Hamirpur ..	465,223	53,260	71,608	483,571	458,542	55,552	45,075	448,065	+7.9
37. Jhansi ..	680,688	108,653	72,414	644,449	616,759	100,601	33,180	549,338	+17.3
38. Jalaun ..	404,775	51,863	40,050	392,962	399,726	52,208	35,791	383,309	+2.5
<i>East Satpuras</i> ..	1,071,046	64,573	100,770	1,107,243	1,082,430	88,113	89,998	1,084,315	+2.1
39. Mirzapur ..	1,071,046	64,573	100,770	1,107,243	1,082,430	88,113	89,998	1,084,315	+2.1
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	7,491,490	189,374	185,488	7,487,604	7,257,769	188,870	371,374	7,440,273	+6
40. Gorakhpur ..	3,201,180	151,552	136,324	3,185,952	2,957,074	140,979	129,200	2,945,295	+8.2
41. Basti ..	1,850,421	85,546	137,279	1,882,154	1,846,153	94,581	121,967	1,873,539	+5
42. Gonda ..	1,412,212	93,481	95,280	1,414,011	1,403,195	102,270	89,398	1,390,323	+1.7
43. Bahraich ..	1,047,677	77,178	33,890	1,004,289	1,051,347	88,304	30,809	993,852	+1.1
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.</i>	5,231,250	148,923	584,628	5,666,955	5,516,375	177,942	699,783	6,038,266	-6.1
44. Benares ..	897,035	99,728	107,041	904,348	882,084	121,328	106,840	867,596	+4.1
45. Jaunpur ..	1,156,254	74,039	159,137	1,241,352	1,202,920	71,463	153,851	1,285,308	-3.4
46. Ghazipur ..	839,725	40,450	148,422	947,697	913,818	64,950	129,920	978,788	-3.2
47. Ballia ..	845,418	31,649	135,818	949,587	987,768	51,034	121,125	1,057,859	-9.3
48. Azamgarh ..	1,492,818	68,870	200,019	1,622,967	1,529,785	66,845	188,047	1,650,987	-1.6

*No figures for divisions are available; the district totals are given against each division.

Subsidiary table III.—Comparison with vital statistics.

Serial number.	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.		Natural population.	Actual population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	United Provinces (British Territory).	19,164,839	18,147,113	41·4	39·7	+1,017,726	-608,461	-509,738
	<i>Himalaya, West</i>	540,764	427,540	39·0	30·9	+113,224	+105,524	+148,640
1	Dohra Dun	49,876	47,656	27·1	26·7	+2,220	+14,274	+26,880
2	Naini Tal	100,934	115,068	16·0	15·3	-14,133	+21,605	+12,282
3	Almora	201,228	131,395	43·2	28·2	+69,833	+69,585	+59,211
4	Garhwal	188,726	133,421	43·9	31·0	+55,305	+59,227	+50,267
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	1,990,814	1,881,790	46·4	33·9	+109,024	-54,342	+43,274
5	Saharanpur	414,834	464,085	39·7	44·4	-49,251	-71,415	-58,871
6	Bareilly	530,360	488,907	48·7	44·9	+41,453	+583	+4,546
7	Bijnor	386,939	362,112	49·6	46·4	+24,827	+6,834	+26,251
8	Pilibhit	231,213	201,647	49·2	42·9	+29,566	+21,900	+17,278
9	Kheri	427,468	365,039	47·2	40·3	+62,429	+61,432	+54,070
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	5,684,624	5,529,630	43·2	42·7	+154,994	-1,146,222	-258,256
10	Muzaffarnagar	355,411	384,927	40·5	43·9	-29,516	-53,131	-68,828
11	Meerut	639,213	604,114	41·5	39·2	+35,019	-23,904	-20,811
12	Bulandshahr	508,080	473,944	44·6	41·6	+34,136	+24,087	-14,309
13	Aligarh	488,999	468,924	40·7	39·0	+20,075	-29,855	-35,142
14	Muntra	274,494	364,573	35·9	47·8	-90,079	-105,210	-106,789
15	Agra	429,876	433,240	40·5	40·9	-3,364	-24,017	-38,681
16	Farrukhabad	410,683	439,226	44·4	47·4	-28,543	-39,159	-25,790
17	Mainpuri	314,466	317,124	37·9	38·2	-2,658	-24,623	-31,733
18	Etawah	323,458	319,960	40·9	39·7	+3,498	-40,325	-46,677
19	Etah	371,975	341,463	43·1	39·5	+30,512	+3,227	+8,049
20	Budaun	503,607	458,455	49·1	44·7	+45,152	+17,600	+27,575
21	Moradabad	597,957	510,125	50·2	42·8	+87,832	+57,374	+70,940
22	Shahjahanpur	466,405	413,555	50·6	44·8	+52,850	+18,246	+24,240
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.</i>	5,242,792	5,235,922	40·6	40·6	+6,870	-1,048,262	-482,746
23	Cawnpore	512,610	609,236	40·7	48·2	-96,626	-90,367	-116,582
24	Fatehpur	282,562	279,216	41·2	40·7	+3,346	-8,180	-9,452
25	Allahabad	592,840	604,415	39·8	40·6	-11,575	-9,914	-22,222
26	Lucknow	328,384	370,279	41·4	46·7	-41,895	-57,234	-28,830
27	Unao	378,917	402,428	38·7	41·2	-23,511	-49,344	-65,724
28	Rae Bareli	424,472	409,453	41·1	39·6	+15,019	+7,439	-16,897
29	Sitapur	481,817	453,504	40·1	38·6	+28,313	-19,433	-36,477
30	Hardoi	532,869	467,878	48·8	42·8	+64,991	+31,192	+28,414
31	Fyzabad	468,330	444,182	38·2	36·2	+24,148	-15,257	-71,265
32	Sultanpur	430,800	412,511	39·7	38·1	+18,289	-9,550	-35,380
33	Partabgarh	381,205	334,277	41·8	36·6	+46,928	-29,962	-12,875
34	Bara Banki	427,986	448,543	36·3	38·0	-20,557	-83,102	-95,456
	<i>Central India Plateau</i>	957,633	846,451	45·5	40·2	+111,232	+132,075	+101,838
35	Banda	261,247	225,362	41·4	35·7	+35,885	+60,758	+26,179
36	Hamirpur	215,833	188,626	47·7	41·1	+27,207	+35,506	+6,681
37	Jhansi	299,137	256,090	48·5	41·5	+53,057	+95,111	+63,929
38	Jalaun	181,466	176,383	45·4	44·1	+5,083	+9,653	+5,049
	<i>East Satpuras</i>	422,385	365,339	39·0	33·7	+57,046	+22,928	-11,384
39	Mirzapur	422,385	365,339	39·0	33·7	+57,046	+22,928	-11,384
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	2,886,537	2,338,075	39·8	33·2	+548,462	+47,331	+233,721
40	Gorakhpur	1,143,850	851,776	38·7	28·8	+292,074	+240,657	+244,106
41	Basti	745,225	627,631	40·4	33·1	+117,594	+8,615	-15,732
42	Gonda	566,354	479,495	40·3	34·2	+86,859	+23,688	+9,017
43	Bahraich	431,108	379,173	41·0	36·1	+51,935	+10,537	-3,670
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.</i>	2,039,240	2,122,366	36·1	38·5	-83,126	-371,311	-285,125
44	Benares	370,042	356,353	41·1	40·3	+13,689	+36,752	+14,951
45	Jaunpur	428,887	404,542	35·6	33·6	+24,345	-43,956	-46,666
46	Ghazipur	348,237	366,518	38·1	40·1	-18,281	-31,091	-74,093
47	Ballia	322,645	396,826	32·7	40·2	-74,181	-108,272	-142,350
48	Azamgarh	569,429	598,127	37·2	39·1	-28,698	-27,020	-36,967

Notes.—For further details, subsidiary table V of the chapter on sex may be referred to.

Subsidiary table IV.—*Variation by tahsils classified according to density (a) actual variation.*

Natural division.	Decade.	Variation in tahsils with a population per square mile at commencement of decade of							
		Under 150.	150 to 300.	300 to 450.	450 to 600.	600 to 750.	750 to 900.	900 to 1,050.	Over 1,050.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
United Provinces (British Territory).	1901—1911..	- 52,505	-77,255	+1,440,625	+11,773	-1,448,128	+695,970	-697,743	-382,910
	1891—1901..	+106,784	+73,639	-2,170,293	+2,214,361	+1,607,243	-1,461,325	+78,622	+337,734
	1881—1891..	+1,013,611	-659,429	-256,015	-1,159,571	+2,794,796	+1,221,776	+121,667	+724,987
	1881—1911..	-1,067,890	-663,045	-985,683	+1,066,563	+2,953,911	+456,361	-497,454	+679,805
Himalaya, West.	1901—1911..	+119,619	-32,202	+61,484	..	..	..	..	..
	1891—1901..	+180,799	-72,127	-73,168	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1891..	+877,833	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1911..	+1,178,251	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sub-Himalaya, West.	1901—1911..	..	+12,860	+261,269	-426,597	+202,444	..	+318,613	-325,650
	1891—1901..	-95,205	+70,831	-43,207	+62,417	+23,784	..	-298,482	+325,650
	1881—1891..	+95,205	-211,398	+167,851	+371,028	-225,812	..	+12,761	..
	1881—1911..	..	-107,707	+385,913	+26,848	+416	..	+32,882	..
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.	1901—1911..	..	-161,020	+1,385,191	-1,089,570	+107,914	-485,653	-7,677	+11,492
	1891—1901..	..	+7,340	-2,018,962	+1,626,266	+1,049,160	+172,106	+342,143	+18,326
	1881—1891..	..	-8,129	+238,389	-312,353	+234,078	+20,552	..	+5,953
	1881—1911..	..	-161,809	-395,382	+224,343	+1,391,152	-292,995	+394,466	+17,445
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.	1901—1911..	..	+3,192	+50,309	+500,533	-925,181	+278,759	-334,327	-57,161
	1891—1901..	..	-36,755	+330,614	+287,074	-452,725	-316,586	+334,327	+16,684
	1881—1891..	..	-98,277	-1,414,978	-877,858	+3,072,716	+25,144	-607,493	+701,074
	1881—1911..	..	-131,840	-1,034,055	+109,749	+1,694,810	-12,683	-607,493	+660,597
Central India Plateau.	1901—1911..	-193,068	+126,167	+168,749	..	..	..	..	..
	1891—1901..	+41,252	-247,990	+13,291	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1891..	+25,112	+40,206	-14,826	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1911..	-126,714	-81,617	+167,214	..	..	..	..	..
East Satpuras.	1901—1911..	+20,954	-26,252	-6,086	..	..	..	..	..
	1891—1901..	-20,062	+332,340	-391,356	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1891..	+15,461	..	+9,251	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1911..	+16,353	+306,088	-388,191	..	..	..	..	..
Sub-Himalaya, East.	1901—1911..	..	..	-480,291	+552,656	-357,385	+537,130	..	..
	1891—1901..	..	..	+12,495	+27,479	-50,496	+29,284	..	..
	1881—1891..	..	-636,423	+685,130	-325,283	+218,847	+899,379	..	..
	1881—1911..	..	-636,423	+217,334	+254,852	-189,034	+1,465,793	..	..
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	1901—1911..	..	..	..	+474,751	-475,920	+365,674	-674,352	+6,735
	1891—1901..	..	..	..	+211,125	+1,037,520	-1,346,129	-299,366	-22,926
	1881—1891..	..	..	..	-215,105	-505,033	+276,701	+716,409	+17,954
	1881—1911..	..	..	..	+470,771	+56,567	-703,754	-257,309	+1,763

(1) Excluding figures of districts of Kumaun division.

Subsidiary table IV.—*Variation by tahsils classified according to density*
(b) *proportional variation.*

Natural division.	Decade.	Variation in tahsils with a population per cent. at commencement of decade of							
		Under 150.	150 to 300.	300 to 450.	450 to 600.	600 to 750.	750 to 900.	900 to 1,050.	Over 1,050.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
United Provinces (British Territory).	1901—1911..	—3·0	—2·7	+29·9	+·1	—11·2	+22·2	—51·7	—16·6
	1891—1901..	+6·5	+2·3	+24·0	—15·5	+14·2	+31·8	+6·2	+17·2
	1881—1891..	+163·7	—18·9	—2·8	—7·5	+32·9	+36·2	+10·6	+58·3
	1881—1911..	+172·4	—19·0	—10·6	+6·9	+34·8	+13·5	—43·2	+54·7
Himalaya West.	1901—1911..	+9·9	—17·6	+100·0	..	..	..	..	..
	1891—1901..	+17·7	—28·3	—100·0	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1891..	+610·2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1911..	+819·0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sub-Himalaya West.	1901—1911..	..	+3·5	+16·2	—25·6	+64·3	..	+100·0	—100·0
	1891—1901..	—100·0	+23·8	—2·6	+3·9	+8·2	..	—100·0	+100
	1881—1891..	+100·0	—43·1	+11·3	+30·0	—43·7	..	+4·5	..
	1881—1911..	..	—21·9	+26·0	+·6	+·1	..	+11·5	..
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.	1901—1911..	..	—100·0	+92·5	—15·2	+3·7	—65·7	—2·2	+3·9
	1891—1901..	..	+4·8	—57·6	+29·3	+55·0	+30·0	—100·0	+6·7
	1881—1891..	..	—5·0	+7·3	—5·3	+14·0	+3·8	..	+2·2
	1881—1911..	..	—100·0	—12·1	+3·8	+83·2	—53·6	+100·0	+6·5
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.	1901—1911..	..	+1·4	+4·1	+8·1	—24·0	—100·0	—100·0	—5·0
	1891—1901..	..	—14·1	+37·4	+4·9	—10·5	—100·0	+100·0	+1·5
	1881—1891..	..	—27·4	—61·6	—80·4	+250·4	+8·6	—100·0	+169·1
	1881—1911..	..	—36·8	—45·0	+1·7	+138·1	—4·4	—100·0	..169·3
Central India Plateau.	1901—1911..	—61·2	+7·7	+105·2	..	..	..	..	..
	1891—1901..	+15·0	—13·2	+9·0	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1891..	+10·1	+2·2	—9·0	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1911..	—5·9	—4·4	+103·3	..	..	..	..	..
East Satpuras.	1901—1911..	+4·9	+1·9	—1·2	..	..	..	..	..
	1891—1901..	—8·3	+100·0	—42·6	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1891..	+6·8	..	+1·0	..	..	..	..	..
	1881—1911..	+7·2	+100·0	—42·6	..	..	..	..	..
Sub-Himalaya East.	1901—1911..	..	..	—28·6	+53·4	—12·2	+38·1	..	..
	1891—1901..	..	..	+·7	+2·7	—1·7	+2·1	..	..
	1881—1891..	..	—100·0	+58·9	—24·4	+7·9	+186·9	..	..
	1881—1911..	..	—100·0	+18·7	+19·1	—6·8	+304·6	..	..
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	1901—1911..	..	..	..	+102·6	—16·7	+37·0	—100·0	+1·2
	1891—1901..	..	..	..	+83·9	+57·2	—57·7	—30·7	—3·9
	1881—1891..	..	..	..	—46·1	—21·8	+13·4	+278·4	+3·2
	1881—1911..	..	..	..	+100·9	—2·4	—34·2	—100·0	+·3

(1) Excluding figures of districts of Kumaun division.

TABLE 1. The effect of the concentration of the substrate on the rate of the reaction.

Substrate concentration (mM)	Initial rate (μmol/min)	Final rate (μmol/min)	Time (min)	Product (μmol)
0.1	0.1	0.1	10	1.0
0.2	0.2	0.2	10	2.0
0.3	0.3	0.3	10	3.0
0.4	0.4	0.4	10	4.0
0.5	0.5	0.5	10	5.0
0.6	0.6	0.6	10	6.0
0.7	0.7	0.7	10	7.0
0.8	0.8	0.8	10	8.0
0.9	0.9	0.9	10	9.0
1.0	1.0	1.0	10	10.0
1.1	1.1	1.1	10	11.0
1.2	1.2	1.2	10	12.0
1.3	1.3	1.3	10	13.0
1.4	1.4	1.4	10	14.0
1.5	1.5	1.5	10	15.0
1.6	1.6	1.6	10	16.0
1.7	1.7	1.7	10	17.0
1.8	1.8	1.8	10	18.0
1.9	1.9	1.9	10	19.0
2.0	2.0	2.0	10	20.0
2.1	2.1	2.1	10	21.0
2.2	2.2	2.2	10	22.0
2.3	2.3	2.3	10	23.0
2.4	2.4	2.4	10	24.0
2.5	2.5	2.5	10	25.0
2.6	2.6	2.6	10	26.0
2.7	2.7	2.7	10	27.0
2.8	2.8	2.8	10	28.0
2.9	2.9	2.9	10	29.0
3.0	3.0	3.0	10	30.0
3.1	3.1	3.1	10	31.0
3.2	3.2	3.2	10	32.0
3.3	3.3	3.3	10	33.0
3.4	3.4	3.4	10	34.0
3.5	3.5	3.5	10	35.0
3.6	3.6	3.6	10	36.0
3.7	3.7	3.7	10	37.0
3.8	3.8	3.8	10	38.0
3.9	3.9	3.9	10	39.0
4.0	4.0	4.0	10	40.0
4.1	4.1	4.1	10	41.0
4.2	4.2	4.2	10	42.0
4.3	4.3	4.3	10	43.0
4.4	4.4	4.4	10	44.0
4.5	4.5	4.5	10	45.0
4.6	4.6	4.6	10	46.0
4.7	4.7	4.7	10	47.0
4.8	4.8	4.8	10	48.0
4.9	4.9	4.9	10	49.0
5.0	5.0	5.0	10	50.0
5.1	5.1	5.1	10	51.0
5.2	5.2	5.2	10	52.0
5.3	5.3	5.3	10	53.0
5.4	5.4	5.4	10	54.0
5.5	5.5	5.5	10	55.0
5.6	5.6	5.6	10	56.0
5.7	5.7	5.7	10	57.0
5.8	5.8	5.8	10	58.0
5.9	5.9	5.9	10	59.0
6.0	6.0	6.0	10	60.0
6.1	6.1	6.1	10	61.0
6.2	6.2	6.2	10	62.0
6.3	6.3	6.3	10	63.0
6.4	6.4	6.4	10	64.0
6.5	6.5	6.5	10	65.0
6.6	6.6	6.6	10	66.0
6.7	6.7	6.7	10	67.0
6.8	6.8	6.8	10	68.0
6.9	6.9	6.9	10	69.0
7.0	7.0	7.0	10	70.0
7.1	7.1	7.1	10	71.0
7.2	7.2	7.2	10	72.0
7.3	7.3	7.3	10	73.0
7.4	7.4	7.4	10	74.0
7.5	7.5	7.5	10	75.0
7.6	7.6	7.6	10	76.0
7.7	7.7	7.7	10	77.0
7.8	7.8	7.8	10	78.0
7.9	7.9	7.9	10	79.0
8.0	8.0	8.0	10	80.0
8.1	8.1	8.1	10	81.0
8.2	8.2	8.2	10	82.0
8.3	8.3	8.3	10	83.0
8.4	8.4	8.4	10	84.0
8.5	8.5	8.5	10	85.0
8.6	8.6	8.6	10	86.0
8.7	8.7	8.7	10	87.0
8.8	8.8	8.8	10	88.0
8.9	8.9	8.9	10	89.0
9.0	9.0	9.0	10	90.0
9.1	9.1	9.1	10	91.0
9.2	9.2	9.2	10	92.0
9.3	9.3	9.3	10	93.0
9.4	9.4	9.4	10	94.0
9.5	9.5	9.5	10	95.0
9.6	9.6	9.6	10	96.0
9.7	9.7	9.7	10	97.0
9.8	9.8	9.8	10	98.0
9.9	9.9	9.9	10	99.0
10.0	10.0	10.0	10	100.0

Chapter III.—BIRTHPLACE (1).

109. **Various kinds of migration.**—The movements of the population have been dealt with in the last chapter so far as they affect the present total population of each district. The present chapter deals with the questions (1) whither the population moves, (2) to what extent it moves, (3) why it moves.

There are several kinds of migration which can be distinguished in this province :—

1. *Casual*—or the accidental movement between adjacent villages on different sides of a boundary line, whether of a district or the province. A very common instance of this is due to the practice of young married women going to their parents' home for their confinement, especially their first confinement; which in turn depends on a much more permanent kind of migration due to the custom whereby Hindus usually take wives from another village. This latter type of migration itself is usually regarded as casual: but for reasons which I shall adduce presently, I prefer to regard it as permanent. Another excellent instance of casual migration, and one which has made its effect first felt at this census, is the temporary plague migration fully described and frequently referred to in chapter II. Minor cases are due to the calls of business: a man goes for instance (2) to purchase or sell cattle in some market in a neighbouring district, or to visit a relative, arrange a marriage, &c. But such minor movement as this scarcely affects the figures: a great deal of it occurs within the district and when it chances to cross a boundary, the *va et vient* balance each other.

2. *Temporary*.—This kind of migration is due to the temporary demand for labour on roads and railways, journeys on business or religious pilgrimage. In this province it is important chiefly in connection with the sacred places—Muttra, Hardwar, Benares, and Ajudhia and in a minor degree Bindhachal and Gorakhpur. But it also sends such castes as the Jaunpur Luniyas abroad wherever earth-work is to be done.

3. *Periodic*.—This type is due to the changing seasons. The most important instance of it is the migration from the upper to the lower hills in the districts or Garhwal and Almora, which however is entirely within the district: of the Almora and Naini Tal hillmen into the Naini Tal Bhabar in the cold weather and of plainsmen from Bareilly, Pilibhit, Rampur, and Moradabad into the Naini Tal Tarai at the same period—a case of migration which has exceedingly important results on the population of those tracts: the movement of labour from Gorakhpur to Saran and Champaran or from Etawah into Gwalior, though as these instances occur at the slack season, i.e. in the hot weather, they do not greatly affect the census figures which are taken in March. Of these two types of migration, pilgrimages are usually in full swing at the time of census: whilst the Tarai and Bhabar migration is also going on. But I do not think that apart from these two cases they greatly affect the figures; it is just before the harvest time of the rabi crop and with a good harvest labour is required at home. Spare labour may move in search of harvest work, but I doubt if there is very much spare labour available.

(1) Subsidiary table No. I—Shows the general distribution according to birthplace of the persons enumerated in each district: it amounts to the same as figures of immigration.

Ditto No. II—Shows the general distribution according to the place of enumeration of the persons born in each district: it amounts to the same as figures of emigration.

Ditto No. III—Contains proportional figures of migration to and from each district and of males to females amongst migrants of both kinds.

Ditto No. IV—Shows the gain or loss by migration between the United Provinces and other parts of India.

Ditto No. V—Shows the volume of migration between natural divisions in 1911 and 1901.

Ditto No. VI—Gives such figures as are available for over-seas emigration from the province.

Subsidiary table II of chapter II, which gives the total of immigrants and emigrants for each district, may also be consulted.

(2) "*Par gaya*" (he has gone to the other side) is a well-known phrase, especially used when there is a river in the way. *Jumnapar, Gangapar* mean the land on the other side of the Jumna and Ganges (from wherever the speaker happens to be). Similarly Sarwaria (Surjuparia) means originally that class of Kanyakubja Brahmans who live on the far (eastern) side of the Sarju river (either a tributary of the Sarva or the Eastern Tons).

4. *Semi-permanent*.—This occurs when the natives of one place reside and earn their living in one place, but retain their connection with their own homes, returning there at more or less frequent intervals and ultimately, on retirement, returning there permanently. Their families are frequently left behind. This is an extremely common kind of migration. Almost every English official and soldier is a semi-permanent immigrant of this kind; so are the Marwari and Bengali clerks and traders of the province, the Punjabi and Gurkha soldiery cantoned therein; and more generally a majority of all clerks and a considerable proportion of all private servants, khidmatgars and bearers and syces and so on. They may or may not have their families living in the compound with them: plainsmen when in the hills very seldom have them, whilst, in my experience, a Hindu Kahar or Gharuk servant seldom sees his family unless he takes leave.

5. *Permanent*.—“Where over-crowding drives people away, or the superior attractions of some other locality induce them to settle there permanently with their families.” It is improbable that there is much migration of this kind within the boundaries of the province, though doubtless a certain proportion of the settlers from other districts on reclaimed forest tracts in such districts as Kheri, Bahraich and Gorakhpur fall under this category. But a good deal of the emigration over seas, or to the plantations of Assam and elsewhere, must be of such an extended duration that it can only be regarded as permanent. And personally I should consider the emigration of women on marriage as most indubitably of a permanent nature despite the precedents for regarding it as casual. It is difficult to see why a woman whose permanent home is that of her husband's, where she will live and die, should be regarded as a “casual” immigrant to that home. For all purposes, especially her influence on the vital statistics, she becomes a permanent resident of her district of adoption and it seems simpler to treat her as such. The character of migration is to a great extent reflected in the proportion of the sexes. In the case of casual migration, even when restricted as I have restricted it, females will be much in excess; and more so than ever at this census where there is the novel temporary plague migration to assist its influence ⁽¹⁾. In the cases of temporary and periodic migration however, men are in excess, save in the case of pilgrimages: pilgrims are more usually women than men. The cause, as will be incidentally pointed out in the chapter on religion, is that men have no time for pilgrimages, or indeed for religious duties of any kind, till at all events they have retired from mundane pursuits. In India, as indeed in many countries, the duties imposed by the commandment *ora et labora* are subject to the principle of the division of labour: the woman's part is to pray, the man's to work. Similarly in the case of semi-permanent migration, males are usually in excess; for a man leaves his family behind him till he has decided to turn his semi-permanent exile into a permanent one ⁽²⁾. When migration becomes permanent, the sexes approach equality save of course in the case of married women.

110. **Special circumstances affecting the usual stream of migration.**—Since the census statistics refer to the distribution of the population on a particular day, the amount and nature of migration of all kinds save the semi-permanent and permanent will depend very largely on the circumstances of that particular date. The most important circumstance of this kind was the prevalence of plague, which sent the people out of their homes to escape it. I need say little of this here, for its influence has already been described (chapter II, para 43), but I may repeat my firm conviction that it has caused the figures to be very different from what they would have been if plague had not been raging. The large differences found in the populations of the cities which underwent a second census show it. But for one thing, I do not think that it would have greatly affected the total figures of any given district. Movements from plague-stricken areas across the border of a district would be cancelled by similar movements in the reverse direction. But thanks to the influence of marriage custom which causes so many women in any given district to be “immigrants,” it has operated to appreciably decrease the figure of immigrants by sending women home to their birthplaces with their families, of whom at least one child, the

⁽¹⁾ It must not be supposed that therefore temporary plague migration increases the actual number of immigrants. On the contrary it has diminished it since it has sent immigrants back to their birthplaces.

⁽²⁾ An interesting case of this is found in the practice of long-term convicts in the Andamans, who after a certain period can send for their wives. I have known a convict who moved heaven and earth to get back there after his release.

eldest, is frequently, perhaps generally, also an "immigrant," as born in the home of his maternal relatives. As already stated, it is impossible to trace the course of this immigration, which ran in criss-cross directions all over the province: but the central fact remains that the number of persons born in the district where they were enumerated has increased since 1901 by 1·1 per cent.

Besides this, there were minor causes of variation. The figure of immigrants in Naini Tal district, for instance, decreased considerably owing to a scare of plague in Haldwani which sent the Bhabar immigrants from the hills home before their usual time. This occurred just before the date of census and had the curious result of lowering the Bhabar population very much more than the total Naini Tal district figure, and increasing unduly the figure of the Naini Tal tahsil: the explanation is that though many immigrants had cleared the Bhabar, they had not cleared the whole district, but were enumerated on the roads in Naini Tal tahsil on the way to their homes, chiefly in Almora. In Saharanpur, Sitapur, and Gorakhpur certain fairs were also going on, which brought in a considerable number of visitors. In Saharanpur, the Piran Kaliar fair was expected to bring in some 20,000 visitors: but rain kept them away and only 7,388 were enumerated. The figure however was decreased by enumerating as present at home persons known to be going and giving them passes which prevented their enumeration at Piran Kaliar. In Misrikh (Sitapur) there was the usual unimportant fair, of a couple of thousand visitors or so, mostly local. In Paikauli, district Gorakhpur, there was a religious gathering which might have been of considerable extent: it was estimated that the visitors would number anything from 35,000 to 100,000. At the main ceremony on March 9th, 35,000 persons were present: but the presiding priest was persuaded to postpone his subsequent reception of visitors till the 11th, with the result that all the local worshippers went home on the 9th, leaving only some 8,000 persons, mostly Faqirs, to be enumerated on the 10th. The Ram Sarowar fair at Chunar in Mirzapur is a small affair (of some 1,700 persons) but, for its size, attracts an unusual number of persons from other districts, and even from the Punjab and Bengal: these are mostly cattle and horse-dealers and traders of various kinds. Generally speaking, with the exception of plague, there was nothing to upset the usual direction and volume of migration ⁽¹⁾.

111. **Internal immigration.**—The most constant factor which affects internal immigration is of a social nature. The custom of caste demands that a husband should find his wife in a sub-caste which is not his own. It follows therefore that he has usually to seek her in a village in which he does not himself reside and inasmuch as the prohibited degrees are also stringent it frequently happens that he has to go some little distance to find her. Among some castes, for instance the Rajput, where the degrees of rank are numerous and the clans occupy considerable tracts, he may have to go a considerable distance: but generally speaking he will go no further than he need, simply because if he does he will know nothing of his wife's family and they nothing of his. The natural result of this custom is that whilst female immigrants in most districts are much more numerous than men, the immigration is from contiguous districts for the greater part. As Mr. Baillie pointed out in 1891, this custom also causes a certain amount of movement amongst males: for a wealthy bride brings with her a retinue of servants and hangers-on who are not all women, whilst a needy bride is accompanied by a needy retinue of "her sisters, her cousins, and her aunts" and male relatives of the same kind. But by far the greater part of this immigration is of females. No more need be said on this subject, which has been fully dealt with both by Mr. Baillie and Mr. Burn; and I now turn to the figures and its effect on them.

(1) It may be pointed out here that the figures of birthplace may occasionally be wrong, and seem to point to movements of population which have no existence in fact. This occurs in two ways. The boundaries of a district may be changed, and the population of former censuses should then be readjusted, as is done for table II, to meet the new conditions. But it is obviously impossible to readjust the figures of immigrants and emigrants, and consequently comparison in such cases is vitiated by the fact that the tracts compared are not the same. Where the changes are (as they usually are) small this does not matter: but in such cases as the redistribution of boundaries between Naini Tal and Almora, or Gorakhpur and Azamgarh, the difference might be considerable. Secondly, persons born in a tract that has been since transferred to another district may very well describe themselves as born in the district to which the tract originally belonged and so appear incorrectly as immigrants. This would affect the figures in the two cases mentioned and also probably the figures of Mirzapur and Benares state. As regards foreign birthplaces, there is undoubtedly error, but of a different kind. The rule that only the country should be given is disregarded and some town or village given, and the name is not always discoverable in a Gazetteer however large; often too it becomes strangely transmuted in the process of transliteration. It took me some time to interpret "Khonth" as (probably) Kent: and longer still to trace two utterly unknown names which were ultimately located one as a small island in the Fiji group and the other as a place in the Bight of Benin.

112. **The figures of internal migration.**—In 1901 90·1 per cent. of the population was born in the district where it was enumerated. In 1911 91·2 per cent. or 43,034,869 persons, were so born. Considering the sexes separately, we shall find that whilst in 1901 92·8 per cent. of males and 88·2 per cent. of females were born in the district where they were enumerated, at the present census 94·8 per cent. of males and 89·9 per cent. of females were in a similar case. It is obvious therefore that internal migration has considerably decreased, and the number of the home-born has proportionately increased. It becomes necessary to find a cause for this variation.

113. **Causes of the variation in internal migration.**—It will be noticed that whilst the number of males born in the district of enumeration has increased by 2·0 per cent. the females have increased by 1·7 per cent. In 1901 the percentage of home-born females had increased by no less than 6·5, whilst the male percentage had decreased by 2·8. In the decade 1891—1901, therefore, there had been a tendency to increased migration amongst males and decreased migration amongst females : at this census there has been a tendency to decreased migration amongst both. In 1901 Mr. Burn attributed the decrease in female migration to a decrease in marriages ; certain years (1895, 1896, 1897) had been years of distress and had been promptly declared unfavourable for marriages, whilst 1899 was also declared to be astrologically most unlucky. Moreover in times of stress *gauna* ceremonies become less frequent simply because the husband is temporarily unwilling to undertake the additional burden of supporting a wife. Male immigration on the other hand increased chiefly because of the famine of 1897 which sent labourers wandering in search of work.

In this decade there has not been so far as I know any very unfavourable marriage year save 1907-8 ⁽¹⁾ : whilst there is direct evidence that both the pandits and the people have made remarkably good use of their time during the triennium 1908 to 1910. It was reported from several districts, for instance, that the large number of infant marriages discovered in the census returns was definitely due to the fact that the cultivator was making hay while the sun shone and marrying off his children whilst he had money in his pocket. That the male home-born population has nearly reverted to the figure of 1891, is probably due to the facts, firstly, that the wanderers of 1897 returned home during the favourable years 1901—1905, and, secondly, that they did not go wandering again during the famine of 1907-8. I have elsewhere ⁽²⁾ explained why there was an almost total absence of wandering during that period : here I need only state the fact, qualifying it with the remark that it may not be as true of Gonda and Bahraich as of other parts of the country, for famine there was a new and unknown experience. The explanation of the variation has accordingly to be sought elsewhere.

I have already indicated more than once, in chapter II, what I believe to be a chief cause of the increase in the home-born and the decrease in immigrants, namely temporary plague migration ; and there is nothing that need now be added to the former discussion. It follows therefore that the variation, so far as this plague migration is concerned, is fictitious : the home-born are not really so numerous as, and the immigrants really more numerous than, they were on the date of census. Census, in a word, found the population distributed temporarily in an abnormal way, and in all probability there is little real difference between the distribution of 1911 and that of 1901. It is however possible that a part of the decrease in immigrants is real. Plague and malaria may have caused proportionately somewhat greater loss amongst immigrants than amongst the home-born. Both diseases affect women more than men and immigrants are mostly women. Male immigrants, too, are largely of the lower classes who would naturally suffer more than the higher and more prosperous classes. Again, amongst males at all events, it is possible that the conditions of the labour market have kept labourers at home more than in preceding decades. It is well known that the disasters of the decennium have shortened the supply of labour. There has consequently been more work obtainable at home, and also fewer labourers available for emigration elsewhere. Further (and partly in consequence of the smaller supply of labour) wages have ruled high. The labourer has been able to

⁽¹⁾ Unfavourable, economically, *not* unlucky, astrologically. The marriage season was normal ; but of course few marriages occurred.

⁽²⁾ Chapter VI, paragraph 209.

command a good price for his labour at home and has not needed to emigrate : whilst, with more money in his pocket, he has begun to take up small holdings, and consequently either ceased to labour for others, or even begun to employ labour on his own account. This has meant that there has been more work available for the rest, and less need for them to emigrate in search of it. In short the conditions affecting public health may have caused some real decrease amongst immigrants and the economic conditions may have caused some real increase amongst the home-born.

114. "**Contiguous**" migration within the province.—A glance at subsidiary table I will demonstrate the fact already stated that the bulk of all intra-provincial migration is between contiguous ⁽¹⁾ districts. In these may be included contiguous districts without the province, and reference made to subsidiary table III : for obviously the distinction drawn between contiguous places within and without the province in subsidiary table I embodies from this point of view no real difference. Looking at columns 3 and 4 of subsidiary table III, we shall find that save in five districts, the number of contiguous immigrants is never less than twice, is usually five or six times, and occasionally 11 or 12 times as great as the number of "distant" immigrants. These five districts are Dehra Dun, Almora, Saharanpur, Cawnpore, and Lucknow. Dehra Dun is no real exception. Its geographical position causes it to have a very small western boundary and consequently the contiguous tract is very small ; but if for "contiguous" were read "adjacent" (which is what is really meant though in most cases there is no adjacent tract which is not also contiguous), Dehra Dun would undoubtedly come into line with the majority of cases. The proximity of Hardwar (just across the Saharanpur border), the presence of Rikhikesh and the Garhwal pilgrim-routes also bring a large number of immigrants from a distance into the district. Almora too shows a small figure of contiguous immigrants because of a peculiarity in verbal interpretation. Most of its boundary marches with states outside India (Nepal and Tibet), and immigrants from outside India are included in immigrants from other places ; there is no question that it would otherwise also show a very striking excess of immigrants from contiguous places over immigrants from distant places. In Saharanpur the presence of Hardwar and the Piran Kaliar fair explain the large number of immigrants from a distance ; the Hardwar immigrants were mostly from the United Provinces, the Piran Kaliar ones chiefly from the Punjab. In Cawnpore the social factor which makes for an excess of immigrants from contiguous districts is reinforced by an economic factor (the need of labour in the city mills) which draws immigrants indifferently both from the nearer districts and from a distance : Agra, Mainpuri, Banda, Allahabad, Jhansi, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Lucknow, Rae Bareli, Sitapur, Hardoi, Fyzabad, Gonda, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Bara Banki all supply unusually large numbers of immigrants to Cawnpore ⁽²⁾ ; not to mention Bengalis, Punjabis (most of whom are probably soldiers), and people from the Central India States, and of course Europeans. In Lucknow the same thing occurs on a smaller scale : Agra, Farrukhabad, Bareilly, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Benares, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Fyzabad, Gonda, and Oudh generally contribute far more than a normal quota to Lucknow, whilst Bengalis and Punjabis (mostly, as in Cawnpore, soldiers) are also numerous. It is perhaps worth noticing the interchange of migration between cities, both in the case of Cawnpore and Lucknow : not only do these two large cities exchange immigrants, but places like Agra, Allahabad, Bareilly, Benares, &c. contribute their share to one or the other or both. The calls of business easily explain the coming and going between the districts containing these cities. It is unnecessary to say anything of the figures of other districts.

115. **Proportion of the sexes amongst immigrants from contiguous and distant places respectively.**—But it is worth while noting the striking difference in the proportion of the sexes amongst immigrants from contiguous and non-contiguous places respectively. Omitting Himalaya West from the discussion for the present, there is not a single district where the number of female immigrants does not largely exceed the number of male immigrants in the former case. The proportion of females to 100 males is greatest in the Eastern Plain (319) and Mirzapur

⁽¹⁾ I refer all through this paragraph only to the figures of immigration. Internal emigration is merely the reverse of the picture of internal immigration and exemplifies the same general characteristics ; though of course the immigrants of one district are the emigrants of several others and vice versa.

⁽²⁾ By chance I found a curious side-light on immigration to Cawnpore in an educational file. It would appear that one of the chief incentives to acquiring a modicum of learning in Rae Bareli district is the hope of ultimately becoming a bill-collecting peon in Cawnpore city.

(293) : next comes the Central Plain (200), the Western Plain (186) and the Plateau (182) ; whilst it is least in the two Sub-Himalayan tracts (Western 141, Eastern 162). Of particular districts Muzaffarnagar (240 females to 100 males), Sultanpur (393), Partabgarh (454), Jaunpur (482), Ballia (500), Azamgarh (400) show the highest figures : Kheri (116), Pilibhit (139), Cawnpore (139), Lucknow (133), Banda, (146), Gorakhpur (144), Bahraich (123) show the lowest. In all the districts where the proportion of immigrant women to men is particularly high, the cause of the excess is probably that there is nothing to attract male immigrants in any numbers : whilst the last three mentioned are indeed places which males leave freely for elsewhere. In Kheri the small excess of females is probably due to a considerable immigration of male settlers with their families on jungle clearings ; whilst in Pilibhit there is a good deal of immigrant labour. In Cawnpore and Lucknow, of course, economic reasons attract males in large numbers, causing a balance of the sexes. Banda, a very poor district, receives few women from outside in consequence, for a marriage with a Banda bridegroom is probably a poor match : moreover both Banda and Gorakhpur are very large districts indeed and can probably carry out most of their matrimonial arrangements without having to cross the boundary of the district at all. Bahraich is in much the same case as Kheri.

In Dehra Dun, Naini Tal, and Almora women immigrants from contiguous places are in great defect : the figures are respectively 40, 77, and 59 women per 100 men. In the hills generally marriage is usually carried out within the district, partly because the hill castes are quite other to plains castes and could probably not obtain wives from elsewhere even if they wanted them. In Naini Tal and Dehra Dun there are a considerable number of male immigrants : the nature of this immigration has already been described. Immigration in the hills proper (as apart from the Naini Tal Tarai and Bhabar immigrants and the Dehra Dun pilgrims) rules low simply because the plainsman cannot stand the hill climate and there are no attractions sufficient to induce him to brave it.

Amongst immigrants from non-contiguous districts however the females are either in defect, or in much less striking excess: 23 districts show an excess of females. Of these, the figures of Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda, Hamirpur, Jalaun, Muzaffarnagar, and Bulandshahr are probably explained by the restriction of "contiguous" to British districts or territories within India which actually adjoin the boundary, and to the exclusion of foreign territories (Nepal) or of adjacent tracts. In Hamirpur, Jalaun, Fatehpur, Jaunpur, and Azamgarh the situation is also affected by the absence of anything to attract male settlers. In Fyzabad, Rae Bareilly, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Unao, and Bara Banki there are Rajputs in large numbers and as already explained they probably have to go further afield for wives than most castes. In other districts the excess of females is trifling.

Generally speaking it may be said that in immigration from contiguous districts, the social cause, namely marriage custom, determines the sex distribution of immigrants and results in an excess of women : in immigration from distant districts, the economic cause, namely the search for work, determines the sex distribution and results in an excess of men. And in the comparatively rare cases where the sex distribution differs from the normal, it will usually be found that both causes are in existence to produce the variation.

116. **External migration to other parts of India.**—The sex distribution amidst immigrants from or emigrants to other parts of India varies in exactly the same way as it does in the case of internal migration. When the movement is between contiguous localities, females are in excess : when it is between tracts that are not contiguous, males predominate. To this there are practically no exceptions of any kind and none worth mention save the case of the immigrants from non-contiguous places into the Plateau districts. Here the cause is to some extent fictitious. Both Hamirpur and Banda are honeycombed with enclaves belonging to various native states which in the rest of their territory may or may not be contiguous : whilst it is highly probable that many of the inhabitants of these places have returned themselves as district instead of foreign-born. In a word it is very difficult to say who are born in "contiguous" states, who are born in "non-contiguous" states and who are home-born : judging from the figures I should say it was probable that the home-born and non-contiguous figures are both too high. Moreover on the boundaries are numbers of little states of a few square miles which are too small even to show on any map of ordinary size : and it is not improbable that both in enumeration the birthplaces were wrongly stated and in classification

were misplaced (1). The figures however are small and save as an example of difficulties attending on "birthplace" the matter is scarcely worth mentioning.

117. **Migration to and from Bengal and Bihar and Orissa.**—The number of immigrants from Bengal amount to 25,700 and from Bengal states 81,160 of the former are found in Rampur and Tehri. From Bihar and Orissa there are 105,013 immigrants of whom 20 are found in Rampur and Tehri, as well as 68 from its States. In the whole province therefore are to be found 130,862 persons born in the old province of Bengal (as it stood in 1901) against 128,991 enumerated in 1901. The great majority of these are of course found in our eastern districts: Bihar and Orissa alone contributes 41,654 to the Benares division and 54,232 to the Gorakhpur division, of whom 10,812 are found in Benares, 12,054 in Mirzapur and 52,509 in Gorakhpur. The proportion of females to males in these divisions shows it to be chiefly a case of marriage immigration, and as always from just over the border. Some 90,000 of the total number come from the districts of Saran (53,000), Champaran (7,000) and Shahabad (30,000). The proportion of females in Benares is increased by two causes, namely the fact that a great part of the Bengal-born population found there were pilgrims, amongst whom women predominate: and that well-to-do widows settle there for religious purposes. Elsewhere of course the Bengali immigrant is in search of employment and usually belongs to the professional classes or is in service of various kinds. This immigration is temporary in the case of pilgrims, permanent in the case of wives, and semi-permanent in the case of the rest: from Benares comes evidence to the fact that the Bengalis of that place frequently return home for a prolonged holiday in the hot weather—chiefly of course those in business, which is slack at a time when neither globe-trotters nor pilgrims abound.

The province sends a great stream of emigrants to Bengal. The details are given in the margin. The total is 529,480 or 32,378

	British territory.	States.
Bengal ..	399,593	1,363
Bengal States ..	4,640	18
Bihar and Orissa ..	122,099	65
Orissa States ..	1,700	2
	528,032	1,448

more than 1901, when the figure was 497,102. (2). Of these emigrants 80,678 were enumerated in the four districts adjoining the United Provinces, namely Champaran, Saran, Shahabad, and Palamau, but of this, truly contiguous migration (i.e. from the border districts of the United Provinces to the border districts of Bengal) occurred only in the case of 73,172 persons. Details

are given in the margin: in this contiguous migration there is a great

Born in—	Enumerated in—	1911.	1901.	Variation.
Gorakhpur ..	Champaran	23,911	21,407	+2,404
" ..	Saran ..	19,045	24,936	-5,891
Ballia ..	" ..	3,466	4,820	-1,354
" ..	Shahabad ..	9,524	13,816	-4,292
Ghazipur ..	" ..	10,169	15,340	-5,171
Benares ..	" ..	3,551	5,000	-1,451
Mirzapur ..	" ..	2,510	3,677	-1,167
" ..	Palamau ..	996	2,207	-1,208
	Total ..	73,172	91,203	-18,031

decrease. As the figures of the sexes show, it is due to marriage custom in every case save in the case of emigration from Gorakhpur to Champaran, where the number of males exceed the number of females, and it must consequently be due to the demand for labour. Movement of labour to Champaran is frequent in the slack season; but in this case there appears to have been some special cause to account for the migration at census time—possibly

work on the railway. Some 455,000 persons emigrate to more distant parts of Bengal; of these some 131,000 are found in the districts which were once comprised in Eastern Bengal, some 268,000 in the rest of Bengal and the rest in Bihar and Orissa. The attractions which cause our labourers to emigrate have already been described in chapter II; mill labour, the coal fields of Burdwan and Manbhum, earthwork, palki-bearing, service as peons, door-keepers and clerks, and agricultural labour explain the majority of cases. The emigrants come chiefly from the Eastern Plain (Bengal proper 153,000, Bihar and Orissa 54,000, Eastern Bengal 87,000), Gorakhpur, Basti, and Gonda in the Eastern Sub-Himalayas (Bengal proper 16,000, Bihar and Orissa 48,000, Eastern Bengal 24,000), and in less degree

(1). It would be extremely difficult for anybody to know exactly whether he was born in British or states territory in the immediate neighbourhood of Chitra Kot in Banda district. Half of that sacred site is in state, half in British territory. In one place there is not only an enclave of State land in British territory but a British enclave within that enclave.

(2) This is the figure given in the United Provinces report of 1901. In the Bengal report the figure is 496,940. The difference is probably accounted for by the inclusion in one case and the omission in the other case of the Sikkim figure. If so then 98 should be added to the figure given for 1911. The figures for 1901 in all such cases are exclusive of emigrants to Rampur and Tehri figures for which are not given.

from Mirzapur, Allahabad, Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Cawnpore, Fatehpur, Lucknow, and Rae Bareli.

118. **Migration to and from Assam.**—The immigration from Assam is very trivial, but the province still sends a great many labourers to its plantations, though the number has decreased, amounting in all to 98,411 persons, of whom 97,944 come from British territory as against 108,900 in 1901. Of these 57,000 are males and 41,000 females. They come chiefly from Ghazipur (41,000), Azamgarh (16,000) and Ballia (10,000) and of course are chiefly labourers in the tea gardens.

119. **Migration to and from the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province.**—Immigration from the Punjab shows a total of 115,692 from British districts to British territory, 5,803 from the Punjab States to British territory, together with 807 from the Punjab as a whole to the United Provinces States. For purposes of comparison with 1901 however we have to add the figures of the North-West Frontier Province, viz. 1,895 immigrants to British territory and 53 to the States. The grand total is then 124,250 as against 132,738 in 1901, a decrease of 7,488, which is attributable chiefly to a higher death-rate. Of these figures some 63,000 persons were immigrants from immediately contiguous districts (Ambala, Karnal, Delhi, and Gurgaon) to the border districts of the United Provinces (Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, and Muttra); this migration is due to marriage custom and the females as usual greatly exceed the males. Of the 61,000 that remain, the army accounts for a considerable number, many are in public or private service or in the police and a fair proportion are traders, horse-dealers and wandering pedlars especially. The emigrants from this province to the Punjab are made up of 218,390 from British territory to the Punjab proper and 5,035 to the North-West Frontier Province, 1,523 from the United Provinces States to the Punjab proper, and 29 to the North-West Frontier Province, making a total of 224,977 as against 231,605 (1) in 1901, or a difference of 6,628, once more a difference explicable by the higher death-rate.

Born in—	Enumerated in—	1911.
Dehra Dun ..	Nahan State ..	1,159
Saharanpur ..	Ambala ..	10,523
" ..	Karnal ..	3,843
Muzaffarnagar ..	" ..	2,646
Meerut ..	" ..	1,146
" ..	Delhi ..	17,376
Bulandshahr ..	" ..	13,093
" ..	Gurgaon ..	5,424
Aligarh ..	" ..	5,128
Muttra ..	" ..	12,533
		72,871

The figures of the contiguous migration are given in the margin. Similar figures for 1901 are not available, but it may be mentioned that the total emigration from the whole United Provinces to the border districts of the Punjab amounted in 1901 to 148,616 as against 141,003 in 1911; in Delhi there has been an increase of some 6,000, in Gurgaon a decrease of 7,000, in Karnal a decrease of 6,000, whilst the figures in Ambala and Nahan are practically stationary. Besides these four districts, the United Provinces emigrants go chiefly to Hissar, Roh-tak, Simla, Ferozpur, Amritsar, Rawalpindi,

Patiala, and Lahore, but especially the last three.

120. **Migration to and from Bombay.**—Immigration from Bombay is not extensive. But there is very extensive emigration to Bombay, amounting to 89,521 persons from British territory to British territory, and 4,764 from British territory to the Bombay States, a total of 95,285 as against 67,822 (2) in 1901. This is a very large increase indeed considering the distance between the two provinces: Allahabad, Fyzabad, Azamgarh, Muttra, Agra, Cawnpore, Fatehpur, Lucknow, Rae Bareli, Benares, and Jaunpur provide the largest contributions to the total. The migration is purely economic, the attractions are chiefly labour in the Bombay side, mills at Ahmedabad, Thana, Nasik, and in Sind and Kathiawar, as well as in Bombay city.

121. **Migration to and from the Central Provinces.**—There is a certain amount of immigration from the Central Provinces of which a small amount in Jhansi from Saugor falls under the description of contiguous. But against some 14,000 immigrants that are received, 130,799 emigrants (besides 768 from the United Provinces States) leave the province for the Central Provinces—a considerable increase since 1901, when the figure was 116,092. Some 14,000 of these are found in Saugor; the attraction is chiefly field labour and cultivation. The emigrants come chiefly from Banda, Hamirpur, Jhansi, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Fatehpur, Unao, Rae Bareli, Sultanpur, and Partabgarh.

(1) This figure, taken from the United Provinces report, differs from that given in the Punjab report of 1901, which is 232,724. The difference possibly represents emigrants from the United Provinces States to the Punjab.

(2) Inclusive of the United Provinces States.

122. **Migration to and from Burma.**—There is also a large volume of emigration to Burma which has greatly increased in the last ten years. The number of residents of the United Provinces enumerated in that province are now 50,565 (besides 688 from United Provinces States) as against 33,453 in 1901. They are found chiefly in Rangoon and Akyab, especially in Rangoon city and are there probably in business, though cultivation and domestic service are also attractions. They come chiefly from Fyzabad and Sultanpur; but no less than 24,000 returned no district of birth.

123. **Migration to and from Rajputana.**—There is very considerable immigration from the States in the Rajputana Agency, amounting to 102,929 as against 126,536 in 1901: 71,000 of these were found in the two districts of Muttra and Agra and 11,000 more in Meerut division. Of these, again, 37,000 from Bharatpur found in Muttra and Agra and 24,000 from Dholpur found in Agra come under the head of immigrants from contiguous districts, and are mostly females; the rest are chiefly business men. There is also considerable emigration; 69,451 persons from British territory and 600 from the States, a total of 70,051, were enumerated in Rajputana States as against 74,114 in 1901: the decrease is explicable by the enhanced death-rate of the decade: 31,000 from Muttra and Agra enumerated in Bharatpur and 15,000 from Agra enumerated in Dholpur fall under the head of emigrants from contiguous places and are sent abroad chiefly by marriage custom. The interchange of population between Rajputana and the Western districts of the province is largely due to the close relations existing between the Jain community of the United Provinces and that of Rajputana.

124. **Migration to and from Central India.**—The very considerable immigration from Central India has slightly decreased since 1901; its present figure is 195,815 as against 199,319. Nearly the whole of it is between border districts: no less than 122,000 immigrants from contiguous states are found in the Plateau alone. The number of emigrants though still large is now only 168,544 as against the phenomenal figure of 1901 (343,014) ⁽¹⁾.

The details of contiguous emigration are as in the margin. There are

Born in—	Enumerated in—	1911.
Agra	Gwalior	6,152
Allahabad	Rewah	5,613
.. ..	Minor States	224
Banda	Panna	1,232
.. ..	Charkhari	5,863
.. ..	Minor States	3,377
Etawah	Gwalior	2,990
Hamirpur	Panna	654
.. ..	Charkhari	14,399
.. ..	Minor States	16,814
Jalaun	Gwalior	1,888
.. ..	Datia	2,007
.. ..	Samthar	1,850
Jhansi	Orchha	7,756
.. ..	Datia	3,923
.. ..	Minor States	9,476
Mirzapur	Rewah	4,862
Total .. ..	.. ..	90,180

now only 90,000 persons born in the contiguous districts of this province who were enumerated just over the border as against 186,000 in 1901. The nature of the immigration which is in the proportion of some 64 women to 26 men, shows clearly enough that it is of the usual type, due to marriage custom. The cause of the decrease appears to be that after the famine of 1897 many went into Central India in search of labour and new lands to cultivate, and returned when better times came to Bundelkhand with the opening of this decade. The famine of 1907-8

did not cause any wandering, and it is probable that the difference represents the famine emigrants who returned home.

125. **Migration to other Provinces and States.**—Ajmer-Merwara, Madras, Hyderabad, and Kashmir all send to this province a respectable number of immigrants totalling some 6,000; Ajmer-Merwara receives nearly 12,000 persons from the province, Hyderabad 10,000, and Baroda and Madras between them some 6,000 more. Baluchistan also receives 6,000 United Provinces emigrants.

126. **Foreign emigration.**—There are few trustworthy figures in connection with foreign emigration. It falls into several classes—

- (1) Over-seas emigration to the colonies (registered).
- (2) Over-seas emigration, (unregistered).
- (3) Nepal and foreign inland emigration.

(1) *Registered over-seas emigration.*—In subsidiary table VII have been shown the number of emigrants who sailed during the decade from Calcutta to various British Colonies and other places where indentured labour is in request ⁽²⁾. The total is

⁽¹⁾ This is the figure in subsidiary table VIII, page 59 of the report of 1901. But the Central India report of 1901 gives it as 320,159 and on page 43 of his report Mr. Burn quotes it as 319,694.

⁽²⁾ Demerara, Trinidad, Mauritius, Natal, Fiji, Surinams, Guadeloupe, La Reunion, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Martinique, Saigon, Madagascar, Straits Settlements, and Ceylon.

128,513 : of this number 54,897 come from the Eastern Sub-Himalayan division, and especially from Basti and Gonda. The Central Plain contributes 27,188, chiefly from Fyzabad and Sultanpur, and the Eastern Plain 11,963 ; "other districts" (1) sent out no less than 25,902. The emigrants from Calcutta went to Demerara, Trinidad, Natal, Fiji, Jamaica, Surinam, and the Mauritius. In 1901 there were enumerated in four colonies alone, namely Trinidad (with Tobago), Natal, Jamaica, and Mauritius, some 177,880 Indians : and since 128,513 represents the new emigrants only, allowing for those who returned or died and the old emigrants who left before 1911, it is clear that 150,000 (the estimate of chapter II for this kind of emigration) is by no means an excessive estimate. Besides these figures returns have been received from some colonies of Indians born in the United

Colony.	Number.		
	Total	Males.	Females.
Straits Settlements	11	10	1
Soudan	1	1	..
Fiji ..	18,965	13,067	5,898
Seychelles	1	1	..
Hong Kong	835	835	..
Uganda	94	92	2
Ceylon	10	10	..
Federated Malay States.	110	102	8
On ships reaching Ceylon ports*.	171	..	..
Total ..	20,198	14,118	5,909

* No details of sex.

Provinces as in the margin (2). It is not clear whether the Straits Settlements figure includes Singapore or not : but if so, it is curiously low since the 3rd Brahmans reached that place before the census and this has a number of United Provinces men in it. The Hong Kong figure is probably of soldiers or policemen. Amongst the 171 United Provinces Indians enumerated in Colombo on their arrival thither by sea were 167 Musalmans, of whom 125 came from Allahabad. Save the persons enumerated in Fiji, it is probable that most of the rest belong really to the next class of emigrants.

(2) *Unregistered over-seas emigrants.*—It is impossible to give any figures for such emigration. Natives of India were residing in 1901 in no less than 32 different parts of the world, besides Demerara, Fiji, Surinam, Guadeloupe, La Reunion, St. Lucia, Martinique, Hong Kong, Uganda, Saigon, and the British Isles and other parts of Europe where they are known to have gone during this decade at all events—in all 42 parts of the world apart from Europe. These 32 included Ceylon, 3 British dependencies in Indonesia, 4 of the South African Colonies, Egypt, Lagos, Gambia, Mauritius and the Seychelles in Africa, 8 islands or groups of islands in the West Indies, or territories adjacent to them, 7 of the colonies in Australasia, Canada, the United States of America and the Falkland Islands, and Cyprus, Gibraltar, and Malta in Europe. There are of course many in the British Isles, in France, and even in Switzerland, as well as in Japan. To these have to be added the many Musalman pilgrims by sea to Arabia. It is impossible to give from the available figures any guess as to the proportion of such Indians who belong to the United Provinces, but it is certain that it is by no means negligible.

(3) *Nepal and foreign inland emigration.*—Here too it is impossible to give any figures. But it is quite certain that the emigration into Nepal is very considerable. I have already dealt with this subject in chapter II, para. 43. Of other inland emigration the only item that needs mention is that into Tibet and that rather because of its interest than its size. From all accounts it seems quite obvious that trade facilities with Tibet have greatly increased of late, but it is improbable that the number of United Provinces traders who visit Tibet can have much effect on the figures of the census.

127. **Immigration from foreign countries.**—Forty-six thousand one hundred and nineteen persons who were born in other countries in Asia are resident in the United Provinces, of whom no less than 43,347 are Nepalese ; they are chiefly found in Kumaun, Dehra Dun, Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda, Bahraich, and Benares. They are chiefly soldiers, settlers, traders or refugees. There are 1,605 Afghans, probably mostly traders, and 538 Tibetans. Out of 22,476 persons born in Europe 22,008 were born in the United Kingdom : there are 132 Germans and 125 persons born in Italy. There were only 289 persons born in Africa, but some little interest

(1) This is a curious entry. There are only 10 "other districts" and two states which gives an average of over 2,000 each. We may feel quite sure that the Himalayan districts and Tehri State send none ; which leaves seven districts. In all probability "other districts" includes tahsil and village entries of residence which could not be identified.

(2) Since writing the above I have received returns showing 188 males and 77 females enumerated in south Africa, and 6 males in Scotland.

attaches to those born in Natal (57) who, judging from their districts of residence (Azamgarh and Gonda), are probably the children of returned emigrants. The same is probably true of the 186 persons in Fyzabad division and the 89 in Basti who were born in the West Indies.

128. **The balance of migration in the natural divisions, (1) Himalaya**

District.	Immigrants.*	Emigrants.*	Excess (+) defect (-) of immigrants.
Himalaya, West ..	151	44	+107
Dehra Dun ..	55	9	+46
Naini Tal ..	134	23	+111
Almora ..	15	54	-39
Garhwal ..	13	25	-12

West.—In this division there is a large excess of immigrants over emigrants, which is made up chiefly of the pilgrims to Dehra Dun and the influx of cultivators from adjoining districts of Rohilkhand to the Naini Tal Tarai. To this must be added a considerable number of European settlers and troops in Dehra itself and the various

hill cantonments and also Gurkha soldiery. The balance of immigrants in Naini Tal are chiefly the hillmen who visit the Bhabar in the cold weather and cancel the Almora emigrants, from which district they chiefly come. The Garhwal emigration is largely directed to Dehra Dun. Generally speaking therefore the immigrants in this division are of three kinds: temporary visitors on pilgrimage or cultivators in the Tarai, equally temporary agriculturists in the Bhabar from Almora, or practically permanent settlers from birthplaces outside India (chiefly England, Nepal, and Tibet). The permanent population therefore amounts practically to the home-born and these foreign settlers.

129. (2) **Sub-Himalaya, West.**—Over the division as a whole immigrants

District.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Excess (+) defect (-) of immigrants.
Sub-Himalaya, West	321	313	+8
Saharanpur ..	74	66	+8
Bareilly ..	108	130	-22
Bijnor ..	34	69	-35
Pilibhit ..	63	59	+4
Kheri ..	111	56	+55

and emigrants very nearly balance, as they also do in Saharanpur: the excess in each case is 8,000 only. The bulk of Saharanpur immigration which is not from contiguous districts is from Meerut, Moradabad, and the Punjab and is probably accounted for by Hardwar pilgrims and visitors to the Piran Kaliar fair, though Meerut and

parts of the Punjab, though not contiguous, are sufficiently adjacent to come under the same principle. The building of the Jumna bridge on the North-Western Railway also accounts for some Punjabi immigrants. The excess of emigrants in Bareilly is chiefly accounted for (apart from very large movements of the usual kind into the neighbouring districts) by the influx of cultivators into the Naini Tal Tarai and smaller movements, probably in search of labour (or, in the case of Kheri, of land) into that district, Cawnpore and Lucknow. There is a curious movement also into Unao which occurred both in 1901 and 1911. It appears from the figures to be of the usual "marriage" variety, but certainly there seems no reason for its existence between these two particular districts. Two explanations are possible. There is a small colony of Bais Rajputs in Bareilly and Aonla Tahsils who claim connection with the Unao Bais and it may be that they still seek their brides from other clans in their old home. Or it may be due to confusion in the schedules between Bareilly (Bareli) and Rae Bareli, which adjoins Unao. The figures are not too large to make either explanation unlikely. In Bijnor the excess of emigrants seems to be due not to any excess in that figure so much as to a decrease in immigrants which however is not confined to any particular district. Pilibhit's immigrants and emigrants practically balance each other, the slight excess in favour of the former being probably due to the movements of labour: whilst in Kheri the excess is almost entirely in immigrants from contiguous districts and, as the unusually large number of males of this kind shows, is due to the influx of settlers to the reclaimed jungle lands.

* In all these marginal tables 000's are omitted.

130. **Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.**—In the Western Plain the loss by

District.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Excess (+) defect (-) of immigrants.
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.	538	585	-47
Muzaffarnagar ..	96	68	+28
Meerut ..	150	124	+26
Bulandshahr ..	115	113	+2
Aligarh ..	139	151	-12
Muttra ..	113	112	+1
Agra ..	140	173	-33
Farrukhabad ..	108	110	-2
Mainpuri ..	110	96	+14
Etawah ..	95	80	+15
Etah ..	127	105	+22
Budaun ..	98	116	-18
Moradabad ..	85	138	-53
Shahjahanpur ..	98	134	-36

emigration amounts to 47,000. By far the greater portion of migration in either direction is from contiguous places both within and without the province and needs no comment. The only striking figures as regards immigration are those of Meerut, Aligarh, and Agra (distant) and as regards emigration those of Aligarh, Agra, and Muttra. The items which increase Meerut's "distant" immigration are chiefly those connected with Saharanpur, Aligarh, Muttra, Agra, and Budaun, together with a considerable influx from the Punjab. All these are adjacent though not contiguous places.

In the cases of Aligarh, Budaun, and the Punjab the immigration is of the normal kind due to social causes, though military service doubtless accounts for many of the Punjabis. In the other three cases the size of the immigration and its nature as regards the proportion of the sexes seems to point to its being due to economic causes: it will be noted that all the districts mentioned contain cities with considerable business connections. In Muttra the distant emigration is either to Meerut or Bulandshahr (adjacent districts) or to Bombay and Rajputana, with which through its Jain traders it has extensive trade and other relations. Aligarh's distant emigration is chiefly to Meerut (see above), Agra and Mainpuri (also adjacent districts), Moradabad and Shahjahanpur, which besides being adjacent are, like Aligarh, Muhammadan districts; whilst its immigration from a distance is largely the reflex of this emigration: the districts mentioned seem to interchange migrants freely. It may be noted that Aligarh contains two cities, Koil and Hathras, both being trade centres. It has also a considerable number of Rajputana immigrants, business men and (doubtless) railway officials on the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway. Little need be said about Agra: situated where it is, a large city with much trade and an important railway centre, it collects immigrants from all quarters and in return sends emigrants especially to Bombay and the Rajputana and Central India States. Moradabad's emigration is considerable as is that of Shahjahanpur: and it is probable that the poor but proud Muhammadans of these districts enter distant service freely.

131. (4) **Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.**—The emigration of the Central

District.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Excess (+) defect (-) of immigrants.
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	414	667	-253
Cawnpore ..	153	126	+27
Fatehpur ..	46	62	-16
Allahabad ..	97	135	-38
Lucknow ..	141	98	+43
Unao ..	56	95	-39
Rae Bareli ..	66	97	-31
Sitapur ..	85	101	-16
Hardoi ..	73	110	-37
Fyzabad ..	91	139	-28
Sultanpur ..	83	113	-30
Partabgarh ..	67	103	-36
Bara Banki ..	61	96	-35

Plain greatly exceeds its immigration. Two districts alone, Cawnpore and Lucknow, gain more than they lose by migration: their cases have already been dealt with both in this chapter and the last and it is enough to say that they owe this gain chiefly to the attractions which their cities offer to labour, but partly also to their large cantonments and in the case of Lucknow to its position as secondary capital of the province. All the other districts to a greater or less extent send emigrants broadcast over India, whilst Rae Bareli and Baiswara generally lose

many males to the army and many females to marriage custom. For the Baiswara Rajput is of high rank, though not the highest of all Rajputs, and he may have to go some way in one direction to find a suitable husband for his daughter and some way in the other to find a suitable wife for his son. The difference would be greater still if over-seas emigration could be reckoned.

132. (5) **Central India Plateau.**—Immigration and emigration in the Plateau

District.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Excess (+) defect (-) of immigrants.
Central India Plateau.	200	202	-2
Banda ..	43	74	-31
Hamirpur ..	53	71	-18
Jhansi ..	108	72	+36
Jalaun ..	52	40	+12

balance almost exactly: the true difference is rather larger than—2, as over-seas emigration would have to be added; Banda distant emigration is chiefly to the States of Central India, the Central Provinces, and Bombay; that of Hamirpur chiefly to the Central India States. Jhansi with its old Maratha connections has extensive trade relations with and many emigrants in

Bombay; but the most striking thing in Jhansi is the way in which persons from the many neighbouring States flock into the district, doubtless for the most part into the city.

133. (6) **East Satpuras.**—Mirzapur loses slightly more in contiguous

District.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Excess (+) defect (-) of immigrants
Mirzapur ..	65	101	-36

emigration than it gains in contiguous immigration, but the big loss is due to its distant emigration outside the province, which appears to have increased considerably. The emigrants

are mostly labourers from North Mirzapur who go to Eastern Bengal or Calcutta to obtain employment in the jute industry. The migration is of a periodic kind usually lasting some six months, from September or October to April, when the emigrants return home.

134. (7) **Sub-Himalaya, East.**—The figures of migration in this division

District.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Excess (+) defect (-) of immigrants.
Sub-Himalaya East,	189	185	+4
Gorakhpur ..	152	136	+16
Basti ..	85	137	-52
Gonda ..	93	95	-2
Bahraich ..	77	34	+43

are extremely misleading. It actually shows an excess of immigrants whilst there can be no doubt whatever that there is a considerable loss by emigration. The reason is that practically the whole of the Nepal and a considerable share of the over-seas emigration comes from this tract. The former I estimated at 150,000 and if we allow 30,000 for emigrants from this division

abroad, it will be seen that the total volume of emigration is thus nearly double the figure in the margin. It is useless going into detail: Gorakhpur gains a great deal by emigration of labour and settlers on reclaimed lands which comes apparently from Basti to some extent so that the Gorakhpur immigration and Basti emigration cancel.

135. (8) **Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.**—The emigrants in this division exceed

District.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Excess (+) defect (-) of immigrants.
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	149	584	-435
Benares ..	100	107	-7
Jaunpur ..	74	159	-85
Ghazipur ..	41	149	-108
Ballia ..	32	135	-103
Azamgarh ..	69	200	-131

the immigrants by 435,000, to which some 50,000 at least should be added for over-seas emigration. Benares is the only place which in any degree makes good its losses by gains from immigration; this is due of course to its position as a large city and also as the most famous religious centre in India. The vastly greater part of this emigration (388,000) is directed to distant parts of other pro-

vinces: the extra-provincial emigration amounts to 414,000. Somewhere or other I have already quoted a statement that there is not a single family in the Benares division which has not at least one member abroad in Bengal and Assam. If the qualification of Bengal and Assam be removed, the statement will not be far from the truth. The pressure on the soil in the Eastern districts has been proving severe, up till 1901 at all events: emigration is the natural relief. This with the terrible assistance afforded by plague has reduced the pressure considerably and it may well be that emigration will show some decline in the next ten years, though possibly not, since by long use emigration has become second nature and possesses attractions of its own, which the money-order returns of these districts assist us to realize.

136. **The birthplaces of residents in cities.**—In the margin are given figures

City.	Born in district.	Born in adjacent districts or states.	Born elsewhere.
Agra ..	832	91	77
Allahabad ..	851	59	90
Amroha ..	967	17	16
Bareilly ..	943	53	54
Benares ..	782	85	133
Budaun ..	904	49	47
Cawnpore ..	583	272	145
Etawah ..	744	108	148
Farrukhabad ..	819	66	115
Fyzabad ..	730	152	118
Gorakhpur ..	859	55	85
Hathras ..	750	147	103
Jaunpur ..	916	47	37
Jhansi ..	627	35	338
Koil ..	882	71	47
Lucknow ..	575	181	244
Meerut ..	818	77	105
Mirzapur ..	888	61	51
Moradabad ..	889	56	55
Muttra ..	729	153	118
Rampur ..	943	31	26
Saharanpur ..	818	62	120
Sambhal ..	971	16	13
Shahjahanpur ..	921	46	33

showing the number per 1,000 of the population of each city which are home or foreign-born. For "contiguous" in the case of districts I have substituted "adjacent" as more appropriate in the case of cities. It must be remembered that the home-born do not include merely those born in the city, but those born in the district in which the city is situated so that these figures include in reality a considerable proportion of immigrants. The figures are not very informing for these reasons. Cawnpore, as a large industrial centre, would possess a large proportion of immigrants in any case, but the figure is increased because of its position on the borders of its district, and the same criticism applies to Farrukhabad, Fyzabad, Hathras, and Jhansi. Bareilly, Amroha, Moradabad, Allahabad, Budaun, Gorakhpur, Jaunpur, Sambhal, and Rampur are important chiefly as distributing centres for their own districts and are removed from the district borders, which decreases the number of immigrants.

Generally speaking, however, the large trading centres with the sacred towns, such as Muttra and Benares, have high figures of immigrants, the mere district capitals have low ones. It may be further noted that the districts round Lucknow are small and numerous which further tends to increase the already high figures of that large centre. In cities for obvious reasons there are more immigrant men than women, in contrast to the general rule of immigration.

Subsidiary table I.—Immigration actual figures.

District and natural division where enumerated.	Born in—(,000's omitted).																	
	District or (natural division).			Contiguous dis- trict or state in province.			Other parts of province.			Contiguous parts of other pro- vinces, etc.			Non-contiguous parts of other provinces, 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
United Provinces	47,354	24,180	22,574	..	..	..	..	..	..	403	133	270	166	95	71	69	48	27
British Territory	46,523	24,349	22,174	66	27	39	..	..	..	424	150	274	165	94	71	69	48	27
<i>Himalaya, West</i>	1,382	709	673	97	54	37	25	16	9	..	..	..	13	10	3	22	17	5
Dehra Dun	150	82	68	28	20	8	15	10	5	..	..	..	10	7	3	2	2	..
Naini Tal	189	104	85	114	63	51	8	6	2	..	..	..	2	2	..	10	8	2
Almora	510	257	253	5	2	3	2	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	7	5	2
Garhwal	466	226	240	9	6	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	1
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	4,012	2,190	1,822	235	97	138	52	27	25	9	4	5	19	13	6	6	5	1
Saharanpur	912	505	407	31	12	19	23	13	10	8	3	5	11	7	4	1	1	..
Bareilly	987	550	437	84	29	55	17	10	7	..	..	..	4	3	1	3	3	..
Bijnor	772	414	358	27	9	18	5	2	3	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..
Pilibhit	425	234	191	55	23	32	7	4	3	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Kheri	848	457	391	95	44	51	11	7	4	..	..	..	3	3	..	2	1	1
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	12,349	6,789	5,560	279	96	183	44	24	20	153	55	98	55	29	26	7	6	1
Muzaffarnagar	713	415	298	79	23	56	6	3	3	6	2	4	5	2	3	..	..	..
Meerut	1,369	770	599	92	23	69	24	14	10	16	4	12	15	9	6	3	3	..
Bulandshahr	1,009	559	450	85	22	63	13	5	8	13	4	9	4	2	2	..	..	..
Aligarh	1,026	584	442	109	31	78	22	10	12	1	..	1	7	4	3	..	..	..
Muttra	543	324	219	61	16	45	10	5	5	30	10	20	11	6	5	1	1	..
Agra	882	506	376	64	22	42	13	5	8	50	16	34	11	6	5	2	2	..
Farrukhabad	792	455	337	96	32	64	9	5	4	..	..	..	3	2	1	..	..	..
Mainpuri	687	405	282	95	27	68	9	3	6	..	..	..	6	3	3	..	..	..
Etawah	664	381	283	69	24	45	8	3	5	17	7	10	1	1	..	..	..	..
Etah	745	433	312	112	35	77	10	4	6	..	..	..	5	3	2	..	..	..
Budaun	955	546	409	92	28	64	4	2	2	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..
Moradabad	1,178	646	532	68	22	46	14	6	8	..	..	..	3	2	1	..	..	..
Shahjahanpur	847	476	371	89	33	56	8	4	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	12,014	6,263	5,751	298	99	199	51	27	24	8	3	5	47	29	18	10	8	2
Cawnpore	989	550	439	79	33	46	59	31	28	..	..	..	13	8	5	2	2	..
Fatehpur	631	335	296	39	12	27	6	3	3	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
Allahabad	1,370	706	664	64	19	45	14	9	5	7	3	4	10	6	4	2	2	..
Lucknow	623	339	284	84	36	48	41	25	16	..	..	..	12	8	4	4	3	1
Unao	855	460	395	45	14	31	10	4	6	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Rae Bareilly	951	492	459	46	12	34	18	6	12	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..
Sitapur	1,054	571	483	73	28	45	11	7	4	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Hardoi	1,048	583	465	66	23	43	6	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fyzabad	1,062	546	516	70	19	51	17	7	10	..	..	..	3	2	1	1	1	..
Sultanpur	965	498	467	74	15	59	8	2	6	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Partabgarh	833	424	409	61	11	50	5	2	3	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Bara Banki	1,022	544	478	55	17	38	6	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Central India Plateau</i>	2,008	1,050	958	35	14	21	17	10	7	120	41	79	27	11	16	7	1	..
Banda	614	314	300	19	7	12	5	3	2	14	6	8	5	2	3	..	..	..
Hamirpur	412	219	193	27	8	19	3	2	1	14	3	11	9	3	6	..	..	..
Jhansi	572	307	265	12	4	8	12	8	4	69	23	46	14	7	7	1	1	..
Jalaun	353	192	161	27	8	19	4	2	2	10	4	6	11	4	7	..	..	..
<i>East Satpuras</i>	1,006	511	495	40	8	32	4	3	1	19	7	12	2	1	1	..	..	..
Mirzapur	1,006	511	495	40	8	32	4	3	1	19	7	12	2	1	1	..	..	..
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	7,302	3,716	3,586	72	29	43	35	16	19	51	18	33	10	5	5	21	10	11
Gorakhpur	3,050	1,541	1,509	77	35	42	12	5	7	50	17	33	5	3	2	8	4	4
Basti	1,745	901	844	64	19	45	13	3	10	..	..	..	2	1	1	6	2	4
Fonda	1,319	682	637	78	30	48	10	4	6	..	..	..	2	1	1	3	1	2
Bahraich	970	508	462	59	27	32	12	7	5	..	..	..	2	1	1	4	2	2
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	5,082	2,576	2,506	82	21	61	10	6	4	37	6	25	24	12	12	2	1	1
Benares	797	414	383	52	14	38	17	10	7	8	2	6	21	11	10	2	1	1
Jaunpur	1,082	562	520	64	11	53	9	3	6	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
Rhazipur	799	411	388	26	15	11	5	3	2	9	1	8	1	1	..	..	..	..
Ballia	814	417	397	18	4	14	1	1	..	12	2	10	1	1	..	..	..	..
Azamgarh	1,424	735	689	50	10	40	17	4	13	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..
<i>Native States.</i>																		
Pehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West)	296	146	150	4	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	471	259	212	56	22	34	3	1	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..

Subsidiary table II.—*Emigration (actual figures).*

District and natural division where born.	Enumerated in ('000s omitted.)														
	District (or natural division).			Contiguous dis- trict or state in province.			Other parts of province.			Contiguous parts of other provinces, &c.			Non-contiguous parts of other provinces, &c.		
	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
United Provinces	47,354	24,780	22,574	..	..	..	..	..	..	307	106	201	1,103	749	354
British Territory	46,523	24,349	22,774	64	26	38	..	..	..	307	106	201	1,088	746	352
<i>Himalaya, West</i>	1,382	709	673	19	7	12	12	7	5	7	..	1	12	9	3
Dehra Dun	150	82	68	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	..	1	3	2	1
Naini Tal	189	104	85	12	4	8	7	3	4	..	..	..	4	2	2
Almora	510	257	253	49	27	22	4	3	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
Garhwal	466	226	240	18	12	6	3	3	..	..	..	..	4	4	..
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	4,072	2,190	1,822	219	91	128	57	25	32	15	6	9	22	15	7
Saharanpur	912	505	407	33	14	19	8	5	3	14	6	8	11	7	4
Bareilly	987	550	437	101	39	62	23	11	12	..	..	..	6	4	2
Bijnor	772	414	358	48	20	28	15	11	4	..	..	..	6	4	2
Pilibhit	425	234	191	56	21	35	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kheri	848	457	391	53	20	33	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	12,349	6,789	5,560	296	124	172	39	26	13	137	48	89	173	73	40
Muzaffarnagar	713	415	298	54	16	38	4	3	1	3	1	2	7	4	3
Meerut	1,369	770	599	73	20	53	16	9	7	18	7	11	17	10	7
Bulandshahr	1,009	559	450	75	21	54	13	7	6	18	6	12	7	4	3
Aligarh	1,026	584	442	108	33	75	24	12	12	5	2	3	14	8	6
Muttra	543	324	219	56	18	38	13	6	7	28	7	21	15	9	6
Agra	882	506	376	64	22	42	26	13	13	38	11	27	45	28	17
Farrukhabad	792	455	337	92	28	64	10	5	5	..	..	..	8	5	3
Mainpuri	687	405	282	83	25	58	9	5	4	..	..	..	4	3	1
Etawah	664	381	283	66	20	46	6	3	3	3	1	2	5	3	2
Etah	745	433	312	95	27	68	8	4	4	..	..	..	2	2	..
Budaun	955	546	409	107	34	73	8	4	4	..	..	..	1	1	..
Moradabad	1,178	646	532	111	42	69	18	10	8	..	..	..	9	6	3
Shahjahanpur	847	476	371	117	43	74	15	7	8	..	..	..	3	2	1
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	12,074	6,263	5,751	218	81	137	138	61	77	6	3	3	305	219	86
Cawnpore	989	550	439	69	23	46	22	11	11	..	..	..	35	23	12
Fatehpur	631	335	296	38	13	25	7	3	4	..	..	..	17	11	6
Allahabad	1,370	706	664	51	11	40	20	10	10	6	3	3	58	39	19
Lucknow	623	339	284	46	16	30	26	15	11	..	..	..	26	17	9
Unao	855	460	395	71	27	44	10	5	5	..	..	..	14	10	4
Rae Bareli	951	492	459	48	15	33	16	9	7	..	..	..	33	24	9
Sitapur	1,054	571	483	91	39	52	8	5	3	..	..	..	2	1	1
Hardoi	1,048	583	465	98	36	62	11	6	5	..	..	..	1	1	..
Fyzabad	1,062	546	516	66	16	50	21	11	10	..	..	..	52	42	10
Sultanpur	965	498	467	60	14	46	23	11	12	..	..	..	30	24	6
Partabgarh	833	424	409	58	15	43	15	7	8	..	..	..	30	22	8
Bara Banki	1,022	544	478	74	31	43	15	8	7	..	..	..	7	5	2
<i>Central India Plateau</i>	2,008	1,050	958	57	19	38	9	4	5	69	20	49	67	31	36
Banda	614	314	300	34	9	25	7	3	4	8	3	5	25	12	13
Hamirpur	412	219	193	31	10	21	4	1	3	30	10	20	6	4	2
Jhansi	572	307	265	12	4	8	6	3	3	19	4	15	35	15	20
Jalaun	353	192	161	26	9	17	2	1	1	6	1	5	6	3	3
<i>East Satpuras</i>	1,006	511	495	47	11	36	5	2	3	7	2	5	42	28	14
Mirzapur	1,006	511	495	47	11	36	5	2	3	7	2	5	42	28	14
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	7,302	3,716	3,586	40	15	25	36	21	15	44	17	27	65	51	14
Gorakhpur	3,050	1,541	1,509	39	10	29	14	6	8	43	17	26	40	32	8
Basti	1,745	901	844	116	49	67	6	3	3	..	..	..	15	11	4
Gonda	1,319	682	637	69	27	42	17	11	6	..	..	..	9	7	2
Bahraich	970	508	462	28	11	17	5	3	2	..	..	..	1	1	..
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	5,082	2,576	2,506	143	35	108	37	18	13	28	8	20	382	259	123
Benares	797	414	383	43	9	34	9	5	4	3	1	2	52	35	17
Jaunpur	1,082	562	520	87	17	70	22	8	14	..	..	..	50	39	11
Ghazipur	799	411	388	38	8	30	11	5	6	10	3	7	90	55	35
Ballia	814	417	397	23	5	18	3	2	1	13	3	10	96	66	30
Azamgarh	1,424	735	689	88	23	65	17	8	9	..	..	..	95	65	30
<i>Native States</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West)	296	146	150	6	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	471	259	212	56	22	34	3	1	2	..	..	..	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 amongst—			
	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
United Provinces ..	14	9	5	29	7	22	203	60	200	47
British Territory ..	15	10	5	31	8	23	193	67	189	47
<i>Himalaya, West</i> ..	97	59	38	29	13	16	70	41	166	50
Dehra Dun ..	263	136	127	43	11	32	40	44	119	77
Naini Tal ..	412	328	84	71	49	22	77	42	212	87
Almora ..	28	9	19	102	94	8	59	25	79	54
Garhwal ..	26	19	7	52	38	14	50	34	47	15
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i> ..	77	56	15	73	54	19	141	71	140	105
Saharanpur ..	64	39	25	67	48	19	160	64	139	60
Bareilly ..	99	77	22	119	92	27	193	51	156	98
Bijnor ..	42	33	9	85	66	19	200	133	117	54
Pilibhit ..	127	112	15	122	115	7	139	74	166	60
Kheri ..	114	99	15	59	55	4	116	51	162	68
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.</i>	42	34	8	46	32	14	186	80	156	67
Muzaffarnagar ..	118	105	13	84	72	12	240	119	221	56
Meerut ..	98	71	27	82	61	21	300	73	230	85
Bulandshahr ..	102	87	15	101	83	18	277	142	245	69
Aligarh ..	119	94	25	130	97	33	255	106	223	93
Muttra ..	171	139	32	171	128	43	250	76	225	87
Agra ..	137	103	34	169	99	70	206	76	211	74
Farrukhabad ..	118	104	14	122	103	19	194	86	230	69
Mainpuri ..	134	118	16	121	108	12	285	117	218	67
Etaawah ..	125	113	12	105	92	13	177	124	228	70
Etah ..	146	128	18	120	109	11	220	115	249	88
Budaun ..	95	87	8	111	102	9	229	61	215	83
Moradabad ..	67	54	13	110	94	16	209	42	159	62
Shahjahanpur ..	105	94	11	142	124	18	170	123	174	89
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	42	34	8	54	18	36	200	69	166	78
Cawnpore ..	134	69	65	110	60	50	139	81	203	71
Fatehpur ..	67	57	10	91	56	35	225	112	199	63
Allahabad ..	68	48	20	92	39	53	218	71	292	59
Lucknow ..	184	110	74	129	60	69	133	59	178	65
Unao ..	61	49	12	105	78	27	221	127	165	64
Rae Bareli ..	65	45	20	95	47	48	283	182	215	48
Sitapur ..	74	64	10	89	80	9	161	59	132	76
Hardoi ..	65	59	6	99	90	9	187	99	169	102
Fyzabad ..	79	61	18	121	57	64	268	115	314	38
Sultanpur ..	81	71	10	107	57	50	393	214	323	50
Partabgarh ..	74	68	6	114	64	50	454	114	299	51
Bara Banki ..	57	51	6	89	68	21	223	101	138	67
<i>Central India Plateau</i> ..	90	70	20	95	76	19	182	107	210	87
Banda ..	66	49	17	113	67	46	146	98	243	115
Hamirpur ..	114	88	26	154	141	13	273	136	199	55
Jhansi ..	159	119	40	106	49	57	200	72	275	131
Jalaun ..	128	91	37	99	78	21	208	146	209	120
<i>East Satpuras</i> ..	67	55	6	94	48	46	293	55	316	57
Mirzapur ..	61	55	6	94	48	46	293	55	316	57
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i> ..	25	16	9	25	11	14	162	113	159	46
Gorakhpur ..	48	40	8	43	27	16	144	108	206	31
Basti ..	46	35	11	75	64	11	237	250	135	48
Gonda ..	65	56	9	67	49	18	151	145	158	44
Bahraich ..	74	55	19	32	26	6	123	75	163	69
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.</i>	37	21	16	112	32	80	319	88	302	57
Benares ..	109	72	37	119	50	69	242	84	364	57
Jaunpur ..	64	55	9	138	78	60	481	187	425	49
Ghazipur ..	57	43	14	177	57	120	317	67	337	67
Ballia ..	50	33	17	161	43	118	500	40	310	46
Azamgarh ..	46	33	13	134	64	70	400	264	285	47
<i>Native States.</i>										
Tehri-Garhwal ..	13	13		23	20	3	98		80	35
Rampur ..	113	105	8	116	105	11	109	120	154	73

Subsidiary table IV.—Immigration between the Province and other parts of India.

BRITISH TERRITORY.

Province and State.	Immigrants to other provinces and states.			Emigrants from other provinces and states.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of immigration over emigration.	
	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1901.	Variation	1911.	1901.
Ajmer-Merwara	2,415	2,388	-27	11,981	12,969	-988	-9,566	-10,581
Andamans	154	21	+133	3,161	3,402	-241	-3,007	-3,381
Assam	1,032	830	+202	97,944	108,900	-10,956	-96,912	-108,070
Baluchistan	566	..	..	5,970	5,339	+631	-5,401	..
Bengal	25,540	..	..	399,593	..	..	..	..
Bihar and Orissa	104,993	128,764	+1,769	122,099	(a) 497,102	+24,590	-391,159	-368,338
Bombay	8,776	6,033	+2,743	89,521	(b) 67,822	+1,699	-80,745	-61,789
Burma	722	793	-71	50,565	33,453	+17,112	-49,843	-32,660
Central Provinces and Berar	14,558	11,196	+3,362	130,799	116,092	+14,701	-116,231	-104,896
Coorg	1	1	..	16	14	+2	-15	-13
Madras	2,256	1,612	-644	2,098	3,272	-1,174	+158	-1,660
North West Frontier Province	1,895	..	..	5,035	..	..	..	..
Punjab	115,692	190,535	-12,948	218,390	(c) 231,605	-8,180	-105,838	-101,070
Total Province	278,600	282,173	-3,573	1,137,172	1,779,970	-57,202	-858,572	-797,797
Assam States	170	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baroda	298	828	-530	3,890	+1,989	+2,501	-3,592	-531
Bengal States	81	..	..	4,640	..	..	-4,559	..
Bihar and Orissa States	68	..	..	1,700	..	..	-1,632	..
Bombay States	506	..	..	4,764	..	..	-4,258	..
Central India Agency	195,815	199,319	-3,504	168,544	(d) 343,014	-174,470	+27,271	-143,695
Central Provinces States	240	..	..	..	..	..	+240	..
Hyderabad	1,342	2,214	-872	10,516	24,390	-13,874	-9,174	-22,176
Kashmir	1,937	1,085	+852	973	751	+222	+964	+334
Madras States	99	..	..	59	739	-80	+40	..
Mysore	414	160	+254	908	387	+521	-494	-227
North-West Frontier States	1	2	-1	..	..	..	+1	..
Punjab States	5,803	..	..	..	..	..	+5,803	..
Rajputana Agency	102,929	126,536	23,607	69,451	74,114	-4,663	+33,478	+52,422
Sikkim	7	..	..	98	..	..	..	..
United Provinces States	65,791	73,444	7,653	63,626	81,547	-17,921	+2,165	-8,102
French and Portuguese settlement.	336	98	+238	..	..	..	+336	..
Total States	375,337	403,686	-27,349	318,653	525,731	-207,078	+57,184	-122,045
India unspecified	319	99	+220	..	..	..	+319	..
Total British Territory	654,756	685,958	-31,202	1,466,341	1,605,701	-136,002	-791,895	-919,743

* Figures included in Province to which the States are subordinate.
† Bengal.
(a) Bengal report 1901 gives 496,940.
(b) Including Emigrants from United Provinces States.
(c) Punjab report 1901 gives 232,724
(d) Central India report 1901 gives 320,159.

NATIVE STATES.								
Ajmer-Merwara	2	10	-8	134	..	..	-132	..
Andamans .. .. .	..	..	..	39	..	..	-39	..
Assam	54	10	+44	467	..	..	..	..
Baluchistan	1	..	..	17	..	..	-16	..
Bengal	160	227	-47	1,363	..	..	-1,183	..
Bihar and Orissa	20	..	..	65	..	..	..	..
Bombay	42	54	-12	..	..	..	..	..
Burma	10	1	+9	688	..	..	-688	..
Central Provinces and Berar	25	44	-19	768	..	..	-743	..
Coorg .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Madras	4	9	-5	..	..	..	..	..
North-West Frontier Provinces	53	..	..	29	..	..	..	..
Punjab	630	2,203	-1,520	..	..	..	..	..
Total Provinces	1,001	2,558	-1,557	33,570	..	..	-32,569	..
Assam States	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baroda	4	2	+2	8	..	..	-4	..
Bengal States .. .. .	..	..	..	18	..	..	..	..
Bihar and Orissa .. .. .	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Bombay States	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Central India Agency	127	69	+58	..	..	..	..	..
Central Provinces States .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hyderabad	7	19	-12	101	..	..	-94	..
Kashmir	19	15	+4	8	..	..	+11	..
Madras States .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mysore	2	..	+2	1	..	..	+1	..
North-West Frontier States .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Punjab States	177	..	..	1,523	..	..	-1,346	..
Rajputana Agency	95	203	-108	606	..	..	-505	..
Sikkim .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
United Provinces States	63,626	81,547	-17,921	..	..	..	..	..
French and Portuguese settlements.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total States	64,079	81,855	-17,786	2,160	..	..	..	..
India unspecified	3	..	+3	..	..	..	..	..
Total Native States	65,073	84,413	-19,340	35,831	..	..	+39,249	..

* Included in Province to which they are subordinate.

Subsidiary table V.—*Migration between natural divisions (actual figures) compared with 1901.*

Natural division in which born.	Number enumerated—(000's omitted).								
	Himalaya, West.	Sub-Himalaya, West.	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.	Central India Plateau.	East Satpuras.	Sub-Himalaya, East.	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Himalaya, West	1911	1,382	43	30	9	..	..	2	1
	1901	1,226	59	32	7	..	..	1	1
Sub-Himalaya, West	1911	11	4,012	169	76	..	1	8	3
	1901	9	3,958	163	74	..	..	6	2
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	1911	9	154	12,348	116	11	..	3	6
	1901	7	166	12,555	115	14	1	3	8
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	1911	2	29	84	12,014	52	18	48	102
	1901	1	41	104	12,464	53	17	51	100
Central India Plateau	1911	..	1	11	35	2,008	..	1	1
	1901	..	1	11	42	1,902	..	..	2
East Satpuras	1911	..	..	..	17	..	1,006	..	30
	1901	..	..	..	19	..	994	..	39
Sub-Himalaya, East	1911	1	7	2	68	..	..	7,302	31
	1901	..	7	2	81	..	..	7,069	37
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	1911	..	1	3	41	..	32	15	5,082
	1901	..	1	3	42	1	36	15	5,338

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—*Showing number of emigrants that sailed from Calcutta to various British colonies between 1901 and 1910.*

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
<i>Total</i>	128,513	Sultanpur	4,572
<i>Sub-Himalaya West</i>	866	Partabgarh	2,588
Saharanpur	78	Bara Banki	1,597
Bareilly	788	<i>East Satpuras</i>	1,051
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	5,363	Mirzapur	1,051
Meerut	721	<i>Central India Plateau</i>	1,283
Bulandshahr	195	Banda	286
Aligarh	442	Hamirpur	200
Muttra	540	Jhansi	501
Agra	1,469	Jalaun	296
Farrukhabad	453	<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	54,897
Mainpuri	212	Gorakhpur	5,703
Etawah	899	Basti	31,173
Budaun	252	Gonda	14,499
Moradabad	180	Bahraich	3,522
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	27,188	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	11,963
Cawnpore	1,575	Benares	1,586
Fatehpur	786	Jaunpur	3,007
Allahabad	3,163	Ghazipur	2,409
Lucknow	1,070	Ballia	752
Unao	1,388	Azamgarh	4,209
Rae Bareli	2,076	<i>Other districts</i>	25,902
Sitapur	447		
Hardoi	493		
Fyzabad	7,433		

Chapter IV.—RELIGION (1).

137. **Introductory.**—The imperial tables dealing with religion are table VI, which gives the figures of all the religions returned for each district and state, and tables XVII and XVIII, which contain certain details regarding Christian sects.

The general distribution of the people by religion is noted in the margin. The

Religion.	Number in—	
	1911.	1901.
I. Indo-Aryan Religions—		
(1) Hindu		
(a) Brahmanic	40,705,353	41,250,255
(b) Arya	131,638	65,572
(c) Brahmo	41	37
(2) Jain	75,735	84,582
(3) Sikh	15,186	15,333
(4) Buddhist	780	788
II. Muhammadan	6,904,731	6,973,722
III. Christian	179,694	102,955
IV. Parsi	872	579
V. Jew	50	54

Brahmanic or orthodox Hindus amount to 85 per cent. of the population, the Muhammadans to 14 per cent., the rest to something under 1 per cent. These proportions only vary fractionally from those of 1901, and the difference can be most easily exhibited by saying that the minor religions in 1901 were rather less than .7 per cent. whilst in 1911 they are rather more than .9 per cent. Of

these minor religions, Brahmo Hindu, Buddhist, Parsi, and Jew are of no numerical importance. The Sikh is to all intents and purposes a foreigner: nearly half of the members of that religion are found in the Meerut division, where the Punjabi Sikh has overflowed the boundary; the rest are mostly soldiers and policemen. The four important religions are the Brahmanic and Arya Hindus, the Muhammadan, and the Christian.

138. **Classification by religions.**—The classification adopted in table VI requires a word of explanation. The religions now grouped under "Indo Aryan" have been regarded in past reports as entirely separate religions: and the Brahmanic Hindu appeared as "Hindu", the Arya and Brahmo Hindus as "Arya," and "Brahmo." It seems sufficiently obvious that a mere entry in a census schedule implies no theory, either on the part of the person making the return or the census staff, as to the nature of a religion or its relation to any other religion: and if it was laid down that the word "Arya" was to be used for the members of the Arya Samaj, or the word "Brahmo" for the members of the Brahmo Samaj, it was merely because that word by itself was sufficient to express all that it was necessary to know about the religion of the person concerned. But the country at the time of census was in a state of political ferment, and agitation was rife in the matter of religion as in other matters. Hindu partizans were anxious to claim Arya, Jain, Sikh, and members of all religions now grouped under the head "Indo Aryan" as their political allies: and asserted freely that they ought all to be classed as, at the very least, Hindu sectarians, if not as Hindus pure and simple. It is extremely difficult to say when a sect attains the dignity of a separate religion. Its age, its relative importance, its possession or lack of a separate religious literature have to be considered as well as its tenets. Many sects are called Hindu sects whose tenets differ no more widely from orthodox Hinduism than do those of some of these "religions," but are classed as Hindu sects merely because they sprang in the first place from Hinduism and have never since attained any relative importance. The claim of course varies with the religion concerned. It is absurd to consider Buddhism as a Hindu sect or as connected in any way with Hinduism. It did not even spring from Hinduism: both are daughters of a common mother in philosophical

(1) Subsidiary table	I.—General Distribution of the population by religion.
Ditto	II.—Distribution by districts of the main religions.
Ditto	III.—Christians. Number and variations.
Ditto	IV.—Races and Sects of Christians. (Actual numbers.)
Ditto	V.—Distribution of Christians per mille—
	(a) Races by sects and
	(b) Sects by races.
Ditto	VI.—Religions of Urban and Rural population.
Ditto	VII.—Distribution and variation of Indian Christians and variation of Aryas by districts.
Ditto	VIII.—(a) Sects of Hindus.
	(b) Sects of Muhammadans and Jains.

Brahmanism. They have gone along separate roads, and at the present day Buddhism is not even an Indian religion, for most of its votaries are found outside India, and the vast majority of those that exist within it are of a province (Burma) which is only politically a "part of India." Jainism is indigenous to India, but its tenets are totally different from those of Hinduism; it has its own temples, gods, priests, places of pilgrimage, and sacred literature, distinct in every case from those of orthodox Hinduism, whilst in age it is even more ancient than Buddhism. Sikhism is not so old, but it is a religion with a very distinct worship of its own; the vast majority of the Sikhs would laugh at the suggestion that they are merely a Hindu sect; and it has attained a position of independence which fully entitles it to rank as a separate religion. The Arya religion on the other hand is of quite modern date: it stands to Hinduism very much as Lutheranism (Dayanand Saraswati has been called the Hindu Luther) does to Papal Christianity. But its sacred literature grows daily: it has attained an importance which is totally disproportionate to its numerical strength, though not perhaps to the intellectual quality of most of its adherents: and it is moreover in direct and open opposition to orthodox Hinduism. In 1891 the Aryas themselves demanded that they should be classified apart from Hindus. All these are ample grounds for regarding it as a separate religion. The present classification is meant to meet the objections referred to so far as they are valid. It does not imply that any one of these religions is a sect of Hinduism or of any other of the religions grouped with it, nor that there is even any bond between them, save one, which is denoted by its name. An Indo Aryan religion for this purpose is a religion whose origin was Indian, and (with the sole exception of Buddhism) still has its home in India. The bond between them all is that of origin; and the difference between these and the other religions is that between indigenous and foreign.

The agitation mentioned above gave a certain amount of but no insuperable trouble to the census staff. Such entries as Hindu Arya, Hindu Jain, Hindu Sikh were not uncommon; though not, may be, as common as fervid Hindu partizans might possibly desire. For the Aryas, though not unwilling as a rule to claim political friendship with orthodox Hindus, had normally no intention of merging their own important identity completely in the mass of Hinduism. The Jains, too, were too pre-occupied with the desire to obtain a correct return of their own sects to trouble whether to such an entry as "Jain Digambara" the word "Hindu" was or was not prefixed. The Sikhs, in my experience, adopted frankly the attitude of Gallio in the matter.

There were however difficulties of another kind which deserve a passing mention and did cause a little trouble. Many objected to the use of the term "Hindu" or "Arya," as the case might be, on the ground that they had no religious, but only a racial or geographical connotation. These objections proved occasionally troublesome, foolish though they might be. For in the first place many religious names are racial or geographical (e.g. *Anglican* Communion, *Roman* Church, *Syro-Jacobites*, &c.). In the second place, as regards "Arya," the term does not refer to the race, but to the name of the Samaj which professes this particular religion; and even if it did refer to the race, seeing that they claim to follow the religion of the old Aryan race, there is nothing *outré* in speaking of them as following the Aryan religion. With the Hindus, the objection often took the form of condemning the use of the word "Hindu" not only in its religious but in other senses on the ground that it was a term of abuse taken from the Persian. Still these ill-judged seekings after terminological exactitude would have mattered little if both Hindu and Arya had not frequently chosen the same name for their respective religions, viz., "*Vaidika*" or "*Vaidika dharma*." It was not always easy to decide if a man was a Hindu or an Arya in such cases. Generally however it was possible to solve the riddle by reference to other entries; e.g. a sect entry in column 4 showed that the man was a Hindu, whilst normally Aryas who called their religion Vaidika also returned their race (as Arya) and not a caste, whilst Hindus of course returned castes.

139. **Local distribution of religions.**—In this province the local distribution of religions is of small interest or importance. Of the 10 religions found 5 can be entirely neglected. Brahmanic Hinduism vastly outnumbers all other religions taken together in every district. Mazdaism, Judaism, and Brahmoism are the religion of chance foreigners who have settled in the United Provinces. The case of Sikhism has been mentioned above (paragraph 137). Buddhism is found chiefly

in Kumaun, and its existence there is due to its proximity to Buddhist Tibet. The local distribution of Muhammadanism is dictated partly by historical, partly by economic causes. The Muhammadan is found chiefly where Muhammadans held sway in the past: in Meerut and Rohilkhand division, the "Home counties" of the Moghul Empire, in Agra, Farrukhabad, Jaunpur, and Oudh all centres of Muhammadan states or provinces. In Cawnpore, Allahabad, and other districts with large cities, his tendency to urban life is sufficient to explain his numerical strength: this is also a factor which affects his presence in such historically Muhammadan centres as Agra, Meerut, Lucknow, Fyzabad, and Bareilly.

The distribution of the Aryas, Jains, and Christians however deserves rather more detailed treatment. All three religions are found chiefly in the western divisions of Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand. In each case there are special causes to explain the phenomenon. But the coincidence is striking; and one naturally casts about for some more general factor which might influence the growth of all three religions alike. There is one such which applies at all events to two religions out of the three. It is almost a commonplace that the Indian of the west of this province is in every way of a superior class to his brother in the east. Racially he is probably of a purer (Aryan) breed. The further east one goes, the greater the admixture of Dravidian blood appears to be. Socially the western Indian is of a higher status to some extent, no doubt a result following from the fact previously mentioned. Wherever a caste is spread over the whole province, the western branches are invariably regarded as higher in the social scale than the eastern. In material wealth, he is better off, for the land is richer in the doab of the west, and the efforts of the British Government in the direction of agricultural improvement have been chiefly concentrated there. He is, on the whole, better educated⁽¹⁾ in the days of Akbar and Jahangir the west was the centre of enlightenment, and as regards more modern times it is perhaps enough to state that five-twelfths of the total number who know English belong to these three western divisions. Finally, he has for centuries been subject to every foreign influence that has reached India, not only from Europe but from Persia and Armenia. This is a fact that is incapable of measurement or even of appraisal, but it remains true that since Elizabethan times, at all events, the stream of foreign influence has flowed continuously into India through the passes and the ports, and has concentrated in Agra, Delhi and Lahore, the magnetic centres of Moghul rule that attracted all adventurers. It is impossible that this should have had no effect on the habits of thought of Western India. An Oriental is proverbially conservative to a degree; but even if the stream of new ideas and customs from the west has failed to melt his conservatism entirely, it can hardly have failed to wear it somewhat thin. To put the matter in the weakest possible way, the western Indian is probably less radically averse to novelties than his eastern brother. And among the novelties presented to his notice again and again have been new religions; Sikhism, Christianity, Aryaism are all beliefs that first took root in these regions. In a word, the fact that Aryaism and Christianity have flourished chiefly in the west is partly due to the fact that the west was a soil peculiarly fitted to this new seed. As regards Aryaism, not only was the soil in every way well fitted to this new seed, but it was sown there with a lavish hand. It is a religion which appeals on the whole to the better off, the better educated, and the higher caste—Bania, Kayastha, Jat, Taga, Rajput. Such persons and castes are found chiefly in the west. When Dayanand Saraswati began his crusade against the impurities of Hinduism, he first wandered all over Northern India from Bombay to Calcutta; but when his attempts at reform crystallized into the new Arya Samaj he settled down in the western districts, preaching his gospel and establishing branches of his society chiefly in the Punjab and in these divisions. For some time he actually lived in Bulandshahr, and there can be little doubt that his personal influence largely accounts for the growth of Aryaism in this part of the country. Another cause that localized Aryaism in the west was possibly the fact that Christianity was also most prevalent there. One of the chief motives which drove Dayanand to his crusade was the fear of Christianity,—a point which will be elaborated later on, and need only be mentioned here; but granting that he had such a motive, it would be characteristic of the great religious teacher to attack it in its very stronghold.

⁽¹⁾ This applies only to the province, not to India as a whole. Bengal is better educated than the United Provinces and Burma than Bengal.

The progress of Christianity in the west is due to a combination of causes. One simple and obvious cause is that these divisions are the locality where the American Methodist Episcopal Mission—so far as numbers are concerned by far the most successful mission in the United Provinces—chiefly works. But what appears to me to be the chief cause of Christian progress in the west is somewhat more recondite. Ever since Rodolfi Aquaviva led the first Jesuit mission to Agra at Akbar's invitation in 1580, there have been Roman Catholic missionaries in this part of the country, first Jesuits and then Capuchins, in a continuous series, which has never been broken, even for a day. For centuries these missions had every advantage; many Moghul emperors actively assisted them, for instance, Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Alam; all tolerated them; their sole period of misfortune was in the reign of Shah Jahan, who for a while persecuted them (circa 1630). When the Moghul power decayed, protectors almost as powerful were found in the European military adventurers who served the Maratha and Jat and Muhammadan princes, from DeBoigne to Reinhardt and the Begam Samru. None of them were likely to allow the fathers to be maltreated, and many actively assisted them. The Begam Samru, Reinhardt's wonderful wife, was perhaps their most powerful protector. By birth she was a Muhammadan, but when she adopted Christianity, she did so, as indeed she did everything else, in a whole-hearted, business-like way, with the result that Sardhana, her capital, is still a focus of Roman Catholic Christianity, possessing school, orphanage, college and church, all directly or indirectly the result of her testamentary bounty. And to these followed the British Government. It is doubtless true that the number of Roman Catholics is not large, even in these divisions, chiefly because the priests insist on a high standard of faith. But the presence of these missions has had an indirect result, the importance of which it is difficult to overestimate. The people of the west, used for centuries to the presence of Christians among them, to seeing Christians tolerated by their rulers, and to being ruled by Christians of their own race (for the Roman Catholic missions always directed their efforts to the conversion of the higher rather than the lower classes, and even in Moghul times there were always many Indian Christians of influence at the court and in the seraglio), have themselves learnt to tolerate them, and conversion to their creed. As one observer (Colonel C. C. Manifold, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals) put it to me, Indians no longer look on Christian converts of their own race as pariahs of the worst description, persons whose existence ought to be denied or concealed; they regard them as a separate body, with a well-defined, though doubtless still very low, place in society, whose existence must be admitted. In a word, the Indian Christians are no longer regarded as outcastes, but as a caste. The reasoning is acute, for obviously if the Indian is to allow such a body any social status it will be that of a caste in the Hindu social organism, the only sort of status that he knows in the only social polity that he knows. To this Colonel Manifold attributed not only the willingness but the eagerness to insist on a correct classification of Indian Christians which was so noticeable in the case of many Hindu and Muhammadan enumerators at this census, and is vouched for by several missionaries who have spoken of the matter to me.

140. **Causes of variation in various religions.**—The variations in each religion separately are exhibited in subsidiary table I in two ways. The first shows its proportions per 10,000 of population, the second its increase or decrease since 1881, or, in other words, the first shows how the religions stand to each other, the other shows the progress or retrogression of each in successive decades. A reference to that table when compared with the actuals (also given) will show that, excluding the trivial figures of Brahma, Buddhist, Parsi, Jew, and Sikh, the whole loss falls on three religions, the Brahmanic Hindu, the Musalman, and, in a much less degree, the Jain; and the whole gain belongs to two religions, the Christian and the Arya.

141. **Brahmanic Hinduism and Islam.**—An examination of subsidiary table I shows that Hindus have decreased in the last decade by 1·4 per cent. (or 1·3 if we include States), whilst they have increased since 1881 by 5·4 per cent. (or 5·6 including States). But of this increase practically the whole occurred in a single decade (1881—1891); in the decade 1891—1901 the increase was trifling, in the decade 1901—1911 there was a loss. Islam meanwhile has increased by 12·4 per cent. (or 12 per cent. including States); of which increase 7 per cent. occurred between 1881—1891 and 6 per cent. between 1891—1901; in the last decade there

was a loss of 1·1 per cent. (or 1 per cent. including the States). Examining the proportions per 10,000 we find that Hindus have steadily diminished from 8,627 in 1881 to 8,609 in 1891, 8,532 in 1901, and 8,504 in 1911; the Musalmans have in the same 30 years increased from 1,343 in 1881 to 1,353 in 1891 and 1,411 in 1901 and 1911.

It has long been known that Musalmans are more fertile than Hindus and that their chances of life are better: and the figures of the last decade merely strengthen this view. Proportions taken on 100,000 Hindus and 100,000 Musalmans show this clearly. In the first five years of life there are no less than 800 more Muhammadans in 100,000 than Hindus. The preponderance continues in the three next quinquennial periods, growing however less by roughly 200 in each period: from 20 to 50, Hindus preponderate. From 50 onwards the advantage is once more with Musalmans till at the age of 70 and over the excess is no less than 25 per cent. In short, more Musalmans than Hindus are born (the excess at the age 0 is 15 per cent.), far fewer die in the first 20 years of life (since the excess continues till the age 20) and a great many more live to advanced ages. And no combination of circumstances has yet occurred in any decade which has been able to counterbalance the natural advantages enjoyed by Musalmans. In the favourable decade 1881—1891, they increased more rapidly than Hindus: in the unfavourable decade 1891—1901 they increased nearly as much as in the former period, though Hindus remained practically stationary: whilst in the last very unfavourable decennium, they suffered far less than Hindus and were able indeed to maintain their position with regard to other religions. The causes of this greater fertility and vitality were fully dealt with in the last report: but it will be instructive to recapitulate them and consider how far the figures of the present census bear them out.

(1) Muhammadans live more in towns than Hindus do. This implies firstly that they live on the whole in less unsanitary surroundings, and, secondly, that there are proportionately more in trades and professions and fewer in agriculture; in consequence they are less subject to the occasional but extremely disturbing influence of famine on population, and a smaller number are found among the worst paid class in India—the agricultural labourer.

(2) Their diet is more varied and liberal, and they are less addicted to noxious drugs, such as *ganja* and *charas*.

(3) Social customs favour the Muhammadans in several ways. As will be shown in chapter VII the age of marriage is much later among Muhammadans than Hindus which means that a greater proportion of the physically unfit are married amongst the latter. It is unnecessary to anticipate the discussion of the subject in chapter VII: we may look at the matter here in another way. Assuming it to be true for the present that far fewer Muhammadan girls are forced into marital relations for which they are still unfit, yet we shall find that this is not all the advantage enjoyed by the Muhammadan in this respect. In Eastern countries there are two causes alone which operate to keep a woman unmarried once she is marriageable—want of means and physical incapacity. Above the age of 15, when, if other things are equal, a woman in either community would normally be married, we find only 1·9 per cent. of Hindu women unmarried, and 3·7 of Muhammadan women. Of the two causes mentioned above one in practice affects only Hindus, namely want of means. To Muhammadans a wife is a cheap commodity and the cost of the wedding, which is a purely civil rite, is small: to Hindus a daughter and her marriage are often a ruinous expense. Yet with two causes operating to produce Hindu celibacy and only one operating to produce the same result among Muhammadans, we find so great a disproportion as this in favour of the latter. The conclusion is legitimate that far more Hindu than Muhammadan women are married who are physically unfit for marriage. Nor in this connection should the case of males be neglected. This matter will also be considered in chapter VII; here it is sufficient to say that though the young man in both communities enters on his marital duties at a much later age than the young woman, yet among many classes of Hindus that age is far too early. "*Sera juvenum adolescentia atque ideo inexhausta pubertas*," says Tacitus of the Germans: the case of Hindus is exactly the opposite. That this must have its effect not only on the birth-rate but on the chance of life needs no proof. But not only is child-marriage rare among Muhammadans and common amongst Hindus; Muhammadans are also favoured in that they are not victims to the belief which makes a son a religious necessity

to a Hindu, or to the difficulties caused by hypergamy. Both superstitions have driven Hindus in the past to female infanticide and in more recent times to neglect of their girl children: the former belief has also a further effect in that it operates to drive men into married life earlier than is wise.

Lastly the prohibition of the remarriage of widows does not affect the Muhammadan. The figures bear this out. There are proportionately more Muhammadan unmarried women than Hindu unmarried women: the Muhammadan widows are only 14 per cent. of the female population as against 17 per cent. among Hindus: yet the married women in the two communities are proportionately the same. This shows clearly that a great many more Muhammadan widows disappear among the ranks of the married than Hindu widows. At the child-bearing ages (15—40), when this factor will chiefly affect the rate of increase, under 3 per cent. of Muhammadan women are widows whilst the Hindu rate is over 4 per cent.

Prima facie, therefore, Muhammadans should always increase more rapidly than Hindus, or if it is a question of decrease, decrease less rapidly, simply because they have both greater fertility and vitality. The causes which in this decade have affected the growth of population are plague, two famines, one partial in 1906, and one complete in 1907-08, two malaria epidemics in 1908 and 1909, and emigration. Emigration is not a matter that greatly affects the Muhammadan population: the bulk of it is in Hindu hands; though of course some Muhammadans do emigrate for prolonged periods, their journeys are usually of a temporary kind (pilgrimages to Arabia or voyages to Europe) which scarcely affect the figures. Being, as they are, far more town-dwellers than Hindus are, they are not so seriously affected by famine, and have moreover greater powers of resistance. Malaria makes no difference between creeds, but obviously Muhammadans are again better equipped to resist it. There remains plague. In this instance conditions are different. So far as they go the greater fertility and vitality of Muhammadans would tend respectively to neutralize the effects of plague and to resist its inroads and there are other factors which to some extent are in favour of Muhammadans. For instance, Muhammadans being less of an agricultural community do not possess those large stores of grain which agriculturists are apt to hoard, and which harbour and attract rats; and in towns of course hoards of grain are unnecessary even for purposes of food. On the other hand, Muhammadans have certain most serious disadvantages which have to a large extent neutralized these advantages. As has been seen already, plague attacks women more than men, and it does so because women are confined to their house more than men, and therefore more exposed to infection. The *purda* system and the thrifty spirit of the Indian housewife which impels her to revisit the house she has evacuated at frequent intervals are chiefly responsible for the destruction plague has caused amongst the female sex. The *purda* system, however, among the well-to-do classes is not necessarily an ally of plague: for it does not prevent women from travelling (with proper precautions), and the well-to-do can remove their womenkind out of harm's way to an uninfected house when necessary. It becomes dangerous only when such removal is impossible: in other words, among the poorer classes who in spite of their poverty observe *purda*. The Muhammadan community contains an unknown but certainly a very large proportion of poor gentlefolk, who are as proud as they are poor, who would die rather than let their women appear unveiled; and amongst them plague must have wrought havoc. It should not surprise therefore to find Muhammadans suffering quite heavily as, or more heavily than, Hindus in plague-stricken districts at all events amongst women. And this is precisely what has occurred. The total loss amongst Hindus is 1·4 per cent., of which ·3 only is among men, and 2·5 among women. Amongst Muhammadans, in a total loss of 1·1 per cent. the males have increased by ·7 per cent., the women have decreased by 3 per cent. In other words, those advantages which Muhammadans possess in resisting plague, when not counteracted by other disadvantages, have been sufficient to prevent any actual decrease (as in the case of males): but in the presence of those disadvantages, as in the case of females, these advantages have proved of no avail⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ It is, I understand, usually held that Muhammadans did not suffer so much as Hindus from plague. This would appear to be certainly true of males; but it does not seem, in face of the figures, quite so clearly true of females. There seems no other cause to account for a greater decrease in Muhammadan than Hindu females. The Muhammadans, too, might suffer less from plague than Hindus in the same locality and yet have a greater proportional loss because of their partiality for town life when the plague was most severe.

The figures when examined in detail support these contentions. Wherever plague has been comparatively mild, however bad other conditions may have been, Muhammadans have usually increased more rapidly or decreased less rapidly than Hindus. This is the case in the 5 districts of Sub-Himalaya West, in Aligarh, Farrukhabad, Etawah, Budaun, Moradabad, and Shahjahanpur in Indo-Gangetic Plain West, in 8 out of the 12 districts in Indo-Gangetic Plain Central (viz., all but Hardoi, Fyzabad, Rae Bareilly, and Bara Banki), in 3 out of the 4 districts in Central India Plateau (all but Banda), and in all the 4 districts of Sub-Himalaya East, viz. 26 districts out of 48; and also in both the States. In the other districts Muhammadans have suffered more severely than Hindus. In the Himalayan districts, Muhammadans are either temporary immigrants for purposes of trade, as in Almora or Garhwal, so that their decrease means nothing: or else though settled in the district (as in the submontane tracts of Naini Tal), they invariably show a greater proportion of deaths than births (due to the unhealthiness of the climate and common to all communities) and consequently only keep their numbers up by immigration. In Banda no very obvious reason suggests itself for the decrease (or rather for an increase which was smaller than the Hindu increase): but the Muhammadan population is very small and mostly poor. In nearly all other districts, plague has been very severe. The greater decrease in Muhammadans is striking in the cases of Muttra (—14·0 per cent. Hindus, —19·9 Muhammadans), Agra (—3·2 Hindus, —7·6 Muhammadans), Mirzapur (—·6 Hindus, —5·5 Muhammadans), Jaunpur (—2·7 Hindus, —7·2 Muhammadans), Ghazipur (—7·3 Hindus, —14·7 Muhammadans), Ballia (—14·0 Hindus, —20·8 Muhammadans) and Azamgarh (—·6 Hindus, —18·1 Muhammadans). In Jaunpur, Ghazipur, and Ballia the circumstances are peculiar. The Muhammadans are extremely poor, their numbers have long been declining, and the Julahas amongst them emigrate freely to the mills in Calcutta, Cawnpore, and elsewhere. In Azamgarh the Muhammadans are very largely descendants of Hindu converts and (though in matters of religion occasionally extremely bigoted) greatly resemble the lower castes of Hindus: they are also much impoverished and like many Eastern Muhammadans do emigrate. Azamgarh as regards its Muhammadan population is indeed peculiar in more than one respect. Muttra and Mirzapur are both essentially Hindu districts and the Muhammadans are comparatively few and not as a rule well off.

The last cause which affects the growth of religions is conversion, which in this decade is a question of more than usual importance owing to the tremendous growth of the two actively proselytizing religions, Christianity and Aryaism. This will be referred to again in dealing with these two creeds: here it is only necessary to deal with it in so far as the religions which lose by conversion are concerned. Naturally Hinduism loses more in this way than Islam: not only are there reasons connected with its nature as a religion which produce this effect (which reasons will be dealt with later), but its very size lays it more open to attack. Conversion from Hinduism to Islam is rare, though there are isolated instances, usually of outcastes, and especially of women desirous of contracting an alliance with a Muhammadan lover. Conversion from Islam to Hinduism is unknown. But conversions from Hinduism to both Christianity and Aryaism are extremely common; conversions from Islam to those two religions are less common, though certainly commoner than they were 10 years ago, when Mr. Burn described them as infinitesimal. They usually take the form, in the case of Aryaism at all events, of the reconversion of the descendants of Hindu apostates to Islam.

142. **Jains.**—In 1881 the Jains were regarded as a sect of Hindus; every man was returned as Hindu who did not say he was anything else, and no efforts were made to test his statements. If for instance a Jain said his religion was Hindu and his caste Jaini he would be shown as Hindu though his caste entry showed he was not; and since Hindu sects were not recorded, there can be no doubt that many were shown as Hindus. The figure of 1881 was therefore too small, and the increase of 5·8 per cent. in 1891 was misleading. In 1901 there was a nominal decrease of 2 per cent. but since 1901 the figures have fallen to 75,427 or 4,530 less than the figures of 1881. The causes are somewhat obscure, as indeed are many facts connected with this religion. I made many inquiries both in the course of enumeration and afterwards, and the impression left on my mind was that the United Provinces Jain was extremely ignorant about himself. He was frequently

uncertain whether Jain was a religious or a social division: just as often he thought Jain to be a Hindu sect. Entries such as Hindu Jain in column 4 or Bania Jain (Jaini or Saraogi) in column 8 with or without Jain in column 4 were extremely common. If he did happen to know that Jainism was not a particular kind of Hinduism, but a separate religion, as often as not he did not know to what sub-caste of Bania he belonged; in other words he seldom knew all there was to know about himself. This ignorance however can easily be understood. In the first place there appears to be no very clear dividing line between the Jain and Hindu Bania of the same sub-caste. Neither among Oswals nor Agarwals is the religious difference any bar to intermarriage—a fact stated by Crooke, and incidentally mentioned in evidence, as regards Agarwals, in the well-known civil suit of Govind Dass *versus* Bishambhar Das (Benares, 1911). Yet, *primâ facie*, it seems as curious that an orthodox Vaishnava should marry a Jain as that he should marry a Christian or a Parsi. Again, Jains of both sub-castes are served by Brahmans for some ceremonies, though the Oswals at all events have also their own Jain priests (Jaina Jatis). Both have many purely Hindu rites. If the Agarwal Hindu actually worships the snake, the Jain will not molest him and boasts of his descent from him. The Oswals observe several Hindu festivals—the Holi, Rakshabandhan, Dasahra, Diwali, Basantpauçmi. If a Hindu Agarwal marries a Jain Agarwal, it is by the standard Hindu ritual. The Vaishnava and even the Saiva or Sakta Agarwal follow the Jain purity of diet, making concession to tribal feeling in the matter. In short, the truth seems to be that whatever theoretical differences may exist between Jainism and Hinduism, yet the followers of the two creeds in the same community do not differ very greatly in their practice. The bar to their intermarriage is no more insuperable than that between Roman Catholics and Protestants. In one case the Pope may forbid such unions, in the other the *panchayat* may: but in the one case civil law is too strong for the Pope and in the other case custom is too strong for the *panchayat*. Closely connected by race and a common profession, the two branches have had to make concessions to each other: as usual, mutual interest has produced a *modus vivendi*, and a compromise between the conflicting tenets. And this is all the easier because in the East religion is so largely a matter of ritual and so little a matter of belief. Men may be willing to die for a creed but they will not be even inconvenienced for a ceremony. And in the circumstances it is not surprising that Jains should show uncertainty as to the difference between Jainism and Hinduism, or return themselves in a way that shows that they consider Jainism to be merely a social division: for as a matter of fact, Jain and Hindu are very closely connected, and what difference there is between them is in practice more social than religious. It is reasonably certain therefore that many Jains have again disappeared among the total of Hindus, despite all efforts to prevent it. It may be said that these facts must have obtained at former enumerations as well as at this. This is no doubt true, but it seems to me probable that the influence they exercise on the figures would tend to grow with time. Men of to-day think less about religion, simply because the stress of modern conditions leaves them less time for other than mundane affairs. The active pursuit of religion, which means the active performance of ritual, is postponed to old age; the official or the professional man takes to religion when he retires. And moreover there is direct evidence that the confusion between Jainism and Hinduism, with its results in freer intermarriage and intercourse, has grown greater. When Crooke wrote in 1896 he gives no hint that such intermarriages, though possible, were common: he says no more than that “there is no bar” to them. In 1911 we find from the evidence in the civil suit mentioned that they have at all events grown sufficiently common to attract the special attention of and cause alarm to the orthodox Hindu section of these communities.

Other causes that have contributed to the decrease may be briefly mentioned. It is commonly stated that Jainism has lost by conversion to Aryaism, and the numbers may well be greater than was supposed in 1901. In some places there has been migration, usually westwards, for trade reasons. In Muttra a number of Jains have left the district on account of the failure of a large Jain firm of traders. And finally plague and malaria must have affected them to some extent, though, since they are a well-to-do community, probably less than other communities⁽¹⁾.

(1) Though there is no evidence on the subject in this province I learn that in Bengal the Marwari Jains suffered much more severely from plague than the Bengalis. Many of our Jains are Marwaris, so that it is possible that plague has had more to do with their decrease than one might, *primâ facie*, suppose.

143. **European and Anglo-Indian Christians.**—The total number of Christians other than Indian is 41,480 (41,505 with the States) as against 33,628 in 1901, 35,035 in 1891, and 34,409 in 1881. Europeans and allied races (including Armenians) amount to 33,388 as against 26,683, 27,995, and 28,410, in the previous decades from 1881 to 1901. This very large increase of 7,605 lies entirely in European British subjects: other Europeans have declined from 830 to 485, a result possibly due to greater care in recording naturalized British subjects as such and to more care in classifying them (for instance an officer of the Indian Army who recorded both his race and birthplace as Italian was quite rightly recorded as a British subject on the score of his occupation, though by strictly following the rule he would have been shown as “European, other”); and also possibly to fewer sight-seeing travellers. The date was ten days later than in 1901, and by March every week makes a difference to the number of sight-seers. The Armenians have also increased, but their figures even now are only 112 and far too small to signify. The increase in European British subjects occurred chiefly in districts that contain cantonments: e.g. in Dehra Dun (2,774 from 1,612), which contains three cantonments two of which have largely increased; the increase is here indubitably due to military arrangements. Dehra itself had the chance addition of a British regiment on the march. Meerut again shows an increase from 2,215 to 3,387, Muttra from 210 to 756, due to the presence of a British cavalry regiment cantoned there, whilst Naini Tal, Almora, Lucknow, and Fyzabad all show large increases. There are decreases of note, on the other hand, in Farrukhabad, Benares, and Sitapur, also all due to military changes: Fatehgarh (Farrukhabad), one of the oldest cantonments in India (there was a brigade there in 1775), fell into almost complete disuse, though I believe that it is again inhabited by troops: Sitapur has also lost its whole military population, which, formerly large, had fallen to a couple of companies in 1901: whilst the British troops have also been reduced in Benares. Of non-military districts Bulandshahr and Aligarh alone show increases of over 50, and in both cases fresh railways are probably the cause. But apart from this question of troops it is useless pursuing the matter further: the figures are so small in most cases that the presence of a couple of shooting camps of a normal size would double them.

The considerable increase in Anglo-Indians is however noteworthy. The former “Eurasian” decreased steadily from 7,726 in 1881 to 7,040 in 1891 and 5,218 in 1901. Now there is a sudden rise to 8,092—a larger figure than it has ever been before. It has always been affirmed, and is undoubtedly true, that Anglo-Indians, to avoid the name “Eurasian” which they disliked, returned themselves as Europeans. The figures of this census prove it. The name “Anglo-Indian” was officially recognized just before the census and there can be no doubt that it made a considerable difference to the accuracy of the results. There are occasions when Juliet’s *obiter dictum* that there is nothing in a name is certainly wrong. On the other hand, it is possible that some Indian Christians have returned themselves as Anglo-Indians, and at all events it shows that the increase in Europeans is even larger than it appears.

144. **Christian sects among Europeans and Anglo-Indians.**—There are some minor differences in the classification of Christian sects at this census. A new head, “Unsectarian and unspecified Protestants,” has been opened, which includes persons returned as “Protestants” merely, who in 1901, were shown under “Anglican Communion;” persons returned as Dissenter, Nonconformist or Unsectarian, who in 1901 were classed under “Minor Denominations;” and a few vague entries, or entries “of unsectarian bodies,” of which the only ones which affect this province are the “Church of America” (there is no “Church of America”) and the “Lohaghat Tanakpur Medical Mission” (an entry which was not as a matter of fact made). To get complete comparison with the figures of 1901, it would be necessary to rearrange the figures according to the classification of that census, as it is impossible to rearrange the figures of that census according to the classification of this: but as this head comprised not more than 10 or 12 entries of the type of Dissenter or Unsectarian, and only 26 of the “church of America” it was not worth the trouble involved. To obtain the comparison with 1901, therefore, “Unsectarian Protestants” have been added as they stand to “Anglican Communion,” in subsidiary tables IV and V. Secondly, Calvinists at this census by their own desire are shown as Presbyterians. To obtain the comparison the single Calvinist of 1901 has been added to Presbyterians:

it may be mentioned that there was, I think, only one at this census also. Thirdly, "Minor Denominations" in 1901 is a wider term than the "Minor Protestant Denominations" of this census: but I am not aware that anything which can be called a "denomination" exists in any non-Protestant communion. The only entries under "Roman Catholic," for instance, which are not mere variants of that term such as "Church of Rome," are either vague terms such as Italian or Latin Christian or the name of some mission. The details of Minor Protestant denominations are given on the title page of table XVII. There were several uncertain entries. The "France" Mission is possibly an incorrect entry, though the name was quite clearly written. Though France is a Roman Catholic country, the probability is that the mission is not. Roman Catholic missions are well known, and so far as I know all Roman Catholic missions in the province are either Italian Capuchins or orders affiliated to them and managed by them, such as the Irish Brotherhood of Naini Tal. Moreover all Roman Catholics without exception returned themselves as Roman Catholic or some variant of it. There are numerous French missions, however, as I know personally, of various Protestant denominations—Anglican, Methodist and Baptist for instance. Some remarks on the rest are offered on the title page of table XVII. It will be noticed that the province shows some Mormons. One entry gave "Church of God or Mormon," and it will be noticed that there are a certain number of "Church of God" entries, which may be Mormons—the more so, perhaps, as they are nearly all women.

The chief sects among Europeans and Anglo-Indians are Anglican Communion (24,602 or 25,308 including Protestants) Presbyterian (4,656) and Roman Catholic (7,932). The first named has increased by 4,179 (on the figures including Protestants)—a large increase, but this denomination has of course an advantage over all others in that the majority of the official and military population belong to it. Presbyterians have increased by 1,543. In 1901 it was stated that there were an unusual number of Scotch regiments in the province. At this census there were even more; with the Gordon Highlanders, Seaforth Highlanders, Highland Light Infantry, Royal Scots, and King's Own Scottish Borderers all cantoned in the province, not to mention a fair proportion of Scotchmen in some cavalry regiments, the increase is easily accounted for. The increase in Roman Catholics is only 439 and almost entirely in Anglo-Indians, though this fact means less, probably, than appears, as doubtless many Anglo-Indians in 1901 were returned as Europeans. A considerable number of Anglo-Indian Roman Catholics is to be expected, because a large proportion of the old-established Anglo-Indian families descend on their European side from persons who were not of British extraction—the majority of the military adventurers of the late 18th and early 19th centuries were non-British Europeans, for instance—whilst on their Indian side their ancestresses either were or became Roman Catholic, for the simple reason that there were no missionaries save Roman Catholics in these parts of India at the time. Baptists, Congregationalists, and Methodists have also increased considerably, a fact that probably bears testimony to an increase in the staff of various missions.

145. **Indian Christians.**—Quite one of the most striking features of this census is the very large increase in Indian Christians. In 1881 the total figures were 13,255, equivalent to 3 per 10,000. In 1891 Indian Christians numbered 23,406 or 5 per 10,000. The next decade witnessed an enormous impetus in missionary enterprise, and the figures grew to 68,841 or 14 per 10,000. This impetus has been more than maintained, and the *increase* since 1901 is only 1,200 short of the total figures of 1901, making a total of 136,469, or 29 per 10,000. The percentage of increase has been 98·2 since 1901 or 929·5 since 1881. Only three denominations however show increases over 1,000, the Baptists with 2,982 increase (about 1,232 per cent.), the Presbyterians with 7,611 or 349 per cent. increase, and the Methodists with 53,733 or 106 per cent. increase.

This increase is most striking in the three Western divisions of Agra, Meerut, and Rohilkhand. It has already been suggested that, other things being equal, success was more likely in the West than elsewhere: but apart from this almost all the best and most successful missions of all denominations are largely concentrated here. Roman Catholics and Church Missionary Society and Non-Conformist Missions of all kinds are found everywhere in these divisions, and more especially the American Methodist Episcopal Church. Over 93,000 of the total number of Methodist Indian Christians are found here as against 46,000 in 1901.

In considering the increase, it is however just possible that one ought to discount it to a certain extent on the ground that the figures of 1901 were not complete. At this census everything possible was done to ensure a correct return of sects. All heads of missions were asked to supply their converts with slips on which was written the name of the sect in both vernaculars and English, to obtain for the census authorities Indian Christian enumerators where possible, and to instruct their congregations to be careful to mention their sect. In spite of this there were a large number of Christians who recorded no sect, viz., 8,979, but when one remembers the carelessness and forgetfulness of the average villager, it cannot be denied that the results were satisfactory. This is chiefly due to the whole-hearted way in which missionaries of all denominations assisted, and indeed many missions must have been put to no little expense in the matter of preparing and supplying the slips, which were usually printed. But what I wish to point out is that these arrangements differed not at all from those of 1901, unless it be in the matter of completeness. On the ground of this completeness however some little discounting of the figures of increase in the various sects is probably necessary. For when the proportion of persons who recorded no sect in 1901 and 1911 respectively, to the total number (Indian Christians only) is considered, it appears that this proportion was fractionally smaller in 1911 than 1901, viz., 6·5 per cent. as against 7·2.

Again, in 1901, it was said that some enumerators refused to record Indian Christians as such; and a comparison between the census statistics and those supplied by the Methodist Mission to Mr. Burn certainly supported this view: the latter were enormously larger. On the other hand though, as Mr. Burn admits, isolated cases of such dereliction of duty on the census staff may have occurred, no complaints were made at the time of the census, and it is impossible in any case that it could account for the very great difference between the two sets of statistics. Moreover a missionary correspondent has informed me that it was subsequently found that such statistics, owing to the carelessness of the Indian pastors who drew them up, were not trustworthy; and that he now believed that there had not been any grave omissions of Indian Christians at the 1901 census. At this census it may fairly be claimed that there were few if any. It is true that one or two complaints were made to me of such occurrences. But invariably on inquiry it was found that the census staff were not at fault, that they had strictly followed the rules, and indeed in some cases had gone further than the rules either demanded or, if strictly interpreted contemplated, in their attempts to secure a correct record. In one case, for instance, the persons concerned had undoubtedly been baptized, but themselves refused to be recorded as Christians. The enumerator and supervisor reported the matter and asked if this was to be allowed, as they knew they had been baptized. The tahsildar quite rightly said that they must be entered as they themselves wished, whatever the truth might be. And, indeed, some missionaries have definitely told me that so far as they knew the census staff had been most conscientious in this matter, and my own experience is the same. On the other hand, a deputation of the Methodist Episcopal Church informed me that outsiders—such as powerful but bigoted landlords and emissaries of other creeds—had made attempts, which had not all been unsuccessful, to coerce Indian Christians into denying their faith. I heard of one or two such instances—the offender in one case had been himself a Christian—but the figures themselves show that they were not common. And probably what usually occurred was that the landlord or the emissary was pacified with promises to conform to his desires, which were then quietly neglected, doubtless with the connivance of the enumerator.

It does not appear therefore that it can be asserted that there has been any falsification of the figures that matters, either by dishonest officials or frightened converts. At last census, too, the statements made above seem to reduce the probability of such occurrences to a minimum in the first case at all events, whilst no complaints were made of outside interference. If in this matter there was any difference between 1901 and 1911, it would be in favour of 1911: but any discount of the increase on this account would be of the most trifling nature. In the total increase of 98·2 per cent. I should estimate the total discount necessary from all causes to be very considerably less than the decimal. It is doubtless true that a certain number of persons who had indubitably been baptized refused to record themselves as Christians. But these cannot be considered. Under the census rule they were *not* Christians; nor, as I suppose, would the missions who

had lost them wish to claim them. The causes of this increase will be more conveniently considered in the descriptive portions of this chapter ⁽¹⁾.

146. **Aryas.**—Another most striking instance of the success of a proselytizing religion is offered by the Arya Samaj. They were first recorded separately in 1891, at their own desire, though there had been Aryas for 18 years previously. At that census there were 25,458 Aryas or 5 per 10,000. In 1901 there were 65,282 or 14 per 10,000. There are now 131,154 or 28 per 10,000. Their increase in the last decade was 100·9 per cent. and 494·7 in the last 20 years. The increase of course is mainly due to conversion, as in the case of Christianity. As with that religion, Aryas form an appreciable part of the population only in the Rohilkhand, Meerut, and Agra divisions; the causes of this have already been mentioned. Mr. Burn noticed in 1901 that these two religions differed in the proportions of the sexes, and both the facts and figures of 1901 are maintained in this respect: the percentages are still 55 males and 45 females in the case of Aryas and 52 males and 48 females in the case of Christians. There is a general impression that Aryaism is more popular with men than women, which is confirmed by these figures. Women of course are, almost proverbially, far more conservative in the matter of religion than men, and it is not difficult to suppose that the Indian woman, uneducated as she is, might well fail to appreciate the somewhat recondite philosophy which forms so large a part of Aryaism. Nothing more need be said of the increase at this stage.

147. **Sikhs.**—The Sikhs, as has already been said, are foreigners to the province save where, as in the extreme west, they have overflowed the political boundaries of their proper habitat. They are chiefly in military or police service, though a certain number enter private service or public service of other kinds than military or police. There are also, scattered here and there, a certain number of residents, some servants of Punjab landowners who have estates in the United Provinces, such as Kapurthala, others descendants of persons who settled or were settled in the United Provinces after the Sikh power disappeared. But the vast majority are soldiers or policemen. They have decreased slightly on the total, which is now 15,160 (15,186 with the States) as against 15,319 (15,333 with the States) in 1901, a decrease of 1 per cent. But the decrease is entirely in females (5,187 as against 6,670 or a decrease of 20 per cent.): the males have increased from 8,693 to 9,988, an increase of 15 per cent. The figures show that this increase is chiefly due to military causes: they are large only where there are cantonments. The variations in them from census to census are however curious. Omitting districts where there are cantonments, we find for instance 2,356 Sikhs in Bulandshahr in 1901 and only 368 in 1911, whilst in 1891 there were only 34. In Bijnor they have fallen

	1891.	1901.	1911.
Saharanpur	792	477	2,058
Bulandshahr	34	2,356	368
Etah	43	779	403
Bijnor	1,065	1,707	261
Budaun	105	599	128
Pilibhit	1	149	16
Mirzapur	188	692	121
Ghazipur	150	705	5
Ballia .. .. .	..	431	49
Azamgarh .. .. .	..	1,455	114
Gonda	42	315	57
Sultanpur .. .. .	..	151	4

from 1,707 to 261. Other similarly curious fluctuations are noticeable, as shown in the margin, in several districts. No general explanation can be offered of these changes from decade to decade. I have made enquiries and the general reply is that there were certainly errors in 1901; the smaller figures of 1911 were correct. Mr. Burn in 1901, explains that probably some

⁽¹⁾ Since writing the above I have received figures from a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church which show that, as, in 1901, the number of Christians on their books is very much larger than those recorded by the census. The total of the United Provinces, according to them, comes to some 140,000 or 30,000 more than the census figure. I venture, with all respect, to express my doubts as to the accuracy of these figures. There is evidence that the mission itself has had cause to complain that they are not sufficiently carefully drawn up. It is not clear whether losses are as carefully registered as gains by conversion; possibly deaths are recorded, but are these figures subsequently corrected? Is emigration allowed for? These are questions that need to be answered before one can accept such statistics. One thing is certain that everybody who said he was a Methodist Christian was so recorded. It is also certain that interference by bigots of other creeds to prevent entries as Christians cannot possibly account for this deficit. Instances of persecution undoubtedly did occur, but they were occasional, and certainly never affected the total to this extent. Moreover no other mission complained of it, and one can scarcely believe that one mission only was selected, when the persecutors would obviously not care whether the Christian was of this denomination or that. The majority (if the figures are accurate), must be persons who were baptized but subsequently relapsed. Such cases were not infrequently reported to me, and there were doubtless many that were not reported for under the rules there was no need to do so. Lastly, the figures themselves point in the same direction. If there are really 140,000 converts of this mission I must express my firm conviction that there are not enough missionaries to look after them. It is one thing to convert and another thing to teach the converts subsequently. This is, I fear, the great danger attaching to the wide operations of the Methodist Episcopal Church in particular, but in view of the great increase of Christians it attaches to all missions too. The obvious remedy is an increase in the number of missionaries, which in the end is a matter reducible to rupees, annas, and pias.

Hindu Nanakpanthis were recorded as Sikhs and it would appear that the error was more widespread than he supposed.

148. **Buddhists.**—There are now 780 Buddhists as against 788 in 1901, 1,387 in 1891, and 103 in 1881. The total change therefore is very small, but the nature and composition of the Buddhist community has entirely altered. In 1901 there were 662 males and 162 females: there are now 444 males and 336 females. In 1901 415 were Burmese prisoners in various central prisons and 235 were found in Kumaun. The large increase in Kumaun is possibly due to greater facilities of communication with Tibet: a large proportion were Tibetan settlers, some were so called Chinese, probably Tibetan traders, and some Nepalese. The odds and ends found elsewhere form a curious mixture, including Chinese shoemakers, tailors, and carpenters, Chittagong Magh servants (mostly cooks), Japanese cloth merchants, wood carvers, tattooers and prostitutes, Nepalese goldsmiths, Burmese and Tibetan "beggars," Tibetan traders, a Bhutan merchant, and a Bengali-speaking official and his family from Burdwan. The "beggars" were probably pilgrims such as I have myself seen at Sarnath, and no more "beggars" than Kipling's Lama.

149. **Parsis, Jews, and Brahmos.**—Parsis and Jews are entirely strangers here and usually traders and shopkeepers. The former have increased from 578 to 872, and are a progressive and useful little community. Jews have decreased from 54 to 50. Brahmos have risen from 37 to 41: they are almost entirely Bengalis, and they and their faith are entirely alien to the province.

150. **Brahmanic Hinduism.**—The word "Hindu" has several meanings. Besides its original geographical meaning, now disused, of an inhabitant of the country lying east of the Indus, it has a quasi-racial meaning, a social meaning, and a religious meaning. In the first case, a Hindu may be defined as an inhabitant of India who is not the descendant of the foreign invaders (warlike or peaceful) who are now settled in India, such as the European, the Moghul, the Armenian or the Persian. In the other two cases, Hindu means respectively a member of the Hindu social, i.e. the caste system, and a member of the Hindu religion. It is not surprising therefore to find that occasionally disputes may arise as to whether a particular man or class of man is or is not a Hindu; for one disputant may assert with perfect truth that he is a Hindu in one sense, whilst the other disputant asserts with equal truth that he is not a Hindu in another sense. The Animist, for instance, is certainly a Hindu in the racial but not in the social or religious sense.

But this is not the only source of confusion. Though the three meanings are not coterminous yet they overlap. When a man says he is a Hindu, he does not as a rule mean that he is a Hindu by race, or by social position, or by religion, though one attribute may be more present to his mind than the others: he means that he is a Hindu by all three attributes. As Sir A. Lyall says, Hinduism "is not exclusively a religious denomination, but denotes also a country and to a certain extent a race Hinduism is a matter of birthright and inheritance it means a civil community quite as much as a religious association." Hinduism is not a mere religion, it is a system, partly religious, partly social, with also a racial qualification. It includes all the circumstances which form the environment of a particular class of persons. And though it is extremely difficult to say which of these various sets of circumstances are the most important, it is safe to say that they must all be present. A European may hold the beliefs of Brahmanical doctrine and carry out Brahmanical ritual (as a few Europeans do), but that does not make him a Hindu, for he has neither the racial nor the social qualification. A Jain by race and by adherence to the caste system may be Hindu: but he repudiates all the beliefs and ritual of Hinduism and is consequently not a Hindu in the same way as orthodox Hindus.

151. **The Brahman.**—In so far, however, as religion implies a particular belief or set of beliefs, we may safely assert that Hinduism is less a matter of creed than of anything else. It is unnecessary to repeat the oft-told story of the "tangled jungle of disorderly superstitions" which Sir A. Lyall has declared Hinduism to be: but it may be pointed out that whilst religion is defined as "a system of faith and worship," Hinduism possesses not one faith or one worship, but many, and is conspicuous for absence of system. A man has the choice, *inter alia*, of pantheism (Brahmanic), theism (Vaishnavite or Saivite), polytheism (Sakta), or the worship of any or all of the thousands of tutelary gods and godlings, of mother worship,

of demonolatry, of hagiolatry, of ancestor worship, of zoolatry, of plant and tree worship, of every "ism" and every "olatry" known to man. Not only so, but he may actually believe nothing or little or much of any or all of these: he may worship one or many or none of these gods. Nobody will mind what he believes or disbelieves so long as he does not disobey his caste rules. Hinduism depends a great deal more on whom one marries and what one eats and drinks than on what one believes. How Hinduism came to include all these various beliefs has been often discussed, and it is not necessary to repeat the discussion. But the stock explanation may be mentioned because it introduces an extremely important factor in Hinduism, namely, the Brahman. Says Monier-Williams, these primitive forms of worship and local fetishes were "grafted into the Hindu system by the Brahmans whose wise policy it has ever been to appropriate and utilize all existing cults, customs, and superstitions." One may doubt whether the picture is entirely accurate: the Brahman and his wisdom is the stock solution of all Indian puzzles from the caste system to infant marriage: he is a sort of divinity that shapes all Indian ends, and the wearisome reiteration with which he is dragged forward to explain everything that needs explanation is apt to induce scepticism: whilst if Hinduism is the monstrous artificial edifice which this theory represents it to be, then it is the only religion in the world that is. Some weight must be attached to evolution, to psychological and natural environment: Hinduism grew as every other religion has grown, and the "wisdom" of the Brahman lay in seeing where he must give way and when he must compromise with divergent creeds by admitting them into the Hindu system—wisdom no doubt, but not peculiar to the Brahman. The fathers of the Christian church were "wise" in exactly the same way when, in St. Augustine's words, they turned the pagan "birthday of the sun" on the 25th of December into the "birthday of Him who made the sun."

But though it is legitimate to assert that the Brahmans' influence on the growth of Hinduism has been overrated, at the expense of more natural causes, it is impossible to overrate their omnipotence in matters of religion and the completeness of their rule over the members of the Hindu system. The mediaeval popes were spiritual despots: but compared with the autocracy of the Brahman they were mere constitutional monarchs. The very word "Brahman" implies complete superiority: Brahma in the neuter is the universal spirit, Brahma in the masculine is that spirit made personal, or, to use a metaphysical technical term, is that idea hypostatized: and Brahmana is that spirit made manifest in man. The Brahman may not be God, but he is at all events godlike, a subject not only of veneration but of actual worship. Bernard Shaw has supplied us with the one word which exactly describes the position which the Brahman holds in his own estimation and that of all his co-religionists: he is not man, but "super-man." That the Brahmans could make good so preposterous a claim is a tribute to the power of learning. Other sacerdotal orders, the priesthoods of ancient Egypt and mediaeval Europe, for instance, have won their ascendancy for the same reason: but usually it passes away with the spread of education. That this has not yet occurred in India (though there are signs of the approach of such an event, especially in the growth of the Arya Samaj) is due to two causes,—firstly to the tendency of custom in India to crystallize till it is impossible for the nation to free itself of it and, secondly, to this, that Brahmans have always been sole masters of one most important branch of knowledge, the correct religious ritual. Since a flaw in carrying out a rite results in disastrous consequences after death, prudence demands that an expert be employed to prevent the possibility of error. In this matter the Brahman is a monopolist, and charges a monopolist's price: of which the greatest part is this claim to be acknowledged as spiritually and socially pre-eminent.

152. **The criteria of Hinduism.**—And thus we get the first great criterion by which a Hindu is determined. Every Hindu must acknowledge the Brahman's superiority and his omnipotence in spiritual and social matters. And it is on the whole safe to say that it is the only positive criterion of Hinduism which has anything of a religious nature. Other such criteria are all negative. A person who receives the *mantra* from a *guru* who admits the authenticity of the Vedas, who worships the great Hindu gods, who has access to the interior of Hindu temples, who reverences the cow, will, *pro tanto*, be a Hindu, but he is not necessarily not a Hindu because he does *not* do any or all of these things. He need not even reverence the cow so long as he does not kill it. And even this criterion is not

essentially religious : for admission of the supremacy of the Brahman caste is not necessarily connected with faith, but only with ritual, and with the Brahman's position as the sole minister of that ritual, whilst the supremacy is quite as much social as spiritual.

On the social side, a man to be a Hindu must be a member of a recognized Hindu caste. It is this which chiefly gives Hinduism such definite boundaries as it possesses, and makes of it so much of a system as it is ; and it is a definite, clear-cut criterion, because there is no means of *becoming* the member of such a caste : one must be born into it. "Hinduism is a matter of birthright and inheritance : a man . . . is born into Hinduism." There are no doubt low castes which recruit members of other communities, admitting them by various rites of adoption or initiation into full caste rights : but I think it may be safely said that such a caste, however much it claims to be Hindu, however much it may follow ordinary caste rules in other matters, is not a true and recognized Hindu caste, but a spurious imitation of a Hindu caste. (Such a caste is the Bhangi.) But the word "recognized" deserves some explanation. In the past such recognition was a definite act. Sometimes the king was the authority, sometimes the Brahmans. There are many instances on record of kings "recognizing" members of low castes to be Brahmans and, despite all opposition, Brahmans they were henceforth considered to be. When venal Brahmans discovered "*gotras*" for would-be "Hindus," they were really admitting the aspirant into the inner circles of the Arya nation, and consequently, *a fortiori*, into Hinduism. At the present day recognition is not a single definite act, but an evolution. The caste desirous of being recognized as Hindu will probably begin by adopting all the special Hindu customs, frequently going to greater lengths than the Hindus themselves. They will first give up beef and begin to cremate their dead : they will worship the Hindu gods in addition to their own deities, or possibly assimilate their deities to Hinduism by giving them Hindu names : they will try to invent a connection between themselves and some one of the twice-born castes of Manu ; they may already have infant marriage, but if not they adopt it : and they prohibit the remarriage of widows. They will do their best to employ Brahmans as their priests, and unless they are extremely low, will ultimately succeed. Once Brahmans have agreed to serve them, the process of recognition can be considered as complete.

One other criterion may be considered as absolutely necessary—that the cow is, if not worshipped, then venerated, and, at the very least, not killed. This is a *sine quâ non* ; and it is noticeable that it has no Vedic authority whatever.

153. **Definition of a Hindu.**—And so we may arrive at some sort of a definition of a Hindu, meaning thereby a member of the Hindu religion. He must in the first place have a racial qualification. Secondly, he must have a social qualification, as member of a recognized Hindu caste : he must have so much of a religious qualification as is implied in the acknowledgment of the supremacy of Brahmans, the veneration of the cow, and the rejection of any creed or religion which the Brahmans forbid him to follow. A Hindu therefore is "a native of India who is not of European, Armenian, Moghul, Persian or other foreign descent, who is a member of a recognized caste, who acknowledges the spiritual authority of Brahmans, who venerates or at least refuses to kill or harm kine, and does not profess any creed or religion which the Brahmans forbid him to profess." It must be admitted that this definition, though it mentions a few positive conditions, goes very little further than Sir J. A. Baines' despairing definition of Hinduism as the residuum which is Hindu because it is nothing else ; but Hinduism is essentially indefinite, and to define the indefinite is a contradiction in terms.

154. **The accuracy of the return of Hindus.**—Bearing in mind all these difficulties, it becomes important to consider how far the returns of Hindus are strictly accurate ; there is obviously much room for error. The census returns profess to show the number of persons who are by religion Hindu : but the sole criterion applied was the person's own opinion. If a man said he was a Hindu he was accepted as such without further inquiry. But to the average "Hindu" the word "Hindu" does *not* connote religion,—in vernacular "*dharma*" or "*mazhab*," but in the case of a Hindu preferably the former. To Western thinkers and such Orientals as have some knowledge of Western thought "Hinduism" may have a fairly definite religious connotation : but if one asks the ordinary "Hindu" what he is by religion (*dharma*), he will not say Hindu

he will reply by reference to the Shastras. The enumerator when inquiring a man's religion showed this very clearly by the form in which he put his question. He very seldom asked simply "What is your *dharma*?" If he did, almost the last reply anybody would give him would be "Hindu". And so the enumerator would invariably amplify his question. "What is your *dharma*? that is to say, are you a Hindu, or a Jain, or a Musalman, or an Arya, or a Sikh?" Or more simply "What are you—Hindu, Jain, &c.?" He in short named all the religions known to him, or mentioned in the rule, thereby making sure of getting the reply "Hindu." But even when the person questioned had replied "Hindu," it was frequently obvious that his thoughts were not running in a religious channel. For when further asked "What is your sect?" (*panth* or *mat*), he would give his caste, showing clearly that in saying "Hindu" he was thinking of his race or his social position. If in reply to the question "What is your *dharma*?" a man ever did say "Hindu," the probability is that if one analyzed his mental processes, one would find that he merely meant that his was the usual religion of a man who by race was a Hindu.

There is no question that this caused a good deal of misapprehension in the minds of those that thought about such subjects; and all the more so because there was at the time a good deal of agitation of a political nature, which in one form was directed to urging the inclusion of all Hindus by race in the category of Hindus by religion. This was, undoubtedly, responsible for the numerous entries such as Hindu Jain and Hindu Arya and Hindu Sikh; and was very clearly shown on many occasions in conversation, especially at the meetings of the census staff which I held in the course of the preliminary operations. These discussions occasionally became heated; the arguments were always the same—that Hindu was not a religious but a social term, and consequently that Jains, Aryas, and the rest ought to be included under Hindus. When it was pointed out that Hindu in the census reports meant Hindu by religion only, the disputants were quite capable of grasping the distinction; but it was obvious that they thought this use of the word was wrong. But though misapprehension was caused, I do not think that it resulted in any appreciable error: for it was always possible, as explained above, to ascertain the truth.

On the other hand the rule that if a man said he was a "Hindu" by religion he was to be entered as such without further inquiry, has undoubtedly led to some little inaccuracy. There are castes in the province which are certainly not Hindus but Animists—chiefly in South Mirzapur, Bundelkhand, and Kumaun. But all these recorded themselves as Hindus: some no doubt because they considered themselves to be Hindus by race, others because they wanted to be thought Hindus. Any attempt to decide how many persons have shown themselves as Hindus who cannot be strictly regarded as such is however attended with great difficulty. We have enumerated five points which constitute "a Hindu" and there is no question that these are the chief ones (in this province at all events): but there are also other matters to be considered. Moreover of those points some give no help. All of these tribes, for instance, possess a complete racial qualification. It is less certain that they all possess the social qualification: they all have some organization closely akin to the caste system, and though it is in many cases a tribal, not a caste, organization, yet the two are so similar both in the nature and degree of their customary restrictions, that it is well nigh impossible to say where the tribe ends and the caste begins. We can only assume them all to be castes and consider whether these castes are *recognized as Hindu* castes. The question of belief again can be neglected: in the first place this proviso was inserted chiefly to exclude the creeds which are definitely opposed to Hinduism, such as Islam, Jainism, Christianity, &c., and, in the second place, it is very dubious whether there is any Animistic belief which cannot find its counterpart in Hinduism. There remain the admission of Brahmanical supremacy and the veneration of the cow. But even here one must raise distinctions and admit exceptions. There are for instance certain sectarian groups which owe their origin to a revolt against Brahman supremacy. Of these the Arya Samaj is the chief and best known. Aryas are Hindus in every sense: their beliefs are such as any Hindu could adopt,—Aryaism is in fact Hinduism purified of its later accretions. They are of such importance and so much of a heretical sect as to render it necessary to show them separately to orthodox Brahmanic Hindus: but they are Hindus none the less, and the name given them in the tables shows

it (Hindu Arya). There are other castes who because they have been refused their ministrations, or because of some semi-historical reason, reject the Brahmans both as supreme and as their priests. Such are the Kahars, who refuse to have Brahmans as their *gurus*. In the matter of cow-worship, there are also degrees. The minimum is, probably, not killing a cow or eating its flesh; the maximum extends to actual worship. In short the tests of Hinduism differ widely in nature: they are frequently not all fulfilled in a particular case: and the degrees in which they are fulfilled differ in various cases. And the net result is that it is well nigh impossible to say whether a man is within or without the pale, or indeed precisely where the pale is. By far the greater number are indubitably within the pale: a small number are as indubitably without it: in between lies a debateable territory of considerable extent; and it is here that the difficulty lies. One thing however is certain: it is impossible to divide the population boldly into Hindu and non-Hindu: it is necessary to admit a third class of castes in the transitional stage which for want of a better term may be named "Hinduized." In this connection therefore it is only possible to enumerate a certain number of tests, and state how far various castes conform to them, and leave the reader to draw his own inferences.

155. **The tests of Hinduism.**—The chief tests that suggest themselves are as follows:—

- (1) Admission of Brahman supremacy.
- (2) Being served by good Brahmans as family priests.
- (3) Being served by inferior Brahmans as family priests.
- (4) Utilizing the services of Brahmans in any of their traditional capacities.
- (5) Receipt of the *mantra* from a Brahman or other recognized Hindu *guru*.
- (6) Worship of the great Hindu gods.—(By "worship" is meant actual worship of the god as a *Hindu* god, not mere identification of some aboriginal god with the Hindu god, or the mere recognition of the Hindu god as divine. The last amounts to nothing in a country so given to polytheism as India: the second shows a desire for things Hindu but no more.)
- (7) Permission to enter Hindu temples.
- (8) Death ceremonies, whether burial or cremation.
- (9) Customs in the matter of eating beef and veneration of the cow.

Of these tests the one that appears to be decisive is (2), and with it (5). Either of these presupposes that a Brahman of good position has recognized the caste as Hindu. If therefore this test is fulfilled it is unnecessary to go further. The rest, whether taken simply or in conjunction, by themselves merely indicate a desire to become Hindu, and a greater or less progress along the road to Hinduism: but if (3) be present, it may be taken that the process is so nearly complete that the caste may be considered Hindu. In considering the various castes I propose to use as a basis the social groups as drawn up by Mr. Burn on pages 248 *et seq.* of the report of 1901. Of these groups 1—9 need not be considered; there is no question that they are all Hindus. Of the rest I have selected certain representative castes, taking all those who amount to over 1 per mille of the population and also certain others of a peculiar or representative nature. The castes to be dealt with are the Kalwar, Teli, Bhar, Tharu, Banjar, Dhunia, Arakh, Lunia, Beldar, Kharwar, Majhwar, Kol, Khangar, Dhobi, Kori, Aheria, Bahelia, Nat, Dhanuk, Dusadh, Khatik, Pasi, Boriya, Bansphor, Dharkar, Bajgi, Habura, Chamar, Musahar, Korwa, Bhangi, and Dom.

156. **The "Hinduism" of certain castes.**—Of these the Kalwar, Teli, Dhunia, and Arakh are in a class apart. They are all served by Brahmans of good position, and though seldom initiated into a sect (which involves receiving a *mantra*), yet more or less frequently worship the great gods. They all cremate their dead and reverence the cow, and are undoubtedly Hindus. The same is true of Banjaras; indeed many of them claim to be themselves of Brahman descent. In another class we may place the Bhar, Lunia, Beldar, Dhobi, Kori, Aheria, Bahelia, Dhanuk, Dusadh, Pasi, and Boriya. All these may be taken as now completely Hinduized. They all use the services of Brahmans to a greater or less extent; usually Brahmans officiate at their birth, marriage, and death ceremonies as priests or recipients of gifts: but not as a rule as priests in their ordinary worship, save in the case of Pasis, Bahelias, Aheria,

and sometimes of Dusadhs. They are seldom initiated into any sect, save Pasis (occasionally Saktas) and Dusadhs (occasionally Vaishnavas). Most of their deities are tribal godlings, but nearly all of them worship a great god—generally Devi, occasionally the sun. Their customs at death are normal and if they ever bury, it is those who die of certain epidemic diseases (cholera and small-pox) or are unmarried—a very common distinction. The rest require somewhat more detailed treatment.

The Tharu is a submontane tribe of Dravidian origin with a strong admixture of Mongolian blood. Fifteen years ago the majority were still very primitive: save that they did not eat beef, they fulfilled none of the tests suggested. Their beliefs were purely animistic, they had no connection with Brahmans, and buried their dead. A minority were becoming Hinduized: though they occasionally employed Brahmans as priests, the instances were still sufficiently rare to be separately noticed. By the latest information available it does not appear that they have made as yet any very great progress towards Hinduism.

The Kharwar, Majhwar, and Kol can be treated together. They are all Dravidian tribes of South Mirzapur, though the Kol is found also in Bundelkhand and Allahabad, and are at various stages of Hinduization. The Majhwar is much the least advanced. Fifteen years ago there was nothing that was Hindu about the Majhwar, save that he did not eat beef; and that was then a new restriction. He was in the transitional stage between burial and cremation: he employed Brahmans only as astrologers, and even that but very occasionally:—his priests were purely tribal—the Patari, the Baiga, and the Ojha. He had his own gods, mostly ghosts and demons. This caste had only so much respect for Brahmans that they would eat *pakki* food if cooked by them, but otherwise would touch food cooked by nobody else. They still possess their old priests and though they are probably more advanced than in 1896, yet their advance is not likely to have been great. The Kols use Brahmans for certain ceremonies with more or less freedom, according to the locality where they live, being more Hinduized out of Mirzapur, but their priests are still the Baigas. They are still in the transitional stage between burial and cremation: they will not eat beef, but worship no great Hindu god save the sun (*Suraj*); and the sun was an old tribal deity. The Kharwar can be taken as Hinduized. One branch, the Benbansi, has been recognized as of Rajput origin: this branch has permanent Hindu priests, other branches are served by Brahmans of a somewhat inferior class. They do not eat beef, and cremate their dead: but they also possess other funeral ceremonies, some of which are purely aboriginal, and others are an obvious Brahmanical invention. They worship no great gods save the sun and Mahadeo, but him only as a local godling. They are an excellent instance of an aboriginal caste which itself desired incorporation in Hinduism and was assisted into it by the Brahmans, whilst being allowed to maintain many of its old customs. They are much better off than the Kols and Majhwars, which suggests a reason why they have been able to progress so much faster.

The Khangar is an example of a Hinduized aboriginal tribe which has turned its original totem clans into Rajput gotras, supporting its claim to Rajput origin by a large body of legend, and is now Hindus pure and simple in every respect.

The Chamar is a most instructive caste. They vary considerably in their use of Brahmans. In the East only the rich utilize their services except in so far as all consult them as astrologers. In the West all employ Brahmans: but both in the West and East such Brahmans are of a degraded kind. They occasionally worship the great gods, but it appears dubious whether these are not merely tribal deities under Hindu names. They always cremate their dead unless they have been initiated into certain sects. Their very business would prevent their objecting to eat beef or their venerating the cow: indeed they are occasionally cattle poisoners. Their habits cause them to be loathed and detested by their Hindu neighbours however much they may be compelled by their utility to tolerate them. In fact they fulfil none of the prescribed tests: for no importance can be attached to the fact that low-class Brahmans will occasionally serve them. Yet not to consider them as Hindus would be ridiculous. They are an integral part of Hindu society—its slaves perhaps, but none the less necessary to the community. They are extremely religious: as a worthy Hindu once drily remarked to me “they have many sins to expiate.” They have even evolved a deistic sect of their own, the Srinarayani sect, founded by Rae Das, who according to the legend was a

Brahman disciple of Ramanand who was reborn of a Chamarin. They also frequently belong to the Kabirpanthi or Ramanandi sects. In their religion and their caste rules alike they conform to Hinduism rather more strictly even than better class Hindus.

The Musahar is a tribe of the most primitive kind. Their burial customs in most cases are unusual, amounting merely to leaving the corpse where it died. Only some of them, those settled in villages, abstain from beef: and only a very few consult degraded Brahmans and then only for their marriage ceremonies, as astrologers. They worship no Hindu gods of any kind. One of their sub-castes, the Banmanush, have lately been reported to be in a state which closely resembles savagery.

The Bansphor, Dharkar, and Dom can be treated together: the two first are settled sub-castes of the last named. The Eastern or plain Doms have no connection whatever with Brahmans, except that occasionally they get a Brahman to recite a *katha* for them. Their deities are their own. They will eat beef, though some of them will not kill a cow: and this, with a certain reverence for the snake and certain rivers, is the whole extent of their Hinduization. Their burial customs are very unsettled: some cremate, some bury, some expose the body. The hill Dom, though totally different to the plains Doms, is little if at all in advance of his plains namesake, save that he usually cremates his dead. The Dharkars are a trifle more Hinduized, being now settled and comparatively respectable: they call themselves Hindus, but do not employ Brahmans, have a pantheon of their own, and are in a transitional stage between burial and cremation, though they have given up eating beef as a rule. The Bansphors are even more advanced, employing Brahmans as astrologers, cremating their dead, save the unmarried and those dying of epidemic disease; they also do not eat beef, and worship Devi.

The Habura is chosen as an instance of a "gipsy" criminal tribe, and perhaps the most Hinduized of them. They use Brahmans as astrologers and usually cremate their dead: they will not eat beef, and worship Kali. Other such tribes, the Kanjar and Sansiya, are much more backward.

The Nat varies greatly. The Bajania Nats have gods of their own (though they call them by Hindu names—Devi, Kali, Parameshwar), no connection with Brahmans, bury their dead but do not eat beef. The Byada Nats employ Brahmans as astrologers, but not as priests: otherwise they are similar to the Bajania Nats. The Kashmiri Nats employ Brahmans of a low type as priests and burn their dead. The Gara Nats are still more Hinduized and even fairly strict. The Badi Nats have customs almost identical with those of the Majhwars. Some of these sub-castes recruit their numbers from other castes.

The Korwa is selected as possibly the most primitive and miserable tribe in this province. They occasionally cremate the dead, but have no connection with Brahmans, worship gods and fetishes peculiarly their own, eat beef and scarcely even pretend to be Hindus. In every respect they are of the most aboriginal description.

Remains the Bhangi, who deserves detailed description. Historically he appears to represent the outcaste Chandala of Manu, and is closely akin to the Dom. He habitually recruits from better castes. Bhangis are excluded from Hindu temples, just as the Muhammadan Bhangis are excluded from Muhammadan mosques. Some of them, e.g. the Lal Begis, marry women of other castes; usually they have to be of a higher caste. It is extremely dubious whether Brahmans are present at any of their ceremonies, though Bhangis assert it: the only instances mentioned are selecting an auspicious day for weddings, naming a new-born child, and occasionally muttering a few spells at death: but the Brahmans who would do even that much for a Bhangi must be the lowest of the low. Those who call themselves Hindus have little that can be called Hindu about their religion. Lal Beg is worshipped by a large number: he is obviously of Muhammadan extraction, and the Hindus if they make a distinction call him Lal Guru. Their other gods are a confused crowd of Hindu and Muhammadan deities and evil spirits. They appear to observe Hindu and Muhammadan festivals alike, the Id and Muharram as well as the Diwali and Holi. Some Bhangis will not eat beef.

From these instances it will be seen how very few in this province are the numbers of those who, whilst returning themselves as of the Hindu religion, do not fulfil any of the prescribed tests. It is very rare indeed that *no* test at all is fulfilled by any one tribe. The Majhwar and some Nats, Musahar and Habura

and the settled Doms utilize the services of Brahmans and do not eat beef; the Chamar is as much of a Hindu by religion as he is allowed to be; the Bhangi, though outside the pale, can manage to get some sort of Brahman to do small services for him, or at all events says he can, which shows that he would if he could; the only tribes mentioned who fulfil no test at all are the Korwa, a tiny little tribe, and the Doms. Whether reckoned as Hindu or Hinduized or non-Hindu, there is very little doubt that there is not a tribe or caste in the province which would not be strict Hindu in all essentials if it was allowed to be so.

There is no known instance in recent times where any non-Hindu has been converted to Hinduism. Hinduism never takes in new converts openly: there is always the fiction that they have been Hindus all through. There may be exceptions to this rule in other provinces, but I know of none in this. The only back-door into Hinduism is *viâ* Aryaism, and the Aryas will convert anybody, not excepting Christians and Muhammadans: but how far Aryas in general and these Arya converts in particular are looked on as Hindus proper is uncertain. This is a matter which will be mentioned again when considering the Arya religion.

157. **Hindu sectarianism.**—In all religions the theory invariably differs from the practice, the standard set up from the standard attained. As regards the second point, a religion at first always sets up a higher standard than those of the religions which it supersedes: but in process of time religion becomes little more than hereditary custom (there are hundreds of men who would never think of being married anywhere but in church, who go to church at no other time): and such influence as it has on the lives of its followers is a matter of ritual rather than faith. If the religion retains any vitality at all, sects will arise to purge it of its impurities and revive the waning enthusiasm of its followers. In Hinduism such revivalist sects have been no less common than in other religions.

The first point made above, that theory differs from practice, is immensely important. In the first place the practice of any church always overlays its theory with a mass of foreign accretions. At some point in the progress of a conquering religion it has invariably to compromise with the religions it has conquered, if it is to proceed any further. I have already referred incidentally to this: for examples the reader is referred to Dr. Frazer's "Golden Bough," volume 5. It is this fact which explains the mass of animistic beliefs and rites, the legions of gods and godlings which are found in Hinduism. These accretions are no more essential to Hinduism than the mariolatry and the hagiolatry of Southern Europe is to Christianity. But though in considering Hinduism it is important not to overlook its practical side, yet for the purposes of classification and of a clear comprehension of its real radical beliefs, its theoretical side must not be underrated.

But when we turn to consider the theory of a religion, a further distinction must be drawn. That theory, as laid down in sacred books, and understood by the educated and the thoughtful among its adherents, is usually very different to the theory as understood by that great majority of its adherents, which is either uneducated or thoughtless. In Hinduism this distinction is all the more clearly brought out because its theory is so abstruse, and the uneducated and thoughtless among its members form such an enormous majority; but it exists in all religions.

The principles of theoretical Hinduism have been discussed again and again, and all students will be familiar with them. I do not propose to repeat them at any length: but for convenience sake a summary of them may be given. The growth of Hinduism has had the following stages:—

(1) *Vedism*, an unsettled nature-worship, in which natural forces are personified, and clothed with human attributes. It is generally polytheism pure and simple. Though it is frequently asserted that the Vedic conception of the Godhead is monotheism, there is perhaps only one verse which supports this view:—

"To what is one, sages give many a title;
They call it Agni, Yama, Matariswan."

The significant "it" shows that though this may be monism it is scarcely monotheism. Max Müller has called the worship of the Vedas "kathenotheism"; which means that the deity which is for the time being invoked is for the moment the *only* deity. Each in turn is absolutely the highest, absolutely independent, and absolutely divine. But as a matter of fact kathenotheism is merely a particular type of polytheism, for though each god in turn may be called the highest, all the others are always there.

(2) *Brahmanism* which merges all the Vedic nature-deities into a universal spirit (Brahmā) which when manifested as a personal creator is Brahmā. This of course is pantheism.

(3) *Hinduism* is Brahmanism “run to seed and spread out into a confused tangle of divine personalities and incarnations”, from which however three emerge pre-eminent—Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu. They are all equally manifestations of Brahma the universal spirit, but they are also more: for they are separate personal deities. Hinduism’s chief characteristic is theism, but with constant lapses into pantheism. Hinduism in this form is followed by the Smarta section of Hindus and by practically nobody else. Brahma, it may be mentioned, is totally neglected; though the Smartas profess to worship all these manifestations on the same level, they have a tendency to put Siva in the first place. Hinduism itself is usually divided into five sects—Saivas, Vaishnavas, Saktas, Ganpatyas, and Sauryas. Of these two alone, the first two, are now sectarian and the last three are also uncommon in this province. It will suffice to consider the first two cases. And in the first place it is necessary to explain what is meant by a Hindu sect. A sect usually implies a definite body of persons who are severed from the orthodox body of their religion because they hold some heterodox opinion. The one creed which may be held to be orthodox in Hinduism is that which regards the highest deities as finite beings, destined ultimately to be absorbed in the universal spirit Brahma. And in that sense Saiva and Vaishnava are undoubtedly unorthodox inasmuch as they exalt each his favourite personal deity to the position of an eternal, supreme and self-existing god. But they constitute to-day the very “warp and woof” of Hinduism: they are vastly more numerous than the orthodox Smarta party: and moreover there are a very great number of Hindus who follow Saivism and Vaishnavism without ever having been initiated into those sects. The term “sect” therefore as applied to Saivism and Vaishnavism is misleading: it means no more than “section,” of Siva worshippers and Vishnu worshippers respectively. The sub-sects found in each are far more truly sectarian in nature.

(4) *Saivism* exalts Siva to the position of a supreme being, infinite, eternal and exempt from subjection to the law of ultimate absorption into the universal spirit. It “identifies him with Brahmā as well as Brahṁā, with the Atman and Maya of the Vedānta philosophy, with the Purusha and Prakriti of the Sankhya system, with the male and female generative energies operating in the universe, with every conceivable force and form in nature”. It is not pantheism, for Siva is a personal god: it is theism. But it is based on and directly springs from the pantheism of Brahmanic thought; and at times it is not easy to distinguish the two.

(5) *Vaishnavism* exalts Vishnu to the position which Siva holds in the Saiva system, and regards him in much the same way. It is therefore like Saivism a form of theism, even of monotheism. But there are certain differences. Saivism no doubt recognizes a single, eternal, personal god: but it is a severe and cold system. It inculcates reverence, fear, worship. Vaishnavism postulates not only a personal god but personal devotion to him (*bhagti*), it inculcates faith rather than reverence, love rather than fear, devotion rather than worship. In a word Vishnu is much closer to the hearts of his worshippers than Siva can ever be to his. And Professor Monier-Williams is doubtless right in declaring that it is the one real *religion* of the Hindus, since religion implies devotion.

Such then is the theoretical Hinduism in its various aspects which is laid down in the many Hindu sacred books, which is held by the educated and the thoughtful. It can be described in all its three forms as it stands to-day as theism which in the case of a few is polytheism, in the case of the vast majority is monotheism, but always theism with *personal* gods. Owing however to its origin in Brahmanism, it is liable to lapse into pantheism (save perhaps in the case of the Vaishnava doctrine). But this does not complete the survey of the “theoretical” beliefs of the Hindu people.

(6) *Parameshwar-worship*.—Every Hindu, however uneducated, however low his other beliefs may be, has some conception of a supreme personal god called by many names, but most commonly Parameshwar. Mr. Burn emphasized the universality of this belief in 1901: I need not add to his arguments. The Hindu who is a Saiva or a Vaishnava has no real place for Parameshwar in his religious ideas, and would probably explain his presence by saying he *was* Siva or Vishnu. According to the Puranic philosophy, Parameshwar is the universal spirit when

manifested as a personal god, who, according as he is dominated by activity (*rajas*), goodness (*satva*) or apathy (*tamas*), is separated into the divine personalities Brahma, Siva and Vishnu. This however is merely stated to explain his relation to them: for it is a recondite theory which does not trouble the ordinary Parameshwar worshipper. To him Parameshwar is a supreme personal god, who made the world, who is pleased by good and displeased by evil deeds, but much too exalted to trouble about mundane affairs. If the Hindu is not professedly a Saiva or a Vaishnava he will look on Siva and Vishnu as on the whole subordinate to him, though much more valuable helpers in times of trouble. Still, nebulous as his idea of Parameshwar may be, it makes of him at bottom a monotheist. But it is to some extent wrong to say that he "worships" Parameshwar. He may or may not repeat his name in the morning, and occasionally he has the *Sat Narayan Katha* recited in his honour: but that is all. It is a waste of time to importune a god with prayer and sacrifice when his attitude is one of suave aloofness: and the Hindu reserves his attentions for the minor gods and godlings. Of these I need say nothing, for their nature and worship was fully described by Mr. Burn in 1901: but the result is that Hinduism, which at bottom is in almost every case monotheism (the sole exception is the Smarta doctrine), has been branded as the most complete polytheism in the world.

To elucidate this position I am tempted to suggest a parallel, all the more so as a very well-known member of the Church Mission Society in conversation brought it forward independently. The Hindu looks on Parameshwar and his godlings in their relations to him and to each other much as the French peasant looks on "*Le bon Dieu*" and the saints. "*Le bon Dieu*" is constantly on the lips of the French peasants, but they know of Him very little more than the Hindus know of Parameshwar and they look on Him in precisely the same way: they seldom pray to Him directly, and in the matter of ceremonial He is much on a par with His saints: for instance, He has his own feast day, the *Fête Dieu*. But every day they pray to the saints. Each French peasant, like most Hindus, has an *Ishta Devata*, or favourite tutelary godling, in his name saint, whom he considers to be his special guardian. Quentin Durward says of the town St. Quentin "Methinks were I dwelling there, my holy patron would keep some lookout for me: he has not so many named after him as your more popular saints": and that is still exactly the attitude of the peasant to his name saint. Again, just as many godlings are animistic fetishes or ghosts in a Hindu dress, so many of these saints belong in their origin to a forgotten Celtic or Roman barbarism (the reader is referred for instances to Hartland's "Primitive Paternity," volume I, chapter II): I have myself seen a Celtic cromlech at Dol in Brittany which was turned into a Christian monument and used as a place of worship by the simple addition of a cross on its summit. Moreover just as Vishnu is worshipped mostly in a particular incarnation—Rama the hero, or the infant Krishna (the latter especially by women)—so too Christ is worshipped chiefly in two forms, as crucified or as an infant (also chiefly by women). And it appears quite probable that the great popularity of the worship of the female halves of these gods in the persons of their consorts, Parvati (Durga or Kali) and Lachmi (Sita or Rukmini), is comparable to the similar popularity of the Virgin Mary. The parallel is close and could be carried further: but if Christianity is not regarded as polytheism in spite of these practices, then the underlying monotheism of Hinduism should not be forgotten because of the polytheism which hides it.

It has been said above that Hinduism though "branded as polytheism" is "at bottom" monotheism. This must not be supposed to imply that Hinduism is *not* polytheism: the overstatement is necessary to bring out the essential difference between its theory and its practice, but it is an overstatement none the less. In a complete view of Hinduism, theory and practice cannot be divorced, but merely distinguished. Similarly the parallel of the French peasant is not an exact parallel because whatever his practice is his creed is clear "I am the Lord Thy God: thou shalt have none other Gods but Me." Max Müller's term "henotheism" seems to fit the case of the Hindu who believes in a *supreme* God, but also in a multitude of other Gods, and perhaps the distinction between Hinduism and the Christianity of the peasants of Latin races may be expressed thus—that Hinduism is henotheism in theory and polytheism in practice, whilst the other religion is monotheism in theory and polytheism in practice. I am tempted to add that neither the Hindu's nor the peasant's chance of understanding the theory of his religion is improved by the fact that the theory is hidden in the obscurity of a classical language; the Hindu has to do his best with Sanskrit mantras, the French peasant with a Latin *credo*. There is a distinct difference between a *credo* and a creed.

158. **The idea of Salvation in Hinduism.**—There is however a point on which Hindus of various persuasions differ widely, and that is the question of salvation and what it means. The usual view taken of Hindu salvation is that it spells mere re-absorption into the universal spirit—which in fact amounts to no more than annihilation, since all identity is completely lost, and the self is merged in the absolute self. But when man begins by believing in an absolute self he generally ends, in the phrase of Bradley, by "calling it god because he cannot think what the devil else it can be": and once he has obtained for himself a personal god his idea of salvation

is also bound to change. That one personal identity should be merged in another personal identity is unthinkable: man may live in a future life *with* god, but he cannot live *in* him. And so it has been with the Hindus.

Salvation in every religion is its chief good, the *summum bonum* which it offers to its adherents. In Sanskrit the word is "*moksha*" or "*mukti*" both meaning "liberation" or "emancipation," i.e. of the soul from earthly existence and the sufferings of transmigration. The idea is foreign to the Vedas. The Vedic poets had consciousness of sin but personal existence to them was not an unbearable evil: indeed they feared death and desired long life:—

"May they (the living) survive a hundred lengthened autumns,
And may they bury death beneath this mountain." (Rig. XI.8.)

But death must come at last, and after death the Vedas look forward to a new and better life in the kingdom of Yama, whom we shall meet again,—the "lucid worlds full of light," which so closely resemble other ancient notions of Heaven, the Elysian fields of the Greeks, the Valhalla of the Scandinavians, the Paradise of Muhammad, where the pleasures are simply livelier and more continuous editions of worldly pleasures. In the Upanishads, Paradise is the Brahma-World—"one undifferentiated ocean (of existence), in which is no room for individual existence," and all personal differences are abolished. Its chief good is deliverance from the power of death, or immortality: but the state of the individual soul in that world is somewhat indistinct. Sometimes it appears to be merely the union of one person with another person: the wise man "when he has become god, goes to the gods" (Brihadr. Up. IV, 1). More often the theory is obviously one of complete absorption in the "Brahma," which amounting as it does to the negative bliss of emancipation from death and transmigration plus the absence of self-consciousness, is no better than annihilation. This is worked out to its logical conclusion in the Brahmanic philosophy and salvation is definitely called "*nirvana*" or extinction, i.e. of the soul, which is merged in the impersonal Brahma. Whatever the details of the theory, this central principle always remains. No doubt there are according to the description of Sankaracharya, various grades of bliss: the pious man obtains *aisvarya* (heavenly glory, of which we need only say that it consists in the fulfilment of all worldly wishes) in one of three different states of salvation—*salokya* (dwelling in the same world with the personal god), *samipya* (dwelling near the personal god), *sarupya* (obtaining the form of such a god). But these, which are often identified with the Vedic heaven, are merely temporary heavens. As soon as the pious man has received the full price for his good deeds, he must begin the round of births again. The highest final degree or state of salvation is *sayujya* or union with the Brahma. The Saiva and Vaishnava have varied this belief, as was natural with a creed that believes in a supreme, personal god. Each system has its own heaven—that of Siva is called Kailasa, supposed to be in the Himalayas: that of Vishnu is known as Vaikuntha and is generally located on the mythical Mount Meru. The faithful adherents are transported to these heavens, where, safe from future transmigrations, they attain to beatitude, which consists, according to the soul's deserts, in either *salokya*, *samipya*, or *sarupya*. *Sayujya* is done away.

159. **The Hindu idea of Hell.**—At this stage a brief account may be given of the hell in which Hindus at the present day believe. Hell is the kingdom of Yama, the god of death, whom we have already met in the Vedas as the king of the Vedic Heaven. In the Puranas he loses his kindly, beneficent nature, and becomes the judge and punisher of the wicked. His kingdom lies in the south of the sky; between it and the earth flows the terrible river Vaitarani, which all departed spirits must cross, the Hindu Acheron. Yama however, somewhat inconsistently, though he punishes the wicked does not reward the good, who escape from his power and go straight to Kailasa or Vaikuntha: nor can he avail against the power of proper death-bed ceremonies. As soon as the dead sinner has been cremated, Yama's messengers hale him to the judgment seat. Chitra Gupta, the recorder of good and evil deeds, produces his balanced account and judgment is pronounced accordingly. Once sentenced, the spirit is at once hastened back to the place of cremation, there to acquire a body: for without a body it can neither enjoy heaven nor suffer the pains of hell. This body is an intervenient frame of gross particles, though less gross than those of earth: and is acquired by feeding on the *pindas* offered for twelve days. On the 13th day it is hurried back to hell at the rate of 200 leagues (yojanas) a day, over a road 86,000 leagues

long, through fierce heat and icy winds, amid fearful thorns and terrible animals: the road in one place is the edge of razors, at another iron spikes: in fact the terrors of this road are so great that one wonders what can be left to make hell itself more terrible. No further description is needed: the most horrible sufferings imagined by Dante are infantile punishments to the punishments detailed in the Garuda Purana. But from there, apparently, the worst of sinners can be saved by death-bed ritual and death-bed gifts to Brahmans. Of these ceremonies the first and most important stage is to transport the sick man to the nearest sacred stream, among which the Ganges is of course pre-eminent. Merely to look on it in the death agony keeps Yama's messengers at a distance. If no sacred stream is available other rites are carried out, which need not be detailed. Mantras from the Vedas and Upanishads are repeated during all the ceremonies and hymns to Vishnu and Siva are occasionally recited. "At the last moment the dying man is made if possible to repeat the '*taraka-mantra*' or saving text: a formula consisting usually in uttering the name of Rama, Narayana, or Hari, or the mantra "Blessed Krishna is my refuge (*Srikrishna saranam mama*)" Into the funeral ceremonies we need not go.

160. **Salvation and its bearing on sect.**—I have given the above details thus fully because they bear on a theory lately put forward by Sir George Grierson which requires examination. He writes:—

"... Every Hindu may be classed either as a Vaishnava or a Saiva, though he may not know it himself The religion of every Vaishnava is, though he may not know it, based upon monotheism, while the religion of many Saivas is based upon . . . pantheism. . . Vaisnavism is the daughter of the old Bhagavata religion, which laid stress upon the existence of a kindly personal god, and strongly denied the 'absorption' theory of the soul's salvation. To them the soul is eternal and when it is saved it lives for ever near God. The few Hindus who follow the 'absorption' theory are all Saivas There are millions and millions of Vaishnavas, representatives of the old monotheistic Bhagavatas, who do not nominally belong to any sect at all. The old heresy that Hinduism is at base pantheism is only true of the few who are now known as Smartas Everyone who is at all a Vaishnava loathes the idea of Sankara's 'Maya' and all the theory of the loss of identity in salvation connected with it."

"... The difference between the two churches (Vaishnava and Saiva) is that Vaishnavas say that Vishnu and Saivas say that Siva is the supreme deity *who grants salvation or mukti* A Hindu's working religion is largely confined to the things of this world But his lookout for the hereafter—his ideas as regards salvation—are on a different plane. Here he looks to Parameshwar To a Hindu this Parameshwar may be *farbânt* as regards the things of this life, but he does confer *mukti*, a thing in which every Hindu does believe heart and soul, and for this reason, though he may not show it, his attitude toward this Parameshwar does colour his whole life A Vaishnava (sacred) book identifies Parameshwar with Vishnu, and a Saiva book identifies him with Siva, with in each case all the important consequences that follow There is one moment in a man's life in which he and his friends are brought into direct contact with the deity from whom he hopes to get *mukti*. This is the moment when he is at the point of death. On these occasions, all thoughts of minor deities fade away before the supreme necessity of securing salvation to the departing soul, and the dying man himself, and his friends around his bed, reiterate the name of the god who to them is the real, supreme god, the giver of *mukti*. At such a moment a Vaishnava and his friends call upon Ram and Krishna, or recite the Vaishnava *mantra*, while a Saiva and his friends call upon Siva or Kali, or recite the Siva *mantra* A Vaishnava is not a man who worships only Vishnu but a man who identifies Vishnu with the Parameshwar, who *directly* gives him *mukti*, and a Saiva is not a man who worships only Siva, but is a man who identifies Siva with the Parameshwar who directly gives him *mukti*."

Sir George Grierson's object in writing thus was to suggest a test by which it might be discovered whether a man was a Saiva or a Vaishnava, not necessarily an avowed sectarian, but at bottom—"though he may not know it himself." And the test he suggested was the death-bed *mantra*. To this I shall return; at present the whole position needs examination. And I may first profitably clear the ground by detailing the points in which Sir George Grierson's views agree with the views given above ⁽¹⁾. His statements may be summarized thus:—

- (1) Every Hindu, whether he knows it or not, is a Saiva or a Vaishnava.
- (2) Vaishnavism is always ultimately monotheism. Saivism is often ultimately pantheism.
- (3) Vaishnavism denies the absorption theory of salvation, and represents the soul as living after death eternally near God (once, of course, it has succeeded in conquering *karma*).

⁽¹⁾ Which it may be said are taken chiefly from three books—Monier-William's "Brahmanism and Hinduism," Dilger's "Salvation in Hinduism and Christianity" and R. B. Lal Bahadur's "Hinduism, Ancient and Modern."

- (4) The Hindus who believe in the absorption theory are all Saivas.
- (5) Vaishnavas say that Vishnu, Saivas that Siva gives *mukti*. They identify these gods with Parameshwar. It is Parameshwar who gives *mukti* (and consequently, at bottom, every Hindu who believes in Parameshwar is a monotheist).
- (6) The god who gives *mukti* obscures and drives away the thought of all other gods when man is at the point of death: and he is then appealed to to save the passing soul.
- (7) The *mantra* then repeated will consequently show whether the man is Saiva or Vaishnava."

Of these points I take the second first. That Vaishnavism is always ultimately monotheism, with a kindly personal god, is indubitable. All students agree in holding this view; and, as we have seen, Monier-Williams says it is the one *true* religion of India. Lala Baijnath praises it quite as enthusiastically. That Saivism is often ultimately pantheism may perhaps be better stated in the form that it is apt to relapse into pantheism, for in essence it too is monotheistic. But when a god is identified with every force of every kind in nature or in the universe, it is not a far step to identify him with nature or the universe as a whole, which must lead to an identification with the universal spirit. As regards the third point, Vaishnavism certainly denies the absorption theory of salvation; but whether all those who believe in that theory are Saivas depends on the view taken of Saivism. No doubt those who give Saivism a pantheistic tinge may, perhaps must, believe in the absorption theory, for it is a logical corollary of pantheism. But it does not follow that all Saivas are either pantheists or believers in the absorption theory, and the accepted view is that they are not so; as we have seen, they differ from the Vaishnava only in the locality of their heaven and the god with whom they eternally dwell. As regards the fifth point, this is undoubtedly true of the professed Vaishnava and Saiva sectarians, and the seventh point will also be true of them. The death-bed *mantra* to which Sir George Grierson refers would appear to be what Monier-Williams calls the *taraka-mantra*. And here it will be well to point out how extremely powerful that *mantra* is held to be by such sectarians. The Chaitanya Vaishnava sect consider that the mere mechanical repetition of Vishnu's name, or names, especially Krishna, Narayan or Hari, secures admission to Vaikuntha. Even a blasphemous or inimical or accidental mention of that name will suffice, as in the story of the father who had a godless son called Narayan. On the son's death-bed, the father involuntarily, and without the remotest intention of invoking the god, called out his son's name. This was enough to save the son from the hell which he so richly deserved.

But we can go no further. (1) Because professed sectarians invariably use this *mantra*, it does not follow that every Hindu, who is not a professed sectarian, does. (2) Because sectarians identify Vishnu or Siva with Parameshwar, it does not follow that the non-sectarian majority, whose monotheism is confined to a nebulous notion of Parameshwar, identify him with Vishnu or Siva, on the death-bed or elsewhere, and consequently (3) it does not follow that every Hindu, wittingly or unwittingly, is either Saiva or Vaishnava. These are the points that require further proof. On all these points inquiries were made from leading Hindus in the province, both well educated laymen and priests. The general trend of their replies was as follows. The ordinary Hindu layman, with no theological instruction, scarcely knows *mukti* even by name. If he has a notion of it, it is apparently a wrong notion; for he means by it little more than an advantageous reincarnation. Nor does he assign it to any particular deity, but to his own actions. The Hindu is not a Saiva or a Vaishnava "without knowing it" during life. Nor does he realize it on his death-bed. And the death-bed *mantra* would not show it if he did, because there is not, in general use, any such thing as a death-bed *mantra*. The formula "Ram, Ram" is repeated, as it also is in the funeral ceremony in the form "*Ram nam satya hai, Gopal nam satya hai; satya bolo, galya hai,*" or some variation of the same. These words mean "The name of Ram is true; the name of Gopal is true; call him true, this is salvation"; but the usual form is "*Ram, Ram satya Ram* (1)."

This statement of opinion requires some elucidation. *Mukti*, as has been shown, may be temporary or final. In its *final* form it amounts to a complete

(1) But many, I fancy, misunderstand them; for I have frequently heard the funeral cry in the form "Ram, Ram, Sita Ram," which involves no statement of belief as "Ram, Ram, satya Ram" does, but is merely the repetition of the names of Ram and his wife.

emancipation from rebirth. But this is not a form that can be considered to be attainable by any but exceptionally pious men. The ordinary "good man" must be content with hoping for temporary *mukti* in the heaven of his particular creed, till he has been paid in full for the goodness of his past life, and it is time for him to be born again. On the other hand the bad man can also escape hell (and by consequence get some measure of *mukti*); so long as his funeral rites are all they should be, the god of hell will be disappointed of his victim. Consequently *mukti* is a thing reasonably within the reach of good and bad alike. But the most powerful god cannot override the law of *karma*. The sinner may escape hell, but he cannot escape a disadvantageous rebirth; and consequently whilst a Hindu need not worry (given a certain amount of cash down to purchase *mukti* by funeral rites) about his life beyond the grave, he is compelled to think and think seriously about his next life on earth. It is not surprising therefore that he knows little or nothing about *mukti* and the reason is simply that he does not think about it at all. Nor is it surprising that he should confuse it with an advantageous reincarnation, if he does think about it. To the average Hindu, therefore, it is *karma* and not the pleasure or displeasure of a god which provides the religious "sanction" which dissuades him from evil and persuades him to good. In theory it may be a weak sanction, for a man knows nothing of his former lives, and practically therefore it is another person who suffers from his ill deeds. Nobody minds running up a bill which somebody else will have to pay. But in practice there is no question that it is a real and a powerful sanction; for the average Hindu swallows his metaphysics wholesale, and takes them at their face value. It is not therefore so much that a Hindu has no, or a wrong notion of, *mukti*, as that he does not think about it at all.

But though it seems clear that it is not possible to get at a Hindu's real beliefs on the basis of *mukti*, it might still be possible that Sir George Grierson's main position—that every Hindu is either Saiva or Vaishnava whether he knows it or not—is correct. There is no death-bed *mantra* properly so called in general use; but on the other hand, both on the death-bed and at the funeral ceremony, invocations are used by all alike which are distinctly Vaishnava in character (viz. the "*Ram, Ram, satya Ram*" invocation). If that be sufficient ground for forming a conclusion, then we can only suppose that every Hindu in the province is "at heart" a Vaishnava, except such as definitely assert themselves to be Saivas, i.e. the members of Saiva sects, and the unknown but large number who would describe Siva as their *Ishta Deva*; whilst even these have below their professed Saivism a strong element of Vaishnava feeling. But is it safe to assume that because the words "*Ram, Ram*" are used on a death bed and *Ram* is invoked at a funeral, that every Hindu is a Vaishnava? The expression "*Ram Ram*" on these occasions and many others (e.g. in the mouth of the disappointed suitor, the accused, or the man in pain) is one partly expressive of resignation, partly an appeal to the god who alleviates suffering. Now this is precisely Vishnu's most important characteristic. Both he and Siva are personal gods, but Vishnu is also a *kindly* personal god. The very essence of Vaishnavism is love and devotion, and for a god to be loved he must be lovable. Everybody then who uses the expression in this sense has so much of the root of Vaishnavism in him; and consequently there is some justification for Sir George Grierson's statement that, without their knowing it, the population of this province is "steeped in Vaishnavism." Taken as a whole, one of the chief characteristics of the United Provinces population is a real and unaffected kindness; Vaishnavism would certainly appeal to them; and if adopted would tend to enhance the very quality which would cause its adoption. But no more can be said. Saiva and Vaishnava are technical terms for sects with particular beliefs and as such cannot be indefinitely expanded. It is impossible to classify all men as one or the other, merely because they behave to a certain extent as if they were Saivas or Vaishnavas, without straining the meaning of the terms. For the purposes of statistics such a classification would be unscientific. But even if it were not, there is no standard of classification available, that anybody could use, let alone a man of the usual intelligence of the enumerator. Nor is this surprising. What it is desired to do is to put all persons under certain sectarian heads. If a man says he does not belong to any of these sects, or (as is more usual) says he does not know to what sect he belongs, it becomes necessary to question him about his beliefs on certain crucial points so as to see to what standard he conforms. In such cases two alternatives present

themselves: either man has not thought about the crucial points at all, in which case he cannot be said to possess any beliefs to be classified; or he *has* thought about these crucial points and set up a standard of his own, which, *ex hypothesi*, is not that of any of the sects into which it is desired to put him. It amounts to a classification of opinions and this is an impossibility because so many men have no opinions (especially on certain subjects), and of so many more it is true that "*quod homines, tot sententiae*." And it is all the more impossible in Hinduism because so many Hindus are so uneducated, and religion is so diverse and admits of so many opinions about it. Even in the very small community of European Christians in India, where, one may safely assert, everybody is educated, it would be impossible to allocate to particular denominations those who are shown as "Christians undenominational and unspecified" by questioning them about their beliefs. An attempt to classify all Hindus by questions of this kind was made in 1901 and failed; at this census no such attempt was made. A man was asked his sect, and, if he did not know it, was put down as "unspecified." In a word the "unspecified" column is inevitable in every classification where the thing to be classified is of the nature of opinion.

161. **Hindu sects.**—The sectarian figures afford a curious commentary on the facts stated above, especially when compared with those of 1901, which were obtained under a different method. In 1901 there were 2,571,232 Vaishnavas; there are only 1,971,398 at this census of whom 1,768,474 recorded themselves as such without giving any sub-sect, which at this census they were not pressed to do. There were 13,134 Vaishnavas in the States as against 7,676 in 1901. In 1901 there were 1,290,094 Saivas in British Territory and 41,475 in the States, as against 1,309,004 in British and 9,146 in States Territory in 1911. The decrease in Saivas is small; it may be taken as normal. The decrease in Vaishnavas I do not believe to be correct, and the explanation is probably as follows. In 1901 a man who gave no sect in reply to the enumerator's question was pressed to give one. The matter was explained to him, and he was given examples of sects. The Oriental's desire to please would impel him to name a sect; the preference which we have seen cause to suspect for Vaishnavism would impel him to mention some Vaishnava rather than a Saiva sect, and moreover among the examples were far more Vaishnava sects than Saiva ones. These tendencies I think would be quite enough to artificially increase the Vaishnava figures in 1901, whilst those of 1911 represent the true sectarians only. No Smartas were shown in 1901 in Provincial table VI; in 1891 there were 402,981. At this census 131,291 in British and 190,765 in States Territory were recorded: of these 44,000 are returned in Budaun, 45,000 in Kumaun and 186,000 in Tehri-Garhwal. The figures in Kumaun and Tehri-Garhwal are quite intelligible, but the presence of 44,000 Smartas in Budaun is all the more curious that in 1901 it showed 373,000 monotheists, a figure amounting to over one-sixth of the total number shown in the province. This must certainly have been due to some peculiarity of enumeration in 1901. 271,309 Saktas are recorded; these too were not shown in 1901 and in 1891 the figures are not very clear, but over 10 millions worshippers of Devi alone (in some form or other) were recorded. Only 3,455 Radhaswamis are shown as against 15,315 in 1901.

Some other entries deserve special mention. There are 8,861 persons who showed themselves as Sanatan Dharma, or "orthodox;" but what particular form of doxy is in this case to be considered orthodoxy is not clear. The phrase is used chiefly in opposition to the Arya Samaj, and in all probability denotes the number of persons who were sticklers for the use of a term which was not "Hindu." All but 25 are found in the three Western divisions where Aryaism is most prevalent, which makes the supposition stronger that they are merely the anti-Arya bigots. 2,486 persons recorded themselves as Vedantist—probably merely another name for the same class of persons as returned themselves as Sanatan Dharma; they were all found in these same divisions. 243 persons recorded themselves under the name Paramatman or "Great Spirit," another name in Vedanta philosopher for the neuter Brahma. 2,133 persons, of whom 1,957 were found in the Agra division, returned themselves as "Vaidika"; they too are merely a species of the genus which produced such entries as Sanatan Dharma. Three persons in Gonda returned themselves as Paramahansa (¹), no doubt vainglorious

(¹) The word, I am told by a Sanskrit scholar, means literally "great goose." It has of course an allegorical meaning, but when used as it was in the census schedule one cannot help thinking that the literal meaning was appropriate.

ascetics, since the Paramahansa is a person wholly absorbed in meditating on Brahma, and is the name for the highest degree of perfection. Other important entries were Kalu Baba (44,165), or Kalupanthi, the worshippers of a low caste godling, the son of King Solomon and a Kaharin girl who, so the legend says, compelled that uxorious monarch to marry her, and is worshipped chiefly by Kahars, Chamars, Gadariyas, and other low castes; Lal Guru, the Hindu form of Lal Beg, the Bhangi's god (40,029); whilst interesting as instances of peculiar worships are Miran (68) or Miran Sahib, a magician of Muhammadan extraction who cruelly oppressed a Djinn and was ultimately slain by him, besides performing other unusual feats, such as fighting after a cannon ball had taken off his head; Zahir Pir (296), *alias* Guga Pir or Zahir Diwan, a snake god, though how he came to be connected with snakes is not clear; Bhumia, the earth god, and Bishkarma (Visva Karma), the Puranic architect of the universe and the special deity of Lohars and Barhais. In all there were 59 sect entries; of these 14 were Vaishnava, 4 Saiva, whilst the Smarta, Radha Swami and Sakta make three more. Of other entries I have been unable to identify 12. Of the 59 entries 23 showed totals under 100, and 45 under 1,000. Twenty entries referred to an "animistic" belief of some kind; I include in that term the worship of rivers, ghosts, saints, godlings, animals, &c. In fact the sect returns are more useful as an indication of the enormous range of Hindu beliefs than of anything else. Details will be found in a subsidiary table at the end of this chapter.

162. **Aryaism.**—The Arya religion is the result of one of the most important movements of the past fifty years and has grown more and more important in the last decade. A full description of its tenets and rites was given in the last census report, and this I do not propose to repeat. But the subject needs detailed treatment from other points of view.

163. **Dayanand Saraswati, founder of the Arya Samaj.**—Few religions that had a human founder show more clearly than does the Arya religion the impress of its founder's personality. Mul Shankar, son of Amba Shankar, an officer and landholder in Kathiawar, was born at Morvi in that State in 1824 (or 1827—accounts differ). By caste he was a Brahman of the Audich section, by education no mean Sanskrit scholar (according to such authorities as Max Müller), and by religious upbringing an orthodox Saiva. From early boyhood he had religious doubts, which ultimately drove him in 1845 to leave home and become a sannyasi. Devoting himself to yoga or ascetic philosophy, he wandered from teacher to teacher in the pursuit of knowledge. Dayanand Saraswati, as he was now called, studied from 1860 to 1863 under the famous Swami Vijnanand Saraswati at Muttra. From 1863 to 1873 he wandered all over Northern India, as far west as Bombay and as far east as Calcutta, preaching a reformed Hinduism and disputing with the orthodox. His object was to purge that religion of its idolatrous impurities; adopting a Lutheran attitude, he ignored all that had passed since Vedic times, and went straight to the Vedas for his religion.

164. **The Arya doctrine and ceremonial.**—To Mr. Burn's description of the principles of that religion (paragraphs 82-3 of the Census Report of 1901) I need add nothing, and give, for convenience, but the briefest recapitulation of it. God is regarded as a personal creator—all true, all knowledge . . . incorporeal, almighty, just, merciful, unbegotten . . . unchangeable . . . all pervading . . . immortal . . . and the cause of the universe. He alone is to be worshipped. With God are two other eternal substances—spirit (or the soul) and Prakriti, the material cause of the universe; creation was a rearrangement of Prakriti. The soul is distinct from God—it is an eternal substance, endowed with consciousness and the capacity for pleasure, pain and knowledge. The Vedas are so much more than inspired scriptures that they are actually the knowledge of God Himself and consequently as eternal as He. The Bhagavatas and Puranas are "mythology, religious comedies, novels, mysteries or miracles." The Brahmans, Upanishads and other Smritis are not inspired works, but have such value as attaches to antiquity and the wisdom of their authors. Salvation (*moksha*) is won by good deeds; it is a temporary emancipation from human existence and its troubles, exchanged for a state of existence with God. The law of *karma* is an Arya tenet; man is free as regards his actions, but cannot alter their results. The slaughter of kine is forbidden on account of the utility of the animal. Such, with certain moral maxims of an altruistic nature, are the main dogmas of the Aryan creed. Its ritual (vide paragraph 83 of Report, 1901) is simple; to the account given by

Mr. Burn (*loc. cit.*), I need only add the frequent religious services, where *bhajans* or hymns are sung and Vedic recitations and religious addresses delivered. The keynote of the whole is simplicity; and it has been said that its very simplicity results in the absence of any sort of spiritual fervour or religious zeal, but this is a statement that needs a good deal of qualification. That, with many persons, it is true, is regretfully admitted by leaders of the Arya Samaj themselves; that it is true of all cannot be maintained.

The claim of the Arya religion to be a pure revival of ancient Vedism is untenable. Despite the Sanskrit scholarship for which Max Müller vouches, Dayanand's interpretations of the holy books are accepted by no scholar, whether of the west or the east, outside the Arya Samaj, and many of those interpretations can only be described as more ingenious than ingenuous. Some of its chief tenets are indubitably non-Vedic, such as the law of *karma* and the prohibition against the slaughter of kine. There is an obvious and serious contradiction between the idea of a merciful god and the law of *karma*. In the words of Mr. Baillie in 1891, the Arya religion is "founded on the divine authority of books which do not bear the interpretation attached to them by it; it revives in the worship of the Supreme Creator the long forgotten ritual of a tribe of worshippers of the forces of nature." But the cause of these contradictions is clear enough.

Dayanand wished to reform Hinduism, but it was on particular lines. He was not merely a religious zealot; he was also a patriot, and though it would be unfair to say that with him religious reform was a mere means to national reform, there can be no doubt that he had both ends in view. Hinduism was to be reformed into, or replaced by, a religion that could be a national religion. That the Arya movement has this patriotic side is indubitable and is indeed admitted⁽¹⁾. And for this purpose it was necessary that Hindus could accept it, yet remain in all essentials Hindus. This explains these compromises and their resultant contradictions; without the prohibition against cow-killing, for instance, Aryaism would have quickly become anathema to all Hindus. In part it also explains the truistic nature and vagueness of the ten articles of the Arya faith (these will be found given in full at pages 188-9 of the Report of 1891). But when all criticisms are made, the fact remains that this religion rests on scriptures of antiquity and high reputation, possesses a definite creed, teaches doctrines of a bold and masculine type, and is free from the formlessness and indefiniteness of Hindu polytheism on one side and the weak eclecticism of such reformed sects as the Brahmo Samaj on the other. It has had moreover the courage of its convictions in more than one important direction. Though at first doubts were expressed whether it would live, it has not only lived but flourished. There is no doubt that it is the greatest religious movement in India of the past half century, and no reason for dissenting from Mr. Baillie's classification in 1891 of its founder as one of "the great teachers who have been produced by a sense of the need for action against the gross idolatry of the masses of the Hindu people."

165. **Organization and Propaganda.**—Dayanand founded the first branch of the Arya Samaj at Bombay in 1875. When he died in 1883 there were over 300 branches in the Punjab and the United Provinces. By his will he constituted the Paropkarini Sabha at Ajmer, and left all his wealth to it, with the injunction that it should be spent on the publication of the Vedas, Vedangas, and commentaries on them, on the preaching of the word and the maintenance and education of orphans. It is still the central organization of the Arya community. In each province there is a Pratinidhi Sabha composed of delegates from each local sabha. In this province it was located at Meerut from 1886 to 1897, at Moradabad till 1907, and it is now at Agra. Its funds are raised by subscriptions; each Arya is supposed to and most do give one-hundredth of their income to their local sabha, who contribute one-tenth of such subscriptions to the Pratinidhi Sabha. The central sabha of this province is said to control 260 branches, 73 *updeshtaks* (or missionaries), 5 *gurukuls* and 53 *pathshalas* besides honorary lecturers and trained choirs. Ever since 1897 "*Veda Prachar*" or missionary teaching has been the chief means of propagandism. The *updeshtaks* are always moving about the province, preaching (especially at large fairs) and inspecting local branches of the Arya Samaj. The majority of converts are from Brahmanic Hindus; but especial efforts are directed to the reconversion of converts from Hinduism to Christianity or Islam, whilst persons who are

(1) "(The Arya Samaj and its Detractors: a Vindication," by Munshi Rama and Rama Deva, page 30.)

Christians or Muhammadans by birth are also occasionally converted. At least two persons of European parentage have in the last few years become Aryas ; of such Muhammadan converts I have myself known at least one case, and others have occurred. There is a society affiliated to the Arya Samaj which is known as the Rajput Shuddhi Sabha, which has as its chief object the reconversion of Muhammadan Rajputs to Hinduism, *via* the Arya Samaj. On a single day 370 such Rajputs were converted to Aryaism : the officiating priests were all Brahmans of the Samaj. In three years (between 1907 and 1910) this society claims to have converted 1,052 Muhammadan Rajputs. The samaj also maintains a certain number of orphanages—in many ways excellent institutions, as most of their scholastic institutions are ; here however they are mentioned as another means whereby the samaj increases its numbers. In brief the organization is probably the most complete thing of its kind in India, and the propaganda are carried out in the most thorough and systematic way.

166. **Social reforms.**—It is on the social side that the samaj has done its best and most progressive work, and this work takes several forms. There is, firstly, its attitude to caste. Though this in theory is clear cut, the practice of the samaj in the matter is less easy to define. The 7th article of the Arya faith bids the Arya treat all men with love and justice, a clear hit at the caste system ; for the high caste man treats the low caste man with nothing approaching love and as little justice, should their interests conflict, as he dares. But the Arya position on the matter of caste has also been laid down by Dayanand in unmistakable terms in his published works. The Aryas acknowledge the existence of the four castes of Manu, but hold that not birth alone, but occupation, method of life and knowledge (of the Vedas) determines caste. Caste in this sense is not caste but class ; the castes are merely social divisions based on personal characteristics and attainments. The consequences of this theory are far reaching. Sudra can become Kshatriya or Brahman ; as Dayanand is said to have told a Christian missionary, he too could become a Brahman if his acts were those of a Brahman. But to act up to such a view would be impossible, for complete ostracism from Hindu society would immediately result and the samaj's very existence would be imperilled. The position is again one that demands a compromise. At present the fact appears to be that a high caste convert does not give up his caste and all it implies, whilst a low caste convert sometimes does—when he dares ; all of course can claim the proud title of Arya (noble) if they wish to. More than this would be too much to expect and the samaj so far follows its convictions that it does not hesitate to convert Christians and Muhammadans, who if lately converted to those religions from Hinduism are outcastes, and if Christians or Muhammadans by birth, then something worse than outcastes. In other matters connected with caste however, the samaj has done much more. It has strong and very sound views against child marriage. That it acts up to them is shown by the very small number of Arya women (263 in all) under ten who are married, as shown in the census returns : what few are found may well be accounted for by conversion occurring after the child was already married. The expenses on weddings are curtailed. Widow remarriage is countenanced and encouraged. Occasionally, though not yet very commonly, instances of mixed marriages between caste and caste occur. In the matter of food the tendency is to relax the Hindu restrictions till they are little more than such as would be dictated in any case by common sense. High caste men are actually told by Dayanand to employ low caste servants, since cooking is bad for the brain, and in practice the vegetarian party, at all events, does employ such men as cooks, so long as they are not the lowest of the low. Nor do Aryas of different castes object to eating at the same table, though they do not eat from a common dish.

Secondly, they are far beyond the mass of other Indians in the matter of education both male and female. The samajes of this province, as has been stated already, control 5 gurukuls and 29 pathshalas for boys alone and 24 for girls. The gurukul system was fully described in the Census Report of 1901, and seems to be in many respects, such as the severity and simplicity of the régime, and the thoroughness of the education imparted, the counterpart of the old Jesuit seminaries. There are gurukuls at Farrukhabad, Budaun, Jwalapur, Sikandrabad and Bisali in Muzaffarnagar besides the great gurukul at Kangri near Hardwar (which I believe is under the Paropkarini Sabha) ; it now contains 245

*vidyarthi*s (students) as against 53 in 1902 when it was opened. A main object of these gurukuls is to produce *updeshaks*.

There is yet a third direction in which the samaj's proceedings have, though perhaps somewhat indirectly, made for social advance. A great need in India, especially among the educated classes, is for freer social intercourse. The Indian home in the absence of female education is not a very intellectual *milieu*; and as an Indian police officer of wide experience once said to me, men, especially young men, of intelligence have to find such a *milieu* elsewhere, and are apt to look for it, in default of better, in the houses of the city courtesans, much as the Athenians looked for it in the society of the *hetairae*. The dangers of this are obvious. Of late the institution of Indian social clubs in many large places has done much to supply this want; and the Arya Samaj meeting house, which is found in most places where a sabha exists and serves the purposes alike of social club, religious meeting place, and local headquarters, also has done much in the same direction.

167. **The samaj and politics.**—Long ago the samaj was charged with being a mere political society with objects and opinions of a dubious character; and of late the charge has again been made, and with greater insistence. The heads of the charge seem to be three,—firstly, that many prominent Aryas are politicians with opinions not above suspicion; secondly, that the samaj strongly supports the *gaurakhshini* movement; and thirdly, that the samaj grossly attacks other religions.

As regards the first allegation, it is doubtless true. The Arya Samaj has many politicians of good and bad repute in its ranks; in one case a whole sabha was arraigned as being a political body with disloyal objects. There is no doubt too that *updeshaks*, finding their village audiences unable to digest Dayanand's philosophy, sometimes take the line of least resistance and turn to political catch-words as a substitute. And occasionally emissaries masquerade as emissaries of the Arya Samaj, when they are not so, or at most are emissaries of a particular politician who is also an Arya Samajist. There is of course no doubt whatever that the samaj doctrine has a patriotic side, as mentioned above. The Arya doctrine and the Arya education alike "sing the glories of ancient India," and by so doing arouse the national pride of its disciples, who are made to feel that their country's history is not a tale of continuous humiliation. Patriotism and politics are not synonymous, but the arousing of an interest in national affairs is a natural result of arousing national pride. Moreover, the type of man to whom the Arya doctrine appeals is also the type of man to whom politics appeal, viz. the educated man who desires his country's progress, not ultra conservative with the ultra conservatism of the east but to a greater or less extent, *rerum novarum cupidus et capax*. It is not therefore surprising that there are politicians among the Arya Samaj. But it is impossible to deduce from this that the Arya Samaj as a whole is a political body. From the first the samaj has consistently affirmed that it is not concerned with politics, has laid down this principle in various rules, has discouraged its members from taking part in them, and disavowed their actions in express terms when they needed disavowal. Of late (1910) Pandits Munshi Ram and Ram Deo have published a book entitled "The Arya Samaj and its detractors," which is a vindication of the samaj from this charge and develops, I think with success, the arguments I have stated above. The position indeed is that the tree has been judged by its fruits, the society by the actions of its members. That the judgment, whether right or wrong, is at all events natural is shown by the pains the samaj's true leaders, viz. its religious leaders, take to disprove it, but it nevertheless seems to me absolutely necessary that a distinction should be drawn between the action of the samaj as a whole and the action of its individual members or, to go to the utmost length, of its individual sabhas (though the attitude of most sabhas, as of the central sabha, has always been correct). In 1901 Mr. Burn wrote "that Aryas are also politicians is true, but that they are so because they are Aryas is a proposition in the highest degree doubtful." Ten years later, there seems no need to alter this opinion, save that one may perhaps safely put it in even less undecisive terms; and also add the rider that "Aryaism of its very nature appeals to men to whom politics will also appeal, and turns out a stamp of man who is likely to take some interest in national affairs." But having said so much, no more can be said. The samaj as a whole is not a political body, all Aryas are not politicians, and those Aryas that are politicians have not necessarily opinions that lead to or connote disloyalty.

The connection of the Arya Samaj with the *gaurakhshini* movement is a trifle obscure. Mr. Burn in 1901 made clear the reasons why Dayanand originally took the matter up. Desirous to reconcile Hindu orthodoxy by showing that Aryaism could sympathize with one of the strongest of Hindu religious feelings, he wrote a book that supported the protection of kine on economic grounds. It was in fact his most famous compromise with Hinduism and one with far reaching consequences. But his followers have scarcely the same cogent reasons as their master. Hinduism with long use has become, as usual, comparatively tolerant, to the extent even of claiming Aryas as a sect of Hindus when it suits them. Ostensibly the Aryas advance the same arguments for their activity in this cause as Dayanand did; consistency would permit them to advance no other; but those arguments are scarcely such as would convince, much less arouse enthusiasm in any intelligent man. It is probable that their advocacy of the movement is due to a combination of causes. The Aryas have not made the cardinal mistake other sects have made, of deifying their founder; but so great is their reverence for him that any legacy he left is regarded as well nigh sacred. Again, in their missionary work, the cry of cow protection must still be a useful argument to persuade the Hindu convert, especially the uneducated villager. And, finally, there are Aryas and Aryas, and though the better educated may substitute "protect" for "worship", the less educated probably keep after conversion a lurking reverence for the animal as a sacred object. The habits of thought of generations are not shed in an instant. The sum of the matter is that though the *gaurakhshini* movement in unscrupulous hands is a political weapon, and too often is used merely as such, yet with the majority of its Hindu adherents it is still a religious matter pure and simple. With some Arya adherents it may be also a matter, almost unconsciously, of religion; but whatever their reasons for supporting it, it is impossible to suppose that they are all insincere and unscrupulous in that support. Doubtless some Aryas use it as a political weapon, but the samaj as a whole does not, nor do all Aryas who advocate it. None the less, the samaj's connection with the *gaurakhshini* movement has undoubtedly been a powerful argument in the hands of those who brand them as a political association; and the cause is chiefly that it is impossible to believe that the economic grounds they advance for that connection are their real grounds.

That the attitude of the Arya Samaj to other religions is often objectionable cannot, unfortunately, be denied. Dayanand in his published works attacked them with rabid vituperation and subsequent Arya authors have followed his lead and occasionally outdone him. Even the most temperate sin in this respect. In one authoritative Arya book which I have perused there is a chapter purporting to show that Dayanand was no worse in this respect than other writers. The chapter is a long series of quotations; and the quotations are of two kinds—either from works of professed opponents of the religion referred to, or from standard historical works. As regards the former it is sufficient to point out that if the thing is wrong, reiteration of the offence will not excuse it; as regards the second, the dispassionate criticism by historians of the actions of the adherents of a religion is on a totally different plane to the passionate criticism by religious opponents of the tenets and doctrines of that religion. The truth simply is that the Aryas, as Mr. Burn pointed out in 1901, study a religion only in the works of its opponents; and even making all allowances for the *odium theologicum* which has seldom failed to distinguish and invariably to disfigure religious controversy in all times, one is compelled to assert that the Aryas go too far.

The matter touches the question of politics however only at one point, and that is how far the Arya Samaj in attacking Christianity can be said to attack the British Government. It seems certain that the Arya Samaj do fear the spread of Christianity⁽¹⁾. There is no question that Dayanand feared it; his objections to the Brahma Samaj, for instance, were based on its cordial relations with that religion. And he feared it, in part, because he considered that the adoption or adaptation of any foreign creed would endanger the national feeling he wished to foster. But no more than this can be said. There seems no reason to hold that Dayanand in attacking Christianity had any thoughts of attacking the British Government. And if he and his followers attack

(1) Christian missionaries also feared the samaj; at all events 25 years ago. I have read an old tract by a Christian missionary on the Samaj which differs from Arya attacks on Christianity only in the degree of its violence, not in nature

Christianity, they attack Hinduism and Islam also, and in the latter case, at all events, with no less virulence. That Christianity and Islam have been marked down by the samaj as the special objects of its assaults is simply explained by the fact that both these religions are proselytizing religions and as such specially dangerous. However objectionable the form of these attacks, it does not appear that the samaj as a whole is actuated by other than religious motives in making them, though of course it is highly probable that some of its members have an ulterior and political motive as well.

To sum up, the essential point in passing a judgment seems to be that one should distinguish between the objects and actions of the samaj as a whole and the objects and actions of certain of its members. The samaj's objects are religious and social, and not political; but many of its members are politicians, and some of these members do use religion as a cloak for politics, and as far as they can, endeavour to use the society's organization for their political ends. But they are not politicians because they are Aryas. Indeed in some cases, the converse may be more nearly true, that they become Aryas because they are politicians, and see a chance of misusing the society's organization to ends which the society through its religious leaders has frequently, consistently, and emphatically condemned.

168. **Position and prospects of the samaj.**—Aryaism, like other missionary religions, finds it difficult to make much impression on the stubborn rock of Hinduism. The Brahman priest hates and fears the samaj, which not only arraigns his most cherished beliefs as nonsense and himself as little better than a charlatan, but by refusing to believe in the efficacy of many of his most lucrative ceremonies strikes him severely in the pocket⁽¹⁾. The educated among the orthodox whose religion is more than a mere form abhor their teachings; and among such persons a society, the Sanatan Dharma Mahamandal, has been formed to meet the samaj with its own weapons and actively combat them at every turn. The mass of the rural population treat them with the same good humoured toleration which they extend to all new creeds, but are not affected by their arguments. The villager, stubbornly conservative in his beliefs, listens to the wandering *updeshak* with politeness; but even if he understands his arguments, he is not to be persuaded to give up the god or gods his father and his village have always worshipped simply because a stranger tells him to. And indeed the bulk of the rural population in most parts are totally ignorant of Aryaism or even of its existence. The emissary of a well-known Arya leader came round distributing relief during the famine of 1907-08 and visited a certain village near which I was encamped. After his visit, the recipients of his bounty, not quite sure whether they were doing right in accepting private charity when Government was looking after them, sent a deputation to ask me whether they might keep his gifts. I of course told them to take all they could get; and then their leader, a man of considerable property and a business which had branches in two districts and fairly well educated to boot, asked me who on earth was this man (the Arya leader) who was distributing money in this wholesale way? I discovered he knew nothing either of Aryaism or of this leader, though his name at the time was on everybody's lips. It serves to show how little is known in these quiet backwaters of India of what is going on in the main stream. Where however there is a closer touch with the main stream, in the towns and bazars and villages where the inhabitants know something of the outer world, matters are different. The lower classes there whilst tolerating the samaj do not pretend to like it. They leave it alone so long as it leaves them alone; but if their interests ever clash, they make their feelings known in no uncertain way. In a small bazar, in this same famine year, where the Aryas were, so far as I know, only known by hearsay—certainly none lived there—a Hindu foundling was discovered one morning at the door of an old Muhammadan widow, where the child had been deserted by the mother. This widow was well known to be as charitable as she was poor, and she took the child and clothed and fed it, with the assistance of both public and private charity which was pressed on her. Ere long, the local Arya Sabha claimed the child for its orphanage. The Hindus of the place held a meeting and bluntly announced their decision that they preferred the child to stay with the Muhammadan widow rather than become an Arya, under the circumstances a most striking decision. In brief, the educated Hindu hates

(1) In spite of this many Brahmans have joined the samaj, a very striking fact.

and fears and is seldom unready to speak evil of them, and the lower classes of cities whilst they tolerate will have nothing to say to them. What has been said, however, hardly applies to the western districts, where they have made their greatest progress; the reasons for this have already been dealt with.

The causes of their success (and though they are still comparatively but a small community that success cannot be doubted) appear to be as follows. Orthodox Hinduism is too apt to lead to irreligion; a religion which gives ritual in place of a creed and unintelligible *mantras* in place of religious instruction is bound to have such a result. And a thoughtful man will often be driven to turn to other creeds. Amid all the religions such a man has a choice of four. Brahmoism is nothing but a limp eclecticism; it has discarded the Vedas and put nothing in their place, it has adopted a belief here and a doctrine there, and when doubt arises, leaves the individual to decide the doubt for himself. Such a religion has little vitality nor has it ever gained ground in this province. Christianity and Islam are utterly irreconcilable with Hinduism in any shape or form. They deny the validity of every Hindu doctrine; they condemn every social custom and every hereditary superstition which is ingrained in the Hindu nature. There are few Hindus of high caste who are prepared to lose all for a creed. But Aryaism is very different. Let us take a concrete case and suppose that a high caste Hindu is deeply dissatisfied with his religion. He has, perhaps, seen, as Dayanand saw, mice eating the offerings laid before the idol he worships in the temple and felt, as Dayanand felt, that this cannot be God or His image. He has asked his priest what his *mantras* mean and received no answer, he does not see what spiritual benefit can accrue to him from feeding a number of Brahman beggars whom in his heart of hearts he knows to be useless parasites on society. And so on with all the other rites; incidentally if he is a busy man, he has probably never found time to bathe in a sacred river or go on a pilgrimage⁽¹⁾. On the social side, he has strong doubts about the caste system; he cannot really believe that he is an infinitely superior being, as a twice born Hindu, to the European Judge in whose court he practices or the Muhammadan Deputy Collector who lives next door; on the other hand (we will suppose him to be, say, a Kayastha) he does not believe that the Brahman beggar to whom he gives charity or the Brahman cook, his own servant, whom he has to address as "Maharaj,"⁽²⁾ is in any sense his superior. He is revolted too, at the notion, that his daughter must perforce be married at an age which his education tells him is nothing less than shamefully young. And so on; the ways in which a well educated and thoughtful Hindu might legitimately be discontented with his lot could be multiplied for pages. Yet in spite of it all he dare not break too completely with old associations; he longs for a religion that will satisfy his spiritual needs, yet pardon him when in other matters he bows down in the house of Rimmon. To such a man, and there must be many such, Aryaism must appeal with tremendous force. It offers him a bold, straightforward monotheism; it bids him discard all those superstitions which he most especially dislikes; it bases this order and its whole teaching on the Vedas, which he reverences deeply, though he probably reverences nothing else; it gives him a creed that he can believe, ceremonies that he can himself carry out, and a hope of salvation, if his deeds are good. At the same time he need not break completely with the Hindu social system; he can maintain his old caste customs as much or as little as he pleases, he is still told to protect cows, he can marry his daughter at a reasonable age, and discard his Brahman cook for a low caste man to whom he can speak his mind if his cooking is bad. Incidentally, if his orthodox friends outcaste him, it will not amount to much more than refusing to eat with him or marry his daughter; and he will find plenty Aryas in his own rank of life to take their place. It is scarcely surprising to find that a great majority of Arya converts belong to the educated classes and to just those castes which though high are not the highest, the Jat, the Taga, the Kayastha, the Bania, the Rajput.

With the lower classes who become Aryas, the probability is that there is almost always an ulterior motive which prompts their conversion. With the majority it is probably the samaj's fleshpots: for the samaj looks to the needs of its poorer members, and missionaries of all religions are well acquainted with

(1) An old retired Deputy Collector told me once that since he had retired he had been making up for lost time in the matter of religion. Whilst in Government service, said he, he had never had any time for religious practices.

(2) One of my own Deputy Superintendents in mentioning this custom to me, told me how distasteful it was to him and many like him.

converts of the type who "for want of means are content to wear crucifixes" as Terry wrote of the Jesuits' converts, when he was in India in 1615. I have known instances where such men from Hindus became Christians and from Christians Aryas, within the space of a month or two—no doubt they sold their "conversions" to the higher bidder. In another recorded case an English ne'er do weel became an Arya for a similar reason; and in yet another case the only cause I could discover for the conversion was a desire in the convert (a Muhammadan lad) to escape from paternal (or to be accurate, avuncular) authority. Often the desire is to hide the identity of one's caste in the lofty appellation of Arya. Outcastes too become Aryas in the hope of recovering some measure of social position. The convert with an ulterior motive is a thing from which no proselytizing religion can ever hope to be free. On the whole, however, Aryaism appeals rather to the educated and to the higher castes than to the illiterate and the lower castes, and I am inclined to believe that the former are the only Aryas who are so in more than name; for the latter, save in exceptional instances, must be incapable of understanding what the change they have made implies.

It has been said that "the greater laxity which now prevails in the matter of caste restrictions tends to retain in the ranks of orthodoxy persons who would otherwise have broken loose"; and that this affects or will affect the further progress of the Arya religion. It seems to me a proposition in the highest degree doubtful. I doubt in the first place whether there is a general or noticeable relaxation of caste restrictions⁽¹⁾; occasionally there are outcries in the papers against caste connubial and commensal customs, but the matter does not appear to have got beyond the stage of "letters to the editor." In the second place, an agitation against such restrictions would *begin* by being favourable to Arya progress; for the conscientious objector could find the freedom he desires in the ranks of the samaj. Moreover if he was of a progressive turn of mind in this direction, he would probably be so in others as well; especially, he might see the faults of orthodox Hinduism, and so far from remaining in its ranks, be all the more disposed to abandon it as unsatisfactory. And indeed even if a time should ever arrive when a Hindu of high caste can marry his daughter to, and eat his meals with, and have his food cooked by, whomsoever he pleases, the fact will still remain that orthodoxy, as it now is, will often fail to satisfy the thoughtful and they will look elsewhere for a creed. And on the other hand there is at the present day a very strongly marked tendency among many castes not quite at the top of society which might very well induce their members to join the samaj. This is the tendency to claim direct descent from one of the twice born castes of Manu—usually the Kshatriya, occasionally the Brahman, least commonly the Vaishya—which is inspired primarily by a desire to rise in the social scale. Aryaism distinctly lays down that there are but these four castes, and that a man is a member of one of them, not by birth alone, but by personal attributes and attainments. It is true that these aspirants after noble origin would trouble themselves little about their personal attributes and attainments if their birth was recognized, but it is obvious that Aryaism offers them a better chance of entering the twice-born haven of their desire than orthodoxy does. For in theory if they can reach the necessary standard of attributes and attainments they can legitimately claim to belong to these castes; and in practice, the Arya would not very much care what the convert was by caste, and consequently as little what he called himself; and in any case, they are all "Aryas" or nobles, and the higher marriage for his daughter or the permission to eat with the man of higher caste for which the would be "twice-born" long, are at all events less unattainable in the ranks of the samaj than out of them.

169. **The relations of Aryaism to orthodoxy.**—There is no question that the stricter members of orthodox Hinduism would never regard Aryas, least of all such Aryas as were formerly Christians or Muhammadans, as true Hindus. No one would think of taking water from them. But there is some evidence that Aryas are beginning to gain a footing with the orthodox; and the chief point which is, if not breaking down orthodoxy, at all events straining it to the breaking point, is the question of voyages over seas. A youth of an orthodox family who studies in England, America, Japan or the continent, on his return has to perform the well

(1) I believe that in some communities not found in this province caste restrictions are often much relaxed: e.g. among Brahmos and doubtless amongst some, especially those who have come into close contact with European customs, these restrictions are relaxed in certain circumstances. "Where there is no eye, there is no caste."

known *prayaschitta* ceremony. His family then, but not till then, eat with him; sooner or later the community as a whole do so too. But these youths are naturally averse to undergoing a ceremony which their whole training teaches them to regard as absurd. Instances of such contumacy are by no means rare. The family and the community are then torn by two conflicting feelings; their great and generally justifiable pride in their brilliant relative, and the demands of orthodoxy. At present orthodoxy carries the day; such men are outcasted and stay so till they conform. But this cannot go on for ever. When these students from abroad grow sufficiently numerous, they will be able to compel the community to receive them back without this ceremony. The orthodox can cut off all the tallest heads when there are few of them; but they will not be able to afford this expensive waste when there are many. And once the process begins, it will not stop till these orthodox restrictions cease altogether. And if these heinous sinners against orthodoxy, these recalcitrant barristers and Oxford B.A.'s are fit for the orthodox to associate with, why not the Aryas? They are far less serious offenders; their sins are rather of omission than commission, and if they had not so absolutely alienated the Brahman by the vital blows they strike at his pocket, might have been recognized as Hindu sectarians long ago. Certainly the orthodox, even now, will wink at Aryaism if it is worth their while. Poor but high caste Rajputs have been known to intermarry with Arya girls; the orthodox Hindus are willing enough to claim the Aryas as a Hindu sect when it happens to suit their political aspirations. Aryaism in short is not yet recognized as merely one form of Hinduism by the orthodox; but the tendency is in that direction.

170. **Islam.**—As was pointed out at last census, though the fact that Islam is a *kitabî* religion, i.e. possesses a book, and also possesses a very definite creed, makes for an uniformity in the essential beliefs of Islam which is totally wanting in Hinduism, yet there is a considerable divergence between the theory and practice of many of its followers. I need not go into this divergence at any length; for it amounts to no more than it amounts to in all religions. Islam prescribes the performance of certain religious duties, just as the Christian Church does, and just as Christians are frequently lax in carrying out these duties, so are Muhammadans. Just too as uneducated Christians do not understand much of the doctrine of their Church, so too uneducated Muhammadans are ignorant of the meaning of many of Islam's doctrines. And, lastly, just as many Christians have overlaid the pure theory of their religion with a mass of practices which are totally opposed to that theory, so too have the Muhammadans. For instance God to the Muhammadan is one and omnipotent; yet the masses possess many saints whom they reckon as a still more present help in time of temporal trouble⁽¹⁾. Mr. Burn gave many instances on page 94 of his report in 1901; another important one is that of Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fatehpur Sikri, to whose shrine barren women resort, and there would doubtless be no difficulty in multiplying instances. But we may leave this subject, which possesses nothing of especial note, for another,—the religious practices of the Hindus who have been converted to Islam.

The first Muhammadan ruler who invaded this province was Mahmud of Ghazni who led armies into it in 1018, 1021 and 1023; whilst Oudh is full of traditions concerning his General Salar Masud Ghazni, killed at Bahraich in 1033. These were mere raids in search of plunder; yet even at that date, it is said, the Muhammadans left converts behind them. In 1192 Muhammad Ghorî crushed Prithwi, Raja of Delhi, whose Chauhan kingdom extended to South Bundelkhand: and under the Ghorîs, the Slave dynasty, the Khiljî and the Turkîs, North India from Sind to Lower Bengal was a Muhammadan kingdom with its capital at Delhi. In 1398 Timur, the Moghul, crushed the Turkî King Mahmud, and though the Saiyid and Lodi dynasties ruled on to 1526, yet their power was small and their kingdom frequently comprised but a few square miles round Delhi. India broke up into a number of kingdoms, some Hindu, some Muhammadan, of which latter, however, the only considerable one in the province was the Sharqî dynasty of Jaunpur. Then came the Moghuls, and till 1857 there was always a real or nominal Muhammadan Emperor of Delhi.

All this time conversion went on. Up to the advent of the Moghuls the Muhammadans were intolerant fanatics who regarded the Hindus as infidels.

⁽¹⁾ A Muhammadan gentleman told me that the saint was regarded as it were as a *vakil*, a representative of the petitioner in the court of the Almighty—a striking simile.

The Moghuls from the earliest times of their sovereignty in India were comparatively tolerant, belonging as they did to the later mediaeval period when Islam, like Christianity, had lost much of its former bigotry. Conversion till 1526 was largely forcible, as many legends of various castes show. Later, compulsion was seldom employed. It has been pointed out above, both in connection with Hinduism and Aryaism, that converts are apt to maintain many customs and ceremonies which belonged to their old faith; and where conversion has been forcibly imposed on a conquered population as often as it has been on converts from Hinduism to Islam, it is not surprising to find that this tendency is often carried to a point where it is difficult to say whether the caste is Muhammadan or Hindu. Even at the present day there are castes which regard with loathing their Muhammadan customs and have occasionally relapsed into the nearest approach to Hinduism which they can achieve.

Of converted Muhammadans, by far the greatest proportion are to be found among Rajputs⁽¹⁾. This is natural, for they were the caste which as rulers and soldiers came at all periods directly into violent conflict with the Muhammadan kings; whilst at a later date, under the prudent Moghuls, also served them faithfully. Of the larger clans, some 45 in number, 12 have Muhammadan branches; but there are also Muhammadan castes like the Khanzadas, the Ranghars, the Lalkhanis, the Malkanas, which are all descended from converted Rajputs, either in whole or in part. The Lalkhanis are mostly Bargujars of Bulandshahr descended from one Lal Singh, a favourite of Akbar, who was given the title of Lal Khan; his son was the first member of the family to embrace Islam. The ancestor of the Oudh Khanzadas (there are other Khanzadas in the Punjab) was Tilok Chand a Bachgoti Rajput, who was taken prisoner by Babar and was offered the choice of Islam and liberty or adherence to his own religion and imprisonment. He chose the former and became known as Tatar Khan. (There is some evidence however which put the conversion of the Khanzadas earlier than the date of Babar, probably in the reign of Sikandar Loid.) The Ranghars were converted in the reigns of Qutb-ud-din and Ala-ud-din (1206—1210 and 1295—1315); the former was the first of the Slave dynasty, the second the greatest of the Khiljis. The Bhale Sultans of Bulandshahr became Musalmans to please Khizr Khan, Timur's *protégé*; but they had been closely connected with the Muhammadan rulers both in the days of Shahab-ud-din Ghori and Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq. Other castes, which are almost certainly Hindu converts, are the Jhoja and Gara of Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar, usually held to be converted slaves of Rajput origin.

There are also many castes, apart from the Rajputs, who have Muhammadan branches, and in many cases these branches are probably descended from converted Hindus. The Bhands, for instance, are practically all Muhammadans, and carry back their origin to one Saiyid Hasan, a courtier of the time of Timur; but they have a great number of Hindu customs, and if not purely Hindu, certainly contain an extremely large admixture of Hindu blood; they have many subcaste names connecting them with Hindu castes, e.g. Kaithela (Kayasth) and Bamhania (Brahman). The Muhammadan Bhats (who in the east say they were forcibly converted to Islam by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, later Governor of Bombay, because they were in the service of the rebel Raja of Benares, Chait Singh, and in the west ascribe their conversion to Shahab-ud-din Ghori) have a most curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan rites; for instance at marriage, they have practically two ceremonies, one containing all the essential Hindu rites, and the other all the usual Muhammadan rites. The Bhathiyara innkeepers, now a purely Muhammadan caste, were obviously largely recruited from Hindu converts, as the names of some of the subcastes, and certain customs, especially that of using Brahmans as astrologers to fix auspicious days, show. The Churihar is even a more striking instance of the survival of old Hindu customs; for though now a purely Muhammadan caste, the three forms of marriage in vogue are Hindu (though celebrated by a Qazi in the usual Muhammadan form), the rules of succession are partly Hindu and partly Muhammadan, but rather the former than the latter, and they worship Kalka, Sahja Mai, and other Hindu godlings, besides using a kind of *sraddha* ceremony. Without multiplying instances it may be said that similar features, more or less strongly developed, are noticeable in the customs of the Dafali, Darzi, Dhunia, Gandhi, Ghosi, Iraqi, Kingaria, Kunjra, Mewati,

(1) Muhammadan Rajputs have suddenly taken to calling themselves Pathans; see chapter XI, paragraph 350.

Mirasi, Tank Rajput and Turk, all of which castes are either solely Muhammadan or have Muhammadan branches. For further example of Hindu customs in Muhammadan castes and the influence of Hinduism on Islam, the reader is referred to the 1901 Report, page 95. Perhaps the most striking instance of all is that of the Malkana. These are converted Hindus of various castes belonging to Agra and the adjoining districts, chiefly Muttra, Etah, and Mainpuri. They are of Rajput, Jat, and Bania descent. They are reluctant to describe themselves as Musalmans, and generally give their original caste name, and scarcely recognize the name Malkana. Their names are Hindu; they mostly worship in Hindu temples; they use the salutation Ram, Ram; they intermarry amongst themselves only. On the other hand, they sometimes frequent a mosque, practise circumcision and bury their dead; they will eat with Muhammadans if they are particular friends; they prefer to be addressed as Mian Thakur. They admit that they are neither Hindus nor Muhammadans, but a mixture of both. Of late, as has been described in the paragraphs on Aryaism, some of them have definitely abjured Islam.

At the present day conversion from other religions to Islam is uncommon. Islam never seeks it; if anybody desires to embrace it, there is no objection, and isolated individuals occasionally do so. These are usually outcastes, who prefer to lose their disgraced identity in the easily won appellation of Shaikh, or men or women who have lovers of the opposite sex in the other religion; the motives are probably always ulterior. It would be interesting to frame some estimate of the Muhammadans at the present day who are of Hindu parentage; but it is scarcely possible. There are certain Muhammadan castes which can at once be declared such, for instance, all the Muhammadan Rajputs, the four or five castes (such as the Lal Khanis and Malkanas) who admit their conversion, and the Muhammadan branches of most purely Hindu and non-occupational castes, such as the Ahir, the Gujar, the Bahelia, the Bhuinhar, and so on. But when one turns to the occupational castes, the matter is different. The Darzi, the Dhobi, the Bharbhunja, are all trades as necessary in one religion as in the other. It is true that the Muhammadan invaders were not invading races, but invading armies, and probably brought few persons who followed these professions with them; but it is not at all impossible that when the Muhammadan armies settled in India, many of their members gave up soldiering for such more peaceful trades. As regards the Muhammadan branches of such occupational castes, therefore, it is impossible to say how many are the descendants of foreign Muhammadans, and how many Hindus who have adopted Islam. The same applies to some occupational castes which are now purely Muhammadan, such as the Iraqi and the Julaha. Even the presence of Hindu customs is not an infallible guide; it is obviously quite possible that Muhammadan settlers adopted some Hindu customs, just as the Hindus adopted some Muhammadan customs, for instance the *parda* system. After considering all the circumstances, the probability appears to be that the vast majority of such Muhammadans as these are Hindu converts; but it is impossible to give any trustworthy figures. On the other hand, also, there are many Muhammadans who claim the distinctively Muhammadan appellation of Shaikh who are certainly Nau-Muslims; as the old proverb says "*Pesh a yin Qassab budem, bad azan gashtem Shaikh; ghalla chum arzan shawad, imsal Saiyid meshawem.*" (The first year I was a Qassab, then next year a Shaikh; this year if prices rise, I shall be a Saiyid.) As a matter of fact though this is true of "Shaikhs," I do not think it ever occurs in the case of Saiyids. Indeed, one can say far more easily who are certainly not Hindu converts, than who are. The Saiyids, Mughals, Pathans, and probably three-fourths of the Shaikhs are Muhammadan by descent; but it is impossible to assert this with certainty of any other Muhammadan caste, even such (now) purely Muhammadan castes as the Bhathiyara, Bhishti, Ghosi, and Julaha.

171. **Sectarian divisions.**—There have been no changes in the position of Muhammadan sects at this census. The Sunnis now number 5,135,136 and the Shias 178,161, as against 6,430,766 and 183,208. The difference doubtless represents that percentage which does not know its sect which exists even among Muhammadans; with the laxity in the matter of religious practice which exists among many low class Muhammadans, and is evidenced by the tendency noted above to maintain Hindu customs, this causes no surprise. The other sects amount only to 911 all told, of whom 398 are Ahl-i-Hadis or Wahabis, also known

as Ghair Mukallid, and 276 Imamis or Imamiyas, or followers of the 12 Imams, also known as Asnai Ashari. There are also small numbers of Haidaris or followers of Ali (also called Haidar) ; both Haidaris and Imamis are sub-sections of Shias. Muhammadi is no sect. There are 2 Sufis, probably a mistake for Shafai, or followers of the school of law of Imam Shafi, and not free thinking Sufis. Only 7 persons recorded themselves as Ahmadi (¹) (a sect fully described by Mr. Burn in 1901) and a few as Ghoris, said to be descendants of the followers of Ala-ud-din Ghoris.

172. **Present tendencies in Hinduism, Aryaism, and Islam.**—One of the chief cries of the present day is for religious instruction ; those who cry, it may be remarked, frequently mix it up with moral instruction. Moral instruction should not be beyond the powers of any decent school of any persuasion and there can be little "instruction," properly so called, in the matter ; for it is not a question so much of precept as of example. Moral text books are not very much more useful than Mr. Weller's moral pocket handkerchiefs ; the boy becomes what his master is, the new pupil becomes what the old pupils are. But religion can and must be taught, and if all persuasions are on a level in the matter of moral instruction, they are certainly not so in the matter of religious instruction. Islam has always had mosque-schools, where children learn the elements of their faith—the Musalman counterpart of our Sunday schools. Musalmans are on the whole strict in the observances of their religion ; certainly no less strict than Christians are. The Muhammadan on his prayer carpet with his face to Mecca is a common sight everywhere ; and I have played cricket with the team of a well known Muhammadan college on a Friday, when, at the call to prayer from a neighbouring mosque, every member of the team stopped playing, and answered to the call, praying where he stood. But it is different with the Hindus. It is hopeless to cry for religious instruction when there is nothing, not even a creed, that can be taught. The sects are inactive (as their figure indeed shows). Their initiates get some measure of religious instruction from their gurus, but it amounts to little more than a few formulæ. As regards the majority, the religious teacher has the choice of mantras and metaphysics, both unintelligible. Meantime western science and western ideas have had a serious effect on Hinduism ; they have rendered the need for religious instruction all the more pressing, and the cry for a creed all the louder. It is well enough known that they have not been without an effect even on Christian dogma. Such belief as a Hindu possesses is shaken to its foundations by western science and he has nothing to which he can cling in spite of its assaults.

The Brahman does nothing. He sees his influence slipping away but he makes no attempt to probe the causes and remove them, simply struggling stubbornly to retain the pre-eminence he forfeited centuries ago. The average Hindu, conservative to the last, a *laudator temporis acti* by nature and training, praises the past at the expense of the present and allows the future to look after itself. A few reformers here and there attempt to stem the tide ; but some are imposters, dressing up politics in a religious guise ; others like the leaders of the Radha Swami sect, take refuge in eclecticism, and produce patchwork creeds which satisfy nobody ; the rest cannot make up their minds to do without the Brahman. The Arya Samaj alone has provided a manly and straightforward creed which is in all essentials thoroughly Hindu, and by doing so has rendered religious instruction possible ; but even Aryaism has several weaknesses. It has revived an antiquated religion in a form which is not its own, by disguising the nature worship of the Veda in a theistic dress ; it has endeavoured to get rid of the divergences between the past and the present, by assigning to the past all the new truths discovered in the present on a ridiculous basis of verbal misinterpretation ; and finally it has failed to infuse any enthusiasm into the followers of its doctrine. In brief it has not attempted to appeal to the Hindu heart ; it has appealed only to the Hindu head. Yet when all has been said, Aryaism has a creed, and this explains much of its success, for it satisfies the cry for religious instruction. How loud that cry is can be seen from the fact stated by a well known missionary to me, that parents often ask him to teach their boys as much Christianity as he desires, to make them as Christian as he can provided he does not baptize them or teach them to break their caste laws. Any creed is better than none. But the state of

(¹) There are as a matter of fact a very considerable number, as I learn on first-hand authority.

affairs is obviously serious. Hinduism badly needs her Luther ; and until she gets him, will continue to decay, slowly but surely, as she has for the past 30 years ; losing here to Aryaism, there to Islam, and elsewhere to Christianity, but always wasting away, for she has no vitality left to withstand this process of attrition.

173. **Christianity.**—The position of Christianity in India is very similar to the position it occupied in the early centuries of its era in a pagan Europe, at all events as regards its relation to Hinduism, from which it chiefly gains its converts. It is that of a definite, clear-cut religion in opposition to an enormous and unweildy congeries of divergent beliefs both high and low. Its strength lies in its definiteness ; the weakness of its opponent in its lack of cohesion. A Hindu may be almost anything—pantheist, monotheist, polytheist ; a Christian is in essentials always the same thing (though in unessentials, no doubt sects differ), for the Christian always possesses the same creed, whilst a Hindu possesses no creed. With the example of what it achieved in the past before us, its success in India need not therefore cause surprise. And the important question for consideration appears to me to be not why it has been successful, but why it has been no more successful, with its corollary, has it been more successful in this decade than others, and if so, why ?

Mr. Burn detailed the reasons why the acceptance of Christianity was so slow in 1901. They were :—

- (1) the fact that Christian practice did not come up to Christian doctrine, as displayed in the ordinary life of Christians ;
- (2) the essential differences between Hindu and Christian views of philosophy and theology ;
- (3) the dread of social ostracism ;
- (4) the impossibility of insisting on a high standard of Christianity in the case of low caste Hindus.

As regards the first reason, it undoubtedly has some force. I do not know that it is possible to assert fairly that Europeans in India are less truly Christian than Europeans elsewhere ; but it is undoubtedly true that they pay less attention to the observances of their religion, sometimes because it is difficult to do so, sometimes because the conditions of their life prevent it. The argument has force chiefly because the Hindu spectator is himself so apt to consider that religion lies wholly or chiefly in observance of ritual, and notes these matters. Yet it does not touch the main issue, for defects in the conduct of the adherents of a religion are not proof that the religion itself is defective. On the other points, I need add nothing to what Mr. Burn said in 1901 ; but it is necessary to consider whether these reasons against the adoption of Christianity are still as strong as they were 10 years ago.

As regards Mr. Burn's second reason, there is no doubt that the Hindu who thinks of such matters as these regards philosophy and theology as inseparable, whilst the Christian draws a clear distinction between them, and considers metaphysical speculation "*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*" to be a mere unessential excrescence on religion. And I do not think that there has been any considerable change in this position. In a critical age Hindu philosophy has not escaped criticism ; but I fancy that it has seldom been criticized from the standpoint of Christian doctrine, simply because so few who could deal with it from such a standpoint are capable of understanding the subject in the original Sanskrit. But the matter is not perhaps of great practical importance. For the educated Hindus who are able to understand their own philosophy and also think of religious matters are not numerous ; whilst of the minority who are concerned with such matters many are themselves critics of that philosophy.

The chief cause which is opposed to the success of missionary propaganda is the fear of social ostracism. I give no details, for they are well known. But it is necessary to discriminate between various cases. It is not too much to say that a high caste convert loses by conversion everything which from a worldly point of view makes life worth living and gains nothing of the same nature in return. A high caste convert has to approximate very closely to the ideal proselyte of the Gospel ; he must lose all if he is to follow Christ ; and in any age there are few who will lose all for a creed. As regards high caste converts the social disabilities attaching to conversion stand where they did. But the low caste convert has much less to lose and in return gains much more. He is already despised of his superiors ;

a little contempt more or less makes no difference to his lot. He has to suffer the penalties of outcasting by his own fellows ; but on the other hand he gains materially in facilities for education, in the knowledge that he has a powerful organization at his back which will do its best to find him employment, which will look after him and his in times of sickness, and so on. He escapes from the ill-favoured caste name which once was his, and under the name of Christian can lift up his head among his fellows. It is not therefore surprising that low caste converts are many and high caste converts are few ; and indeed this was always the course that Christianity took. It commenced with the lower strata of society, the Galilaean fisherman, the Roman slave and the pagan savage, and worked up to the higher. And with these lower classes, the social ostracism which follows on conversion is not so severe as it once was. The reasons for this are complicated. The Hindu, especially the lower class Hindu, is always a kindly person, tolerant of new gods and new beliefs, and religious persecution is totally foreign to his nature. It is not surprising therefore that with long use he has become tolerant of conversion and less uncharitably disposed to converts ; his nature is reasserting itself. A convert, no doubt, is still outcasted, but he is now regarded as a member of a *fresh* caste, a low caste no doubt, but still a caste, and Hindus bear with its idiosyncrasies as they do with those of any other caste. So far as their social position is concerned Indian Christians are now recognized as a separate body, and left alone which is already much. The converts themselves, with the increase of their own numbers, find the loss of caste rights easier to bear. There are now plenty of persons in the same position as themselves, many girls to whom they can marry their sons, many young men to whom they can marry their daughters, many who will eat and drink and smoke with them. Further they are a better type of individual in every way. It has often been brought as a charge against certain missions that they converted chiefly the lowest of the low and did not demand of them a high standard of belief ; and here we touch the fourth reason which Mr. Burn alleged as operating against the success of Christianity. At the present time it would be vain to deny it ; some missions had recognized it as early as 1901 and had warned their pastors to be less indiscriminate with baptisms ; and I believe that since then some of these missions have insisted on a reasonably strict preparation before the catechumen of a low caste becomes a convert. In my opinion it was wrong to impute to the missions such action as this for blame. As already stated, they could get no other than low class converts ; Christianity boasts of its open door to all and could not refuse to take any who would come ; and it was vain to expect high standards from persons who by nature, by lack of intelligence, by the accumulated weight of centuries of oppression were incapable of appreciating them. But the results for many years appeared certainly disastrous. Such converts relapsed as easily as they were converted, becoming Christians in a famine year and reverting to Hinduism in the first year of plenty ; or if they remained Christians in name still clung to many of their Hindu gods and Hindu usages in secret.

The tide however has now turned. It was, I think, Kingsley who said that the best way to reach a man's soul was to look after his body. The missionaries all these years have been providing the *corpus sanum* (if one thing is noticeable about Indian Christians it is their greater cleanliness in dress and habits) and now they are being rewarded by the appearance of the *mens sana*. The new convert, may be, is no better than his predecessors ; but a new generation, the children of the first generation of converts, is now growing up. If the missionaries could and can get little out of that first generation, the second generation is in their hands from their earliest years. The children of the converts, born in Christianity, are very different to their parents ; their grandchildren will be better still. It is this which provides the other side to the black picture so often drawn of the inefficiency of Christian conversion. And this generation is now beginning to make its influence felt. The Hindu fellows of these converts have now to acknowledge not only that they are in many material ways better off than themselves, but that they are also better men. And this too has undoubtedly contributed to the better esteem in which Indian Christians are regarded. Given the right type of Christian, the Hindu will regard him not only with toleration, but with respect and even affection. Two instances, one in the higher strata of society and one in the lower, will suffice to show this. I know of a missionary who was approached by a prominent Indian gentleman in a certain large city, with a view to securing his consent to become a member of its municipal board, on the definite ground that the Christian

community ought to have a voice in the management of the affairs of the city. And in Banda in 1907-08, at the worst of the famine, there was a certain elderly Indian Baptist pastor living in a large village. For various reasons he was in extremely poor circumstances ; but rich and poor were rivals in seeing that he never wanted for anything. A well-to-do gentleman, not even living in the same vicinity, not only insisted on contributing largely to his support, but thought out a scheme by which help could reach him, without his knowing that he was the recipient of charity. The villagers themselves whenever Government loans were to be distributed, came forward of their own motion to stand security for him, since the pastor being only a subtenant could offer none for himself ; and also selected him, poor as he was, to be the local distributor of Government gratuitous relief. No more striking instances could be given of the fact that nowadays if the man is the right kind of man, the Hindu does not condemn him on account of his creed.

There are no doubt still instances where Christians are the subject of petty persecution from bigoted landlords, emissaries of other religions and so on. Such cases always crop up at census-time, and this census was no exception. But before accepting them as real cases of religious persecution, it is always necessary to discover whether religion is the reason or merely the excuse of persecution. In any case they are exceptional. I feel no doubt whatever that the Christian of 1911 is in a much less unhappy condition than he was even 10 years ago ; and the reason in large measure I put down to the fact that he himself is a better man.

174. **Christian Missions.**—In view of the undoubted impetus given to Christianity in this decade, a brief account of some of the leading missions of the province will be of interest.

(1) *The Baptist Missionary Society* of London was founded in 1797. To this most Baptist Missions are affiliated. I take as an example the Agra Baptist Mission. This commenced work in 1811 ; the most notable of its early pastors was Captain Henry Havelock of the 13th Light Infantry, afterwards *the* Henry Havelock of Lucknow fame. He was appointed pastor by the Serampur Baptist missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward, to the second of whom he was related by marriage ; the Baptist Church in cantonments is still called by his name. The first Baptist Church for Indian Christians in Agra was built in 1844 ; and in 1845 an auxiliary society to the London Baptist Missionary Society was founded there. Their work extended to Agra and Muttra. Their methods are as follows :—They only allow individual conversion, and endeavour to reach all classes ; their converts are of mature age. They do not attempt to wean their converts from their former avocations ; though of course a number are enlisted among the agents of the mission. They maintain in Agra a high school and four elementary schools for boys ; whilst the Baptist Zenana Mission, which works in conjunction with the Baptist Missionary Society, maintains four girls' schools. There is an orphanage for boys, which at one time (1896) had 70 inmates ; now there are only 4, though 20 others are in the Presbyterian Industrial school at Saharanpur and 4 at the Church Missionary Society Industrial School at Sikandra near Agra. These are all learning trades ; the rest are earning their own livelihood as artizans or servants. Two medical institutions are maintained, one at Achnera and one (for women) at Dholpur.

(2) *The C. M. S. (Church Missionary Society)*.—This well known society commenced work in the United Provinces in 1813, under Abdul Masih, who in 1826 was ordained the first Indian clergyman of the Anglican Church. Work was opened at Meerut (1815), Benares (1817), Gorakhpur (1823), Azamgarh (1831), Jaunpur (1831), Lucknow (1858), Allahabad (1859), Dehra Dun (1859), Fyzabad (1862), Aligarh (1863), Muttra (1878). The educational establishments include St. John's College at Agra, with hostels for Christian, Muhammadan and Hindu students ; St. Andrew's College at Gorakhpur ; the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel at Allahabad for students attending the Muir Central College ; large high schools at Agra, Azamgarh, Benares, Gorakhpur, Jaunpur, Lucknow and Meerut ; middle schools at Ghaziabad and Chunar ; and a considerable number of elementary schools. For girls there are schools at Agra (a high school), Benares and Meerut (middle schools), with an orphanage at Benares ; besides numerous girls' schools in almost all the C. M. S. stations for non-Christian girls. There is also the Sikandra orphanage and Industrial school near Agra. Itinerating preaching work is carried on for several months of the year, notably around Allahabad, Agra,

Aligarh, Benares, Gorakhpur and Meerut. A description of the constitution of the Church Missionary Society would be superfluous; it is sufficient to say that it is one of the most important and influential missionary bodies in the United Kingdom, with world wide support. The Church Missionary Society, as regards conversion, prefers fewer converts but real ones, to many. It does not limit itself to any class; and three to six months' preparation is the shortest time before baptism. But apart from actual conversion, the Church Missionary Society reaches and influences, by means of its colleges and schools, its zenana lady workers, and its itinerating missionaries, an extremely large number of persons. High caste converts frequently take teaching posts. For low caste converts an effort is made to find suitable employment, but the search is not always easy. Converts from castes that deal in the preparation of food of course lose their occupation; and this the Church Missionary Society finds a real difficulty. Conversions are individual only. "In the Meerut district amongst the outcastes (¹) we could baptize any number each year if we adopted the plan of accepting all who offered themselves without testing motives or demanding the breaking off of heathen customs." Converts are of all ages; but minors are baptized only with their parent's or guardian's consent.

(3) *Methodist Episcopal Church*.—This is an American Mission of world-wide activity. So far as India is concerned, its work commenced in 1856. In 1864 the India Mission Conference was organized. In 1893 the North India Conference was separated into the present North India and North-Western India Conferences, which are the two which concern this province. The North India Conference works in Rohilkhand, Oudh and Kumaun; the North Western India Conference works (in this province) in Allahabad, Agra and Meerut. With Oudh goes Basti. The country covered is divided into districts; each district is under the charge of a district superintendent; the whole is under a bishop, usually stationed at Lucknow. The home organization appears extremely powerful and is well endowed. The statistics of the North India Conference (for the year

Probationers	..	25,558	
Full members	..	17,341	
Baptized children	..	20,457	
Total number	..	63,356	
Total baptisms	..	4,592	including 1,448 children of Christian parents.

1910) in the margin will show the magnitude of the operations of this mission. As regards scholastic institutions, this conference had 327 vernacular boys' schools with 5,173 scholars, 144 vernacular girls' schools with 2,273 scholars, 17 European and Anglo-vernacular

boys' schools with 3,183 pupils, and 15 girls' schools of the same class with 1,517 pupils: a total enrolment of 12,146 pupils in 503 schools, besides 1,180 Sunday schools with 47,686 scholars.

It is often said of this mission that it deals chiefly with the lower castes and from its own reports this would seem to be true. I have already referred to this matter. But the reports also make it abundantly clear that the mission is fully aware of the dangers attending this course, whatever ultimate advantages it may possess and has taken steps to combat them.

(4) *L. M. S. (London Missionary Society)*.—But a brief reference to this mission need be made as its operations will doubtless come under a full review in the reports of other provinces where its work is more extensive. The first branch was founded in this province at Benares between 1820 and 1824; it now works chiefly in Benares, Mirzapur and Almora. It maintains 129 schools (both sexes) with 3,034 scholars. The converts are of all castes; industries are taught, especially carpentry and cane work. It also has several medical institutions under its care including a leper asylum at Almora.

(5) *The Salvation Army*.—The methods of the Salvation Army need no description. In this province their headquarters are at Bareilly; they have, in their own terms, 54 corps and 402 outposts in charge of 86 officers and employes. They address themselves chiefly to the low castes. Their best work by far (it is saying a good deal) has been among the criminal tribes. They maintain 5 settlements for such tribes in this province, which they started at the invitation of Sir John Hewett, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. As an example the Dom settlement at Gorakhpur may be quoted. This was opened in 1908; its object was "to reform this criminal tribe by moral suasion, by finding them regular and remunerative employment and by bringing to bear upon them

(¹) *Sic.* "Low castes" is meant. I have lately learnt that the Chamars of Meerut are freely demanding conversion.

and upon their women and children, influence of a kindly and ameliorative nature"; the system was to gradually relax the severity of the existing regulations for the "would-be goods." The Salvation Army began by asking the advice of the Doms themselves as to whether such methods were worth trying. The Doms, flattered by so unusual an attention, invited them to undertake the work of reformation, though expressing no hopes that it would succeed. They could not believe that they would ever be able to get rid of their habits of drunkenness and gambling; drunkenness at all events was second nature. It was suggested that they should begin by trying moderate drinking before coming to the settlement; they agreed to try. These facts are merely mentioned as instances of the wisdom and tactfulness with which the Salvation Army officers in charge (Brigadier and Mrs. Hunter) carried out their task. Between 1908 and 1910, 447 Doms passed through their hands, of whom 183 were in the settlement at the end of the latter year. The increasing tendency is for them to settle down in the Home. In 1910 there was not a single proven case of theft against the residents of the settlement. Drunkenness is "very exceptional." Nearly all are now working at some form of industry, weaving, the making of net bags and boxes for the treasury, rope making, carpentry and cabinet making, &c. They also take out of door employment as scavengers and so on. They are paid by the piece; the Army plays the part of the *bania*, supplying the materials and selling the goods; the last is no easy task, but the Army's large connection and the goodwill with which their efforts are regarded will in time enable them to do so without trouble. In time, they hope too to draft their settlers into the ordinary channels of labour. "There is every hope that from this sorrowful wreckage of humanity a very large proportion of salvage will be possible; amongst . . . the children there seems no reason to doubt that the vast majority will be salvable." This quotation from a Government report on this settlement sums up the situation, one of the most striking situations that has ever been presented in India. The Army is in truth proving itself worthy of its name. As regards conversion, this is, and will remain entirely voluntary. But that it should not be considerable could not be expected in such circumstances.

(6) *The S. P. G.*—The Society for the propagation of the Gospel first commenced work in this province at Cawnpore in 1833, where its work in this province is chiefly carried on with outstations at Banda, Hamirpur and Karwi. It maintains a college, several schools for boys and girls, and workshops (printing press, brass foundry, just closed, and for a while a carpentryshop). Its methods are similar to those of the Church Missionary Society.

175. **The influence of missionary work on the thought and morality of the people.**—Missions influence their converts, of course, directly, and as has been already stated, there is good reason for supposing that the low caste converts of the present day are better converts and better men than their fathers were before them. The difference is not so striking in the case of the missions who have always demanded a high standard of faith and performance before baptism, but with the converts of the Methodist Episcopal Church it is noticeable. The reports of the years 1907 and 1910 of that mission are worth comparing. In the former report it is stated that "*kachcha*" baptism, i.e., baptism where the candidates have been insufficiently prepared, though reassuringly uncommon, still occurred, and the problem was regarded as one of importance. It was pointed out that earthly advantages are not one of the chief arguments for conversion. The state of affairs as regards Church attendance was "quite hopeful"; as regards the sacrament "a great deal remained to be done," and it was found that heathen rites, especially in the matter of marriage and death ceremonies, were far from rooted out. Caste feeling was almost unknown among the second generations of Christians, but this was not the case with the first generation. The bulk of the Christians were cultivators, sweepers, servants, chamars (in the occupational sense), weavers and clerks; they did not take to mechanical and industrial employment. But in 1910 it is clear that matters in all these directions were much improved. The converts for instance knew and could repeat the elements of their faith, and heathen rites were being given up. There can be no question that year by year Christianity is becoming far more of a reality for those who adopt it.

Missions again have a great indirect influence. Through their schools and colleges they influence the lives of their non-Christian pupils to an enormous

extent. In one work it is pointed out how many reforms of the present day of a social nature are in a measure traceable to Christian influence; how Christian books, the New Testament and the Imitation of Christ, are studied by educated Indians, who approve their teachings. Another authority writes to me, "I have been greatly struck by the fact that while baptisms as the immediate result of education in mission schools and colleges are comparatively few. . . . the degree to which students educated in such places get their minds saturated with Christian ideals is very great. . . . such doctrines as the personality of God, the solidarity of the human race. . . . seem to become part of the thinking of many of those students who are with us for a long time"; though, as the writer also says, they are usually claimed to be latent in Hinduism. "The Christianizing of moral standards seems to me to be more remarkable still. . . . instances of real sportsmanship. . . . chivalrous regard for women and a sense of honour and truth. . . . are by no means rare."

Christianity, then, whether it affects the well-born youth of our large colleges or the Doms of Gorakhpur, is beginning to have its full effect, partly because of the mere lapse of time, but partly, too, "because India is asking for something new." As one report succinctly puts it, the young Indian refuses to be bound by the old systems of thought; they are disintegrating. And in this state of affairs, it is not surprising that some are led to Christianity, others to Aryaism. Hinduism's hold on the masses has not yet weakened appreciably, but it is beginning not to satisfy the thoughtful; nor will any religion satisfy them that has no articles of faith to offer.

Subsidiary table I.—General distribution of the population by religion.

Religion.	Locality.	Actual number in 1911.	Proportion per 10,000 of population in—				Variation per cent. (Increase+ Decrease—)			Percentage net variation.
			1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Hindu Brahmanic.	United Provinces (British Territory).	40,122,238	8,504	8,532	8,670	8,627	-1.4	+0.77	+6.1	+5.4
	Himalaya, West	1,410,858	9,198	9,142	9,128	9,076	+11.4	+2.8	+14.0	+30.6
	Sub-Himalaya, West	3,166,563	7,304	7,382	7,493	7,553	-0.3	+0.5	+4.4	+4.4
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	10,474,806	8,128	8,201	8,293	8,351	-2.8	+8.8	+8	+6.6
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	10,871,555	8,750	8,764	8,799	8,807	-3.9	+9	+8.4	+5.1
	Central India Plateau	2,059,745	9,329	9,345	9,371	9,399	+4.7	-8.7	+3.4	-7
	East Satpuras	1,001,022	9,346	9,312	9,343	9,342	-7	-7.1	+2.2	-5.7
	Sub-Himalaya, East	6,450,209	8,583	8,611	8,681	8,707	+2.9	-6	+12.8	+15.9
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	4,708,490	9,001	8,953	8,986	8,962	-4.7	-7.4	+5.4	+7.5
	Tehri-Garhwal State	298,983	9,939	9,941	9,935	9,945	+11.6	+11.6	+20.5	+50.4
Rampur State	284,132	5,349	5,460	5,621	5,591	-2.5	-6.1	+2.2	-6.2	
Muhammadian.	United Provinces (British Territory).	6,658,373	1,411	1,411	1,353	1,343	-1.1	+6.5	+7.2	+12.3
	Himalaya, West	106,837	697	788	820	881	-2.1	-1.4	+5.6	+1.9
	Sub-Himalaya, West	1,110,340	2,561	2,539	2,455	2,416	+1.9	+5.0	+6.9	+14.5
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	2,159,397	1,676	1,672	1,621	1,587	-1.8	+13.0	+3.7	+15.6
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	1,513,969	1,218	1,212	1,182	1,175	-3.2	+3.9	+9.2	+9.7
	Central India Plateau	129,100	585	581	559	538	+5.5	-4.8	+8.4	+8.8
	East Satpuras	68,507	640	670	648	647	-5.5	-3.6	-1.3	-6.8
	Sub-Himalaya, East	1,055,989	1,410	1,383	1,316	1,290	-5.2	+5.4	+3.3	+28.0
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	514,234	983	1,036	1,010	1,033	-10.0	-4.7	+2.8	+12.0
	Tehri-Garhwal State	1,754	58	57	59	54	+15.0	+7.0	+743.2	+537.2
Rampur State	244,604	4,605	4,523	4,374	4,409	+1.4	+0.2	+1.1	+2.6	
Christian (a) all.	United Provinces (British Territory).	177,949	38	21	12	11	+73.7	+75.3	+22.6	+273.3
	Himalaya, West	11,213	73	48	37	39	+68.8	+32.6	+5.8	+140.0
	Sub-Himalaya, West	24,550	57	32	21	12	+77.6	+53.2	+84.1	+401.0
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	104,992	81	39	17	12	+105.3	+14.7	+40.6	+614.4
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	25,441	20	17	14	15	+15.5	+26.1	-1.9	+42.8
	Central India Plateau	4,726	21	17	9	5	+30.8	+65.0	+111.2	+368.4
	East Satpuras	735	7	7	4	6	+3.2	+53.1	-33.7	+4.9
	Sub-Himalaya, East	2,526	3	3	2	2	+21.5	+28.9	+31.3	+105.4
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	3,766	7	4	4	5	+55.5	+14.1	+19.8	+42.4
	Tehri-Garhwal State	6	2	4	1	4	-53.8	-7.1	+55.5	-33.3
Rampur State	1,739	33	9	1	..	+267.6	+650.8	..	(1)+2,650.3	
(b) Indian..	United Provinces (British Territory).	136,469	29	14	5	3	+98.2	+194.1	+76.6	+929.5
	Himalaya, West	4,924	29	26	17	11	+37.5	+56.8	+79.1	+207.3
	Sub-Himalaya, West	20,065	46	23	11	4	+105.3	+106.0	+183.1	+1,097.9
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	95,106	74	33	8	5	+118.8	+320.4	+86.7	+1,617.5
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	9,210	7	7	3	2	+18.2	+119.8	+62.1	+312.1
	Central India Plateau	2,185	10	6	1	1	+81.1	+463.5	-4.0	+878.9
	East Satpuras	411	4	4	1	2	-7	+130.7	-19.4	+84.7
	Sub-Himalaya, East	1,775	2	2	1	1	+23.2	+30.8	+15.6	+86.2
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	2,793	5	2	2	2	+139.1	+17.1	-15.6	+136.5
	Tehri-Garhwal State	2	..	2	6	4	-71.4	-50.0	+55.5	-77.7
Rampur State	1,718	32	8	8	..	+290.4	+923.2	..	(1)+3,895.3	
Hindu Arya.	United Provinces (British Territory).	131,154	28	14	5	..	+100.9	+196.0	..	(1)+494.7
	Himalaya, West	2,608	17	13	7	..	+44.5	+97.0	..	(1)+183.6
	Sub-Himalaya, West	25,208	58	24	8	..	+148.5	+197.7	..	(1)+639.7
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	88,233	68	37	13	..	+83.3	+205.9	..	(1)+460.7
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	8,105	7	3	1	..	+148.1	+124.4	..	(1)+456.7
	Central India Plateau	971	4	2	1	..	+202.5	+25.4	..	(1)+279.3
	East Satpuras	522	5	3	1	..	+41.1	+232.7	..	(1)+411.8
	Sub-Himalaya, East	1,628	2	1	..	..	+218.0	+427.6	..	(1)+1,578.4
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	3,879	7	1	..	..	+429.9	+751.1	..	(1)+4,408.1
	Tehri-Garhwal State	3	1	1	..	..	+87.0	..	..	(2) ..
Rampur State	481	9	5	..	..	+80.1	+1060.9	..	(1)+1,991.3	
Jain ..	United Provinces (British Territory).	75,427	16	18	18	18	-10.6	-2	+5.7	-5.7
	Himalaya, West	377	2	3	2	2	-8.0	+46.4	+13.9	+59.0
	Sub-Himalaya, West	5,393	12	16	17	18	-21.1	-3.7	-3.9	-27.1
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	54,286	42	46	52	49	-4.0	+8	+5.8	-5.2
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	2,728	2	3	3	2	-31.3	+14.2	+65.9	+30.2
	Central India Plateau	12,020	54	54	55	58	+6.2	-10.4	-7	-5.5
	East Satpuras	131	1	2	2	2	-41.7	-19.9	+20.5	-34.5
	Sub-Himalaya, East	178	2	3	1	..	-11.9	+130.4	+148.7	+381.1
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	314	1	1	3	..	-21.4	+133.5	+2,342.8	+4,885.7
	Tehri-Garhwal State	49	1	2	8	..	+683.3	-70.0	..	(1)+145.0
Rampur State	259	5	3	3	..	+48.0	-3.8	..	(1)+40.1	

(1) and (2) See note on following page.

Subsidiary table I.—General distribution of the population by religion—(concluded).

Religion.	Locality.	Actual number in 1911.	Proportion per 10,000 of population in—				Variation per cent. (Increase+ Decrease—.)			Percentage net variation.
			1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Sikh	United Provinces (British Territory).	15,160	2	3	2	·8	-1·0	+35·0	+211·3	+316·0
	Himalaya, West ..	1,250	8	4	6	1	+105·2	-20·3	+377·5	+681·2
	Sub-Himalaya, West ..	2,909	7	7	5	1	+4·4	+25·8	+348·1	+488·9
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	5,236	4	4	4	1	-7·5	+9·8	+327·7	+334·5
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	3,052	2	1	·8	·6	+106·2	+49·7	+34·1	+311·3
	Central India Plateau ..	1,094	5	·5	5	·1	+876·8	-89·4	+776·0	+804·1
	East Satpuras ..	121	1	6	2	·6	-82·5	+268·1	-51·5	-68·8
	Sub-Himalaya, East ..	934	1	2	1	8	-24·4	+61·5	+44·1	+75·9
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	564	1	7	·3	*	-84·9	+1,745·8	+6,666·6	+18,700·0
	Tehri-Garhwal State ..	24	·8	·5	·3	..	+71·4	+180·0	..	(2)+380·0
Rampur State ..	2	*	..	..	..	..	..	..	(3)-	
Parsi	United Provinces (British Territory).	872	·2	·1	*	*	+50·9	+69·0	+200·0	+664·9
	Himalaya, West ..	5	*	·1	*	*	-64·3	+366·0	-57·1	-28·6
	Sub-Himalaya, West ..	37	*	*	*	*	+94·7	-5·0	+11·1	+105·5
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	211	·2	*	*	*	+88·4	+47·4	+181·5	+681·5
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	334	·3	·1	·1	*	+62·9	+56·8	+156·9	+554·9
	Central India Plateau ..	267	1	1	·4	*	+30·2	+130·3	+1,171·4	+3,714·3
	East Satpuras ..	3	*	·1	..	..	-70·2	..	..	(2)-
	Sub-Himalaya, East ..	10	*	*	..	..	+66·7	-68·4	..	(1)-90·0
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	5	*	*	*	*	-28·5	+75·0	+0	+25·0
	Tehri-Garhwal State ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rampur State ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(4)-	
Buddhist	United Provinces (British Territory).	780	·1	·2	·3	*	-1·0	-43·2	+1,246·6	+670·3
	Himalaya, West ..	709	4	2	·5	·7	+201·7	+240·6	-20·7	+714·9
	Sub-Himalaya, West ..	9	*	·2	·3	*	-88·8	-27·0	+640·0	-40·0
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	8	*	·1	·4	..	-97·3	-69·0	..	..
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	46	*	*	·3	*	-77·3	-55·4	+46,300·0	+4,500·0
	Central India Plateau ..	..	..	*	*	..	..	+700·0	..	..
	East Satpuras ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Sub-Himalaya, East ..	8	..	..	..	..	-65·2	..	..	..
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	..	..	·1	·4	..	..	-69·8	..	..
	Tehri-Garhwal State ..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	(5)-
Rampur State ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jew	United Provinces (British Territory).	50	*	*	*	*	-7·4	-10·0	-40·6	-50·5
	Himalaya, West ..	..	..	*	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Sub-Himalaya, West ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	10	*	*	*	*	+400·0	..	..	-80·0
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	24	*	*	*	*	-7·7	-92·8	-48·0	..
	Central India Plateau ..	..	..	..	*	..	..	+550·0	..	..
	East Satpuras ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Sub-Himalaya, East ..	8	*	*	*	*	-38·5	-45·8	-42·8	-80·9
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	8	*	*	*	*	-27·3	+83·3	-25·0	+0
	Tehri-Garhwal State ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rampur State ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hindu Brahmo.	United Provinces (British Territory).	47	*	*	*	*	+10·8	+164·3	+133·3	+583·3
	Himalaya, West ..	8	*	*	..	*	+300·0	..	..	+700·0
	Sub-Himalaya, West ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	14	*	*	*	*	+366·6	..	..	+600·0
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	14	*	*	*	..	-56·2	+16·6	..	..
	Central India Plateau ..	..	..	..	*	..	..	..	..	..
	East Satpuras ..	5	*	..	..	..	..	..	..	+150·0
	Sub-Himalaya, East ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Tehri-Garhwal State ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rampur State ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Notes:—

(1) None of this religion were recorded here before 1891. The variation in column 11 is from 1891—1911.

(2) None of this religion were recorded here before 1901.

(3) None of this religion were recorded here before 1911.

(4) One Parsi recorded in 1901; other years blank.

(5) One hundred and seven Buddhists recorded in 1891; other years blank.

An asterisk (*) in columns 4 to 7 denotes that the proportion per 10,000 of population is less than ·1.

Subsidiary table II.—Distribution by districts of the main religions.

Serial number.	District and natural division.	Number per 10,000 of population who are :—														
		Hindus.				Muhammadans.				Christians.				Aryas.		
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	United Provinces (British Territory)	8,504	8,532	8,610	8,627	1,411	1,411	1,353	1,343	38	21	12	11	28	14	5
	<i>Himalaya, West</i>	8,198	9,142	9,128	9,076	697	788	820	881	73	48	37	39	17	13	7
1	Dehra Dun	8,271	8,321	8,547	8,691	1,355	1,384	1,184	1,147	246	176	163	141	56	76	47
2	Naini Tal	7,652	7,501	6,417	6,375	2,222	2,441	3,572	3,622	75	46	1	1	36	7	4
3	Almora	9,868	9,874	9,757	9,723	68	87	212	228	56	31	28	48	4	4	..
4	Garhwal	9,903	9,878	9,897	9,929	75	103	88	60	18	15	14	7	2	2	..
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	7,304	7,382	7,493	7,553	2,561	2,539	2,455	2,416	57	32	21	12	58	24	8
5	Saharanpur	6,472	6,581	6,668	6,669	3,336	3,359	3,241	3,242	56	28	19	18	69	22	3
6	Bareilly	7,322	7,519	7,592	7,666	2,523	2,399	2,356	2,309	115	66	50	23	35	11	5
7	Bijnor	6,311	6,383	6,563	6,713	3,479	3,484	3,372	3,272	41	25	11	4	154	74	26
8	Pilibhit	8,158	8,224	8,285	8,348	1,769	1,731	1,700	1,651	43	28	8	..	30	14	8
9	Kheri	8,540	8,625	8,685	8,748	1,441	1,367	1,306	1,247	11	5	6	5	7	2	1
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	8,128	8,201	8,293	8,351	1,676	1,672	1,621	1,587	81	39	17	12	68	37	13
10	Muzaffarnagar	6,913	6,918	7,020	7,055	2,868	2,910	2,833	2,819	32	16	2	1	77	36	13
11	Meerut	7,404	7,439	7,527	7,599	2,270	2,337	2,278	2,244	119	79	40	31	78	33	20
12	Bulandshahr	7,975	7,909	8,053	8,091	1,875	1,909	1,884	1,897	91	40	2	1	156	108	47
13	Aligarh	8,507	8,609	8,801	8,824	1,229	1,240	1,153	1,149	102	42	4	3	136	80	10
14	Muttra	8,908	8,912	9,060	9,106	941	1,010	778	865	91	30	12	5	35	13	3
15	Agra	8,669	8,633	8,772	8,803	1,121	1,169	1,045	1,024	71	52	47	51	27	22	10
16	Farrukhabad	8,760	8,799	8,808	8,865	1,159	1,154	1,158	1,116	28	12	10	9	45	23	10
17	Mainpuri	9,290	9,340	9,375	9,350	558	576	545	562	30	4	2	2	62	15	4
18	Etawah	9,306	9,383	9,384	9,403	600	572	582	574	9	3	2	2	59	11	2
19	Etah	8,719	8,784	8,872	8,915	1,048	1,071	1,040	1,015	127	51	7	2	52	36	11
20	Budaun	8,162	8,267	8,353	8,464	1,674	1,638	1,601	1,530	107	60	27	3	53	28	13
21	Moradabad	6,212	6,386	6,557	6,647	3,589	3,530	3,398	3,330	135	51	28	16	55	24	11
22	Shahjahanpur	8,472	8,572	8,569	8,580	1,471	1,453	1,407	1,403	42	20	14	16	14	18	7
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	8,750	8,764	8,799	8,807	1,218	1,212	1,182	1,175	20	17	14	15	7	3	1
23	Cawnpore	9,013	9,061	9,127	9,184	910	891	839	788	46	35	25	27	22	8	5
24	Fatehpur	8,833	8,837	8,895	8,912	1,157	1,156	1,102	1,085	2	2	1	1	7	3	..
25	Allahabad	8,589	8,602	8,866	8,632	1,347	1,340	1,290	1,324	48	46	38	41	4	2	..
26	Lucknow	7,748	7,838	7,816	7,750	2,102	2,052	2,084	2,151	113	91	75	90	13	5	7
27	Unao	9,156	9,195	9,201	9,235	835	802	796	764	1	1	1	1	7	2	1
28	Rae Bareli	9,134	9,130	9,173	9,183	861	868	830	813	2	1	1	1	2	1	..
29	Sitapur	8,479	8,507	8,524	8,544	1,508	1,483	1,466	1,448	5	6	7	5	5	1	1
30	Hardoi	8,912	8,910	8,969	8,961	1,066	1,079	1,031	1,039	10	5	1	1	11	6	..
31	Fyzabad	8,869	8,868	8,841	8,835	1,109	1,111	1,137	1,152	17	12	10	12	3	2	..
32	Sultanpur	8,887	8,893	8,912	8,939	1,109	1,105	1,086	1,060	1	1	..	1	2	..	..
33	Partabgarh	8,957	8,959	9,000	9,008	1,040	1,037	997	991	1	1	1	1	1	1	..
34	Bara Banki	8,325	8,298	8,344	8,329	1,666	1,691	1,644	1,655	2	2	1	1	2	..	..
	<i>Central India Plateau</i>	9,329	9,345	9,371	9,399	585	581	559	538	21	17	9	5	4	2	1
35	Banda	9,423	9,414	9,416	9,410	564	576	576	582	3	3	1	4	5	1	1
36	Hamirpur	9,329	9,336	9,348	9,344	655	655	648	655	8	6	..	..	6	1	1
37	Jhansi	9,251	9,269	9,353	9,446	502	501	424	328	58	50	28	12	3	1	2
38	Jalaun	9,308	9,364	9,351	9,383	677	627	643	614	5	2	2	..	3	3	..
	<i>East Satpuras</i>	9,346	9,312	9,343	9,342	640	670	648	647	7	7	4	6	5	3	1
39	Mirzapur	9,346	9,312	9,343	9,342	640	670	648	647	7	7	4	6	5	3	1
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	8,583	8,611	8,681	8,707	1,410	1,383	1,316	1,290	3	3	2	2	2	1	..
40	Gorakhpur	8,982	8,989	8,988	8,998	1,009	1,004	1,007	998	5	5	4	4	3	1	..
41	Basti	8,333	8,375	8,456	8,453	1,665	1,623	1,544	1,546	4	1	..	..	2	..	..
42	Gonda	8,388	8,474	8,588	8,672	1,606	1,521	1,408	1,326	4	2	2	1	1	1	..
43	Bahraich	8,064	8,147	8,297	8,362	1,923	1,842	1,698	1,631	3	2	1	1	1	1	..
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	9,001	8,953	8,986	8,962	983	1,036	1,010	1,033	7	4	4	5	7	1	..
44	Benares	8,884	8,943	9,021	8,979	1,080	1,030	959	1,001	22	18	15	20	7	2	..
45	Jaunpur	9,107	9,087	9,076	9,060	876	910	919	939	1	1	1	1	16	2	..
46	Ghazipur	9,079	9,004	9,041	9,010	912	982	953	983	7	5	5	6	2	1	1
47	Ballia	9,363	9,321	9,294	9,250	623	674	704	750	12	..	..	..	2	..	..
48	Azamgarh	8,739	8,585	8,695	8,683	1,252	1,403	1,305	1,316	1	1	1	..	8	1	..
49	Tehri-Garhwal State (Himalaya, West).	9,939	9,941	9,935	9,945	58	57	59	54	2	..	1	..	1	1	..
	Rampur State (Sub-Himalaya, West)	5,349	5,460	5,621	5,591	4,605	4,523	4,374	4,409	33	9	1	..	9	5	..

Subsidiary table III.—Christians.—Number and variations.

Serial number.	District and natural division.	Actual number of Christians in—				Variation per cent.			
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1881 to 1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	United Provinces (including Native States).	179,694	102,955	58,518	47,673	+75	+76	+23	+277
	<i>Himalaya, West</i>	11,213	6,642	4,940	4,671	+68	+34	+6	+140
1	Dohra Dun	5,036	3,134	2,743	2,025	+61	+14	+35	+149
2	Naini Tal	2,413	1,417	23	11	+70	+6,061	+109	+21,836
3	Almora	2,919	1,427	1,601	2,393	+105	-11	-33	+22
4	Garhwal	845	664	573	242	+27	+16	+137	+249
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	24,550	13,822	9,023	4,900	+78	+53	+84	+401
5	Saharanpur	5,548	2,972	1,974	1,793	+87	+51	+10	+209
6	Bareilly	12,591	7,148	5,271	2,393	+76	+36	+120	+426
7	Bijnor	3,315	1,933	908	299	+71	+113	+204	+1,009
8	Pilibhit	2,085	1,296	365	18	+61	+255	+1,928	+11,483
9	Kheri	1,011	473	505	397	+114	-6	+27	+155
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	104,992	51,145	20,671	14,697	+105	+147	+41	+614
10	Muzaffarnagar	2,583	1,402	127	54	+84	+1,004	+135	+1,683
11	Meerut	18,142	12,203	5,435	4,063	+49	+125	+34	+347
12	Bulandshahr	10,111	4,528	210	115	+123	+205	+82	+8,692
13	Aligarh	11,947	5,055	465	289	+136	+987	+61	+4,034
14	Muttra	5,992	2,262	846	338	+165	+167	+150	+1,673
15	Agra	7,229	5,522	4,758	4,997	+31	+16	-5	+45
16	Farrukhabad	2,548	1,128	828	826	+126	+36	+0	+208
17	Mainpuri	2,395	353	132	146	+578	+167	-10	+1,540
18	Etawah	693	245	134	158	+183	+83	-15	+339
19	Etah	11,077	4,365	520	117	+154	+739	+344	+9,368
20	Budaun	11,298	6,116	2,581	309	+85	+137	+735	+3,556
21	Moradabad	17,023	6,103	3,307	1,877	+179	+85	+76	+807
22	Shahjahanpur	3,954	1,863	1,328	1,408	+112	+40	-6	+181
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	25,441	22,032	17,475	17,812	+15	+26	-2	+43
23	Cawnpore	5,224	4,414	3,036	3,200	+18	+45	-5	+63
24	Fatehpur	142	145	71	88	-2	+104	-19	+61
25	Allahabad	7,055	6,814	5,933	6,079	+4	+15	-2	+16
26	Lucknow	8,660	7,247	5,769	6,280	+19	+26	-8	+38
27	Unao	123	136	106	49	-10	+28	+116	+151
28	Rae Bareilly	219	117	145	123	+87	-19	+18	+78
29	Sitapur	569	751	717	443	-24	+5	+62	+28
30	Hardoi	1,111	513	167	75	+117	+207	+123	+1,381
31	Fyzabad	1,911	1,502	1,254	1,294	+27	+20	-3	+48
32	Sultanpur	134	103	53	55	+30	+94	-4	+144
33	Partabgarh	72	102	77	48	-29	+32	+60	+50
34	Bara Banki	221	188	147	78	+18	+28	+88	+183
	<i>Central India Plateau</i>	4,726	3,616	2,131	1,009	+31	+70	+111	+368
35	Banda	198	186	74	278	+6	+151	-73	-29
36	Hamirpur	363	272	50	17	+33	+444	+194	+2,035
37	Jhansi	3,970	3,064	1,940	700	+30	+58	+177	+467
38	Jalaun	195	94	67	14	+107	+40	+379	+1,293
	<i>East Satpuras</i>	735	712	465	701	+3	+53	-34	+5
39	Mirzapur	735	712	465	701	+3	+53	-34	+5
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	2,526	2,078	1,614	1,229	+22	+29	+31	+106
40	Gorakhpur	1,608	1,443	1,176	933	+11	+23	+26	+72
41	Basti	69	93	66	78	-26	+41	-15	-12
42	Gonda	501	321	248	159	+56	+29	+56	+215
43	Bahraich	348	221	124	59	+58	+78	+110	+488
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	3,766	2,422	2,122	2,645	+55	+14	-20	+42
44	Benares	1,930	1,597	1,364	1,768	+21	+17	-23	+9
45	Jaunpur	117	116	93	120	+1	+25	-23	-3
46	Ghazipur	568	491	576	648	+16	-15	-11	-12
47	Ballia	1,008	33	15	32	+2,955	+120	-53	+3,050
48	Azamgarh	143	185	74	77	-23	+150	-4	+86
49	Tehri-Garhwal State (Himalaya, West).	6	13	14	9	-54	-7	+56	-33
50	Rampur State (Sub-Himalaya, West)	1,739	473	63	..	+268	+651	..	..

Subsidiary table—IV.—*Races and Sects of Christians. (Actual numbers.)*

Sect.	European.		Anglo-Indian.		Indian.		Total.		Variation + or —.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	1911.	1901.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Anglican Communion	14,835	5,503	2,149	2,115	3,343	2,967	30,912	28,168	† +4,964
Armenian	19	5	..	..	3	..	27	65	—38
Baptist	161	96	58	63	1,142	1,082	2,602	536	+2,066
Congregationalist	65	43	14	7	371	487	987	557	+430
Greek	21	1	3	7	..	4	36	6	+30
Lutheran	23	18	1	2	69	76	189	133	+56
Methodist	908	440	152	269	54,965	49,121	105,855	51,933	+53,922
Minor Protestant denominations	23	28	15	10	160	338	574	224	+350
Presbyterian	3,931	511	81	133	5,174	4,616	14,446	5,094	+9,352
Protestant, unsectarian or sect not specified.	239	209	141	117	914	600	*2,220	..	..
Quaker	3	8	1	1	2	4	19	3	+16
Roman Catholic	4,072	1,637	1,336	887	1,585	1,192	10,709	10,725	—16
Salvationist	8	6	..	..	522	455	991	122	+869
Syrian, Chaldean	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	+1
Syrian, Jacobite .. ..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	+1
Sect not returned	398	141	88	438	4,686	4,293	10,044	5,359	+4,685
Indefinite beliefs	40	18	5	1	14	3	81	30	+51
Total	24,747	8,664	4,044	4,050	72,951	65,238	179,694	102,955	+76,739

Subsidiary table—V.—*Distribution of Christians per mille (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.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Anglican Communion	609	527	46	173	658	138	204
Armenian	1	..	..	..	889	..	111
Baptist	8	15	16	14	99	46	855
Congregationalist	3	3	6	5	109	22	869
Greek	1	1	..	..	611	278	111
Lutheran	1	..	1	1	217	16	767
Methodist	40	52	753	589	13	4	983
Minor Protestant denominations	4	3	4	3	89	44	867
Presbyterian	133	26	71	80	307	15	678
Protestants unsectarian or sect not specified	13	32	11	12	202	116	682
Quaker .. ..	..	..	..	..	579	105	316
Roman Catholic	171	275	20	60	533	208	259
Salvationist .. ..	..	..	7	6	14	..	986
Syrian, Chaldean .. ..	..	..	..	..	1,000	..	..
Syrian, Jacobite .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,000
Sect not returned	16	65	65	56	54	52	894
Indefinite beliefs	2	1	..	1	716	74	210

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.	Muham- madan.	Christian.	Others.	Hindu.	Muham- madan.	Christian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
British Territory	5,969	3,726	163	142	8,792	1,148	23	37
1. Himalaya, West	6,692	2,458	648	202	9,416	543	23	18
2. Sub-Himalaya, West	4,503	5,172	150	175	7,759	2,138	41	62
3. Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	5,685	3,951	160	204	8,547	1,285	68	100
4. Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	6,086	3,631	206	77	9,019	974	2	5
5. Central India Plateau	7,637	2,020	153	190	9,559	389	4	48
6. East Satpuras	7,803	2,071	92	34	9,430	562	2	6
7. Sub-Himalaya, East	6,614	3,279	55	52	8,653	1,343	2	2
8. Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	6,999	2,929	38	34	9,208	786	4	7
Native States	2,253	7,680	34	33	7,583	2,391	19	7
Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West) .. ..	..	..	..	..	9,939	58	..	3
Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	2,253	7,680	34	33	5,349	4,604	33	14

* Shown with Anglican Communion in 1901. | † Includes Protestants.

Subsidiary table VII.—*Distribution and variation of Indian Christians and variation of Aryas by districts.*

Serial number.	District and natural division.	Number of Indian Christians in :—				Variation.				Variation in Aryas.		
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901—1911.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1881—1911.	1901—1911.	1891—1901.	1891—1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	United Provinces ..	136,469	68,841	23,406	13,255	+67,625	+45,435	+10,151	+123,213	+65,872	+43,229	+109,101
	<i>Himalaya, West</i> ..	4,924	3,587	2,288	1,277	+1,343	+1,293	+1,011	+3,647	+803	+889	+1,692
1	Dehra Dun ..	1,748	1,305	875	734	+443	+430	+141	+1,014	-211	+571	+360
2	Naini Tal ..	1,039	659	15	..	+380	+644	+15	+1,039	+947	+82	+1,029
3	Almora ..	1,417	1,029	886	325	+388	+143	+561	+1,092	+12	+174	+186
4	Garhwal ..	720	588	512	218	+132	+76	+294	+502	+55	+62	+117
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i> ..	20,065	9,770	4,742	1,675	+10,295	+5,028	+3,067	+18,390	+15,063	+6,737	+21,800
5	Saharanpur ..	4,102	1,617	488	336	+2,485	+1,129	+152	+3,766	+4,512	+1,833	+6,345
6	Bareilly ..	9,739	4,600	2,582	741	+5,139	+2,018	+1,841	+8,998	+2,604	+877	+3,481
7	Bijnor ..	3,249	1,853	866	274	+1,396	+987	+592	+2,975	+6,664	+3,684	+10,348
8	Pilibhit ..	2,047	1,283	344	4	+764	+939	+340	+2,043	+790	+292	+1,082
9	Kheri ..	928	417	462	320	+511	-45	+142	+608	+493	+51	+544
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i> ..	95,106	43,474	10,341	5,538	+51,632	+33,133	+41,803	89,568	+40,103	+32,398	+72,501
10	Muzaffarnagar ..	2,566	1,259	81	8	+1,307	+1,178	+73	+2,558	+3,102	+2,090	+5,192
11	Meerut ..	14,447	9,315	1,133	1,121	+5,132	+8,182	+12	+13,326	+6,741	+2,272	+9,013
12	Bulandshahr ..	9,960	4,480	110	18	+5,480	+4,370	+92	+9,942	+5,073	+7,868	+12,941
13	Aligarh ..	11,626	4,888	203	87	+6,738	+4,685	+116	+11,539	+6,316	+8,566	+14,882
14	Muttra ..	5,192	2,031	173	57	+3,161	+1,858	+116	+5,135	+1,295	+809	+2,104
15	Agra ..	3,437	2,343	1,486	1,587	+1,094	+857	-101	+1,850	+434	+1,365	+1,799
16	Farrukhabad ..	2,311	699	372	381	+1,612	+327	-9	+1,930	+1,861	+1,278	+3,139
17	Mainpuri ..	2,347	308	56	102	+2,039	+252	-46	+2,245	+3,673	+924	+4,597
18	Etawah ..	614	198	50	69	+416	+148	-19	+545	+3,584	+721	+4,305
19	Etah ..	10,901	4,268	393	29	+6,633	+3,875	+364	+10,872	+1,467	+2,305	+3,772
20	Budaun ..	11,289	6,080	2,552	225	+5,209	+3,528	+2,327	+11,064	+2,751	+1,665	+4,416
21	Moradabad ..	16,576	5,866	2,956	1,394	+10,710	+2,910	+1,562	+15,182	+4,151	+1,529	+5,680
22	Shahjahanpur ..	3,840	1,739	776	460	+2,101	+963	+816	+3,380	-345	+1,006	+661
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i> ..	9,210	7,788	3,543	2,186	+1,422	+4,245	+1,357	+7,024	+4,833	+1,811	+6,649
23	Cawnpore ..	2,067	1,456	586	259	+611	+870	+327	+1,808	+1,574	+357	+1,931
24	Fatehpur ..	108	113	27	25	-5	+86	+2	+83	+249	+178	+427
25	Allahabad ..	2,399	2,230	1,330	910	+169	+900	+420	+1,489	+336	+256	+592
26	Lucknow ..	2,223	2,150	836	739	+73	+1,314	+97	+1,484	+635	-175	+460
27	Unao ..	76	106	65	14	-30	+41	+51	+62	+479	+67	+546
28	Rae Bareli ..	137	97	80	48	+40	+17	+32	+89	+101	+66	+167
29	Sitapur ..	490	548	138	46	-58	+410	+92	+444	+522	-15	+507
30	Hardoi ..	1,059	485	118	52	+574	+367	+66	+1,007	+594	+666	+1,260
31	Fyzabad ..	388	341	223	58	+47	+118	+165	+330	+50	+242	+292
32	Sultanpur ..	112	75	23	..	+37	+52	+23	+112	+174	+28	+202
33	Partabgarh ..	17	43	21	17	-26	+22	+4	..	-17	+90	+73
34	Bara Banki ..	134	144	96	18	-10	+48	+78	+116	+141	+51	+192
	<i>Central India Plateau</i> ..	2,185	1,206	214	223	+979	+992	-9	+1,952	+650	+65	+715
35	Banda ..	134	147	26	181	-13	+121	-155	-47	+278	+3	+281
36	Hamirpur ..	311	223	7	2	+88	+216	+5	+309	+241	-12	+229
37	Jhansi ..	1,587	773	161	40	+810	+616	+121	+1,547	+157	-50	+107
38	Jalaun ..	153	59	20	..	+94	+39	+20	+153	-36	+124	+98
	<i>East Satpuras</i> ..	411	413	179	222	-2	+234	-43	+189	+152	+268	+420
39	Mirzapur ..	411	413	179	222	-2	+234	-43	+189	+152	+268	+420
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i> ..	1,775	1,441	1,102	953	+334	+339	+149	+822	+1,116	+415	+1,531
40	Gorakhpur ..	1,160	1,040	852	808	+120	+188	+44	+352	+810	+281	+1,091
41	Basti ..	41	53	38	25	-12	+15	+13	+16	+232	-6	+226
42	Gonda ..	311	175	139	104	+136	+36	+35	+207	+35	+94	+129
43	Bahraich ..	263	173	73	16	+90	+100	+57	+247	+39	+46	+85
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	2,793	1,168	997	1,181	+1652	+171	-184	+1,612	+3,147	+646	+3,793
44	Benares ..	1,155	669	516	610	+486	+153	-91	+545	+461	+176	+637
45	Jaunpur ..	87	62	48	31	+25	+14	+17	+56	+1,487	+316	+1,803
46	Ghazipur ..	482	329	410	498	+153	-81	-88	-16	+89	-20	+69
47	Ballia ..	989	4	2	2	+985	+2	..	+987	+105	+44	+149
48	Azamgarh ..	80	104	21	40	-24	+83	-19	+40	+1,005	+130	+1,135
49	Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West).	2	7	14	9	-5	-7	+5	-7	-20	+23	+3
50	Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West).	1,718	440	43	..	+1,278	+397	+43	+1,718	+214	+244	+458

Subsidiary table VIII.—

District and natural division.	Vaishnavas.						Saivas.	Saktas.
	Total Vaishnavas.	Vaishnavas.	Kabir-panthi.	Nanak-panthi.	Raidasi.	Other Vaishnava.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
United Provinces	1,975,582	1,779,812	49,605	66,175	72,589	7,351	1,318,198	289,548
British Territory	1,962,398	1,768,495	49,186	64,777	72,589	7,351	1,309,052	271,309
<i>Himalaya, West</i>	4,820	4,735	4	53	1	27	8,179	15,954
1. Dehra Dun	2,123	2,123	..	..	..	..	5,290	666
2. Naini Tal	1,932	1,861	4	40	..	27	1,682	15,235
3. Almora	315	315	..	..	..	..	384	7
4. Garhwal	450	436	..	13	1	..	823	46
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	293,640	205,594	5,083	16,182	66,602	179	116,276	15,199
5. Saharanpur	175,579	107,999	2,390	10,095	55,015	80	67,726	6,753
6. Bareilly	23,019	22,140	490	205	174	10	3,094	1,415
7. Bijnor	35,215	20,526	354	4,348	9,987	..	4,273	2,487
8. Pilibhit	48,075	44,991	1,453	205	1,426	..	10,744	1,654
9. Kheri	11,752	9,988	396	1,329	..	89	30,439	2,890
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	613,630	577,748	11,555	17,526	5,963	838	173,550	67,294
10. Muzaffarnagar	49,901	47,285	955	1,070	542	49	17,786	589
11. Meerut	122,926	111,098	1,550	6,133	4,145	..	58,916	7,668
12. Bulandshahr	61,315	61,315	..	..	..	..	16,846	9,342
13. Aligarh	55,126	54,966	110	7	..	43	3,533	2,361
14. Muttra	92,397	92,397	..	..	..	..	1,979	1,259
15. Agra	104,927	102,853	1,475	377	16	216	10,370	7,537
16. Farrukhabad	4,936	4,779	83	74	..	..	1,530	236
17. Mainpuri	8,925	8,262	594	69	..	..	5,795	4,711
18. Etawah	22,886	22,435	382	31	..	38	19,397	17,214
19. Etah	8,029	7,226	528	270	..	5	2,134	289
20. Budaun	13,577	10,848	766	1,957	6	..	6,046	3,162
21. Moradabad	52,959	39,525	5,112	7,057	1,133	132	20,231	7,230
22. Shahjahanpur	15,716	14,759	..	481	121	355	8,987	5,696
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	326,223	294,544	13,789	16,732	..	1,158	151,777	50,898
23. Cawnpore (1)	17,780	16,985	619	55	..	121	25,196	3,050
24. Fatehpur (2)	6,575	6,322	142	14	..	97	5,793	1,882
25. Allahabad (3)	39,695	38,378	521	691	..	105	7,043	5,036
26. Lucknow (4)	39,953	36,049	960	2,930	..	14	21,514	20,034
27. Unao (5)	10,880	10,090	492	292	..	6	15,369	1,959
28. Rae Bareilly (6)	25,584	22,289	2,707	524	..	64	4,362	5,799
29. Sitapur (7)	31,243	26,940	2,032	1,955	..	316	24,036	4,000
30. Hardoi (8)	15,445	15,093	66	152	..	134	16,702	1,152
31. Fyzabad (9)	26,606	24,820	148	1,422	..	216	2,535	435
32. Sultanpur (10)	45,397	44,210	562	1,568	..	57	6,309	89
33. Partabgarh	19,759	19,612	67	80	..	..	1,042	191
34. Bara Banki (11)	46,306	33,756	5,473	7,049	..	28	21,876	12,471
<i>Central India Plateau</i>	69,297	67,621	1,326	43	23	284	19,995	10,285
35. Banda (12)	14,983	14,710	248	11	..	14	7,043	3,083
36. Hamirpur	6,370	6,255	92	..	23	..	4,231	547
37. Jhansi (13)	32,551	31,692	726	8	..	125	2,689	4,753
38. Jalaun (14)	15,393	14,964	260	24	..	145	6,032	1,902
<i>East Sulpuras</i>	63,061	62,208	332	521	..	..	34,692	8,704
39. Mirzapur	63,061	62,208	332	521	..	..	34,692	8,704
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	353,836	324,981	14,605	9,645	..	4,605	591,876	61,154
40. Gorakhpur (15)	110,609	101,856	5,149	1,377	..	2,227	443,149	25,833
41. Basti (16)	73,781	69,368	1,231	2,625	..	557	115,646	20,797
42. Gonda (17)	111,964	106,241	2,057	2,107	..	1,559	25,595	12,704
43. Bahraich (18)	57,482	47,516	6,168	3,536	..	262	7,486	1,820
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	237,891	231,064	2,492	4,075	..	260	212,707	41,821
44. Benares (19)	46,064	45,507	127	352	..	78	48,744	12,458
45. Jaunpur (20)	33,865	33,664	129	71	..	1	3,974	10,404
46. Ghazipur (21)	49,271	47,469	761	992	..	49	46,165	911
47. Ballia (22)	58,535	55,764	931	1,755	..	85	81,720	3,031
48. Azamgarh (23)	50,156	48,660	544	905	..	47	32,104	15,017
Native States	13,134	11,317	419	1,398	..	..	9,146	18,239
49. Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West)	60	60	..	..	..	..	116	2
50. Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	13,074	11,257	419	1,398	..	..	9,030	18,237

A.—Sects of Hindus.

Smartas.	Sanatan Dharma	Vedan- ta.	Vaidika.	Other inde- finite entries.	Radha- Swami.	Kalu- panthi.	Lalguru.	Other sects.	Remarks.
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
322,056	8867	2,486	2,133	246	3,455	44,165	40,029	70,449	
151,291	8,861	2,486	2,133	246	3,455	44,165	40,015	10,405	
45,543	184	..	..	..	312	..	..	54	
371	184	..	..	..	312	..	..	..	Column 7 includes 27 Dadupanthi.
20,822	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16,706	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	51	
7,643	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	
7,528	385	431	1,419	..	543	40,007	13,470	903	
732	..	167	..	..	253	32,679	8,626	898	Column 7 includes 45 Ramnathi, 22 Ramanandi and 13 Vallabbacharya.
1,744	221	..	804	..	189	567	2,925	..	Column 7 includes 2 Ramanandi and 8 Vallabbacharya.
2,787	142	..	615	..	8	895	369	..	
1,233	22	264	..	..	38	5,866	1,550	..	
1,032	..	..	..	..	55	..	..	5	Column 7 includes 89 Apapanthi.
57,059	8,267	2,055	602	243	1,855	4,158	26,545	4,439	
324	16	393	..	..	116	205	10,774	..	Column 7 includes 20 Ramnathi and 29 Vallabbacharya.
321	2,547	562	..	..	74	832	3,289	750	
2,059	2,086	68	..	..	17	..	..	..	Column 7 includes 43 Dadupanthi.
344	180	207	12	..	45	..	14	..	
127	141	174	..	..	222	..	..	..	Column 7 includes 50 Dadupanthi,
500	2,274	428	41	243	404	5	..	173	141 Ramanandi, 19 Satnami and 6
564	..	..	..	..	78	..	..	377	Vallabbacharya.
101	..	..	..	..	61	1	..	2,397	Column 8 includes 243 Paramatman.
1,967	..	..	..	..	95	..	..	3	Column 7 includes 38 Ramanandi.
123	..	..	11	..	42	..	..	20	
44,542	348	183	..	..	16	..	5,350	..	Column 7 includes 5 Ramanandi.
5,092	675	..	538	..	609	2,992	4,505	..	Column 7 includes 2 Ramnathi, 108
995	..	40	..	..	76	123	2,613	..	Ramanandi and 22 Vallabbacharya.
12,311	8	..	112	..	149	..	..	180	Column 7 includes 307 Ramanandi and 48 Vallabbacharya.
7,638	..	..	..	..	41	..	..	180	
216	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(1) Column 7 includes 121 Ramanandi.
468	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(2) Column 7 includes 97 Ramanandi.
765	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(3) Column 7 includes 105 Ramanandi.
541	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	(4) Column 7 includes 14 Apapanthi.
247	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(5) Column 7 includes 6 Apapanthi.
716	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(6) Column 7 includes 64 Apapanthi.
1,888	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(7) Column 7 includes 316 Apapanthi.
116	..	..	..	..	55	..	..	..	(8) Column 7 includes 134 Apapanthi.
50	..	..	95	..	41	..	..	..	(9) Column 7 includes 37 Ramanandi
40	..	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	and 179 Satnami.
126	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	(10) Column 7 includes 57 Ramanandi.
1,656	17	..	..	..	24	..	..	919	(11) Column 7 includes 57 Ramanandi.
9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(12) Column 7 includes 14 Ramanandi.
12	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	93	(13) Column 7 includes 125 Rama-
1,116	17	..	..	..	14	..	..	40	nandi.
549	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	786	(14) Column 7 includes 107 Ramanandi
118	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	and 38 Vallabbacharya.
118	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(15) Column 7 includes 675 Parnami,
1,825	..	..	..	3	35	..	..	3,910	1,196 Ramanandi, 65 Satnami and
139	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	1,793	291 Siva Narayan, and column 18
1,163	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	1,990	includes 1,672 Panchpiria.
523	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(16) Column 7 includes 265 Ramanandi
5,222	..	..	..	..	537	..	..	..	and 292 Satnami.
878	..	..	..	..	97	..	..	..	(17) Column 7 includes 544 Parnami
1,757	..	..	..	..	72	..	..	..	and 1,015 Ramanandi.
45	..	..	..	..	325	..	..	..	Column 14 includes 3 Paramahansa,
159	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(18) Column 7 includes 262 Apapanthi.
2,383	..	..	..	..	43	..	..	..	(19) Column 7 includes 78 Rama-
190,765	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	44	nandi.
186,837	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(20) Column 7 includes 1 Satnami.
3,928	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	44	(21) Column 7 includes 49 Ramanandi.
									(22) Column 7 includes 85 Ramanandi.
									(23) Column 7 includes 47 Satnami.

Subsidiary table VIII (b).—Sects of Muhammadans and Jains—(concluded).

District and natural divisions.	Sects of Muhammadans.			Remarks.	Sect of Jains.			Remarks.
	Sunnis.	Shias.	Others.		Digambara.	Swetambara.	Others.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
United Provinces ..	5,135,136	178,161	911		43,930	2,776	29,029	
British Territory ..	4,893,030	177,606	911		43,767	2,774	28,886	
<i>Himalaya, West</i> ..	80,156	578	..		246	..	131	
1. Dehra Dun ..	22,290	415	..		219	..	101	
2. Naini Tal ..	55,905	80	..		..	..	20	
3. Almora ..	1,084	35	..		..	..	..
4. Garhwal ..	877	48	..		27	..	10	
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i> ..	719,968	9,572	167		3,931	22	1,440	
5. Saharanpur ..	89,777	860	..		3,222	20	1,209	
6. Bareilly ..	228,385	2,352	165	165 Imami.	..	..	3	
7. Bijnor ..	242,944	4,892	2	2 Imam Sufi.	708	..	217	
8. Pilibhit ..	68,880	456	..		..	..	3	
9. Kheri ..	94,982	1,012	..		1	2	8	
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i> ..	1,529,354	35,777	185		38,385	2,587	13,314	
10. Muzaffarnagar ..	173,922	9,293	28	28 Muhamdi.	5,627	426	2,110	558 Sukhwasi.
11. Meerut ..	267,264	3,876	38	27 Ahl-i-Hadis and 11 Haidari.	11,207	1,411	4,317	706 Sthonakwasi.
12. Bulandshahr ..	167,252	7,024	..		790	78	483	
13. Aligarh ..	58,768	2,118	..		1,682	122	1,027	20 Darawasi and 9 Sthonakwasi.
14. Muttra ..	37,693	653	..		1,006	48	403	22 Sthonakwasi.
15. Agra ..	80,835	1,897	..		8,148	465	2,597	
16. Farrukhabad ..	12,325	200	..		374	..	126	
17. Mainpuri ..	25,383	413	..		3,515	1	1,089	
18. Etawah ..	32,750	883	..		1,198	36	699	
19. Etah ..	47,498	275	8	8 Muhamdi.	3,861	..	431	
20. Budaun ..	123,695	394	2	2 Imami.	192	..	5	
21. Moradabad ..	401,374	8,503	109	109 Imami.	785	..	..
22. Shahjahanpur ..	100,595	248	..		..	..	27	
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i> ..	1,162,882	65,711	7		966	124	1,638	
23. Cawnpore ..	66,662	2,379	..		90	..	333	
24. Fatehpur ..	53,155	1,485	..		..	..	81	
25. Allahabad ..	122,040	3,946	..		..	..	637	
26. Lucknow ..	117,310	29,575	..		262	121	153	
27. Unao ..	53,441	1,102	..		..	..	7	
28. Rae Bareli ..	69,239	1,828	..		..	..	32	
29. Sitapur ..	150,404	3,160	7	7 Ahmadi.	146	..	108	
30. Hardoi ..	81,784	3,758	..		..	..	16	
31. Fyzabad ..	103,696	10,788	..		16	1	28	
32. Sultanpur ..	103,012	3,319	..		6	..	8	
33. Partabgarh ..	78,709	603	..		78	..	3	
34. Bara Banki ..	163,430	3,768	..		368	2	232	
<i>Central India Plateau</i> ..	83,114	1,243	1		89	31	11,900	
35. Banda ..	27,369	433	..		..	..	300	
36. Hamirpur ..	18,868	167	..		54	8	23	
37. Jhansi ..	22,521	506	..		..	..	11,369	
38. Jalaun ..	14,356	137	1	1 Ghori.	35	23	208	
<i>East Satpuras</i> ..	26,091	25,594	349		..	..	131	
39. Mirzapur ..	26,091	25,594	349	170 Ahl-i-Hadis, 179 Haidri.	..	..	131	
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i> ..	927,732	16,323	202		92	..	86	
40. Gorakhpur ..	186,084	922	1	1 Muhamdi.	..	..	57	
41. Basti ..	366,373	11,716	201	201 Ahl-i-Hadis.	..	..	2	
42. Gonda ..	202,335	2,084	..		..	..	2	
43. Bahraich ..	172,940	1,601	..		92	..	25	
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i> ..	363,783	22,808	..		58	10	246	
44. Benares ..	67,944	2,739	..		58	10	233	
45. Jaunpur ..	64,444	8,252	..		..	..	12	
46. Ghazipur ..	56,841	2,501	..		..	..	1	
47. Ballia ..	30,407	302	..		..	..	..
48. Azamgarh ..	144,147	9,014	..		..	..	..
Native States ..	242,056	555	..		163	2	143	
49. Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West).	488	15	..		14	..	35	
50. Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West).	241,568	540	..		149	2	108	

Chapter V.—AGE ⁽¹⁾.

176. **Introductory.**—The age tables will be found in various Imperial tables, of which for present purposes table VII is the only important one. In this table the population of the whole province and whole religions is classified by annual age-periods up to 5 and after that by quinquennial periods up to 70. For districts, the whole population and the two chief religions are also classified by quinquennial age-periods up to 20 and after that by periods of twenty years up to 60.

The age-statistics, seldom satisfactory in any country, are the most inaccurate of all Indian census returns. The rules laid down that the number of completed years at the last birthday should be entered, and infants under one recorded as "infant" (*bacha*). Enumerators were further given instructions regarding the testing of dubious statements of age, by inquiry from others who ought to know, by reference to well-known historical events, or personal inspection when possible. Rule and instructions, time-honoured though they were, and indeed the only ones possible, were alike unsatisfactory. The cause was the absolute ignorance of the average Indian of his real age. The rule failed in two respects, both because so few knew their birthday and consequently could not say how many years they had lived at the last one: and because, as a matter of fact, Indian custom in reckoning years always includes the current year. The instructions failed, because when a man does not know his own age, he is not likely to know anybody else's, and even the most skilful in guessing age from appearance could not guess closer than the nearest quinquennium. Reference to historical events is often delusive; one can make little of such a statement as "at the Mutiny I was just beginning to use a razor;" or "I weaned my first child in the famine" (of 1878). Both are answers I have actually received.

177. **Sources of error.**—The ultimate source of all errors in the age tables is that an Indian seldom knows his birthday. He can find it out if he wants to do so; a Hindu for instance consults his horoscope. But he has no practical use for the knowledge as a rule, and consequently does not possess it. A parent may know his child's age with approximate accuracy for the first few years of its life, but after that he forgets it; uneducated adults have often very little knowledge of periods of time. An ancient lady in my court informed me once that she "would be about 10 or 12" (*das barah*). So old was she that my reader unkindly asked her if she meant 10 or 12 centuries. Pressed to think again, she admitted that she might be rather more than 10 or 12: she might be 100 or 50 (*sau pachas*). Such extreme cases are perhaps not very common, but the story serves to introduce one of the most important causes of error in Indian age tables. When any man is uncertain of the exact number of anything, he usually gives it to the nearest round number, a 10 or a 5, if the true figure is not likely to be large, to the nearest 100 or 1,000 if it is likely to be considerable. The Indian, totally ignorant of his true age, naturally gives what he imagines to be the nearest multiple of 5 or 10. But he is not singular in this; the custom is common in most languages and its results have been observed in the age tables of many other countries as well. The result is that figures are heaped up at multiples of 10 and 5 in the age tables. The only difference between India and other countries is that the ignorance of age is so much greater and the heaping up mentioned so much more considerable in consequence. The effect of this custom is further exaggerated by the effect of certain vernacular idioms. When an Indian wants to explain that a figure is "about" so and so, he mentions two between which the true figure is supposed to lie. In most cases he can only say that his age is "about" so and so, and consequently this idiom has a considerable effect on the figures. The numbers so used are usually a ten and its next succeeding even figure (*bis bais, tis battis*), a ten and the next succeeding or preceding five (*bis pachis, tis pachis*), two tens more

(1) Subsidiary table I.—Age distribution of 100,000 of each sex by annual age-periods.

Ditto	II.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in the province and each natural division.
Ditto	III.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each main religion.
Ditto	IV.—Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain castes.
Ditto	V.—Proportion of children under 10 and persons over 60 to those aged 15 to 40; also of married females aged 15 to 40 to 100 females.
Ditto	VI.—Variation in population at certain age-periods.
Ditto	VII.—Birth-rate.
Ditto	VIII.—Death-rate by sex and natural divisions.
Ditto	IX.—Death-rate of decade and selected years of sex at various age-periods.
Ditto	X.—Death-rates from certain diseases during decade.

or less close together (*bis tis, bis chalis, saru pachas*), or a ten and its succeeding odd number (*bis ekis*). Two successive numbers are seldom if ever used in this way even "*bis ekis*" is uncommon. Two successive odd numbers are never so used. It is impossible to say how enumerators dealt with statements of this kind. When I was asked for advice on the subject, I could only tell them to put down the particular figure of the two mentioned, or any other, which seemed most correct. I also advised them, if a man *really* looked like something between the two figures mentioned, to put down the mean; the reason was that in the most common case of such dual numbers (20 or 25, 30 or 35, &c.), the mean would at all events ensure that the person was placed in the right quinquennium, whilst if the enumerator were to put down the "5" (25 or 35) it was an even chance that he would be putting the man in the wrong one, viz. the next above. But I doubt if any amount of advice was of any avail. In perhaps 90 per cent. of all cases the enumerator had to assess the man's age from his looks with the assistance of such vague statements as those mentioned above. The result is that whilst the figures are much heaped up at 10 and 5, there are minor but noticeable accumulations of the same kind at 2, the third favourite figure. This custom has never varied. I have examined the age tables of three enumerations from 20 to 50, and in every one of them there are such accumulations at 10, 5 and 2. As between 20 and 25, 25 is more of a favourite number, possibly because it is exactly divisible into 50 and 100; but in other series of 10 the favourite number is 10, followed by 5 and 2. Next to these three, other even numbers usually follow, in no particular order, though the "1" occasionally rises above some or all of them. But, generally speaking, 10, 5, 2 are first, second and third; the rest are nowhere—or what is a great deal worse, anywhere. Even at 100 the effect of this custom is distinctly traceable in subsidiary table I.

178. **Errors in the early years of life.**—Mr. Gait, in the Bengal report of 1901, pointed out certain errors which affect the age table in the first five years. Since these are the only 5 years which are returned by annual age-periods, it is important to notice them. Idiom again is chiefly responsible for the errors. "*Bacha*" (infant), the word that was by rule to be entered for children under 1, usually means an "unweaned infant." Weaning often occurs very late, for it depends less on the age of the child than the continued presence of milk; I have frequently seen children at the breast who were able to stand. Moreover, a child is seldom spoken of as aged "*ek baras*" or "*do baras*" the usual phrase is "*derh*" ($1\frac{1}{2}$) or "*dhai* ($2\frac{1}{2}$) *baras*"; or more vaguely "*derh do*" or "*do dhai baras*." A child aged "*derh baras*" would be under rule entered as 1; a child aged "*dhai baras*" would be entered as 2; a child said to be aged "*derh do baras*" or "*do dhai baras*" would probably be entered as 2, simply because an enumerator would scarcely be able to get any closer than this, however carefully he inspected the child, and would take the round number. One would therefore get returned—

1. Under age 0, unweaned children both over and under 1, up to $1\frac{1}{2}$ or so;
2. Under age 1, weaned children between 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$, plus some weaned children under 1;
3. Under age 2, children aged $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$, plus some vaguely called " $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2" who were aged under $1\frac{1}{2}$, and some vaguely called "2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ " who were aged over $2\frac{1}{2}$.

At age 3 would be found children aged $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3; but as 3 (in the units) is a favourite number, one would get a considerable number also that were certainly more than $2\frac{1}{2}$, but not old enough to be called 5, the next favourite number. At age 4 one would get most of the children aged 3, under the usual custom of counting the current year (¹). The result is that the figures at ages 0 and 3 will always be too large and at age 1 too small. If the circumstances of the preceding few years which affect the duration of life have been normal, then the figures at age 2 should be correct or a little too large, and those at age 4 should be correct or a little too small. But whatever the actual figure, and whether it is correct or incorrect as far as its size is concerned, it is always incorrect in that it represents as belonging to a certain age persons who do not all belong to that age: or in other words, even if quantitatively correct, it is always qualitatively incorrect.

(¹) It will be seen later on (chapter VI) that the age-period 0 to 5 has certain peculiarities, one of which is that the proportion of females to males is low compared with what *primâ facie* it ought to be. There are good reasons for this; but it is possible that the facts mentioned here also affect the question. If parents (as is not improbable) are more vague about the ages of girls than of boys, it would mean that the errors here mentioned would be intensified in the case of girls. As these errors in sum amount to the inclusion in the period 0 to 5 of only the children aged 0 to 4, it would mean that whilst there were too few, whether of boys or girls, in this period, there would be proportionately still fewer girls than boys, which would obviously affect the ratio.

Generally speaking, a reader could select any age table in the report of any census of this province and see for himself that this is so. At this census though the errors at 0, 1 and 3 are obvious, they are not quite so obvious at ages 2 and 4; and the reason is that the circumstances affecting the duration of life have not been normal. At age 2, the persons recorded are chiefly those who are really aged $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$. Now children aged $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ in March 1911 were born between August 1908 and August 1909. The children really aged 2 in March 1911 were born between March 1908 and March 1909. Both between August and August and between March and March in these two years the birth-rate was low; but between August and August, for at least 9 months the infantile mortality was unusually low (26 per cent.). Between March and March for at least 9 months, the infantile mortality was exceedingly high (42 per cent.). There are consequently more children aged $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ than children aged 2 to 3, and the figure at age 2, which represents the former, is too high. Similarly at age 4, the children at age 3 who are entered as 4 were born in a year of higher birth-rate than the children really aged 4.

The incorrectness of the figures at these early ages can be gauged from a calculation based on the birth and death returns. The children born in 1910 may be taken as approximately equal in number to the children born between March 1910 and March 1911. The births in 1910 were in round numbers 1,955,000. The death-rate of persons aged under 1 in 1910 was 30 per cent. and as this was a fairly normal rate, 1,387,000 (or 1,955,000 minus 30 per cent.) may be taken as the number of infants likely to be alive at the date of the census. The number of infants actually recorded was 1,545,000, or 158,000 too many. Most of these belong to age 1, though some few are accounted for by omissions in the birth statistics. A similar calculation can be made for age 1 and other ages, by taking the births of various years, diminishing each figure by the death-rate of that year and so ascertaining the

Age.	Actuals.	Calculated.
0 ..	1,545	1,387
1 ..	713	1,127
2 ..	1,057	935
3 ..	1,232	1,105
4 ..	1,165	966
Total 0—4	5,712	5,520

number of children alive at the end of the year, and then again diminishing this number by the death-rate of the next year, and so on. The calculation is of course of the roughest; but at all events gives figures which are nearer the truth than the recorded ones, and in a much more accurate series. The actuals and calculated figures are put side by side in the margin (000's omitted). The total of ages 0 to 4 comes to 5,520,000 as against 5,712,000; of the resultant deficit doubtless a part is due

to omissions in the vital statistics and a part to the roughness of the calculation. But the figures serve their only purpose which is to show how erroneous the age table is.

179. **Understatement of age of females aged 12 to 20.**—It has been repeatedly asserted that there is a tendency to understate the age of females over 12 and under 20 who are unmarried, and by custom ought not to be so. At first sight the figures bear out the statement. Between 10 to 15, amongst Hindus (who are chiefly affected by this custom) there are only 1,022 women per 10,000 women to 1,223 men per 10,000 men; between 15 and 20 the figures are 751 and 860. Moreover, the one combination of figures which should be fairly accurate in the various age tables are

Proportions per 10,000 of each sex in decennial periods.

Age.	Hindus.		Muhammadans.	
	Males.	Females.	Males	Females.
0—10 ..	2,489	2,575	2,584	2,600
10—20 ..	2,088	1,773	2,098	1,833
20—30 ..	1,818	1,850	1,701	1,822
30—40 ..	1,410	1,481	1,372	1,389
40—50 ..	1,083	1,083	1,027	1,018
50—60 ..	646	666	654	648
60 and over ..	471	572	564	590

the figures for complete decennia, for most people can usually put themselves in the right decennium. Age tables should of course run in a diminishing scale from 0 to the higher ages. The decennial figures for Hindu men and Muhammadans of both sexes do run in this fashion (the figures are given in the margin) but this is not the case with Hindu women; their sequence fails at one point, the age-period 10 to 20. When it is remembered that the Muhammadan marries his daughters at a later age and does not look on an unmarried daughter of an age above the normal marriage age as so disgraceful a phenomenon as Hindus do, this appears convincing proof. But there is a good deal to be said on the other side. Since in such a case the age would be understated, there would be an excess at the age-periods below 10 to 15. But if a man was going to understate a daughter's age, for the mere sake of verisimilitude he would do it as little as possible. The

enumerator, be it remembered, is a resident of the same village: he could not be made to believe that a girl who was really over 10 was (say) under 8, though he might possibly be willing to believe that a girl aged 12 or 13 was 8, 9, 10 or 11. It would be impossible to falsify to any greater extent than this, and one would expect an excess of females at these ages. But taking the figures in subsidiary table I, it appears that the excess of females over males stops at 7: between 8 and 11 there are only 934 females to 1,004 males or, in other words, there is no excess just where one might expect it, and such excess as there is at the early ages stops just where one might expect it to begin. Moreover, the Muhammadan figures are very similar; the excess in their case stops at 6, but there is a defect from 8 to 11, and also from 12 to 20. If there is any wilful understatement, therefore it must begin very much earlier than is usually supposed, viz. at 8 instead of 12: but for this there is no obvious reason, since puberty (12 years) is the crucial period and it is only if a girl is unmarried at that age that "the brotherhood begins to laugh" (*biradari hansat*). At most there may have been some slight understatement of this kind, but I do not believe that it could affect the figures (¹).

180. **Adjustments of the age tables.**—The inaccuracy of the record is to some extent avoided by tabulating the general results chiefly by quinquennial periods; whilst when the table is arranged by decennial periods, the irregularity of the series almost disappears. A more accurate method of constructing an age table is that known as Bloxam's. Its object is to get rid of the error caused by excessive grouping at multiples of 5 and 10. Where A is the number of persons living at any year of age, the real value of any term A₃, in the series A₁, A₂, A₃, is taken first as $\frac{A_1 + A_2 + A_3 + A_4 + A_5}{5}$. This eliminates the error caused by the fondness for multiples of 5. These smoothed figures are then further smoothed to get rid of the similar partiality for multiples of 10, by taking the value of any term A₆ in the smoothed series as $\frac{A_1 + A_2 + A_3 + A_4 + A_5 + A_6 + A_7 + A_8 + A_9 + A_{10} + A_{11}}{11}$.

Even this however generally leaves a further error which is corrected in the usual way of smoothing the curve drawn according to the series. It is unnecessary to give the figures so smoothed. Age tables will be constructed by a trained English actuary and a memorandum written by him on the subject, which, it is hoped, will be in time to form an appendix to this report; and to forestall his conclusions would be presumptuous. I have however worked out the figures, smoothed by 5's and 11's, for Hindu males and constructed a curve accordingly, and the general results may be mentioned. The curve is smooth as far as age 17: there is then a slight rise and a subsequent fall: but from 19 to 26 the curve again rises sharply. It then falls smoothly as far as 53 when it rises again up to the ages 55 and 56 and then falls away once more. It is a striking fact that in 1901 the curve did not rise and fall so greatly as it does in 1911, though there was a similar though slighter irregularity in the neighbourhood of 27. In the curve drawn in the India Administrative Report for 1901, page 396, there is a precisely similar irregularity at this age. The cause is to be sought in the original figures. Those which affect the ages 19 to 26 are the figures from age 14 to age 31. Now, these contain five ages where the figures are heaped up very considerably, namely 15, 20, 22, 25 and 30; and the heaping up at these ages in the age table of 1911 is very much greater than the heaping up at the same ages in the age table of 1901. The error itself is constant, but it has varied in degree: and I think the explanation is to be found in the nature of the figures which form the basis of this age table. Two hundred thousand persons of each sex are classified by annual age-periods to form the material for this table. It is meant chiefly for the use of the actuary: and as the object is to construct age tables which shall represent a fairly normal state of things, it is obvious that they must come from a locality where circumstances have been fairly normal, and

(¹) In this connection chapter VI, paragraph 204(3) may also be read. In this matter of wilful understatement of age, as in some other matters, I think critics are apt to lay too much stress, in support of their arguments, on what a man might be *expected* to say in view of his peculiar circumstances. They forget that the average enumerator knows intimately most of the persons he has to enumerate and could probably fill up most of the schedule without reference to the person enumerated at all. In my own experience the person enumerated is allowed to say very little. The enumerator as a matter of form asks him the necessary questions, but he rarely has to stay for an answer. He could generally enter name, religion, civil condition, caste, language, literacy, occupation and disease, if any, without asking a single question; age and birthplace are the only two points he would have to ask about and even as regards them he would certainly not be deceived by a false answer. It is useless to argue merely that a man would naturally say so and so: one has also to consider whether the enumerator would give him a chance of saying it at all, or believe him if he did. I tested many enumerators, and I found that their fault lay by no means in accepting anything that was said to them as true, but in relying, if anything, rather too much on their own knowledge. It was a fault on the right side, for as often as not the answers given were scarcely illuminating. For instance a common answer to "What is your age?" was "You can see for yourself," to "What is your mother-tongue?" was "The same as you speak," or "You can hear what I am speaking."

the age distribution has not been too greatly disturbed by any calamities of the decade. I am unable to state the locality from which the figures were taken in 1901: but in 1911 it was a matter of the greatest difficulty to select charges which had not been disturbed by one or other of the many calamities of the decade, especially plague, famine and epidemic malaria. In the end purely rural charges had to be taken: the age distribution of all urban charges was violently upset, not only by these causes, but by the plague which was raging at the time of census and half emptied the towns of their inhabitants. The result is that though the charges were typical enough as regards their age distribution, they were also typical as regards ignorance of age, and the merest glance at the unadjusted figures of 1901 and 1911 will show that the former were less originally erroneous than the latter. Especially from 15 to 30 inclusive, and from 45 to 60, are the latter wrong: the multiples of 5 and 10, and 22, have very large figures in the former case, and the other ages have extraordinarily low ones in the latter case. It seems to me important to draw attention to the probability that the nature of the original figures will have some effect on the figures when smoothed by Bloxam's method for according as they are more or less of a rural nature the greater will be the amount of smoothing that the final curve will require. The cause of the excess at 20, 25, 30, and 50 in the case of males is purely fondness for those round numbers, causing probably overstatement from 16 to 19 and again from 21 to 24 and resulting in heaped-up figures at 20 and 25: both overstatement and understatement round the age of 30; and overstatement from 44 to 49. In the smoothed figures of course the errors are transferred chiefly to odd ages. As regards females it is probable that whilst these errors are exaggerated owing to a still greater ignorance of age, between 15 and 20 there may be some slight understatement to partially redress the balance.

181. **Variations in the age distribution.**—Any further process of adjustment of the age tables is unnecessary in view of the fact that this will be done by a far more competent agency. But since the instructions for filling in the age column have not been changed the errors are constant at each census and consequently any changes disclosed by the unadjusted figures correspond to actual facts. It is legitimate therefore to draw deductions from those figures.

The variations since 1901 are as follows:—

- (1) There has been a considerable decrease of children under 5.
- (2) There has been a considerable increase of children between 5 and 10.
- (3) At 10 to 15 and 15 to 20 the figures are slightly lower than in 1901.
- (4) From 20 to 40 there is a very considerable increase.
- (5) From 40 to 60, though the figures are stationary for males, there is a decrease in females.
- (6) The same applies to 60 and over.

In the two main religions the variations are of an exactly similar nature to those in the total population though they differ slightly in degree in some cases.

(1) *Decrease of children under 5.*—The causes affecting the variations in age tables are the normal longevity and fecundity of the people, which are measured by the death and birth-rates, and departures from the normal in the shape of calamities affecting one or the other rate.

This decade falls roughly into two quinquennia: one (1901—05) on the whole favourable to the growth of population, and one (1906—10) unfavourable. In all the 5 years of the first quinquennium, the birth-rate ranged from very high to normal and in 3 years out of the 5 (1902—04) was higher than normal. The death-rate, on the other hand, was much below normal in 3 years (1901, 1902, 1904) normal in a 4th year (1903) and higher than normal in the fifth. There were no calamities save a very severe epidemic of plague in 1905 and a less severe one in 1904. In the second quinquennium the birth-rate was normal in 1907 and in 1910, below normal in 1906 and much below normal in 1908 and 1909: whilst the death-rate was normal in 1906 and 1910, very high indeed in 1908, high in 1907 and less than normal only in 1909. There was severe plague in 1907 and 1910, a partial famine in 1906, a severe famine and very severe malaria in 1908 and malaria in 1909.

The children under 5 represent the survivors of the second quinquennium mentioned and under the circumstances it is not surprising that there is a decrease at this age. Fewer were born, more died: the death-rates at this age (as subsidiary table IX shows) were exceedingly high in 1907 and 1908. In 1901 the children under 5 were the survivors of a bad quinquennium with high death-rates in 1896 and 1897 and a very low birth-rate in 1897: but the last three years were more

favourable. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that low as the figures at this age in 1901 were, those of 1911 are lower still. In 1891, the last quinquennium of the decade was far more favourable and the figures were very high.

(2) *Increase of children at age 5 to 10.*—The children at this age represent the survivors of the first favourable quinquennium. Since 1897 the province had had a succession of good years marred only by the growth of plague which reached its zenith in 1905. Plague however did not greatly affect children as young as this, save in 1904 and 1905, and then affected girls more than boys. A succession of high birth-rates and of death-rates, mostly low, naturally produced high figures which were indeed the highest on record for both sexes, though the male figure is somewhat higher than the female.

(3) *Other variations.*—The other variations need less detailed treatment. The decrease at 10 to 15 is explained by the fact that persons of this age were suffering from high death-rates through most of the decade, and were the survivors of age-period 0 to 5 in 1901, which had not particularly high figures: whilst the persons aged 10 to 15 in 1901 were the survivors of the very large number at 0 to 5 in 1891. The decrease at 15 to 20 is much smaller because though the persons of this age too suffered from high death-rates, they represent the survivors of age-period 5 to 10 in 1901 which had a very high figure. The persons at the higher age-periods date their birth back to the very prolific decade 1881—91 and the not unfavourable decade 1872—81; there have been no very severe calamities up to the present decade save famine, which affects persons in the prime of life least; consequently the decade started with a large number of persons in or approaching these ages, and even plague, which is chiefly fatal to persons in their prime or middle age, has been unable to entirely obliterate the high figure which was the natural result of these facts. That females from 40 onwards have lost slightly whilst males have increased is due chiefly to their greater liability to plague.

182. **Famine and its effect on the age tables.**—Famine, as is well known, affects persons at the extremes of life more than persons in middle age, and men more than women. With the second point I need not now deal, as discussion of it will be more in place in the chapter on sex. With regard to the first point a comparison between the figures of 1881 and 1911 is peculiarly interesting, for the conditions of the two decades were not dissimilar. In both decades corresponding years (1877—78 and 1907-08) were marked by severe famine; the following years (1878-79 and 1908-09) were marked by severe malaria. The former years were those in which were born the persons aged 2 in the respective age tables. The figures at age 2 are considerably higher in 1911 than in 1881, and this fact seems to suggest that famine is no longer so fatal to the very young as it used to be. Since there was little, if any, difference in the intensity of the famine itself, the cause must be the improvement of famine administration. At age 1 however the figures of 1911 are considerably lower than the figures of 1881, which probably marks the far greater intensity of the subsequent malaria epidemic of 1911. Finally at age 0 the figure of 1911 is far higher than that of 1881; which seems to point (despite the added presence of plague and the greater intensity of the malaria) to increased recuperative power in the people, resulting in a return to a high or at least normal birth-rate very much sooner than formerly. It is also noticeable, that despite malaria and plague in this decade, the figures at 60 and over for males are the same as those of 1881, so that it is probable that famine's decreased fatality is traceable here as well as at the ages of the other end of life. That this is not true of females is due doubtless to the virulence with which plague and malaria both attacked them. Malaria would especially be fatal to the very old, already worn out by a long struggle with famine.

183. **Age distribution by religion.**—Subsidiary table III has been worked out only for Hindus and Muhammadans. In the case of other religions the figures are too small to be informing; whilst in the case of the Aryas, Jains, Sikhs and Christians there are various influences which disturb them—conversion in the first and last-mentioned cases, whilst the Christian figures are also upset by the peculiar composition of the European community, consisting, as it chiefly does, of children under 5, and adults between 20 and 45, with very few at other ages. The Jains often come from homes outside the province, to which the young go to be educated and the old retire: the Sikhs, like the European Christians, are chiefly in the prime of life. One interesting point in the Arya figures

may however be mentioned, and that is the regularity of the diminishing series of the figures from the age of 10 onwards in the case of males. Before the age of 10 the series is upset by the absence of conversion, which is usually adult; its regularity after that age I am inclined to attribute to the fact that the Aryas are as a whole a highly-educated community, who would naturally know what their age is. The female figures are far less regular, which is due in part to the fact that conversion does not affect them as greatly as it does men, and the womenfolk of many male Aryas doubtless remain orthodox (¹); and in part to the fact that though the standard of female literacy is high compared with that of other religions it is none the less absolutely low.

Little need be said of the Hindu and Muhammadan figures. They bring out clearly the well-known facts that Muhammadans are more fertile than Hindus and also longer lived. Their figures at 0 to 5, 5 to 10 and 10 to 15 exceed the Hindu figures. From 15 amongst males and from 20 amongst females up to the age of 60 in both cases their figures are lower than the Hindu figures. But otherwise there is no important difference between them, nor between the variations that have occurred in the two religions respectively since 1901.

184. **The mean age.**—The mean age of the province and the main religions are given below the proportional figures in subsidiary tables II and III. It has been calculated by a method used by French statisticians for similar figures. It should be explained that this mean age is the average age of the persons enumerated at the census, i.e. the mean age of the living. It does not coincide with the mean duration of life, save in a population where the births and deaths exactly balance each other, or with the expectation of life at birth. The greater the proportion of children the less the mean age: whilst the number of children will make no difference to the average longevity.

It is however very difficult to draw any conclusions from variations in the mean age; for the possible causes of variation are numerous. A low mean age may mean—

- (1) a very prolific population with many children;
- (2) early deaths amongst adults; and a high mean age may mean—
 - (1) great average longevity;
 - (2) a very low birth-rate;
 - (3) a high infantile mortality.

Famine would have little influence on the mean age since it chiefly affects the young whose low age makes little difference, or the very old of whom there are few. Plague would affect chiefly those in their prime and reduce the mean age. If this is so one would expect a lower mean age at this census. There is on the contrary a slight increase. In 1901 the figure for males was 24 years 10·4 months, for females 25 years 6·7 months: it is now 25 years 1·03 months for males and 25 years 8·1 months for females. The cause seems to be that though plague has undoubtedly lessened the number of adults, yet some years of high infantile mortality, some years of very low birth-rate and a considerable diminution of longevity, as evidenced by the losses at the high ages, have had proportionately a greater effect than plague in determining the mean age. Ten years ago 40 per cent. of males and 47 per cent. of females were aged 15 to 45 as against 47 per cent. of males and 50 per cent. of females in 1911 and it is this which has chiefly operated to increase the mean age. That the mean age of women is greater than that of men is due to their greater longevity, shown not only in the period 15 to 45 but later as well. The mean age as regards both sexes is higher now than it has ever been.

The mean age for Hindu and Muhammadan males is, but for the decimal of a month, the same; and about a month higher than the mean age for the males of all religions. In 1901 there was also only the decimal of a month between the same mean ages, but whilst in 1911 the Muhammadan mean age is ·1 of a month greater, in 1901 it was ·5 of a month less than the Hindu mean age. The Hindu female mean age is now 6·3 months longer than the Muhammadan female mean age; in 1901 it exceeded it by only 3·7 months. The Hindu advantage in both sexes lies in a greater number at the middle period of life which in the case of males just counterbalances and in the case of females greatly counterbalances the Muhammadan's greater longevity.

(¹) I noticed one curious case where matters had progressed a step further. The wife was an Arya, the husband had become an Atheist. Women are proverbially more conservative in matters of religion than men; in this case though the wife had moved, the husband had moved further still.

185. **Variations at the reproductive ages.**—The discussion of the distribution

Population considered.	1911.						1901.					
	0—15.		15—40.		40 and over.		0—15.		15—40.		40 and over.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
United Provinces ...	3,725	3,619	4,071	4,071	2,204	2,310	3,782	3,646	4,015	3,997	2,203	2,367
Hindus ...	3,712	3,597	4,088	4,082	2,200	2,321	3,771	3,696	4,032	4,001	2,197	2,363
Muhammadans ...	3,832	3,756	3,923	3,988	2,245	2,256	3,891	3,735	3,857	3,924	2,252	2,341

of the population as regards its capacity for reproduction and the effect of the various disasters of the past decade on that capacity depends largely on subsidiary table V. For this purpose the population should be divided into 3 age-periods, 0 to 15, or the early period before reproduction is possible, 15 to 40, the reproductive period, and over 40, the period when (so far as woman is concerned) reproduction is impossible and (so far as man is concerned) is unlikely. The figures of 1911 and 1901 are given in the margin for the province and the two main religions. Both in 1911 and 1901, the bulk of the population was found at the reproductive age, but the figures of 1911 are the higher. There is a marked decrease of females at the late period, whilst males are stationary; at the early period there are fewer of each sex in 1911. The chances for the next decade therefore appear to be better than in 1901. There are far more in the reproductive period, and since the figures at 5 to 10 and 10 to 15 are high or reasonably high, probably rather more will enter that period during the decade than in the former one. The Hindus have more at the reproductive period than they had ten years ago, and more than the Muhammadans have; their advantage however is balanced by the greater fecundity of the Muhammadan females which is shown in their very high figures from 0 to 15. It should be noted however that recuperation of the population depends more on the female than the male and both at the reproductive age and the later periods of the early age which will become reproductive during the next decade, women are distinctly less numerous than men. Still recuperation, given favourable circumstances, should be rapid. But amongst those favourable circumstances the most important is an abatement of plague. It has been pointed out in chapter II that plague even in a comparatively mild form is sufficient to cause greater loss to women than men through the whole reproductive period. It is obviously useless for women to enter that period if they die as soon as they reach it.

186. **The fecundity of the population.**—This is a somewhat abstruse subject depending on several factors. Primarily it depends on the proportion of women at the reproductive age who are married. But since marriage is of no avail for reproduction, if (whether by design or by circumstance), the birth-rate is checked, it also depends on the birth-rate. Again, since reproduction is affected if married women die more freely at the reproductive ages than at other ages, or if children die as soon as or soon after they are born, it also depends on the death-rate.

(1) *The proportion of married women aged 15 to 40.*—It is remarkable that for thirty years there have been none but most trifling variations in the proportion of married women at the reproductive age. For three enumerations, the provincial percentage has only varied from 36 to 34; it is now 35. The natural divisions show no greater variations, save in the case of the Western Plain where the rate was 37 in 1891 and 34 in 1901. The Central Plain's figure has always been 35. The mean percentage can be taken as 35. This rate is high, as can be seen by comparing it with the rate in Sundbarg's "standard population" (1) of Western Europe. In that population the number of women between 15 and 45 (which may be taken as the reproductive age in Europe) is only 23 per cent. It is not too much to say that marriage in the United Provinces is universal.

(2) *The birth-rate.*—The crude birth-rate for 1891—1901 was 37·7 per 1,000 of total population, and for 1901—11 was 41·4, in itself a striking increase. I am inclined to think that a part of this increase is due to improvement in birth registration. Mr. Hardy, in 1901, estimated the birth-rate to be 44·7 per mille (males only) which may be taken as equivalent, roughly, to a total rate of 44 per mille of total population. He obtained this rate by first estimating the death-rate and adding the known rate of increase. Assuming that the defect in the death-rate is fairly constant (which of course it should not be, for with time registration

(1) This population shows the "standard" distribution by age, sex and civil condition. As regards age and sex it is based on the distribution observed in Sweden for some seventy years; as regards civil condition on the distributions found in Western Europe at the censuses taken about 1880.

should improve and the error should not be constant but constantly diminishing), we should then get a death-rate for this census of about 50 and a birth-rate of about 49 per mille. I believe that this rate is too high; it depends on Mr. Hardy's method, described in chapter II, paragraph 46, and I have given reasons there for supposing that he overestimated the defect in death registration and consequently the death-rate. I should say that the true birth-rate both in 1901 and 1911 lies between the recorded rate and the estimated rate, but be that as it may, and making all allowances for an improvement in birth registration, it is obvious that there has been a considerable increase in the fecundity of the population. But the crude birth-rate presents but an inaccurate picture of the fecundity of a people. It is based on the total population, yet only a part of that population is responsible for it. How great a difference this makes is seen by comparing the birth-rates of England with the United Provinces birth-rates. The crude English birth-rate of 1901 was 28·5 per 1,000: the crude United Provinces birth-rate was 37·7. But if the birth-rate is calculated on the women who are responsible for it, then we shall find that the proportion is 254·9 births per 1,000 married women aged 15 to 45 in England, and 196·5 births per 1,000 married women aged 15 to 45 in the United Provinces (calculating on the crude birth-rate) or 233·8 (calculating on a birth-rate of 44). The reason is simply that far fewer females are married in England than in the United Provinces. The high crude birth-rate of this province is due to the universality of marriage, not to the greater fecundity of the women. The present birth-rate, based on the proportion of women aged 15 to 40 is 246·2 per 1,000 (crude birth-rate) or 292·4 (estimated birth-rate of 49) ⁽¹⁾. In 1901 it was 222·5 per 1,000 (crude birth-rate) or 264·8 (estimated birth-rate of 44). It should however be noticed that the high figures of birth-rate in this decade belong entirely to the fat quinquennium 1901—05. Between 1906 and 1910 the birth-rate was never quite up to the decade's averages and in two years was greatly below it. At the same time the people have shown wonderful capacity for recuperation, as the birth-rate of 1910 (41·0), which followed on two such years as 1909 (33·3) and 1908 (37·5), shows.

(3) *The death-rate*.—The survivors of the persons born during the decade are the children now aged 0 to 10, and their percentage to the married women of 15 to 40 will show the effect of the birth-rate minus the death-rate on the population. The death-rate has been abnormally high, and it is not surprising therefore to find that there has been a decrease in the proportion since 1901. For the whole province the percentage has steadily declined from 157 in 1891 to 152 in 1901 and 150 in 1911. The cause of the first decrease (1891—1901) was probably famine; it occurred in all divisions but the Western Plain and Sub-Himalaya, West. The cause of the second decrease (1901—11) was partly plague, partly malaria, partly famine; it is greatest in the Western Plain, but is also considerable in the two Sub-Himalayan divisions and the Central Plain. Elsewhere, in the Western Himalayas, the Plateau, the Satpurus, and the Eastern Plain, there have been increases. The excess of the crude birth-rate over the crude death-rate is only 2·4 per mille. The latter is certainly too low and I should be inclined to say that the two are about equal, and that the decrease in the total population is accounted for by emigration. (It may be noted here that the allowance made for emigration by Mr. Hardy in 1901 is 1·2 per mille per annum, which corresponds closely to the total decrease, 1·1 per cent. for the last ten years.) And so, however great the increase in the fecundity of the people, the death-rate plus emigration has more than counterbalanced it.

187. **The presence of Malthusian checks on the birth-rate.**—The deliberate avoidance of child-bearing by means of active check cannot, I think, be imputed to the population. The richer classes are scarcely sufficiently fertile to make it necessary—a fact that can be attributed to the early age at which both sexes marry, and shows its results in the frequency of adoption. Amongst all classes alike the desire for progeny is great. But it is quite clear from the figures themselves that the people are true Malthusians in that they avoid the chance of child-bearing when there is likelihood of a diminution of their means to support children. There is a distinct correlation between the value of the crops and the birth-rate. In 1901, 1902 and 1903 the crops were excellent; the birth-rates in 1902, 1903 and 1904 were increasingly and exceedingly high. In 1904 and 1905 there was some

⁽¹⁾ For purposes of comparison with the English rate given above it may be mentioned that these rates per 1,000 of married women aged 15 to 45 are 218·7 and 259·7.

distress and the birth-rate in 1905 and 1906 fell to just below the decade's normal. In 1906 there was a partial famine in some parts, but elsewhere the conditions were excellent, and the birth-rate of 1907 was just normal. With 1907 distress began in a severe and widespread form; the birth-rate of 1908 at once fell low. In 1908 the famine produced a very low birth-rate in 1909: but despite the malaria of 1909, the favourable agricultural conditions were combined with a normal birth-rate in 1910. There are of course other causes. Famine for instance greatly diminishes vitality and would lower the birth-rate of the succeeding year in any case; so does malaria (though there is no sign that plague does so) ⁽¹⁾. But it seems impossible to believe that the connection between variations in prosperity and variations in the birth-rate is purely accidental. In part at all events, it would seem that the number of births, like the number of marriages, is governed by the amount of money that the population has in its pocket.

188. **Age distribution in natural divisions.**—The figures of the natural

Natural divisions.	Figures per 10,000 of each sex by natural divisions and three age-periods.					
	0—15.		15—40.		40 and over.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Himalaya, West ..	3,620	3,805	4,212	4,045	2,168	2,150
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	3,673	3,716	4,122	4,068	2,205	2,276
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	3,710	3,726	4,004	3,973	2,286	2,301
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.	3,571	3,451	4,124	4,146	2,205	2,403
Central India Plateau ..	3,746	3,534	4,344	4,210	1,910	2,256
East Satpuras ..	3,955	3,711	4,106	4,095	1,949	2,194
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	3,905	3,681	4,049	4,064	2,046	2,255
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	3,901	3,573	3,944	4,114	2,155	2,313
United Provinces ..	3,725	3,619	4,071	4,071	2,204	2,310

divisions are arranged in the margin according to the same age-periods as in paragraph 185. It is convenient to consider the sexes separately. Taking males first the numbers at the reproductive age are unusually high in Himalaya, West, Sub-Himalaya, West, Central Plain, the Plateau and the Satpuras. In the first-named division the figures are

obscured by a large proportion of adult male immigrants whose families are elsewhere, so that for the purposes of reproduction the figure is really fallacious. Elsewhere the figures are probably undisturbed by immigration to any appreciable extent. In the Plateau the figure is very high indeed. In the Eastern Plain the figure of males at this age is very low, and in the Eastern Sub-Himalayas is below the provincial ratio, and the cause here is adult male emigration. In only the Western Plain is the figure low with no cause save the vicissitudes of the decade to explain it. As regards females we find a very high figure in the Plateau, and high figures in the Central Plain, Eastern Sub-Himalayas, and Eastern Plain. In the last two-named, however, the figure for the point of view of reproduction is once more fallacious, as the excess is of women whose husbands are abroad. But generally speaking, the proportion of persons at this age is high and there is no reason why recuperation should not go on at a reasonable pace, though it will be slower in the Western and Eastern Plains than elsewhere.

Male longevity (as appears from the figures at the last age-period) appears to be least in the Plateau, the Satpuras, the Eastern Sub-Himalayas and the Eastern Plain. The causes appear to be two. The first is that these divisions are the particular habitat of low castes, whose longevity is less than that of castes higher in the social scale: but this is a cause that affects women no less than men, and female life in these divisions is not particularly short, save in the Satpuras, where the proportion of low castes is exceedingly high; whilst in the Eastern Plain it is distinctly long. There must therefore be another cause or other causes which affect male more than female longevity. In the Eastern Plain and Eastern Sub-Himalayas chiefly, but to some extent in all four divisions, I should attribute a part of this effect to emigration. A large number of males in their prime emigrate; a number settle abroad for good, others die there, or do not return for a lengthened period. Consequently there is a continuous stream of emigration, but the stream of returning emigrants is neither so continuous in nature or so large in volume. These males go abroad chiefly after the age of 20 and before the age of 40 and the result is that a considerable proportion of the males belonging to the "natural" population aged 40 and over are abroad. But in the Plateau and the Satpuras there must also be an additional cause for

⁽¹⁾ Plague grew in geometric progression from 1902 to 1905, but it was not till 1905 that the birth-rate ceased to rise.

the figures are too low for even this to explain them. The Plateau (Bundelkhand) is a most precarious tract, the "distressful country" of the province. Its lean years are very nearly as numerous as its fat years: in a widespread famine it suffers on the whole worse than any other division, and it occasionally (as in 1906) has a famine of its own. Famine affects the very old, and men more than women; and the result is that men in the Plateau have a very poor chance of living to any great age. The same appears to be true of the Satpuras.

Female longevity is much more equally distributed over the province. Life is strikingly short only in two divisions (Himalaya, West and the Satpuras where the life of both sexes is generally short), and it is strikingly long only in the Central Plain.

As regards child life, it depends in part on the proportions at other ages.

Natural divisions.	Birth-rate per 1,000 married women aged 15 to 40.	Birth-rate per 1,000 of population.		Children aged under 10 to women aged 15—40
		Males.	Females.	
Himalaya, West ..	205.5	20.1	19.0	152
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	280.9	24.1	22.3	157
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.	270.9	22.6	20.7	157
Indo-Gangetic Plain Central.	242.9	21.6	19.6	140
Central India Plateau	248.0	23.6	21.9	150
East Satpuras ..	231.4	20.3	18.8	154
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	217.6	20.7	19.1	150
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	224.4	19.2	17.8	152
United Provinces ..	246.2	21.5	19.9	150

Where there are many adults there must be fewer children and *vice versa*. It also depends on the fecundity of the various divisions. Their birth-rates, calculated on the registered births and the married women aged 15 to 40 are given in the margin. In Himalaya, West the birth-rates are generally low: but the death-rate of children is also low, so that the proportion who survive is high and they bulk large in the population. The female birth-rate is nearer the male

birth-rate than in any other division, for as there is not the same neglect of girls in the hills as the plains the result is a very large number of girls under 15. In the Western Sub-Himalayas and Western Plain, the birth-rate is exceedingly high in both sexes and this accounts for the considerable proportion of young persons under 15. In the Central Plain the birth-rate is average, but there has been heavy mortality amongst children and the proportion of children is consequently low. The Plateau shows a high crude birth-rate, but it also possesses a higher figure of married women (36 per 100 as against 35) than usual, so that its birth-rate, when calculated on the number of possible mothers is not high. The other three divisions show low birth-rates, but as the number of children under 10 proves, the infantile mortality has not been very high, so that the total of children under 15 bulks large.

189. **Age distribution in towns.**—The age distribution in the cities of the

Age distribution in cities. Ratio at each age per 10,000 of each sex.

Age.	Males.	Females.
0—5	1,065	1,245
5—10	1,073	1,179
10—15	1,059	921
15—20	873	819
20—40	3,399	3,951
40—60	1,910	1,863
60 and over	621	720
Unspecified	..	2

province is shown in the margin. As compared with the provincial average the figures of both sexes from 0 to 15 are distinctly low amounting only to 3,197 as against 3,725 in the case of males and 3,345 as against 3,619 in the case of females. From 15 however the figures are much higher than in the province as a whole. At the reproductive age 15 to 40, the male figure is 4,272 and the female 4,070, which figures are respectively far above and equal to the provincial figure (4,071 for each sex). The old people in the urban population much exceed the old people in the total population (2,531 males and 2,583 females as against 2,204 males and 2,310 females). It is obvious that in towns the mean age will greatly exceed the general mean age. The cause of the low figures at 0 to 15 is chiefly

the low urban birth-rate: urban birth-rates are not available as a whole, but from those that are quoted in the body of the Sanitary Commissioner's reports it is obvious that they are generally lower than in rural areas. Further evidence of this is found in the fact that the number of children under 10 living in the cities is only 142 per 1,000 married women aged 15 to 40, as against 150, the provincial figure. The number of married women at this age is itself slightly lower than the provincial figure, being 34 per cent. of women, as against 35. There are, I think, several possible causes for these low figures. Firstly, it is probable that in towns

the Malthusian avoidance of child-birth would show itself most. The larger part of the population consists of persons living on small and more or less fixed incomes, and if the birth-rate and prosperity rise and fall together, it is obvious that in circumstances of fixed and not particularly great prosperity, the birth-rate would tend to remain low. Secondly, many men live in towns in service or in business, whilst their families live for lengthened periods in the country or in other towns. Thirdly, the birth-rate is to some extent artificially lowered because women are often apt to go elsewhere to be confined. This would help to account for both the small number of births and the small proportion of fertile married women in towns. Fourthly, plague has severely attacked many towns, and on the whole it has probably attacked towns more severely than the country. If so, this would lower the proportion of women aged 15 to 40 by death. Fifthly, plague at the time of census would drive many women and their families to uninfected areas in the country and so artificially lower both the number of women and the number of children. All these causes combined probably account for the low birth-rate, the low number of children and the fact that though the number of women aged 15 to 40 is high actually, it is low relatively to the males at the same age.

190. **Age distribution by caste.**—The figures of certain castes, arranged

Caste.	Figures per 10,000 of each sex for certain castes.					
	0—15.		15—40.		40 and over.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Brahman ..	3,432	3,302	4,110	3,976	2,458	2,722
Rajput ..	3,518	3,441	4,093	4,067	2,389	2,492
Sonar ..	3,588	3,719	4,105	3,994	3,307	2,287
Kayastha ..	3,357	3,483	4,203	3,969	2,440	2,548
Kurmi ..	3,564	3,436	4,155	4,117	2,281	2,447
Agarwal ..	3,320	3,616	4,181	3,942	2,499	2,442
Jat ..	3,573	3,630	4,036	3,938	2,391	2,432
Kahar ..	3,824	3,679	4,021	4,024	2,155	2,297
Gadariya ..	3,804	3,755	4,064	4,061	2,131	2,184
Kumhar ..	3,812	3,689	4,036	4,126	2,152	2,185
Chamar ..	3,902	3,778	4,060	4,058	2,038	2,164
Ahir ..	3,662	3,539	4,140	4,114	2,198	2,347
Mallah ..	4,273	3,715	3,738	4,072	1,989	2,213
Dhobi ..	3,975	3,758	4,042	4,114	2,083	2,128
Dom ..	3,901	3,932	3,982	4,059	2,117	2,009
Dusadh ..	3,888	3,706	3,995	4,170	2,117	2,224
Shaikh ..	3,674	3,681	4,637	4,015	2,289	2,304

by three age-periods, are given in the margin. The castes are representative of various strata of society and various kinds of occupations. The most striking point in these figures is the fact that the higher castes,—Brahman, Rajput, Kayastha, Agarwal, Jat, Kurmi and Sonar, have far greater longevity than the other and lower castes: one reason of this of course is that they live softer lives, and as regards, females, that they prohibit widow remarriage, which preserves many of their women from the troubles and dangers of child-birth. The extremely high figure of old Brahman and Kayastha women

is especially noticeable. The lower castes live less long because their lives are harder and their women bear children as long as they are capable of doing so. The prohibition against widow remarriage has another effect in diminishing the birth-rate and consequently the proportion of children at the early ages. The figures of the lower castes at age 0 to 15 are far larger than those of the higher castes. Another noticeable point is the balance between the sexes at the reproductive age. The Kurmi, a cultivating caste, the Kahar, Gadariya, Kumhar, Chamar, Ahir, Dhobi all have about the same proportions of men and women at this age; so too has the Rajput. To most of these castes women in their prime are valuable as helpmates in the daily work. Finally the curious disproportion of males to females amongst Mallahs, Doms and Dusadhs, may be noticed. Migration is probably the cause in all three cases; but the migration varies in kind. The Mallahs are a riverain tribe and the probability is that many of the adult males are away with their boats: it is said that most of the Bengal river trade is in the hands of United Provinces Mallahs. The Dusadh probably emigrates freely to the Assam and colonial plantations. But the Dom most often, I suspect, leaves his country for his country's good, either to jail or to the Andamans, save on the not infrequent occasions when he leaves his own country for some other country's harm, on thieving expeditions into other districts or provinces.

It has been asserted, probably with truth, that aboriginal tribes are more prolific than Hindu castes. This amounts to an assertion that there is a difference in the fecundity of the Aryan and Dravidian races, and the latter have the advantage. There is no definite evidence either to support or refute this assertion

in the United Provinces. None of our castes can be pronounced Dravidian with any show of certainty: all are more or less Hinduized as regards their customs save some poor remnants in South Mirzapur, and it is impossible to say how great or how little is the admixture of Aryan blood in them. Racially the people of the province are Aryo-Dravidian; though sometimes one and sometimes the other element predominates, cases are but rare where a caste is obviously one or the other and not a mixture of both. In this province greater fecundity is the privilege of the lower caste in the social scale, and it seems probable that custom and occupation have as great an influence on the matter as race. There are obvious reasons why the lower caste should be the more prolific. Their women are not cooped up in *zananas* to live an inactive and secluded life: children of both sexes (so long as there is money to support them in their years of helplessness) are a valuable asset and very early contribute to the family income by herding cattle, goats or other livestock, or weeding the fields; husband and wife are more of an age, and marriage (in the sense of the *garuna* or the commencement of connubial relations) begins only when the husband is able to support a wife, which is naturally at a rather later age than the usual marriage age. All these points make for the health of the community, especially of its females, and consequently for a greater fecundity.

Subsidiary table I.—Age distribution of 100,000 of each sex by annual periods.

Age.	Males.		Females.		Age.	Males.		Females.	
	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.		Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
0	3,682	3,839	4,065	3,979	61	81	122	112	126
1	1,767	1,784	2,055	2,051	62	131	111	162	126
2	2,450	2,554	2,909	2,858	63	26	57	33	26
3	2,605	2,638	3,151	3,168	64	45	66	76	68
4	2,530	2,677	2,867	3,049	65	362	427	420	439
5	3,247	3,107	3,284	3,243	66	29	41	54	42
6	2,617	2,796	2,767	3,107	67	26	41	33	19
7	2,498	2,420	2,618	2,416	68	55	60	62	29
8	3,185	3,417	2,873	3,220	69	18	30	31	10
9	1,811	1,858	1,891	1,796	70	683	696	977	1,046
10	3,590	3,827	3,085	3,433	71	19	39	22	23
11	1,460	1,518	1,355	1,327	72	44	30	54	38
12	3,556	3,812	2,856	3,092	73	5	6	9	13
13	1,047	1,085	960	982	74	10	18	19	16
14	1,716	1,799	1,382	1,379	75	95	119	123	123
15	2,214	2,017	1,664	1,741	76	11	9	12	13
16	2,305	2,231	2,025	2,090	77	9	2	9	6
17	570	574	527	614	78	20	18	20	13
18	2,313	2,247	1,978	2,006	79	7	6	9	3
19	585	612	495	517	80	339	373	538	549
20	4,220	4,108	4,542	4,909	81	11	12	12	6
21	613	574	530	604	82	15	12	19	10
22	2,033	2,163	1,919	1,889	83	5	6	3	3
23	470	466	508	433	84	9	6	9	13
24	1,208	1,183	1,505	1,389	85	33	33	37	19
25	5,383	5,345	5,051	5,610	86	5	3	6	..
26	1,049	965	965	843	87	3	3	3	3
27	669	559	600	546	88	4	9	6	6
28	1,942	1,634	2,087	1,741	89	3	21	4	3
29	412	356	422	287	90	68	72	94	113
30	6,002	5,706	6,064	5,917	91	3	15	4	..
31	350	338	345	310	92	3	6	4	10
32	1,988	1,745	1,660	1,383	93	1	..	1	..
33	299	266	251	174	94	6	..	2	3
34	480	451	486	449	95	13	21	12	16
35	3,316	3,457	3,100	3,078	96	2	..	2	..
36	1,529	1,422	1,437	1,232	97	1	..	2	..
37	246	233	229	233	98	2	3	2	..
38	665	672	827	769	99	2	..	3	..
39	285	224	348	272	100	15	21	24	10
40	5,601	5,300	5,393	5,597	101	..	3	1	10
41	285	317	265	242	102	1	..	1	..
42	727	606	601	423	103	..	..	1	..
43	123	182	120	97	104	1	3	..	..
44	308	317	303	236	105	1	..	1	..
45	2,571	2,718	2,296	2,141	106	..	..	..	..
46	263	269	251	258	107	1	..	..	..
47	141	155	124	114	108	..	..	..	..
48	472	415	471	404	109	..	..	..	..
49	160	119	194	129	110	1	..	1	..
50	3,810	3,750	4,107	4,008	111	1	..	..	..
51	151	227	140	181	112	..	..	..	..
52	325	326	304	333	113	..	..	..	..
53	79	66	58	52	114	..	..	..	..
54	147	176	146	145	115	..	..	..	..
55	848	932	877	888	116	..	..	..	..
56	219	194	243	158	117	..	..	..	..
57	64	63	74	48	118	..	..	..	..
58	152	194	180	136	119	..	..	..	..
59	62	63	78	78	120	1	..	..	..
60	2,259	2,412	3,063	3,243					

Subsidiary table II.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in the province and each natural division.

Age.	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0	320	336	304	314	342	359	262	280
1	143	159	172	188	148	165	229	248
2	212	238	275	297	247	281	192	219
3	245	279	244	266	294	335	266	299
4	240	264	233	245	277	296	279	287
0—5	1,160	1,266	1,228	1,310	1,308	1,436	1,228	1,333
5—10	1,339	1,325	1,298	1,263	1,328	1,290	1,337	1,276
10—15	1,226	1,028	1,266	1,073	1,166	941	1,248	999
15—20	859	758	863	764	838	732	807	719
20—25	868	927	829	885	858	899	848	915
25—30	898	913	885	896	867	895	931	945
30—35	849	885	869	881	892	910	918	927
35—40	597	588	562	563	564	544	531	525
40—45	692	711	689	719	703	722	695	737
45—50	382	362	373	357	341	321	327	315
50—55	478	502	486	510	483	517	496	537
55—60	168	162	173	173	152	150	149	144
60—65	275	327	..	..	..	..	..	..
65—70	66	66	..	..	..	..	..	..
70 and over	143	180	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total 60 and over	484	573	482	598	500	643	485	628
Unspecified .. ..	..	..	7	8	..	..	..	..
Mean age	25 years— 1·03 months	25 years— 8·1 months	24 years— 10·4 months	25 years— 6·7 months	24 years— 9·1 months	25 years— 5·4 months	26 years— 10·8 months	25 years— 7·4 months
<i>Natural divisions.</i>								
<i>Himalaya, West.</i>								
0—5	1,267	1,430	1,235	1,384	1,291	1,469	1,250	1,416
5—10	1,236	1,302	1,127	1,199	1,226	1,301	1,302	1,347
10—15	1,117	1,078	1,205	1,115	1,133	1,052	1,195	1,092
15—20	878	849	989	953	953	918	910	888
20—40	3,334	3,196	3,348	3,236	3,329	3,123	3,279	3,092
40—60	1,711	1,629	1,669	1,609	1,615	1,576	1,592	1,580
60 and over	457	521	422	499	453	561	472	585
Unspecified .. ..	..	..	5	5	..	..	..	..
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West.</i>								
0—5	1,181	1,362	1,272	1,418	1,353	1,527	1,228	1,381
5—10	1,295	1,332	1,234	1,241	1,228	1,239	1,345	1,327
10—15	1,197	1,022	1,188	1,062	1,146	929	1,241	997
15—20	889	803	905	793	932	830	869	781
20—40	3,233	3,205	3,203	3,155	3,197	3,151	3,184	3,157
40—60	1,719	1,709	1,711	1,744	1,643	1,683	1,638	1,719
60 and over	486	567	482	582	501	641	495	638
Unspecified .. ..	..	..	5	5	..	..	..	..
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.</i>								
0—5	1,093	1,243	1,275	1,407	1,205	1,357	1,031	1,134
5—10	1,316	1,365	1,319	1,322	1,201	1,207	1,301	1,308
10—15	1,301	1,118	1,149	983	1,145	899	1,319	1,083
15—20	931	876	829	761	957	871	851	823
20—40	3,073	3,097	3,156	3,169	3,344	3,368	3,369	3,348
40—60	1,795	1,774	1,789	1,796	1,693	1,731	1,669	1,742
60 and over	491	527	476	552	455	567	460	562
Unspecified .. ..	..	..	7	10	..	..	..	..
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.</i>								
0—5	1,086	1,161	1,166	1,238	1,302	1,410	1,210	1,285
5—10	1,305	1,295	1,284	1,235	1,325	1,281	1,307	1,231
10—15	1,180	995	1,251	1,068	1,121	911	1,197	967
15—20	854	740	849	757	792	686	798	696
20—40	3,270	3,406	3,116	3,242	3,138	3,246	3,152	3,305
40—60	1,795	1,811	1,798	1,809	1,757	1,780	1,789	1,834
60 and over	510	592	534	649	565	686	547	682
Unspecified .. ..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
<i>Central India Plateau</i>								
0—5	1,352	1,384	1,123	1,150	1,217	1,293	1,294	1,389
5—10	1,274	1,231	1,209	1,192	1,421	1,398	1,252	1,225
10—15	1,120	919	1,411	1,151	1,271	1,018	1,210	919
15—20	851	738	977	863	812	701	765	663
20—40	3,493	3,472	3,312	3,312	3,239	3,294	3,493	3,516
40—60	1,558	1,756	1,649	1,836	1,666	1,728	1,566	1,723
60 and over	352	500	318	494	374	568	420	566
Unspecified .. ..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..

Subsidiary table II.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in the province and each natural division—(concluded).

Age.	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
<i>East Satpuras.</i>								
0—5	1,292	1,343	1,193	1,218	1,284	1,371	1,416	1,496
5—10	1,460	1,378	1,336	1,265	1,514	1,399	1,388	1,263
10—15	1,203	990	1,412	1,125	1,302	1,042	1,186	937
15—20	806	676	907	774	765	648	731	619
20—40	3,300	3,419	3,199	3,374	3,072	3,268	3,213	3,389
40—60	1,517	1,615	1,534	1,670	1,602	1,667	1,624	1,691
60 and over ..	422	579	410	567	461	605	442	605
Unspecified ..	..	..	9	7	..	..	..	..
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East.</i>								
0—5	1,248	1,331	1,264	1,332	1,479	1,606	1,434	1,549
5—10	1,414	1,336	1,325	1,279	1,447	1,365	1,412	1,297
10—15	1,243	1,014	1,367	1,158	1,173	949	1,262	990
15—20	788	641	870	717	725	605	776	655
20—40	3,261	3,423	3,164	3,236	3,127	3,198	3,155	3,290
40—60	1,597	1,639	1,558	1,643	1,567	1,591	1,538	1,593
60 and over ..	449	616	443	621	482	686	423	626
Unspecified ..	..	..	9	14	..	..	..	..
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.</i>								
0—5	1,232	1,286	1,213	1,217	1,347	1,433	1,399	1,479
5—10	1,449	1,324	1,367	1,237	1,486	1,343	1,420	1,259
10—15	1,220	963	1,378	1,128	1,258	1,007	1,225	942
15—20	768	650	853	738	740	642	721	607
20—40	3,176	3,464	2,988	3,275	2,944	3,175	3,079	3,339
40—60	1,632	1,885	1,674	1,754	1,680	1,709	1,646	1,693
60 and over ..	523	628	512	634	545	691	510	681
Unspecified ..	..	..	15	17	..	..	..	..

Subsidiary table III.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each main religion.

Hindu.

Age.	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
0—5	1,153	1,255	1,221	1,305	1,305	1,434	1,227	1,336
5—10	1,336	1,320	1,295	1,260	1,329	1,291	1,335	1,274
10—15	1,223	1,022	1,255	1,071	1,166	941	1,248	998
15—20	860	751	867	760	837	726	811	719
20—40	3,228	3,331	3,165	4,241	3,192	3,259	3,236	3,322
40—60	1,729	1,749	1,728	1,768	1,682	1,711	1,666	1,726
60 and over ..	471	572	469	595	489	638	477	625
Mean age	{ 25 years— 2·1 months.	{ 25 years— 9·4 months.	{ 24 years— 10·4 months.	{ 25 years— 7·5 months.	..	..	..	..
<i>Muhammadan.</i>								
0—5	1,213	1,334	1,284	1,352	1,344	1,453	1,239	1,322
5—10	1,371	1,366	1,332	1,292	1,333	1,287	1,360	1,288
10—15	1,248	1,056	1,275	1,091	1,173	941	1,257	1,011
15—20	850	777	847	785	837	751	782	722
20—40	3,073	3,211	3,010	3,189	3,076	3,188	3,141	3,251
40—60	1,681	1,666	1,691	1,718	1,667	1,702	1,681	1,754
60 and over ..	564	590	561	623	570	670	540	652
Mean age	{ 25 years— 2·2 months.	{ 25 years— 3·1 months.	{ 24 years— 9·9 months.	{ 25 years— 3·6 months.	..	..	..	..

Subsidiary table IV.—Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain castes.

Caste.	Males. Number per mille age—						Females. Number per mille age—					
	0—5.	5—12.	12—15.	15—20.	20—40.	40 and over.	0—5.	5—12.	12—15.	15—20.	20—40.	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Brahman ..	103	167	73	90	321	246	110	161	59	75	323	272
2. Rajput ..	107	170	75	91	318	239	116	166	62	82	325	249
3. Sonar ..	116	171	72	90	320	231	132	180	60	78	321	229
4. Shaikh ..	116	179	72	86	318	229	132	177	60	81	320	230
5. Kayastha ..	104	158	74	95	325	244	118	167	63	85	312	255
6. Chamar ..	126	193	71	87	319	204	137	182	59	79	327	216
7. Kahar ..	123	185	74	90	312	216	132	177	59	76	326	230
8. Pathan ..	117	184	70	84	310	235	129	178	58	72	318	245
9. Gadariya ..	117	188	76	90	316	213	127	186	62	84	323	218
10. Kumhar ..	125	186	71	86	317	215	133	177	60	85	327	218
11. Dhobi ..	123	192	73	88	316	208	134	183	59	81	330	213
12. Lohar ..	120	183	72	85	322	218	132	180	58	76	328	226
13. Nai.. ..	118	183	75	91	318	215	129	175	59	82	328	227
14. Saiyid ..	119	172	75	89	304	241	126	174	63	81	310	246
15. Barhai ..	113	176	75	91	317	228	128	174	61	83	322	232
16. Julaha ..	136	194	69	79	299	223	148	187	58	75	321	211
17. Teli ..	119	187	71	85	324	214	129	179	59	77	334	222
18. Lodha ..	113	183	72	89	327	216	123	175	64	83	331	224
19. Bharbhunja ..	112	176	70	88	322	232	127	177	59	77	330	230
20. Kalwar ..	117	178	70	83	324	228	125	166	56	70	336	247
21. Bhangi ..	124	190	77	98	300	211	138	190	65	92	312	203
22. Agarwal ..	97	161	84	111	307	240	116	172	74	100	294	244
23. Pasi ..	120	203	66	86	319	206	131	191	56	77	338	207
24. Ahir ..	108	184	74	88	326	220	116	178	60	77	334	235
25. Luniya ..	132	209	71	82	307	199	158	189	57	69	319	208
26. Bhat ..	107	168	69	89	316	251	109	160	54	76	323	278
27. Kachhi ..	118	179	74	90	327	212	131	173	60	84	333	219
28. Mallah ..	149	209	69	79	295	199	141	176	55	71	336	221
29. Kurmi ..	112	176	69	83	332	228	119	170	55	72	339	245
30. Gujar ..	107	182	85	108	301	217	119	176	73	102	305	225
31. Jat ..	105	168	84	107	297	239	117	167	79	96	298	243
32. Khatik ..	117	185	83	96	296	223	130	190	69	93	310	208
33. Murao ..	116	174	60	79	335	236	128	171	52	74	330	245
34. Halwai ..	119	178	66	80	323	234	133	175	56	78	327	231
35. Bari ..	120	186	72	85	324	213	130	172	57	68	340	233
36. Bhar ..	143	204	64	77	315	197	148	179	55	62	344	212
37. Dhanuk ..	117	191	75	92	331	194	130	193	60	82	334	201
38. Kandu ..	128	189	76	82	316	209	140	180	60	69	331	220
39. Tamboli ..	100	165	67	86	334	248	112	164	52	74	350	248
40. Taga ..	107	163	83	103	300	244	119	171	67	89	304	250
41. Bhuinhar ..	113	190	77	85	310	225	117	163	54	70	344	252
42. Dom ..	138	184	69	83	315	211	153	178	62	82	324	201
43. Koeri ..	126	182	69	78	332	213	136	166	57	69	339	233
44. Kewat ..	125	191	68	89	313	210	136	183	61	75	326	219
45. Dusadh ..	134	187	68	77	323	211	134	163	63	77	340	223
46. Mali ..	120	171	83	102	310	214	123	188	70	93	318	208
47. Agrahari ..	120	155	80	98	315	232	138	156	65	92	337	212
48. Umar ..	129	168	83	83	320	223	124	169	52	67	346	242
49. Kasaundhan ..	99	163	71	89	327	251	117	150	55	82	335	261
50. Kisan ..	110	180	77	83	335	215	133	185	66	74	319	223
51. Baranwal ..	108	170	71	78	296	277	100	174	55	87	308	276
52. Gahoi ..	103	154	73	109	355	206	119	151	62	77	343	248

Subsidiary table V.—*Proportion of children under 10 and of persons over 60 to those aged 15 to 40 ; also of married females aged 15 to 40 per 100 females.*

Districts and natural divisions.	Proportion of children, both sexes per 100.						Proportion of persons aged 60 and over per 100 to those aged 15 to 40.						Number of married females aged 15 to 40 per 100 females of all ages.		
	Persons aged 15 to 40.			Married females aged 15 to 40.			1911.		1901.		1891.				
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	1911.	1901.	1891.
United Provinces ..	62	63	67	150	152	157	12	14	12	15	12	16	35	34	36
<i>Himalaya, West ..</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>158</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>35</i>
Dehra Dun ..	48	52	50	145	148	152	10	13	10	10	9	13	37	37	37
Naini Tal ..	53	46	54	161	152	169	7	10	6	9	9	13	38	38	38
Almora ..	73	68	72	148	128	140	15	14	14	14	13	14	36	36	34
Garhwal ..	68	58	68	148	134	154	10	14	8	12	9	14	36	36	36
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West ..</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>157</i>	<i>160</i>	<i>160</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>36</i>
Saharanpur ..	58	63	59	150	159	147	11	11	12	13	11	13	36	35	37
Bareilly ..	64	65	67	139	161	161	12	15	11	15	11	15	36	35	36
Bijnor ..	66	62	68	157	155	160	13	14	13	17	14	18	36	34	36
Pilibhit ..	67	64	70	167	158	173	10	15	9	14	10	17	35	35	35
Kheri ..	63	65	68	158	167	168	12	16	12	14	14	17	35	33	35
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>157</i>	<i>166</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>37</i>
Muzaffarnagar ..	63	68	57	160	166	141	12	11	12	13	10	13	36	35	38
Meerut ..	61	65	58	149	155	139	14	14	13	14	10	13	36	36	38
Bulandshahr ..	64	75	57	151	175	133	13	13	13	14	10	11	35	35	39
Aligarh ..	63	73	57	158	173	140	13	14	13	14	10	13	34	34	38
Muttra ..	50	65	56	146	166	143	12	13	12	15	10	11	35	34	37
Agra ..	59	65	59	150	165	144	13	13	12	14	11	13	35	33	38
Farrukhabad ..	61	64	54	158	175	138	10	12	12	12	10	11	34	32	37
Mainpuri ..	60	66	54	154	166	137	9	10	9	10	9	10	35	36	39
Etawah ..	58	62	56	153	160	144	8	10	9	10	9	11	36	36	37
Etah ..	67	69	52	168	133	133	12	13	10	13	9	13	34	33	38
Budaun ..	66	67	62	165	170	154	14	16	16	13	11	16	34	33	36
Moradabad ..	69	65	65	165	155	153	14	15	13	17	13	17	35	35	36
Shahjahanpur ..	65	65	66	164	163	166	12	16	12	16	12	17	34	34	35
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>145</i>	<i>154</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>35</i>
Cawnpore ..	52	55	54	133	138	134	10	11	10	12	11	12	34	36	37
Fatehpur ..	58	57	58	138	133	134	11	10	11	11	11	11	37	37	37
Allahabad ..	61	58	66	143	135	150	10	12	11	11	12	15	36	35	35
Lucknow ..	54	63	64	137	152	155	14	16	17	19	18	21	36	34	35
Unao ..	58	63	68	144	149	156	13	14	18	16	15	16	35	33	35
Rae Bareli ..	57	59	69	129	137	149	13	16	12	18	15	18	36	34	35
Sitapur ..	59	66	72	145	161	167	12	14	14	17	15	18	36	35	35
Hardoi ..	62	67	70	156	164	167	11	13	12	14	13	14	36	34	36
Fyzabad ..	63	60	73	142	137	164	15	18	15	18	16	22	35	35	34
Sultanpur ..	58	65	74	128	143	160	14	17	14	19	16	22	37	35	34
Partabgarh ..	62	63	75	134	139	157	11	14	14	16	14	18	37	35	33
Bara Banki ..	56	66	69	135	152	156	15	16	16	20	17	21	36	34	35
<i>Central India Plateau ..</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>137</i>	<i>154</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>34</i>
Banda ..	62	54	66	154	133	159	8	12	8	12	9	15	35	34	34
Hamirpur ..	61	58	64	146	145	152	9	13	8	13	10	14	36	33	35
Jhansi ..	62	54	72	152	133	173	8	12	7	12	9	14	37	35	34
Jalaun ..	58	56	59	144	141	148	7	11	7	11	8	10	36	36	35
<i>East Satpuras ..</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>154</i>	<i>142</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>36</i>
Mirzapur ..	67	61	72	154	142	163	10	14	10	14	12	15	34	34	36
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East ..</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>173</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>35</i>
Gorakhpur ..	70	65	79	159	158	174	11	15	11	15	11	16	35	33	35
Basti ..	65	67	78	148	157	176	11	16	10	16	11	19	36	34	35
Gonda ..	62	61	75	142	144	170	11	16	11	15	14	20	36	35	34
Bahraich ..	59	65	72	139	154	168	11	14	13	17	15	19	34	35	35
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>146</i>	<i>165</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>36</i>
Benares ..	66	60	68	155	144	165	14	16	13	17	14	18	34	34	33
Jaunpur ..	64	65	76	144	146	169	13	15	13	15	15	18	35	34	34
Ghazipur ..	66	64	74	155	145	161	13	16	13	17	15	18	34	34	34
Ballia ..	67	66	77	159	147	162	13	16	14	18	16	21	34	34	33
Azamgarh ..	66	64	76	152	146	166	13	14	12	13	14	17	35	34	35

Subsidiary table VI.—Variation in population at certain age-periods.

Natural divisions.	Period.	Variation per cent. in population. (Increase + Decrease —.)					
		All ages.	0—10	10—15	15—40	40—60	60 and over.
United Provinces ..	1881—1891 ..	+6·34	+10·18	-·35	+5·49	+6·17	+9·13
	1891—1901 ..	+7·68	-3·22	+12·21	+1·62	-4·45	-3·78
	1901—1911 ..	-1·07	-1·28	-4·12	+·71	+1·74	-3·15
Himalaya, West ..	1881—1891 ..	+13·38	+12·79	+8·22	+15·54	+14·10	+8·79
	1891—1901 ..	+2·63	+2·95	+8·10	+5·05	+5·47	-6·73
	1901—1911 ..	+1·73	+17·21	+4·41	+7·24	+12·85	+17·83
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	1881—1891 ..	+5·22	+6·48	-2·48	+6·81	+4·34	+5·90
	1891—1901 ..	+1·56	-1·84	+9·68	+·89	+5·47	-5·13
	1901—1911 ..	+1·10	+·96	-·07	+1·91	+·36	-·07
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	1881—1891 ..	+1·52	+5·62	+13·54	+3·35	+2·01	-1·39
	1891—1901 ..	+1·09	+17·94	+14·39	+1·94	+15·24	+10·97
	1901—1911 ..	+2·01	-7·78	+11·35	-1·20	-2·33	-2·72
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central..	1881—1891 ..	+8·50	+14·58	+1·11	+7·31	+5·97	+10·45
	1891—1901 ..	+1·28	-6·22	+15·75	+2·59	+3·26	-4·19
	1901—1911 ..	-3·74	-5·25	-9·59	-·06	+3·76	-10·20
Central India Plateau ..	1881—1891 ..	+4·22	+3·01	+11·95	-·62	+7·64	-·48
	1891—1901 ..	-8·37	-16·11	+2·36	-3·64	-6·00	-21·02
	1901—1911 ..	+4·84	+17·57	-16·48	+5·93	-·31	+1·07
East Satpuras ..	1881—1891 ..	+2·20	+2·28	-12·77	-·39	+·77	+4·09
	1891—1901 ..	-6·81	-16·13	+·65	-·76	-8·57	-14·46
	1901—1911 ..	-1·05	+8·08	-14·31	-1·71	-3·31	+1·18
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	1881—1891 ..	+6·84	+17·23	+6·66	+10·01	+14·16	+26·07
	1891—1901 ..	-·14	-11·58	+19·05	+4·39	+15·95	+8·15
	1901—1911 ..	+3·22	+5·79	-7·61	+4·85	+4·35	+3·29
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	1881—1891 ..	+5·14	+6·01	+9·72	+1·84	+6·73	+9·28
	1891—1901 ..	-2·97	-16·02	+2·69	-2·67	+6·39	-13·62
	1901—1911 ..	-5·17	-·27	-17·21	-2·75	+8·98	-5·11

Subsidiary table VII.—*Reported birth-rate by sex and natural divisions.*

Year.	Number of births per 1,000 of total population. (Census of 1901.)																	
	Province.		Himalaya, West.		Sub-Himalaya, West.		Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.		Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.		Central India Plateau.		East Satpuras.		Sub-Himalaya, East.		Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1901	21·4	19·9	19·1	18·0	23·1	21·6	23·2	21·4	22·5	21·0	19·5	18·2	20·0	18·5	19·4	17·9	17·7	16·5
1902	23·7	22·1	20·9	12·8	26·5	24·6	24·8	22·9	23·8	22·3	26·4	24·8	21·4	20·1	22·1	20·6	21·7	19·7
1903	23·9	22·2	18·1	17·2	25·7	23·7	25·1	23·2	24·5	22·9	24·9	23·2	21·2	19·7	22·5	21·0	21·8	20·2
1904	24·2	22·4	21·2	19·9	26·9	24·7	25·3	23·3	23·6	22·0	28·7	26·4	23·6	22·1	22·8	21·1	22·1	20·5
1905	21·4	19·8	20·9	19·8	24·4	22·6	22·4	20·4	20·9	19·5	25·0	23·1	22·6	20·8	20·1	18·5	18·5	17·1
1906	20·9	19·3	21·5	20·2	26·1	24·3	22·9	21·0	23·8	18·9	18·7	17·0	18·5	17·3	19·5	17·7	16·6	15·2
1907	21·4	19·7	20·5	19·4	23·7	21·8	22·7	20·8	21·0	19·3	21·7	19·9	20·7	19·3	21·1	19·6	18·4	17·1
1908	19·5	17·9	19·1	18·1	20·8	19·4	20·3	18·3	18·4	16·9	28·1	25·9	20·3	18·6	17·3	16·0	19·0	17·5
1909	17·3	16·0	18·4	17·4	19·0	17·6	16·9	15·4	15·4	14·1	18·2	16·8	15·2	13·8	20·4	18·8	17·6	16·3
1910	21·3	19·7	21·0	19·8	24·7	22·8	21·8	20·0	20·1	18·6	25·1	23·1	19·3	17·3	21·5	20·0	19·2	17·6
1901—1910 ..	21·5	19·9	20·1	19·0	24·1	22·3	22·6	20·7	21·1	19·6	23·6	21·9	20·3	18·8	20·7	19·1	19·2	17·8

Subsidiary table VIII.—*Reported death-rate by sex and natural divisions.*

Year.	Number of deaths per 1,000 of total population. (Census of 1901.)																	
	Province.		Himalaya, West.		Sub-Himalaya, West.		Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.		Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.		Central India Plateau.		East Satpuras.		Sub-Himalaya, East.		Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1901	15·8	14·5	13·0	12·0	18·2	16·9	17·1	15·9	16·5	15·4	15·4	14·0	13·8	12·1	12·4	10·8	14·7	13·4
1902	16·8	15·8	15·4	14·3	19·7	18·2	18·2	17·1	17·2	16·5	17·0	15·7	14·8	14·3	13·9	12·4	14·7	14·1
1903	20·7	19·6	18·5	18·5	22·3	20·7	20·7	19·4	22·6	21·7	25·3	23·5	16·2	14·7	17·2	15·7	19·5	18·7
1904	17·3	17·4	13·8	12·8	17·4	17·2	18·5	18·5	17·9	18·4	16·1	15·2	14·5	14·3	15·1	14·4	17·8	19·1
1905	22·0	22·0	15·4	14·4	21·6	21·1	22·2	22·9	24·9	24·7	16·5	15·4	21·3	21·9	17·3	15·9	25·4	26·4
1906	20·0	19·0	16·4	15·8	24·2	24·4	18·7	18·1	19·1	18·3	33·7	31·6	19·8	17·9	19·0	17·3	18·8	17·8
1907	22·0	21·5	15·7	14·6	29·1	28·8	25·4	24·9	21·4	20·9	23·5	21·2	16·7	16·6	17·1	15·8	18·2	18·9
1908	26·7	26·0	19·4	18·4	32·2	31·7	32·7	32·1	27·3	27·0	25·4	23·9	22·7	21·0	21·0	19·3	17·5	17·2
1909	19·3	18·0	15·7	14·6	21·1	18·9	20·7	18·4	19·5	18·7	16·1	14·2	15·7	14·5	16·7	16·0	20·6	20·3
1910	20·2	18·5	15·6	14·4	18·6	16·2	20·5	18·6	19·8	17·8	20·4	17·7	18·6	16·1	18·0	16·6	26·1	25·7
1901—1910 ..	20·0	19·2	15·9	15·0	22·4	21·4	21·5	20·6	20·6	19·9	21·0	19·2	17·4	16·3	16·8	15·4	19·3	19·2

Subsidiary table IX.—*Reported death-rate by sex in decade and in selected years per mille living at same age according to the Census of 1901.*

Age.	Average of decade.		1903.		1905.		1907.		1908.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All ages	38.9	39.7	40.1	40.4	42.6	45.4	42.6	44.4	51.8	53.7
Under 1 year ..	352.4	331.4	425.6	394.3	361.3	341.2	348.0	327.5	419.3	418.8
1—5	70.9	71.4	89.7	88.5	64.1	65.3	80.3	79.2	116.0	117.8
5—10	18.3	17.7	18.5	17.4	20.8	22.3	20.8	22.0	26.0	24.3
10—15	11.8	12.8	10.9	11.5	16.8	20.2	14.5	18.6	13.6	13.6
15—20	14.4	18.8	12.8	17.6	20.3	26.9	18.5	23.8	16.1	19.9
20—30	17.7	20.4	15.2	18.2	23.0	27.5	21.2	24.5	20.6	23.0
30—40	19.0	21.5	18.0	18.3	25.0	28.6	24.3	25.9	25.1	25.0
40—50	29.6	27.5	24.3	21.9	33.7	34.3	33.0	31.9	38.3	35.4
50—60	50.7	44.2	40.4	36.3	52.7	51.4	51.8	48.8	66.7	62.9
60 and over ..	86.9	73.9	75.2	62.5	92.9	83.2	92.9	79.9	130.2	117.1

Subsidiary table X.—*Reported deaths from certain diseases per mille of each sex.*

Year	Whole province.														
	Fever.					Plague.					Cholera.				
	Actual number of deaths.			Ratio per mille of each sex.		Actual number of deaths.			Ratio per mille of each sex.		Actual number of deaths.			Ratio per mille of each sex.	
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1901	1,118,977	578,652	540,325	23.5	23.4	9,778	..	..	..	..	53,995	27,129	26,866	1.1	1.2
1902	1,169,102	599,752	569,348	24.4	24.7	40,223	..	..	..	..	25,160	13,014	12,146	.5	.5
1903	1,318,519	677,429	641,090	27.5	27.8	84,499	..	..	1.8	..	47,159	23,752	23,407	1.0	1.0
1904	1,141,029	569,038	571,991	23.1	24.8	179,082	..	..	3.7	..	6,617	3,420	3,197	.1	.1
1905	1,278,428	649,053	629,375	26.4	27.2	383,802	173,477	210,325	7.0	9.1	121,787	60,597	61,190	2.5	2.6
1906	1,317,491	670,935	646,546	27.2	28.0	69,660	30,889	38,771	1.2	1.7	149,549	76,863	72,687	3.1	3.1
1907	1,350,405	695,501	654,904	28.2	28.4	328,862	144,789	184,073	5.9	8.0	22,438	11,401	11,037	.5	.5
1908	1,970,319	989,009	981,310	40.2	42.5	22,878	10,071	12,807	.4	.6	83,544	43,366	40,178	1.8	1.7
1909	1,430,591	738,675	691,916	30.0	30.0	38,394	16,298	22,096	.7	1.0	21,823	11,216	10,607	.5	.4
1910	1,291,006	681,990	609,016	27.7	26.4	158,074	70,405	87,669	2.9	3.8	102,462	52,741	49,721	2.1	2.1
1901—1910 ..	13,388,957	6,850,036	5,538,821	27.8	28.3	1,315,252	445,929	555,741	3.0	4.0	634,534	323,499	311,035	1.3	1.3

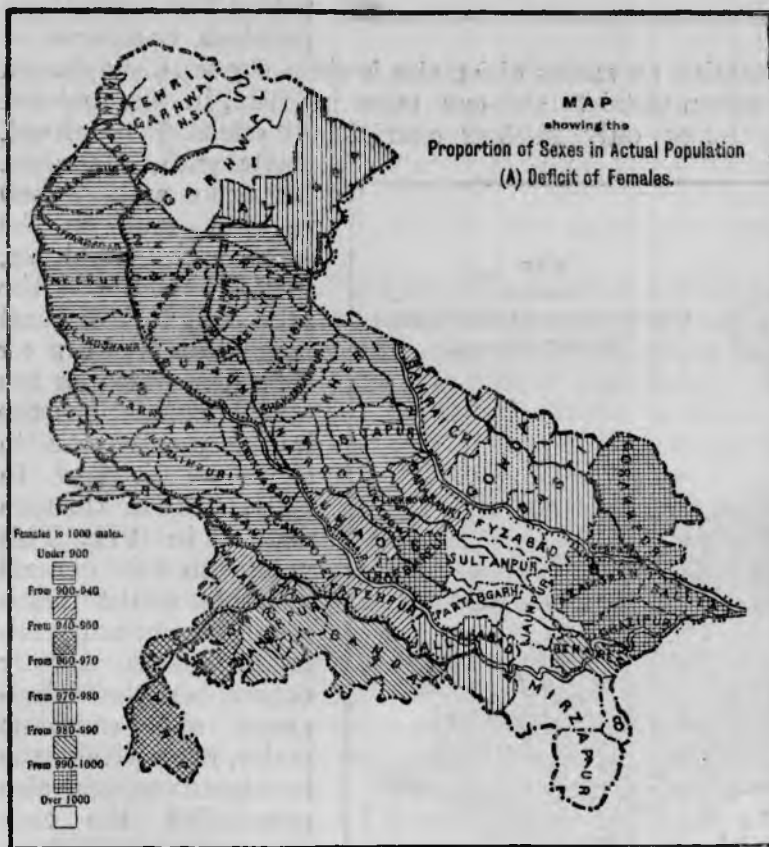
Chapter VI.—SEX (1).

191. **Proportion of females to males.**—In 1881 the province possessed 925 women to 1,000 men. In 1891 the figure had risen to 930 and by 1901 it was 937. In 1911 the figure is 915 women to 1,000 men, the lowest proportion for 30 years. The decrease is universal: every natural division has shared in the loss and only seven districts are better off than they were ten years ago. These decreases are large, varying from 44 to 10 per 1,000. The Eastern Plain has suffered most (—44), the Himalaya, West and Plateau divisions have suffered least (—10 each). Of the States, Rampur's decrease is 21, but Tehri has an increase of 11.

192. **Variations since 1881.**—Three natural divisions (Sub-Himalaya West, Indo-Gangetic Plain West, and Indo-Gangetic Plain Central), twenty-six districts and one state show the lowest proportions recorded since 1881. The Eastern Plain and four districts show the lowest proportion recorded since 1891. The other four divisions show a decrease since 1901, but their proportions are higher than those of earlier enumerations: this is also true of ten districts. Of the seven districts and the one state which have increased ratios, five show their highest recorded figures—these are Garhwal, Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Benares; one district, Gonda, is stationary, at its best on record.

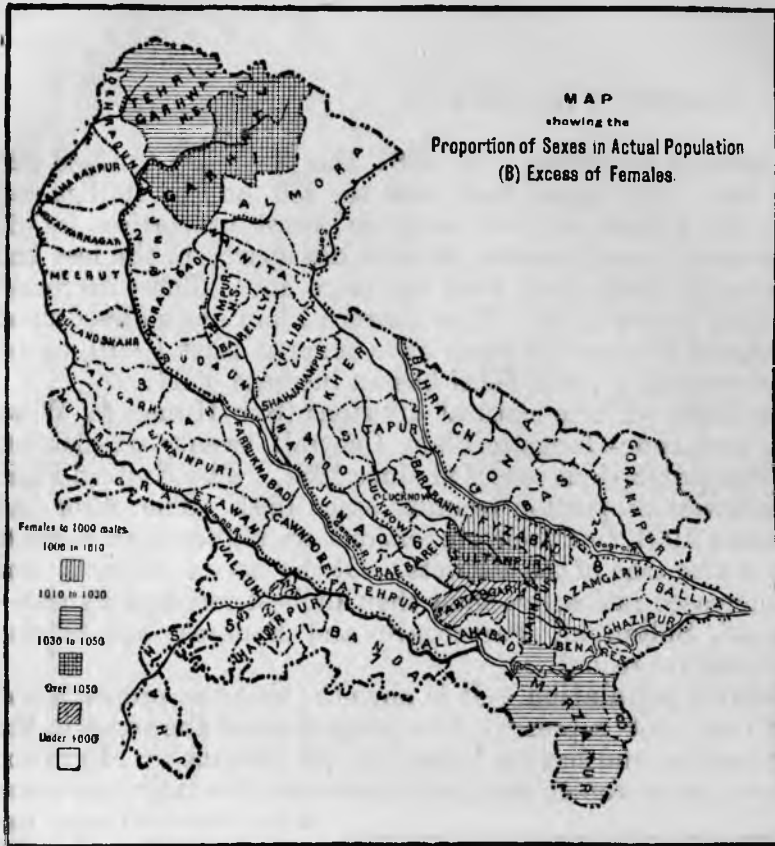
193. **Ratios in the natural population.**—It is obvious that the proportion of the sexes as enumerated does not represent the proportion of the sexes in the population which is indigenous to, and has its home in, the province. Migration will upset the figures. Where more women emigrate than men, the ratio decreases,

when more women immigrate than men, the ratio increases. So far as the whole province is concerned, it is only affected by external migration, that is, by immigration into or emigration out of the province from or into other provinces. But within the province there is a very great deal of female migrations due to the operation of marriage custom. Immigration and emigration of this kind cancel each other to some extent; but it is very rare that they exactly balance each other. To correct the figures to allow for migration it is therefore necessary to take out ratios on the natural population, i.e. on the population born in a



(1) Subsidiary table I.—General proportion of the sexes by natural divisions and districts.
 Ditto II.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods by religions at each of the last three censuses.
 Ditto III.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods by religions and natural divisions (Census of 1911).
 Ditto IV.—Number of females per 1,000 males for certain selected castes.
 Ditto V.—Actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex during the decades 1891—1900 and 1901—1910.
 Ditto VI.—Number of deaths of each sex at different ages.

district wherever it is enumerated. This is done in subsidiary table I for 1911 and

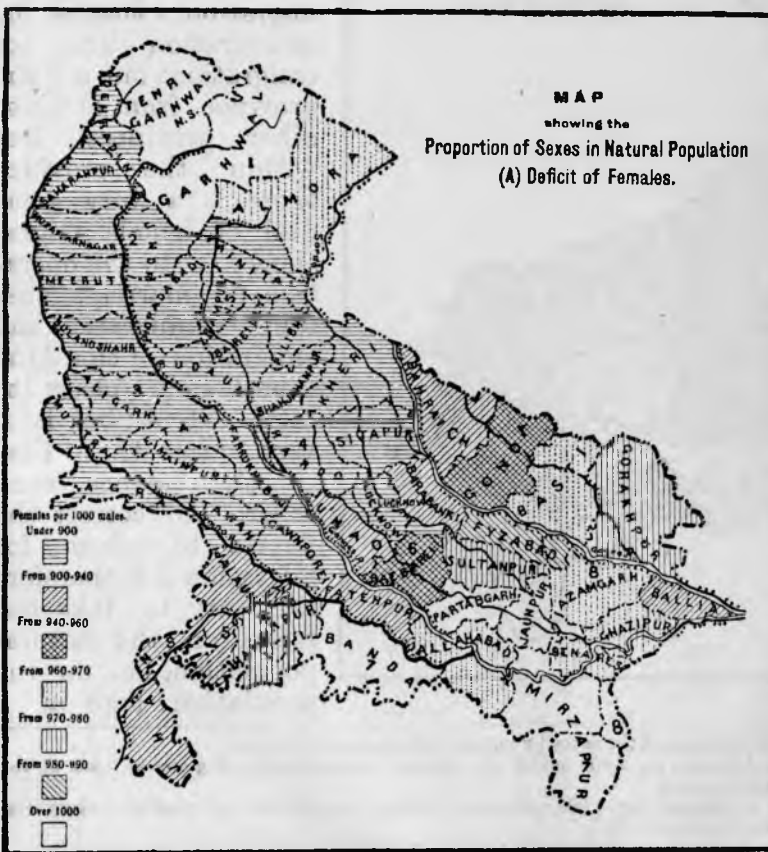


1901. The figures for 1911 are based on the figures in table XI plus the details of persons born in this province but enumerated elsewhere, which have been supplied from other provinces. The figures for 1911 are obtained by working back from the percentages (given in subsidiary table III to chapter II of the report of 1901) to the actuals. Figures for any earlier census are not available. Four maps are given in the margin showing respectively for the actual and natural population the districts where females exceed males and males exceed females.

194. **Ratios in the actual and natural population compared.**—

Whilst in the actual population an excess of females is shown by ten districts and one state in 1901 and by seven districts and one state in 1911, in the natural population an excess is found only in four districts and one state (Garhwal,

Partabgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Tehri) in 1911, and in the same, with Gorakhpur, in 1901. Normally the ratio in the natural population is lower than the ratio in the actual population: the reverse was the case in eighteen districts in 1901, and in thirteen districts in 1911. This points to the general fact that whilst immigrant women and emigrant women usually outnumber the immigrant and emigrant males, respectively, the immigrant women also outnumber the emigrant women. In Agra for instance amongst immigrants there are 1,732 women to 1,000 men, and amongst emigrants 1,418 women to 1,000 men. For the

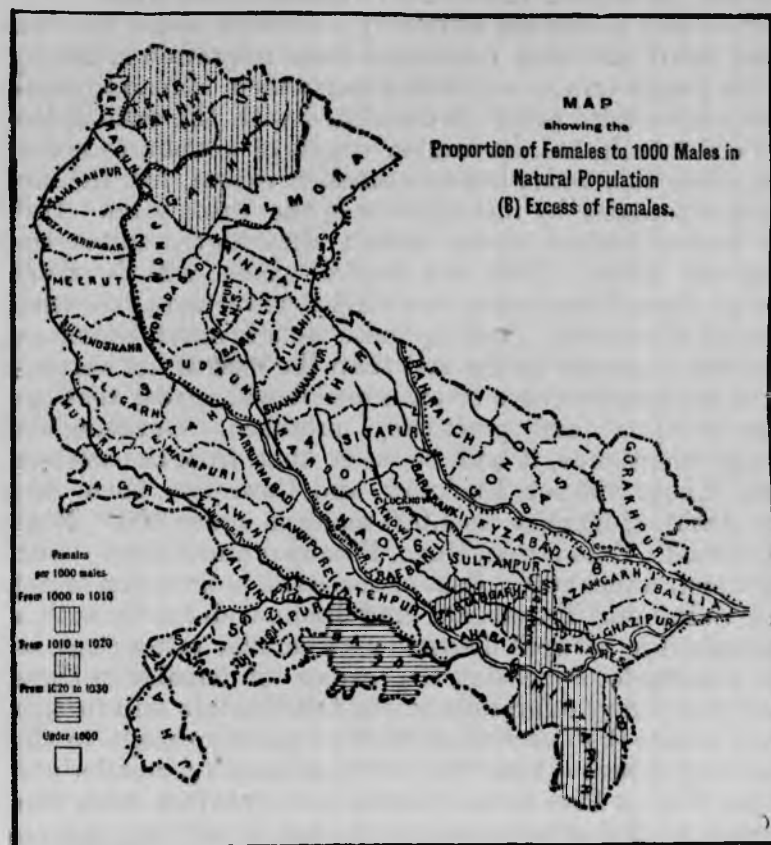


whole province there are 1,352 women to 1,000 men amongst immigrants and only

800 women to 1,000 men amongst emigrants. It is unnecessary to pursue the

matter further, for the effect of migration on the sexes has already been fully discussed in chapter III.

Normally, too, there has been little change in the nature of immigration since 1901. Where the ratio of the sexes in the natural population was less (or greater) than the same ratio in the actual population in 1901, it usually is the same in 1911. Almora, Garhwal, Muttra, Etawah, Etah, Hardoi, Partabgarh, Bara Banki, Gorakhpur, Bahraich and Rampur are however exceptions. This doubtless points to variations in the volume of migration. There is one variation of this kind which has undoubtedly affected the figures of this census,



namely temporary migration to escape plague, which will be referred to subsequently⁽¹⁾. The net result of the comparison between the actual and natural population is that whilst in three divisions the ratio of the latter is higher than that of the former, namely Himalaya West, Sub-Himalaya West, and the Central India Plateau, in the rest it is lower. Over the province the ratio is 903 females to 1,000 males as against 915. The true proportion therefore is even lower than it appears at first sight.

195. **Proportions of the sexes at various age-periods.**—It is unnecessary to do more here than indicate the general run of the series of ratios at various ages, for this is a matter which will have to be fully discussed in all its bearings later on, when the accuracy of the statistics is considered. At age 0, the proportion of females to males is 962, which reflects the excess of males at birth. The male child is more delicate than the female, and the result is that for the period 0 to 5 the ratios are exactly equal. Between 5 to 10 there is a big drop: between 10 and 15 a still bigger drop, to 766. The proportions then become more favourable to the females, very slowly in the first five years, then more rapidly; but there is no excess of females till the last age-period (60 and over), when it is 1,086. This seriation has always been the same in all decades; it has varied in degree but never in nature.

196. **The proportion of the sexes by natural divisions.**—If we except the purely montane tracts (Garhwal, Tehri State and Almora) the ratio of females to males increases from west to east. The Western Plain and Western Sub-Himalayas show the lowest ratios; and with them go Dehra Dun and Naini Tal, which have the two lowest ratios in the province, and Rampur State. The central portion, the Central Plain and the Plateau, comes next: lastly the Eastern Plain, Eastern Sub-Himalayas and East Satpuras. In several respects we have seen that the variations in the province are from west to east, and it is worth while considering whether there is any causal connection between these variations. The chief ones are these:—

- (1) Density increases from west to east.
- (2) Internal female migration is largely from east to west.
- (3) Migration over the border is greater in the east than the west.

(1) Also chapters II and III *passim*.

(4) The lower castes and lower branches of castes live in the east, the higher castes and the higher sub-castes of castes in the west.

Of these points the second and fourth are obviously correlated under the law of hypergamy. The first and third are also correlated since migration is largely dictated by the pressure of the people on the soil, which sends them abroad to make a living there. To some extent the third point is correlated with the ratio of the sexes; for it is the men who chiefly migrate, leaving an excess of women at home. The second point would also affect this ratio, but to a smaller extent, for the loss of emigration of this kind is compensated by immigration of the same kind. If it can be proved that lower castes possess more women than higher castes, the fourth point would also affect the ratios. This is a matter which will be dealt with in a subsequent paragraph: here it need only be said that lower castes do seem to possess more than their share of women. Bearing these facts in mind, therefore, the fact that the ratio of women is greater in the east than the west is not surprising. And if the maps given in the margin above be examined it will appear that the progression from west to east is regular and practically unbroken. Omitting the three montane districts already mentioned, it will be seen that from the western border, up to and including Kheri, Sitapur, Lucknow and Cawnpore, there is a solid block of districts whose ratio of females to 1,000 males is under 900. Next comes a series of districts—Bahraich, Bara Banki, Unao, Fatehpur and Jalaun—with ratios under 940, and one (Jhansi) under 960. East of these the progression is not quite so regular, as Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Jaunpur districts, with a ratio of over 1,000, are sandwiched in between districts with smaller ratios; but, as will be seen below, there are reasons for supposing the excess of females in these districts to be exaggerated by temporary migration, whilst the districts still further east have suffered worse from plague than any other tract of similar extent in the province. And when it is remembered that the Punjab shows a smaller and Bengal a higher ratio than the United Provinces, it seems quite obvious that this regular progression from west to east is not a matter of chance but depends on real differences in environment. Nor is this a peculiarity of the present census: it has always been the case at all enumerations. The proportion of the sexes depends chiefly on the proportion of female to male births and female to male deaths; and a consideration of these and of subsidiary table III will shed some light on the differences between natural divisions. The ratio of female to 1,000 male

Ratio of female to 1,000 male births and deaths respectively by natural divisions.			
Natural division.	Births.	Deaths.	
Himalaya, West	945	941	
Sub-Himalaya, West	925	954	
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	917	959	
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	929	968	
Central India Plateau	925	919	
East Satpuras	925	943	
Sub-Himalaya, East	926	920	
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	925	993	
United Provinces	924	957	

births and deaths respectively are given in the margin. It will be seen that Himalaya West has a much higher and the Western Plain a distinctly lower ratio of female to male births than any other division. The remaining six divisions all have ratios in the neighbourhood of 925. Himalaya West therefore starts at a considerable advantage in the matter of its ratio of females to males. The Western Plain similarly starts at a marked disadvantage. The ratio of female births to male births slightly exceeds the similar ratio

for deaths in Himalaya West: in the Western Plain it is considerably below it. Under these circumstances a high ratio of females and a slight increase since 1901 would be natural in the Himalayan tract, and a low ratio of females and a considerable decrease since 1901 in the Western Plain. Whilst the expectation is fulfilled in the latter case, we find on the contrary a low ratio of females and a decrease since 1901 in the former case. The reason is the excessive immigration of males into Dehra Dun and Naini Tal. The immigrants amount to 31 and 41 per cent. respectively of the total population: amongst them there are only 416 and 704 females respectively to 1,000 males. Emigration on the other hand, though chiefly of males, is trifling. No remark is called for with regard to the ratios of other divisions.

197. Proportions of the sexes at various age-periods by natural divisions.—

(1) *Himalaya West*.—The two noticeable points in the series of sex ratios of this division are its high figures between 5 and 20 and its low ones between 20 and 60. The explanation of the high figures in the first half of life is somewhat obscure. At this age immigration cannot affect the figures, for it is chiefly adult and temporary, and the immigrants do not bring their families with them.

The proportions at these ages are consequently those obtaining amongst the resident population. In the hills woman, probably, is in a position of more consideration than she is in the plains. Polyandry was formerly common there, and it still exists in scattered tracts. In a polyandrous system, woman would be of more account than in any other system, and her ascendancy probably survives. This would operate to prevent the neglect of girl children and in the absence of neglect in childhood a relatively high female birth-rate could easily produce the figure at 5 to 10. Any observer can bear witness that the hill woman is of a class apart, with better physique and capable of harder labour (women coolies are as common as men) than her plains sister. Between 10 and 20 the matter is still more obscure; but a full analysis of the age tables of Garhwal in the report of 1891 throws light on the subject. There is firstly no reason for either understatement or overstatement of female age in the hills: women marry rather later and the *parda* system is unknown. Moreover they look, between 10 and 20, their full age, so that error would be unlikely. There are however both reasons for the understatement of the age of males at this period and probability that understatement will occur, as lads between 10 and 20 often look very much younger than they are. Between 20 and 60 immigration affects the figures: most immigrants would be adult males and as immigration is very considerable (vide above), it would bring down the proportions considerably.

(2) *Sub-Himalaya West, Western Plain and Central Plain.*—There is little to be said as regards these three divisions. The figures of the first two are below the provincial ratios but run in a similar sequence. Plague and malaria suffice to account for these low figures. It may be noted that the Western Sub-Himalayas possess more females between 40 and 60 than between 20 and 40; this occurred also in 1901. On the other hand it possesses fewer women over 60 than any other division except the Western Plain. This also was the case in 1901. The proportion of women in this division at 20 to 40 is low (there are 3,211 women per 10,000 as against 3,313, the provincial figure), whilst its proportion of men at the same age is rather higher than the normal (3,233 against 3,212). Similar proportions were found in 1901, so that the cause of this variation is constant, but I can trace nothing to account for it. The very low proportion of women to men over 60 is also to be noticed in both the Western Sub-Himalayan and Western Plain divisions. This again is a constant variation from the normal: though in 1901 the figures were considerably higher than in 1911, they were lower than those of any other division. The figures of the Central Plain, though they run in a normal series, are higher than the provincial figures at all ages, save 60 and over, and 0 to 5, though in neither case is there any great difference.

(3) *The Central India Plateau, Eastern Satpuras, Eastern Sub-Himalayas and Eastern Plain.*—These divisions, though their series of ratios by age-periods are otherwise normal, show an excess of females over males at 20 to 60. The cause is undoubtedly emigration: the male emigrants are more numerous than the female, and as the age of migration is from 20 onwards the natural result is an excess of females at this age-period. The loss is of course from the population born in the district; and the excess of females caused by emigration is assisted by a further excess of immigrant females over immigrant males. As an example the figures of Gorakhpur may be quoted. Amongst the district born, the ratio of females to 1,000 males is 979, amongst the immigrants it is 1,363.

198. **Proportions of the sexes in the two main religions.**—The proportion of females is somewhat higher amongst Muhammadans than Hindus (921 to 915). At age 0, the figure is 979 as against 957: at age 1 it is lower than the Hindu figure, but from that age till 4 it is higher, whilst the figures for 0 to 5 are considerably higher (1,013 to 996). This points to a comparative absence of neglect of girl children amongst Muhammadans—for which indeed there is no reason—whilst, as will be seen later, it very appreciably affects the figures amongst Hindus. At all succeeding age-periods up to 25 the Muhammadan figures are higher than the Hindu, the result chiefly of their later marriage age. Thereafter however the figures are lower. The cause is partly at all events that Muhammadan widows remarry and so become once more liable to the dangers of child-birth: and this together with the fact that Muhammadan women generally are more prolific than Hindu women tells ultimately on their constitution and diminishes their longevity. It is noticeable that whilst, after the age of 5, females exceed males at only one age-period in each community, that age is 60 and over amongst Hindus and 20 to

25 amongst Muhammadans ; in other words whilst in the Muhammadan community there is a sufficiency of women at the age when for the purposes of reproduction they are most valuable, amongst Hindus the only time when there are more women than men is when for this purpose they are useless. Further details at this stage are unnecessary as the difference between the religions will be referred to again and again in subsequent paragraphs.

199. **The causes of the loss of women since 1901.**—From what has been said, from the merest glance at any of the subsidiary tables which place the figures of 1901 and 1911 side by side, it is clear that in this decade there has been a very great loss of women. The loss is general and widespread, and so severe that the province is worse off for females than it has been for 30 years. Exceptions are rare and, as will be seen, are fictitious. The causes are plague and malaria. I need not repeat the discussion of the effect of plague on the female population ; the matter is fully dealt with in chapter II : it will suffice to remind the reader that for every four men whom plague carries off, it carries off five women. It is impossible to discover the proportion of damage done to the two sexes by malaria. Malaria is only one of many diseases included under the generic term " fever " in the death returns, and it is well known that many diseases are returned as fever of which fever is a mere symptom. " Fever," as a whole, is rather more fatal to women than men, but I imagine that one cause of this is that women are subject to certain diseases accompanied by fever (e.g. puerperal) and to complications during child-birth accompanied by fever to which men are not subject. But so much at all events may be said, that in those months of 1908 when malaria was especially severe and malignant, the deaths of females from fever exceeded those of males to a quite unusual degree. This however is not always so, for in 1897, when there was also a bad epidemic of malaria, women suffered no more severely than men ⁽¹⁾. But at all events there can be no doubt whatever that the causes of the loss in women since 1901 are plague and malaria.

200. **Causes of the increases in certain districts.**—The only districts that need a special treatment in respect of the causes which produced their particular figures are those where increases in the ratios of women to men have occurred. Of these Almora, Garhwal and Tehri State escaped scotfree from plague and no further explanation is needed. But Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Benares and Basti have all suffered severely from plague, yet show increases which in the first three cases are considerable. The cause is once more ultimately plague. The disease always causes a great deal of temporary migration from infected to uninfected areas. It is not usually to any great distance : generally it is to the nearest grove, rarely to a distance of more than a few miles. The better classes go further afield, to country houses of their own, or to houses of their relatives in uninfected areas. It is not possible to trace the course of this migration : the plague returns do not help, for whole districts are not affected ; and one cannot argue from the plague returns that because one district is more and a contiguous district is less affected, the migration will necessarily be from the former to the latter. There may be in close proximity an uninfected area in the district which is the worse attacked, and an infected area in the district which is the less severely attacked, when the migration would be from the latter to the former. There can be no doubt whatever, I think, that the figures of sex have been upset by this migration : plague was severe at census time, and naturally women are the chief emigrants simply because they can be better spared than the men who cannot leave their business or their fields. I learnt at the time that such emigration had actually occurred between Fyzabad and Sultanpur, Jaunpur and other districts and Benares, and Unao and Cawnpore. The amount of temporary migration can be gauged by comparing the proportion of the sexes amongst immigrants in 1911 and 1901 ; I take as examples Fyzabad, Sultanpur and Partabgarh. Their proportions of the sexes (females to 1,000 males) for immigrants in 1901 and 1911 are given in the margin. The figures of 1911 are so very much higher than those of 1901 that it is obvious that the operations of the marriage market are not sufficient to account entirely for them, and I explain the difference by this temporary plague migration. There is also another variation which is caused by this kind of

District.	1901.	1911.
Fyzabad ..	1,867	2,100
Sultanpur ..	2,542	3,696
Partabgarh ..	2,538	3,967

⁽¹⁾ See chapter II, paragraph 37(c) for a possible cause why malaria should be fatal to women. In 1897 specially the births were few and the effect of malaria, which is probably greater in child-birth than at other times, would be at a minimum.

migration⁽¹⁾. The obvious place to which to send a wife out of danger's way is her father's house, if it happens to be in an uninfected area; which is equivalent to sending her back to her birth-place. One may therefore expect to find occasionally that the proportion of women to men in the population born in the district of enumeration has also risen. In Fyzabad for instance there were 943 such women to 1,000 men in 1901; in 1911 there were 947. In Sultanpur the ratios were similarly 923 in 1901 and 937 in 1911. This temporary plague migration has undoubtedly affected the figures in many districts though not to so striking an extent as in Fyzabad, Sultanpur and Partabgarh.

201. **Summary.**—We may now sum up the position. The proportions of women to men is, as always, low. It is lower even than it appears to be, because the excess of immigrant females and of emigrant males upsets the figures. It is much lower than it was in 1901, and generally than it has been for 30 years: the causes are plague and malaria. But we have yet to face the question "Is the whole of that loss real? Is any part of it due to omissions of females from the record?" And, more generally, "Is the deficit of females which always exists in this province not always due in part to such omissions?"

202. **The accuracy of the statistics.**—The writers of successive census reports and the European statisticians who examine and criticize the results of the Indian census have always devoted much attention to the question of the proportion of the sexes. Mr. Baillie in 1891 held strongly that there were considerable omissions of females from the census records. In 1901 Mr. Burn denied it: but since then such critics as Dr. Georg Von Mayr (the statistician whose census system has for two successive enumerations been adopted in India) and Dr. Kirchhoff have restated and approved Mr. Baillie's arguments. It becomes imperative to consider in detail whether those arguments are sound. It must be admitted that at this census, considering the enormous wastage of women which the figures seem to show, and the disastrous effect that it is bound to have on the growth of the population in the future, it would be a relief to discover that these critics were right, that women were omitted, and consequently that there are more women in existence than we know of.

203. **Comparison with other countries.**—The following figures showing the ratios of females to males in various countries will serve as a convenient starting point for discussion. I have arranged them in two sets of three columns, putting on the left the countries where females are in excess and on the right those where females are in defect.

NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.

Country	Number.	Year of census.	Country.	Number.	Year of census.
Portugal	1090	1900	Egypt	992	1907
England and Wales	1068	1911	Greece	986	1907
Scotland	1063	1911	Japan	980	1903
Denmark	1061	1911	Roumania	968	1899
Sweden	1046	1910	Bulgaria	962	1905
Madras	1036	1911	Burma	959	1911
Austria	1035	1900	United States of America	956	1900
Germany	1026	1910			(circa)
France	1022	1901	Siberia	955	1897
Holland	1015	1909	Eastern Bengal and Assam	953	1911
Belgium	1013	1901	India	953	1911
Italy	1010	1901	Canada	952	1901
Hungary	1009	1901			(circa)
Central Provinces	1008	1911	Servia	946	1900
Bengal	1004	1911	Indian States and Agencies	944	1911
Ireland	1004	1911	United Provinces	913	1911
			Caucasus	897	1897
			Australia (greater part), New Zealand	under 950	..

On looking at the figures closely certain points of difference will appear between the countries in the left columns, where the women are in excess of the men, and those in the right columns, where the men are in excess of the women:—

(1) The former class (with women in excess) are all old countries.

If an old country connotes a long-established government and long-established internal peace, Madras and Bengal at all events are "older" than other Indian provinces.

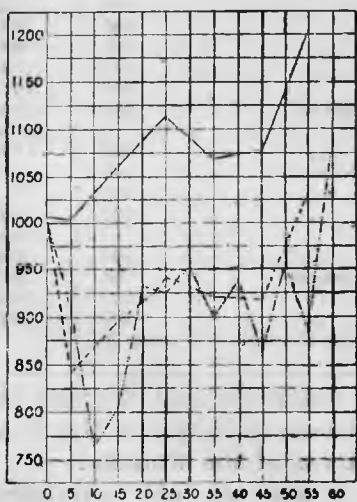
⁽¹⁾ The discussion of this subject in chapters II and III deals chiefly with this aspect of the subject.

- (2) With three exceptions they are all western countries.
 - (3) Many of them lose heavily by male migration.
- On the other hand the latter class (with men in excess) are either—
- (1) new countries (the United States of America and the British colonies): or
 - (2) they are eastern countries (reckoning the east to start with the Balkan Peninsula): or
 - (3) they are countries which gain by immigration, such as the United States of America, the colonies, Eastern Bengal and Assam and Burma: or lose emigrants of both sexes, like the United Provinces.

I do not propose to elaborate the results of these differences: but they seem to me to point a moral. The critics in discussing the Indian proportion of the sexes—however much they may ostensibly make allowance for Indian conditions—are quite clearly biassed by their idea, drawn from the western countries they know best, of what the proportion of the sexes ought to be. If the mere mention of the names of the countries concerned can bring forward three such radical differences between those where women are in excess and those where they are in defect, it makes it clear that to gauge one by the other is illogical. There is no more justification for considering that all women are not counted in India *merely* because there are fewer women than men whilst the reverse is the case in Europe, than there would be for considering that all artisans are not counted in India *merely* because there are fewer artisans than agriculturists, whilst the reverse is the case in Europe. In view of the fact that India is by no means the only country where there is a shortage of women, the Indian shortage is not even essentially surprising. The value of the comparison with other countries' figures lies elsewhere. Their figures are in some respects more accurate than Indian figures, especially in the matter of age. The ratio of females to males is a question closely bound up with the matter of age. The western ratios of females to males at the various age-periods run in a certain sequence; they are capable of graphic expression by means of a particular curve. Do the most accurate Indian figures run in a similar sequence and follow a parallel curve (whether that curve is above or below the "1,000" line)? If it does not, is there any satisfactory explanation of its divergence? If the answer to both these questions is in the affirmative, there is no *prima facie* need for any further apology for the main fact that there is a deficiency of women, any more than there is in Japan or Greece or the United States—however much explanation it may need.

204. The age return and the ratio of the sexes.—The diagram given in the margin has three curves.

CURVES SHOWING CERTAIN RATIOS OF FEMALES TO 1,000 MALES.
 — English } Decennial periods.
 - - - U. P. }
 - . . . U. P. Quinquennial periods.



AGE.	RATIOS OF FEMALES TO 1,000 MALES IN		
	(1) ENGLAND. (1901).	(2) U. P. (1911).	U. P. (1911).
0	992	9,629	82
1-5	1,006	1,013	1,013
0-5	1,004	1,000	1,000
5-10	..	..	906
10-15	..	..	766
5-15	1,003	839	..
15-20	..	..	805
20-25	..	..	933
15-25	1,067	892	..
25-30	..	..	929
30-35	..	..	952
25-35	1,114	960	..
35-40	..	..	901
40-45	..	..	939
35-45	1,068	921	..
45-50	..	..	868
50-55	..	..	960
45-55	1,078	919	..
55 & over	1,206	1,033	..
55-60	..	883	..
60 & over	..	..	1,086

0, 5, 10, &c. = figures at age-period 0 to 5, 5 to 10, &c., 55 and 60 (third curve) includes all returned at 55 or 60 and upwards.

than males. The third curve is a similar curve for the United Provinces but

showing the ratios by quinquennial periods and maintaining the angularity consequent on the heaping up of ages at the multiples of 10. The actual figures which the three curves represent are given in a table appended to the diagram.

If the first two curves are compared, it will be seen that on the whole they are fairly parallel, though the English curve is entirely above the 1,000 line, whilst the United Provinces curve starts at 1,000 and only crosses that line again at 55. The chief differences in them are—

- (1) A very slight drop through the age-period 0 to 5 in England—a very large drop in the United Provinces.
- (2) A rise between 15 and 25, which is considerable in the English and comparatively slight in the United Provinces curve.
- (3) A slight rise between 35 and 45 in the English and a slight fall in the United Provinces curve.
- (4) The final rise of the United Provinces curve between 45 and 55 is perhaps disproportionately great.

The third curve showing the figures by quinquennial periods is very different, rising and falling in the most eccentric manner. Except in the case of 10, the figures at the 10's are all above the smoothed second curve and at the 5's are all below it. This is of course the result of the huge piling up of figures at multiples of 10 due to ignorance of age. It is also noticeable that the curve at 25 falls far less than at other succeeding multiples of 5. From a consideration of these curves, it is clear where explanation is required. We have to explain—

- (1) The very striking drop at 5.
- (2) The still more striking drop at 10.
- (3) The absence of parallelism between the English and United Provinces decennial curves between 15 and 45.
- (4) The disproportionate rise in the United Provinces curve at 55.

Of these I take (3) first. The cause lies not in the United Provinces but the English curve. Wilful understatement of female ages is a well-known phenomenon in English age tables: it is due to vanity and would obviously cause a large decrease in the age-period 35 to 45 and a corresponding increase in the period 25 to 35. If this error be smoothed away the result will be to lower the English curve at 25 and raise it at 35, which would make the two curves parallel at this point.

The other points are more important and I take them seriatim—

(1) and (2). *The drops between 0 to 5 and 5 to 10.*—In both England and India the figure of male births is greater than the figure of female births; and in India the male excess is even greater than in England. Males all through their early years are more delicate than females, and so the male excess at age 0 tends to disappear in both countries; with the result that during the period 0 to 5, the proportions of the sexes are equal or nearly so in both countries. In the next quinquennium however there comes a change and between 5 and 10 the English proportion varies not at all, whilst the Indian proportion drops considerably. The causes I think are as follows. At these early ages there is a much higher female mortality in India than in England. Female infanticide used to have its effect. If there is any at all at the present time (which I doubt), I do not consider that it is sufficient to make any sort of difference to the proportions. For six or seven years the Act under which certain suspected clans were watched has been withdrawn; but before that, for years, it was applied only to a certain number of families in a certain number of villages belonging to 5, and only 5 castes—the Rajput, Jat, Ahir, Gujar and Taga. In 1901 the proportion of females to 1,000 males at all ages in these villages was 743. The proportion of females to 1,000 males for all these five castes and for certain

Caste.	1911.	1901.
Rajput ..	873	887
Jat ..	769	852
Ahir ..	896	937
Gujar ..	760	802
Taga ..	799	837
Brahman ..	899	..
Sonar ..	861	..
Kayasth ..	890	..
Agarwala ..	794	..

others are shown in the margin. Though the figures are lower in 1911 than in 1901 (due to the general loss in females), yet it is quite clear that neither in 1911 nor in 1901 could infanticide possibly have made any difference to the figures even of the caste, let alone of the whole population: whilst the figures of the other castes show that the diminution in the number of females at this census cannot be attributed primarily to infanticide, since other important castes which have never been suspected show figures as low as or even lower than those of the "infanticide" castes. Whether there is as a matter of

fact any infanticide in the villages that used to be suspected is a question that will form the subject of a separate report: here I am only concerned to point out that if there is it is too trivial to affect the total figures.

But if there is no infanticide, there can be no doubt that there is considerable and very widespread neglect of girls. This might affect the figures in two ways: it might lead to omission of girls through carelessness—a view taken by those critics who prefer “omission” as an explanation to any other—or it may result in an unusually high female death-rate at these early ages. As regards the first point, the implication is that the Hindu omits to mention his girl babies because he forgets that he possesses them: and he “forgets” because he dislikes them. I very much doubt whether there is any active dislike of girl babies. I have never noticed any amongst the middle and lower classes, though doubtless to certain higher castes who feel the pressure of the law of hypergamy, the birth of a girl is unwelcome. But even if there is, it would not necessarily lead to forgetfulness of their existence and consequent omission. A man does not usually “forget” his troubles; on the contrary he specially remembers them, and as there could not possibly be any other reason for omitting them, I cannot see that there is any ground whatever for suspecting omission through carelessness. But if there is no active dislike, there is unquestionably passive neglect. “The parents look after the son and God looks after the daughter.” The daughter is less warmly clad, she receives less attention when ill and less and worse food when well. This is not due to cruelty, or even to indifference: it is due simply to the fact that the son is *preferred* to the daughter and all the care, attention and dainties are lavished on him, whilst the daughter must be content with the remnants of all three. In some few cases, this neglect may amount to a fulfilment of Clough’s “commandment”

“Thou shalt not kill—but needst not strive
Officiously to keep alive;”

but I do not think that matters usually go as far as this. The result of course is that the constitutional advantages of females are counterbalanced by the disadvantage of neglect and their death-rate between 1 and 5 is almost invariably somewhat higher than the male death-rate. The proportion of female to 1,000 male deaths for this decade is 1,018 at this age-period (vide subsidiary table VI), and this is not abnormal, though plague has to some extent enhanced the loss at this age as at others. It is not surprising therefore that in the next age-period we find a low figure. The loss, it may be mentioned, is entirely amongst Hindus. Their proportion of females to males between 0 and 5 is 994; that of Muhammadans is 1,012, which is appreciably higher than even the English ratio (1,004).

(3) *The drop at age-period 10 to 15.*—In the diagram given above, whilst the figures at all other multiples of 10 are exaggerated the figure at 10 is the lowest in the series. It is obvious that there are here counteracting causes to overcome the usual phenomenon of heaped up figures at the 10’s. There are several possible causes:

- (1) Understatement of female age.
- (2) Overstatement of female age.
- (3) Omissions of females of this age.
- (4) High female death-rate at this age.

(1) *Understatement of female age* could only be due to one cause, namely to a desire to conceal the presence of a nubile but unmarried daughter. Amongst Hindus at all events, it involves social disgrace if a daughter is not married at puberty. About 5 (to paraphrase Mr. Baillie’s remarks at page 120 of the Report of 1891) the father begins to think of a husband for his daughter: about 10 it becomes an urgent matter. “Dreading the approach of the time when it will be necessary to marry the girl he invariably understates her age, and if she is so old that her age cannot be understated sufficiently, prefers to omit mention of her to admitting he has an unmarried daughter of 15 or over.” In a word the alleged understatement and the alleged omission at this age-period are governed by the same considerations. I have already given reasons for not believing that there is much, if any, understatement of age at this period (chapter V, paragraph 181): I briefly repeat them here.

- (a) If there is understatement, the understatement for the sake of verisimilitude will be as small as possible. Puberty (12 years) is the

crucial time. The figures ought to be heaped up therefore at 8, 9, 10 and 11. They are not so heaped up to any striking extent: the proportions are 933 females to 1,000 males, a figure slightly higher than the proportion for 5 to 10, and they are affected by the presence of the age 10, a favourite figure. There may be a very little understatement but there cannot be much.

- (b) The Muhammadans, who marry later, and to whom spinsterhood is not the same social disgrace as it is to Hindus, have similar figures. Females are in excess up to 7 in both communities and in defect from 8 onwards, viz. just when by this theory they ought to be in excess, for Hindus at all events.

As regards (3) *omission* at this period, the same arguments apply. A digression may here be made to consider Dr. Von Mayr's assertion that the cause of omission amongst Muhammadans at this age is their reticence about the younger inmates of their *zananas*. With due respect I hold that there is no reason whatever for presupposing this reticence; whilst the word "younger" is an addition so unwarranted as to savour of question-begging. A Muhammadan certainly does not babble to all and sundry of his womenfolk, but he has normally no objection to giving the details required by the census schedule; and such reticence as he does show is not confined to the young but extends to all ages alike, for it is connected with his views on the privacy of the *zenana*, not with the age of his womenkind. I can quote an extreme case to prove this, though for obvious reasons I am unable to particularize. In one case such reticence was shown. But though all details of the ladies concerned were suppressed, their total number was mentioned. This, I am persuaded, is the extremest length to which in an extreme case Muhammadan reticence would go; and obviously it has failed to affect the ratio of females to males. The Muhammadan figures also prove clearly that there is no such reticence. The figures for 1911 will be found in subsidiary table II, but in this connection I quote those of 1901 as they were not disturbed by plague. Over the province as a whole the proportion of Muhammadan females to males is higher than the proportion of Hindu females to males at every age-period save the last: the cause here is not less longevity in Muhammadan females, or omissions, but the greater longevity of Muhammadan males. Precisely the same is true of the Western and Central Plains where Muhammadans are chiefly found; and of the Western Sub-Himalayas and Eastern Plain, save at the age-period 0 to 5, where the Hindu proportion is very slightly the greater. In other divisions, save the Himalayan tract, the Muhammadan proportions are greater only at 4 age-periods out of 5, but where there are defects, the defects are trifling. In the Himalayan tract alone do the Hindu proportions of females to males exceed the similar Muhammadan figures at all age-periods; but here the Muhammadans are immigrants or visitors whose womenfolk are elsewhere. One other point may be mentioned here, though it affects the omission theory as a whole. The critics have never paused to inquire whether such omission was feasible; and, if it is, whether it would make all the difference they seem to expect. As regards the first question, at most half of the total Muhammadan population keep their women in *parda*, about one-third of the total number of Hindus do so too: the rest do not. Concealment in the case of Muhammadans whose women are in *parda* might be feasible; but I have already given reasons for disbelieving that it exists. Concealment amongst Hindus of the same class would be scarcely feasible; it could only be due to one cause—that a nubile daughter was unmarried; and such a one would in 99 cases out of 100 be a subject of gossip, well known to everybody, the very last person whose existence could be concealed. In the third case, concealment is absolutely impossible without the connivance of the enumerator. How could a man conceal the existence of a girl from an enumerator (almost invariably his fellow villager, who would know perfectly well how many people he ought to enumerate before he even started on his round to do so), when that enumerator had probably seen her that very day playing in the lanes or working at the well? That enumerators would connive at such concealment wholesale has never been suggested and the suggestion would be a libel if it were made. Finally, the unmarried girls who are recorded already make a difference of 50 to the ratio. There cannot be very many more unrecorded, certainly not enough to make much difference to the figures; for when all is said, such girls are the exception, not the rule.

(2) *Overstatement of female age.*—Subsidiary table II shows that the ratio of females to 1,000 males in the first half of life is 908, in the second half of life is 948. The first is rather below, the second figure considerably above, the proportion at all ages (915). Below 30 therefore the general proportion of females to males is much about the same as it is in the total population in spite of the great deficit at 10 to 15. Among Hindus the figures are 893 and 953 to 915, that is to say, the ratio of females to males below 30 is considerably lower than the ratio in the total Hindu population. Amongst Muhammadans on the other hand the figures are 917 and 927, with 921 for the whole population. A glance at subsidiary table II will then show that whilst in all three age returns we find high figures at 0 to 5, 20 to 25 and 25 to 30 and low figures at 10 to 15 and 15 and 20, these low figures are much lower in the case of Hindus than of Muhammadans, whilst the figures at 20 to 25 are much higher in the case of Muhammadans than Hindus; yet for the whole population and for Muhammadans the ratios of the sexes under 30 are much about the same as they are for the whole population, but that ratio in the case of Hindus is considerably below the total ratio ⁽¹⁾.

The conclusions from these facts seem to be as under:—

(1) There must be overstatement of age amongst both Hindus and Muhammadans, beginning probably between 10 and 15 and culminating between 20 and 25.

(2) There must be additional causes to bring down the Hindu ratio under 30 as low as it is; which may either be (1) understatement in some cases of the age-period 10 to 15; (2) a higher death-rate especially operating at 10 to 15 and 15 to 20; (3) extended overstatement, bringing persons between 25 and 30 into the higher categories.

(1) General overstatement of age would occur in both communities in the case of very young married women, especially those with children. The tendency would be to state the ages of young wives of 13 and 14 as 15; and of young mothers of 15 to 19 as 20. The tendency would be enhanced by the fact that 20 is a favourite number, and 15 also to some extent.

(2) As regards Hindus, it has already been said that though there cannot be much, there is probably some, understatement of the age of unmarried girls of 10 to 15. The figures seem also to point to a certain amount of overstatement resulting in an increase at 30. But the chief reason for the more unfavourable figures of Hindus lies in their earlier marriage age. Puberty is a time that always has its risks even in Europe; but when to the functional derangements which it causes are added the risks attendant on parturition at a very early age and the less immediately fatal, but just as serious dangers of premature sexual relations, it is not surprising that the age-periods 10 to 15 and 15 to 20 should have high death-rates. It is observable in the vital statistics chiefly at 15 to 20, simply because the *chaukidar* is no more accurate in his age returns than the enumerator is, possibly even less so, and consequently the girl mothers of 13 and 14 who die will be returned as 15. The ratio of deaths of females to 1,000 male deaths for the decade at 15 to 20 was 1,081. During the decennium 1891 to 1900 they varied between 1,008 and 1,176 per 1,000 males. This loss falls far more on Hindus than Muhammadans simply because the Muhammadan marriage age is considerably later.

(4) *The disproportionate rise in the curve at 55 and over.*—This can be briefly dismissed. The excess at 55 or 60 and over is partly caused by a further overstatement of age; old women have no notion of their ages themselves; their husbands or sons have even less. They only know so much, that they are very old, and “plump” on 60 or 70 or 80, or even higher figures almost at random. But there is a striking difference between the Hindu and Muhammadan figures. At 60 and over among Hindus there are 1,112 females to 1,000 males, among Muhammadans there are only 962. The cause is the greater longevity of the Hindu female; the enforced widowhood to which she is condemned in many cases helps to save her, whilst the Muhammadan female is not only more prolific, but when a widow, she can remarry, which again exposes her to the dangers of child-birth. In 1901 the difference was however rather less striking; the Hindu figure was 1,186, the Muhammadan figure was 1,063 females aged 60 and over per 1,000 males. The Hindu ratio in this last decade has diminished by 74 as against the Muhammadan decrease of 102. The reason is probably malaria and famine chiefly, though plague did not spare the old. Whether the loss was from malaria, famine

⁽¹⁾ Much the same is observable in England. The figures are 1,063 (total population 1901), 1,038 under 30, 1,114 over 30.

or plague, it doubtless worked havoc amongst the old inmates of Muhammadan zanas in the poor but proud households, referred to in chapter IV, paragraph 141. Doctoring against malaria could not reach them; they would starve rather than accept charity in famine time; they could not escape from plague.

205. **Other causes affecting the ratio of the sexes.**—So far the discussion has taken the form of attempting to “smooth” the angles of the curve of ratios at various age-periods so as to bring it into conformity with the similar English curve. If that has been done, then it follows that since the two curves are of a similar kind, there is no *primâ facie* reason to distrust the figures of sex. Incidentally reference has been made to the “omission” theory, and the various points which it raises in support of its arguments have been dealt with. It now remains to mention various other causes which affect the ratio of the sexes.

206. **Female and male death-rates.**—If the low proportion of females to males is not due to omissions, and if it can only be very partially explained by the excess of males at birth, then it follows that the female death-rate must be particularly high, relatively to the male death-rate. Dr. Von Mayr and other critics have argued that because it was *not* relatively high in the decade 1891 to 1900, therefore omission is the only possible explanation. The argument is surely illogical. It is impossible to assume that the proportions disclosed by the vital statistics for a single decade are those always existing. Variations in these vital rates occur in various decades, and the deficit of females is not a thing attributable to any single decade; its ultimate cause lies

Period.	Birth-rate.		Death-rate.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1891—1900	38·9	37·4	33·5	32·0
1901—1910	41·7	41·1	38·9	39·7

far back in the past. Indeed the birth and death-rates given in the margin afford a certain proof of the correctness of the census figures. In 1891—1900, the female death-rate was less than the male death-rate by more than the excess of the male birth-rate

over the female birth-rate. It was a state of affairs favourable to the growth of the female population, and it was accompanied by a rise, as recorded by the census, in that population. In the present decade the male birth-rate exceeded the female birth-rate and the female death-rate exceeded the male death-rate, a very unfavourable state of affairs for the growth of the female population. It was accompanied by a decrease in that population. So far from the vital statistics being opposed to the census statistics they correspond to and support them in both decades. But even if this had not been so, it would not have been justifiable to argue from a contradiction between the two sets of statistics to the inaccuracy of the census figures. This is to assume that the vital statistics are more correct than the census statistics, which I think nobody who knows anything of the former would venture to assert. The question of their accuracy has been fully discussed in chapter II, and it is unnecessary to repeat what was there said. There are always omissions in the vital statistics; considering the disasters of this last decade it is quite possible that the omissions were larger than usual, to a greater extent of deaths than births, and to a greater extent of female deaths than male deaths. In a word, the female death-rate of 1901—1910 is higher even than it appears to be. This however is probably exceptional. I see no reason whatever for supposing, as Dr. Von Mayr has asserted, that there are more omissions of female deaths than of male deaths, save in scattered cases and exceptional circumstances where the death was of a disgraceful or criminal nature. But against such cases one would have to put similar omissions of births which would be also of a disgraceful kind.

207. **Causes of a high female death-rate.**—The causes which operate to produce a high death-rate at the ages 1 to 5 and 15 to 20 have already been mentioned. In the latter case, the excess of female over male deaths persists right through the period 20 to 30, viz. through the whole child-bearing period. This points to the chief causes which raise the female death-rate; they are all connected with child-birth. The first and chief is unskilful midwifery. The midwife is some low-caste woman, for no one of equal caste would attend a woman at child-birth, when she is impure. Her methods are primitive, her knowledge next to nothing; she is uncleanly in her person and her instruments, and she knows nothing whatever of aseptics. The result is an enormously high infantile mortality, which has attracted the attention of Government more than once. Infantile lockjaw or septicæmia, the result of careless surgery, are the curses of child-birth; even the Hindus themselves

recognise their danger and (*more suo*) have feasts to ward off the lockjaw demon on the

Year.	Infantile mortality per 1,000 births.		Mortality at age 0 per 1,000 living.		Ratio of female deaths at 15 to 30 to 1,000 births.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Births.
1901 ..	237.3	227.8	324.43	298.99	44.9
1902 ..	248.0	239.0	374.97	348.53	40.2
1903 ..	279.0	269.1	425.59	394.28	48.0
1904 ..	227.3	225.9	350.90	334.40	51.2
1905 ..	264.2	261.5	361.29	341.19	71.8
1906 ..	249.7	252.2	333.57	320.45	61.0
1907 ..	254.7	251.6	347.97	327.51	72.5
1908 ..	336.5	354.6	419.33	418.79	72.4
1909 ..	243.1	240.0	268.97	252.59	65.3
1910 ..	232.9	221.2	316.66	286.96	61.5
1901—10 ..	256.7	253.3	352.37	332.37	59.1

sixth and twelfth days after birth which are supposed to be the most dangerous. I have consulted all civil surgeons, but their replies, full and interesting as they were, added little to the common knowledge of the facts. That in such circumstances the Indian mother in child-birth is in far greater danger of her life than any European mother will need no proof; but the figures given in the

margin are striking. They show how dangerous child-birth is not only to the child but to the mother. Government has of late been endeavouring to teach the Indian midwives the elements of sanitation and aseptic precautions. It is indubitably the only way to reduce the infantile and female mortality, for the people refuse to part with their primitive customs in this matter. In obstetric cases they seldom turn to European hospitals for assistance unless the danger is serious. The Dufferin Fund hospitals for women in this province have long held the record for the number of cases treated. Yet in 1908 the total number of cases was only some 440,000, an increase of 6 per cent. since 1899. Even for ordinary cases of illness women are much less frequent visitors to the hospitals than men. Out of 1,000 cases treated in any average year some 530 will be males, some 250 children under 10, and some 220 only females.

Even if a woman has brought a child safely into the world her risks are not over. The period of lying-in is very much shortened; it varies with different castes, but seldom exceeds a week or ten days and is often much less. Allowance can be made for the fact that people accustomed to a primitive style of living are hardier than more civilized races, but none the less such a fact as this, even if it does not immediately prove dangerous to the woman, must often result in uterine diseases of various kinds which will tell on her health in the end. A smaller point is the kind of food given to women at or just after child-birth—often nauseous messes, assafoetida⁽¹⁾ and water, or ginger, turmeric and treacle—selected rather for their supposed efficacy in scaring demons than for any nourishing properties. Let the reader endeavour to imagine the sort of atmosphere which would be created by burning bran, leather and horns in an enclosed space; yet this is the atmosphere which is deliberately created in the sick-room of a mother in child-birth to scare off the lockjaw demon. A high female mortality at the child-bearing ages is scarcely surprising in such circumstances; indeed the wonder is not that it is so high but that in spite of all these disadvantages it is no higher. There are other minor disadvantages: the enforcement of widowhood, often a virgin widowhood, results at times in illicit connections, illegitimate births, abortion and death. Widows are mere servants; their life is a round of joyless drudgery. To women of the lower classes their life is one of unremitting toil. Such conditions are also adverse to a low female mortality. In short, from the cradle to the grave, woman is subjected to dangers peculiarly her own—neglect in her earliest years, the results of sexual intercourse whilst still immature, the grave dangers of child-bearing all through her married life, lack of skilled attention when ill, unremitting drudgery in her old age. This has gone on for centuries. Why in the circumstances critics should cavil at the deficiency of women it is not easy to understand.

208. **The effect of the famine of 1907-08 on the ratio of the sexes.**—It is usually asserted that famine proves most fatal to the very young, and the very old; and that woman is better able to stand it than man. Though Dr. Von Mayr has ridiculed the second statement, it has been observed at two successive famines, and there are numerous reasons to support it. These reasons can be briefly stated. Physically, woman is constitutionally stronger than man, and better able to stand the wasting process; she has less muscle and more fat in her composition and needs less food than man. These are physiological facts that are well established. She is less

(1) Assafoetida, I am told, used to be a remedy used by western doctors in child-birth. It possibly belongs also to the Yunani and other eastern systems. Its use in western medicine is now discontinued.

exposed at all times to the weather than man is, who has to bear the brunt of heavy agricultural work, spending long nights in the fields to watch his crops, ploughing and sowing in fields which at the autumn sowing are often several inches deep in water. In famine time men do all the severe work: women are but carriers of the earth which the men dig and put in the women's baskets; as often as not they have not even to bend and lift the basket, for the men raise and put it on the women's heads. Women cook the food and collect such edibles as grow wild (the *mahua* for instance): it would not be human nature if they did not get a little more than their share in the process. More women get gratuitous relief than men, and they get the bulk of the small luxuries of famine—the extra doles, the clothes, the delicacies provided by private charity. They have the handling of the money doles given to their children: though these are not as a rule misappropriated, yet such doles as are given for infants are meant in the first place for the mother so long as she can feed her child herself, so that she reaps direct benefit thereby. When children are given food instead of money, it is they who take the children to the kitchen, and since the rations are plentiful, they frequently get what the children are unable to eat. These facts cannot be denied; they are based on the observation of many who have actually been through famine, and are supported by such authorities as the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Province (Sir John Hewett) and Lord MacDonnell. Their matured opinions carry more weight than the statements of a statistician however famous.

The kind of effect produced by famine on the ratios of the sexes may be seen by comparing the proportions of female to male deaths in a normal and famine year. I put side by side the figures of 1891 (normal) and 1897 (famine) and 1901 (normal) and 1908 (famine). I have reproduced the older figures because of the striking difference between them and the newer figures. In both series we find

Age.	Female deaths to 100 male deaths in—			
	1891.	1897.	1901.	1908.
0 ..	90	95	89	96
1—5 ..	99	102	102	103
5—10 ..	76	79	81	85
10—15 ..	71	70	74	80
15—20 ..	114	103	121	102
20—30 ..	101	90	113	109
30—40 ..	78	72	86	94
40—50 ..	75	72	84	87
50—60 ..	74	73	82	91
60 and over ..	81	80	89	105

that the ratio of female deaths rises above the normal in infancy. At 1 to 5 and 5 to 10, it is slightly higher than the normal; between 15 and 30 it is very appreciably lower. The reason is that when scarcity begins to threaten, conception diminishes; the birth-rate of a famine year is consequently lower than the normal, though not so much lower as the birth-rate of the year succeeding a famine is. The peculiar dangers of this period are lessened, and woman, who in their absence is at her prime of life, reaps to the full the advantages which assist her in famine.

Normally one would expect similar though smaller diminutions in the ratio of female deaths at all other age-periods, owing to these very advantages; and in 1897 the figures fulfil expectation. But in 1908 they do not. The ratio of female deaths is very appreciably higher than the normal at all these age periods. Of this striking difference an explanation is needed.

One cause of the difference is undoubtedly the effect of malaria. Both in 1897 and 1908 there were epidemics of this disease, which is the usual concomitant though not the effect of famine; and in attempting to gauge the effect of famine on the ratios of the sexes the effect of the subsequent malaria on the ratio should be excluded. For malaria attacked equally those who had felt the pressure of famine and those who had not, European troops, European ladies, who had passed the summer in the hills, poor and rich alike. Indeed malaria attacked most of those who had felt the pressure of famine least, for it was most severe and most fatal just where famine had not been present. To get a true picture of the effect of famine on the ratio of the sexes it would be necessary to work out the figures given above for the months of the year in which famine was prevalent. This is unfortunately impossible as figures by age-period and sex are not available for separate months. But the measure of the difference that would result if the calculation were possible can be gauged from the following facts. From January to August 1908 (the famine period) the ratio of female deaths to 100 male deaths was 88; from September to December 1908, after famine was over and malaria had appeared, the ratio was 106; 48 per cent. of the total deaths of the year occurred during the famine months, 52 per cent. during the malaria months. The ratio of female to 100 male deaths from fever was 99 over the whole year: during the famine

months it was 88, during the malaria months it was 110. The ratio of female to 100 male deaths from fever in 1901 was 92. These facts make it quite clear that in famine woman suffers proportionately less than man, and that the figures for the whole year 1908 are upset merely by the epidemic of malaria of its last months. In 1897, it may be noted, malaria was much less dangerous to females: the percentage of female to male deaths from fever was only 86 through the whole year; whilst the total deaths of that year were fewer by 70,000 than the deaths from fever alone in 1908.

There is also another and more gratifying cause. There can be no doubt that part of the differences mentioned are due to the fact not that more women died but that fewer men died during the famine. This is attributable chiefly to the absence of wandering. This absence of wandering was, I think, due to the fact that the people by 1908 had learnt by experience that Government was anxious and willing to assist them. In 1897, as the report of the famine shows, they had not yet obtained such confidence in Government, and took to their traditional methods of escape from famine—at best, wandering in search of work, and at worst, looting the grain dealers' shops. In 1908 there was no predisposition to wander: a timely distribution of gratuitous relief at an unusually early date kept them at home; and when the relief works opened, they flocked to them at once, often in ready-made gangs. It is these wanderers who feel the worst effects of famine; it is chiefly they who starve. And it is amongst them that man would most severely feel his disadvantages and woman would reap the fullest benefit of her advantages. If male mortality has decreased at this famine it is because there was next to no wandering. The proof of these statements can be found in the poor-house figures. These are, in theory, temporary resting houses where such wanderers as these are housed, clothed and fed, together with the flotsam and jetsam of humanity that roves over India in pursuit of charity or religion, with no settled home⁽¹⁾ or a home so far away as to be for practical purposes no home. When such persons are restored to health they are sent home to be brought on the gratuitous relief lists or drafted to works; they are kept permanently, only if both incapable of work and also homeless. The inmates of the poor-houses in 1908 were never more than 6,000 at any one time and belonged chiefly to the homeless class—the beggar, the pilgrim, the orphan, the incapables, leper and blind and otherwise diseased. In 1897 the poor-houses save in six weeks never held less than 10,000 inmates and in 39 weeks held over 20,000; 58,000 was the maximum reached. In the words of the report of 1897, the poor-houses in that famine became infirmaries; in 1908 they were merely what the name indicates—a home for paupers and homeless persons. Nobody else became inmates of them because nobody else left their homes save for the relief works.

209. **The proportion of the sexes in various castes.**—The figures are given in subsidiary table IV. The main general conclusion to which they lead is that the lower caste has a higher proportion of females than the higher caste. At one end of the scale is the Mallah and the Dusadh with figures which, save between 5 and 15, are comparable to the figures of Western Europe: at the other end is the Jat, Agarwal Bania, Sonar and Rajput. It has usually been held that race has something to do with this difference: social status and race certainly go together, but as I have elsewhere stated racial differences in the province are not sufficiently clearly marked to allow any definite conclusions to be formed in the matter. But it should not be forgotten that these lower castes are also the labouring castes who lose, especially in the east of the province, large numbers of males by emigration. There are more English women than English men because so many Englishmen go down to the sea in ships: in exactly the same way there are more female than male Mallahs because so many male Mallahs go down to the rivers in boats. Of the castes at the other end of the scale the Jat has very low figures indeed and his figure at age 0 to 5 is the lowest found in any considerable caste. Suspicion of infanticide in certain parts of the country has rested more heavily and more continuously on this caste than on any other, and these figures require examination in consequence. The ratio for the whole caste is much lower than in 1901 (769 as against 852); but the Jat lives in a tract of country that has suffered very severely from plague and with exceptional severity from malaria, both of which have caused a great loss of female life, so that the present low figure need cause no surprise. Further, if

(1) In 1908 there was in the Karwi poor-house an old blind pilgrim who lived the other side of Trichinopoly. He had wandered north on pilgrimage to Benares and then, as he explained it, "taken a wrong turning."

female infanticide existed it would diminish the ratio at the early ages ; and the proportion of young children to married women would also be low. The figures for 1901 are not available, and those for 1891 are not very satisfactory as it is only possible to compare the figures for the periods 0 to 15 and 15 to 40. But of female children aged 0 to 15 there are now 788 to 1,000 male children at the same age, as against 669 in 1891 ; and of children under 15 to married women aged 15 to 40 there are now 237 per 100 married women as against 196 in 1891. These figures do not point to any increase in infanticide, such as would be necessary to account for the present figures if infanticide were the cause. The young female population (0 to 15) is now 39 per cent. of the total of females as against 37 per cent. in 1891 : the loss of women has occurred in the other two age-periods, 15 to 40 and 40 and over, 1 per cent. in each. And finally, low though the proportion of females is in this caste, it would take a full generation for the effects of infanticide to disappear. The effect was apparently disappearing in 1901, when plague and subsequently malaria came in with their disastrous effects on the female population and re-established a shortage of women. It may be mentioned that low figures at the age of 0 to 5 are also found amongst the Rajputs and Ahirs (947 and 962) ; but as they stand they certainly do not point to the prevalence of infanticide. The low figures of the Agarwal Bania and their peculiar distribution (they are considerably higher at 0 to 5 and 5 to 12 than at any other age-period) seem to show that a great many of their women are married out of the province. The same is true in less degree of the Sonars. These are large trading castes with widespread connections and the Agarwals' chief habitat is in Rajputana, so that it is *a priori* probable that they have extensive marriage connections with other provinces.

210. **The causation of sex.**—The causation of sex is a *vexata quaestio* which many have answered to their own satisfaction and nobody else's. Aristotle and Lucretius began the hunt of this particular hare : their views are perhaps more curious than those of modern inquirers, but not much more unconvincing. Hofacker and Sadler held that if the husband was older than the wife, more boys were born than girls and *vice versa* : Noisot, Breslau and Barner held exactly the opposite view ; the experience of this province would support the former. Others have held that not the relative but the absolute ages of the parents decided the question. Dr. Ewart of Middlesbrough has lately published figures tending to show that young *female* parents tend to produce an excess of females over males, and more mature parents to do the opposite : the turning point occurs between the 25th and 29th year. He states that in a state of society where females are scarce, they marry early and so produce an excess of their own sex : where females are numerous, females marry late and so produce an excess of the male sex. In both cases the result is a tendency to revert to exact balance between the sexes. It is obvious that this theory too is opposed to Indian experience ; but until something is known of the effect of the age of the male parent in the matter, and until figures are available which are based on a considerably larger number of cases than those Dr. Ewart gives, the theory is inconclusive. Other students regard the causation of sex as determined by the Mendelian law ; "maleness" and "femaleness" they regard as a pair of Mendelian units such as "tallness" and "shortness" and inherited along the same lines. Dusing has also an important theory to the general effect that in favourable circumstances more females are born and in less favourable circumstances more males. Other theories depend on the physical superiority of one or the other parent. One school holds that the parent who for the time being is stronger determines the sex of the child, others that the parent who for the time being is weaker does so. The former it may be mentioned is the orthodox Hindu view.

It is useless to wade through the masses of scientific and pseudo-scientific accounts of the causation of sex⁽¹⁾. Nor can any valuable results be obtained from comparing the facts observed in India with any particular theory. The facts may or may not fit the theory : but they will not either prove or disprove it. But without any attempt at discussion, some Indian theories may be mentioned, though they are no more convincing than any other theories.

(1) The stronger⁽²⁾ parent determines the sex. This is the Shastric view.

(1) For a full account see Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*, pages 469—482.

(2) Stronger means, according to various theories, stouter, older, or with the stronger sexual desire.

(2) Intercourse on the 6th, 8th, 10th, &c., night after the monthly course results in a male; intercourse on the 5th, 7th, 9th, &c. night results in a female. (Opinions however differ as to whether the even or uneven numbers are the "lucky" ones.)

(3) The matter is connected with the semen: if from the right side a male is born and *vice versa*. (One English medical opinion connects the matter similarly with the ovum in the female.)

(4) The sex of all children but the first is determined by the particular month in which the first child was born. If a child is a male, any child born in the odd months after that month will be male. In a word the months are alternately favourable for male and female children.

(5) The sex of children depends on the moon! The first half of the lunar month is favourable to the conception of male children, the second half to the conception of female children.

(6) On the principle of *fortunatus in uno, fortunatus in omnibus*, the lucky man (rich, strong, healthy, wise and so on) has sons: the unlucky man (poor, weak, foolish) has daughters.

There are other theories which are variations of these and western theories, but the ones quoted appear to be the most common. They obviously throw small light on the matter.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

Extracts from a letter by MAJOR H. AUSTEN SMITH, I.M.S., Civil Surgeon of Agra,
(see paragraph 207). (This is a sample of dozens of similar letters.)

1. The worst room in a house is almost always set apart for confinements—small, dirty, ill-ventilated and badly lighted. In my experience in confinement cases among Indian women I have always found this, even among the better classes; therefore the amount of puerperal septicaemia among women is very large. I myself last hot weather in Agra saw two cases of puerperal septicaemia in one house, and in each case the woman was in the same room, and that the filthiest room in the house, a kind of outhouse in the compound. The first time I went I warned them of future danger, but 5 months afterwards I saw the second case in the same room—both died. I also warned them of the dangers of the indigenous, ignorant and dirty low caste midwife, going from one septic case to another and spreading puerperal septicaemia, but it was of no avail Another cause of excessive mortality among women is of course plague—many die at the child-bearing age.

2. Although infant marriage prevails largely in India the husband and wife are never allowed to live together—anyhow in this part of the country—before the “*gauna*” or second marriage and this takes place when the girl is grown up or about 16. Still, it means a boy of 16 or 17 and a girl of 16 having children before nature intended them to and the result is poorly developed children and the health of the mother is often ruined. Our Maternity Hospitals see frequently the evil effects of early child-bearing when many girls are not developed sufficiently to bear children and all kinds of obstetric operations are necessary. Osteomalacia or mollities ossium is very common in India and always among the female sex and is especially associated with pregnancy—the causes appear to be bad food, insanitary surroundings, possibly climate to some extent, possibly early pregnancy. Osteomalacia leads to deformity of the pelvis and the necessity of crushing the child at birth or performing caesarian section—both leading to great risk to the mother.

3. Taking our experience at the Lady Lyall and Maternity Hospitals at Agra for out-patients:—

Women attend for almost all diseases, medical and surgical, as entered in the Government registers, many cases of malaria, tuberculosis, and naturally many for diseases connected with the generative system. In obstetric cases—many natural labours attend—above 200 in the year at the Maternity Hospital at Agra. These cases always come of their own wish—probably because they know of the benefits—and do not have *daïs* outside. Many of course have employed *daïs* outside and some come too late to be saved but these cases are becoming rarer every year. Many cases that attend are bad cases, needing forceps, version, craniotomy and possibly caesarian section; for as I have said above osteomalacia is not uncommon in India, leading to the very contracted pelvis where there is no hope of delivery “*per vias naturales*.” So that out of the 350 to 400 maternity cases that are admitted to the Maternity Hospital, Agra, every year, more than half come of their own accord and are mostly natural cases; the rest come because there is difficulty, some early, when help can be given and all goes well, some late when we are able to just pull them through, some too late when there is no hope; these latter are getting fewer every year. In most of these difficult cases the midwife has worked her unclean will. Of course one great drawback in India is that during confinements women are unclean and they have to put up with the worst instead of, as in educated countries, the very cleanest, best and latest possible methods and the best nursing that can be obtained. The cases that are saved often have children again and having learnt wisdom come to the Hospital the next time. We have had cases of caesarian section being performed twice on the same patient.

Subsidiary table I.—*General proportion of the sexes by natural divisions and districts.*

	Number of females to 1,000 males.					
	1911.		1901.		1891.	1881.
	Actual population.	Natural population	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Actual population.
United Provinces	915	903	937	923	930	925
<i>Himalaya, West</i>	903	949	913	949	898	892
Dchra Dun	697	830	733	743	676	715
Naini Tal	770	880	799	884	790	800
Almora	970	962	955	966	975	994
Garhwal	1,036	1,009	1,032	1,052	1,036	1,024
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	856	860	881	895	874	871
Saharanpur	823	823	834	872	853	847
Bareilly	843	850	862	851	873	881
Bijnor	887	873	918	911	899	883
Pilibhit	861	881	884	912	878	883
Kheri	875	887	891	907	875	869
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	841	832	868	844	859	855
Muzaffarnagar	817	779	869	805	848	852
Meerut	848	832	876	869	832	861
Bulandshahr	897	878	900	879	894	880
Aligarh	852	843	891	870	867	852
Muttra	815	818	836	835	834	831
Agra	834	826	834	855	857	850
Farrukhabad	822	829	848	853	849	850
Mainpuri	817	787	837	789	829	812
Etawah	824	824	842	824	834	828
Etah	837	825	851	857	832	829
Budaun	823	825	854	871	858	860
Moradabad	867	871	888	899	891	893
Shahjahanpur	842	834	862	878	855	853
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	917	907	956	948	952	953
Cawnpore	832	849	868	887	867	879
Fatehpur	933	920	965	950	943	967
Allahabad	972	967	1,000	981	982	987
Lucknow	856	885	912	915	901	908
Unao	903	901	957	939	948	945
Rae Bareli	991	959	1,027	986	1,021	1,039
Sitapur	878	873	896	891	896	894
Hardoi	833	868	876	885	866	857
Fyzabad	1,005	983	978	982	987	980
Sultanpur	1,032	972	1,026	985	1,028	1,016
Partabgarh	1,059	1,007	1,046	1,061	1,046	1,013
Bara Banki	921	903	953	957	960	961
<i>Central India Plateau</i>	959	966	969	943	953	948
Banda	980	1,024	987	990	978	971
Hamirpur	981	976	992	986	971	953
Jhansi	954	939	956	886	920	924
Jalaun	932	901	938	895	942	935
<i>East Satpuras</i>	1,020	1,002	1,042	1,016	1,015	1,004
Mirzapur	1,020	1,002	1,042	1,016	1,015	1,004
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	975	961	980	975	970	973
Gorakhpur	995	977	1,011	1,013	1,000	1,004
Basti	976	967	973	951	968	978
Gonda	965	947	965	957	955	953
Bahraich	924	923	931	944	911	912
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	995	966	1,039	993	1,009	991
Benares	984	969	982	967	972	980
Jaunpur	1,007	1,003	1,039	1,014	992	978
Ghazipur	998	965	1,055	1,098	1,022	994
Ballia	995	922	1,084	1,002	1,086	1,055
Azamgarh	991	965	1,020	982	992	965
Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West)	1,026	1,017	1,015	1,001	1,038	953
Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	877	875	898	902	894	919

Subsidiary table II.—*Number of females per 1,000 males at a different age-periods by religions at each of the last three censuses.*

Age.	All religions.			Hindus.			Muhammadans.		
	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.
0—1	976	967	962	973	961	857	997	993	979
1—2	1,036	1,025	1,011	1,037	1,029	1,012	1,028	1,003	1,003
2—3	1,057	1,014	1,032	1,057	1,014	1,029	1,059	1,011	1,041
3—4	1,058	1,023	1,042	1,057	1,022	1,040	10,70	1,031	1,058
4—5	994	987	960	990	985	936	1,026	998	995
Total 0—5	1,020	1,000	1,000	1,018	999	996	1,034	1,007	1,013
5—10	904	912	906	900	910	904	924	928	918
10—15	750	801	766	748	799	765	767	818	771
15—20	812	829	805	804	820	799	867	883	843
20—25	975	1,001	933	969	995	979	1,049	1,057	1,016
25—30	962	948	929	958	945	960	1,014	994	958
Total 0—30	905	913	908	901	909	893	939	941	917
30—40	928	945	931	927	944	933	944	965	930
40—50	929	949	914	925	947	915	956	972	913
50—60	976	971	940	972	972	952	1,007	971	913
60 and over	1,194	1,165	1,086	1,208	1,186	1,912	1,134	1,063	962
Total 30 and over	973	981	948	972	981	955	987	984	927
Total of all ages (actual population).	930	937	915	927	935	915	957	957	921
Total of all ages (natural population).	..	923	903	..	..	..	..	..	..

Subsidiary table III.—*Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods*

Age.	Himalaya, West.			Sub-Himalaya, West.			Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.			Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.		
	All religions.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	All religions.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	All religions.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	All religions.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.
Total 0—5 ..	1,019	1,019	1,021	987	981	1,007	956	950	992	997	994	1,019
0—1 ..	978	977	1,000	961	962	967	952	1,002	987	951	955	970
1—2 ..	1,013	1,009	1,063	1,016	1,011	1,036	976	1,021	973	1,021	1,015	1,012
2—3 ..	1,054	1,863	996	1,009	998	1,040	979	1,060	1,022	1,032	1,084	1,053
3—4 ..	1,115	1,118	1,078	1,037	1,027	1,077	986	1,088	1,020	1,036	1,092	1,049
4—5 ..	965	961	984	943	935	957	909	1,023	953	977	1,034	1,036
Total 0—30 ..	972	967	747	855	846	886	829	858	879	909	895	968
5—10 ..	951	952	930	880	874	899	873	867	900	926	922	946
10—15 ..	867	881	704	730	712	756	723	713	768	987	786	792
15—20 ..	873	896	608	773	760	811	791	784	827	809	801	869
20—25 ..	843	892	632	839	888	952	917	1,065	929	979	1,020	1,112
25—30 ..	875	894	606	863	837	888	727	792	863	962	962	1,134
Total 30 and over.	887	885	611	856	712	872	862	859	885	973	965	932
30—40 ..	875	894	594	815	748	851	885	743	895	974	958	920
40—50 ..	839	829	570	827	564	863	835	977	892	941	1,851	981
50—60 ..	895	830	669	890	758	899	827	873	866	942	988	854
60 and over ..	1,029	1,053	724	999	1,032	914	903	910	877	1,082	1,104	962
Total of all ages (actual population).	7,533,865	1,410,858	106,837	4,334,049	3,166,563	1,110,340	12,887,153	10,474,806	2,159,397	12,425,268	10,871,555	1,513,969
Total of all ages (natural population).	1,417,119	4,324,653	12,832,874	12,669,821

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by religions and natural divisions (Census of 1911).

Central India Plateau.			East Satpuras.			Sub-Himalaya, East.			Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.			British Territory.		
All religions.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	All religions.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	All religions.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	All religions.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	All religions.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.
962	983	965	1,061	1,064	1,026	1,039	1,038	1,042	1,038	1,039	1,033	999	997	1,011
939	1,011	917	1,002	948	891	995	941	1,001	952	1,036	978	960	957	977
1,027	1,049	997	1,050	1,021	1,075	1,028	1,018	1,005	1,015	992	991	1,011	1,015	1,001
1,035	1,130	1,018	1,127	1,039	1,090	1,056	1,034	1,048	1,084	969	1,075	1,030	1,029	1,004
995	1,105	1,014	1,105	1,034	1,074	1,094	1,008	1,102	1,055	977	1,063	1,042	1,040	1,059
946	1,027	1,018	1,028	969	1,048	1,026	985	1,028	1,035	904	1,046	970	967	99
915	925	942	974	977	957	964	908	935	941	914	1,005	971	894	89
927	925	955	965	964	949	921	921	919	909	907	929	906	904	91
780	785	818	839	840	833	795	795	796	786	783	807	767	765	777
832	830	871	856	855	854	792	783	845	822	826	990	805	799	84
1,005	994	1,166	1,141	1,208	1,077	1,058	1,031	1,074	1,108	638	1,282	979	980	1,011
935	1,039	891	1,034	626	1,005	1,272	1,017	945	1,000	1,120	1,185	929	928	95
7046	1,063	1,031	7098	1,097	698	995	1,067	1,091	1,094	1,174	1,049	948	953	92
935	1,055	894	1,025	1,022	1,057	880	1,026	1,067	1,132	1,335	1,114	932	933	93
964	1,045	1,002	1,056	1,045	975	979	1,000	989	1,027	1,032	852	914	915	91
1,323	932	1,204	1,139	1,149	1,057	1,040	1,063	1,027	1,050	1,056	1,265	939	945	91
1,388	1,364	1,363	1,400	1,439	1,077	1,337	1,367	1,176	1,186	1,221	1,013	1,086	1,112	96
2,201,923	2,059,743	129,100	1,071,046	1,001,022	68,507	7,491,490	6,430,309	1,055,989	5,231,250	4,708,490	514,234	47,182,044	40,122,238	6,658,3
2,209,942	..	..	1,107,163	..	..	7,487,579	..	..	5,633,251	..	..	47,973,531	..	..

Subsidiary table IV.—*Number of females per 1,000 males for certain selected castes.*

Castes.	Number of females per 1,000 males.						
	All ages.	0-5.	5-12.	12-15.	15-20.	20-40.	40 and over.
1. Brahman	899	930	836	728	742	905	996
2. Rajput	873	948	955	719	783	892	911
3. Sonar	861	978	906	718	747	832	853
4. Shaikh	895	1,011	883	740	852	901	901
5. Kayastha	871	1,012	941	761	795	854	930
6. Chamar	958	1,036	903	801	875	980	1,017
7. Kahar	932	1,004	889	736	784	976	993
8. Gadariya	906	985	901	740	839	925	930
9. Kumhar	941	1,000	895	792	930	970	955
10. Dhobi	937	1,025	711	760	864	979	958
11. Agarwal (Banias)	794	948	902	705	717	760	776
12. Ahir	895	952	833	729	784	919	956
13. Kurmi	929	988	897	741	812	947	996
14. Mallah	1,143	1,076	953	915	1,033	1,304	1,271
15. Jat	769	852	766	725	693	772	782
16. Dom	938	1,039	910	850	933	932	889
17. Dusadh	1,079	1,080	942	1,003	1,074	1,139	1,134
18. Pathan	922	1,035	891	755	797	944	963
19. Lohar	912	997	901	731	817	930	945
20. Nai	921	1,007	883	731	822	950	974
21. Sayed	928	978	943	777	851	945	948
22. Barhi	875	991	835	714	795	889	890
23. Julaha	945	1,025	914	797	894	1,009	910
24. Teli	928	1,009	888	764	838	958	963
25. Lodha	896	977	857	800	841	907	928
26. Bharbhunja	891	1,019	897	747	782	912	881
27. Kalwar	949	1,012	885	615	804	984	1,029
28. Bhangi	900	997	900	700	851	938	833
29. Pasi	957	1,041	903	803	863	1,014	961
30. Luniya	984	1,043	890	787	827	1,056	1,080
31. Bhat	815	932	905	743	806	968	1,005
32. Kachhi	882	982	852	721	821	899	909
33. Gujjar	755	844	737	654	771	783	717
34. Khatik	879	983	890	728	850	922	821
35. Murao	882	969	848	1,016	783	992	916
36. Halwai	906	1,032	889	767	870	917	891
37. Barai	959	1,034	908	762	772	1,004	1,048
38. Bhar	1,026	1,064	898	852	892	1,116	1,098
39. Korda	969	1,058	920	770	816	1,011	1,019
40. Dhanuk	870	937	878	695	774	878	905
41. Tamboli	905	1,015	902	703	775	947	907
42. Taga	786	871	825	632	684	798	803
43. Bhuinhar	985	1,012	844	696	811	1,094	1,103
44. Koeri	963	1,039	880	808	842	983	1,049
45. Kewat	985	1,067	923	893	831	1,028	1,026
46. Mali	865	993	917	701	775	880	836
47. Agrahari	953	1,091	959	776	870	1,020	880
48. Umar	959	1,004	905	641	774	1,039	1,042
49. Kasaundhan	919	1,080	851	712	845	944	952
50. Kisan	840	1,018	864	718	751	799	871
51. Baranwal	861	799	877	670	959	897	858
52. Gohoi	961	1,108	946	809	670	930	1,155

Subsidiary table V.—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.			Difference between columns 2 and 3. Excess of latter over former + defect —	Difference between columns 5 and 6. Excess of latter over former + defect —	Difference between columns 4 and 7. Excess of former over latter + defect —	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1891	818,759	741,129	1,559,888	781,750	678,982	1,460,732	-77,630	-102,768	+99,156	905	869
1892	889,814	806,613	1,696,427	854,242	745,811	1,600,053	-83,201	-108,431	+96,374	906	873
1893	1,003,852	916,979	1,920,831	602,648	527,569	1,130,217	-86,873	-75,079	+790,614	913	875
1894	973,597	888,438	1,862,035	1,051,926	941,852	1,993,778	-85,159	-110,074	-131,743	913	895
1895	854,203	783,032	1,637,235	727,562	638,871	1,366,443	-71,171	-88,701	+270,792	917	878
1896	865,417	794,970	1,660,387	842,803	720,091	1,562,894	-70,447	-122,712	-97,493	919	854
1897	760,836	698,111	1,458,947	1,022,218	875,374	1,897,592	-62,725	-146,844	-438,645	918	856
1898	909,746	841,979	1,751,725	672,072	612,257	1,284,319	-67,767	-59,805	+467,406	925	911
1899	1,168,209	1,087,418	2,255,627	817,067	739,754	1,556,821	-80,791	-77,313	+698,806	931	905
1900	979,850	912,319	1,892,169	768,805	691,334	1,460,139	-67,631	-77,471	+432,030	931	899
<i>Total 1891—1900</i>	<i>9,224,283</i>	<i>8,470,988</i>	<i>17,695,271</i>	<i>8,141,093</i>	<i>7,171,895</i>	<i>15,312,988</i>	<i>-753,295</i>	<i>-969,198</i>	<i>+2,382,283</i>	<i>918</i>	<i>881</i>
1901	1,022,769	949,362	1,972,131	752,949	692,086	1,445,035	-73,407	-60,863	+527,096	928	919
1902	1,131,319	1,054,882	2,186,201	801,046	751,000	1,552,046	-76,437	-50,046	+634,155	932	937
1903	1,140,228	1,059,803	2,200,031	988,354	932,549	1,920,903	-80,425	-55,805	+279,128	929	944
1904	1,154,988	1,070,769	2,225,757	825,100	829,849	1,654,949	-84,219	+4,749	+570,808	927	1,006
1905	1,023,092	943,917	1,967,009	1,049,708	1,048,592	2,098,300	-79,175	-1,116	-131,291	923	999
1906	999,311	919,114	1,918,425	953,309	910,027	1,863,336	-80,197	-43,282	+55,089	920	955
1907	1,022,318	941,645	1,963,963	1,049,012	1,023,524	2,072,536	-80,673	-25,488	-108,573	921	976
1908	932,276	854,426	1,786,702	1,274,966	1,239,795	2,514,761	-77,850	-35,171	-728,059	916	972
1909	827,732	761,464	1,589,196	922,189	858,880	1,781,069	-66,268	-63,309	-191,873	920	931
1910	1,017,065	938,359	1,955,424	963,480	880,698	1,844,178	-78,706	-82,782	+111,246	923	914
<i>Total 1901—1910</i>	<i>10,271,098</i>	<i>9,493,741</i>	<i>19,764,839</i>	<i>9,580,113</i>	<i>9,167,000</i>	<i>18,747,113</i>	<i>-777,357</i>	<i>-413,113</i>	<i>+1,017,726</i>	<i>924</i>	<i>957</i>

Note.—Figures should also be given by natural divisions for the decade 1901—1910 (total of decade) where they appear to throw light on variations in sex proportions in different parts of the province.

Subsidiary table VI.—*Number of deaths of each sex at different ages.*

Age.	1905.		1906.		1907.		1908.		1909.		1910.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0-1	270,313	246,814	249,574	231,810	260,342	236,923	313,732	302,950	201,242	182,726	236,920	207,585
1-5	145,803	150,155	177,736	180,341	182,653	182,259	263,695	270,913	132,728	135,809	122,620	124,509
5-10	66,471	65,013	62,340	52,759	66,480	64,208	83,024	70,817	53,843	47,774	63,699	57,886
10-15	51,998	50,010	37,217	30,862	44,803	44,762	42,035	33,559	30,522	24,355	40,999	33,742
15-20	43,245	47,413	30,955	33,048	39,290	41,854	34,260	35,083	26,165	26,259	32,611	31,211
20-30	97,074	112,978	76,505	84,062	89,564	100,685	85,857	94,378	75,246	73,634	86,201	88,997
30-40	90,918	95,212	72,989	69,662	85,513	85,453	88,602	83,386	80,894	73,805	88,347	82,133
40-50	88,211	85,090	73,452	64,169	86,277	79,141	100,251	87,910	93,824	79,280	93,193	77,676
50-60	85,610	81,052	73,644	65,358	83,994	76,989	108,175	99,131	98,334	85,207	90,006	75,463
60 and over	110,065	114,855	98,896	97,956	110,096	110,249	154,335	161,608	129,391	126,031	108,884	101,496
<i>Total</i>	1,049,708	1,048,592	953,309	910,027	1,049,012	1,023,524	1,274,966	1,233,795	922,189	858,880	963,450	880,698

Chapter VII.—CIVIL CONDITION (1).

211. **Introductory.**—The figures relative to civil condition are exhibited in Imperial tables VII and XIV. At present however I postpone any consideration of the figures themselves. Of all the causes affecting the growth of a people, the most powerful are its marriage customs: to properly appreciate the statistics it is obviously necessary to understand the customs of which they are the result. It is all the more necessary, in that no former census report of this province has ever attempted to give any connected picture of our matrimonial laws: there have been incidental explanations of points of detail but nothing more.

Attention may be called to the footnotes appended to almost every paragraph quoting proverbs which exemplify the custom described. There could be no better test of a custom's existence and to some extent of its antiquity than the fact that there is a proverb about it. The proverbial philosophy of a people embodies its views on the circumstances which make up its environment, and are consequently excellent evidence of those circumstances. The proverbs quoted are a mere selection of a very large number collected for me by Babu Gobind Prasad, Deputy Collector of Moradabad.

212. **The universality of marriage***.—Of Hindus over 15 years of age, amongst males some 85 per cent. are or have been married; amongst females the ratio reaches 98 per cent. The age 15 is taken because marriage after that age may be taken as always being what we mean by marriage—the cohabitation of husband and wife. Many are “married”—*byaha*—before that age; but such marriage implies nothing more than irrevocable betrothal. Though such infant marriage has its inevitable and painful result on the statistics, at present I am concerned merely to point out that old bachelors and old maids are rare phenomena in Hindu society (2).

213. **The nature of marriage.**—Marriage to a Hindu is essentially a religious not a civil rite. It is a duty he owes to himself and to his ancestors, but more especially to his ancestors. “By begetting a virtuous son,” says Baudhayana, “a man saves himself as well as the seven preceding and seven following generations (3).” Marriage is a necessary preliminary to the possession of legitimate sons, who will, by performing the funeral rites, save their father from hell; whilst if a Hindu maiden is unmarried at puberty the result is social disgrace for her family in this world and damnation for her parents in the next. Not only however is marriage a religious rite, but for a woman at all events it is a rite that she can only undergo once. It is a sacrament whose effects are indelible. This has led to the prohibition of the remarriage of widows to which reference will be made hereafter.

214. **Restrictions on marriage.**—Nor is this prohibition the only restriction which limits a man's choice of a wife. If it is imperative for a Hindu to marry, it is by no means easy to find a suitable mate, however much religion may demand it. “In India, one set of rules contracts the circle within which a man must marry: another set artificially expands the circle within which he may not marry: a third series of conventions imposes special disabilities on the marriage of women” (4). The first restriction is dependent on the law of endogamy, the second on that of exogamy, and the third, in one form, on the law of hypergamy; in another it prevents widow remarriage.

215. **Endogamy.**—The system of endogamy is bound up with the caste system and in some of its aspects can be better dealt with in a later chapter. It will

(1) A.—List of terms of relationship—stock list.

B.—Terms used by particular castes or in particular places, or commonly (by the uneducated).

C.—List of terms other than in list A used by Beriyyas.

D.—List of terms other than in list A used by Bawariyas.

E.—List of terms in Central Pahari, used in addition or in place of terms in list A.

F.—Terms for husband and wife.

Subsidiary table I.—Distribution by main age-periods and civil condition of 10,000 of each sex and religion.

Ditto II.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages in each religion and natural division.

Ditto III.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex, religion, and main age-period at each of the last four censuses.

Ditto IV.—Proportion of the sexes by civil condition at certain ages for religions and natural division.

Ditto V.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages for selected castes.

• **Proverbs** — “Jai ki joru taiko ghar.”—Who has a wife has a home.

“Be gharnighar bhut ka dera.”—A wifeless home is the abode of a devil.

“Jis ki joru andar uska nasiba Sikandar.”—A man with a wife at home has the luck of an Alexander.

“Na mili nari to sada brahmchari.”—A wifeless man takes to religion (as a Jogi).

(2) In some parts, the word for old bachelor and widower is the same.

(3) *Hinduism Ancient and Modern*, page 63 (quoted).

(4) India Report, 1901, page 421.

suffice here to detail its fundamental principles only. Every Hindu caste is a close endogamous corporation: no man can legally marry any but a woman of his own caste. To this rule there are practically no exceptions. The Lal Begi, Rawat, and Hela Bhangis, the Meo, the Habura, the Nat, and possibly other gipsy tribes can, as a matter of fact, marry women of other castes; but such a marriage is nowadays a rare occurrence. In the majority even of these instances the endogamous rule is technically observed; for the woman is adopted or initiated into the fraternity first, and not married till that ceremony is complete, when of course she is a member of the caste. With the Habura and Nat, such women have usually been kidnapped, the only practical survival at the present day of the old "marriage by capture."

But if the endogamous law is never openly flouted, breaches of it are often winked at, even by high castes. It is often affirmed and, I imagine, with truth, that Rajputs, Jats, and Gujars either purchase low caste women as wives, or keep them as concubines, when their children are often recognized, sooner or later according to the means of the parents, as genuine Rajputs, Jats, &c. (1). It is of course totally impossible to obtain reliable evidence on such an intimate subject, and the impeachment is strenuously denied. Indeed, in most cases the husband of such a low caste wife probably connives at his own deception. But two such cases have been brought to my own notice in the usual way—a criminal case. Girls of low caste were passed off on a man of high caste as members of his own caste and married to him. The impression left on my mind in both cases was that the husband would never have brought the charge if the facts had not become generally known; and in one instance, where the man was a Brahman and the girl a Kaharin, what aggrieved him was, very clearly, not so much the deception as the fact that he had paid Rs. 75 for the dubious privilege of marrying her, and his whole energies were directed to recovering that sum.

In many, perhaps a majority of cases, the endogamous group is not the caste but the sub-caste. The relation between caste and sub-caste is a thorny question which will be fully discussed in the caste chapter, so I need only adumbrate the facts here. In many cases, including the highest (the Brahman), the caste consists of endogamous sub-castes all through. Gaur will not marry Kanaujia, and neither will marry Sarwaria (2). In other castes, some sub-castes are endogamous, others intermarry, or there may be two or more groups of sub-castes, each of which groups is endogamous. The former case is rare and usually indicates a caste in some transitional stage; an instance is the Bharbhunja, whose sub-castes are endogamous save two, which intermarry. The latter case is fairly common—the Dasa-Bisa or Khare-Dusre divisions found in several castes (Teli, Kayastha, and some Bania castes, &c.) are of this kind, and usually point to some story referring to a debased origin of one or the other branch. In the vast majority of cases sub-castes are endogamous however; the chief exceptions are found in Dravidian castes where the sub-castes represent totemistic or other primeval exogamous groups (3).

216. **Exogamy.***—The exogamous groups in Hindu society are more complicated. Such a group is that circle within which a man may not marry: and the complications arise because a man may belong to several such circles which are by no means concentric. These groups are of two kinds—

(1) Groups proper, which in this province invariably go by the male line, within which a male may not marry. They can be—

(a) Totemistic in origin. Totem groups are rare and there is frequently nothing to show that they are so but the name; castes that possess them are the Agaria, Baiswar, Bhuiya, Bhuiyar, Dhangar, and other primitive tribes of the same nature.

(b) Eponymous, of which the most famous are the Brahmanical *gotras* and the Rajput clans.

(1) The prevalence of such concubinage is a matter worth consideration in another connection. See *infra*.

(2) There are said to be exceptions, e.g., Gaurs have been known to marry Saraswats, owing to a lack of women. But such cases are rare.

(3) For other causes making for endogamy see India Report, 1901, page 422. Ethnic, linguistic, territorial, functional, and social factors all make for endogamy. As regards the first three, mere distance would prevent marriage in many cases.

* Proverbs on Exogamy.—Pani launo mul sodhik, Byah karno kul sodhik.

"Look to the spring ere you draw of its water;

Look to the race ere you marry its daughter." (Kul-family.)

"Give gifts within your gotra save the gift of a daughter." (Sanskrit.)

- (c) Territorial or local, referring usually to settlements of the section in past history.
- (d) Caste names, referring either to castes with which this section had a special connection in the past, or to the elements of other castes which went to make up the caste in question.

At the present time the territorial or local groups have no necessary connection with the localities from which they are named, nor the caste groups any definite connection with the castes whose names they bear. They are so common that examples are not needed, and though locality to a certain extent still influences exogamy it is the locality in which the castes *now* live. Reference to this will be made subsequently. It must also be stated that endogamous as well as exogamous groups bear names of these varieties; though groups of the totemistic variety are never, and eponymous groups seldom if ever, anything but exogamous. The only class of groups that needs further description is the eponymous class.

217. **The Brahmanical gotra.**—In Aryan times, the Aryan exogamous group was the *gotra* or family, not only for Brahmans but all Aryans. The *varna* (caste or social class, literally colour) had nothing to do with exogamy. There are many stories which prove this ⁽¹⁾: we read of a Brahman who married a Kshatriya woman and was laughed at, not because of his wife's "*varna*" but because it was a case of May marrying December. The elaborate regulations in the law books regarding such instances of miscegenation prove that they were common. The *gotra* was the "group of agnates," the descendants of a common ancestor. The Brahmanical legend names eight original *gotras* descended from the eight *gotrakara rishis*, sons of Brahma. To these were added ten Kshatriya *gotras* founded by Kshatriyas who became Brahmans. From the original eight *gotrakara rishis* descend several thousand other *gotras*, each with its *rishi*; these last we may call sub-*gotras* ⁽²⁾ to distinguish them. The law of *gotra* exogamy then becomes very simple. We have 18 groups: of which eight consist each of a *gotra* and sub-*gotras*; and no man belonging to any one of these groups can marry a woman also belonging to it. The prohibition against marriage within the *gotra* may be taken as practically complete amongst Brahmans. Garhwali Brahmans are said to neglect the *gotra* for exogamous purposes and go by *thats* or territorial subdivisions. But Garhwali Brahmans are not altogether as other Brahmans are. Apart from this solitary instance, no instance seems to be on record of a Brahman of decent class that does not obey this rule. Practically every lawgiver insists on it ⁽³⁾. But the *gotra* in non-Brahmanical castes is a different matter. It has already been said that the *gotra* was an Aryan, not a merely Brahmanical group. Yet nowadays the descendant of the ancient Kshatriya never observes *gotras* as such, though he invariably possesses them. His exogamous group is his sept or clan ⁽⁴⁾. Several indications seem to show how he came to neglect the *gotra*. Firstly, the clan is in all essentials of the same nature as the *gotra*: it is a group of descendants from a common ancestor, who however is usually a human hero instead of a mythical saint. That hero however is himself usually represented as a descendant of the saint: e.g. the Bisens descend from Mayura Bhatta and he from Jamadagni, a *gotrakara rishi*: the Chauhans also trace their pedigree though a human founder to Jamadagni. The clan therefore seems to be a subdivision of the *gotra*. Secondly, this view is strengthened by the fact that the best-known clans all seem to belong to a single *gotra*: e.g. the Bais to the Bharadwaja, the Rathours and Kachhwahas to the Kasyapa, (or the Manava), the Bachgotis to the Vatsa. At least three septs have *gotra* names—the Gautam, the Bharadwaj, and the Agastwar (Agastya): here possibly the sept and *gotra* are the same and coterminous. Thirdly, where this is not the case, we have to admit that many clans are but dubiously of unmixed blood, and some are certainly importations from Dravidian races. To them the *gotras* would mean nothing but a fictitious pedigree. And if it be suggested that it is curious that both Brahmans and Kshatriyas should have the same *gotras*, the reply is that there

(1) *Buddhist India* by Professor Rhys David, pages 57 *et seq.*

(2) It must be clearly understood that though for the sake of clearness, I have called the third class of *gotras* sub-*gotras*, they are in no sense subdivisions of the *gotras* with which they are connected. Both *gotra* and sub-*gotra* descend ultimately from the same *gotrakara rishi*: they are collaterally not directly related. *Gotra* plus its sub-*gotras* is called *pravara*. Cf. Mayne's *Hindu Law*, 7th edition, page 104, and J. A. S. B., vol. III (1903), page 103.

(3) See Mayne *loc. cit.*, for references. Vashishta and Sankha do not refer to this matter; but it does not follow that they consider it unnecessary because they omit to mention it.

(4) Which, incidentally, he usually calls *gotra* or *got*.

is not much evidence about the elements of Aryan society, but at least two facts show how such a contingency could arise. Firstly, the Brahmanical theory itself asserts that the Kshatriyas became Brahmans and founded castes. If, as seems certain, Kshatriya, Brahman, and Vaishya were in no sense castes but merely social classes, so that there was nothing to prevent a Kshatriya becoming a priest and consequently a Brahman⁽¹⁾, and if the *gotra* is a division common to all Aryans, then this legend probably points to the truth. Kshatriyas who became Brahmans already had *gotras* and their "foundation" of *gotras* merely amounted to founding Brahman families who bore the *gotra* name which their founders bore. Consequently there would then be both a Brahman and Kshatriya branch of the same *gotra*. Secondly the *gotrakara rishis* are to be found in the genealogies of well known Rajput dynasties as Rajas not as saints. It is at least conceivable that the Brahmans took their *gotras* from their royal patrons, as sub-castes have borne the caste-names of their patron castes. In this connection it is as well to remember that the best known and till lately the only accounts of Aryan society are of Brahman origin; they need to be corrected by Kshatriya accounts, which we now possess in the Buddhist Jatakas. These definitely put them in the first rank and above the Brahmans. Indeed from one point of view the struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism was a struggle between Kshatriya and Brahman: Buddha himself was a Kshatriya of the Sakya clan.

The Rajput clan system looks then like a modification of the *gotra* system⁽²⁾, adopted no doubt for convenience sake. There are also other castes, e.g. the better Vaishya castes which observe the *gotra* system more or less modified. But there are a considerable number of Aryo-Dravidian or even Dravidian castes which possess *gotras*; and with them, the *gotra* has no influence on exogamy at all. They are merely artificial excrescences on an already existing exogamous system: it is unnecessary to elaborate the question as to how they obtained them. Naturally they are ignored in favour of the older subdivisions. Even the Dhussar-Bhargava who claims to be a Brahman and possesses a number of *gotras*, occasionally neglects them, though he never neglects his *kul*, a subdivision of the *gotra*: this to him is a close exogamous corporation. The Bhattiyas who claim Rajput origin state that because of their connection with trade they could get no other Rajputs to form alliances with them. The result was that they divided their *gotras* into *nukhs*. Each *nukh* was a family 49 degrees, at least, removed from any other *nukh*. The *nukhs* were strictly exogamous: the *gotras* were neglected. The Ghosi Ahirs of Cawnpore have *gotras* but neglect them for the *kuls*. The *gotra* system has been modified by even Brahmanical castes, but generally in the direction of greater severity. A most instructive instance is that of the Kanaujia Brahmans described by Mr. Burn in 1901 (Report, page 210). From enquiries made at this census, it is quite clear that a woman, when she marries, *ipso facto*, becomes a member of her husband's *gotra* or exogamous group. I have tried to ascertain the effect of this changing of *gotras* or groups on such questions as remarriage and adoption, but without much success. The sort of conundrum that presents itself is as follows:—

(1) Suppose a man in *gotra* A wants to marry a woman in *gotra* A, can he get himself adopted by somebody in *gotra* B, so as to change his *gotra* and become an eligible husband?

(2) Suppose a widow remarries, is she debarred from her own group, or her husband's group, or both?

As regards such problems it does not appear that low castes at all events trouble themselves much about such matters, and probably their ideas on the subject are vague. Nor is Crooke's information either so full or so accurate on this subject as it usually is. Of one caste for instance he tells us (on the same page), that no one else can be adopted if there is a sister's son available for the purpose, and that the sister's son can never be adopted; that the person to be adopted is the brother's or daughter's son, and that the adopted son must be of the same *gotra* as his father, which a daughter's son can never be. The higher castes who follow ordinary Hindu law should by that law adopt, and generally, though

⁽¹⁾ It would be a mere adoption of a particular occupation: and Buddhist India *loc. cit.*, gives many instances of such from the Jatakas. One Kshatriya in the pursuit of a love affair became successively what would now be called a Kumhar, a Mali, and a Halwai.

⁽²⁾ Modification of existing exogamous groups frequently occur. Cf. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*. Sometimes such groups are modified to prevent incestuous marriages (as the "two-class system" of Australia was changed to the "four-class"); more frequently to relax the severity of the exogamic restrictions; e.g. if every *gotra* was divided into two clans then each man's exogamous group would be only one thirty-sixth of the community instead of one-eighteenth

the law has been modified, do adopt only a relative who would certainly be *sagotra*, or of the same *gotra*. But I think the true answer to both these questions lies in another direction. The *gotra* and every other exogamous group fulfils the purpose of preventing incest and every marriage within it is incestuous. Incest is about the last thing which any race would permit to be attained by a legal fiction. It has been definitely ruled ⁽¹⁾ that adoption does not free a man so completely of his relationship to his original family as to permit him to marry within the prohibited degrees: and there can be no doubt that the same principle would be applicable to the *gotra* or exogamous group. Similarly a widow on remarriage would certainly be debarred from her original group; and it seems probable that she is *not* debarred from her husband's group. The levirate—the oldest form of widow re-marriage—definitely compels her to marry her late husband's brother, obviously a member of her late husband's group. In some castes the next best husband failing the levir, is another member of the same family (e.g. amongst the Ahirs). On this analogy as well as by common sense, there could be no objection to her marrying within her husband's group. Indeed I believe that too much weight should not be attached to this change of *gotra* or group. A woman naturally belongs to the *gotra* or group into which she marries, but no ceremony is needed to make the change, and I very much doubt whether "belonging to it" implies more than "becoming the property of it." In that case the tendency would be to keep the property in the group, at all events, if not in the family. One thing is certain, that it does not relieve her of any disabilities attaching to her group by birth.

218. **The exogamous groups of lower castes.**—In olden times the Dravidian exogamous group seems to have been either the totem or the village ⁽²⁾. This may explain the nature of most of the groups of the present day. As has been already said, there is no connection between local groups and the localities that lend them their names, though the groups remain exogamous. But to some extent the practice of village exogamy has survived. I quote from the Cawnpore ethnographical note ⁽³⁾:—

"The usual reason given for adopting the custom of a man marrying into a village not his own is the avoidance of quarrels. If a husband and wife are members of the same village and quarrel, than it involves a quarrel between their two households also, and sometimes the woman takes the extreme step of abandoning her husband and returning to her old home Another circumstance which leads to the maintenance of the custom is that they fear anything in the nature of inbreeding: persons descended from the same ancestor ought not to marry, so they say."

Of the two reasons given the first no doubt is an incidental cause which may affect the question. The second is one on which Dr. Frazer has cast doubt ⁽⁴⁾ and I cannot believe that the ordinary villager knows anything about the supposed (by no means certain) evils of inbreeding. But that he objects to marriages between descendants of the same ancestor is very likely: such unions are, within more or less restricted limits, regarded as incestuous. The important point is not this, but the fact that he so often identifies the village and the group of descendants. Nowadays there is of course no connection: yet it is common to hear people speak of other villagers of the same caste as *ganw ka bhai* (village brother) and they obviously consider it involves a vague but a real relationship. In Cawnpore, the Bhat, Chandel Rajput, Chikwa, Kachhi, Kumhar, Kalwar, and Mallah all observe this restriction: the Ahir, Balahar, Lal Begi, Bhishti, Boriya, Kewat, and Khatik do not.

219. **Prohibited degrees.**—When exogamous groups go by the male line alone, it is obvious that they are insufficient to prevent many incestuous marriages with the mother's kin. All castes therefore have also a system or prohibited degrees. By Hindu law, which is followed by most high castes, *sapindas* may not intermarry, i.e. any two persons whose common ancestor is not further removed than six degrees on the male and four degrees on the female side. This excludes no less than 2,121 possible relations; the Christian table of kindred excludes 30, for any one person. In lower castes the usual rule in theory is

⁽¹⁾ Mayne's *Hindu Law*, page 174.

⁽²⁾ *Buddhist India*, loc. cit.

⁽³⁾ By Mr. J. N. G. Johnson, C.S. Of many valuable notes of this nature that I have received this is perhaps the most valuable.

⁽⁴⁾ *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. IV, p. 93; and other references under "Inbreeding."

the "*chachera, mamera, phuphera, mausera*" law which prevents a man marrying anyone in the line of either his uncle or aunt on either the male or female side. This in practice is usually interpreted to mean that a man may not marry into any family into which any male relative has married so far as the connection is remembered. The village memory on such matters is by no means defective and it certainly covers at least three generations and occasionally more, a period of not less than sixty years and occasionally as long as a century. Different castes have different formulæ, but these are the most common: the rule is very seldom less stringent than this (if it is, the caste's matrimonial law is generally of a very lax description). In a large proportion of castes there are no subdivisions save endogamous ones, and the only exogamous restrictions are these degrees. It is safe to say that even in such cases they are a great deal more severe than any European restrictions.

The somewhat exceptional rules of some castes may however be briefly noted:—

- (1) The Agaria has no prohibited degrees apart from the exogamous group. The result of course is that cousin marriage of all kinds save that with the father's brother's son is possible—a rare phenomenon—*cf.* paragraph 229, below. The same applies to the Bhuiyar.
- (2) Some Western Ahirs prohibit marriage in the *gotras* of all four grandparents—a very wide law.
- (3) A common variation is that the prohibition extends to the man's own exogamous group and the lines of his maternal uncle and paternal aunt (*mamera* and *phuphera*). This in practice excludes three kinds of uncles and aunts, as the father's brother (*chachera*) is included in the exogamous group: but permits marriage in the line of the mother's sister (*mausera*). This is the case with Bahelias, Dhangars, Nais, Dharkars, Dusadhs, and Doms: to their prohibited degrees all but the first add the line of a sister. The Bajgi excludes only the group and the line of a maternal uncle.
- (4) The Bari in the west excludes the *gotras* of his mother and grandmothers. Similarly the Lal Begi Bhangi excludes his own or his grandmothers' *tat* or section.
- (5) The Bhat is content with a prohibition against his *kul* or family and nieces (or nephews); though probably he would discountenance cousin marriage of any kind as well.
- (6) The Dangi excludes only his group and all cousins.

The last two cases amount practically to the usual prohibition. In practice a man who wants to marry in the line of his uncles and aunts is only likely to want to marry his cousin or his niece: he could not marry anybody in the ascending line *above* his uncle or aunt, simply because they would probably be dead, and at any rate old. If then he is forbidden to marry cousin or niece he is forbidden to marry anybody in these lines whom he is at all likely to want to marry: and the aunts themselves are excluded of course, since he is their nephew.

- (7) The Basor has a curious rule by which he cannot give a daughter to a man of his wife's section, but may take wives from them for his sons.
- (8) The Baiswar if possible marries all his daughters into the same family. Other exceptions of course arise in castes which permit cousin marriage—for this see paragraph 229.

220. **Hypergamy.**—Hypergamy is the custom which forbids a woman of a particular group to marry a man of a group of lower social standing than her own. It is found most fully developed among the Rajput clans, but many castes have it in a less degree ⁽¹⁾ and it is probable that though hypergamy may not be an unbreakable law with the majority of Hindus there is a general tendency in that direction. It has been pointed out elsewhere that the lower castes and the lower branches of castes live in the east, the higher in the west: and the result is that where the principle of hypergamy prevails, brides come from the east, a fact exemplified in the Rajput proverb "*beti purab larka pachham.*" Enquiries have been made to test the prevalence of the custom, but have proved

(1) Bhat, Byar, Dharkar, Gujar, Jat, Jujhotiya Brahman, Kharwar, Khattri, Patwa.

inconclusive. Few castes have definitely admitted it. At the same time it is obvious from the figures of immigration that whether consciously or not migration of females is from east to west as a general rule (vide chapter III). Nothing more need be said on the practice of hypergamy. It has been frequently described⁽¹⁾ and there is nothing fresh to be said. In its results however, especially infant-marriage and infanticide, it is most important.

221. **Widow-remarriage***.—From the account given above it will be clear that in India it is no easy matter to find a suitable wife, for one's choice is so greatly restricted. But there are still further difficulties. Many castes bar from legal marriage altogether a considerable number of their available women, viz. widows. The origin of the prohibition against the remarriage of widows is extremely obscure. It is quite obvious that it was unknown either to the Vedas or the early lawgivers. Manu is a strong authority for it: but Mayne has made it perfectly clear that Manu's text as it stands is not the text as it originally stood. It seems undoubtedly the outcome, and not an unnatural outcome, of the Brahmanical theory of marriage as a sacrament whose effect was indelible. By law (Act XV of 1856) a widow may now remarry: but there is little sign that the practice is increasing. Mr. Burn in 1901 estimated that the prohibition extended to the first five groups of the social system, viz. the Brahmans and allied castes, the Rajputs and allied castes, and the better class Vaishyas and to certain other castes trying to rise in the social scale. This is as a matter of fact something of an under-estimate; for a number of castes, e.g. the Sonar, Tamboli, and Kasaundhan, to mention only a few, contain sub-castes which are distinguished by forbidding it, as do the Byahtha or Byahut sections of the Kalwar, Lohar, Nai, and Teli. The Dasa-Bisa divisions of castes often depend on a similar difference. I should say that not less than 30 to 33 per cent. of the entire Hindu population forbid widow-remarriage, and that as castes better themselves the tendency is always to impose the restriction.

Even those which permit it, however, allow it to be carried out only by a maimed rite known as *dharewa*, *sagai* or *karao*. The exact procedure varies: a common form is to rub red lead on the parting of the woman's hair and oil on her head and after a couple of tribal dinners, one to each party, the ceremony is complete (Agariya). Another form is to present her with clothes and jewellery, and if the suitor is accepted by the woman in open panchayat, he has no more to do than feast the brotherhood (Aheriya). A third form is to pay a bride price of Rs. 2 and give the woman a *chaddar*, and then feast the brotherhood (Ahir). Yet another is the recitation of the *Satya Narayan Katha* and the knotting together of the clothes of the pair (Baiswar). There are doubtless other forms, but it is clear from the instances given that the ritual is of the simplest. A marriage of the kind however is perfectly valid and the children are legitimate.

222. **Restrictions on widow-remarriage—the levirate†**.—But even the castes which permit widows to remarry frequently impose restrictions. A not uncommon instance is that a widow (unless she marries her younger brother-in-law) must only marry a widower. This is the case amongst the Ahirs, Bahelias, Bansphors, Chamars, Dharkars, Korwas, and Mallahs. Widow-remarriage is also almost invariably accompanied by the custom known as the levirate, by which a younger brother takes the widow of his elder brother to wife. It should be carefully distinguished from the levirate as it existed among the Jews and the Niyoga custom of the early Aryans, as laid down in the works of Manu and other law-givers: the essence of both these customs is that it *only* occurs when the widow is childless and for the express purpose of raising up a son and heir to the deceased brother, whilst in the levirate of the United Provinces low castes the widow is remarried whether childless or not, and the fiction of raising up seed is never found. In an endeavour to discover its extent I have carefully searched the pages of

(1) E.g. India Report, 1901, page 425.

* Proverbs on widows and widow-marriage.—Pheron ki gunagar. Her marriage her only sin (of a child-widow).

"Burhi ghorī lal lagam."—An old mare with a red bridle (referring to the *sendur* mark of a married woman).

"Falane ki man ne khasam kiya; bahut bura kiya. Karke chhor diya; aur bhi bura kiya." Somebody's mother took a husband, which was bad, and left him, which was worse.

† Proverbs on levirate.—"Gharib ki bahu sab ki bhawaj." The poor man's wife is everybody's elder brother's widow (wife)—with any number of variations.

"Mallo bhar udhari ber talai chur man unchh." (Kumauni.) When the upper wall falls, it comes down on the lower wall.

"Dada leik ban, ban leik sagali man."—His wife depends on the eldest brother, the whole family depends on his wife.

"Bhawaji ki thaili dewara sarafi karai."—The money bags of his elder brother's wife makes a man a banker.

Crooke : I have traced it in some 70 odd castes ⁽¹⁾ but I doubt if even so, every instance has been found. As described by Crooke, castes vary to some extent in their application of the levirate rule : a small minority make it compulsory, the great majority even in Crooke's time made it optional. From reports that have reached me at this census, it would appear that the custom is now invariably optional ⁽²⁾. The levir is not bound to marry the widow if he does not want to : the widow is not bound to marry the levir if she wants to marry somebody else, or nobody. I can only remember a single instance of the levirate coming to my own notice, and then it was a failure, for it was due to domestic quarrels that it came to my notice at all ⁽³⁾. The position therefore seems at present to be that of all the men available to the widow as a possible second husband, the levir is merely *primus inter pares*. As the caste rises in the social scale, widow-remarriage and the levirate disappear together ; this has certainly happened in the Kurmi and Bari castes, which are recorded by Crooke as possessing the custom.

The co-existence of widow remarriage and the levirate is a point to be noticed. This naturally suggests a causal connection ; it may be that widow-remarriage was always allowed and the levirate was merely a particular case of it : or that the levirate was originally the only possible form, and the restriction was gradually removed in the ways already suggested. The weight of evidence is in favour of the latter view. In this province thirty years ago there were still castes where the widow had to marry the levir if there was one. Elsewhere in more primitive societies, the evidence is stronger still. In Australia ⁽⁴⁾ the levirate is common, and in most cases the widow must marry the levir if there is one and may marry nobody else if there is not. Even there however the rule is occasionally relaxed in the direction of allowing a widow to marry somebody else if there is no levir or even of not marrying the levir if she does not want to. Elsewhere the custom varies in the same way : but throughout Frazer's four volumes I can only find five cases where widow-remarriage is permitted, and the levirate forbidden, of which one occurs in Australia, three in Mysore, and one in Assam ⁽⁵⁾. A common restriction on the levirate is that the widow can only marry her husband's younger brother (*dewar*), not his elder brother (*jeth*). This is a well-established rule in Australia, Indonesia, and India ⁽⁶⁾ ; there appear to be only one exception in Indonesia and two in South India ⁽⁷⁾, though Crooke mentions two cases in the United Provinces, the Bajgi and the Kori, about which however he is dubious. In Africa it is much more common to find the *jeth* marrying his *deorani*. I have received a certain amount of information however which tends to show that the prohibition against the *jeth* is not so uncommon as was supposed. I was (and am) somewhat suspicious of its authenticity ; but there is this to be said for it, that the castes concerned are in almost all cases abnormal. On the other hand it is to be noted that no other officer in any other district ever mentions more than a stray case and then describes it as regarded with disfavour. The castes concerned all come from Moradabad. They are the Kanmail, Manihar, Mirasi, Tawaif, Turk, Mula, Ghogar, Bishnoi, Bhangis, Bari, and Kanjar. In all these cases the *jeth* can marry his *deorani* ; though amongst the Mirasi the custom in either form is unusual, whilst with Bishnois and Bhangis it is restricted to some clans, and amongst Kanjars it occurs but is not considered correct. Of these castes the first seven are Muhammadan : the Mirasi is a professional pimp and the Tawaif are prostitutes. The Kanmail, Bhangis, and Kanjar are the lowest of low castes and the Bishnoi is an extraordinary sectarian caste. Abnormalities amongst such abnormal castes do not weigh very heavily ; for instance, the conversion to Muhammadanism may have been actually due to the social ostracism consequent on the breach of this very rule, especially in the case of the Mula and Ghogar, who

⁽¹⁾ All the 47 castes mentioned under "widow-marriage" in the index to Crooke's Tribes and Castes except Bari, Kurmi, Baheliya, Barai, and Kathiyara, with Bajgi, Balai, Bharbhunja, Banjara, Beria, Bhoksa, Khairwa, Lodha and Dom. To these however from fresh information, must be added the Bhishti, Manihar, Tawaif, Mirasi, Mula, Turk, Bishnoi, Khagi, Kanaujia Kachhi, Teli, Kanjar, Dhunia, Julaha, Chauhan, Bhangis, Beldar, Mura, Ghogar, and doubtless others.

⁽²⁾ Except, dubiously, in the case of Kanaujia Kachhis and a very few other castes such as the Kanjar, where the *evir*, if there is one, is the sole possible husband.

⁽³⁾ A Muhammadan officer of Government has told me that he knows of only three or four actual cases in his own experience. He describes the practice as legal but not very common.

⁽⁴⁾ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, references under "Levirate" in vol. I.

⁽⁵⁾ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, references under vols. I, 461, II, 271, 272, 275, 282.

⁽⁶⁾ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, references under "Levirate" in vols. I and II up to page 354.

⁽⁷⁾ Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. II, 199, 249, 273.

are, the one, ex-Tagas and Chauhans (castes which do not permit the levirate at all) and the latter, ex-Mallahs. Some of them will be referred to again in the caste chapter: but even if the assertion regarding this unusual form of the levirate can be accepted without reservation, it does not really upset the normal rule, for the castes themselves are unusual.

In the case where a widow refuses to marry an available levir and weds some other man, there are always certain conditions attached. She loses all rights of maintenance or claims on the property of her first husband's family: she loses her children by him, and the new husband has always to pay a bride-price to that family. Castes may differ in details, but this principle is always observed. And it appears to me that light is thereby thrown on the origin of the custom. There have been many theories to explain it: the best known is MacLennan's ⁽¹⁾ who refers the custom to fraternal polyandry and explains the affiliations to the deceased husband which occur in the Jewish levirate and the Aryan Niyoga by saying that in a fraternal polyandrous system the children *would* be those of the eldest brother even in life. The theory also explains why the elder brother may not marry his younger brother's widow; for in such a system the wife is wed by the eldest brother and shared by the younger brothers living with him; whilst if a younger brother married a wife he would leave the joint establishment and set up for himself, and the *jeth* would have no more claim on his than on anybody else's wife. Unfortunately there is no evidence whatever of polyandry in the vastly greater part of the area in which the levirate is found: in this province, I doubt, so strong is the present feeling against it as a possible form of marriage, if there ever was a time when it existed (save in the hills). Dr. Frazer ⁽²⁾ refers it to "group marriage" where all the men of a group (who would usually be brothers) shared all the wives of that group. And there have been various other explanations ⁽³⁾. Probably the truth is, as the author of the article on "Levirate" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* says, that different matrimonial systems produced the same custom; but even if that be so, there must have been, or at all events probably was, a general fundamental idea, a conception of the position of the wife, which made it possible. This Dr. Frazer finds in the idea of the wife as property and so as something to be inherited. He refers it of course chiefly to his own theory of group marriage, but it seems to me that practically all the evidence points that way. If it be objected that in some matrimonial systems the proper heir is not the brother but the son, the answer is firstly that all kinds of property do not go to the same heir ⁽⁴⁾; the chieftainship may go to an elder relative for instance, whilst the real property goes to the chief's son: and secondly that no tribe allows a son to inherit his mother, even though he may sometimes (as often in Africa) inherit his stepmothers. Such inheritance always means marriage, and incest of this kind is forbidden by all races. A brother would be the natural heir; and if it be objected that there is no reason on this theory why the elder brother should not succeed to his younger brother's wife, the answer probably is that normally he would not (simply because the chances are that he would be the first to die), and in primitive races the normal is apt to become the legal; and secondly that there is (for other reasons) frequently a strict taboo on the intercourse of the *jeth* and his *deoranis*, as there is on the intercourse of other relatives by marriage ⁽⁵⁾ which would *a fortiori* prevent their union; and this particular taboo in Upper India is remarkably strict. The Aryan Niyoga custom is definitely based on the idea that the wife is property and that a husband using it authorizes another to perform on her an act, of which he could have authorized the performance in his lifetime; and the sons are his because they, like the mother, are his property, being born of her ⁽⁶⁾. As regards the Jewish levirate, the evidence is much less conclusive, chiefly because the various references to it exemplify different stages in its development and it is impossible to say what form it originally took. But the story of Ruth seems to point the same way. Boaz

⁽¹⁾ J. F. MacLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*.

⁽²⁾ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, I, 50 *et seq.*

⁽³⁾ See Crooke's Introduction, page CXC; Westermarck, pages 510 *et seq.*; "Levirate" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*; Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, &c.

⁽⁴⁾ Westermarck *loc. cit.* for instances. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. II, after page 354 *passim*.

⁽⁵⁾ For customs of this kind see references under "Avoidance" in Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*. It must be noted that *jeth* may marry *deorani* in many African tribes. What is important for the present purpose is that in India where he normally may not, the taboo and the prohibition against marriage co-exist.

⁽⁶⁾ Mayne's *Hindu Law*, page 85. For the need of authorization (by husband, relative, or *guru*) see Manu, IX, 59 *et seq.*, Gautama, XVIII, 5, Narada, XII, 8 *et seq.* Also *cf.* Apastamba, II, 10, 27, 2 "The widow belongs to the husband's family, not to the husband alone."

was not a levir but a *goel* ⁽¹⁾—the “next of kin” whose duty it was to redeem the property of Elimelech. For the purpose of raising up an heir to that inheritance, he chose to play the part of a levir and to do so he purchased ⁽²⁾ Ruth to be his wife. Ruth was therefore regarded as property, which is the main point in the present argument.

The practices of the low castes which have the levirate support this view. The levir does not pay for the widow because he inherits her: but anybody else who marries her does, because she is a saleable commodity which he has to buy. Her sons by her first husband stay with their own family because they are not included in the bargain. In short, out of whatever matrimonial system the levirate may have sprung and however it has been restricted (as it is in the Niyoga custom to childless widows), or whatever uses it is made to serve (as it serves a religious purpose in the Niyoga custom), the reason why it was possible for it to originate at all seems to be that the widow was property which could be inherited, and if not inherited or not wanted by the heir, could be sold.

223. **Polygamy.***—In theory polygamy is legal for all Hindus: in practice it is uncommon. Only 100·9 women are married to 100 men. Poverty is a universal restriction, for a man never marries a second wife unless he is able to support her. Better-class Hindus are generally monogamists: a second wife is married only in exceptional circumstances, such as the barrenness of the first wife or her failure to bear a son. Amongst the lower castes there are also other partial or complete restrictions. Amongst the Arakhs, Bahelias, Balahars, Lal Begi Bhangis, Bhats, and other castes no man may have two sisters to wife at the same time, especially if the second wife would be the elder. Amongst the Ahirs, Bahelias, Baris, Barais, Bhatiyas, and others a second marriage is permitted only in the same kind of exceptional circumstances as are held to justify it amongst high caste Hindus or in case of the infidelity of the first wife: usually the express permission of the tribal council is required and the Barais always inflict a fine before the permission is granted. Occasionally there is a limit put to the total number, which is two amongst the Audhiyas, Barwars, Bhatiyas, and Bhoksas for instance, three amongst the Bhotiyas, and four amongst the Aheriyas. Occasionally the first wife’s sanction is necessary to a second union; but as it relieves her of a part of her household duties it is not surprising to learn that she usually agrees (Bhar, Byar, &c.), or even selects the second wife herself (Bhuiyar, Byar, &c.), who is then usually a younger sister or close relative. The Agrahari and some sub-castes of Bhangi have the same custom. There are doubtless other restrictions, but these seem the principal ones. Some castes regard polygamy as desirable: Bhuiyar, Majhwar, Dom, and Kol alike have as many wives as they can support. The senior wife (*jethi mehraru* is her usual title) often has a position of pre-eminence in the household.

224. **Summary.**—The above paragraph shows the normal state of affairs amid Hindus as regards matrimony. Before passing to less common or more discreditable forms of marital connection, it will be as well to recapitulate the position, and this can be most easily brought home to the reader by comparing Western and Indian methods. In the West marriage is by no means universal and is even reprobated unless a man can comfortably or sufficiently support a wife. Amongst Hindus it is as universal as it can be: the only classes that remain generally unwed are those who do not want to marry, such as *taqirs*, prostitutes, and so on, and in the case of men, those who cannot get wives

(1) For this see Lev. XXV, 25 and “Goel” in Hastings’ *Dictionary of the Bible*: The word “near kinsman” all through Ruth is “*goel*.”

(2) Ruth IV, *passim*.

* Proverbs on Polygamy:—

“Ek byauwalo chakravarti,

Dwi byauwala ki kukurgati,

Tin byauwala ka bara bhag—

Dwi li jawan dandi, ek li jaw ag. (Garhwali.)

“A man with one wife lives the life of a king

A man with two wives is a poor wretched thing, (literally has the luck of a dog).

A man with three wives has a fate that is dire,

Two wives bear his coffin, the third lights his pyre:

(Bara bhag literally “great good fortune” is sarcastic).

“Saut aur maut” — Second wife and death.

“Sasur karan baid bulaya, saut kahe tera dhagra aya.” I called in a doctor to my mother-in-law and my co-wife says he is my lover.

because of the shortage of women. In the West a man, supposing he is a bachelor, can marry any woman in the world save relatives of 15 kinds (there are 30 prohibited degrees but 15 of them presuppose that he has already been married). Hindus cannot marry outside their endogamous group, or within their exogamous group, whilst their prohibited degrees are very much wider than those of the West: in the better castes too, all widows are barred. The result is that in the biggest castes a man's choice is restricted to a few tens of thousands and in the smallest to a very few hundreds or even tens. In compensation he has the dubious privilege of marrying more wives than one at a time if he wants to. That in spite of these difficulties the Hindus are so very much married a community is a striking fact; whilst the existence of irregular unions might well be pardonable.

225. **Irregular unions.**—Before discussing the question of irregular unions it will be well to make some points quite clear. Amongst all better-class Hindus and indeed amongst all Hindus of any respectable or even decent social position, the chastity of women is a quality as highly prized and as common as in any nation whatsoever, whilst their unchastity is most severely punished. The Hindu man on the other hand is certainly no worse than other men, and if he breaks matrimonial custom, does so at the risk of social ostracism. Irregular unions therefore amongst them are no more common than in other nations and less so than in some; and what is said below as to the recognition or quasi-recognition of such unions and the condonation of actual immorality must not be taken as applying to them. Moreover such unions and such immorality are most common amongst just those castes which, whilst being primitive in nature are also very weak in numbers; and remembering this paucity of numbers, it is a question how far irregular unions are not often the only possible ones, owing to the rigidity of the restrictions on marriage already mentioned. At all events it affords a reason for their continuance in spite of progress, if not an excuse for their existence. It is as well to make these facts clear as in the nature of things it is impossible to furnish exhaustive lists of the castes which possess such customs.

(1) *Recognized concubinage.*—Any magistrate can bear witness to the fact that in a case where the exact status of a wife is in question it is useless to accept at its face value the mere statement that a woman is so and so's "wife" (*aurat, mehraru, &c.*). He has to discover whether she is married by the full legal form (*byah*), by a maimed rite (*dharewa, sagai, &c.*), or is merely a concubine (*rakhi* or *bithlai*); of whom some go through a form called *sagai* or *dharauna* (e.g. widows among the Oudh Baris). Generally speaking it may be said that all castes which prohibit widow-remarriage know no form of legal or semi-recognized connection save *byah*. Those which permit widow-remarriage also recognize the *sagai, &c.*, forms as legal. A fair number permit concubinage as well. As a rule a clear distinction is drawn between a concubine who is a member of the caste, which type of connection is permitted: and one who is an outsider, which type of connection is usually forbidden. The Agaria, Bari, Barwar, and Byar permit intra-tribal concubinage, for instance; the Chamar permits both intra-tribal and extra-tribal concubinage so long as the woman is of a higher caste; the Beria permits and encourages any kind of connection. Instances need not be multiplied; they can be found scattered about the pages of Crooke; but it may be mentioned however that cases such as those of the Beria and Chamar are rare. The children of such unions are usually admitted to full caste rights, but have restricted rights, or no rights, of inheritance. Types of concubinage which are not recognized are punished by excommunication: in some cases recognition even of such types as are permitted involve the penalty of a fine and feast.

(2) *Freedom before and after marriage.*—Some of the lowest castes⁽¹⁾ will wink at premarital immorality, so long as the lover is a man of the same caste as the girl. A fine and feast usually condones the matter, though the pair are frequently compelled to marry. Premarital immorality with a man outside the caste may be said to be absolutely prohibited, save in castes which habitually prostitute their women⁽²⁾. A curious remnant of premarital communism is to

(1) Such as the Agaria, Baheliya, Barai, Barwar, Bhuiyar, Byar, Dhangar, &c.

(2) Occasionally too some castes wink at immorality with a man or woman of higher caste, e.g. the Bansphor and Basor.

be found in the Beria tribe, where a man may only marry a girl who has been prostituted on payment of a fine, whilst the Ghasias have a survival of a very old custom by which the man is allowed to try whether the girl will suit him before he marries her.

Freedom after marriage is on quite a different plane. Even aboriginal tribes which condone premarital immorality will not tolerate adultery. Apart from castes which habitually prostitute their women and one or two others, e.g. Rawat Bhangis, Binds, and Ghasias, I know of no case where adultery whether intra-tribal or extra-tribal is not severely punished. This leads naturally to the consideration of what passes for divorce amongst Hindus ⁽¹⁾.

226. **Divorce.**—According to the Hindu law divorce is impossible; and among all castes of good or respectable social standing it never occurs. There may be an actual separation, but there is no recognised or legal method of breaking marriage obligations once they are contracted. Most low castes however recognise the possibility of separation of husband and wife by the agency of the tribal council. As a rule the only cause is adultery on the wife's part, though occasionally other reasons are considered. Amongst the Baiswars, for instance, eating or smoking with a member of a strange caste, or wizardry amongst the Dhangars, justify divorce. Sometimes divorce amounts to mere expulsion of the wife from the husband's home, more often it is ordered by the council. If the adulterer be within the tribe, excommunication would not as a rule follow, if he is an outsider it generally would. The castes seem to be fairly equally divided on the point of allowing divorcees to remarry. The Aheria, Ahir, Balahar, Balai, Bansphor, for instance, permit it, the Agaria, Baiswar, and Barwar forbid it. A wife can seldom put away her husband for any cause, though it is occasionally possible for infidelity, as amongst the Baiswar and Bhuiya, or cruelty. Usually nothing less than ocular evidence of adultery satisfies the council.

It may be mentioned here that divorced women among Muhammadans and others, who legally recognise divorce, were returned as widows: amongst Hindus, owing to the absence of any legal recognition and the great difficulty of deciding whether or not any particular caste practises the complete separation which permits remarriage and alone amounts to divorce in the usual sense, divorcees were shown as married.

227. **Unusual forms of marriage.—Polyandry.***—Mr. Burn described the Jaunsar-Bawar polyandrous systems in 1901. I have made careful enquiries and I am of opinion that though it may exist in this part of the country, and possibly generally on the confines of Tibet (I have heard of it in the Damar pargana of Almora) it is now absolutely unknown in the plains. There may be instances which are liable to be mistaken for it, but (as has been said by a well-known Oxford professor), polyandry is frequently no more than a polite name for adultery, and considering the indignation with which any suggestion of its existence is now received, there is a measure of probability that the caste would regard any proven case in the same light as the Oxford professor did ⁽²⁾.

228. **Motherkin.†**—Motherkin or matriarchate is the name given to that system where descent and inheritance are traced through the mother. It is usually described as a relic of a state of society where owing to the

⁽¹⁾ In talking of immorality or concubinage "within" and "without the tribe" it is not always very clear what Crooke and other writers mean. Irregular unions of this kind must of course be within the endogamous group; but must they also be without the exogamous group? I can find no evidence on the subject of any kind. Generally speaking however they probably must, for to marry inside the exogamous group would be regarded as incestuous, and an irregular union of the kind would be even more reprobated than extra-tribal unions. If that be so, the case resolves itself to this, that immorality or concubinage will be permitted in certain tribes if the persons concerned could be legally married. But in support of this view, however probable, there is only the single fact that premarital immorality often ends in compulsory marriage, and there is no hint as to what would happen if marriage were impossible.

* **Proverbs on Polyandry.**—"Do khasam ki joru chausar ki got"—The wife of two husbands is like a draught at backgammon.

"Ek joru sare kunbe ko bas hai"—One wife is enough for a whole family.

⁽²⁾ A Muhammadan gentleman told me that in Muzaffarnagar some Jats admitted the existence of the custom to him.

† **Proverbs on Motherkin.**—"Nana ka tukra khawe, dada ka pota kahlawe." He eats the bread of his mother's father and is called the grandson of his father's father.

"Nana khasam kare nawasa chhati bhare."—The mother's father goes astray and the grandson rejoices (because he inherits the property).

"Sawan men karela phula, nani dekh nawasa bhula."—The karela blossomed in August—the daughter's son seeing (the wealth of) his mother's mother swelled with pride.

"Sat mama ka bhanja bhuka hi bhuka phire."—The nephew of seven maternal uncles goes hungry (too many cooks spoil the broth).

"Mama phupha ka bhai, kaka baron ka dai."—Sons of maternal uncle and paternal aunt are brothers: sons of father's younger and elder brothers are enemies (a Garhwali proverb).

promiscuity of marital relations it was impossible to affiliate children—where it was in truth a wise child who knew his own father. There are now other theories in the field of which no notice need be taken: for in this province the matriarchal state of society, if it ever existed, has long been forgotten; though there may be some few odds and ends of ritual which are mementos of such a state.

229. **Cousin-Marriage.***—Another type of marriage which may well be mentioned before going on to mention the survivals referred to above—simply because its results may be so easily confused with these relics of motherkin,—is cousin-marriage. Where exogamous groups prevail, it is obvious that in a matriarchal state of society there is nothing to prevent a man marrying any of his cousins save the daughter of his mother's sister; and in a patriarchal state of society there is nothing to prevent him marrying any of his cousins save the daughter of his father's brother. This type of union has been brought into prominence by Dr. Rivers' investigations in Southern India: and he has found that as a matter of fact the marriage with a mother's brother's daughter is often not only *a* possible, but *the only* possible marriage, so long as the required relative exists, whilst the union of the children of two brothers or two sisters is absolutely prohibited. Of such unions in this province we have but a few. The cases of the Agarias and of the Bhuiyars have already been mentioned (paragraph 219 above). Cheros allow a man to wed his cousin of both these kinds, as do Ghasias and Kanjars: Gidhijas (a Nat section) permit marriage only with the mother's brother's daughter. Inasmuch as the Hindu prohibited degrees would normally exclude such unions, these cases are in themselves striking; but it cannot be said that they necessarily point to a system where cousin-marriage was imperative, since they are now purely permissive.

A good deal has been made, both as regards motherkin and cousin-marriage, of survivals which seem to point to one or the other. If one finds for instance a mother's brother taking such a part in the wedding of his nephew and niece as one would naturally assign to the father, it may point to a condition of affairs where the mother's brother was either the nearest male relative (motherkin) or the mother's brother was the father of one of the parties (cousin-marriage). This kind of argument obviously needs to be used with the greatest care. For instance numerous cases have been reported to me, as "survivals" of the matriarchate, where the mother's brother gives his nephew or niece a present at marriage; but so do other relatives⁽¹⁾. Again, the sister's son, but more commonly the sister's husband, often takes an important part in low caste weddings, and Crooke usually looks on it as referable to the matriarchate, though the connection is not obvious except so far,—that if any relative in that generation was to play a part, one might expect it to be the mother or brother's son. I therefore mention only the most important and obvious cases:—

(1) Korwas, Khairwas, Bhars, Bhuiyas, Agarias.—The bridegroom's maternal uncle arranges the wedding.

(2) Byadha Nats.—The boy's maternal uncle arranges the wedding and pays the bride price to the *mother*.

(3) Basors, Chamars.—The boy's paternal aunt's husband arranges the match.

(4) Dharkars, Doms, Khatiks.—The same relative either arranges the marriage or has important duties at a wedding on both sides.

(5) Lohars.—The maternal uncle bears an important part in the birth ceremonies of his nephew or niece.

(6) Doms, Dharkars, Bhangis.—The sister's son or sister's husband acts as priest at funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Dharkars the latter also ties a turban on the chief mourner's (the son's) head in token that he has taken the place of his father.

The first, second, and fifth of these cases may point to either motherkin or cousin-marriage or both: the rest probably point to cousin-marriage.

230. **Marriage by capture.**—"Mine was the woman to me, darkling I found her,

Haling her dumb from the camp, held her and bound her."

* Proverbs on Cousin-marriage — "Jo mama beti nahin dega to kaun dega?" If a girl is not given in marriage by her mother's brother, then who will give her?

(1) At many weddings the *bat* is openly and shamelessly passed round.

These lines of Kipling exemplify a type of marriage that history (¹), apart from ethnography, shows to have been common in the past. The Aryans were no exception, for one of their forms of marriage, the "*Rakshasa*" was no more than marriage by capture; and significantly enough, was legal for the Kshatriyas, the fighting class. The principle "to every man a damsel or two" is as old and as widespread as the world. Even in our modern times it occurs when Nats, Berias, *et hoc genus omne* kidnap women from other castes.

At the present day, however, and but for such exceptions as this, it exists merely in survivals in the marriage rites, of which the pages of Crooke are crammed. I do not propose to describe these: instances can be found in numerous castes, of greater or less significance. Some of the most common are the customs that the bridegroom is frequently mounted and armed: that his party does not enter the bride's village, but stays outside at a specially prepared spot called the "*janvasa*;" that the bride is always carried away in some sort of equipage; that the father of the bridegroom ceremonially pulls down one of the poles of the marriage shed; that the bride screams and wails when she is taken away. Some of these customs especially the last may be indications of maiden modesty on the part of the bride, but when the bridegroom or his party shows or pretends to show violence of any kind it can scarcely be anything but a survival of marriage by capture.

231. **Beena marriage and marriage by exchange.***—If one cannot steal a wife, a course which was always attended with a certain amount of risk, the simplest method of getting one is to buy one. Barter was the earliest form of purchasing what one wanted, and it is not therefore strange to find that marriage by exchange, whereby two men exchange sisters or other near kinswomen, is a form occasionally met. In this province it is found amongst the Barhais, Bhuiyas, Dharkars, Ghasias, Meos, Musahars, and Tarkihars; I have also had a report of a new case of it, amongst the Meerut Chhipis, where a man only contracts his son to a girl of another family on condition that a bridegroom is found by that family for his own daughter. It is known as *gurawat*, or *adala ba'ala*. It is curious to find the custom also existing amongst Khatkul Kanaujia Brahmans. Beena marriage (²) according to Westermarck's theory, is a mere extension of the principle of paying for one's wife. The husband goes to live in his wife's family and works there, in a capacity which is part servant, part debtor, for a certain period before he marries her. Hartland (³) has another view, which may be said to differ from Westermarck in that he lays stress on the work done by the would-be bridegroom. He refers it to the matriarchal state: the wife in such a state of society lived always with her own family where she received her lover. The lover in time became a permanent guest and a husband. Sooner or later her relations discovered that she was a valuable commodity, especially whilst a virgin; and though the custom that the husband lived in her house continued, he had to undergo a period of probation and also pay a price for her which was occasionally paid by labour. Clearly the two explanations are not mutually exclusive. At the present day, whatever the original object of the custom, it is used as a means of getting a wife without paying a dowry in cash or kind. It is restricted to poor people who work out the dowry in labour. Nominally at all events, connubial intercourse is forbidden; the son-in-law *in futuro* gets maintenance, but has no claim on the father-in-law's property. The custom is found among the Bhuiyar, Bind, Chero, Ghasiya, Kharwar, Majhwar, Gond, and Parahiya castes: its usual name is *gharjauwai*, *gharjaiyan* or *ghardamada*. The normal period appears to be three years.

(¹) The rape of the Sabine women, and the Homeric story of Briseis are well-known instances. When Colonel Hickman made prisoners of the women and children of the Mahdist soldiery at Shendy (before the battle of the Atbara), it was, according to G. W. Stevens, really a modern instance of marriage by capture; for these women were destined to be remarried to the Soudanese soldiery in the Egyptian army,—though they were doubtless willing captives, and many were merely recaptured. The Mahdists themselves of course invariably turned their female captives into wives (Stevens, "*With Kitchener to Khartoum*").

* Proverb on Beena marriage.—"Dur jawani tirath barabar, Najik jawani adha; Ghar jawani gadha barabar, Jab chaha tab lada." A son-in-law at a distance is looked on with respect (*lit.* is like a sacred place), a son-in-law living hard by gets half the same attention; a son-in-law in his wife's father's house is no better than a donkey, he carries burdens when required.

(²) Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, page 391.

(³) Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, II, pages 92 *et seq.*: in that chapter numerous instances will be found. The Genesis story (XXIX *et seq.*) of Jacob and Laban is usually described as a beena marriage, though according to others it is merely a case of an exceptional arrangement between a fugitive and a grasping man. Be that as it may it is exactly a type of beena marriage. (Hastings' *Dictionary of Bible "Marriage"*.)

232. **Marriage by purchase.**—From marriage by capture to marriage by purchase is a natural sequence. The purchase may involve the payment either of a bride or a bridegroom price: the former is found only in low castes, the latter usually amounts to the payment of a dowry with the bride. The payment of a bride price is forbidden by Hindu law ⁽¹⁾; but the “law of supply and demand operates in the marriage as it does in the other markets of India,” and a bridegroom who cannot find a bride in the ordinary way has to pay for one. This however is probably an uncommon occurrence. Amid the lower castes who pay for their brides, the practice is no longer in the nature of a business transaction; the price has no reference to the “value” of the bride, nor to the ease or difficulty of obtaining one. Its amount is fixed by tribal custom, and it is normally so small that it is obviously a survival from days when money had a greater purchasing power than it has now: whilst in some cases it is no longer of the nature of a bride price at all, for it is definitely a contribution from the bridegroom’s family towards the expenses of the marriage feast. Indeed it is probable that it is always expended in this fashion.

The payment of a dowry is usual among the better castes, which is partly at all events the result of hypergamy. The bride is generally of the inferior social position, and her family have naturally to pay for marrying her to a man above her in rank. Not only so but they desire to make a show of wealth to counterbalance the bridegroom’s social advantages. Again, where the bride herself is of high social standing it may be a matter of great difficulty to find anybody of yet higher rank to marry her, and her family have to pay accordingly. Normally the dowries in the United Provinces are not as extravagant as they are elsewhere. They are proportionate to the means of the bride’s family: but they are, even so, quite extravagant enough, and though it is probable that the expenses of a daughter’s wedding do not frequently actually ruin a family, they must often seriously embarrass it. But most of the expense is connected not so much with the actual dowry, as with the wastefulness which accompanies the marriage ceremonies ⁽²⁾.

The castes in the margin have the custom of the bride price, which always

Agaria (Rs. 10), Ahir (Rs. 2), Bajgi (Rs. 40 to Rs. 50), Bansphor (Rs. 4½—the odd four annas is *siwai*—for luck), Bhar (Rs. 2½), Bhil (Rs. 30 to Rs. 60), Bhuiya (Rs. 5), Bhuiyar (Rs. 8), Byar (Rs. 4), Chamar (Rs. 2), Chero (Rs. 5), Dhangar (Rs. 2), Dharkar (Rs. 8), Dom (Rs. 5), Dusadh (Rs. 5), Ghasiya (Rs. 12), Habura (Rs. 2), Khapariya (Rs. 100), Kharwar (Rs. 5), Khatik (Rs. 7), Kol (Rs. 5), Korwa (Rs. 5), Majhwar (Rs. 5), Musabar (Rs. 1½), Nat (Rs. 25), Panka (Rs. 5), Parahiya (Rs. 5), Patari (Rs. 3), Tharu (Rs. 9), Saharia (Rs. 8), Sansia (Rs. 500), Soiri, Raji, Kingaria, Kalwar, Jat, and Gond.

consists of a sum of money and some presents, usually clothes, food, and occasionally ornaments. I mention the cash sum where known to me.

The Aheria, Audhiya, Baiswar, Basor, Bhat, Bhatiya, Bind, Dangi, Golapurab, Gujar, Jat, Kachhi, Kayastha, Khangar, Kingaria, Kurmi, Lodha, Pasi, Sadh, Sejwari, and Sonar have a bride-

groom price or dowry; to whom must be added most Brahman and Rajput clans, if not all. Many castes, have, either instead of, or in addition to, the above forms of payment, a sort of fee to clinch the betrothal, which is usually paid by the bridegroom’s father. It is usually a rupee or two, and among certain castes that drink liquor is often ceremonially transferred thus. Each party has a measure of liquor in a leaf cup; the bridegroom’s father drops his fee into his. These cups are interchanged five times and finally drunk off. The custom is known as *barachha* or *barrekhi*. Such castes are the Bahelia, Bari, Basor, Bhar, Dhangar, Dharkar, Kalwar, and Kanjar. The dowry among some low castes is really a dowry and is known as *jahez*: but it is usually of such a small amount that it too, probably, is frequently a sort of fee to clinch the bargain.

The bride prices as will be seen rule small: where they are large, as with the Sansia, the shortage of women usually accounts for it. The dowries of the better class vary with the means and ambitions of the bride’s family: the largest that I have seen recorded is the Maithila Brahman dowry which is said by Crooke to vary from 20 to 6,000 rupees. These are the dowries demanded by a class called Bikauwa whose practices resemble those of the Bengal Kulin Brahmins: but I doubt if many such are found in this province.

233. **Forms of marriage.**—Besides the named rites of *sagai* already dealt with, there are in common use, two forms of marriage, the *charhawa* and the *dola*. The great and only important difference between them is that the former

⁽¹⁾ Manu, III, 15

⁽²⁾ Hinduism, *Ancient and Modern*, p. 66.

is carried out at the house of the bride and the latter at the house of the bridegroom. I do not propose to give details of the marriage ceremonies of various castes: full details can be found scattered about Crooke. The binding parts of the ceremony are usually the *kanyadan* (or giving away of the bride by her father); the *pheri bhannwar* (or circumambulation of the marriage shed, or of a pole in its midst), which is done 5 or 7 times by the pair with their clothes knotted; and the *seindurdan* or marking of the parting of the bride's hair by the bridegroom with red lead. Other interesting ceremonies are the comparison of the horoscope (*rasbarag*); the *tilak*, which amongst the Kayasthas, for instance, consists of a ceremonial offering of the dowry to the bridegroom; the *matmangara* ceremony of low castes, consisting in the collection of "lucky earth" by both families,—(the priest digs three spadeful of earth which he passes to the mother over his left shoulder; it is placed in the wedding shed (*manro*) with a jar of water on it in which some mango leaves and rice stalks are thrown); the rites connected with the *kohabar* or retiring room whither the bride and bridegroom retire after the ceremony, and the bridegroom becomes the subject of more or less unpleasant practical jokes and jests on the part of the women—a survival, probably, of a time when consummation immediately followed marriage; and the *khichari* ceremony or ceremonial eating together of bride and bridegroom before the relatives of both: etiquette demands that both should show reluctance and be pressed and bribed to eat. It is also sometimes called *dudha bhati* from the elements of the feast—milk and boiled rice: it resembles the Roman *conjarratio*. The *panwpuja* or ceremonial washing of the bridegroom's feet by the bride's father is also a necessary ceremony in many low caste marriages.

234. **Other customs arising possibly from matrimonial usage.**—(1) *The taboo on the Jeth.*—It is a well-known custom that the wife of a younger brother may not use the name of her husband's elder brother; and the prohibition occasionally extends to touching, speaking to, or appearing unveiled before him. He on his part is also often forbidden to address her by name, though this is on the whole less common. The usual explanation given by Hindus themselves is that it is a custom of respect. But that only pushes the enquiry one step further back. Why should the *jeth* be singled out for this kind of respectful treatment? It has been suggested that it is because he is the head of the family, failing a father. But in that case there should *a fortiori*, be a similar custom of avoidance between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. I am informed that it does exist, but it does not seem to be so widespread, nor, I fancy, so strict as the *jeth* taboo. The only custom which seems to me to fully explain it is fraternal polyandry. If a younger brother marries a wife of his own he must set up a separate domicile: there is then no more connection between him and his elder brother's wife, or between his wife and his elder brother. But the objection to this is that everything points to the fact that fraternal polyandry was a most exceptional thing in Upper India, if it ever occurred at all, whilst to the *jeth* taboo there are practically no exceptions. Generally speaking we may say that it probably sprang, as Dr. Frazer has shown all such customs of avoidance to spring, from a desire to prevent intercourse between relatives whom the exogamic law did not keep apart. And it may be that there is a connection between this taboo and the levirate in its usual form (as Crooke points out), but whether the form of the levirate is due to the taboo or the taboo arose as a restriction on the levirate, it is not possible to say.

(2) *The taboo on the use of the names of husband and wife.*—Husband and wife are supposed not to call each other by their names; the wife never does so, the husband but seldom. This, again, is generally regarded as a "custom of respect," though why respect should take this particular form, is not so clear. The following quotation is to the point: "Some of the colonists . . . took wives of the women of the Carians whose fathers they had slain. Therefore the women made a law unto themselves and handed it down to their daughters that . . . none should ever call her husband by his name" (Herodotus I, 146). In this case the custom is referred to marriage by capture and the enmity between captive wife and captor husband. But it may be pointed out that in such cases husband and wife would not know each other's language and so could not address each other, even if they would, by name or in any other way. Of this fact the custom of not using the name would be a mere relic, and it would be of the same nature as the rules which impose silence on women after marriage

for a certain period, and put restrictions on intercourse. Melusine, Urvashi, Psyche are instances, whilst the silent bride is well known in folklore. On the other hand, the custom is equally, and perhaps more probably, referable to the general taboo on the use of names common in many races. The root idea is that there is a close connection between personality and name. The commandment "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain" is connected with the idea; to use His name unnecessarily is to insult His personality. In the same way Hindus have two names, one secret, one for use: whilst opprobrious or perverted names such as Ghasita, Tinkauriya, Bhikhu, are also not uncommon. The object in every case is to keep the true name secret, since if a wizard or enemy gets to know it he can acquire control over the owner's personality. It is said by some informants that in some cases wives do pronounce their husband's names at marriage, though unwittingly; the presiding Pandit introduces the name (which she is not supposed to and at that time perhaps really does not know) into the formulæ he makes the bride repeat. As the name is so often that of a god, there is obviously no great strain put on the Pandit's invention. The circumlocution most usually adopted is "father" or "mother" of so and so; or some general term of respect or affection.

(3) *The use of certain terms of relationship as terms of abuse.*—The most common of these are "sala" and "sasur" (brother and father-in-law). The usual explanation is indecent: to call a man your brother-in-law is to imply that you have had intercourse with his sister and as you are not, *ex hypothesi*, married to her, the intercourse reflects on her morals. Whatever may be the origin of this use of the term there can be no doubt that this is the usual connotation as at present understood, though as a matter of fact the term is used in ways that show it is most frequently meaningless abuse. I have heard a Rajput native officer, for instance, in the course of a field firing practice, say to his men "target sala ko maro" (fire at that "brother-in-law" of a target). It has been referred however by one well-known authority (Crooke) to marriage by capture. The brother and father-in-law would obviously be the enemy of the son-in-law: and since he had captured their relative, not only an enemy, but a conquered enemy. Another authority, Mr. D. C. Baillie, has suggested to me that it may be referable to the custom of hypergamy. Since a woman must marry a man of higher social standing than herself, her father and brother must obviously be her husband's inferiors, and to call a man "brother-in-law" is to call him your inferior. There seems to me no reason why all these explanations should not be true, for they are obviously not mutually exclusive.

235. **Muhammadan marriage customs**⁽¹⁾.—In theory the Muhammadan can marry any girl of any caste outside the prohibited degrees, which are not dissimilar to those of European nations, and provided that his first wife is at least of his own rank of life. In Indian practice however endogamy prevails, and the endogamous circle is even more closely drawn than among Hindus. Not only must Saiyid marry Saiyid, and Kazimi Kazimi; but the wife is chosen from a very close circle of relations, if possible. My informant instanced his own case. His "circle" was restricted to a few villages and, as it happened, there was no suitable husband for his daughter. An educated man himself, he desired a son-in-law who was educated, and he has against his will been compelled by family pressure to agree to a betrothal between his daughter and an illiterate youth in the absence of a more suitable bridegroom. The result is naturally that cousin-marriage is extremely common. No sort of marriage of this kind is barred: my informant was married to his own second cousin. The marriages of uncles and nieces are however forbidden: but not of a nephew and an aunt by marriage, though such an union is reprobated not only because of the close relationship but because it involves the remarriage of a widow. Widow-remarriage though legal is not a very common occurrence in India, at all events amongst the better classes of Muhammadans, a fact which is ascribed to the influence of Hindu custom: though in Arabia it is a frequent event. Theoretically the Muhammadan may marry four wives. But if the Prophet's injunctions are strictly followed, as my informant pointed out, polygamy becomes all but impossible to the ordinary man. For each wife must be treated exactly as the others are: a "favourite" wife is against the law. As he points out, in a

(1) For the facts in this paragraph I am indebted chiefly to a Muhammadan officer of Government whose name for reasons that will appear I do not give.

polygamous family it would be impossible to avoid favouritism of some kind. The result of this, according to him, is that polygamy is looked on somewhat askance by the strict Muhammadans; at all events monogamy is the almost invariable rule and second wives are generally of a lower caste or social standing. *Mutah* marriages ("temporary" marriages such as are permissible to Shias) are unusual and are sometimes used as a convenient cloak for unions of a disreputable nature. Crooke in his article on "Tawaif" says the same thing⁽¹⁾.

Divorce (*talak*) is possible but very uncommon. Even if a man be asked by her relations to divorce his wife he normally refuses as it generally involves the loss of her property and expectations. And if he wants to divorce her himself the custom of demanding a very large dowry (or settlement) which is payable at divorce effectually prevents his doing so. My own informant estimated his income from all sources at Rs. 700 a month; his *mahr* or dowry was one and a half lakhs. The marriage ceremony is partly religious, partly civil, but rather the latter than the former. The respective fathers arrange it: at the present day the boy is occasionally allowed to express a choice or an objection, though it does not follow that any attention is paid to his wishes. The girl of course has no choice. On the date fixed, the bridal parties arrive at the girl's house. The bride's father selects a man, usually an elderly relative, as *vakil* for his daughter. The *vakil* with two witnesses goes to the girl who is behind the *purda* with some woman by her side. He asks the girl's permission to contract her in marriage to the bridegroom. All communication with her is carried out through the attendant, whose voice alone is heard. He then returns and tells the bridegroom that the girl has appointed him *vakil* and offers her to him in marriage on consideration of a *mahr* of so much: this may be "*mahr misl*," which means either the dowry customary in the girl's family or the dowry laid down by the Prophet for Fatima (seven and a half *dinaths*); otherwise, an amount is specified. On receiving the boy's agreement the contract is complete, and the Qazi reads appropriate parts of the Quran: the girl is not present. Then sugar and dried fruits (*shakar chuvara*) are handed round, and the bridegroom goes inside the house where the *julwa* ceremony is performed. The bride and he sit opposite each other and are covered by a sheet, and the women then unveil the bride and he sees her face for the first time. That there should be unkind proverbs about this part of the rite is natural. "*Sonajari achchhi nahin pari thi*"—the first glimpse was not satisfactory—is one of them. It is said of married couples and implies that there was no "love at first sight" in their case. Low caste Muhammadan marriages, especially in communities which descend from Hindu converts, are often a curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan rites. An excellent instance will be found in the account of a Dafali's wedding given by Crooke. Save that Allah and the Prophet replace the family gods and the Qazi replaces the Pandit there is often little difference between the two. Some castes⁽²⁾ of this kind also place restrictions on some forms of cousin-marriage, a reminiscence of their Hindu origin, and they are usually strictly endogamous. Such restrictions on cousin-marriage operate as a rule to exclude the children of brothers, but not of sisters.

236. **The order in which children are married.**—The old Hindu rule used to be that the elder child must be married before the younger, in strict order of seniority. Manu's statement on the subject is —

"One who performs Yagna (sacrifice) and marriage before his elder brother, he is called *parivetta* and the elder brother is called *parivetti*. That *parivetti* and *parivetta*, the married girl, the girl's father and the presiding priest, all five go to hell." (Manu, III, 171, 172.) I have made some enquiries on the subject, and the general conclusion appears to be that though the rule survives in theory, it is often departed from in practice. The law only embodies the normal course of events, but modern circumstances have caused it to be neglected. The matter of horoscopes affects it. If a marriage has been settled for an elder child and the horoscopes require it to take place on a date when there is a certain combination of astral circumstances, that date may not occur for a year or two, and the younger child gets married in the meantime; though on the other hand, the influence of the custom may be traced in the fact that a horoscope, when received for comparison, is first compared (apparently *pro formâ*) with that of the elder first, and then with that of the younger. When boys are at school or college their marriages

(1) For Akbar's alleged connection with *mutah* marriages, see *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 173.

(2) E.g. Iraqi, Gidhiya, Turk, Ghogar, Tawai, and Mula.

are often postponed. Again, if a suitable partner is not found for a particular child, the younger child may be married first. The rule however appears to be more strictly observed in the case of girls than of boys (partly no doubt because there is less reason to depart from it), so much so that if an elder girl for any reason cannot be married (such as physical or mental deficiency) she is often formally married to somebody who is bribed to accept her as a wife and then generally marries somebody else. This makes it possible to proceed with the marriages of the younger girls. In a word, the rule is observed for boys unless it is a nuisance, when it is broken with little hesitation, for girls it is always observed, in the spirit if possible but at least in the letter. Muhammadans appear to follow a similar rule.

237. **The age of marriage.**—It is difficult to deal adequately with the well-known question of infant-marriage without a reference to the figures, a discussion of which belongs to the later part of this chapter. It is a subject too which has been written about *ad nauseam*: yet in the last ten years much information has been gathered by ethnologists which throws a fresh light on some of its aspects and in view of the importance of the information, it is impossible to ignore it. I propose therefore to recapitulate briefly former theories advanced to explain the custom, and then to show how this new information bears on the question of its origin. It is all the more necessary to do this since the resultant conclusions will throw a great deal of light on the figures.

Infant-marriage is a custom which has no Vedic authority whatever. The later law books enjoin it, but the approved ages were not so low as they have subsequently become, and there is a certain amount of evidence that the custom was not without its opponents. It is not very clear at what period it came into force, though the popular belief assigns it to the period of the early Muhammadan invaders. Various theories have been advanced to explain it⁽¹⁾. We have—

(1) The lawgiver's explanation that the girl's marriage saves her father's soul, purges her of original sin and bears a son to carry on the domestic worship. It is obviously not clear, firstly, what the girl's marriage is supposed to save her father from, unless it be from the sin of *not* marrying her; in other words, "if you would avoid committing sin, don't commit it"—a statement which may be true but is scarcely valuable as a precept. Nor does the theory explain why a girl should be married for the purpose of obtaining a son, at an age when she is totally incapable of bearing one for years to come. It is in short an *ex post facto* account.

(2) The theory that with the lowering of the position of women and the increase of the paternal power the custom was invented to save the girl from herself and her own desires. It would be difficult to make out a case for this lowering of the "position of women" at the time when the lawgivers enjoined it. But admitting that it was so, we have, in a civilized community, on one hand an increased paternal power, and on the other a womankind of lower position,—yet these fathers of the day, despite their increased authority, are compelled to invent a custom of this kind to enable them to manage their downtrodden yet unruly daughters! The theory is a contradiction in itself; if it were true, it would not speak well for either the paternal authority or the civilization.

(3) The theory that it is referable to hypergamy and high dowries. Hypergamy limits the number of husbands available for the girls of high castes and makes it necessary to obtain a bridegroom as soon as possible. Here, again, facts are against the hypothesis. At the time when the custom originated there was no hypergamy as we know it; indeed the laws of caste and inheritance definitely contemplate mixed marriages between caste and caste, so that there was not even any very strict system of endogamy: there were plenty husbands and wives available and consequently no particular need for high dowries. Moreover if a man knows that he will have to pay a big sum to marry his daughter, he is at least as likely to put off the evil day as long as he can as to pay the price at once and get it over.

(4) Nesfield's theory, that infant-marriage was a means devised to save girls from intra-tribal communism and marriage by capture. At the period of the law books Aryan society had long passed out of these stages.

(5) Finally, the theory that it was due to Muhammadan invaders who abducted girls from the Hindus. This, it will be noticed, is simply Nesfield's

⁽¹⁾ For a full discussion see India Report, 1901, paragraphs 710 *et seq.*

theory post-dated from primeval to historical times. Of this it is sufficient to say that, whatever effect this may have had in furthering and crystallizing the custom, it did not originate it, for Manu's date, on any theory, was long before the earliest Muhammadan invasion. In a word every theory so far brought forward has failed to explain the facts.

It is clear from the above account that there has been a tendency for theories to refer the custom to an Aryan source, and without actually asserting it as a fact, to treat it as if it were a characteristic rather of the high castes than the low. When the phenomenon was observed in a low caste (and the very useful abstract on page 254 of the report of 1891 shows that it was observed in such castes at that date) it was usually explained as due to imitation of the customs of superior castes by low castes in the process of Hinduization. It has never been admitted that the low castes, the Dravidian element in Hindu society, might have evolved such a custom independently, or even possibly, be responsible entirely for its origination.

For this an argument from probabilities, or from such evidence as was then available, was responsible. Primitive man, it is said knows nothing of infant-marriage, nor is it easy to conceive how such an institution could have arisen in the struggle for existence out of which society has been evolved. "The modern savage woos in a summary and not over-delicate fashion a sturdy young woman who can . . . make herself generally useful." (India Report, 1901, page 711.) This quotation puts the older view in a telling form. But since then much fresh ethnographical information has been collected which disposes of this picture of the savage wooing an adult bride with the arguments of axe and boomerang, and indifferent, like the wicked sailor in "*Robinson Crusoe*," to her age or looks provided she is useful. Infant marriage has been proved to be common among savages from Siberia to Queensland, and from Brazil to Indonesia—varying from simple intercourse between children, approved or even fostered by the parents, to the more civilized custom of child betrothal followed by adult consummation which we know in India⁽¹⁾. This is a fresh factor which greatly affects the situation, and it becomes imperative to consider the question of the infant marriage of low castes. It needs no proof to show that infant marriage *may* have developed amongst them independently of contact with higher castes, since similar races *have* developed the custom without any such similar contact.

Proof that it *has* been so developed, however, is on a different plane. It is

Caste.	Girls.	Boys.	Caste.	Girls.	Boys.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Agaria	5-10	...	Gadariya	7-12	...
Aheria	7-10	...	Ghasia	Adult	...
	5-9	5-12	Gond	Adult.	...
Ahur	7-12	10-16	Goriya	Under 14	5-10
Bahelia	7-8	...	Gujar	0-16	...
Baiswar	10-12	...	Habura	Adult.	...
	12	14	Halwai	5-12	...
Bajgi	Infant and adult.	...	Kachhi	9-10	10-14
Balahar	8-9	...	Kahar	9	10
	Infant and adult.	...	Kalwar	8-12	6-15
	10-11	...	Kanjar	Infant.	...
Balai	...	...	Kanjar	7-8	0-10
Bansphor	Infant ...	12-13	Kanjar	Adult	...
Barai	8-9	9-12	Kaparia	6-9	10-12
Banjara	7-15	...	Kasera	7-8	...
Bargahi	Adult	9-11	Kewat	Under 12.	...
	7-9-11	9-12		5-7	...
Barhai	9	14-15	Khagi	5-10	5-10
Bari	12-13	12	Khairwa	8-10	12-13
	10	10-12	Kharwar	7-15	...
Bhangi	7-9	10-11	Khatik	5-10	...
Bharbhunja	7-9	...		8-10	...
	Infant and adult.	...		3-15	3-15
Barwar	10-12	...	Koeri	Under 12.	...
Basor	6-12	...	Korwa	10	12
Byar	7-12	...	Kumhar	Infant and adult.	...
Phansia	5-12	...		9-10	10-15
Bhar	12	...	Lodha	6-10	6-12
Bhuiya	10-12	...	Lohar	5-14	...
Bhuiyar	10-12	...	Lunia	10-12	...
Bind	10-12	...	Majhwar	12	16
Chai	10-12	...	Mali	Infant and adult.	...
Chamar	3-6	...		7-10	10-15
Chero	5-10	...	Mallah	Infant and adult.	...
Chhipi	Infant ...	...		9-10	10-12
Churihar	7-10	12-13	Nai	10-12	...
Dangi	10-12	...	Nat	10-12	15
Dhangar	7-11	...	Nasi	6-16	...
Dhanuk	17-18	17-18	Saharia	0-10	...
Dharkar	12	14	Sejwari	9	10
Dhobi	8-10	...	Teli	Infant.	...
Dom hills	11-2	...	Tharu	17-18	17-18
Dom Plains	Adult.	...			
Dusadh	...	...	

road to Hinduism. There are many actual instances recorded in Crooke.

(1) Hartland's *Primitive Paternity*, vol. II, pages 254-273.

One also usually finds that if both infant and adult marriage co-exist in one caste, the richer members of it practise the former, and the poorer the latter: and "becoming Hinduized" is very largely a matter of money. One other small point leads to the same conclusion. Enquiries were made at this census into the age of marriage of various castes. Comparing them with Crooke's figures of 15 years ago, I have noticed that where there is any change at all, the change is almost always in the direction of an earlier age for marriage, which can only be attributed to the process of Hinduization.

I give in the margin the marriage ages of various low castes. Where not stated, it may be taken that the boy's age is older by a year or two than the girl's. When two figures are given the second is new information.

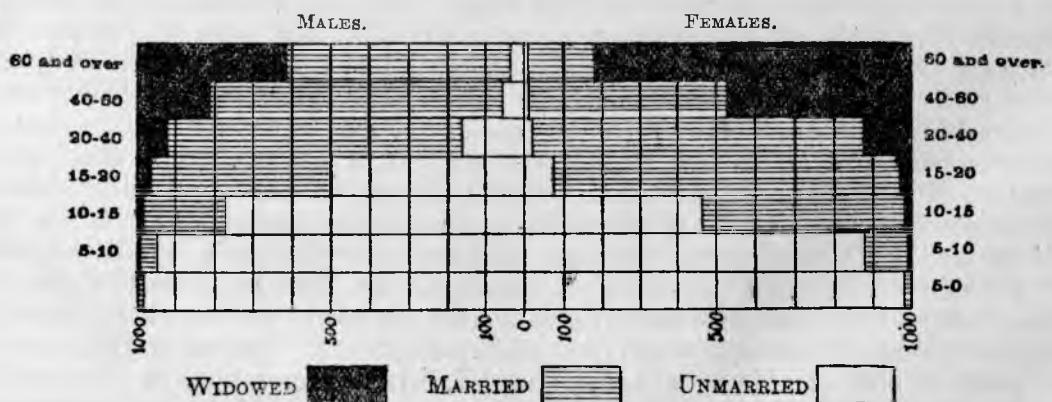
Adult marriage is therefore the rule in a very small minority of castes and at the present day is even possible in only a very few. The great majority have infant-marriage. Mr. Johnson in his ethnographical report for Cawnpore, however, has a remark which points to an important modification of any custom in the matter of marriage age. "Among the lower castes," he writes, "one finds again and again that the exact time for marriage is determined by the question of having sufficient money for the purpose." This is akin to the fact already noted that richer folk marry their children in infancy; poorer folk marry them when adult. It is well known that there is often a striking coincidence between a good crop and a lengthy marriage season: it is a stock argument of the auctioneer at the annual liquor shop sales, that the crops are good and consequently the *lagan* will be so too. The figures point to the same way. Since the *rabi* of 1909 there have been good crops and there is much money in the pockets of the lower classes. There are over 20,000 males and 28,000 females married under the age of 5, as against under 18,000 and 27,000 in 1901, of whom the majority must represent weddings during the last two years; and indeed when two or three of the deputy superintendents, becoming exercised in mind as to the increase in these figures, had particular cases tested, they not infrequently got the reply that the cause was the favourable crops of the last year or two, which had put money into the cultivator's pocket, and induced him to seize the occasion to marry his son or daughter whilst he could do so with comparative ease. Muhammadans of the better classes usually marry about the age of 17 or 18 (both sexes): the poorer classes somewhat earlier, in the neighbourhood of 14. But I am informed that there is a tendency to lower the age, partly in imitation of Hindu customs, partly to avoid exposing a girl to the dangers of her own desires, partly to secure a bridegroom of whom it is certain that he has had no previous illicit experience of sexual intercourse—on the ground, so my informant said, that if, like Arthur, "he loved one woman only," like Arthur he would cleave to her. I cannot say whether this is a widespread movement, but probably it is still exceptional. Little need be said of the local distribution of infant-marriage. Mr. Burn in 1901 pointed out that it was more strictly adhered to in the eastern portions of the province than in the western, which is a point worth remarking; for as has been often said, the lower castes and the lower branches of widespread castes reside in the east.

We can now sum up the question of the origin of infant-marriage so far as the evidence in this province is concerned. The old theories of its origin are unsatisfactory, and indeed have been occasionally admitted to be so even by those who made them: but the makers were handicapped by ignorance of the fact, since ascertained, that infant-marriage is by no means a peculiarity of the better classes of India but common to many primitive races. It may well be therefore that the infant-marriage found in low castes was not, as is usually held, the result of imitation of their Aryan neighbours: but that at least it developed independently, and at most was the original of which the Aryan custom was a copy. It may have entered into the Aryan body of customs, as many other obviously primitive customs did, *via* a course of mixed marriages; it may be, as Mr. Burn suggested in 1901, that it was due to a revolt amongst the Hindus against the premarital sexual license which they saw going on amongst their Dravidian neighbours. Infant-marriage is often the result of, and adopted as a partial cure for, infant immorality, as Hartland has shown; it might well be that the Hindus adopted the cure which they saw ready to their hand, for use as a preventive. But so far as this province is concerned, it is impossible to go beyond theory, because though the custom of infant-marriage is widespread amongst our low castes, yet there are none still in such a primitive condition that it is certain that they have not been affected by Hindu example.

238. **The results of infant-marriage.**—This is a matter fully dealt with in the last India Report (paragraphs 714 *et seq.*) and little need be said of it here. Infant marriage has been severely condemned and by none more severely than by some Hindu thinkers. “Stop child marriage,” writes one, “and you achieve the threefold result of conserving the energy of the nation, saving its youth and preventing waste of money, forwarding the education of the race and making it better fitted for the struggle of modern life (1).” The language, is strong, and as usual there is another side to the picture, for which it is merely necessary to refer to the India Report of 1901. And the statement is perhaps somewhat elliptically put. The actual age of marriage matters very little. The *byah* amounts, in this province at all events, to no more than an irrevocable betrothal: actual consummation is postponed till after the *gauna* ceremony, which may take place 3, 5, 7 or up to 11 years later, according to circumstances. If the *gauna* were postponed till the wife was fully *apta viro* and the husband fully *aptus mulieri*, it is difficult to see what harm would result of child marriage (2). But here the causes, which are usually alleged as having caused child marriage, and *have*, at all events, operated to secure its continuance—especially the desire for a son to carry on the line and the domestic rites,—come into play, and the girl wife goes to her boy husband at an age when, though he and she may be adult, they are not necessarily yet fit for marital relations. There is room for reform and attempts at reform are not wanting. First and foremost of reformers must be put the Arya Samaj. The abolition of early marriage is in the forefront of their programme: that despite their comparatively brief history they have achieved success, is seen by the fact that whilst of Hindus under 15, 984 boys and 2,022 girls out of 10,000 are either married or widowed, amongst Aryas the figures are 591 and 1,345. But they can influence as yet but a small part of the community. Next must be put many caste associations such as the Kayastha Educational Conference and the Vaishya Maha Sabha all of whom do their best by precept and example to stop infant marriage. “We have tried to convince our community,” writes Lala Baij Nath (3), who is or was General Secretary of the second association mentioned, “not only by arguments drawn from reason but also by appeal to the authority of the Sastras. . . . Our success has not yet been great, but we find a steadily growing public opinion in our favour and the number of child marriages gradually becoming less every year . . . Little argument is now necessary to convince the orthodox of the necessity for postponing the marriage of boys till the age of 15 or 16. In the matter of girls we have more difficulty and have had to take the safest age for marriage at 12 and consummation of marriage about 2 years later . . . There is not now the same opposition as there was 10 years ago, and those who oppose us and adhere to the old rule of 8, 9, or 10 for girls are beginning to be looked on with disfavour.” There could be no more striking condemnation of child marriage and its result in immature cohabitation than the fact that cohabitation at an age of 16 for the boy and 14 for the girl is an improvement upon it.

239. **General features of the statistics.**—The most striking feature in the

DIAGRAM SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX AND CIVIL CONDITION AT EACH AGE-PERIOD.



statistics of civil condition is the universality of marriage, as a glance at the diagram will show. Amongst males considerably under half of the total

(1) Hinduism, *Ancient and Modern*.

(2) Except the existence of child widows.

(3) Hinduism, *Ancient and Modern*, page 68—written in 1905.

population is unmarried: the white portion of the diagram amounts only to 449 per 1,000 of the whole and the rest, corresponding to 551 persons per 1,000, either are or have been married. Amongst females only 305 per 1,000 are unmarried, 695 per 1,000 or very nearly seven-tenths of the whole are or have been married. But when the figures by age are examined, the universality of marriage becomes even more striking. The figures in the margin showing the distribution of 1,000 of each civil condition and sex by age-periods show clearly when the various changes in civil condition take place. Amongst males 751 per 1,000 of all unmarried, and amongst females no less than 953 per 1,000 are aged under 15; and of these 797 are aged under 10. Only 20 per 1,000 females are unmarried at the

Age-period.	Unmarried.		Married.		Widowed.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—5 ..	256	409	1	2	..	1
5—10 ..	283	388	13	25	4	4
10—15 ..	212	156	56	102	12	9
15—20 ..	96	20	86	128	25	15
20—40 ..	120	18	514	550	308	224
40—50 ..	26	6	271	172	414	476
60 and over ..	7	3	69	21	237	271

age of 15 to 20: it is safe to say that after the age of 17 or 18 no females are unmarried who are not prostitutes or persons suffering from some bodily affliction such as leprosy or blindness: the number of genuine spinsters over 20 is exceedingly small and an old maid is the rarest of phenomena. At the very early ages marriage amongst males is rare: it begins to take place to a noticeable

extent between the ages of 10 to 15: almost exactly half of the total male population between 15 and 20 is married or has been, whilst after 20 marriage becomes all but universal; the only class which remains unmarried of its own accord is faqirs, though of course the British Army which is mostly unmarried also affects these figures, and even amongst the Indian population the deficiency of women keeps some men in the ranks of celibates. One-tenth of all females enumerated at the age 5 to 10 are married and considerably over half of those aged 10 to 15: it is probable that by far the greater number of those shown as unmarried at this age are under 12—the crucial age. 7·9 per cent. of the total male population is widowed and 95 per cent. of these are aged over 20; whilst 17·2 per cent. of the total female population is in the same condition. The contrast with 1901 in this category is striking. The percentage of widowers in that year was only 6·7 per cent. whilst that of widows was 17·0 per cent. The male figure has increased by 1·2 per cent., the female by only ·2 per cent. The reason of course is that the decade has been peculiarly unfavourable to women, especially in their prime and middle age, and the result is a great increase of widowers.

240. **Civil condition in various natural divisions.**—In the matter of civil condition there are however considerable local variations. Owing to the fact that the vicissitudes of the decade were unequally distributed over the province we get a disproportionate number of widowed. The figures of widowers are especially high in the Eastern and Western Plains, and the Western Sub-Himalayas, where plague and malaria were most prevalent; they are also high in the Central Plain, but elsewhere they are low. As regards widows however the figures are high in the Plateau, Eastern Satpuras and Eastern Plain, which reflects the lesser longevity of males in this part of the country and also the fact that these are the divisions from which emigration is most common: the men go abroad, leaving

Natural division.	Males.		Females.	
	Unmarried.	Married and widowed.	Unmarried.	Married and widowed.
Himalaya, West ..	466	534	324	676
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	467	533	323	677
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	472	528	318	682
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	431	569	292	708
Central India Plateau ..	454	545	286	714
East Satpuras ..	435	565	294	706
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	439	561	317	683
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	427	573	286	714

their wives at home, and die abroad⁽¹⁾. These inequalities make it advisable in considering the variations in the prevalence of marriage to consider both the married and widowed together, i.e. both those that are and have been married. The figures are given in the margin. In the matter of marriage, amongst males

the Eastern Plain and Central Plain stand first and second, with Eastern Satpuras and the Eastern Sub-Himalayas third and fourth. These four divisions have

(1) Cf. chapter V, paragraph 188. There is also the possibility that some wives represent themselves as widows owing to the lengthened absence of their husbands, when they are not so or at all events are not certain that they are.

figures that vary between 57·3 (Eastern Plain) and 56·1 per cent. (Eastern Sub-Himalayas). The other four divisions vary between 54·5 per cent. (Central India Plateau) and 52·8 per cent. (Western Plain). Amongst females, the Plateau (71·4 per cent.), Eastern Plain (71·4), Central Plain (70·8) and East Satpuras (70·6) are much ahead of the other divisions, which vary between 68·3 per cent. (Eastern Sub-Himalayas) and 67·6 (Himalayas). The causes of these differences are various. Taking the case of males first, the high proportion of persons who are or have been married in the Eastern Plain, Eastern Sub-Himalayas, and Satpuras is undoubtedly affected by the fact that the proportion of females to males in those divisions is much larger than elsewhere. In a country where, *cæteris paribus*, almost the only reason that prevents a man marrying is the lack of a suitable woman to be his wife, this must undoubtedly affect the situation. The same factor affects the situation to a less extent in the Plateau and the Central Plain. Secondly the age distribution affects the question ⁽¹⁾. The number of marriageable males is comparatively low in the Satpuras, the Eastern Plain and Eastern Sub-Himalayas; but in the Central Plain and Plateau it is distinctly high, especially the former, and it is this which brings them to so high a place. Thirdly, the age of marriage is much lower in the east than the west. The figures in the

Married and widowed per 1,000 males at 3 age-periods.

Natural division.	0-5.	5-10.	10-15.	0-15.
Himalaya, West ..	6	23	117	49
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	4	31	179	71
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	3	19	166	68
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	9	68	253	110
Central India Plateau ..	8	55	276	113
East Satpuras ..	17	81	305	134
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	7	55	249	104
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	17	91	306	136

margin exemplify this. In the 5 divisions with highest figures from 10 to 13 per cent. of males under 15 are married; elsewhere the figures are much lower. In brief the figures are accounted for thus:—(1) in the Eastern Plain, by a large proportion of women and a low marriage age, affecting especially those between 0 and 20. (2) In the Central Plain, by a fairly low marriage age, a fairly large proportion of women and a very large proportion of marriageable men (over 15). (3) In the Satpuras in the same way as in the Eastern Plain. (4) In the Eastern Sub-Himalayas chiefly by a large proportion of women and in part by a low marriage age. (5) In the Plateau in the same way as in the Eastern Plain. Elsewhere a small proportion of women and a high marriage age tend to keep the number of married men down.

As regards females, the variations are caused by three factors: (1) the age distribution, (2) the marriage age and (3) the practice of polygamy. The first named affects especially the Central and Eastern Plains and the Plateau which have very high figures of women aged 15 and over. The figures in the margin show the effect of the marriage age on this question. It is especially low in the East Satpuras where 27 per cent. of all girls under 15 are married and in the Plateau and Eastern Plain (26 per cent.); the Central Plain has also a high figure (22 per cent.), but elsewhere there is little variation and the figure is much less striking (approximately 20 per cent.). Finally as regards polygamy, there are far more married females as compared with males in the East than

the West. The figures are over 1,000 married females to 1,000 married males in all divisions but the three western ones: the order of divisions in this respect is Eastern Plain, Satpuras, Plateau, Eastern Sub-Himalayas, Central Plain. No doubt emigration of males has brought up the figures in the east and plague and malaria have lowered the figures in the west: but even so it seems obvious that there is more polygamy in the former than the latter tract of country. The figures are then accounted for thus:—

- (1) in the Eastern Plain, Plateau and Central Plain by a high proportion of marriageable women, a low marriage age and polygamy;
- (2) in the Satpuras by a very low marriage age and polygamy.

(¹) See chapter V, paragraph 188 for the figures.

The low figures elsewhere are due chiefly to a high marriage age in the Eastern Sub-Himalayas, and to a low proportion of marriageable women elsewhere.

241. **Variations by religion.**—The highest proportion of unmarried folk is of course found in the Christian religion (561 males and 401 females per 1,000 of each sex). The male figure is disturbed by the army, which is largely celibate: the female figure is as low as it is because whilst the Indian Christian and Anglo-Indian communities are both much married, there are comparatively speaking very few European females in the country who are spinsters. Similarly the widowed figures are very low (57 males and 110 females per 1,000 of each sex); this is partly due to the possibility of the remarriage of widows amongst the Indian or Anglo-Indian communities, and the fact that European widows rarely stay in the country. The Jains show the next highest figure of unmarried males (489), a figure much higher than it used to be: whilst their widowed figures in both sexes are the highest in any religion. The figures are not easy to understand, but it is possible that many husbands are out of the province on business. At all events this seems to be the only explanation that covers the facts for there is no sign of polygamy amongst them. It may be noted however that whilst the marriage age for males is comparatively late (only 5 per cent. of the married are aged 0 to 15 and another 10 per cent. aged 15 to 20) for females it is earlier (10 per cent. of the married are aged 0 to 15 and another 16 per cent. aged 15 to 20). The Aryas have the next highest proportion of unmarried. This is due in part to their high marriage age: only 55 males and 142 females per 1,000 of each sex aged 0 to 15 are married, a striking contrast with the provincial figures (93 and 217); whilst if the figures for 0 to 10 are taken the contrast is still more striking, as only 11 Arya boys and 21 Arya girls under 10 are married per 1,000 of each sex to 23 and 58 over the whole population. They are however, a less married community than the Hindus at the later ages: amongst males there are only 819 married and widowed Arya males aged over 15 to 848 similar Hindus, per 1,000 of population, and 977 Arya females in the same category to 983 Hindu females.

242. **Hindus and Muhammadans.**—Taking the two main religions, the first points to be noticed are that there are, amongst both sexes, considerably fewer unmarried and rather more widowed Hindus than Muhammadans. The greater number of unmarried Hindus is only caused in part by the later marriage age of Muhammadans: for there are

Married and widowed per 1,000 of each sex at 4 age-periods.

	Males.				Females.			
	0—5.	5—10.	10—15.	0—15.	0—5.	5—10.	10—15.	0—15.
Hindus ..	8	53	233	98	11	111	555	226
Muhammadans.	5	32	162	66	9	80	428	175

considerably fewer Muhammadans who are or who have been married than Hindus in both sexes, even at the later age-periods. As regards the age of marriage the figures in the margin are instructive. Amongst Hindus 98 boys and 226 girls are or have been married per 1,000 of each sex whose age is under 15 to 66 and 175 Muhammadans of the same kind. When to this is added the fact that there are 626 Hindu males and 640 Hindu females per 1,000 who are marriageable (i.e. over 15) to 616 Muhammadan males and 624 Muhammadan females, the greater number of the unmarried amongst Muhammadans is explained. That the figures of Muhammadan widows is so much lower than that of Hindus is of course explained by the fact that Muhammadan widows remarry more freely.

243. **Hindus and Muhammadans in the various natural divisions.**—What applies to these religions taken as a whole applies also to them when taken by separate natural divisions, save two. Save in the Western Himalayas and the Eastern Sub-Himalayas there are always more unmarried and fewer widowed Muhammadans than Hindus and the former's marriage age is always later. In the Himalayas however we find firstly that there are proportionately fewer Muhammadan bachelors than Hindu and also that the Muhammadan marriage age for males is earlier. The reason for the first phenomenon is that a much greater part of the Muhammadan population consists of adults than usual, who are consequently married: as has been stated before the Muhammadans are mostly immigrants. The second point is probably due not so much to the fact that the Muhammadan marriage age is unusually low as to the fact that the Hindu marriage age is quite abnormally high. Only 48 boys per 1,000 under 15 are

married, much the lowest figure on record, and there is no doubt that males do marry later in the hills than elsewhere. In the Eastern Sub-Himalayas we find one unusual phenomenon, that the female marriage age of Muhammadans is distinctly lower (or rather that there are rather more young married or widowed females amongst Muhammadans) than amongst Hindus. Here, again, it is not only that the Muhammadan figure is high but that the Hindu figure is low. In this division however a considerable proportion of Muhammadans are merely converted Hindus who of course cling to their Hindu customs and keep to a rather earlier marriage age than is usual among the followers of the Prophet.

244. **Variations since 1881.**—Taking all religions together first, the most striking difference since 1901 is the increase of widowers, coupled with a very much smaller increase in widows, to which reference has already been made. Taking the various age-periods there are rather more unmarried persons at all ages between 5 and 40 amongst males, and from 5 to 15 amongst females. In part this depends on the age distribution, for instance between 5 and 10. The unmarried in both sexes always vastly outnumber the married at this age, and one reason why there are now more unmarried children between 5 and 10 is simply because there are more children of this age than in 1901. This is, I think, the determining factor, certainly among the male sex, at so early an age as this. At the later ages, other tendencies come into play. There appears to have been an improvement in the matter of postponing the marriage age. Since 1891, the number of the unmarried has grown steadily larger in the age-periods 10 to 15 and 15 to 20 amongst males, and in the age-period 10 to 15 amongst females; whilst at other ages (excepting 5 to 10) the figures have remained stationary or decreased. Exactly the same changes are traceable both amongst Hindus and Muhammadans, showing that the tendency is widespread. This is indubitably a move in the right direction and shows that the labours of social reformers have not been in vain, though there is still much leeway to be made up.

245. **Marriage in various castes.**—The matter of the civil condition in different castes is chiefly important as throwing light on the age of marriage and the marriage of widows in different classes of the community. Amongst Hindu castes the proportion of the unmarried amongst males is highest amongst the Taga, Gujar, Kayastha and Rajput (over 500 per 10,000), the Brahman (498), Bhuinhar (496), and Bhat (488); it is lowest amongst the Agrahri (373), Umar (398), and Kasaundhan (391) Baniyas, the Kewat (368), Koeri (394) and Kurmi (373). As regards females, there are most unmarried females amongst the Kayastha (339), Agarwal (330), Bhangi (332), Kandu (331), Dom (339), and Mali (330) and fewest amongst the Umar (269), Kasaundhan (266), Baranwal (278), and Gahoi (257) Baniyas, the Kurmi (242) and the Tamboli (275); but as can be seen the differences are not very great. Generally speaking the highest castes have the fewest married males, due doubtless for the greater part to the comparative lack of women. As regards marriage age the castes with highest and lowest figures

Caste.	Number per 1,000 married or widowed aged 0 to 12.		Caste.	Number per 1,000 married or widowed aged 0 to 12.	
	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.
			A.—Low figures.		
Brahman ..	24	69	Jat ..	24	70
Rajput ..	14	65	Mali ..	22	91
Kayastha ..	14	31	Agarwal ..	25	62
Taga ..	15	55	Dhanuk ..	16	105
Kisan ..	13	84	Dom ..	14	122
Baranwal ..	19	68	Mallah ..	38	64
Gahoi ..	15	94	Murao ..	30	68
Barhai ..	24	70	Kandu ..	40	70
Bhat ..	25	84	Tamboli ..	40	42
			B.—High figures.		
Chamar ..	60	115	Agrahri ..	77	129
Kumhar ..	63	134	Umar ..	55	144
Pasi ..	66	97	Gadariya ..	48	109
Ahir ..	55	89	Teli ..	46	105
Kurmi ..	138	84	Kachhi ..	26	206
Barai ..	70	103	Khatik ..	25	104
Bhar ..	59	78	Halwai ..	25	131
Koeri ..	74	171			

of married children under 12 are as in the margin. It will be noticed that whilst the figures are usually either high or low for both sexes together in most castes there are several which with a high figure for males has a low one for females or *vice versa*. It is noticeable that the castes which stand highest in social position have actually the lowest figures: e.g. the Brahman, Rajput, Kayastha, Taga, Bhat, Jat, Agarwal, and so on; whilst the lowest castes have high figures. The cause is probably twofold. Mr. Burn remarked in 1901 that the marriage age was generally lower in the east than

the west and that is where the low castes chiefly live, as well as such castes as the Agrahri, Umar, Koeri and Kurmi which are respectably high castes with low marriage ages. Secondly the low castes, such as the Chamar, Kumhar,

Pasi and Bhar cling to or adopt the practice of infant marriage as a hallmark of Hindu respectability. The high castes who live chiefly in the west, on the other hand, are subject to many influences which combine to raise the marriage age—the difficulty of finding suitable mates (which however much it may predispose to infant marriage must often result in postponing marriage), and the efforts of social reformers. It will be noted that though infant marriage for boys is uncommon amongst Dhanuks, Doms, Gahoi Banias, Kachhis, Khatiks, Halwais and Malis, yet their girls are much more frequently married young: whilst the contrary is the case amongst Kurmis. The last phenomenon is unintelligible and I am inclined to suspect the figures, though there is nothing ostensibly wrong with them. As regards remarriage of widows, the figures of widows are low amongst Chamars, Kahars, Gadariyas, Kumhars, Dhobis, Lohars, Telis, Lodhas, Bhangis, Pasis, Luniyas, Gujars, Jats, Khatiks, Muraos, Bhars, Dhanuks, Doms (the lowest of all—118) Koeris and Kewats. They are high amongst Brahmans, Rajputs, Kayasthas, Agarwals, Bhats, Bhuinhars, Baranwals, and Gahois (the highest of all—294). Muhammadan castes show low figures as regards young married persons. Per 1,000 aged under 12, Shaikhs show 26 males and 52 females; Pathans, 19 males, 44 females; Saiyids, 10 males, 25 females; Julahas, 44 males, 101 females. This corresponds closely both to their social position and their pure (Muhammadan) blood; the higher and purer the caste, the lower its figures. Their figures of widows are also low (Julaha 131, Saiyid 174, Pathan 167, Shaikh 160). As already stated, widow-marriage though legal is not considered desirable by Muhammadans of good class; and the higher the caste the greater its proportion of widows in consequence.

246. **Terms of relationship.**—A great deal of light can be thrown on the system of kinship and marriage which prevails in a community by the terms of relationship which it uses. For instance in a system where cousin-marriage was the only possible form of marriage at one time, it is extremely probable that the terms of relationship at present in use will show it. In such a system, wife's father would be mother's brother; wife's mother would be mother's brother's wife: mother's brother would be father's sister's husband: father's sister would be mother's brother's wife; mother's brother's son, father's sister's son, would both be brothers-in-law. And the terms for these pairs of relationship might very well be the same. In south India where cousin-marriage is found, this is actually the case in Tamil, Telegu and Canarese; whilst in the Korwa terms of relationship given by Mr. Crooke, both mother's brother and father's sister's husband is *mama*, whilst their wives are respectively *mamin* and *mami*.

An attempt has been made to obtain a list of terms of relationship in vernacular with as many variations as possible. The task for many reasons is well nigh hopeless. The terms when analysed fall into various classes:—

- (1) Real terms—*bap, man, chacha*.
- (2) Foreign and literary terms, used in polite speech or in writing, which are mere translations, usually Sanskrit or Persian, of Hindi terms of relationship.
- (3) Affectionate diminutives and corruptions denoting relationship—*abba, baba, amman, bhaiya, bitia*.
- (4) Terms of respect or affection, not connoting relationship at all, and vague terms, such as—*mian, babu, lala, larka, londa, chokra, bachcha*.
- (5) Names of relationships, used for other relations; e.g. *kaka* or *chacha* (father's brother) or *dada* (father's father) for father, *beta* (son) for nephew, *amman* (mother) for aunt, and so on.

Of these the second and fourth classes are negligible, and the third is only of value if the diminutive term for one relationship is used for another. Yet in common parlance they are much the most frequently used. There are other difficulties as well. Though the Hindi language is probably richer than most languages in its terms of relationship, yet the Indian, in speaking of his relatives and still more in speaking to them, manages to get along with very few, with the result that the presence of the majority of them means little more than that the resources of the language are adequate to express the thought it is desired to convey. From our present point of view what the Indian actually says is much more important than what he might say and would say if it was necessary to be precise about the relationship. *Bhai* (brother), for

instance, includes not only a full (*sagu*) brother but a half brother; every kind of cousin however remote, a fellow casteman, or even a fellow villager. But even the terms he actually uses are scarcely a safe foundation on which to build a theory with regard to marriage customs in the manner explained above, without further examination. It is common, perhaps more common than not, to address some relatives by a term denoting a different relationship. But though some terms are more commonly used in this way than others, they are so used for reasons totally unconnected with marriage customs, and their very nature proves it. One of the commonest terms for wife is *bahu* (son's wife); it is used not only by a husband of his wife, but by children of their mother. Mothers are also often called *bhauji* (husband's sister) by their children or their husbands: fathers-in-law are called *abba* (father), or *chacha* (uncle, i.e. father's brother) by both daughters and sons-in-law; all sorts of brothers and sisters-in-law, with their wives and husbands, are called *bhai* (brother) and *bahin* (sister). On most of these customs no theory regarding marriage could be built, and indeed their origin is totally different. It is simply a parallel, produced to extreme lengths, to a custom common enough amongst us. I am content to talk of a "cousin" merely, without explaining that he or she is first or second, or once removed: and in common parlance I call not only (say) my father's brother's son my cousin, but also my father's brother's son's wife. I call (or may call) my father-in-law "father" in speaking to him; and so on. And the reasons are either that cousin, like *bhai*, is enough of a description for ordinary purposes, or that I follow the example of somebody else in using the particular term of relationship; for instance I call my father-in-law "father," because my wife does. This latter reason is especially operative in Indian family life; it is vouched for by several Indian observers, but apart from that the lists prove it. There can be no marriage system at the back of the custom by which you call your father your "brother," or your mother your "husband's sister," or even your "son's wife." It is simply due to the fact that younger members of a family are apt to call their elder relations by the same term as other elder relations do; and of course in a joint family system, there are many more such elders in a house than there are in an ordinary English home. A man is called *bhaiya* (brother) by his sons because they hear his own brothers so call him; for the same reason they may call him *dada* (grandfather), if he happens to be the eldest brother, because that is a term used to the eldest brother by younger brothers. On the other hand, a man calls his nephews (*bhatija*) "beta" or son, and also *pota* (grandson), and other terms which he uses for his own son. A wife whose husband has sisters is called *bhauji* (brother's wife) by them, and in consequence also by her children. She herself probably calls her *sasur* (father-in-law) "abba" (father) or "chacha" (uncle) because her husband does; and her husband may very well call his *sas* (mother-in-law) "bhauji" (brother's wife) because his wife (who learnt it from her own paternal aunt) does so. Perhaps most common and in its results most curious is the use of the word "*bahu*" (son's wife). The husband's parents, with whom the *bahu* usually lives in her early married years, call her so. The result is that her husband calls her *bahu*, her children speak of her as *bahu*, so does everybody else, and in certain circumstances it may even appear as a title on her tombstone⁽¹⁾. The ordinary vernacular terms of this province must therefore be used for a purpose such as this with the greatest caution. I received a very large number of lists purporting to be those in use in various castes and dialects. After collating them carefully, I cannot find either that there are any important differences between them or that they are of much service as throwing light on marriage custom. The castes vary amongst themselves but very little: whilst with two exceptions (Bundeli and Pahari) the differences between dialects amount to no more than differences of pronunciation or spelling, or a preference for one of several synonyms. I give as an appendix a list of all important terms. I have drawn it up as follows. I have omitted all purely literary terms: there is no more meaning in the fact that a father is called *valid* by an Indian, than in the fact that he is called *pater*

(1) On page 158 of his report Mr. Burn has a story illustrating this use of the word "*bahu*." A letter was sent in Kaithi as follows: "*Lalaji Ajmer gae, bari bahu bhej do*" (the master has gone to Ajmer, send the big ledger). This was read as "*Lalaji aj mar gae, bari bahu bhej do*" (the master died to-day, send the senior wife). On a tombstone in Meerut there is an inscription "Sacred to the memory of Her Highness Bahu Begam Julia Anne, &c., &c." This lady was the wife of General Sombre's (Reinhardt's) eldest son. Her relationship of "*bahu*" to the head of the family became a distinctive title and was obviously used by everybody.

by an Englishman⁽¹⁾. I have also omitted *mere* synonyms : nothing can be made of the fact that a mother may be called *man* or *mai* or *mahtari*, for they all mean the same, and only the commonest is given. I have omitted affectionate diminutives unless they are used to express other relationships. I have also omitted all terms of respect or affection whether general or special, which are used for particular relationships but do not denote it : e.g. *mian* or *babu* (for father and other elder relatives) means no more than "sir" in English. I have given first what may be described as the stock list which forms the foundation of all lists, distinguishing between the true term and other terms of relationship used *commonly* for that particular relation : whilst there are other lists showing other terms of both kinds used by particular castes or in particular dialects. I have distinguished between Hindu and Muhammadan terms when there is any difference. Finally I have collected together the various terms of relationship reported to me as used for certain relationships (especially father, mother, son, daughter, husband and wife) which appear to be due to the custom of imitation referred to above.

The most striking cases of using the name of one relationship for another are—

- (1) the custom whereby father and mother are called paternal uncle and aunt amongst Hindus.
- (2) The custom whereby the father's brother and his wife are called father and mother amongst both Hindus and Muhammadans.
- (3) The custom whereby the father's sister and mother's brother's wife are called mother, the former chiefly amongst Muhammadans, the latter amongst both.
- (4) The way in which every kind of cousin, and brothers and sisters-in-law are called *bhai* or brother in both communities.
- (5) The custom of calling nephews "son" in both communities.
- (6) Amongst Muhammadans the custom of calling parents-in-law indifferently by the terms for most kinds of uncles and aunts.

As regards (1) and (2) and their correlatives (4) and (5), the cause is possibly, amongst Hindus, the joint family system. With uncles and father and their progeny living in the same house, it is not surprising that the terms for uncle and father, son and nephew become almost interchangeable and that the cousins all look on each other as brothers. Of (3) there seems no clear explanation, save respect and affection. The sixth case, however points directly to cousin-marriage which is as a matter of fact common enough amongst Muhammadans, so that the parents-in-law very frequently are uncles and aunts.

I may conclude by some few curiosities bearing on this matter. It is said to be the custom amongst some high castes to poke mild fun at the wife's brother by addressing him as *salar jang* (a high military title—the pun is obvious). He is often known too as a *naql-parwana*, the copy of a document granted to a man for his own special use, which document is of course the wife. This idea is also conveyed in many proverbs of the nature of "if you have not seen a tiger look at a cat : if you have not seen your bride look at her brother." The various terms for step-son amongst such castes as possess the levirate are also curious. One is *pachhlagua* (from *pichhe* and *lagua*) one who comes to the step-father's house "fastened behind" his mother, or tied to her apron strings. Another is "*gelar*"—(from *gel* a road)—one who has come to the house by road, and not by birth : and a third is *lenutra*, popularly derived from *lin dori*, meaning a string of carts, &c. carrying camp equipage, and conveying the idea that he has moved camp from his father's to his step-father's house. All these terms are used slightly. Amongst Muhammadans, again, a wife's sister's husband is spoken of *mian bhai*—a term not to be confused with *mian* (nasal n), but said to be derived from *miani*, a part of the Muhammadan *pyjamas*. It is similar in meaning to the common and (vulgar) term "*izarbandi rishta*" (relationship through the *izarband* or *pyjama* string) which is used to denote relationship by marriage.

(1) The cause of course is different : in the former case a taste for high-flown expression, in the latter familiarity.

APPENDIX I.

A.—LISTS OF TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP—STOCK LIST.

English term.	Vernacular term.	Terms denoting other relationships.	English term.	Vernacular term.	Terms denoting other relationships.
1. Father	Bap, baba (H), pita (H) ..	Dada (19), chacha (7 H).	i. Son	Beta	Pota (xix H), bhaiya (3 H).
2. Mother	Man, amman	Chachi (8 H).	ii. Daughter	Beti, dhiya, bitiya, bittan (U M)	Bahin (4)
3. Elder brother m. s.	(Bara) bhai, bhaiya	Dada (19 H).	iii. Younger brother m. s.	(Chhota) bhai, bhaiya	.. ..
4. Elder sister w. s.	Bahin, jiji, baji (M), apa bubu (M).	Bua (10 U M).	iv. Younger sister m. s.	(Chhoti) bahin	Bitia (ii) bittan (ii U M).
5. Elder sister m. s.	As 4	As 4.	v. Elder brother w. s.	As 3	As 3.
6. Younger sister m. s.	As iv	As iv.	vi. Younger brother w. s.	As iii, biran (H)	Beta (i), pota (xix H), bhaiya (3 H).
7. Father's brother	Chacha, pittti, tao (H), dao (H), taya (M).	(Bara) bap (1 E H), dada (19 E H), abba (E M).	vii. Brother's child m.s... ..	Bhatija .. ..	.. ..
8. Father's brother's wife— (a) of elder brother	Tai, chachi (M)	(Bari) man (2 H), (bari) amman (2 E M)	viii. Husband's mother's child— (a) Eldest son	Jeth	Bhai (3).
(b) Of younger brother	Chachi, pitiani, tai (M)	(Chhoti) amman (Y M)	(b) Younger son	Dewar	Bhai (3).
9. Father's brother's child	Chachera, or pitiaawat (H) bhai	Amman (2 M).	(c) Daughters	Nanad, didi (H)	Bahin (4).
10. Father's sister	Phuphu, bua .. ..	.. ..	ix. .. ..	.. ..	.. ..
11. Father's sister's husband	Phupha .. ..	.. ..	x. Brother's child w. s.	As vii	As vii.
12. Father's sister's child	(Phuphera) bhai .. ..	.. ..	xi. Wife's brother's child	As vii, sarput (H)	As vii.
13. Mother's brother	Mama, mamu .. ..	.. ..	xii. .. ..	.. ..	.. ..
14. Mother's brother's wife	Mami, mumani (M), mai (H and U M).	.. ..	xiii. Sister's child m. s.	Bhanja, bahnauta (H)	Beta (i), pota (xix H), bhaiya (3 H).
15. Mother's brother's child	(Mamera) bhai .. ..	.. ..	xiv. Husband's sister's child	As xiii	As xiii.
16. Mother's sister	Mausi (H), khala (M) .. ..	.. ..	xv. .. ..	.. ..	.. ..
17. Mother's sister's husband	Mausa (H), khalu (M) .. ..	.. ..	xvi. Sister's child w. s.	As xiii	As xiii.
18. Mother's sister's child	Mausera (H), Khalera (M), bhai .. ..	.. ..	xvii. Wife's sister's child.. ..	As xiii	As xiii.
19. Father's father.. ..	Dada, aja .. ..	.. ..	xviii. .. ..	.. ..	.. ..
20. Father's mother	Dadi, aji .. ..	.. ..	xix. Son's son m. s.	Pota	Nati (xxi).
21. Mother's father	Nana .. ..	.. ..	xx. Son's son w. s.	As xix	As xix.
22. Mother's mother	Nani .. ..	.. ..	xxi. Daughter's son m. s.	Nati, dheota (H), nawasa .. ..	.. ..
23. Husband	See below .. ..	.. ..	xxii. Daughter's son w. s.	As xii .. ..	.. ..
24. Wife's father	Sasur, khusar (M)	Bap (1 M), dada (19 M).	xxiii. Wife	See below .. ..	.. ..
25. Wife's mother	Sas, khushaman	Man (M).	xxiv. Daughter's husband	Damad, pahun, jamai (H).	.. ..
26. Husband's father	As 24	Baba (1 H)	m s. .. ..	.. ..	.. ..
27. Husband's mother	Sas .. ..	.. ..	xxv. Daughter's husband	As xxiv	Dulha.*
28. Wife's brother	Sala, sar	Bhai (3).	w. s. .. ..	.. ..	.. ..
29. Wife's sister	Sali, jeth, sar	Bahin (u).	xxvi. Son's wife w. s.	Bahu, patoh	Dulhin (*).
30. Husband's brother	As viii (a) and (b)	As viii (a) and (b).	xxvii. Son's wife w. s.	As xxvi	As xxvi.
31. Husband's sister	As viii (c)	As viii (c).	xxviii. Sister's husband m. s.	Bahnoi, jija (H)	Bhai (3 M).
32. Wife's sister's husband	Sarhu, hamzulf (M)	Bhai (3).	xxix. Sister's husband w. s.	As xxviii	As xxviii.
33. Husband's brother's wife— (a) Of eldest brother	Jithani .. ..	.. ..	xxx. Brother's wife m. s.— (a) of eldest brother	Bhauji, bhawaj, bhabhi.	.. ..
(b) Of younger brother	Deorani .. ..	.. ..	(b) of younger brother	Bhaujai, bhaiyyahu .. ..	.. ..
34. Son's wife's parents	Samdhi .. ..	.. ..	xxxi. Brother's wife w. s... ..	As xxx .. ..	.. ..
35. Wife's brother's wife	Sarhaj	Salhej (H).			

* Dulha, dulhin mean literally bridegroom and bride and are used for husband and wife.

B.—TERMS USED BY PARTICULAR CASTES OR IN PARTICULAR PLACES, OR COMMONLY
(BY THE UNEDUCATED).

English term.	Terms used.
1. Father	Purkha (ancestor; common H.) nunu (Etah).
2. Mother	Aiya (common H), dhudhu (Etah), jia (Kayastha).
4&5. Elder sister w. and m. s	Didi (common H).
8(a) Father's elder brother's wife	Aiya (Kayastha, cf. 2 above).
9. Father's brother's child	Pitiauna (common).
20. Father's mother	Aiya (common : cf. 2 above).
24. Wife's father	Kairati (Kurmi and other castes).
25. Wife's mother	Kairatin ditto.
27. Husband's mother	Aiya (common : cf. 2 above).
30. Husband's elder brother	Bhasur (Kol and many low castes).
Husband's younger brother	Babua ditto.
i.—Son	Babua (cf. 30 above).
ii.—Daughter	Babui, Babuni (common).
(viii.—Vide 30 above)	
xiii and xvi.—Sister's child m. w. s.	Bahine (common), Bhagina (Kol).
xii.—Husband's sister's child	Bahine (Kol).
xxiv.—Daughter's husband	Mehman (guest, Mainpuri), saga (Jalaun).
xxvi, xxvii.—Son's wife m. w. s.	Dulaiya (Kol—probably corruption of Dulhin).
xxx, xxxi.—Brother's wife m. and w. s.	Dulaiya (Kol) : vide xxvi and xxvii above.

C.—LIST OF TERMS OTHER THAN IN LIST A USED BY BERIYAS.

English term.	Vernacular term.
1. Father	Uthala.
4 & 5. Elder sister m. and w. s.	Bahandh.
8. Father's brother's wife	Uthali.
15. Mother's brother's child	Bhai (3).
18. Mother's sister's child	Do.
25; 27. Wife or husband's mother	Sassu.
28. Wife's brother	Sara.
29. Wife's sister	Sari.
35. Wife's brother's wife	Saruain.
i.—Son	Nikarta, chhora.
ii.—Daughter	Chhori.
iii and iv.—Younger brother m. and w. s.	(Luhra) bhai.
xix and xx.—Son's son m. and w. s.	Dohata.
xxi.—Daughter's son m. and w. s.	Pota.
xxiv and xxv.—Daughter's husband m. and w. s.	Joai.
xxviii and xxix.—Sister's husband m. and w. s.	Bahadoiya.

D.—LIST OF TERMS OTHER THAN IN LIST A USED BY BAWARIYAS.

English term.	Vernacular term.
1. Father	Aja
2. Mother	Ai.
24 & 26. Wife's and husband's father	Khukhron.
25 & 27. Wife's and husband's mother	Khakhru.
28. Wife's brother	Kharon.
29. Wife's sister	Khairi.
i.—Son	Dikra.
ii.—Daughter	Dikri.
vii and ix.—Brother's child m. and w. s.	Dikrabhatija.
xi.—Wife's brother's child	Ditto.
xiv.—Husband's sister's child	Ditto.
xix and xx.—Son's son m. and w. s.	Potro.
xxi and xxii.—Daughter's son m. and w. s.	Dohatro.
xxvii and xxviii.—Son's wife m. and w. s.	Oharya.

E.—LIST OF TERMS IN CENTRAL PAHARI, USED IN ADDITION OR IN PLACE OF TERMS IN LIST A. (N. B.—WORDS ITALICIZED ARE IN PLACE OF THE COMMONER TERMS).

English term.	Vernacular term.
3 and 5. Elder brother m. and w. s. ..	Dido, jetha bhai
4 and 5. Elder sister m. and w. s. ..	Didi, jethi bahin.
6. Younger sister m. s. ..	Bhuli and chhoti bahin.
7. Father's brother ..	Bada (E), barbab (E), lurbab (Y).
8(a). Father's elder brother's wife ..	Bodi
9. Father's brother's child ..	Bhichela.
11. Father's sister's husband ..	Mama.
14. Mother's brother's wife ..	Mamin.
16. Mother's sister ..	Kausiboi.
17. Mother's sister's husband ..	Kausibaba.
19. Father's father ..	Thubabu, Bubabu, Burho (old man).
20. Father's mother ..	Burhi.
21. Mother's father ..	Buba.
22. Mother's mother's husband ..	Bubu.
24 and 26. Wife's father ..	Jeoru, saurija.
25 and 27. Wife's father's mother ..	Ji.
28. Wife's brother ..	Jethu (E), sala, mitra (Y).
30. Husband's brother ..	As viii.
31. Husband's sister ..	As viii.
33. Husband's brother's wife— (a) of eldest brother ..	Jithan, didi (4).
(b) of younger brother ..	Bhuli (6).
iii.—Younger brother m. s. ..	Bhula.
iv.—Younger sister w. s. ..	Bhuli, baho.
vi.—Younger brother w. s. ..	(Kanso) bhai, bhula.
vii.—Brother's child m. s. and w. s. ..	Beta bhadya.
viii.—Husband's mother's child— (a) eldest son ..	Jethjyu, Jethana.
(b) younger son ..	Dyur
(c) daughters ..	Rauteli, jethjyu, hiteli, pawni.
xi.—Wife's brother's child ..	Bhanja.
xvi.—Sister's child w. s. ..	Beta.
xxiv and xxv.—Daughter's husband m. and w. s. ..	Jawain.
xxvi and xxvii.—Son's wife m. and w. s. ..	Buari.
xxviii and xxix.—Sister's husband— (a) elder ..	Bhina.
(b) younger ..	Jawain.
xxx and xxxi.—Brother's wife m. w. s.— (a) of elder brother ..	Bhabhi, bhauj, bau.
(b) of younger brother ..	Bauri.

F.—TERMS FOR HUSBAND AND WIFE.

These are varied to a degree. *Khasam, khawind, shauhar, admi, dulha, malik, mansedhu, manai, mard, swami, parbhu*, are only some of the terms for husband, *dulhin, zoja, bibi, ahlia, ahkhana, andar haveli, meharu, joru, gharwali, aurat, bahu, logai*, are only some of those for wife. Some merely mean "man" or "woman" (*admi, manai, mard, aurat*), others connote superiority (*malik, swami*), or relate to the wife's close connection with the house (*ahkhana, andar haveli, gharwali*). They are all used when speaking of the relationship. In speaking to the relation a circumlocution (father or mother of A) or a term of affection or respect are used.

G.—TERMS USED FOR VARIOUS RELATIONS DUE TO IMITATION.

English term.	Vernacular term.
Father	Bhai (brother).
Mother	Bua (father's sister) bhabi (elder brother's wife), apa (elder sister), bahu (son's wife).
Father's father	Baba, abba (father).
Father's mother	Amman (mother).
Husband's father	Khalu (mother's sister's husband), phupha (father's sister's husband, chacha (father's brother). Amongst Muhammadans.
Husband's mother	Among Muhammadans, feminines of the above, bua, bhabhi and apa (see mother) among Hindus.
Husband's sister	Apa (elder sister) among Muhammadans.
Husband's brother's wife	Apa (elder sister) bhabhi (brother's wife). Among Muhammadans.
Wife's brother's wife	Apa (elder sister), bhabhi (brother's wife), bua (father's sister). Among Muhammadans.

H=Term used only by Hindus. M=Term used by Muhammadans. E=Term used only of eldest (brother, &c.) Y=Term used only of younger (brother, &c.) U=Uneducated.

Figures in brackets against entries refer to real meaning of term of relationship. Words in brackets are adjectives qualifying the particular term of relationship denoted by the noun, which in common parlance is generally used by itself. Chachera, pitiawat mausera, phuphera, &c. bhai mean a "brother" descended from the chacha, pitti, mausi, phuphu, &c.

APPENDIX II.

The following suggestions were communicated to me too late for incorporation in the proper place:—

1. Pages 209-210. Many hold that the modern Rajput is non-Aryan. If so his "gotra" is of no consequence and had no effect on his clan system, which is probably due to the impossibility of endogamy where there are few women.

With regard to what is said of the adoption of a sister's son on page 210 there is a ruling that a sister's son cannot be adopted. The principle at the bottom of adoption law is that the son *might* have been the adopter's son, i.e. his mother must be a woman whom he *could* have married.

2. The Basor rule mentioned on page 212 is dependent on the law of hypergamy. When M. (male) marries W. (female), W's section is inferior to M's. M's daughter cannot therefore marry into W's but must marry into some higher section.

3. Page 223. Muhammadans contract second marriages, chiefly when no son is born of the first.

4. Page 233. It may be mentioned that *bhai* for cousin is used for relatives approximately equidistant from the same common ancestor.

Subsidiary table I.—*Distribution by main age-periods and civil condition of 10,000 of each sex and religion.*

Religion and age.	Males.			Females.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
<i>All religions</i>	4,494	4,727	779	3,060	5,227	1,713
0—10	2,427	71	3	2,442	145	8
10—15	953	262	10	478	535	14
15—40	972	2,839	260	116	3,547	406
40 and over	142	1,555	506	24	1,000	1,285
<i>Hindus</i>	4,463	4,753	784	2,994	5,247	1,759
0—10	2,411	76	3	2,417	152	8
10—15	938	274	10	455	552	15
15—40	963	2,863	263	101	3,555	425
40 and over	151	1,540	508	21	988	1,311
<i>Muhammadans</i>	4,637	4,616	747	3,418	5,129	1,453
0—10	2,538	47	3	2,585	114	6
10—15	1,043	192	8	603	440	10
15—40	967	2,713	244	189	3,505	292
40 and over	89	1,664	492	41	1,070	1,145

Subsidiary table II.—*Distribution by civil condition of 1,000*

Religion and natural division.	Males.														
	All ages.			0—5.			5—10.			10—15.			15—40.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
United Provinces—															
All religions	449	473	78	993	7	..	950	48	2	778	214	8	238	698	64
Hindus	446	475	79	992	8	..	947	51	2	767	225	8	235	700	65
Muhammadans	463	462	75	995	5	..	968	30	2	838	155	7	245	693	62
Aryas	467	445	88	997	3	..	980	19	1	859	137	4	268	666	66
Christians	561	382	57	994	6	..	967	31	2	817	176	7	507	453	40
Jains	489	394	117	996	4	..	957	41	2	842	152	6	342	576	82
<i>Himalaya, West—</i>															
All religions	466	484	50	994	6	..	977	23	..	883	115	2	273	689	38
Hindus	468	486	46	994	6	..	977	23	..	885	113	2	266	700	34
Muhammadans	420	491	89	996	4	..	971	29	..	835	157	8	283	634	83
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West—</i>															
All religions	467	449	84	996	4	..	969	29	2	821	172	7	267	632	71
Hindus	465	449	86	996	4	..	969	29	2	811	182	7	266	661	73
Muhammadans	472	451	77	996	4	..	969	30	1	847	147	6	263	671	66
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West—</i>															
All religions	472	439	89	997	3	..	981	18	1	834	159	7	265	664	71
Hindus	470	439	91	997	3	..	982	17	1	829	165	6	263	666	71
Muhammadans	478	441	81	997	3	..	981	18	1	861	131	8	275	660	65
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central—</i>															
All religions	431	489	80	991	9	..	932	65	3	747	244	9	238	698	64
Hindus	426	492	82	991	9	..	926	71	3	730	261	9	233	702	65
Muhammadans	460	466	74	995	5	..	972	26	2	871	124	5	256	683	58
<i>Central India Plateau—</i>															
All religions	454	478	68	992	8	..	944	54	2	724	269	7	237	706	57
Hindus	452	480	68	993	7	..	941	57	2	715	278	7	232	711	57
Muhammadans	470	469	61	988	11	1	974	24	2	856	140	4	263	685	52
<i>East Satpuras—</i>															
All religions	435	497	68	983	16	1	919	77	4	695	294	11	193	743	64
Hindus	434	499	67	983	16	1	917	79	4	690	299	11	194	742	64
Muhammadans	440	495	65	975	24	1	945	51	4	758	227	15	181	754	65
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East—</i>															
All religions	439	503	58	993	7	..	945	53	2	751	243	6	198	753	49
Hindus	439	503	58	993	7	..	944	54	2	751	243	6	203	748	49
Muhammadans	438	508	54	992	8	..	948	50	2	753	240	7	168	783	49
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East—</i>															
All religions	427	489	84	983	16	1	909	87	4	700	286	14	195	728	77
Hindus	424	493	83	983	16	1	903	92	5	687	298	15	196	728	76
Muhammadans	454	460	86	987	12	1	953	44	3	808	181	11	188	734	78

of each sex at certain ages in each religion and natural division.

			Females.																	
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.
65	705	230	306	522	172	989	10	1	894	101	5	465	521	14	28	871	101	11	432	557
69	699	232	299	524	177	989	10	1	889	106	5	445	541	14	25	870	105	9	425	566
40	740	220	342	513	145	991	8	1	920	77	3	572	419	9	48	879	73	18	475	607
94	629	277	322	505	173	994	5	1	933	33	4	616	373	11	35	856	109	9	435	558
59	740	201	401	489	110	994	5	1	930	65	5	607	385	8	158	784	58	47	524	429
140	525	335	303	465	232	991	8	1	935	60	5	613	375	12	37	788	175	6	364	630
28	819	153	324	529	147	993	4	..	927	71	2	459	531	10	26	894	80	7	437	526
26	827	147	322	530	148	996	4	..	928	70	2	450	540	10	22	897	81	5	460	526
37	748	215	333	531	136	994	6	..	903	93	1	532	458	10	34	900	66	11	452	537
70	687	243	323	521	156	993	7	..	907	89	4	506	483	11	33	885	82	11	457	532
80	674	246	315	523	162	993	6	1	905	91	4	472	516	12	29	883	88	9	448	543
42	728	230	347	515	138	993	7	..	912	84	4	589	403	8	43	890	67	14	485	501
81	657	262	318	519	163	995	4	1	934	63	3	472	517	11	27	878	95	11	451	538
87	645	268	309	522	169	995	4	1	934	63	3	442	546	12	21	879	100	9	442	549
50	713	237	353	506	141	995	5	..	938	59	3	598	394	8	54	875	71	20	492	488
66	705	229	292	531	177	987	12	1	880	115	5	473	512	15	33	868	99	12	434	554
70	699	231	285	535	180	987	12	1	871	123	6	453	531	16	28	869	103	10	429	561
39	746	215	336	510	154	991	8	1	935	61	4	614	377	9	58	836	76	23	465	512
81	699	220	286	507	207	992	7	1	864	131	5	359	626	15	17	849	134	8	333	659
83	695	222	283	509	208	992	7	1	859	136	5	348	637	15	15	850	135	6	332	662
47	766	187	321	484	195	986	13	1	929	67	4	530	461	9	47	841	112	29	351	620
55	743	159	294	509	197	974	23	3	826	163	11	376	599	25	25	838	137	11	371	618
57	743	200	292	509	199	974	23	3	824	165	11	371	604	25	24	837	139	10	368	622
34	785	181	321	510	169	979	17	4	852	135	13	424	547	19	33	859	108	24	410	566
40	781	179	317	523	160	992	8	..	894	102	4	511	477	12	30	883	87	8	440	543
43	777	180	314	522	164	992	8	..	894	101	5	513	475	12	29	883	91	8	443	549
24	809	167	333	534	133	991	9	..	890	103	4	493	494	10	34	902	64	13	492	495
54	710	233	286	517	197	974	24	2	842	149	9	383	594	23	23	847	130	12	384	604
57	708	235	281	518	201	974	24	2	835	155	10	369	607	24	21	814	135	12	379	609
24	730	246	325	510	164	980	18	2	894	100	6	496	487	17	36	872	92	13	429	558

Subsidiary table III.—*Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex, religion, and main age-period at each of the last four censuses.*

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—												
<i>Males</i>	449	449	450	453	472	484	486	485	79	67	64	62
0—5	993	993	993	977	7	6	4	22	2	1	2	1
5—10	950	914	955	782	48	54	43	210	8	7	6	8
10—15	778	755	752	504	214	238	242	473	24	18	16	23
15—20	501	487	481	161	475	495	501	777	74	59	53	62
20—40	168	166	166	55	758	775	778	799	188	165	155	146
40—60	67	73	60	46	745	762	785	819	381	352	341	325
60 and over	56	57	45	46	563	591	614	619	381	352	341	325
<i>Females</i>	305	308	308	301	523	522	525	528	172	170	167	171
0—5	989	990	993	948	10	9	6	51	1	1	1	1
5—10	894	887	898	74	101	110	99	210	5	3	3	3
10—15	465	448	415	439	511	540	574	898	14	12	11	11
15—20	81	99	62	74	886	873	912	881	33	28	26	28
20—40	16	23	12	10	868	862	885	881	116	115	103	109
40—60	11	12	7	5	518	528	539	534	471	460	454	461
60 and over	11	10	5	4	169	179	169	169	810	811	816	827
Hindus—												
<i>Males</i>	446	446	448	450	475	486	488	486	79	68	64	64
0—5	992	993	996	976	7	6	4	23	1	1	2	1
5—10	947	944	952	771	51	56	46	221	2	7	6	8
10—15	767	743	741	491	225	250	253	485	23	18	16	24
15—20	488	475	470	160	489	507	514	778	74	59	57	62
20—40	169	166	166	60	757	775	777	793	191	169	158	147
40—60	71	76	63	50	738	755	779	807	383	358	345	330
60 and over	61	60	48	50	556	582	607	620	383	358	345	330
<i>Females</i>	299	301	307	297	525	524	528	531	176	175	170	172
0—5	989	990	994	946	10	9	6	53	1	1	2	1
5—10	889	881	894	419	106	115	104	509	5	4	2	2
10—15	444	426	395	64	541	562	594	907	15	12	11	12
15—20	70	89	53	8	893	881	920	881	34	30	27	29
20—40	14	21	9	8	865	880	884	881	121	119	107	111
40—60	9	12	5	4	510	519	535	531	481	469	460	465
60 and over	9	8	4	3	165	175	166	167	826	817	830	830
Muhammadans—												
<i>Males</i>	463	467	460	462	462	473	480	479	75	60	60	59
0—5	994	995	996	987	5	4	4	12	1	1	2	1
5—10	968	959	973	847	30	39	25	147	2	2	2	2
10—15	838	825	826	581	155	170	170	398	7	5	4	6
15—20	580	536	561	149	398	419	425	792	22	15	14	21
20—40	153	155	149	32	774	790	797	792	73	54	54	59
40—60	42	54	32	25	787	807	827	838	171	139	141	130
60 and over	34	43	24	25	600	640	658	678	366	317	318	297
<i>Females</i>	342	341	333	328	513	510	514	511	145	149	153	161
0—5	992	992	993	964	8	8	6	35	4	2	1	1
5—10	919	916	925	535	77	82	73	428	9	9	6	7
10—15	572	572	538	180	419	419	456	849	23	20	18	21
15—20	137	150	115	22	840	830	867	887	85	86	82	91
20—40	27	35	22	14	888	879	893	887	409	406	416	433
40—60	18	18	14	12	573	576	570	553	409	406	416	433
60 and over	18	18	12	12	198	200	186	179	784	782	802	809

Subsidiary table IV.—*Proportion of the sexes by civil condition at certain ages for religions and natural divisions.*

Religion and natural division.	Number of females per 1,000 males.														
	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
United Provinces—															
All religions	623	1,012	2,012	921	1,867	2,102	459	1,870	1,348	109	1,143	1,428	156	588	2,325
Hindus	614	1,011	2,053	918	1,829	2,087	444	1,843	1,390	96	1,137	1,482	129	588	2,362
Muhammadans	678	1,022	1,789	937	2,245	2,205	532	2,105	1,062	180	1,188	1,099	423	592	2,141
Aryas	548	900	1,548	856	1,459	3,182	493	1,874	1,683	100	974	1,242	72	583	1,442
Jains	500	994	1,679	900	1,439	2,200	144	1,521	2,116	88	1,125	1,761	380	605	1,597
Christians	549	978	1,482	940	1,828	2,269	603	1,790	870	202	1,119	936	671	594	1,797
<i>Himalaya, West—</i>															
All religions	628	987	2,673	963	2,478	5,500	452	4,006	4,021	83	1,126	1,813	209	511	3,077
Hindus	635	1,008	2,946	964	2,459	5,313	448	4,208	5,190	76	1,150	2,144	181	521	3,281
Muhammadans	549	749	1,069	974	2,863	8,500	449	2,048	875	73	862	488	187	378	1,556
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West—</i>															
All religions	592	992	1,592	901	2,583	2,048	450	2,051	1,159	103	1,112	967	133	588	1,937
Hindus	575	988	1,604	894	2,623	2,050	420	2,049	1,210	89	1,099	994	102	587	1,934
Muhammadans	648	1,007	1,563	923	2,470	2,000	526	2,066	1,022	143	1,157	881	300	590	1,929
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West—</i>															
All religions	566	995	1,539	888	2,923	2,118	409	2,340	1,233	86	1,103	1,128	115	582	1,734
Hindus	549	993	1,546	881	3,026	2,141	380	2,361	1,321	66	1,092	1,156	86	578	1,730
Muhammadans	650	1,006	1,518	919	2,755	1,955	533	2,303	835	173	1,165	969	352	597	1,780
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>															
All religions	632	1,015	2,051	930	1,614	1,911	499	1,648	1,348	128	1,167	1,465	172	591	2,358
Hindus	623	1,011	2,105	925	1,583	1,885	488	1,598	1,344	112	1,227	1,486	139	599	2,368
Muhammadans	702	1,050	1,982	959	2,175	2,298	562	2,408	1,430	228	1,257	1,300	574	596	2,291
<i>Central India Plateau—</i>															
All religions	603	1,017	2,943	919	2,077	2,313	391	1,831	1,673	68	1,117	2,207	104	540	3,404
Hindus	602	1,019	2,932	921	2,073	2,328	382	1,798	1,672	60	1,116	2,207	80	538	3,388
Muhammadans	666	1,004	3,106	948	2,167	2,158	503	2,683	1,677	169	1,154	2,037	717	520	3,748
<i>East Satpuras—</i>															
All religions	691	1,042	2,995	956	1,951	2,754	454	1,711	1,802	131	1,147	2,197	227	574	3,583
Hindus	689	1,044	3,027	957	1,949	2,738	452	1,695	1,870	126	1,147	2,232	203	577	3,612
Muhammadans	717	1,014	2,547	940	1,992	3,375	477	2,007	1,081	186	1,148	1,677	714	534	3,172
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East—</i>															
All religions	703	1,013	2,711	951	1,702	2,368	541	1,573	1,434	146	1,147	1,753	221	618	3,260
Hindus	698	1,012	2,760	952	1,676	2,384	544	1,553	1,488	139	1,147	1,821	192	619	3,293
Muhammadans	734	1,020	2,398	946	1,857	2,262	524	1,637	1,129	200	1,148	1,325	549	622	3,046
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East—</i>															
All religions	667	1,051	2,342	932	1,565	1,955	430	1,632	1,260	121	1,208	1,759	245	577	2,732
Hindus	659	1,043	2,385	930	1,527	1,938	421	1,594	1,266	111	1,186	1,800	229	575	2,786
Muhammadans	751	1,133	1,957	945	1,991	2,187	496	2,170	1,206	220	1,351	1,339	567	593	2,291
<i>Tehri-Garhwal—</i>															
All religions	707	1,149	4,074	1,007	2,227	27,000	636	2,631	2,909	106	1,354	2,522	196	687	4,587
Hindus	707	1,149	4,086	1,007	2,224	27,000	636	2,632	2,864	106	1,355	2,525	196	688	4,575
Muhammadans	714	1,033	2,639	943	..	..	701	2,333	..	181	1,297	2,143	125	494	2,759
<i>Rampur—</i>															
All religions	620	1,006	1,608	909	3,143	4,412	433	2,081	1,506	94	1,154	815	169	566	2,092
Hindus	587	1,012	1,466	890	3,115	3,071	325	2,101	1,602	71	1,113	770	138	591	1,908
Muhammadans	654	999	1,820	929	3,196	10,667	545	2,050	1,328	117	1,206	889	220	539	2,351

Subsidiary table V.—*Distribution by civil condition of 1,000*

Castes.		Distribution of 1,000 males of each age by civil condition.																	
		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.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
1. Brahman ..	498	411	91	996	4	..	956	42	2	684	299	17	283	642	75	134	605	261	
2. Rajput ..	507	417	76	995	5	..	967	31	2	716	268	16	265	671	64	139	640	221	
3. Sonar ..	463	437	100	993	7	..	956	41	3	634	338	28	195	707	98	84	639	277	
4. Shaikh ..	471	450	79	993	7	..	964	34	2	742	240	18	176	745	79	43	733	224	
5. Kayastha ..	507	397	96	996	3	1	976	22	2	777	207	16	271	650	79	121	606	273	
6. Chamar ..	408	522	70	993	7	..	896	100	4	478	492	30	89	836	75	27	771	202	
7. Kahar ..	445	474	81	995	5	..	953	45	2	614	364	22	120	797	83	37	725	238	
8. Pathan ..	491	438	71	996	4	..	967	32	1	789	200	11	208	725	67	43	751	206	
9. Gadariya ..	415	501	84	994	6	..	910	87	3	510	466	24	113	801	86	36	721	243	
10. Kumhar ..	396	525	79	992	7	1	882	114	4	552	414	34	92	829	79	36	739	225	
11. Dhobi ..	429	495	76	994	5	1	925	72	3	552	426	22	437	536	27	30	743	227	
12. Lohar ..	430	487	83	992	8	..	923	73	4	564	414	22	137	782	81	42	718	240	
13. Nai ..	447	472	81	993	7	..	950	48	2	742	243	15	140	779	81	44	716	240	
14. Saiyid ..	510	416	74	998	2	..	982	16	2	857	133	10	234	704	62	47	734	219	
15. Barhai ..	444	468	88	996	4	..	957	41	2	622	358	20	152	762	86	52	698	250	
16. Julaha ..	431	488	81	995	5	..	922	75	3	563	411	26	97	822	81	25	744	231	
17. Teli ..	416	503	81	993	6	1	916	82	2	514	461	25	116	800	84	40	731	229	
18. Lodha ..	416	502	82	998	2	..	925	73	2	532	447	21	124	793	83	34	728	238	
19. Bharbhunja ..	434	470	96	991	7	2	939	57	4	610	369	21	156	750	94	50	686	264	
20. Kalwar ..	421	494	85	992	8	..	918	78	4	554	422	24	144	772	84	45	719	236	
21. Bhangi ..	439	474	87	997	3	..	937	60	3	533	437	30	119	785	96	38	714	248	
22. Agarwal ..	462	395	143	989	8	3	961	33	6	586	334	80	236	643	121	136	508	356	
23. Pasi ..	414	525	61	992	7	1	877	120	3	527	453	20	101	838	61	23	795	182	
24. Ahir ..	425	495	80	993	7	..	894	103	3	556	422	22	158	765	77	50	718	232	
25. Luniya ..	444	493	63	991	8	1	917	80	3	546	433	21	104	829	67	30	775	195	
26. Bhat ..	488	421	91	993	7	..	958	40	2	693	287	20	267	657	76	108	639	253	
27. Kachhi ..	442	473	85	998	2	..	950	48	2	596	386	18	142	774	84	46	698	256	
28. Kurmi ..	373	539	88	973	26	1	751	242	7	429	541	30	157	759	84	64	697	239	
29. Mallah ..	456	477	67	988	10	2	937	59	4	547	424	29	412	547	41	92	842	66	
30. Gujar ..	510	401	89	996	4	..	947	50	3	664	313	23	253	658	89	122	612	266	
31. Jat ..	463	431	106	998	2	..	955	42	3	577	393	30	209	694	97	105	596	299	
32. Khatik ..	422	490	88	997	3	..	953	45	2	531	446	23	89	828	83	32	703	265	
33. Murao ..	419	497	84	995	5	..	936	62	2	572	408	20	140	775	85	36	738	226	
34. Halwai ..	431	463	106	992	8	..	958	39	3	622	357	21	130	759	111	43	672	285	
35. Barai ..	400	524	76	989	10	1	871	125	4	476	497	27	113	812	75	36	745	219	
36. Bhar ..	422	508	70	987	12	1	896	100	4	488	479	33	77	843	80	27	774	199	
37. Kandu ..	435	477	88	983	15	2	938	58	4	578	387	35	113	789	98	25	734	241	
38. Dhanuk ..	472	455	73	998	2	..	971	26	3	659	322	19	151	768	81	49	732	219	
39. Tamboli ..	403	498	99	986	13	1	934	63	3	577	399	24	148	762	90	49	690	261	
40. Taga ..	510	389	101	998	2	..	973	26	1	661	314	25	265	647	88	174	543	283	
41. Bhuinhar ..	496	418	86	996	4	..	945	47	8	641	333	26	252	674	74	94	648	258	
42. Dom ..	467	494	39	998	2	..	975	25	..	701	291	8	127	835	38	19	859	122	
43. Koeri ..	394	515	91	988	10	2	869	125	6	457	506	37	114	790	96	30	725	245	
44. Kewat ..	368	552	80	987	12	1	797	196	7	359	592	49	86	847	67	28	737	235	
45. Mali ..	441	456	103	996	4	..	960	38	2	594	383	23	123	768	109	55	788	157	
46. Dusadh ..	417	507	76	992	7	1	916	81	3	531	442	27	95	839	66	24	739	237	
47. Agrahari ..	373	522	105	974	21	6	873	122	5	397	547	56	123	775	102	47	687	266	
48. Umar ..	398	510	92	987	9	4	904	96	..	451	505	44	119	778	103	36	780	234	
49. Ksaundhan ..	391	518	91	979	21	..	928	69	3	536	450	14	129	802	69	61	677	262	
50. Kisan ..	461	449	90	999	1	..	975	24	1	644	340	16	186	727	87	45	681	270	
51. Baranwal ..	435	416	149	993	7	..	967	33	..	627	335	38	174	696	130	67	555	378	
52. Gahoi ..	457	442	101	1,000	..	..	970	30	..	528	452	20	220	681	99	150	550	300

of each sex at certain ages for selected castes.

Distribution of 1,000 females of each age by civil condition.

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.
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
290	464	246	989	10	1	874	120	6	249	702	49	15	785	200	7	356	637
306	488	206	989	10	1	883	112	5	258	705	37	17	832	161	10	399	591
325	494	181	985	10	5	862	129	9	164	553	283	16	669	315	9	353	638
352	488	160	994	6	..	903	94	3	334	638	28	32	866	102	18	451	531
339	444	217	990	8	2	951	44	5	380	583	37	15	810	175	380	7	613
302	547	151	988	11	1	783	211	6	130	839	31	15	885	100	8	473	519
321	521	158	991	9	..	866	130	4	218	756	26	16	881	103	9	467	524
349	484	167	994	5	1	918	79	3	356	626	18	24	880	93	12	443	545
300	548	152	989	10	1	793	203	4	135	840	25	15	887	98	9	461	530
286	562	152	986	13	1	747	247	6	116	855	29	14	888	98	8	467	525
316	539	145	992	8	..	830	166	4	173	801	26	14	893	93	8	476	516
310	532	158	988	11	1	830	164	6	170	797	33	16	881	103	11	463	526
317	521	162	991	8	1	867	129	4	210	764	26	16	877	107	10	449	541
375	451	174	995	5	..	956	41	3	484	493	20	31	853	116	14	437	549
314	526	160	992	7	1	869	126	5	198	772	30	15	881	104	12	467	521
332	537	131	990	9	1	809	186	5	202	774	24	16	908	76	11	509	480
300	543	157	991	9	..	800	195	5	144	825	31	19	881	101	13	454	533
297	544	159	996	4	..	826	171	3	158	811	31	13	881	106	9	460	531
309	531	160	989	10	1	841	155	4	192	774	34	17	881	102	10	463	527
283	527	190	989	10	1	814	180	6	146	818	36	14	868	118	9	409	582
332	540	123	993	7	..	830	166	4	188	782	30	19	894	87	12	521	467
330	459	211	982	17	1	893	93	14	280	673	47	27	770	203	27	395	578
314	554	132	989	10	1	817	178	5	188	790	22	17	899	84	10	509	481
282	549	169	991	9	..	831	165	4	238	719	43	13	880	107	7	445	548
326	518	156	990	9	1	827	167	6	193	777	27	19	880	101	12	447	541
294	467	239	990	9	1	877	118	5	256	690	54	23	799	178	15	358	627
300	530	170	996	3	1	837	158	5	131	837	32	11	873	116	8	415	577
242	578	180	967	32	1	621	367	12	128	842	30	10	879	111	6	436	558
314	518	168	988	11	1	844	152	4	159	810	31	17	836	117	8	432	560
321	526	153	995	4	1	878	118	4	235	743	22	15	870	115	7	485	508
299	542	159	993	5	2	859	128	13	193	748	53	12	835	103	8	516	476
324	534	142	995	4	1	848	150	2	166	798	36	14	885	101	9	487	504
282	560	158	993	7	..	799	197	4	119	832	19	11	911	78	6	472	522
316	509	175	990	9	1	874	120	6	170	793	37	14	832	124	13	429	558
285	552	163	987	12	1	761	232	7	144	826	30	16	888	93	10	451	539
323	524	153	983	16	1	812	179	9	191	768	41	22	869	109	12	474	514
331	493	176	990	9	1	865	127	8	209	742	49	19	851	130	15	417	538
329	521	150	997	3	..	864	133	3	178	798	24	16	880	104	11	438	551
275	553	172	973	14	13	818	176	6	168	803	29	22	879	99	14	458	528
329	435	186	996	4	..	920	77	3	297	674	29	17	829	154	8	457	535
315	448	237	974	23	3	917	76	7	343	614	43	19	770	211	11	362	627
339	543	118	996	4	..	857	141	2	204	775	21	12	921	67	5	534	461
290	529	181	987	12	1	769	223	8	164	794	42	16	859	125	10	424	536
282	567	151	972	27	1	683	304	10	137	829	34	14	883	100	8	481	511
330	530	140	974	26	..	864	133	3	220	763	17	10	887	103	7	489	504
309	528	163	986	14	..	832	162	6	235	721	44	19	854	127	8	485	507
302	513	185	973	23	4	769	219	12	215	722	63	30	810	160	22	425	553
269	538	193	976	22	2	739	257	4	119	848	33	16	832	122	13	382	605
266	565	169	993	5	2	819	172	9	146	831	23	12	907	81	12	432	526
310	522	168	1,000	..	..	832	166	2	130	842	28	12	870	118	6	428	563
278	430	292	1,000	..	..	865	124	11	118	810	72	21	673	306	18	311	671
257	449	294	998	2	..	814	184	2	90	852	58	6	712	282	2	237	761

Chapter VIII.—EDUCATION ⁽¹⁾.

247. **Meaning of the term literate.**—For census purposes, literate means no more than “able to read and write.” In 1881 and 1891 there were three classes for the column dealing with literacy—learning, literate, and illiterate. It was found that the use of the term “learning” was misleading; children first commencing the alphabet, and advanced students reading for degrees were both included in it. Not only so, but the figures of “learning” were inaccurate at both ends of the chain; for many children in the kindergarten stage were omitted and many students, resenting that they should be classed as learning when persons who had a much lower standard of education but had long left school were classed as literate, described themselves as the latter, with the result that no comparison could be instituted between the census figures and the returns of the Educational department. In 1901 the class of “learning” was given up; and at this census the classification has again been into two categories only, literate and illiterate. But there has been a difference of detail in the interpretation of the rule. The necessity of insisting on a knowledge of both reading and writing is easily understood in a country where a certain number can spell out a book without being able to write a single letter; whilst a greater number can produce something which they proudly call a signature (and is certainly as much like a name as the signatures of many persons vastly their superiors in education), but can write nothing else and read nothing at all. In 1901 however there was no definite rule as to what was the minimum of knowledge necessary to constitute literacy. At this census it has been explained as the ability to write a letter and read the answer to it; this was thoroughly understood by all concerned, and is a point of some little importance, as there can be no doubt that it has affected the figures.

248. **The extent of literacy.**—The figures for literacy are exhibited in tables VIII and IX. In table VIII the provincial totals are shown for each religion separately: and also by districts, for all religions, Hindus and Muhammadans. The figures are also exhibited in various age-periods. In table IX the figures are given for a certain number of castes which have been chosen as presenting a complete picture of society all over the province in its various grades. Table VIII also shows the language ⁽²⁾ (Urdu or Hindi) in which a person is literate; if he is literate in both, a further distinction is made as to which he knows better of the two. At present I neglect these figures of language and deal only with literacy as a whole.

249. **General results.**—One million six hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and sixty-five persons of whom 1,505,945 were males and 112,520 were females, in British territory, and 17,587 persons of whom 16,968 were males and 619 females, in States territory, were returned as literate. In 1901 the figures were 1,422,924 males and 55,941 females in British territory and 12,920 males and 472 females in States territory. The increase since 1901 is therefore 6 per cent. for males and over 100 per cent. for females. Out of 10,000 persons 343 can read and write: 611 males out of 10,000 are literate as against 578 in 1901 and 49 females as against 24. The difference in the matter of literacy between the sexes is still enormous, but it is diminishing.

250. **Literacy by natural divisions.**—The diagram given in the margin shows the number of persons literate, by sex, in each natural division. The Western Himalayas stand easily first (124 and 9 per mille respectively) in the case of either sex. As regards males, next follows the Central India Plateau with 74, then the Eastern Plain (69), the East Satpuras (60), Central Plain (59) and

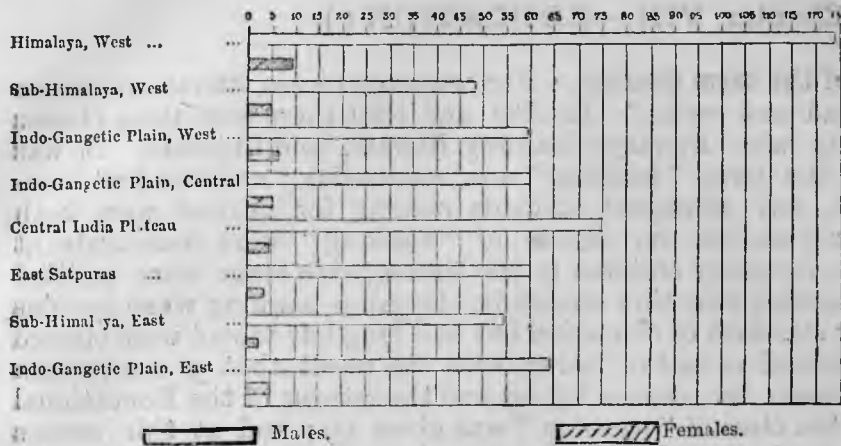
⁽¹⁾ Subsidiary table I.—Education by age, sex, and religion (1) (British Territory), (2) (Native States).

Ditto	II.—Education by age, sex, and locality.
Ditto	III.—Education by religion, sex, and locality.
Ditto	IV.—English education by age, sex, and locality.
Ditto	V.—Progress of education since 1881.
Ditto	VI.—Education by caste.
Ditto	VII.—Number of institutions and pupils according to the returns of Educational department.
Ditto	VIII.—Main results of University examinations.
Ditto	IX.—Number and circulation of newspapers, &c.
Ditto	X.—Number of books published in each language.

⁽²⁾ Or rather the script (Persian or Deva Nagari). See paragraph 256.

Western Plain (58) : the Eastern Sub-Himalayas (54) come next, and last of all the

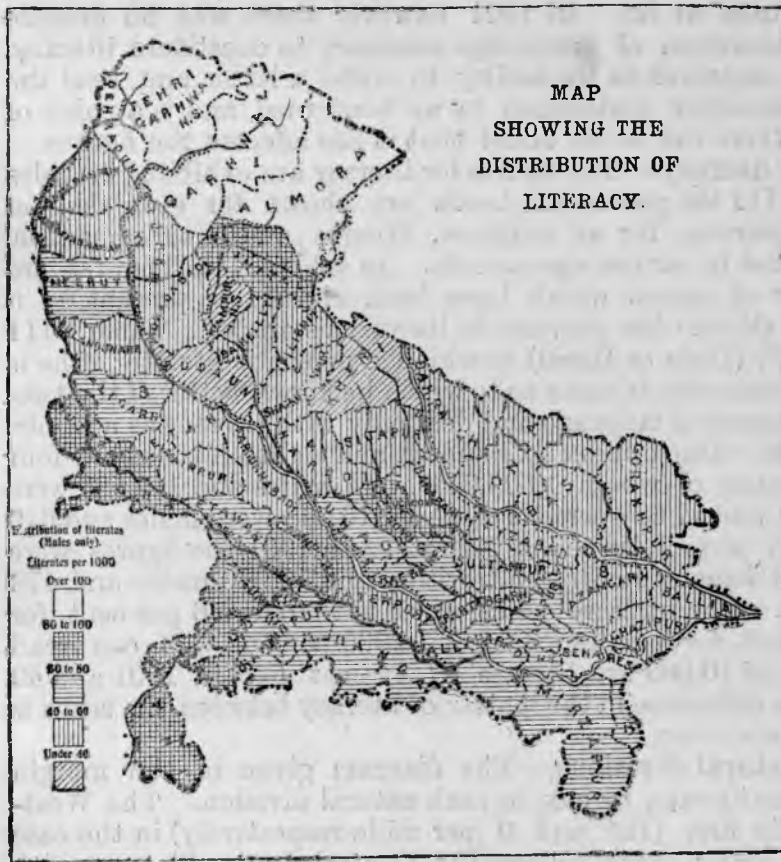
DIAGRAM SHOWING NUMBER OF PERSONS, LITERATE PER 1,000 BY NATURAL DIVISIONS.



Western Sub-Himalayas (47). In 1901, the Plateau and Eastern Plain had the same figure (70.6), the East Satpuras came next with 70.1, whilst Sub-Himalaya, East (56) stood higher than the Western Plain (49). There have been increases in the Western Himalayas, Central India Plateau, West-

ern Plain, and Sub-Himalaya West: the other four divisions show decreases. As regards females the Western Himalayas stand first with 9 literates per 1,000; then comes the Western Plain with 6: the Central India Plateau has 4, the East Satpuras 3 and the Eastern Sub-Himalayas 2: the rest of the province has 5. All these figures are increases.

251. **Literacy by districts.**—The map given in the margin shows the districts in the following classes:—



Over 100 per 1,000 (males only).—Dehra Dun (142), Garwal (143), Almora (125) and Benares (120).

From 80 and under 100 per 1,000.—Naini Tal (90), Muttra (92), Agra (94), Cawnpore (84), Lucknow (95), Jhansi (84) and Jalaun (85).

From 60 and under 80 per 1,000.—Meerut (62), Aligarh (75), Etawah (62), Allahabad (70), Unao (60), Rae Bareli (64), Banda (61), Hamirpur (71), Mirzapur (60), and Jaunpur (64).

From 40 and under 60 per 1,000.—Saharanpur (55), Bareilly (49), Bijnor (47), Pilibhit (46), Muzaffarnagar (52), Buland-

shahr (52), Farrukhabad (55), Mainpuri (53), Etah (45), Moradabad (44), Shahjahanpur (47), Fatehpur (55), Sitapur (44), Hardoi (46), Fyzabad (53), Sultanpur (50), Partabgarh (46), Bara Banki (43), Gorakhpur (56), Basti (52), Gonda (53), Bahraich (51), Ghazipur (57), Ballia (58) and Azamgarh (55).

From 30 and under 40 per 1,000.—Kheri (35) and Budaun (33).

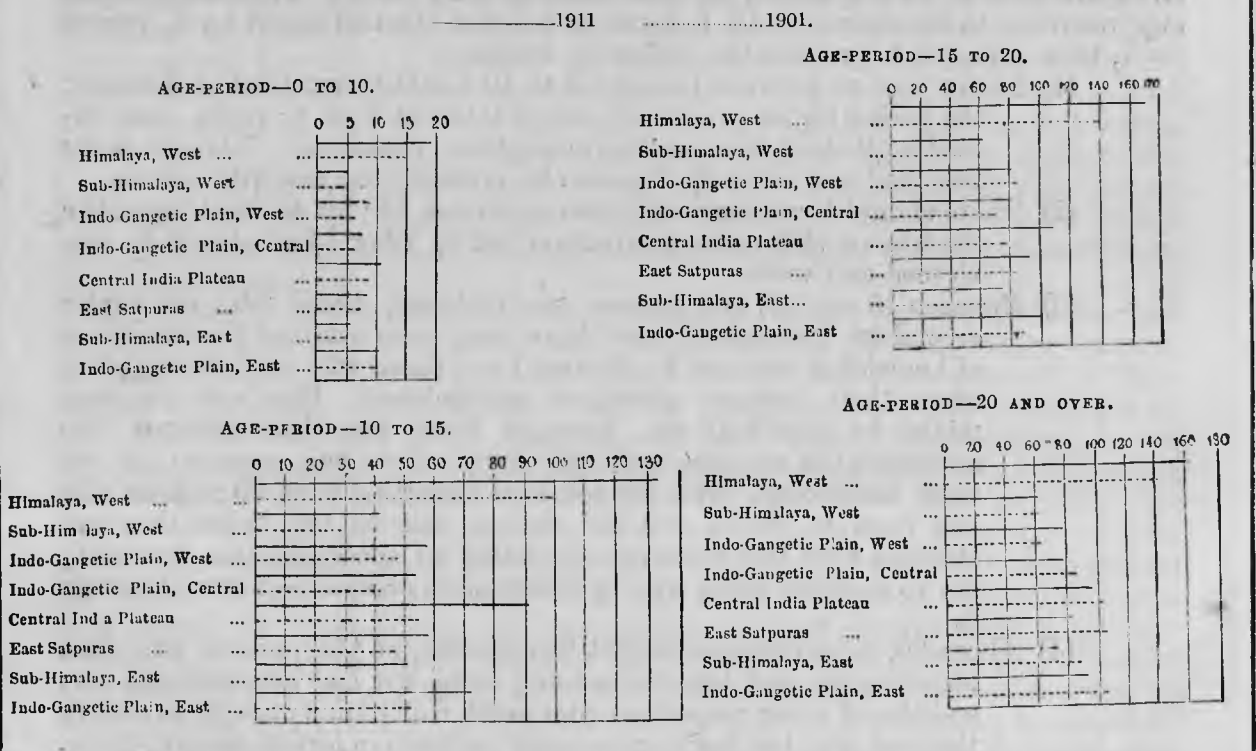
The districts italicized show decreases per 1,000 as follows:—Allahabad (−10), Mirzapur (−10), Fatehpur (−18), Sitapur, Fyzabad (each −10), Partabgarh (−15), Bara Banki (−5), Basti (−2), Gonda (−7), Bahraich (−14), Ghazipur (−5), Ballia (−8) and Azamgarh (−13). The causes of variation will be dealt with subsequently.

Female education has had a great impetus during this decade. Where less than 3 per 1,000 could read and write in 1901, now 9 can. It is useless to multiply figures: there is an increase not only on the total proportions in every district, but at every age-period in every district: and the easiest way of explaining the magnitude of the increase is to state that whereas in 1901 it was necessary to show the proportion as so many per 10,000 so as to get a unit in every case, at this census it is possible to show it as so many per 1,000, and still get the required unit in every case save of 9 districts at one age-period only.

As regards the States, Tehri shows an increase, Rampur a decrease. What is said of Himalaya West may be taken as applying to Tehri and no further separate mention need be made of that State, whose education is in a satisfactory condition. But Rampur's figures of literacy are absurdly low and it may be said at once that they are exceedingly inaccurate. I am compelled to state that the Rampur schedules were not well drawn up. They were extremely illegible and gave an enormous amount of trouble on that account. Apart from that the columns were often carelessly filled up and in the case of the literacy column this carelessness was chronic. If one believed the schedules, patwaris, vakils, clerks, and others whose very occupations demand literacy manage to get along without it in Rampur. So far as was possible the obvious omissions were corrected, but it is natural to suppose that if there were omissions of this obvious kind, there were also omissions of a kind that were not obvious. I am afraid that in Rampur accuracy was sacrificed to speed. As regards the question of literacy the matter is so bad that I make no reference in this chapter to Rampur at all. The figures will be found however in the subsidiary tables.

252. **Literacy by age-periods.**—This at the present census is perhaps the most important branch of the discussion on literacy, bearing as it does on the progress of education. Considering males only at first, the diagrams in the margin show the alterations since 1901 at each age-period by natural divisions. At the first age-period there is an increase in all divisions: the increases are never larger than

Variations in literacy per 1,000 since 1901 by age-periods and natural divisions (males only).



3 or smaller than 1 per 1,000. At the age-period 10 to 15, there are general and large increases: the Western Himalayas show one of 35 per 1,000, the Plateau of 38. The Eastern Plain of 20, the East Satpuras of 8: the other increases lie between 11 and 13. At the age-period 15 to 20, the Western Himalayas show an increase of 29 per 1,000, the Plateau of 31, the Western Sub-Himalayas and Eastern Plain of 14 each, the Eastern Sub-Himalayas of 11, the Satpuras of 8 and the Central Plain of 7: the Western Plain shows a decrease of 5. When we come to the adult age-period however, we find increases only in Western Himalayas

(23 per 1,000), Western Plain (14), and Western Sub-Himalayas (5) : elsewhere there are decreases varying from 6 (Plateau) to 19 (Satpuras).

When districts are considered we find decreases between the ages of 0 and 10 in six districts—Bara Banki (-1), Jalaun (-2), Ghazipur (-3), Ballia (-3), Azamgarh (-2) and Partabgarh (-1), whilst Kheri, Gorakhpur and Gonda are stationary. At the age-period 10 to 15, Meerut (-4) shows a decrease, whilst Bara Banki is stationary. At the age-period 15 to 20, Bareilly (-6), Meerut (-21), Muttra (-16), Agra (-91), Farrukhabad (-19), Fatehpur (-7), Rae Bareli (-1), Partabgarh (-3), Bara Banki (-7), Moradabad (-1) and Azamgarh (-14) show decreases, whilst Fyzabad is stationary. At the adult age-period the decreases are in Fatehpur (-32), Allahabad (-21), Sitapur (-6), Fyzabad (-20), Partabgarh (-30), Bara Banki (-23), Banda (-10), Hamirpur (-4), Jhansi (-4), Jalaun (-9), Mirzapur (-20), Gorakhpur (-2), Basti (-11), Gonda (-15), Bahraich (-16), Ghazipur (-9), Ballia (-18) and Azamgarh (-23), whilst Unao, Rae Bareli, and Benares are stationary.

These figures are interesting, especially as regards the distribution of the decrease. At the early age-period, there are only small decreases in a few districts ; at the next there are practically none. At 15 to 20 there are few but some of them are large, especially in Agra. The bulk of the loss is at the adult age-period.

I ascribe the greater part of these losses to the introduction of a test of literacy at this census. It was laid down that to be reckoned as literate a person must be able to write a letter and read the answer to it. This was a clear definite test ; in 1901 there was nothing of the kind. Census officials were then told that children at school who were learning the alphabet were to be reckoned as illiterate, whilst those who could both read and write "with some fluency" were to be reckoned as literate. The amount of "fluency" was not stated : nor was it laid down how much they were to be able to read and write. The test imposed at this census was, under the peculiar circumstances of India, a fair but somewhat stringent test ; fair, because if a man used his education for any purpose at all (apart from those who make their living by it) it is to write a letter or read one : stringent, because he has usually so little occasion to do either. Speaking without any reference to the figures at all, it seems to me that the test might have, *prima facie*, been expected to produce the following results :—

- (1) Fewer persons between the ages 0 to 10 would be recorded as literate ; the period begins practically not at 0 but at 5 or 6 years, and includes all those who are beginning their education. Though some can read and write by 9 years old, probably the majority cannot.
- (2) There should be no decrease between 10 and 15 ; up to that age, the literate are still under instruction but by 12 or 13 all should be able to read and write.
- (3) Between 15 and 20, two classes are included, those who are under secondary instruction, and have long since attained the minimum of knowledge required for literacy : and those who stopped learning when their primary education was finished. Here *some* decrease might be expected, viz. amongst those who had attained the minimum but no more, and had never since had occasion to use their knowledge, with the result of forgetting it by 20 : those who had been to school and for various reasons left before they had attained even this minimum (probably no inconsiderable number) ; not to mention those who by nature were incapable of ever attaining it.
- (4) Above 20, large decreases might be expected, of the persons who had learnt in the past how to read and write, but had forgotten the art : and also of a fair proportion who never really knew enough to satisfy this test, and had been erroneously included in former enumerations.

It will be noted that this is precisely what has happened. There are small decreases at the age 0 to 10 : practically none at 10 to 15, a few decreases at 15 to 20 (some of which however are large enough to require especial consideration) : and large decreases above 20.

The matter can also be considered with reference to the figures of the Educational department. We may assume that the scholars undergoing vernacular primary education are all under 15, and compare this figure with the figure of

literate at the same age. In 1911 the primary scholars were to the literates under 15 as 1,000 to 588: in 1901 as 1,000 to 686. That is to say out of every 1,000 scholars 419 were shown as illiterate in 1911 and only 314 in 1901—a clear indication that the title of literate has not been so freely dealt out at this census as it was 10 years ago. How great a difference this cause has produced may be seen by calculating what would have been the figures if the proportion of literates under 15 to the total of primary scholars had been the same in 1911 as in 1901. For the whole province we should have had 301,208 instead of 258,264, viz. 17 per 1,000 instead of 14: for Ballia (one of the districts with the biggest decreases), we should have had 6,753 instead of 3,817 or 21 per 1,000 instead of 12.

Some of the decreases between 15 and 20 require more detailed treatment. There is first of all Agra with its huge decrease of 91 per 1,000. In 1901 the figures were 216 per 1,000. It was far the biggest figure shown, and if correct implied that over one-fifth of the total male population between 15 and 20 was literate. The next biggest was Garhwal with 170 per 1,000: and of plains districts the next biggest was Benares with 136 per 1,000. Agra of course is a place where there are a considerable number of students undergoing secondary instruction, of whom the majority are between 15 and 20: but there has been no decrease in Agra in the number of such students since 1901. The decrease must be in the number of those who are literate but not under instruction: and it would seem that the figures of 1901 were exaggerated. The figure of 1911 leaves Agra seventh in order of merit as regards the proportion of literates at this age, whilst it stands also seventh as regards the age-period 20 and over and sixth as regards both the age-period 10 to 15 and the total. In 1901, its normal place was about twelfth, yet in this age-period it stood first by a huge margin.

Of other large decreases at this age, the cases of Meerut, Muttra, and Farukhabad are difficult to understand. Each shows a considerable increase in its number of secondary students: each shows an increase at the adult age-period, and also at all other age-periods. A part of the decrease may be due to omission of literates in 1911, but every care was taken to guard against this, and it is curious that it should occur in both the two main religions at this particular age-period and at no other. Omissions if they occurred would not all be found in a particular age-period. There seems no reason to suspect the figures of 1901, which appear normal. I doubt if the literacy test at this age would have much effect: between 15 and 20 only a very small part of those who had learnt how to read and write would have already forgotten to do so, at all events in districts with considerable urban populations (in which a disproportionate amount of literates are found); though it doubtless helps to explain the smaller variations in more purely rural districts such as Fatehpur, Rae Bareilly, Partabgarh, Moradabad and Azamgarh. Literate folk in cities have to use their knowledge, though literate folk in rural tracts may not.

I am inclined to think that for the decreases at this age-period in particular and all preceding age-periods in general, we must in part blame plague. Plague operates to affect the literacy figures in several ways. Firstly it becomes necessary to close schools temporarily. This by itself will not greatly affect the district figures at the lower ages; the boys at any particular primary school live, probably, in its immediate vicinity and of course, whether at home or at school, their literacy is not affected. But at the age of 15 to 20 they frequently live at some little distance from the school or college they attend: and if that school or college is closed, its literates may be dispersed over several districts, thereby artificially diminishing the literate total of the district in which the school is situated. Secondly, it has been noticed that once schools are thus closed, it is not always easy to get the scholars together again, which tends to make this diminution permanent. Thirdly, it is probable that parents are afraid of letting their sons go to a school in a plague-stricken town at all, which undoubtedly affects places such as Muttra, for instance, where schools are numerous and plague has been very severe. Fourthly, it must be remembered that though the proportional decreases may appear considerable, the total figures and total decreases are small; and even such temporary and apparently unimportant causes as those mentioned may diminish the proportional figures very greatly indeed. Out of the 11 districts showing decreases at age-period 15 to 20, 5 show total decreases from 100 to 500, 3 show decreases over 1,000, and 3 actually show total increases. When this is the case it is obvious that the closing of a single college with the usual percentage of boarders, or of the

various high schools in a city at the time of census might make the whole difference without reference to the other two causes at all.

The last age-period, 20 and over, is on a different plane. Here the question of education is not involved. The cause of the decrease in literates is chiefly the literacy test. It must be noted in the first place that all the districts concerned are either essentially rural, or in a few cases, though they contain cities (Allahabad, Fyzabad, Jhansi, Mirzapur, Gorakhpur) are much more rural than urban in character. It is just the rural "literate" who from sheer disuse would forget his literacy, and it is amongst them that so many who can read a little and write not at all, or *vice versa*, are found—people who do not fulfil the test, but might in its absence be recorded as literate. Secondly, the whole decrease is found in Hindus: there is an increase in this age-period among Muhammadans. The reason is that firstly, on the whole Muhammadans keep up their knowledge rather more than Hindus (partly no doubt because they know chiefly Urdu and whilst it is possible to get books in Urdu which the ordinary semi-educated man can read and understand, books written in Deva Nagari, which the Hindus chiefly know, are generally written in a style which it is excess of politeness to describe as "euphuistic"). The second reason is that a larger proportion of literate Muhammadans live in cities and towns than of literate Hindus, where they have to use their literacy for the practical purposes of business, and consequently keep up their knowledge. It is amongst rural Hindus that one would naturally look for a decrease in literates on account of a literacy test.

It is probable too that plague has affected the situation at this age-period. A large proportion of literates live in towns: and of such literates a large proportion make practical use of their attainments for business purposes. Such as do, are tied by their business to urban life: and plague in towns is much more difficult to escape, and on the whole more fatal because it is more concentrated. The literate rustic may suffer no more than his illiterate brother (though there is no reason to suppose that he suffers less): but the literate town dwellers suffer, if anything proportionately more than the illiterate inhabitants of a town, simply because there are proportionately more of them to suffer.

To sum up:—There has been an increase in the total number of literates at all age-periods, save the last: the decrease at this period is due partly to the literacy test and partly to plague. There have been minor local decreases in some districts at the first age-period, due to the literacy test. At the second age-period there have been none. At the third age-period, there have been some local decreases due chiefly to the operation of plague, which caused schools to be shut and parents to refrain from sending their boys to school in plague-stricken areas, thereby lowering the local proportions of literates in such areas. In a word, practically the whole decrease is either fictitious or artificial: fictitious in so far as the literacy test is concerned, because its absence in 1901 caused more persons to be returned as literate than were really so: artificial in so far as plague is concerned, because it has chiefly operated to diminish the proportions of certain localities without affecting the provincial total. Seeing that in spite of all the vicissitudes of the decade there is a considerable increase on the total figure and the whole of this increase (and more) belongs to the age-periods when boys are still at school, the figures do not point to any diminution in education since 1901, a fact which indeed is proved by the figures of the Educational department in a different way.

No remarks are needed as regards female literacy: the increase is general at all age-periods in every district. The percentages are still very small, but there is a marked advance since 1901.

253. **Literacy in different religions.**—Omitting at present the minor religions, Brahma, Buddhist, Parsi, and Jew, the greatest proportion of literate persons to the total population is found among Christians, viz. 299 per 1,000. Next come Jains with 278, Sikhs with 269 and Aryas with 253. The Christian proportion has considerably decreased since 1901 when it was 414; the Jain and Arya proportions have increased from 221 and 243 respectively. The cause of the decrease among Christians lies doubtless in the accession to their number of many adult converts of low caste who are illiterate when converted and remain so. It is not possible to institute a complete comparison between Indian Christians separately and the other religions; for though their figures of literacy have been taken out, their figures of age have not been abstracted. But by using table XVIII, it is possible to obtain figures for two age-periods, viz. 0 to 15 and 15 and over. Table XVIII

shows Europeans, Armenians, and Anglo-Indians in certain age-periods (0 to 12, 12 to 15, 15 to 20, 30 to 50, and 50 and over). By subtracting the results of this table from the total figures of Christians between 0 and 15 and 15 and over, we get the

Religion.	Literates per 1,000. 0 to 15.			15 and over.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Hindu Brahmanic ..	14	24	2	42	78	4
Hindu Aryas ..	157	217	82	305	473	91
Jains ..	133	209	36	354	601	60
Muhammadans ..	14	23	3	46	81	7
Indian Christians ..	82	67	100	156	161	146
Other Christians ..	518	522	513	952	977	881

figures for Indian Christians at those two age-periods, and can then compare their literacy with that of other religions. The results of this calculation are given in the margin, and are interesting.

At the age-period 0 to 15 as regards male literates, and apart from non-Indian Christians, the Arya stands first, the Jain a good second, and the Indian Christian a very bad third, but far ahead of either the orthodox Hindu or the Muhammadan. At the higher age-period 15 and over, the Jain is first by a large margin, the Arya second, and the Christian a bad third, but again much ahead of orthodox Hindu and Muhammadan. The explanation is to be found in the composition of the three communities. The Indian Christian is of two kinds, firstly the Christian born in Christianity (i.e. Christians of the second and succeeding generations): these would usually, but not I fancy invariably, be literate; the missionaries would certainly do their best to make them so, but the Indian Christians are descendants for the most part of the lower classes and many could not afford to send their boys to school. Secondly the Indian Christian may be a new convert and, if so, comes almost invariably from the lower castes: such men are illiterate when they are converted and being poor usually have to remain so, and their sons with them. Some may be able to send their sons to schools, some adults may even go to school themselves: but even if they do it may be taken as certain that they are backward both by nature and with reference to their age. The literate Christian males under 15 therefore represent Christians born, with a small percentage of new converts; the literate Christians over 15 also represent chiefly Christians born with a still smaller percentage of new converts.

[I may here digress to refer to a point mentioned in the chapter on religion [chapter IV, paragraph 145, note (1)]. I suggested there that since converts had increased out of all proportion to the number of missionaries available to instruct them, the conversions were probably, in many cases, unsatisfactory; since it was useless and even dangerous to convert merely, and, having converted, not to educate. The present figures show clearly that this has actually occurred. In 1901 Mr. Burn calculated that some 223 Indian Christians (males only) over 15 were literate. The figure was too high, for he went on the assumption that every male non-Indian Christian over 15 was literate, whilst (as the figures of this census show) this is not so. But whatever the correct figure may have been, it was considerably higher than the 161 of the present census. Indian Christian literacy in a word has suffered a set back and the cause is too much conversion without means of subsequent instruction. That this is a danger will probably be admitted but three opinions of men of widely different views may be quoted in support of the assertion. Father H. Buses, S. J. (died 1667), said that there were only two ways to preach Christianity—one was "with a well-sharpened sword," the other was by expounding the Gospel. Dayanand, founder of the Arya Samaj, said the same thing, save that he substituted a "Government order" for the sword. It is hardly necessary to say that one might as well expound Aristotle or the precession of the equinoxes as the Gospel to the absolutely uneducated. Finally the Reverend H. B. Durrant, C. M. S., eminent both as missionary and educationalist, has repeatedly told me that conversion without education is useless. Mission work to be successful must be educational: at present in this matter the missions have obviously outgrown their strength.]

The Arya and Jain communities are very differently constituted. The former is recruited chiefly from the higher castes: the latter are chiefly wealthy traders and business folk. A high proportion of literates amongst them is to be expected. In the case of the Aryas the fact that a man is a new convert makes little difference, because he will already be, or is fairly certain to become literate. It is not surprising that their figures of literacy grow as rapidly as or even more rapidly than their numbers. That Jain literates have increased is simply due to the general impetus given to education in this decade.

As regards female education, matters are somewhat different. Here the Indian Christian at both age-periods stands first, the Arya second, and the Jain third.

The girls amongst the new Christian converts are probably sent to school more than their brothers simply because they are not so much wanted as breadwinners. The Arya is professedly a supporter of female education, and that he acts up to his profession, the figures show; the Jain looks on female education with no more and no less favour than the ordinary run of well-to-do orthodox Hindus and Muhammadans and indeed his figures probably represent the average amount of literacy to be found amongst the better classes of those communities.

Finally, a word may be said about the literacy figures of other Christians. The proportion of literates under 15 are practically the same for boys and girls: that they are no higher than 50 per cent. is explicable by the fact that whilst there is a very considerable proportion of European children who are too young to be literate, there are very few indeed who are even old enough to know the alphabet. The age-period 0 to 15 represents for the purpose of literacy 8 or 9 to 15: and as is well known, European children generally go home for good at 6 or 7. We have therefore at this age a large number of illiterates, with far less than the normal number of literates existing at the same age to balance them.

At the higher age-period (15 and over) one would naturally expect every member of the community to be literate, but 23 males and 119 females in every 1,000 are not so. It is possible that there are a few omissions (anybody who made a reasonably close inspection of any number of household schedules, especially those of sightseers would not be surprised at any error occurring in them) ⁽¹⁾; and among the poorer classes of Anglo-Indians there may be a few that are illiterate. Whatever the reason, it is clear that it is not safe to assume that every Christian other than Indian is literate if he is over 15, as Mr. Burn did in 1901. As regards Hindus, they show a small increase in literates since 1901, viz. 58 against 56 males and 3 against 2 females per 1,000. The increase is found in all age-periods for females and all save the adult age-period for males, where there is a decrease from 79 to 77. The Muhammadan increases are more considerable, from 53 to 59 per 1,000 in the case of males and 3 to 6 in the case of females, and are found at all age-periods without exception. Of other religions, the Sikhs' figures are interesting: 269 Sikhs per 1,000 are literate, and no less than 69 Sikh females per 1,000. The United Provinces Sikhs, chiefly military men, policemen, Government pensioners, and public and private servants as they are, represent to some extent the pick of their community: but even so one may feel surprise at seeing for instance that no less than 461 out of 1,000 adult males are literate and 85 females. The figures of Brahmos, Parsis, and Jews mean little, but so far as they go they exemplify the very high standard of literacy to be found among the business classes of these communities. No less than 734 Parsi males and 652 females per 1,000 are literate. The Buddhists have a very fairly high standard of literacy, 175 males and 50 females per 1,000 being able to read and write.

254. **Literacy by caste.**—For the purpose of table IX, 52 castes were chosen, in such a way that each stratum of society was completely represented all over the province. From the social groups of Mr. Burn's classification castes were selected in such a way that in each group there was at least one representative caste for every district; whilst consistently with this principle every caste of any considerable size was taken. To these 4 Muhammadan castes were added. Taking the castes first without any reference to their social group, by far the most literate in every way is the Kayastha with 549 literate males and 79 literate females per 1,000. Next come the Gahoi and Agarwal Baniyas: the former has 393 literate males and 8 literate females, the latter 391 males and 30 females per 1,000. These are followed by the Saiyid (males 277, females 36), and the Baranwal (males 272, females 24) and Umar Baniyas (males 238, females 5). Then—*longo intervallo*—the Brahman (209 males, 10 females), the Agrahari and Kasaundhan Baniyas (males respectively 181 and 182, females 8 and 5); the Bhuinhar, Sonar, Kalwar, Halwai, Rajput and Shaikh, all with male figures over 100. The Kandhu, Pathan, and Taga are the only other castes that show male figures over 50 per 1,000: 15 castes show

(1) Most sightseeing visitors, for instance, seemed to be under the impression that "globe trotting" was an "occupation." If they had taken the trouble to read the rule restricting occupation to a "source of income," they would probably have decided that globe trotting was possibly a source of considerable expenditure but certainly not one of income. The result of course was that one found ladies describing themselves as dependent on the "globe trotting" of their husbands, and so on. Occasionally too a wife would describe herself as dependent on "my husband's occupation," when the husband was not traceable in the schedule. The most amusing entry I found in a household schedule, however, was a note by an enumerator (who had apparently filled up the schedule in the absence of the lady to be enumerated):—"The memsahib has gone out to dinner, therefore I could not discover her birthplace." But in spite of this difficulty, he had "discovered" her age.

male literates under 10 per 1,000. The only castes that possess more literate females than 10 per 1,000 are the Brahman, Kayastha, Agarwal, Baranwal, Saiyid, and Shaikh, whilst 21 castes possess less than 1 per 1,000.

As regards English education the Kayastha (779 males per 10,000 literates), Agarwal (319), Saiyid (361), and Shaikh (119) alone show figures for males over 100 per 10,000; the Brahman (79) and Pathan (78) alone show figures greater than 50 and less than 100; 34 castes possess less than 10 male literates per 10,000. The Dhanuk is the only caste that has none at all. As regards female literacy in English the Kayastha (21) and Saiyid (12) alone show double figures per 10,000; the Brahman, Taga, Rajput, Agarwal, Jat, Sonar, Pathan, and Shaikh show figures over 1 and under 10. Twenty-two castes have no females literate in English at all.

Of the various social groups by far the most literate is the fourth (the Kayastha group) and then the fifth, or better class group of Bania traders. This is to be expected; they represent the clerkly and business strata of society to whom literacy is a necessity. The traders however (save in the case of the Agarwals who include many members in the learned professions) show little desire for English education. The priestly Brahman comes third: his figures are high, considering how many Brahmans are now mere agriculturists. The next group in order of merit is the lower class Bania group, who are comparatively small traders; then the Rajput. With the exception of scattered castes, no other group shows striking figures and their literacy follows roughly their social position: excluding the Julaha, the Muhammadans would rank on the whole with the Brahman.

The social grouping however is not the only grouping possible. A fact worth noticing is that if in any group both agricultural and non-agricultural castes are included, the literacy of the latter is much greater than that of the former; and this principle holds good down to the lowest social groups. The Halwai has far more literates than the Jat; in group 8 the Sonar shows 141 literate males per 1,000, the Tamboli 27, the Barhai 23, the Lohar 20, the Barai 19, even the Nai 16; whilst the only agricultural castes in this group that have figures on a par with these are the Kurmi (24) and the Koeri (18). The only non-agricultural caste in group 9 is the Bharbhunja: he has 23 male literates; the Mallah stands next with 10. The Kalwar (133) and Teli (21) are vastly ahead of the Bhar (3) or Luniya (12). The Khatik heads his group with 8: next comes the Dusadh with 5. Even in a group represented by such a trio as Bhangi, Chamar, and Dom, the last named (who in the hills follows many trades) has as many as 12 literates per 1,000. Omitting the Muhammadan castes, there are 23 castes which are chiefly or completely agricultural: of these two have figures of male literacy over 100 per 1,000, 3 have figures over 20 per 1,000, 6 have figures over 10 per 1,000, and 13 have figures under 10 per 1,000. Of the 25 non-agricultural castes 11 have figures of male literacy of over 100, 6 figures of over 20, 4 of over 10, and 4 of under 10 per 1,000. Such results show only too clearly that in India education is very much more a mere means to an end than in any sense an end in itself; and this fact colours the whole educational problem. The non-agricultural caste finds a use for literacy, the agricultural caste does not.

255. Literacy in cities.—The question of literacy in cities needs no lengthy description. The figures are, naturally, considerably higher than in the provincial figures. It is curious, however, to notice that even in cities the figure of male literacy for all religions at the adult age-period shows a slight decline, 221 from 226. The proportion of literate Hindus is higher than that of literate Muhammadans: but against this has to be put the fact that there are proportionately far more Muhammadans who reside in cities than Hindus.

256. Literacy in different characters.—In table VIII literates are distinguished according as they know only Urdu or Hindi, or know both, but one or the other better. As will be made clear in the next chapter, this distinction is not one of language, but of script alone, and Urdu and Hindi as used in table VIII are equivalent to the Persian and Deva Nagari alphabets respectively (in the latter case, inclusive of its various cursive forms such as Kaithi). In 1901 this classification was of considerable importance because of a controversy over the court script which has long since subsided. In 1911, though of less intrinsic importance, the figures are of some little interest from several points of view.

Urdu and Hindi, meaning thereby the scripts only, are used by persons of different religions, or more accurately of different races: the Hindu, Arya, and Jain

favour Hindi, the Muhammadan and to a less degree the Indian Christian favour Urdu. The percentage of persons who use one or the other solely or chiefly are as follows in the various religions:—Hindu—Hindi 84, Urdu 15; Muhammadan—Hindi 14, Urdu 81; Arya—Hindi 59, Urdu 39; Jain—Hindi 79, Urdu 19; Indian Christian—Hindi 36, Urdu 52. The local distribution shows that Urdu is in greater favour than Hindi in only one revenue division (Rohilkhand) where 55 persons use it to 41 who use Hindi; but it is also largely employed in Meerut (35 per cent. of all literates), Lucknow (32 per cent.), Fyzabad (28 per cent.), and Agra (22 per cent.). Elsewhere less than 20 per cent. of literates know the Persian script: whilst in Kumaun the percentage is as low as 6. Over the whole province, for 72 who write the Hindi script solely or chiefly, 25 write the Persian, and 3 are literate in other languages.

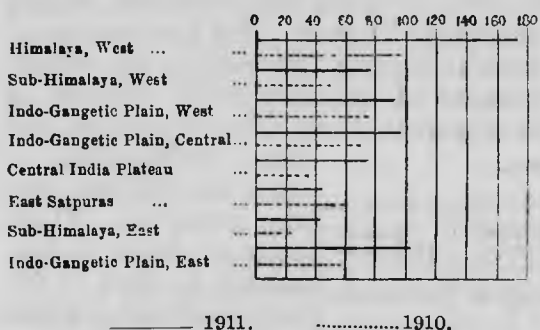
But if Hindi is the favourite script of the vast majority, yet when the same person knows both scripts, it is noticeable that more persons know Urdu better than Hindi, than *vice versa*; the actual proportions are 56 to 44, whilst in 1901, they were, save for a fraction, equal. The fact is now true of every important religion, though in 1901 it was not true of Hindus. When selecting copyists for the abstraction offices, I noticed that though I could get any number of men who knew only Hindi, and far more such men than men who knew only Urdu, yet of the men who knew both, the great majority knew Urdu the better. Again, in 1911, 151,710 males and 4,648 females know two scripts, as against 129,797 males and 3,206 females in 1901. But of the total increase of 21,913 males and 1,442 females, no less than 19,324 males and 1,340 females belong to that category which knows Urdu better than Hindi. All these facts show that the tendency is for education to develop along the Urdu rather than the Hindi line—once, at all events, it attains to that higher plane where more than one script is studied.

The causes of this preference for Urdu appear to me to be as follows:—Firstly, though both scripts can be used for court documents yet as a matter of fact the Persian script is much the more commonly used, save in Kumaun. There is no very valid reason why it should be so: possibly one cause is that even literate persons prefer to go to the petition-writers to get their documents written rather than to write them themselves, merely to ensure that they are in the accepted form, and to get a little cheap and frequently worthless legal advice on such minor matters as the applicable code and section; and these writers usually employ the Persian script. In practice, the Persian is still the court script and undoubtedly this makes a difference, causing it to be the more popular. Secondly, the Persian script is on the whole rather more difficult to learn than the Deva Nagari. It may well be that some stated a preference for it simply for that reason: for it would sound better and, as many tales prove, there is a great deal of human nature involved in the filling up of a census schedule. Thirdly, and perhaps chiefly, the point that strikes the European most about the literate Indian is that he seems to do so little with his literacy: least of all does he read for pleasure's sake. But amongst some classes, the clerk, the tradesman, the business man, those generally with a better education than the average, there has been some improvement in this respect since 1901. It is now not uncommon to see such men with a vernacular newspaper or a book. Improvement was in any case to be expected as time went on: and if it occurred, it was certain, as matters are, to tell in favour of Urdu. There is an abundance of Urdu literature. Its matter may not be particularly lofty, consisting as it does chiefly of periodicals, religious works, school text-books, quasi-political treatises, and erotic novels: but its style is at all events intelligible. Hindi literature is no better in matter, and its style, owing to the Sanskritisms which disfigure it, is generally unintelligible to the ordinary man. If therefore people are to read anything, they will naturally read what they can understand rather than what they cannot. The subject will be referred to again in the next chapter, but there can be no more striking condemnation of what is called High Hindi than the fact that of the whole increase in the number of persons who read both scripts, 90 per cent. is amongst people who prefer the script in which this debased style is not found. Even amongst Hindus, who might normally be supposed to prefer Deva Nagari, the position has completely changed since 1901. Ten years ago, those Hindus who knew Hindi better than Urdu outnumbered the other class by 6 per cent.; in 1911 the class which knows Urdu better than Hindi is the more numerous by 13 per cent.

The increase of 16 per cent. on the total number of persons who know both scripts may also be legitimately taken as evidence that the demand for an education rather better than that consonant with knowledge of a single script is considerably larger than it was in 1901.

257. **English education.**—One hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred and twenty-nine males and 15,087 females were returned as literate in English or 49 and 7 per 10,000 respectively, as against 35 and 5 in 1901. But from these figures we should exclude the totals of Europeans, &c., as shown in table XVIII or, in other words, the literates amongst non-Indian Christians: and the figures are then 35 and 2 per 10,000 for males and females respectively. The increase in male literacy of this type is considerable. Looking at the natural divisions, in Himalaya West 117 males can read and write English as against 63, in Sub-Himalaya West 49 as against 39, in the Western Plains 50 as against 38, in the Central Plains 60 as against 45, the Central India Plateau 51 as against 39, in Sub-Himalaya East 20 as against 15, and in the Eastern Plain 46 as against 27: the East Satpuras show a decrease, 24 as against 35. Of districts Dehra Dun (309), Naini Tal, Almora, Lucknow (308), Allahabad, Jhansi, and Benares show figures over 130; Sultanpur with 12, Basti with 11, Pilibhit, Kheri and Partabgarh with 15 each and Etah, Budaun, Fatehpur, Bara Banki, Hamirpur, and Azamgarh with figures over 15 and below 20 stand at the bottom of the list. Without multiplying statistics, it is obvious that districts with big cities or European colonies (such as Dehra Dun) show large proportions, whilst purely rural ones show small figures, as might be expected. Without going into the figures by age-periods in any detail, it may be pointed out that at the age 15 to 20 and 20 and over, which may be taken as covering the whole period of English education, the figures have enormously increased, save in the Eastern Satpuras. The figures for 15 to 20 are also invariably much higher than those at 20 and over, which was not always the case in 1901: and the whole state of affairs affords such striking proof of

FIGURES OF ENGLISH MALE LITERATES PER 10,000 IN 1901 AND 1911 AT 15 TO 20.



the growth of higher education, that I append a diagram comparing the figures of 1911 and 1901 at 15 to 20 by natural divisions. The English figures of the Eastern Satpuras (Mirzapur) depend chiefly on Mirzapur city itself, and as there was an extremely bad epidemic of plague there at the time of census doubtless the schools were closed, and certainly the city was emptied of at least two-fifths of its inhabitants, so that the low figure is fictitious. As regards religions, Hindus show 29 males per 10,000 literate in English as against 22 in 1901, Aryas 1,062 as against

565, Jains 253 as against 150, Muhammadans 65 as against 38, and Christians 3,015 as against 3,988. The last decrease is on a par with the general decrease in Indian Christian literacy: there are 592 Indian Christians who are literate in English per 10,000. The Arya figure is noticeable, and there can be no doubt that the small Hindu increase is due in part to the fact that Hinduism loses so many of its best educated men to Aryaism. As regards females it is easiest to deal with absolute figures than proportions in the case of religions. There are 1,095 women who know English amongst Hindus as against 313 in 1901, 109 amongst Aryas as against 32, and 555 amongst Muhammadans as against 89: no less than 3,660 Indian Christian women know English. Of the various natural divisions Himalaya West stands first with 32 literate women per 10,000, the Eastern Plain second with 12, the Central Plain third with 109; the lowest place is taken by the Eastern Sub-Himalayas with 1 per 10,000. There is no decrease anywhere⁽¹⁾.

258. **Variation since 1881.**—Owing to the differences in classification in 1881 and 1891 it is impossible to obtain any comparison of value. Had the age-periods adopted been the same it would have been possible to obtain useful figures at two age-periods (15 to 20 and 20 and over) by adding the number returned as learning to the number returned as literate in these two enumerations and comparing the results with the literates of 1901 and 1911: but unfortunately the age-periods

(1) Fifteen given against Indo-Gangetic Plain East in subsidiary table III, on page 167 of the Report of 1901 is a misprint for 1·5

of 1881 and 1891 were 15 to 25 and 25 and over, so that not even so much is possible. To do this for the total figures would result in nothing of value as though doubtless all those returned as learning above the age of 15 were really literate, so would be some of those so returned from 0 to 15. In subsidiary table V, I have therefore merely compared the literacy figures of the four enumerations; but apart from the errors introduced on account of the difference of classification, I have doubts of the accuracy of the figures of former enumerations, especially that of 1891, when measured by the test of 1911. Mr. Burn pointed out in 1901 that the literates belong chiefly to the upper and middle classes. In times of distress the population decreases, but these classes are little affected by it, so that *pro tanto* the figures of literacy should rise: though against this increase one has to set off the decrease among such of the poorer classes as may wish to educate their children, who then become unable to pay school fees. This is doubtless so, but I do not think that it can account for the decreases between 1891 and 1901; and when the learners over 15 have been added to the literate there are decreases in no less than 19 districts in that decade. There would be a large increase on the whole period of 30 years: but I am convinced that in part at all events the figures at all previous enumerations were vitiated by the absence of any actual test of literacy, and people were returned as literate who would not have been considered so in 1911.

259. **The Educational department's figures.**—The most important educational returns are given in subsidiary tables VII and VIII and may be allowed to speak for themselves. Indeed with most of them census statistics have no concern. To the census official literacy is the sole object: the M.A. or the D.C.L. from his point of view are on a par with the boy who leaves school with a knowledge of the three R's. But one branch of education can be compared with census returns in greater detail, both descriptive and statistical, namely vernacular primary education. For every man who is literate must have received at least so much instruction as is implied by primary education. There is no obvious comparison possible between the total number of educational institutions and literacy: arts colleges, training, and other special colleges, even secondary schools do not affect the situation simply because the boy who goes to one of these is already literate. But the number of vernacular primary schools are the cause of which "census" literacy is the effect: and it will be valuable to compare the number of scholars with number of literates, the number of institutions with the apparent demand for education, and

FIGURES OF VERNACULAR PRIMARY EDUCATION (MALES ONLY).
(1) By natural divisions.

Divisions.	Number of—		Scholars per school.	Area in square miles per school.	Number of towns and villages per school.	Proportion of scholars to—		Literates per 1,000 of—	
	Schools.	Scholars.				Population of 5—15.		Total population.	
						1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
United Provinces ...	9,046	439,079	48	12	12	69	40	61	58
Himalaya, West ...	12,579	491,077	39	9	9	77	60	...	...
Sub-Himalaya, West ...	487	19,934	41	31	22	105	74	124	105
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.	780	31,662	41	13	10	54	47	47	41
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.	2,443	112,131	46	10	7	61	48	58	49
Central India Plateau	2,411	113,962	47	10	10	71	40	59	60
East Satpuras ...	574	22,853	40	18	7	80	60	74	71
Sub-Himalaya, East ...	243	11,508	47	21	18	81	47	60	70
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	1,088	63,717	59	12	18	63	43	54	56
	1,023	63,312	62	7	14	90	53	69	71
	(2) By revenue divisions.								
Meerut ...	1,077	47,001	44	10	7	57	64	64	...
Agra ...	1,063	49,323	46	10	8	68	...	67	...
Rohilkhand ...	938	41,987	45	11	12	55	...	44	...
Allahabad ...	1,201	50,664	42	14	9	74	...	78	...
Benares ...	966	58,756	60	11	14	92	...	71	...
Gorakhpur ...	1,000	61,616	61	9	19	70	...	65	...
Kumaon ...	447	18,346	41	31	23	111	...	121	...
Lucknow ...	1,205	53,920	45	10	9	71	...	56	...
Fyzabad ...	1,123	57,466	51	11	12	66	...	50	...

NOTE 1.—The italicized figures against United Provinces include private elementary institutions, figures for which are not available for divisions.

2.—In columns 7 and 8, the age-period 5 to 15 is chosen as the available age-period which most closely corresponds to the vernacular primary school-going age.

boys of school-going age) is greater, sometimes considerably greater, than

the distribution of such institutions over the province. These points I have endeavoured to show in the subjoined table, which is drawn up both by natural and revenue divisions, the latter for the convenience of those to whom natural divisions mean nothing of practical value.

Taking first columns 7 to 10 of this table, it is noticeable that in every natural division save one (Himalaya West) and every revenue division save two (Meerut and Kumaon), the proportion of boys at school to boys who ought to be at school (i.e. to

the proportion of literates to total population. Several causes affect these figures.

(1) The chance of life of boys between 5 to 15 is obviously better than the chance of life of the literates of the whole population, including as it does many old men. The literates therefore will diminish more rapidly than the scholars from this cause, and in the decade 1901—1911 it is probable that the extra loss in the literates has been considerable, owing to its vicissitudes.

(2) Adults emigrate, boys do not; emigration therefore also tends to affect the number of literates, but not that of school boys.

(3) Adults, in this decade, have probably lost owing to the literary test, i.e. boys who *had* learnt and *ought* to be now classed as literates have ceased to be literate owing to disuse of their knowledge.

If the figures are examined, it will be found that wherever these causes have been most in operation during the decade, the difference between the two proportions is greatest. In the Eastern Plain and the East Satpuras (difference 21) there has been a combination of very severe plague and considerable emigration: whilst they are purely rural tracts where literacy might well disappear from disuse of learning. In the Central Plain (difference 12), there has been the same combination of circumstances though to a less degree. In the Eastern Sub-Himalayan tract (difference 9), plague has been far less severe, but emigration is considerable and the tract is rural. In the Western Sub-Himalayan tract (difference 7), plague must have been the chief factor. In the Plateau (difference 6), there has been no plague, but there has been some emigration and the tract is rural. Elsewhere the difference is small. Yet when all allowances have been made on this account, I do not think that the difference is completely explained: and it must be remembered that in every case it is greater than appears, since it has not been possible to include the figures of scholars in private institutions. There is another and a much more gratifying cause. The figures show that the proportion of boys who are learning to read and write now is greater than the proportion of persons who are literate, i.e. who learnt to read and write at various periods in the past. If that be so then the conclusion can only be that the demand for education is greater than it used to be.

A comparison of the state of affairs in 1911 with that in 1901 further bears out the statement. Firstly, whilst in 1911 every division shows a greater proportion of scholars to school-going age than of literates to total population, in 1901 only one division does. The figures must be discounted for two reasons; in the first place private institutions were more numerous and more popular 10 years ago than they are now, which would increase the figure of scholars: and in the second place, the decade 1891 to 1901 was more favourable than the decade 1901 to 1911; it had no plague, and also no literacy test to drag down the figures of literates. But even so, the position in 1911 in this respect is markedly better than in 1901. Secondly, the proportion of scholars in 1911 is vastly greater than in 1901; the increase in various divisions lies between 37 and 17 and over the province amounts to 17 per 1,000. On every ground therefore it can be stated that the desire for education has grown.

As regards the case of Himalaya West which shows a lower proportion of scholars to school-going age than of literates to total population, the following facts probably explain the phenomena:—

(1) There has been no plague and no emigration: the number of literates have not therefore decreased from these causes as they have elsewhere.

(2) The incentive to education is very large, due to the pressure of the population on the land. The Kumaunis have to take to literacy for a living: the possibility of their forgetting what they have learnt and so disappearing from the literate column does not affect them.

(3) The tract contains a large European and Anglo-Indian population the vast majority of whom are literate and also adult. This increases disproportionately the figure of literates as compared with that of scholars.

The other figures are interesting in view of the present demand for primary education which shall be free or compulsory or both. I do not propose to discuss the question in detail, but I think so much will not be open to argument. If primary education is to be a free gift of Government, it should be a gift of which all alike can avail themselves. If Government is to compel boys to receive a primary education, every boy must at least have a reasonable chance of submitting

to that compulsion. Yet taking the province as a whole, to every 9 villages there is only one school of some sort, and one school, which as submitting to inspection is of an approved standard, to every 12 villages. The mean distance between primary schools is 4 miles. Even within these imaginary blocks of 9 or 12 villages, each with an area of as many square miles, every boy of school-going age has not the same chance of going to school, simply because some must travel so much further than others to get there. And when one looks at the divisional figures the disproportion is even more striking. The figures for villages here matter less: they are obscured by the varying nature of the villages. In the Eastern Plain for instance there is 1 school to 14 villages and to 7 square miles. There is therefore 1 village to each 320 acres. In the Plateau there is 1 school to 7 villages: but there is only 1 school to 18 square miles and consequently 1 village to every 2·6 square miles. But the figures for area are enough to show that in some parts of the country there are boys who only on the score of distance, apart from difficulties connected with roads and climate, are practically out of reach of a school altogether. What is the value of giving a boy free education if he is not given a school to go to, and how can he be compelled to attend a school when there is no school for him to attend?

260. **The quality of education.**—One of the most striking differences in the figures of subsidiary table VII is against the entry "Training Schools." In 1891 there were 7 schools with only 363 scholars. In 1901 there were 6 with 548 scholars. In 1911 there are 2 colleges (higher and lower grade) with 77 scholars, 114 schools or classes for masters with 1,085 scholars, and 17 training schools or classes for mistresses with 313 scholars. To adapt from a well-known book on the art of teaching, there was a time when people believed that when a master was teaching John Latin it was quite sufficient for him to know Latin. It is not so very long since it was first recognised that it was also necessary for him to know John—his "object" as well as his "subject." The knowledge of both involves the knowledge of how to impart the one to the other; and the difference between the old and the new types of pedagogue is that between our trained and our untrained teachers. The very large increase in the number of schools for training cannot but have effected a considerable improvement in the quality of the education imparted. But even so, says the last resolution on education, the schools can only just maintain the proportion of trained to untrained teachers at its present figure, and the proportion is definitely said to be too low.

The great increase in the number of special and professional and technical schools may also be noticed. In an age of specialization special instruction is required and a great deal has been done to fulfil this want.

Yet in spite of all efforts on the part of the Educational department, real progress in literacy is slow for reasons rooted in the nature of the people. It can be most simply put in the form that education is not regarded as an end in itself but a means to an end. "The majority of Indians . . . learn to read and write simply to be able to compose or read letters, and to keep accounts, and not with the object of reading books" (still less of writing them or anything else). A large proportion of English students "leave school as soon as they can compose a more or less ungrammatical telegram." So wrote Mr. Burn in 1901. It is probable that matters have from one point of view improved since then. The literate know more; but it is not so much because they *want* to know more, but because better instruction is able to *teach* them more in a similar space of time. But whether education be good or bad, there is still in existence that ulterior motive, whether it be government service, or merely the desire to be able to write and read a letter and keep accounts. The most striking proof of this is found in the fact that so few educated Indians ever seem to read anything (though in this matter there is probably some improvement, judging not only from observation but from the increased total circulation of periodicals as shown in subsidiary table X); but this is a subject which Mr. Burn exhausted in 1901.

261. **The difficulties in the way of female education.**—It is unnecessary to descant on the effect of the *purda* system and of early marriage on female education: they are factors whose effect is obvious and well understood. But there is another and quite as great a difficulty, namely the lack of female teachers. It is said that there is a feeling that the calling cannot be pursued by modest women. *Primâ facie*, it is difficult to see how such a feeling could arise, but the Indian argument to support it would take, probably, some such form as this: "The life's

object of woman is marriage ; if she is married her household duties prevent her teaching. If she teaches she can have no household duties or else she neglects them. If she has no household duties she must be unmarried and the only unmarried women are no better than they should be. If she neglects her household duties, she is, though in a different way, no better than she should be." The possibility of a mother instructing her own daughters does not appear to be contemplated. And as a matter of fact it is extremely difficult to see what classes can provide teachers except Hindu widows and Christian women (¹). To the first there would be social objections : they ought to stay in their father-in-law's house. To the second there would be certainly religious and possibly social objections if they were Indian Christians : and in any case there are not sufficient either of Indian Christian women or of their European sisters. As it is, female education is still very largely in missionary hands ; the ordinary girls' school is taught by some old man, the inefficient substitute for a woman. The result is that one gets such an anomaly as a "model" girls' school taught by an old man who cannot even keep order, and with no provision for teaching sewing. In the school to which I refer one of the pupils was a very respectable Hindu widow of high caste but poor circumstances, aged about 25, who had been found begging and induced to learn with the object of ultimately teaching. She was meantime supported by a "scholarship" subscribed by various gentlemen interested in female education, as under the rules it was not possible to give her any other kind. To such shifts is one put in backward districts to find (and make) a female teacher. I remember well that when I was discussing the question of the local supply of literate women available (so far as qualifications of literacy alone were concerned) to make female teachers in a tract of country of some 1,200 square miles and certainly up to the average of the surrounding districts in the matter of female education, the number of such was five all told ; and of the five not one would have, or in the circumstances of Hindu society could ever have, undertaken such a post. At one time Government offered very valuable scholarships to the wives of male teachers who would pass certain examinations, on the principle that their husbands would teach them and the two schools could be combined, as it were, under one roof. Only one such woman took it up in this same tract and very soon gave it up. In a word, female education has to overcome many serious difficulties, the indifference of the public (tolerant though they usually are), the absence of thoroughness and steady endeavour : but the greatest of all difficulties is the lack of female teachers.

262. **Educational expenditure.**—In 1891 the direct expenditure on primary

Head.	Expenditure in—				Expenditure per 1,000 of population in (chief items).	
	1910-11.		1901-02.		1911.	1901.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Arts Colleges ...	757,198	38,953	430,113	16,058	17	9
Professional Colleges ...	796,151	...	446,171	...	...	...
Secondary Schools ...	442,900	...	260,432	...	55	21
	2,168,432	450,812	562,459	94,552	...	...
Primary ...	2,619,244	...	957,011	...	38	30
	1,549,616	225,868	1,101,807	224,778	...	...
Training ...	1,775,484	...	1,416,585	...	...	...
	134,254	60,282	55,916	11,668	...	...
Other special schools ...	194,536	...	67,584	...	...	...
	263,460	1,390	100,638	...	...	...
University ...	264,850	...	54,634	...	...	...
Direction and Inspection ...	120,213	...	317,009	...	...	...
Buildings ...	625,646	...	634,063	...	...	...
Other ...	1,452,642	...	205,306	...	...	...
Total direct expenditure ...	1,047,469	...	3,248,421	...	129	68
Indirect expenditure ...	6,093,255	...	1,311,012	...	69	27
Grand total ...	3,246,968	...	4,559,433	...	198	95
	9,339,223	...	...	...	...	...

The figures show an increase of over 100 per cent., yet even so the expenditure amounts only to some 3 annas per head of population.

263. **Publications.**—The number of books published yearly are shown in subsidiary table X. A considerable increase has occurred in the number of books

(1) Aryas may in some respects be on a different plane. But then Aryas are not numerous.

written in English, whilst books written in Urdu have been fewer than in the previous decade. Hindi literature has received a considerable impetus partly because such useful institutions as the Nagari Pracharini Sabha are able to organize it and the many caste Sabhas also publish works. The Sanskrit scholars have also increased their output: the Persian scholars have done far less than they did in the previous decade. Books have been written also in Roman-Hindustani, Punjabi, Bengali, Nepali, Parbatia, Marathi, Gurmukhi, Ho, Arabic, Roman-Punjabi, Gujrati, Gurkha, Lushai, Pahari, and Mandari: whilst there is a considerable number of polyglot books—probably in Urdu, Hindi, and English or some combination of two of these three.

These figures however give no clue to the number of readers, which is more important for our purposes than the number of writers or publications. In this respect the figures of periodical publications are far more valuable. In 1891 there were 101 publications of which 71 were wholly or partially in Urdu: 26 wholly or partially in Hindi: 6 that were in both languages and 2 in Gurkha. The total circulation was 37,349 of which 16,725 read Urdu, 8,002 Hindi, and 2,122 read both. In 1901 there were besides 29 English periodicals with a circulation of 19,558, 108 papers of which 71 were wholly or partially in Urdu with a circulation of 24,957, 34 in Hindi with a circulation of 17,419, 2 in both as well as one in Bengali, all with trivial circulations: the total circulation was 43,026, excluding English. In 1911 the increase is nothing less than enormous. There are 122 periodicals wholly or partially in Urdu: their circulation is 80,158: there are 87 wholly or partially in Hindi, and 4 in Sanskrit with a circulation of 78,981: there are 7 other papers in other languages, including one described as in Roman-English (whatever that may mean as distinguished from ordinary English); and 56 in English with a circulation of 57,482. The total circulation, exclusive of English, is 167,764 or 4 times as great as it was ten years ago. There is no question therefore that people use their literacy a great deal more than they used to.

264. **The number of scholars of various castes in schools.**—I have been provided by the Educational department of Government with the number of scholars of various castes, who are undergoing primary education in board schools. The figures do not represent the exact distribution of primary education by caste, for apparently the figures of aided schools and certainly the figures of private schools are omitted: nor can any comparison be instituted between the number of scholars and number of persons at the school-going age because the Government figures usually relate to the whole province and the age-figures only to a part of the province. Still the figures are valuable as showing that on the whole literacy and primary education correspond. As regards males the Kayastha with 115 scholars per 1,000 of population stands first; the Bhuinhar is second with 83; Baniyas come 3rd with 70; then Dhusar-Bhargava (58), Taga (54), Brahman (49), Sonar (43), Rajput (40). Next comes a class with figures ranging from 10 to 18 scholars per 1,000; the Bhat (17), Jat (18), Kurmi (15), Mali (12), Barhai (14), Lohar (10), Nai (11), and Teli (13). The rest have less than 10 scholars apiece, Gujar and Koeri (7), Ahir, Lodh, Kahar, and Kachhi (4), Murao, Kisan and Kumhar (3), Kori, Gadariya, and Kewat (2), Pasi and Dhobi (1), Chamar, Bhangi, and Dom (under 1). The literary and trading classes again stand high, with the Brahman and the Brahmanical castes (Taga and Bhuinhar) and the Rajput. A long way behind these are occupational castes, Bhat, Barhai, Lohar, Nai, and Teli, with the better class agriculturists (Jat, Kurmi, and Mali). The general sum of cultivating castes are a long way beyond these again, whilst the Pasi and Dhobi, Chamar, Bhangi, and Dom are at the bottom of the list; where they are likely to remain until they get schools reserved for them, since no decent caste would allow its boys to sit on the same benches with them. As regards females the figures are less conclusive, as probably private instruction and aided schools play a disproportionately large share in female education. The Dhusar-Bhargava (95 female scholars per 10,000 of population), Kayastha (75), Baniyas (78), and Sonars (45) lead the way: then come the Brahman and Bhuinhar (each 25), Rajput (21), Taga (19), and curiously enough the Mali (11). Bhats, Jats, Kahars, Barhais, Lohars, Nais, and Telis have figures between 4 and 8; the Pasi, Chamar, Gujar, Kori, Kisan, Gadariya, and Dhobi have a just enough female scholars to give them a proportion at all, the Bhangi and Dom have none: the rest have proportions of 1 or 2 per 10,000. The proportions are given in subsidiary table VI against the castes concerned.

sex, and religion (British Territory).

who are literate in—						Number per mille who are literate in English.			Total literate.			Remarks.
Hindi-Urdu.			Other languages.			Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	
Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.							Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
43	44	14	41	33	139	84	81	134	34	61	5	
19	20	10	59	41	154	67	53	139	5	8	1	
33	34	15	24	17	105	64	60	111	37	59	7	
56	60	18	29	22	101	104	102	126	50	83	9	
43	45	14	44	37	153	85	82	140	45	82	5	
46	48	13	15	13	54	51	53	16	32	58	3	
20	21	9	23	18	57	28	25	13	4	7	1	
35	36	14	11	9	35	42	43	18	35	58	5	
62	65	16	14	12	43	74	77	21	47	79	6	
46	47	13	16	14	60	50	51	15	41	77	4	
97	110	23	18	20	10	141	163	21	253	384	88	
22	28	5	38	53	2	44	57	8	72	97	43	
80	93	31	35	43	7	109	135	11	322	427	169	
95	106	47	20	23	7	184	218	33	346	488	151	
108	121	16	12	12	14	150	167	24	297	471	131	
..	..	..	632	375	818	579	625	545	463	333	647	
..	..	..	500	..	500	..	..	..	222	..	666	
..	..	..	1,000	..	1,000	..	..	..	200	..	333	
..	
..	..	..	625	375	875	687	625	750	695	571	888	
50	52	18	11	12	3	50	54	7	278	470	52	
32	37	12	1	1	..	9	10	51	51	78	21	
34	37	4	2	3	..	46	52	..	278	433	67	
59	65	10	5	6	..	62	70	..	361	562	96	
51	53	25	14	14	5	50	54	11	363	608	54	
45	48	17	491	495	448	109	118	22	269	372	69	
..	..	..	252	213	342	63	79	26	44	57	28	
34	41	..	240	225	314	159	179	57	172	241	72	
63	69	..	462	475	333	167	183	..	276	359	84	
45	47	24	519	521	500	101	108	20	347	461	85	
11	13	..	425	428	412	181	156	294	121	175	50	
..	..	..	..	..	..	250	250	..	27	45	..	
91	143	..	273	143	500	364	286	500	144	163	75	
..	..	..	300	125	1,000	300	125	1,000	156	276	57	
..	..	..	493	534	273	130	188	91	140	204	52	
20	21	8	22	20	42	96	102	29	34	59	6	
13	13	11	19	14	49	39	43	13	5	8	1	
13	13	8	19	13	73	86	92	33	34	54	8	
21	22	13	24	24	33	153	166	32	49	82	10	
22	23	8	22	21	36	91	96	29	45	81	7	
20	17	24	708	767	592	818	863	729				
16	21	13	584	649	526	664	728	609				
25	25	22	485	526	449	640	676	608				
28	33	23	479	528	429	717	761	671				
18	15	27	775	814	673	867	895	792				
58	66	49	141	125	158	456	473	437	299	349	232	Christians.
33	54	20	101	119	89	266	277	260	91	335	66	0—10
44	55	36	84	85	84	361	371	354	256	221	299	10—15
49	66	35	120	86	146	505	523	492	325	311	328	15—20
68	70	66	168	141	204	498	505	489	391	471	273	20 and over.
1	1	2	983	988	967	993	998	981				
3	1	6	968	967	970	980	995	970				
2	1	2	980	989	971	985	998	971				
..	..	1	951	965	980	994	997	990				
1	1	1	986	990	970	995	998	984				
2	3	..	874	832	937	634	784	404	700	734	652	
..	..	..	900	941	870	175	235	180	238	236	235	
..	..	..	925	857	1,000	597	686	500	837	946	744	
..	..	..	847	750	1,000	695	778	565	831	876	766	
2	4	..	867	833	926	673	830	401	803	796	834	
..	..	..	1,000	1,000	1,000	581	611	538	620	643	591	
..	..	..	1,000	1,000	..	1,000	1,000	..	250	333	..	
..	..	..	1,000	1,000	..	1,000	1,000	..	1,000	1,000	..	
..	..	..	1,000	1,000	..	1,000	1,000	..	1,000	1,000	..	
..	..	..	1,000	1,000	1,000	480	417	538	600	600	619	

Subsidiary table II.—Education by age, sex, and locality.

District and natural division.	Number per mille who are literate.										
	All ages.			0—10.		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.	
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
United Provinces (British Territory) ..	34	61	5	8	2	59	7	83	..	82	9
<i>Himalaya, West</i>	69	124	9	18	3	135	14	167	15	163	10
Dehra Dun	96	142	31	21	11	126	51	175	45	176	32
Naini Tal	59	90	11	13	4	102	21	116	25	113	12
Almora	64	125	6	17	2	141	9	177	10	164	6
Garhwal	72	143	3	20	1	153	4	192	4	197	3
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	28	47	5	5	1	41	7	61	5	79	8
Saharanpur	33	55	6	6	2	41	7	66	5	79	8
Bareilly	29	49	5	5	1	39	8	67	11	69	7
Bijnor	28	47	6	7	2	50	11	64	10	63	6
Pilibhit	27	46	5	7	1	49	9	60	11	62	6
Kheri	20	35	3	3	1	31	4	45	5	49	3
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	35	58	6	9	2	59	9	81	11	79	7
Muzaffarnagar	30	52	4	5	1	44	5	64	12	74	5
Meerut	37	63	6	8	2	54	10	73	8	89	6
Bulandshahr	29	52	4	6	1	49	6	79	9	70	3
Aligarh	44	75	7	13	3	80	11	108	11	95	7
Muttra	54	92	8	15	3	85	10	110	12	121	9
Agra	56	94	11	16	5	105	14	125	20	118	12
Farrukhabad	33	55	7	8	2	61	11	84	14	70	7
Mainpuri	32	53	6	8	2	55	9	76	11	68	6
Etawah	38	63	7	12	2	77	10	91	11	79	7
Etah	25	43	4	5	1	40	6	62	7	59	4
Budaun	20	33	4	5	1	37	8	50	6	43	4
Moradabad	26	44	6	6	2	44	9	65	12	60	6
Shahjahanpur	28	47	5	7	2	48	9	64	10	61	6
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	33	59	5	7	1	53	6	79	8	79	5
Cawnpore	49	84	8	11	3	76	11	47	13	108	8
Fatehpur	30	55	3	10	1	64	4	80	7	68	4
Allahabad	39	70	7	11	3	68	11	98	15	94	8
Lucknow	58	95	15	11	4	81	19	130	29	124	17
Unao	33	60	3	8	1	58	2	81	5	80	3
Rae Bareli	34	64	3	1	1	61	3	79	4	87	3
Sitapur	25	44	3	4	1	35	4	59	5	61	3
Hardoi	27	46	4	4	1	48	6	68	7	61	3
Fyzabad	28	53	3	5	1	44	3	69	4	74	3
Sultanpur	26	50	2	4	1	39	2	55	3	72	2
Partabgarh	23	43	2	2	1	38	2	61	3	68	2
Bara Banki	24	43	3	5	1	37	3	57	4	54	3
<i>Central India Plateau</i>	40	74	4	11	1	91	7	109	9	95	4
Banda	33	61	3	13	1	73	6	96	8	78	3
Hamirpur	37	71	3	9	1	96	5	105	7	90	3
Jhansi	45	84	7	11	2	94	10	111	12	109	8
Jalaun	46	85	4	13	1	108	6	131	7	106	4
<i>East Satpura</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mirzapur	31	60	3	8	1	56	5	89	6	85	3
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	29	54	2	6	..	51	3	72	4	76	3
Gorakhpur	29	56	3	7	..	56	3	81	5	79	3
Basti	28	52	2	7	..	55	3	72	4	72	3
Gonda	28	53	2	4	..	43	2	64	3	77	2
Bahraich	27	51	2	5	..	42	2	62	4	70	2
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	37	69	5	11	2	73	7	100	9	93	6
Benares	68	120	16	22	5	128	19	179	28	157	19
Jaunpur	34	64	3	9	1	70	6	88	5	85	4
Ghazipur	30	57	3	7	..	56	3	89	5	78	3
Ballia	30	58	2	7	..	57	4	80	5	81	3
Azamgarh	29	55	3	8	1	63	4	81	5	73	3
Cities	112	179	35	33	1	165	53	252	61	221	38
Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	14	21	2	2	..	14	2	24	2	32	2
Tehri (Himalaya West)	37	74	1	9	1	63	2	95	2	104	1

Subsidiary table III.—*Education by religion, sex, and locality.*

District and natural division.	Number per mille who are literate.				Remarks.
	Hindus.		Muhammadans.		
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
United Provinces	58	3	58	6	
British Territory	58	3	59	6	
<i>Himalaya, West</i>	<i>122</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>7</i>	
1. Dehra Dun	124	11	111	16	
2. Naini Tal	98	8	39	2	
3. Almora	115	4	264	35	
4. Garhwal	143	2	96	15	
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>4</i>	
5. Saharanpur	51	4	46	4	
6. Bareilly	42	4	50	4	
7. Bijnor	41	4	43	4	
8. Pilibhit	42	4	61	9	
9. Kheri	35	2	35	3	
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>6</i>	
10. Muzaffarnagar	48	3	40	3	
11. Meerut	58	4	41	5	
12. Bulandshahr	48	3	50	3	
13. Aligarh	70	5	72	5	
14. Muttra	93	7	51	5	
15. Agra	82	7	91	10	
16. Farrukhabad	52	5	61	10	
17. Mainpuri	47	5	59	8	
18. Etawah	59	5	93	15	
19. Etah	47	3	45	3	
20. Budaun	28	3	49	7	
21. Moradabad	42	5	42	4	
22. Shahjahanpur	44	4	56	10	
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>7</i>	
23. Cawnpore	79	5	84	8	
24. Fatehpur	54	3	59	6	
25. Allahabad	56	3	118	11	
26. Lucknow	67	6	132	20	
27. Unao	59	2	65	8	
28. Rae Bareli	62	2	84	8	
29. Sitapur	43	3	44	3	
30. Hardoi	44	3	52	6	
31. Fyzabad	47	2	73	3	
32. Sultanpur	49	2	54	3	
33. Partabgarh	44	2	59	4	
34. Bara Banki	39	2	59	6	
<i>Central India Plateaus</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>123</i>	<i>14</i>	
35. Banda	55	2	158	22	
36. Hamirpur	68	2	104	9	
37. Jhansi	64	4	150	16	
38. Jalaun	86	4	62	4	
<i>East Satpuras</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>3</i>	
39. Mirzapur	60	2	58	3	
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>3</i>	
40. Gorakhpur	57	2	41	4	
41. Basti	55	3	37	2	
42. Gonda	56	2	40	2	
43. Bahraich	51	2	45	3	
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>9</i>	
44. Benares	121	15	106	12	
45. Jaunpur	61	3	90	9	
46. Ghazipur	52	2	110	9	
47. Ballia	55	2	107	11	
48. Azamgarh	51	2	77	9	
Native States	44	1	26	2	
49. Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West)	73	1	71	..	
50. Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	16	1	26	2	
Cities	194	31	130	18	

Subsidiary table IV.—English education by age, sex, and locality.

District and natural division.	Literate in English per 10,000.													
	1911.										1901.		1891.	
	0—10.		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.		All ages.		All ages.		All ages.	
	Males.	Females.	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	15
United Provinces (British Territory)	4	2	36	8	65	11	67	3	49	7	36	5	17	3
<i>Himalaya, West</i>	13	10	108	50	170	52	157	28	117	32	64	21	28	13
1. Dehra Dun	58	49	275	290	388	216	379	179	309	159	162	99	109	89
2. Naini Tal	20	18	166	79	145	91	125	41	107	42	68	26	2	..
3. Almora	4	2	63	10	166	21	151	17	101	12	50	9	24	9
4. Garhwal	3	..	52	1	111	8	58	6	46	4	27	3	7	1
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	3	1	27	4	76	9	70	7	49	5	40	3	24	2
5. Saharanpur	5	4	34	10	109	15	103	16	71	12	89	10	29	3
6. Bareilly	4	2	32	3	98	16	129	11	84	8	87	5	57	3
7. Bijnor	1	*	23	6	62	2	35	2	27	2	18	..	7	1
8. Pilibhit	2	*	27	1	48	2	21	2	15	1	13	..	6	1
9. Kheri	1	*	15	*	32	2	19	1	15	1	11	1	3	1
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	4	2	38	7	89	9	67	9	50	6	37	4	22	3
10. Muzaffarnagar	1	*	24	1	51	..	33	2	26	1	18	..	6	..
11. Meerut	6	5	49	10	83	10	123	16	82	12	69	9	57	8
12. Bulandshahr	3	1	28	5	81	6	39	2	33	3	20	1	6	1
13. Aligarh	6	1	44	6	143	6	62	7	54	5	47	2	24	..
14. Muttra	7	3	41	6	89	11	103	6	72	6	45	3	30	2
15. Agra	17	11	113	20	196	34	209	28	152	23	81	18	59	17
16. Farrukhabad	3	*	36	3	99	6	48	5	43	3	41	3	15	3
17. Mainpuri	3	*	23	2	50	3	30	2	25	14	19	1	10	1
18. Etawah	4	*	33	2	83	3	43	3	36	2	18	1	8	1
19. Etah	2	1	11	2	34	3	23	2	17	1	13	1	8	1
20. Budaun	1	*	22	*	38	1	22	1	19	1	15	..	3	..
21. Moradabad	3	1	38	18	103	17	52	6	42	7	45	4	11	1
22. Shahjahanpur	1	*	25	4	61	9	35	3	28	3	20	3	13	1
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	6	4	38	12	95	17	83	11	60	10	45	7	22	4
23. Cawnpore	10	9	46	23	119	23	138	23	98	21	65	15	28	4
24. Fatehpur	1	*	15	*	41	2	19	1	16	1	11	1	7	1
25. Allahabad	19	12	107	39	227	56	162	32	124	29	116	26	51	13
26. Lucknow	31	24	109	77	445	93	408	69	308	6	214	40	121	19
27. Unao	1	*	19	1	42	1	29	1	23	1	12	..	6	1
28. Rae Bareli	1	..	14	1	36	1	31	1	22	1	13	..	6	..
29. Sitapur	1	*	22	2	62	3	33	1	27	1	17	1	13	1
30. Hardoi	1	*	14	2	34	4	24	2	18	1	11	..	3	..
31. Fyzabad	3	1	15	3	59	5	77	6	49	4	37	3	21	3
32. Sultanpur	1	..	8	2	19	4	17	1	12	1	9	..	3	..
33. Partabgarh	1	*	7	*	20	1	24	1	15	*	12	..	5	..
34. Bara Banki	1	*	9	1	33	1	21	1	16	1	14	1	5	..
<i>Central India Plateau</i>	6	3	28	6	73	10	72	9	51	8	40	3	23	3
35. Banda	6	*	30	2	65	2	32	3	27	2	15	1	6	..
36. Hamirpur	*	..	7	..	22	2	27	2	18	1	12	1	5	..
37. Jhansi	12	8	71	17	127	106	163	29	110	20	103	9	62	10
38. Jalaun	*	..	23	..	46	2	32	1	24	1	11	1	7	1
<i>East Satpuras</i>	5	1	135	2	45	4	32	4	24	3	36	3	8	2
39. Mirzapur	5	1	135	2	45	4	32	4	24	3	36	3	8	2
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	1	*	15	1	44	3	27	2	20	1	15	1	4	..
40. Gorakhpur	2	*	21	1	59	4	33	2	25	2	19	2	5	1
41. Basti	1	..	8	..	33	..	14	*	11	*	7	..	2	..
42. Gonda	1	*	11	1	38	5	31	2	21	2	19	1	5	..
43. Bahraich	1	1	15	1	32	2	27	1	20	1	12	1	6	..
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	3	1	43	3	102	6	60	3	46	3	26	1	10	1
44. Benares	15	4	164	14	353	21	203	15	161	12	94	6	28	4
45. Jaunpur	1	*	20	*	49	4	20	1	23	1	13	..	5	1
46. Ghazipur	1	*	25	1	80	4	42	1	31	1	11	1	10	1
47. Ballia	1	..	24	..	54	*	27	*	21	*	15	..	4	..
48. Azamgarh	1	*	12	*	35	1	21	*	16	*	10	1	2	..
49. Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West)	1	..	21	..	38	2	23	*	19	*	14	..	1	..
50. Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	..	..	11	..	31	2	23	*	17	*	12	1	1	..

Subsidiary table V.—Progress of education since 1881.

District and natural division.		Number of literate per mille.							
		All ages.							
		Males.				Females.			
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
United Provinces (British Territory)		61	58	52	45	5	2	2	1
<i>Himalaya, West</i>		124	105	70	61	9	5	3	2
1.	Dehra Dun	142	107	100	76	31	20	15	10
2.	Naini Tal	90	71	32	22	11	5	1	·3
3.	Almora	125	109	59	66	6	3	2	2
4.	Garhwal	143	128	95	72	3	1	1	1
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>		47	41	39	37	5	3	1	1
5.	Saharanpur	55	44	50	47	6	2	2	1
6.	Bareilly	49	47	39	35	5	5	2	1
7.	Bijnor	47	39	38	35	6	1	1	1
8.	Pilibhit	46	41	15	31	5	2	1	·4
9.	Kheri	35	33	32	31	3	1	1	·4
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>		58	45	49	44	6	3	2	1
10.	Muzaffarnagar	52	47	54	52	4	1	1	·5
11.	Meerut	63	56	61	55	6	2	2	2
12.	Bulandshahr	52	45	51	41	4	2	1	·5
13.	Aligarh	75	52	41	47	7	2	1	1
14.	Muttra	92	78	76	63	8	3	2	1
15.	Agra	94	70	68	60	11	5	4	3
16.	Farrukhabad	55	54	54	41	7	3	2	1
17.	Mainpuri	53	42	38	37	6	2	1	1
18.	Etawah	63	53	49	40	7	3	1	1
19.	Etah	43	39	44	38	4	2	1	1
20.	Budaun	33	28	29	26	4	2	1	·5
21.	Moradabad	44	37	36	33	6	3	2	1
22.	Shahjahanpur	47	44	40	37	5	3	1	1
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>		59	60	55	49	5	2	2	1
23.	Cawnpore	84	72	71	67	8	4	2	1
24.	Fatehpur	55	72	59	56	3	1	1	·5
25.	Allahabad	70	80	61	54	7	6	4	3
26.	Lucknow	95	82	79	72	15	8	6	4
27.	Unao	60	58	59	54	3	1	1	·4
28.	Rae Bareli	64	62	63	54	3	2	2	1
29.	Sitapur	44	46	46	40	3	2	1	1
30.	Hardoi	46	33	36	35	4	1	1	·5
31.	Fyzabad	53	63	49	39	3	2	1	1
32.	Sultanpur	50	41	46	37	2	1	·5	1
33.	Partabgarh	46	61	46	34	2	1	1	·5
34.	Bara Banki	43	48	49	43	3	1	1	1
<i>Central India Plateau</i>		74	71	64	53	4	2	1	·5
35.	Banda	61	61	58	48	3	1	1	·4
36.	Hamirpur	71	65	55	50	3	1	·5	·3
37.	Jhansi	84	76	72	54	7	3	2	1
38.	Jalaun	85	84	70	64	4	1	1	·4
<i>East Satpuras</i>		60	70	58	54	3	3	2	2
39.	Mirzapur	60	70	58	54	3	3	2	2
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>		54	56	44	37	2	1	1	1
40.	Gorakhpur	56	55	44	36	3	2	1	1
41.	Basti	52	54	40	37	2	1	1	1
42.	Gonda	53	60	48	39	2	1	1	·5
43.	Bahraich	51	59	47	36	2	1	1	·3
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>		69	71	58	47	5	2	2	1
44.	Benares	120	112	100	83	16	8	5	4
45.	Jaunpur	64	54	48	41	3	1	1	1
46.	Ghazipur	57	62	56	48	3	2	2	1
47.	Ballia	58	66	65	41	2	1	2	1
48.	Azamgarh	55	68	42	34	3	2	1	·4
49.	Tehri (Himalaya, West)	74	44	45	53	1	1	4	3
50.	Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	21	25	24	20	2	1	1	3

Subsidiary table V.—Progress of education since 1881—(concluded).

District and natural division.				Number of literate per mille—(concluded).							
				15—20.				20 and over.			
				Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.	
				1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.
1				10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
United Provinces (British Territory)				83	77	9	4	82	82	9	3
<i>Himalaya, West</i>				167	138	15	6	163	140	10	6
1.	Dehra Dun	..	..	175	125	45	23	176	136	32	25
2.	Naini Tal	..	..	116	75	25	9	113	93	12	6
3.	Almora	..	..	177	159	10	5	164	146	6	3
4.	Garhwal	..	..	192	170	4	2	197	177	3	2
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>				61	47	9	5	65	61	6	1
5.	Saharanpur	..	..	66	44	5	3	79	67	8	3
6.	Bareilly	..	..	67	73	11	10	69	65	7	6
7.	Bijnor	..	..	64	37	10	2	63	57	6	2
8.	Pilibhit	..	..	60	47	11	4	62	60	6	2
9.	Kheri	..	..	45	32	5	3	49	48	3	2
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>				81	86	11	5	79	65	7	3
10.	Muzaffarnagar	..	..	64	52	12	1	74	71	5	1
11.	Meerut	..	..	73	94	8	5	89	72	6	3
12.	Bulandshahr	..	..	79	67	9	4	70	64	3	3
13.	Aligarh	..	..	108	93	11	6	95	67	7	2
14.	Muttra	..	..	110	126	12	7	121	102	9	4
15.	Agra	..	..	125	216	20	11	118	81	12	5
16.	Farrukhabad	..	..	84	103	14	7	70	69	7	3
17.	Mainpuri	..	..	76	56	11	3	68	57	6	2
18.	Etawah	..	..	91	73	11	4	79	71	7	3
19.	Etah	..	..	62	55	7	4	59	55	4	1
20.	Budaun	..	..	50	40	6	5	43	38	4	2
21.	Moradabad	..	..	65	66	12	5	60	48	6	3
22.	Shahjahanpur	..	..	64	56	10	5	61	61	6	3
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>				79	72	8	5	79	86	5	3
23.	Cawnpore	..	..	117	91	13	5	108	96	8	4
24.	Fatehpur	..	..	80	87	7	1	68	100	4	1
25.	Allahabad	..	..	98	89	15	8	94	114	8	6
26.	Lucknow	..	..	130	104	29	14	124	117	17	10
27.	Unao	..	..	81	80	5	2	80	80	3	1
28.	Rae Bareli	..	..	79	80	4	3	87	87	3	2
29.	Sitapur	..	..	59	57	5	4	61	67	3	2
30.	Hardoi	..	..	68	42	7	3	61	50	3	2
31.	Fyzabad	..	..	69	69	4	2	74	94	3	2
32.	Sultanpur	..	..	55	42	3	2	72	64	2	1
33.	Partabgarh	..	..	61	64	3	2	68	98	2	1
34.	Bara Banki	..	..	57	64	4	3	54	67	3	2
<i>Central India Plateau</i>				109	78	9	3	95	101	4	2
35.	Banda	..	..	96	66	8	2	78	88	3	1
36.	Hamirpur	..	..	105	77	7	1	90	94	3	1
37.	Jhansi	..	..	111	78	12	5	109	113	8	3
38.	Jalaun	..	..	131	99	7	3	106	115	4	2
<i>East Satpuras</i>				89	81	6	4	85	105	3	3
39.	Mirzapur	..	..	89	81	6	4	85	105	3	3
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>				72	61	4	3	76	86	3	2
40.	Gorakhpur	..	..	81	63	5	3	79	81	2	2
41.	Basti	..	..	72	66	4	4	72	83	3	1
42.	Gonda	..	..	64	61	3	1	77	92	2	1
43.	Bahraich	..	..	62	51	4	2	70	96	2	2
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>				100	86	9	4	93	102	6	3
44.	Benares	..	..	179	136	28	11	157	157	19	10
45.	Jaunpur	..	..	88	73	5	2	85	79	4	2
46.	Ghazipur	..	..	89	76	5	4	78	87	3	2
47.	Ballia	..	..	80	49	5	1	81	99	3	1
48.	Azamgarh	..	..	81	95	5	3	73	96	3	1
49.	Tehri	..	..	95	49	2	1	104	67	1	1
50.	Rampur	..	..	24	23	2	2	82	38	2	2

Subsidiary table VI.—*Education by caste.*

Cast.	Number per 1,000.						Number per 10,000 literate in English.			Number of primary scholars per 1,000 of males and 10,000 of female population.*	
	Literate.			Illiterate.			Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Brahman ..	119	209	10	881	791	990	43	79	2	49	25
Bhat ..	9	15	2	991	985	998	3	6	*	17	8
Bhainhar A ..	77	145	7	923	855	993	16	31	*	83	25
Taga A ..	44	74	5	956	926	995	27	49	1	54	19
Rajput A ..	61	108	7	939	892	993	17	31	1	40	21
Kayastha ..	329	549	79	671	451	921	434	779	21	115	75
Agarwal ..	236	391	30	764	609	970	186	319	7	..	..
Baranwal ..	158	272	24	842	728	976	18	32	..	..	..
Gahoi ..	204	393	8	796	607	992	8	15	..	..	..
Umer ..	124	238	5	876	762	995	11	21	..	..	..
Agrahari ..	96	181	8	904	819	992	6	12	..	..	..
Kandu ..	45	87	3	955	913	997	4	8	..	..	..
Kasaundhan ..	100	182	5	900	818	995	11	21	..	..	..
Halwai ..	73	129	4	927	871	996	13	24	..	..	..
Jat A ..	24	42	2	976	958	998	12	17	1	18	6
Ahir A ..	5	9	(.4)	995	991	(1,000)	1	3	*	4	1
Bari ..	10	19	(.3)	990	981	(1,000)	1	3	..	..	..
Barhai ..	12	23	2	982	977	993	4	8	*	14	8
Gujar A ..	7	13	1	993	987	999	1	2	*	7	7
Kachhi A ..	4	8	(.4)	996	992	(1,000)	*	1	..	4	2
Kahar A ..	5	10	1	995	990	999	1	3	*	..	..
Kisan A ..	4	7	(.5)	996	993	(1,000)	2	4	..	3	.06
Kori A ..	9	18	(.3)	991	982	(1,000)	2	4	..	2	.4
Kurmi A ..	12	24	1	988	976	999	2	5	..	15	2
Lodha A ..	6	10	(.3)	994	990	(1,000)	1	2	*	..	..
Lohar ..	12	20	2	988	980	998	2	4	*	10	4
Mali A ..	4	8	1	993	992	999	2	4	*	12	11
Murao A ..	4	7	(.3)	996	993	(1,000)	*	*	*	3	1
Nai ..	9	16	1	991	984	999	3	5	*	11	7
Sunar ..	78	141	6	922	859	994	18	33	1	43	45
Tamboli ..	15	27	2	985	973	998	5	9	..	..	..
Bharbhunja ..	13	23	1	987	977	999	2	4	..	..	..
Gadariya A ..	3	5	(.4)	997	995	(1,000)	1	3	..	2	.2
Kewat A ..	2	4	(.5)	998	996	(1,000)	*	*	*	2	2
Kumhar ..	3	5	(.4)	997	995	(1,000)	1	1	*	3	1
Mallah A ..	5	10	(.4)	995	990	(1,000)	1	1	*	..	..
Bhar A ..	1	3	(.2)	999	997	(1,000)	*	*	..	..	..
Kalwar ..	75	133	5	925	867	995	16	29	..	..	..
Teli ..	11	21	(.5)	989	979	(1,000)	2	3	*	13	5
Lunia A ..	6	12	(.3)	994	988	(1,000)	1	2	..	..	..
Dhanuk A ..	2	3	(.1)	998	997	(1,000)	..	..	..	..	..
Dhobi ..	2	3	(.4)	998	997	(1,000)	*	*	*	1	.3
Dusadh A ..	3	5	(.3)	997	995	(1,000)	2	4	..	..	..
Khatik ..	5	8	1	995	992	999	1	3	..	..	..
Pasi A ..	1	3	(.2)	999	997	(1,000)	*	*	*	1	.3
Bhangi ..	2	3	(.5)	998	997	(1,000)	1	1	*	.02	..
Chamar A ..	1	2	(.2)	999	998	(1,000)	*	1	*	.3	.1
Dom ..	6	12	(.5)	994	988	(1,000)	*	1	..	.4	..
Muhammadan Castes ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Julaha ..	13	22	2	987	978	998	2	3	*	..	..
Pathan ..	50	88	9	950	912	991	40	78	2	..	..
Saiyid ..	161	277	36	839	723	964	193	361	12	..	..
Shaikh ..	62	107	12	938	893	988	64	119	3	..	..

A = Agricultural.

* The figure of primary scholars for 1,000 males and 10,000 females are as follows for certain other castes :—
 Dhusear-Bhargava 58 males 95 females.
 Bania or Vaishya 70 " 78 "
 Koeri 7 " 2 "

Subsidiary table VII.—Number of institutions and pupils according to the returns of Educational department.

Class of institution.	1911.		1901.		Class of institution.	1891.	
	Number of—		Number of—			Number of	
	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.		Institutions.	Scholars.
Arts Colleges	35	4,231	28	1,697	Government—		
Professional Colleges	9	1,136	10	728	Colleges	8	1,306
Secondary Schools—					Secondary—		
English	232	47,324	242	30,820	English	49	7,974
Vernacular	380	45,261	304	29,450	Vernacular	337	26,168
Primary Schools	10,008	469,862	6,983	276,396	Primary—		
Technical and Industrial Education—					English	47	3,030
Training schools for masters	114	1,085	4	445	Vernacular	4,145	132,894
Training Schools for mistresses	17	313	2	103	Special	51	2,564
Other Special Schools	89	4,195	48	2,939	Aided—		
Private institutions, advanced schools teaching—					Colleges	7	903
Arabic	484	9,510	876	12,092	Secondary—		
Sanskrit	404	7,134	352	6,096	English	103	15,334
Elementary schools teaching—					Vernacular	8	760
Vernacular	2,090	31,669	3,483	45,982	Primary—		
Koran	1,351	17,192	1,586	16,751	English	46	2,458
Other schools not conforming to departmental standards	312	6,875	..	..	Vernacular	483	12,852
					Special	10	1,086
					Unaided—		
					Colleges	8	128
					Secondary—		
					English	6	851
					Vernacular	3	239
					Primary—		
					English	10	559
					Vernacular	27	724
					Special	2	163
					Indigenous	6,365	71,254

Subsidiary table VIII.—Main results of University examinations.

Examination.	1911.		1901.		1891.	
	Candidates.	Passed.	Candidates.	Passed.	Candidates.	Passed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Matriculation (Entrance)	3,458	1,451	1,723	607	1,745	653
School Final .. .. .	..	..	452	211	..	..
F. A. or Intermediate Examination, 1st B.A. or 1st B.Sc.	1,425	707	650	239	497	213
Degrees in Arts, B.A. .. .. .							779	371	319	175	169	96
Ditto M.A.	32	23	30	21	21	11
Ditto L.T.	31	27	..	..	..	..
Degrees in Science, B.Sc.	170	98	5	3	..	..
Ditto M.Sc.	4	4	..	..	..	..
Degrees in Medicine .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto Law	204	98	70	12	38	14
Ditto Civil Engineering .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..

Subsidiary table IX.—Number and circulation of newspapers, &c.

Language.	Class of newspapers (daily, weekly, &c.).	1911.	
		No.	Aggregate circulation.
English	Quarterly	8	4,150
	Monthly	29	31,537
	Bi-monthly	1	4,000
	Weekly	14	8,260
	Bi-weekly	1	1,100
	Daily	3	8,435
	<i>Total</i>	56	57,482
Urdu	Annual	2	600
	Monthly	61	40,332
	Bi-monthly	13	6,303
	Tri-monthly	1	600
	Weekly	36	26,273
	Bi-weekly	2	2,200
	Daily	1	300
<i>Total</i>	116	76,608	
Hindi	Quarterly	3	2,850
	Monthly	61	54,856
	Bi-monthly	11	7,125
	Weekly	10	10,900
	Bi-weekly	1	2,000
	<i>Total</i>	86	77,731
Roman-Urdu	Quarterly	1	300
	Monthly	1	300
	Bi-monthly	1	150
<i>Total</i>	3	750	
English-Roman-Urdu	Bi-monthly	1	500
	Weekly	1	1,500
<i>Total</i>	2	2,000	
Anglo-Hindi	Weekly	1	..
Anglo-Urdu	Monthly	1	500
Anglo-Bengali	Weekly	1	1,000
Urdu-Hindi	Monthly	1	425
<i>Total</i>	4	1,925	
Arabic-Urdu	Monthly	1	300
Roman-English	Monthly	1	100
Marathi	Monthly	1	1,000
Gujrati	Monthly	1	1,600
	Bi-monthly	1	500
Bengali	Monthly	2	4,500
Sanskrit	Monthly	4	1,250
<i>Total</i>	11	9,350	
Grand total	278	225,146	

Subsidiary table IX.—Number and circulation of newspapers, &c.—(concluded).

Language.	Class of newspapers (daily, weekly, &c.).	1901.	
		No.	Aggregate circulation.
English	Monthly	9	4,304
	Bi-monthly	3	1,050
	Weekly	16	5,300
	Bi-weekly	1	1,100
	Tri-weekly	1	200
	Daily	4	7,604
	<i>Total</i>	54	19,558
Urdu	Monthly	17	8,183
	Bi-monthly	8	1,890
	Tri-monthly	6	1,495
	Weekly	23	11,139
	Bi-weekly	1	400
	Daily	1	650
	<i>Total</i>	69	23,757
Hindi	Once in two months	1	1,000
	Monthly	21	9,695
	Bi-monthly	4	1,894
	Weekly	7	4,580
	Daily	1	250
	<i>Total</i>	34	17,419
Bengali	Monthly	1	250
Anglo-Urdu	Monthly	1	600
Arabic-Urdu	Bi-monthly	1	600
Hindi-Urdu	Monthly	2	400
	<i>Total</i>	5	1,850
	Grand total	142	62,584

Language.	Class of newspapers (daily, weekly, &c.).	1891.	
		No.	Aggregate circulation.
Urdu	Monthly	11	2,914
	Bi-monthly	6	1,025
	Tri-monthly	6	770
	Weekly	45	11,007
	Daily	1	540
		<i>Total</i>	68	16,256
Hindi	Quarterly	1	400
	Monthly	14	4,277
	Bi-monthly	2	200
	Weekly	6	2,625
	Daily	1	500
	<i>Total</i>	24	8,002
Hindu-Urdu	Monthly	4	1,522
	Bi-monthly	1	100
	Weekly	1	500
	<i>Total</i>	6	2,122
Anglo-Hindi	Weekly	1	400
Anglo-Urdu	Bi-weekly	1	469
Gurkha	Weekly	1	500
	<i>Total</i>	3	1,369
	Grand total	101	28,759

Chapter IX.—LANGUAGE (1).

265. **Introductory.**—The figures relating to language are given in imperial table X, but it is necessary at once to explain that as they stand they are extremely inaccurate. The rule for filling up this column in the schedule laid stress on the points that the language to be entered was that which the person enumerated *himself* returned, and was to be the language he spoke in his own home, i.e. his mother-tongue. The rule was perfectly clear: but for various reasons it was so much more honoured in the breach than the observance, that the figures relating to the provincial vernaculars are totally vitiated. Reversing the usual method, therefore, I propose to discuss the whole question of language and the causes that made for vitiation, before I deal with the figures themselves.

266. **The provincial vernaculars.**—According to the linguistic survey, this province has four vernaculars :—



- (1) Western Hindi, spoken from its western boundary to the neighbourhood of eastern longitude 81° (omitting the Himalayan tract).
- (2) Eastern Hindi, spoken from the eastern boundary of Western Hindi to the neighbourhood of eastern longitude 83°.
- (3) Bihari, spoken from the eastern boundary of Eastern Hindi to the eastern boundary of the province.
- (4) Central Pahari, spoken in the Himalayan tracts. Each of these four languages has several dialects.

It should be understood (in spite of many critics who affirm that the linguistic distinctions drawn by the Survey embody no real differ-

ences) that this classification is not arbitrary but actually corresponds to variations recorded centuries ago by the Indian grammarians who wrote of the Prakrits, the spoken language of their time. But it must be remembered that the classification is not understood by the common people. Says Sir George Grierson (India Report, 1901, page 250) they can understand the idea of "dialect" but not of "language," a speech embracing several connected dialects. They have names for those dialects, but they seldom know them, and they are quite incapable of classification in any case, for, apart from the fact that they are not sufficiently widely known, the same dialect bears different names in different places, and different dialects in different places bear the same name. In consequence it is impossible to make them a basis on which to frame a rule of classification. On the other hand, there is in this province one distinction which is commonly used, and fairly though not completely understood,

(1) Subsidiary table I.—Distribution of total population by language { (a) according to census.
(b) according to linguistic survey.

Subsidiary table II.—Distribution by language of the population of each district.

which also has the merit of being a real distinction. The average inhabitant of the United Provinces if asked what his language is will reply either Hindi or Urdu. He may not always clearly comprehend the difference between the two, and his vagueness of thought on the subject is not made any clearer by the fact that as like as not he will speak both at different times. He often has, too, reasons for answering in a particular way that are not linguistic in nature. And as a result, the totals of "Hindi" speakers and of "Urdu" speakers are not necessarily accurate. But at all events the two totals taken together do accurately represent the total number who speak the provincial vernaculars.

280. **The relation of "Hindi" to "Urdu."**—Hindi, like Hindu, is a word with several meanings: and, like Hindu, has been the subject of a controversy which was only possible because the controversialists used the word in different senses. If they had followed the well-known advice of a certain professor to "define your terms before you argue" that controversy could have scarcely arisen at all, and would in any case have lost all its importance by losing all its bitterness.

Originally, as Sir George Grierson tells us in the India Report of 1901 (page 331, paragraph 573), Hindi means *any* native of India, whilst Hindu means a non-Muslim native of India. Applied to language, therefore, Hindi means the language of any native of India (though the term should be restricted probably to natives of what is generally called Hindostan, i.e. Upper India). But it has two other senses as well. One is a loose name for any or all of the rural dialects spoken in the province. It was in this sense that it was used at this census and the last. The other is a name for that form of Hindostani which is written in the Deva Nagari character. Urdu is usually, but according to the linguistic survey incorrectly, treated as a synonym of Hindostani. Hindostani is a word of European manufacture which linguistically is used as the name of a particular dialect of Western Hindi: and by a common extension, which the linguists recognise, of that "polite language" or "lingua franca" which is the common speech in many respects of Upper India. Its progress from dialect to lingua franca or polite language may be briefly traced as follows. Originally it was simply one local dialect among other dialects: its habitat was the Upper Gangetic Doab and Rohilkhand. When the Muhammadans invaded India, they settled chiefly round Delhi and it was the particular Indo-Aryan dialect with which they came in contact. The conquerors spoke "Persian," the conquered "Hindostani;" they could not understand each other, and as always happens in such cases made efforts to do so. The result was Urdu, a language which according to Mr. Platts and Sir George Grierson grew up in the bazaars and camps attached to the Delhi Court—*zaban-e-urdu-e-muwalla*, or the language of the royal camp. Whether it was due to the efforts of the Muhammadans to understand the Hindus or of the Hindus to understand the Muhammadans is a debated question to which we need give no answer: probably the efforts were mutual. The new Urdu was a mixture of "Hindostani" (meaning this dialect of Western Hindi) and Persian: the grammar and most of the vocabulary was Hindostani, the rest of the vocabulary Persian. If a parallel is required to elucidate the position, English is to Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French as Urdu is to Hindostani and Persian. "Urdu" was invariably written in the Persian script and only differs from "Hindostani" in being more Persianized. "Hindostani," that is, non-Persianized Urdu, can be written in either script, Persian or Deva Nagari. "Hindi" in the second sense (and I may note that "Hindi" is not used in any other sense by the linguistic survey, vide India Report, 1901, page 331, paragraph 573) is simply Hindostani when written in the Deva Nagari script. But just as Hindostani can be Persianized and is then called Urdu, so Hindi can be Sanskritized. Just as unnecessary Persian words are grafted on to the Hindostani vocabulary by one school of writers, so too unnecessary Sanskrit words are grafted on to it by another school. It is then called (following Mr. Burn) "High Hindi." But "Urdu," "Hindostani," "Hindi," and "High Hindi", are always the same language; the grammar is one and a large part of the vocabulary is one.

268. **The growth of language in the provinces.**—(1) *The rural dialects.* Language was made for man and not man for language: and it may be taken as certain that if a language proves insufficient, man will modify it. Similarly if a number of persons living in close connection speak a multiplicity of languages, they will display a tendency to assimilate them. In this as in most directions, *anthropos metron*. Esperanto and other artificial experiments at a universal language are

instances of this tendency. Fixed natural boundaries tend to the unification of the languages spoken inside them and the differentiation of those languages from others spoken outside. Psychological and political unity tend also to unity of speech. People with the same habits of thoughts are apt to express those thoughts in the same way: people under the same government are apt to adopt the language used by that government. It was this unity of thought, government, and boundary which produced English out of the diverse elements which compose it—Anglo-Saxon, Danish, Welsh, British, Gaelic, Erse, Norman-French. Where, as in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, the older languages are still largely spoken, it will be noticed that the psychological, political, and physical environment are not so entirely homogeneous, or have not been homogeneous for so long a time. Irish and Scotch are people with habits of thought that differ from English habits and have not been so long, or so completely under the common government as other parts of the British Isles: whilst the Irish seas and the Scotch and Welsh mountains have tended to maintain the differences which have elsewhere disappeared.

In this province, there are, generally speaking, no physical boundaries of the kind described to act as a ring-fence to language. There has been no unity of government over the whole province till 1856, when Oudh was annexed. Few tracts have been under one rule for any length of time. And the result is that the spoken language is still multifarious. Linguists may set boundaries to this or that language, but they are admittedly indefinite. Between this language and that or this dialect and that, there is nothing in the nature of a great gulf fixed. Between dialect A and dialect B, indeed, there is always a vague hinterland where the dialect is not A or B but a mixture of both. From confine to confine of the province, dialects shade off one into another; and so we get not a single language which is spoken with minor differences of pronunciation and vocabulary in different parts of the country, as in England: but several languages, all cognate as all ultimately derived from Sanskrit, but different in grammar and possessing each its several dialects, which differ from each other not only in vocabulary and pronunciation but to a certain extent in grammar as well.

(2) *Hindostani*.—One dialect however has had a different history. We have already seen how the Muhammadan conquerors took possession of Hindostani and put it on a road which might have ultimately led it to the position of a common language. Force of circumstances prevented this consummation. Though Urdu was probably the usual medium of communication between rulers and ruled, Persian remained the official and literary language, so that the influence of the court and of literature was not thrown on the side of Urdu. The British Government at first maintained the practice of the Moghuls though Urdu became more and more the common speech of the educated and began to be a literary tongue: and at last in 1837 formally superseded Persian as the court language⁽¹⁾. This gave it a considerable impetus. People had to learn it if they would enter government service: and as a certain proportion were educated with no other object than this the orders of Government had a wider and also a speedier effect than they would have had in other countries. Urdu became more than ever a *lingua franca* spoken in certain circumstances by all who were educated, and understood to some extent by all whether educated or not.

269. **The influence of literature on the growth of language.**—When several languages, or several dialects of the same language are tending to assimilation, literature exerts a considerable influence in fixing the form that the language will ultimately take. It lays down a standard which language must conform to if it is to be “good” language. It has least effect on pronunciation (though poetry both in the matter of rhythm and rhyme to a certain extent influences this); it has a good deal of influence both on the vocabulary and the grammar. As regards the vocabulary, it affects the growth of language by casting aside old words and introducing new ones, usually from foreign languages, as for instance, modern French writers have introduced many English words into French. The literary standard varies from time to time, but there is always a standard.

The various Hindi dialects possess very little prose literature. It has little merit and is only a century old: Haris Chandra of Benares however deserves a special mention. There is a considerable volume of poetry which is valuable and

(1) At the time of annexation Urdu was the court language of Oudh.

extends over a long period : for instance Tulsi Das and Malik Muhammad wrote in Eastern Hindi, Sur Das and the Vaishnava reformers in Braj : there has also been some Bagheli literature. Nowadays verse is frequently written in Eastern Hindi and Braj. But such literature as exists has had no more effect on either the literary or spoken language than Burns or the kailyard school of Scotch novelists have had on English. Hindostani however has a considerable literature, though it is mostly modern. But it has flowed in two different channels. Before 1800 Hindu prose writers used Sanskrit, Muhammadans Persian as a literary medium : the former used the Deva Nagari, the latter the Persian script. Hindus, when they began to write Hindi, and Muhammadans, when they began to write Urdu, were both influenced by old associations, and the former stuffed their diction with Sanskrit words, whilst the latter did the same with Persian ones. In the latter case the evil was increased by the influence of official, especially legal phraseology, which was widely different from the language of ordinary conversation : the Indian Penal Code with its Perso-Arabic terminology is a striking instance. It was precisely as though English writers were divided into two schools, one of which used an ultra-Johnsonian style, the other an ultra-Anglo-Saxon style with many old Anglo-Saxon words, and intensified their differences by using two totally different scripts. For nearly half a century, however, the tendency of Urdu has been towards simplification : this is chiefly due to Government whose policy for some time has been to bring its official phraseology into closer relation with that of the people. Hindi however has grown increasingly "High." I need say little of the extravagance and the disastrous effect on language of this debased style, for Mr. Burn left nothing unsaid on the subject in 1901. It is a language which has not yet been galvanized into life. Pandits occasionally boast of their ability to speak it. Similarly professors at Oxford or Heidelberg could doubtless speak Latin. The mere fact that a few persons can speak a tongue matters nothing if nobody, not even the educated, can understand it, and High Hindi is totally unintelligible to the majority. It is sometimes asserted that High Hindi obtains dignity by being Sanskritized. It is a question of taste : but if it does obtain any dignity, it is the dignity of fancy dress. High Hindi is a thing of powder and patches badly put on. Of late there have been signs of a revolt against it and of a return to a simpler language. Books have been written in the Deva Nagari script, whose language is Hindostani pure and simple, with only such Persian or Sanskrit words as are or have become ingrained in the spoken tongue of the people. This is a hopeful sign, all the more so that it is in the hands of real scholars. Should it ever bear full fruit and High Hindi die a deserved death, there will be but one literary language, which, whether written in Deva Nagari or Persian, will consist of Hindostani, with the addition of such Persian and other foreign words as have become common and usual : a language, moreover, which is identical with that lingua franca which so many speak and understand (1).

270. **The influence of education on language.**—It has long been the policy of Government that the text books of its primary schools should be written in a single language, Hindostani, whatever script may be adopted. This principle was laid down in 1903 and has lately been reaffirmed. This is for various reasons opposed to the desires of many who press for text books in "separate languages",

(1) Oliver W. Holmes's poem "Aestivation", which is a piece of over-Latinized English, will convey a fair impression of what High Hindi must seem like to an Indian who knows no Sanskrit. I quote the first and last verses :—

In candent ire the solar splendor flames :
The foles, languescient, pend from arid rames :
His humid front the cive anhelng, wipes,
And dreams of erring on ventiferous ripes.
Me wretched, let me curr the quercine shades :
Effund your albid hausts, lactiferous maids.
Oh, might I vole to some umbrageous clump,
Depart—be off—excedo—evade—crump.

Anybody who takes the trouble to put these eight lines into ordinary English will see at once the vast difference between the two. The difference between "Hindi as she is spoken" and "as she is written" is not less.

The following story (told in the preface of Pandit Sudhakar Dube's *Rama Kahani Balakanda*) amusingly illustrates the vagaries of the school of High Hindi writers. He relates that a friend came to his house and finding him out went away. Next day on his way to the city he met his friend's servant, who gave him a letter in the following terms : " *Ap ke samāgam arth main gata devas ap ke dhām par padhāra : grah kā kapāt mudrib thā ; āp se bhent na hui : hatash hokar parāvartit hua.*" Further on he met his friend himself, who said to him " *Kal main ap se milne ke liye ap ke ghar par gaya thā ; ghar ka darwaza band thā ; ap se bhent nahin hui ; lachar hokar laut āya.*" He put his friend's letter in his hand and said "In the intoxication produced by seizing a pen you did not write in the simple terms you now use." The spoken words need no translation ; they are the ordinary Hindostani equivalent of the High Hindi of the letter. But in passing strictures on High Hindi it is as well to remember that English at one time suffered from a similar disease, when John Lyly's euphuisms and the mania for experimenting in classical metres infected even such writers as Philip Sidney and Spenser. "Love's Labour Lost" contains many examples : but there were pedants who talked it, as pandits talk High Hindi. "If one of that cynosural triad had been within reach of my humble importunities, your ears had been delectate with far nobler melody" says Frank Leigh in "Westward Ho!"

i.e. in High Hindi and Urdu respectively. It cannot be too often repeated that High Hindi and Persianized Urdu are not two languages, but simply two styles of writing the same language: the grammar is in both cases the same and it is only the vocabulary (and not the whole of it) which differs. So far however as Government can influence the situation, its weight is thrown on the side of the single language. But so far as obliterating local dialects is concerned, it must be admitted that education has so far done little or nothing. Boys at school learn Hindostani: but when they leave the school they put their knowledge to no use whatever, except, may be, to writing a letter. They go back to their villages to find that the language they have acquired is not used. They speak therefore the dialect they always spoke. The literate Indian as opposed to the educated Indian, i.e. the man who knows the three R's and no more, takes no interest in books or papers. One cause of this certainly is, that, written as they are in a pedantic style, he cannot understand them. The supporters of High Hindi of course allege this as a reason for teaching High Hindi in schools. It is, much more, only an additional reason for condemning High Hindi. But the result is simply that education has had as yet no effect whatever in unifying the language. Normally, as it becomes more widely spread, more people would know Hindostani; and as more people knew it, they would use it more amongst themselves. (It is improbable that it would ever entirely obliterate the local dialect however; just as in Scotland, where every boy learns English, he lays aside his English with his satchel and speaks Scotch as soon as he gets home, so probably in India the rural dialect would still be spoken at home, even when everybody was literate in Hindostani. But at all events, everybody could speak Hindostani, and would under certain circumstances.) At present not only does the boy not speak Hindostani at home, but he has no means of keeping his knowledge of it alive. There can be no question that in such circumstances he forgets it; at the least his knowledge of it does not improve by keeping.

271. **The need for a common language.**—Probably the most important influence which helps to produce a common language is its practical utility. And but for one circumstance the need of such a language would be no less severely felt in this province than elsewhere. An inhabitant of any given tahsil can doubtless understand the dialect of his own and all neighbouring tahsils and possibly those of several immediately beyond them; but a man from the Braj country can certainly not understand a man from the Bihari country, or a man from the Bundeli country one from the Pahari country. It is a fact with which government officials, used as they are to long transfers, are well acquainted. The most striking instance is the difficulty an Englishman who has never served in Kumaun has in understanding, say, his Garhwali *jhampanis*, when they are talking to each other (when they speak to him they generally use a broken Hindostani). But the population clings to its home in the most steadfast way, as the figures of birth-place prove; and in the absence of any considerable migration a man needs no more than his own dialect. But it is to be noticed that when he does, the tongue he uses or tries to use is Hindostani. Foreigners or superiors who speak that tongue to him he can understand well enough, if the vocabulary used be sufficiently simple; and he will endeavour to reply in the same way, though the result is usually a mixture of the grammar of Hindostani and of his dialect, and also a mixture of the two vocabularies.

272. **The comparative use of Hindostani and the rural dialects.**—On this question, the quotation given by Mr. Burn on pages 188 and 189 of the Report of 1901 is still a *locus classicus*: and I need only abridge it.

- (1) The educated Hindu, who speaks both Hindostani and a rural dialect, speaks the former to foreigners and other Indian gentlemen; and to male relatives, subordinates, and servants, at all events in the presence of outsiders. To his female relatives always, and to his male relatives, servants, and dependants in private he will speak a dialect. The choice of Hindostani or the dialect seems to be dictated by the consideration whether politeness or familiarity is most appropriate.
- (2) The educated Muhammadan, who speaks both Hindostani and a rural dialect, follows similar rules.
- (3) A large proportion of Muhammadans and a certain proportion of Hindus speak only Hindostani at all times, whether at home or abroad.

- (4) Hindostani is the only speech of educated and uneducated alike, over a considerable tract of country in the Upper Gangetic Doab and Rohilkhand.
- (5) The uneducated, whose dialect is not Hindostani, usually speak that dialect at all times ; but foreigners and superiors who address them in Hindostani, they can usually understand (even in backward tracts, in my own experience : Mr. Burn says, for instance, that Hindostani is not understood in Bundelkhand. Personally I have always found that it was). And moreover, in most tracts they will make an attempt to reply in the same language, though it will almost certainly be more or less broken.
- (6) Women, where a dialect is spoken, rarely know anything else. The use of Hindostani is never dictated by position, but by education. I have known a taluqdar who was little if at all educated ; he never spoke to anybody anything but Eastern Hindi.

273. **Hindostani as it is at present.**—Spoken Hindostani at the present day contains as a rule but a very small admixture of Persian words : and those that exist are fairly common. Well-educated Muhammadans and Hindus, especially the former, have a tendency to Persianism, especially when the speech is at all of the nature of a set oration, or when they are speaking to officials. This is due to nothing more than the oriental love for high-flown expressions. But such speech is really not so much akin to conversational as literary language. It also contains a certain proportion of English and other foreign words. I am not now referring to the pedantry which produces such phrases as Mr. Burn illustrated in 1901, of which the best example that has come to my own notice is this : “*Is position ka incontrovertible proof de sakta hun aur mera opinion yeh hai ki defence ka argument water hold nahin kar sakta hai.*” It is doubtless true that Indians speak not only to Englishmen but to each other in this way : it is the result of their having learnt in English. But this is merely a sort of pidgin Hindostani, just as the soldier in India speaks a pidgin English, mixed with Hindostani “*bat.*” The phrase quoted above is comparable to another phrase I heard from a British private “*Bring a mita pani and put some jaldi in it, or I’ll maro you in the dekho.*” But I refer to the addition of words expressive of ideas only introduced since British rule began. Municipality, board, electric, railway, tramway, town-hall, &c.—technical terms, many of which are used by school boys in their games (“*call kiya karo,*” a phrase used by one batsman to another, is an excellent example), or soldiers on the range ; or words which though translatable into vernacular, are better known in their English form : engineer, secretary, overseer, civil, assistant, and so on. These are perfectly legitimate loans, such as occur in every language. On the whole, it is possible to say that Hindostani, though occasionally high-flown (just as other languages are occasionally used in a high-flown style) is a natural language developing in a natural way. Nor are such cases of borrowing confined to Hindostani alone. Persian and English words form part of the vocabulary of the rural dialects as well. The presence of Persian words needs no proof,—*zamindar* and other similar terms are well known ; the following story will exemplify the use of English words by villagers. A young officer who was passing a language test was told to talk about steamers to the villager with whom he was conversing. He had in the first place no idea how to convey to him what he was trying to talk about. The conversation ran as follows : “*Samundar jante ho ?*” “*Nahin, sahib.*” “*Jahaz jante ho ?*” “*Are sahib, gharib manai jahaz kya janat hai ?*” “*Ganga ji jante ho ?*” “*Ganga ji ? ho.*” “*Wuh bari kishti jante ho jo D—se G—tak roz roz chalti hai ?*” (referring to a certain steam-ferry across the Ganges). “*Are, sahib, tumhari bat samajh parat hai—ishteamer !*” None the less, the rustic imagination is frequently quite capable of finding a thoroughly expressive vernacular word for a totally new idea. In many villages the aeroplane at the Allahabad Exhibition was known as “*chil-gari.*”

274. **Language according to the census schedule.**—The census rules desired a return of the mother-tongue, i.e. of the tongue (dialect or language) which was spoken at home ; or from another point of view the tongue which is not learnt from books in school, but by the child from merely hearing his elders speak it. On these principles, of the six classes of speakers mentioned in the paragraph above, the first, second, fifth, and sixth should have returned a Hindi dialect : the third and fourth alone, Hindostani or Urdu. But for reasons already

given it was hopeless to expect a correct return of all Hindi dialects, and it was also certain that the return would as a matter of fact be of Hindi or of Urdu. In such circumstances Hindi was taken to mean all vernaculars which were not Urdu. It will be easily seen that (even had there been no controversy to obscure the issues) complete accuracy would scarcely have been attained: many in the first and second classes, for instance, would have been uncertain what to enter. But with no outside influences at work, the figures would have been much more accurate than they are.

275. **The Hindi-Urdu controversy.**—But there were such outside influences, and even so much accuracy was not obtained. In 1901 a controversy had raged over the merits and demerits of Hindi (i.e. High Hindi) and Urdu as languages. The immediate cause was certain orders issued by Government in 1900 directing that court documents might be written in either script, and in some cases must be written in both. It was purely a question of script: nothing was said about language. But the question was taken up as a racial one and misinterpreted as applying to language. There was a good deal of excitement, and it is probable that the figures were to some extent vitiated thereby. At this census the controversy broke out again in a fresh form and with far more violence. The cause on this occasion appears to have been a discussion, which aroused a good deal of attention, about the nature of primary school text books. As early as 1903 Government had decided that only ordinary Hindostani should be used in the text books in whatever script they were written: but when they were revised in 1910, there was an attempt made to divorce the text books in the two different scripts and make the one a vehicle of Persianized Urdu and the other a vehicle of Sanskritized or High Hindi. The obvious course to adopt was the middle one, to choose passages which would bear reproduction in either script by avoiding both extremes. The course of the controversy on this point need not be pursued. It is sufficient to say that, as in 1901, the census schedule was dragged into it, and the question, which was really one of the style of text books, was misinterpreted as applying to the spoken languages. It is not difficult to show that the attack on the schedule was totally illegitimate and unjustified. High Hindi and Persianized Urdu, so far as they are spoken languages at all (and it has already been stated that the former is not spoken and the latter is spoken in a simpler form by most) are at all events languages which before they *are* spoken must be *learnt*. The census column relating to language had nothing whatever to do with such languages. It was solely concerned with mother-tongues in so far as they *are* mother-tongues: and a mother-tongue, as said above, is not a language learnt from books, but learnt by imitation. And the languages which children so pick up are either one or other of the rural dialects, or Urdu, in so far as it is a mother-tongue. It would be futile to deny that the dialects are so spoken and indeed I do not think that anybody did deny it. The controversy took another turn. One side asserted that Urdu was only a form of Hindi, the other that Hindi was merely corrupt (*bigari hui*) Urdu. It is unnecessary to discuss these assertions, in view of what has been said above. I need only now mention the results. Inter-racial controversy was particularly bitter at the time: it raged over the question of Hindu and non-Hindu, over language and many other matters, with which however census was not concerned. As in 1901, there were undoubtedly steps taken to cause the returns of language to be falsified: complaints were common that on one side the Hindu enumerators were recording Hindi whether the persons enumerated returned Hindi or not, and on the other side that Muhammadan enumerators were acting in the same way with regard to Urdu. I have no doubt whatever that such events did occur, chiefly in cities, where the agitation was hottest. Wherever I went on tour I was met by a more or less heated discussion on the subject. The feeling was intense and usually bitter: only in one place (Benares) did leading men show any good temper over it, even jesting over their various estimates of what I personally was speaking. And as a consequence, though the total of one language (Hindi) is not much affected, the total of Urdu is less by one-fifth than in 1901, whilst the district returns show in many cases absurd differences. It is not too much to say that the figures as they stand are evidence only of the strength or weakness of the agitation in particular districts. Simply because they refused to define their terms before they argued, or rather because they would not take the trouble to understand the terms

as used by the census authorities, the controversialists, who were really quarreling about the respective merits of certain styles as vehicles of instruction, succeeded in utterly falsifying a set of important statistics relating to something entirely different.

276. **Classification of Hindi dialects.**—The boundaries of the four languages given in 1901, with a slight alteration in the case of Bihari (*vide infra*) are as follows :—

Western Hindi (1) *Hindustani* :—Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bijnor, Moradabad, Rampur, Dehra Dun tahsil.

(2) *Other dialects* :—Rest of Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions, Agra division, Hardoi, Cawnpore, Jalaun, Hamirpur, Jhansi, Naini Tal Tarai.

Eastern Hindi :—Whole of Oudh (except Hardoi and Tanda tahsil in Fyzabad), rest of Allahabad division, Jaunpur (except Kerakat tahsil), all Mirzapur but Chakia tahsil.

Bihari :—Rest of Benares division, Gorakhpur division.

Central Pahari :—Almora, Garhwal, Naini Tal tahsil, Chakrata tahsil in Dehra Dun, and Tehri.

These boundaries are not always absolutely accurate ; e.g. the Central Pahari portion of Dehra Dun corresponds to Jaunsar-Bawar of Naini Tal to the hill pattis alone. Bihari includes, in Mirzapur, rather more than Chakia : but for the purpose of figures they are approximately accurate.

Hindustani.—The present total is 4,095,760 against 5,212,175 in 1901. The total decrease of 1,126,000 is absurd as are the variations in particular districts. The rates of increase vary from under 40 to over 200 per cent. and of decrease from under 10 to over 80. The districts of increase are Aligarh, Etawah, Budaun, Moradabad, Shahjahanpur, Banda, Hamirpur, Jhansi, Jalaun, Benares, Ballia, Basti, Azamgarh, Naini Tal, all six districts in Lucknow, Gonda, Sultanpur, Bara Banki, and Rampur. Of these—

- (1) Moradabad and Rampur can be neglected, as the only language should be Hindustani.
- (2) Budaun and Shahjahanpur can be neglected because the figures of 1911 appear on the whole more accurate than those of 1901.
- (3) Banda, Hamirpur, Jhansi, Jalaun, Benares, Ballia, Basti, Lucknow, Sitapur, Kheri, Gonda, and Sultanpur either show small increases, or small total figures which are not irremediably inaccurate. They too can be neglected.
- (4) Of the rest, Aligarh's total figure is probably too large. Its language is Braj, but owing to its position as a focus of Musalman enlightenment, it probably speaks a good deal of Urdu. The figures of 1901 were too low : but those of 1911 exceed the Muhammadan total population by 34,000, and it is dubious whether as many Hindus as that speak Urdu as a mother-tongue. I should estimate the figure of Urdu speakers at 155,000—about 8,000 more than the Muhammadan total. Etawah's increase is considerable, but its total figure is still low and probably nearer the truth than the figure of 1901. Azamgarh shows an increase of 9,800 or well over 200 per cent. Azamgarh's language is Bihari. Many Muhammadans, the descendants of Nawabi officials from Oudh, speak Awadhi, which they imagine to be Urdu. But even they are not so numerous as was once thought. Probably 3 Muhammadans in 4 among the rural population speak Bihari ; of the remaining fourth 3 speak Eastern Hindi to one that speaks Urdu. In the urban area, about half would speak Bihari (including most females) and of the other half, one-third would speak Urdu. The total figure may be put at 25,000 instead of 147,000 (as in 1911) or 48,800 (as in 1901). In Rae Bareilly the increase is from 12,000 to 30,000. The general language of both religions is Awadhi, but besides the normal number of educated persons who speak Urdu, there are towns where descendants of officials of the old Lucknow court live and Urdu is the usual speech. Such are Jais, Salon, and Nasirabad. I should put the figures at about 25,000. In Unao there are many Muhammadans, descendants of immigrants who speak Urdu. The increase is from 12,000 to 23,000, which does not appear excessive. The same applies to Hardoi. Of the districts that

	1911.	1901.	Variation— plus or minus.
Western Hindi—			
Hindustani (1) where spoken as prevail- ing dialect ..	6,029,870	6,567,000§	..
(2) elsewhere ..	2,194,523	1,916,000§	..
Total Hindostani ..	8,224,393	8,483,000§	..
Other Western Hindi dialects ..	13,573,344	..	..
Total Western Hindi,	21,797,737	22,123,962	-326,225
Eastern Hindi ..	15,258,486	14,905,238	+353,248
Bihari ..	9,412,841	10,056,056	-643,215
Central Pahari..	1,396,393	1,272,246	+124,147
Total Vernaculers ..	47,865,457	48,357,502	-492,045
	§ Estimates only.		

It must be understood that these figures, which are based on the boundaries given above, are not absolutely accurate, simply because the boundaries given are not; they correspond to the nearest tahsil. The figures marked § are estimates only; the other figures are taken from subsidiary table I to the Report of 1901, plus the States' figures for that year. The differences in Western Hindi and Central Pahari need no explanation, but the general losses caused by the vicissitudes of the decade; the figures of Eastern Hindi owe their increase to the reallocation of the Bihari boundaries (*vide infra*), and the same cause accounts for part of the decrease in Bihari. In the two cases respectively, the increase would have been greater and the decrease less but for the losses of the decade. The total decrease corresponds closely to the decrease of the total population (480,294), which was to be expected.

277. **The boundaries of the various dialects.**—These are —

Western Hindi—

- (1) *Hindustani*:—Dehra Dun tahsil, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bijnor, Moradabad, Rampur State.
- (2) *Hindustani mixed with Braj*:—Budaun, Bulandshahr.
- (3) *Hindustani mixed with Kanaujia and Braj*:—Naini Tal Tarai.
- (4) *Braj*:—Aligarh, Muttra, Agra, Mainpuri, Etah, Bareilly.
- (5) *Kanaujia*:—Farrukhabad, Etawah, Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit.
- (6) *Bundeli*:—Jhansi, Jalaun.

Western and Eastern Hindi mixed—

- (7) *Kanaujia—Bundeli—Awadhi*:—Cawnpore.
- (8) *Kanaujia—Awadhi*:—Hardoi.
- (9) *Bundeli—Nibattha*:—Hamirpur.

Eastern Hindi—

- (10) *Awadhi*:—Lucknow division (except Hardoi), Fyzabad division (except Tanda tahsil in Fyzabad), Fatehpur, Partabgarh, Allahabad, Jaunpur (except Kerakat tahsil), Mirzapur (except Chakia tahsil), and south of Son river.
- (11) *Bagheli*:—Mirzapur south of Son, and Banda.

Bihari—

- (12) *West Bhojpuri*:—Benares, Azamgarh, Tanda tahsil (Fyzabad), Kerakat tahsil (Jaunpur), Chakia tahsil (Mirzapur), western half of Ghazipur.
- (13) *South Bhojpuri*:—Eastern half of Ghazipur, Ballia.
- (14) *North Bhojpuri*:—Gorakhpur, Basti.

Central Pahari:—Naini Tal hill pattis, Almora, Garhwal, Tehri, Chakrata tahsil (Dehra Dun).

A glance at the above statement, especially such entries as (2), (3), and (7) to (9), shows the futility of attempting to give any figures for dialects. The "hinterland" between dialect and dialect mentioned in a former paragraph, is here seen to cover whole districts.

278. **The boundary of Bihari.**—Sir George Grierson in the linguistic survey gave the whole of Mirzapur to Bihari: Mr. Burn gave the Bhadohi and trans-Son portions to Eastern Hindi and the rest to Bihari. Sir George Grierson however wrote that he was uncertain of the true boundary, and Mr. Wyndham, Collector of Mirzapur, kindly instituted enquiries into the matter. He reports that Bihari is only spoken in Chakia tahsil (now part of the Benares State) andltappa Jasauli which is the eastern tappa of Bijaigarh pargana. It is also found along both banks of the Son as far as the Kanhar river, due to an influx of Bihari-speaking Mallahs from Arrah.

Eastern Hindi is spoken west of this line. A line running parallel to the Son and north of that river, which follows generally the line of the Kaimur hills running east and west, divides the Eastern Hindi portion into two. North of it the language is Awadhi: south of it Bagheli. Mirzapur therefore falls roughly into three parts:—(1) Bihari (tahsil Chakia and tappa Jasauli), (2) Awadhi, west of tahsil Chakia and north of the Kaimurs, (3) Bagheli, south of the Kaimurs and west of tappa Jasauli. For the purpose of extracting figures however it is not possible to go into more detail than is given in the statement of boundaries shown above.

279. **Other languages.**—(1) *English*:—Forty-one thousand six hundred and forty-six persons are returned as speaking English. This is 141 more than the total number of persons (Europeans, Armenians, and Anglo-Indians) given in table XVIII: but for this comparison 680 have to be included who speak other European languages, or a total of 42,326. The excess is easily explained by the fact that a certain number of natives of India, e.g. Goanese, probably speak nothing but English, and doubtless a certain number of Indian Christians do so too. The excess in the figure of 680 speakers of foreign languages, as against 488 persons who were not British subjects, is explained by the fact that many naturalized British subjects still speak their own mother-tongue. The distribution of English depends chiefly on the presence of cantonments and large civil communities. Lucknow leads the way with 6,673, with Allahabad a bad second (4,741): Agra, Dehra Dun, Saharanpur, Bareilly, Jhansi, Naini Tal, Almora, and Fyzabad, all show figures over 1,000. The absolute numbers are alone worth considering as the proportional numbers (subsidiary table II) depend so much on the size of the district population as a whole.

(2) *Punjabi* (27,288 persons):—The speakers of Punjabi are found chiefly in Moradabad (8,606). They are Pachade Jats who speak Punjabi mixed with Hindi: their increase at this census is due to more careful enumeration, coupled with their own desire to be recorded as speaking Punjabi. Nine thousand two hundred and thirty-nine more are found in the Meerut division, chiefly in Dehra Dun, Saharanpur, and Meerut: these are doubtless persons who have overflowed the boundary, though at Meerut, as well as at Allahabad, Jhansi, and Lucknow, the composition of the regiments cantoned there affect the figures. Save Ballia, no district is without one speaker of Punjabi: these men are chiefly traders.

(3) *Bengali* (22,562 persons):—Twelve thousand six hundred and seven speakers of Bengali are found in Benares where there has always been a considerable colony, which amounted to 9,812 in 1901. Two thousand four hundred and twenty-six are found in Lucknow, 2,275 in Allahabad and 1,692 in Muttra: an increase in the first and considerable decreases in the other two cases. The Bengalis are chiefly in government, railway, and mercantile service, but there are also obviously many pilgrims, as the figures for Benares, Allahabad, and Muttra show. No district is without one Bengali and only nine districts have less than ten.

(4) *Eastern Pahari (Narpali)*—18,280 persons):—The figures are trifling save in Kumaun (13,267), Dehra Dun (2,505), Benares (956), Gorakhpur (646), and Bahraich (720). In the two first-mentioned places they represent the Gurkha regiments and the Gurkha colonies: in Gorakhpur recruits and traders, in Benares pilgrims, political refugees and traders, and in Bahraich traders.

Of the other languages Tibetan (5,227) is spoken in Dehra Dun and Kumaun: the speakers are settlers and traders from Tibet. The Dravidian tongues (1,406) are found chiefly in Benares (998) and Allahabad (121), and are chiefly spoken by pilgrims. Four thousand five hundred and twelve of the 4,841 speakers of Persian are found in Aligarh. Most probably the majority really speak Urdu and represent the most rabid of the pro-Urdu agitators. The 2,050 speakers of Pashto are scattered all over the province and are mostly traders and soldiers. Marathi and Konkani (the latter represents the Goanese tongue) are spoken by 6,029 persons, of whom 2,600 are found in Benares, where they are settlers or pilgrims, and 628 in Jhansi, where the presence of Bombay-side regiments has doubtless affected the figures. Rajasthani (4,401 persons) is the language of the money-lenders and traders scattered all over the province in small numbers: and much the same is true of Gujrati (4,062 persons) of whom 1,543 are found in Benares. There are 118 speakers of Manipuri at Muttra, political deportees from that state after the affair of 1891. Three hundred and sixty-seven male speakers of Arabic are found at Aligarh: whilst the speakers of Chinese are found almost entirely in Kumaun and of Japanese in Lucknow, where there is a small colony. Of "other

European languages", Italian (285), French (152), and Portuguese (150), are alone important. No less than 8,804 persons reported themselves as speaking some "gipsy" dialect, an enormous increase since 1901, due probably to better enumeration. As matter of fact these gipsy dialects have little to do with the Romany tongues of Europe, though occasionally linguists have claimed to discover similarities between the two. From all accounts and specimens that I have seen they appear to have affinities to Hindi of some kind or another though the vocabulary is freely varied, generally so as to produce a sort of argot, or thieves' Latin. They are returned under 7 heads—Kanjari, Banjari, Haburi, Sansya, Natki, Kunchbandhi, Kanphata, and Pakhwi. The Kunchbandhia is a Kanjar subcaste: the Kanphata is a kind of Jogi and also a Tharu subcaste, but probably represents a new name for one of the many Nat subcastes. Kanjari, Haburi, Sansya, Natki, Kunchbandhi, and Kanphati are probably tongues no less cognate than the tribes themselves. Banjari is probably different. It is said to be akin to the Labana language. The specimens of Banjari and Pakhwi before me both come from Shahjahanpur, where a small colony of each tribe live together in the same village. Both have traditions that they come from the Punjab, where the Banjaras still go to trade in cattle. The others are a curious caste of Muhammadans whose special occupation is diving for turtles and also for other articles that have fallen into the water: but curiously they will only give away the turtles they catch. The Banjari tongue is said to be understood in the Punjab.

The following are some words from Banjari of this kind, which the Superintendent, Census Operations of the Punjab, tells me resemble the language of the Punjab Labanas:—

Water, *nirkha*; wheat, *bakasi*; milk, *gurna*; buffalo, *jhamsi*; village, *gram*; bullock, *dhor*; woman, *barigarbani*; cow, *behri*; fodder (bhusa), *tura*.

Instances of the Pakhwi dialect of the Pankhias or Pakhwias are—

Bed (charpoy), *katuri*; water, *bora*; food, *satani*; to call, *perna*; wheat, *katki*; crocodile (maggar), *badda*; eat (imperative), *khaja*.

I have lately seen a paper by Mr. W. Kirkpatrick (J. A. S. B., vol. VII, no. 6, 1911) on the vocabulary of the argot of the Kunchbandhia Kanjars. This of course is the gipsy dialect returned as Kunchbandhi. The Kunchbandhia Kanjars are a scattered and non-criminal section of this tribe; their name means "brush-makers," and they call this dialect "*pasī boli*". In this dialect the leading characteristics are the predominance of nouns and a systematic use of inflexions affixed to verbal roots, so that for ordinary conversation the code can be maintained by amalgamation with any ordinary local dialect. The words and phrases given below come from the neighbourhood of Delhi, so that the basic dialect is largely ordinary Hindostani. Bread—*dhimri*; caste—*jetheli*; burial—*khimti dubargo*; child—*chookha*; drink—*kurch*; to eat—*dath log*; gold-mohar—*khasarf*; house—*rib*; man—*khad*; rice—*kuthar*; rupees—*rika*; tobacco,—*romak*; woman, *loobhar*; well—*dhoan*; water—*nimani*; father,—*bapilo*; mother—*cha*, *antari*; numerals (one to ten)—*bek*, *dobelu*, *thibelu*, *chabelu*, *rachelu*, *chhebelu*, *sathelu*, *athelu*, *nabelu*, *daselu*; twenty—*biselu*; forty—*dobiselu*, and so on up to *nabiselu*, (180), their arithmetical limit. Of animals dog is *jhookal*, ox is *rail*, snake *sanpilo*. Dawn is *din nifargo* (the running day), death, *mikatch*; moon, *chuanda*; night, *khirth*; sky, *radul*; storm, *kandhi*. Some verbs are as follows:—Awake (imperative) *jagog*; bolt, *chakjao*; there it goes, *wo jaogda*; hide yourselves, *juggao*; move on, *nipharo*; he has gone to some place unknown, *rardes gaogiro*; he is sleeping, *turrah rahro*; I have seen, *maine tigro*. Thief is *khainch*; I know, *jando*; call out, *lalkaro*.

The Hindostani basis of most of these words is apparent. The root of the word for caste (*jetheli*) is *jeth*, a term of relationship. *Khimti* is *matī* altered by the preposed kh, just as *khasarf* is *ushrafi* similarly treated, and *khad* is *admi*. The numerals are all obviously the Hindostani figures slightly disguised: *rachelu* for *pachelu* will be noted, and is similar to *rail* for *bail*, *radul* for *badul* (clouds), *kandhi* for *andhi*, *rardes* for *pardes*. Elsewhere most of the consonants are altered but the vowels remain the same and the effect is that the Kanjar and Hindostani words rhyme: perhaps the best instance is *rika* (*sikka* a coin), but also compare *romak* with *tambak* (*u*), *cha* with *ma*, *antari* with *matari*, *dhoan* with *kuan*, *nimani* with *pani*. *Bapilo*, *sanpilo* are simply the Hindostani words with the "ilo" suffixes. The similarity of the roots of the verbs are obvious—*jagog* (*jagna*), *jando* (*janna*). *Khainch* for thief may be connected with *khinchna* to snatch. *Lalkaro* is not properly a patois word: *lalkarna* for *pukarna* is a

common Hindi dialectical alteration, and I have heard it frequently both in the Eastern Hindi form (*lalkaris*) and the Bihari form (*lalkarelan*). But if Mr. Kirkpatrick's "*Kunchbandhi boli*" is a fair sample of such argots, it makes it quite clear that these gipsy dialects are not really dialects, but cases of thieves' Latin, based on whatever happens to be the local dialect by altering the nouns and disguising the verbs with special suffixes; and consequently the dialect of the same tribe may be and doubtless is one thing in one part and another in another. The only connection with European gipsy dialects (Romany, Romanes, or Romnichal as it is called) that he has been able to trace lies in three words:—*jhokal* (dog which is *jhuket* or *jookal* in Romany), *mail* (Kunchbandhi for a horse), whilst *meila* is Romany for a donkey, and *loobhar* (woman) whilst *lubni* is a wench or hussy in Romany. Another point of importance to census authorities to which Mr. Kirkpatrick draws attention is the fact that these tribes have slang terms for their own tribal names, e.g. Bhantu (Rhantu), Bajania (Kanabia), Bawari (Pardi), Beriya (Jodia), Nat (Goar), Kunchbandhia (Gehara), Sampera (Jogi). The discussion of this really belongs to another chapter, but it may be mentioned here that some 700 Hindu caste names have been returned which represent some 150 or 200 real castes, and that of these far more than their share have been traced to the Nat-Kanjar group of castes.

280. **Proportional distribution of the figures.**—As recorded in the schedules 9,116 persons out of every 10,000 are shown as speaking Hindi and 853 Urdu: 9 speak English, 6 Punjabi, 5 Bengali, 4 Eastern Pahari, and 2 a gipsy dialect. One each per 10,000 speaks Persian, Marathi, Tibetan, Rajasthani, and Gujrati: no other language can boast one speaker per 10,000. As redistributed according to the scheme of the linguistic survey, there is nothing to add to the above information save that Western Hindi has 4,540 speakers per 10,000, Eastern Hindi 3,178, Bihari 1,960, and Central Pahari 291—totalling 9,969, the total of Hindi and Urdu in the other part of the table. A small fact that may be noted is the extremely polyglot nature of the Benares population. Every kind of Hindi, Burmese, the Dravidian tongues, Pashto, the Lahnda group, Marathi, Konkani, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Rajasthani, Gujrati, Punjabi, Western Pahari, Naipali, English, other European languages, Hebrew, Japanese, and the gipsy dialects are all represented. I can remember, when stationed there, trying a case in which seven languages were spoken and four interpreters were required. The languages were Hindi (Bihari), Urdu (Western Hindi), English, Gujrati, Bengali, Tamil, and what was called "Drawari" (1)—it was as a matter of fact Malayalam, I think: and cases where four or five languages were spoken were frequent. (There is of course practically no case throughout the province save parts of the West, in which three languages are not spoken, viz. Urdu, the local dialect, and English.) Benares is polyglot not only as a place of resort for pilgrims from all over India, and of European sightseers: but it also contains some political refugees, nearly all the great nobles of India have a palace there, and according to the local police, though I think they exaggerate, about one-fourth of the crime of all India is hatched in Benares.

281. **Distribution by natural divisions.**—A glance at subsidiary table II will show that Central Pahari is spoken nowhere save in Himalaya West. Western Hindi is the prevailing speech in four districts of sub-Himalaya West, the whole of the Western Plain, two districts of the Central Plain, and three of the Central India Plateau: but owing to the presence of Hindostani it is more or less spoken everywhere. Apart from the districts where it is the (or one) prevailing dialect, Hindostani is spoken chiefly in Lucknow (2,061), Bareilly (1,889), Agra (1,767), Aligarh (1,338), Budaun (1,259), Shahjahanpur (1,156), Bulandshahr (1,144), and Bara Banki (1,096), i.e. in the Muhammadan centres and where the presence of cities implies a large educated population. Eastern Hindi is the prevailing speech in the Central Plain, the East Satpuras, two districts in the Eastern sub-Himalayas, one in the Western sub-Himalayas and one in the Eastern Plain. Bihari is spoken chiefly in the Eastern Plain, and two districts of the Eastern sub-Himalayas. There is little variation from 1901 in this table save as regards Hindostani and it would appear that this is due to difference of treatment: wherever Hindostani is the prevailing dialect I have included the figures of both Hindi and Urdu (as returned) under Hindostani, which Mr. Burn in his table obviously did not do. Of other divisions, the differences in Himalaya West lie chiefly in Naini Tal, where apparently Mr. Burn assigned a larger tract to Central Pahari than I did: I assigned

(1) i.e. Dravidian.

merely Naini Tal tahsil. Accurately speaking, a large part of the Tarai and Bhabar population which emigrates yearly from the hills belongs to this linguistic division, but the figures at this census differ from those in 1901 in any case as the migratory population at census time was already returning to the hills to escape plague. The differences in sub-Himalaya West are trivial, and more trivial still in the Gangetic Plain (West, Central, and East) and the Plateau : in the East Satpuras, owing to the change of the Bihari boundary they are considerable. Nearly all the changes are due to variations in the record of Hindostani. The proportion of English speakers has increased in all divisions but the two eastern ones, and most strikingly in Himalaya West : of the districts of big figures, all show increases save Benares where the British garrison has been diminished. Punjabi shows a similar increase, due probably to the chances of military service : Bengali has decreased in Muttra and Allahabad and increased in Lucknow and Benares, "other languages" are important only in Himalaya West and scattered districts, but less so than in 1901 everywhere. Nothing need be said on this point as wherever a language exceeds 10 per 10,000 it is shown separately in the remarks column of this table.

I.—Distribution of total population by language.
(a) According to census.

Language.	Total number of speakers, 000's omitted.		Number per 10,000 of population of province (1911).	Where chiefly spoken.
	1911.	1901.		
1	2	3	4	5
United Provinces total (including States) ..	48,014	48,494	10,000	
Hindi	48,770	48,143	9,116	Everywhere.
Hindostani or Urdu	4,096	5,212	853	Ditto.
Tibetan	5	11	1	Kumaun, Dehra Dun.
Dravidian	1	2	*	Benares.
Persian	5	1	1	Aligarh.
Pashto	2	1	*	Saharanpur.
Marathi	6	6	1	Benares, Jhansi.
Bengali	23	24	5	Benares, Lucknow, Allahabad, Muttra.
Rajasthani	4	8	1	Etah.
Gujarati	4	5	1	Benares.
Punjabi	27	16	6	Meerut division, Moradabad, Lucknow, Allahabad, Jhansi.
Eastern Pahari or Naipali	18	24	4	Kumaun, Dehra Dun.
English	42	32	9	Everywhere.
"Gipsy" dialects	9	..	2	Meerut, Agra, Rohilkhand division, Kheri
Other	2	9	*	

Notes.—* Indicates a figure under 1 per 10,000.

(b) According to linguistic survey.

United Provinces Total	48,014	..	10,000	
Tibeto-Chinese family, 7 languages (1)	5	..	1	Kumaun, Dehra Dun.
Dravidian family, 5 languages (2)	1	..	*	Benares.
Indo-European family, Aryan sub-family, Eranian Branch, Eastern group—	..	..	..
(1) Persian	5	..	1	Aligarh.
(2) Pashto	2	..	*	Saharanpur.
Indian Branch, Sanskrit sub-branch, Southern group—				
(1) Marathi (3)	6	..	1	Benares, Jhansi.
Eastern group—				
(1) Bihari	9,414	..	1,960	Gorakhpur and Benares divisions.
(2) Bengali	23	..	5	Benares, Lucknow, Allahabad, Muttra.
Mediate group—				
(1) Eastern Hindi	15,258	..	3,178	Oudh, Cawnpore, Fatehpur, Banda, Allahabad, Jaunpur, Mirzapur.
Western group—				
(1) Western Hindi	21,798	..	4,540	Agra, Meerut, Rohilkhand divisions, Hardoi, Jalaun, Jhansi, Hamirpur, Rampur.
(2) Rajasthani (4)	4	..	1	Etah.
(3) Gujarati	4	..	1	Benares.
(4) Punjabi	27	..	6	Meerut division, Moradabad, Lucknow, Allahabad, Jhansi.
Northern group—				
(1) Central Pahari	1,396	..	291	Kumaun, Dehra Dun, (hill tracts).
(2) Eastern Pahari or Naipali	18	..	4	Kumaun, Dehra Dun.
European sub-family, Teutonic group—				
(1) English	42	..	9	Everywhere.
Unclassified—				
(1) "Gipsy" dialects (5)	9	..	2	Meerut, Agra, Rohilkhand divisions, Kheri.
Other languages (6)	2	..	*	

Notes :—* Indicates that figure is under 1 per 10,000.

- (1) Bhotia of Tibet, Ladakh, Bhutan, and Baltistan, Newari, Burmese, Manipuri.
- (2) Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Coorgi, Telugu.
- (3) 2 Dialects :—Marathi, Konkani.
- (4) 5 Ditto :—Rajasthani, Marwari, Bagri, Malvi, Rangri.
- (5) 8 Ditto :—Kanjari, Banjari, Haburi, Sansya, Natki, Pachwi, Kuchbandhi, Kanphati.
- (6) Other languages include :—
- (1) Indo-European family, Aryan sub-family, Eranian branch, Eastern group :—Baloch.
- (2) Ditto ditto Indian branch, non-Sanskritic sub-branch, Shinakhwar group :—Kashmiri.
- (3) Ditto ditto Sanskritic sub-branch, North-Western group :—Lahnda (Multani dialect) Sindhi, Kachi.
- (4) Ditto ditto ditto Eastern group :—Oriya, Assamese.
- (5) Ditto ditto ditto Western group :—Western Pahari (Kangri dialect).
- (6) Ditto European sub-family, Armenian group :—Armenian.
- (7) Ditto ditto Romanic group :—Greek.
- (8) Ditto ditto ditto :—Italian, French, Portuguese.
- (9) Ditto ditto Slavonic group :—Bohemian, Russian.
- (10) Ditto ditto Teutonic group :—German, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch.
- (11) Semitic family, Northern group :—Hebrew.
- (12) Ditto Southern group :—Arabic.
- (13) Mongolian family, Ural-Altai group :—Turkish.
- (14) Ditto Japanese group :—Japanese.
- (15) Ditto Monosyllabic group :—Chinese.
- (16) Malayo-Polynesian family, Malaya group :—Malay.

II.—Distribution by language of the population of each district.

District and natural division.	Number per 10,000 of population speaking—									Remarks.
	Western Hindi.		Eastern Hindi.	Bihari.	Central Pahari.	English.	Bengali.	Punjabi.	Other languages.	
	Hindostani or Urdu.	Total.								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
United Provinces	1,713	4,550	3,178	1,960	291	9	5	6	77	
<i>Himalaya, West</i>	2,655	2,655	..	..	7,145	41	1	15	143	Tibetan 85 E. Pahari 102.
1. Dehra Dun	6,943	6,943	..	..	2,626	160	1	97	173	Tibetan 27 E. Pahari 122.
2. Naini Tal	8,118	8,118	..	..	1,597	43	2	6	234	Tibetan 17 E. Pahari 213.
3. Almora	31	31	..	..	9,835	29	*	1	104	Tibetan 44 E. Pahari 59.
4. Garhwal	14	14	..	..	9,873	3	*	3	107	Tibetan 37 E. Pahari 68.
<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	4,714	7,799	2,168	..	..	11	1	7	14	Gipsy 11.
5. Saharanpur	9,954	9,954	..	..	..	14	2	21	9	
6. Bareilly	1,889	9,962	..	..	..	26	1	6	5	
7. Bijnor	9,989	9,989	..	..	..	4	*	1	6	
8. Pilibhit	744	9,995	..	..	..	1	1	1	2	
9. Kher	158	158	9,797	..	..	1	*	1	43	Gipsy 42.
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	3,483	9,969	..	..	..	8	2	11	10	
10. Muzaffarnagar	9,979	9,979	..	..	..	*	*	5	16	Gipsy 11.
11. Meerut	9,946	9,946	..	..	..	24	1	27	2	
12. Bulandshahr	1,144	9,998	..	..	..	1	*	*	1	
13. Aligarh	1,338	9,944	..	..	..	2	1	3	50	Persian 39.
14. Muttra	466	9,950	..	..	..	12	25	1	12	
15. Agra	1,767	9,947	..	..	..	34	2	2	15	
16. Farrukhabad	869	9,994	..	..	..	2	*	*	4	
17. Mainpuri	267	9,995	..	..	..	*	*	*	5	
18. Etawah	420	9,996	..	..	..	1	*	*	3	
19. Etah	551	9,972	..	..	..	2	*	*	26	Rajasthani 15.
20. Budaun	1,259	9,996	..	..	..	*	*	*	4	
21. Moradabad	9,925	9,925	..	..	..	3	1	68	3	
22. Shahjahanpur	1,156	9,996	..	..	..	1	*	*	3	
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	578	2,307	7,488	181	..	14	4	3	3	
23. Cawnpore	542	9,955	..	..	..	27	2	5	11	
24. Fatehpur	622	622	9,377	..	..	*	*	*	1	
25. Allahabad	919	919	9,015	..	..	32	15	9	10	
26. Lucknow	2,061	2,061	7,748	..	..	87	32	26	9	
27. Unao	257	257	9,741	..	..	*	*	*	2	
28. Rae Bareli	254	254	9,744	..	..	1	*	*	1	
29. Sitapur	259	259	9,739	..	..	1	*	*	1	
30. Hardoi	420	9,998	..	..	..	*	*	*	2	
31. Fyzabad	497	497	7,538	1,946	..	13	1	4	1	
32. Sultanpur	57	57	9,942	..	..	*	*	*	1	
33. Partabgarh	115	115	9,884	..	..	*	*	*	1	
34. Bara Banki	1,096	1,096	8,903	..	..	*	*	*	1	
<i>Central India Plateau</i>	188	6,844	2,936	..	..	11	1	8	12	
35. Banda	134	134	9,862	..	..	1	*	*	3	
36. Hamirpur	204	9,998	..	..	..	1	*	*	1	
37. Jhansi	204	9,904	..	..	..	34	3	24	35	Marathi 24.
38. Jalaun	226	9,993	..	..	..	1	1	*	5	
<i>East Satpuras</i>	70	70	9,272	653	..	3	1	*	1	
39. Mirzapur	70	70	9,272	653	..	3	1	*	1	
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	72	72	3,258	6,664	..	1	1	*	4	
40. Gorakhpur	77	77	..	9,918	..	1	1	*	3	
41. Basti	61	61	..	9,937	..	*	*	*	2	
42. Gonda	55	55	9,941	..	..	1	1	*	2	
43. Bahraich	91	91	9,895	..	..	1	*	3	10	
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	292	292	1,784	7,884	..	2	24	1	13	
44. Benares	718	718	..	9,051	..	9	140	7	75	} Dravidian 11, Marathi 29, Gujrati 17, Eastern Pahari 11.
45. Jaunpur	292	292	8,075	1,631	..	*	*	*	2	
46. Ghazipur	83	83	..	9,916	..	*	*	*	1	
47. Ballia	256	256	..	9,741	..	1	2	..	*	
48. Azamgarh	168	168	..	9,831	..	*	*	..	1	
Native States—										
49. Tehri (Himalaya, West)	2	2	..	..	9,985	*	*	11	2	
50. Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	9,996	9,996	..	..	..	*	2	*	2	

Note.—* Indicates that figure is under 1 per 10,000.

Chapter X.—INFIRMITIES (1).

282. **Introductory.**—Information was collected regarding four infirmities only, viz. insanity, congenital deaf-mutism, blindness and leprosy. These diseases were the same as at previous censuses. Save that the diseases were re-arranged in such a way that it was quite clear that the words “from birth” applied only to deaf-mutism and not to the other diseases as well, the instructions were the same as in 1901 (2).

283. **Accuracy of the statistics.**—It is necessary to remember that these statistics were collected by enumerators of a very low order of education and not by medical experts. It would be surprising therefore if there were not frequently errors in diagnosis. As regards diagnosing insanity, the difficulty lies in deciding the case of cretins and the weak-witted, or of persons whose unsoundness of mind is of a temporary nature. In respect of deaf-mutism, there is a tendency to include those who are merely deaf on account of old age. Amongst the blind are apt to be included the one-eyed or dim-sighted. As for leprosy, it is highly probable that many who were suffering from syphilitic taint, or from leucoderma—a disease which is sufficiently striking on an Indian skin—were included: and indeed leucoderma (“*sufed dag*,” i.e. white spots) and leprosy are frequently confused, as the members of the Leprosy Commission found. These are the chief directions in which error is likely to occur. On the other hand, with every census it is probable that accuracy increases, especially in the matter of insanity; whilst it is usually possible to detect any excess in the figures due to the inclusion of cretins, because cretinism is a form of unsoundness of mind that can be fairly definitely located. In this province too the word for “one-eyed” (*kana*) is quite distinct from the word for “blind” (*andha*) and I do not think that they are ever used as synonyms. Entries of “*kana*” were not infrequent. Both these and entries of “deaf” were of course neglected. Apart from errors in diagnosis, other errors may have occurred. It would be natural for the afflicted to omit mention of their diseases if they could, and though, as a normal thing, the enumerator (who, as a resident of the same village, knows perfectly well whether the persons he has to enumerate are suffering from a disease or not and could not be deceived) *might* not be acquainted with the facts (especially such facts as these) regarding women behind the purda; and secondly (since a large proportion of the sufferers of this nature are beggars who subsist on charity and wander about the country in search of it) he would not necessarily know as much about this class of person as about others. On the other hand, of these diseases leprosy is the only one which excites in India a feeling of contempt rather than of pity, and this would tell in the other direction. Again, parents are apt not to admit that their young children are diseased so long as there is any hope that they may ultimately be cured, and to hope against hope that their opinion is wrong until with time no room for doubt is left. The result is therefore that there is both a tendency to include amongst the infirm persons who do not come under the rules, and to exclude persons who do. The two tendencies cancel each other to some extent: but to what extent they do so, and in which direction the ultimate error lies, it is impossible to say. There are various considerations which throw light on the subject in the case of particular diseases: but it will be most convenient to consider these when I come to deal separately with each disease.

284. **The number of the afflicted.**—The total number of the afflicted as

Infirmity(1).	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
Insane ..	8,324	6,849	5,581	6,347
Deaf-mute ..	26,562	17,758	32,896	27,649
Blind ..	104,566	82,551	109,913	129,838
Leprosy ..	14,143	11,328	16,895	17,822
Total ..	153,595	118,486	165,285	181,656

shown at the last four enumerations is shown in the margin. On the total there has been a progressive decline up to 1901, which was most striking in the decade 1891—1901, and then a considerable rise, though the figures are lower now than at any time save 1901. The same is true of

(1) Figures for British territory.

(2) Subsidiary table I.—Number afflicted per 100,000 of the population at each of the last four censuses.

Ditto II.—Distribution of the infirm by age per 10,000 of each sex.

Ditto III.—Number afflicted per 100,000 persons of each age-period and number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.

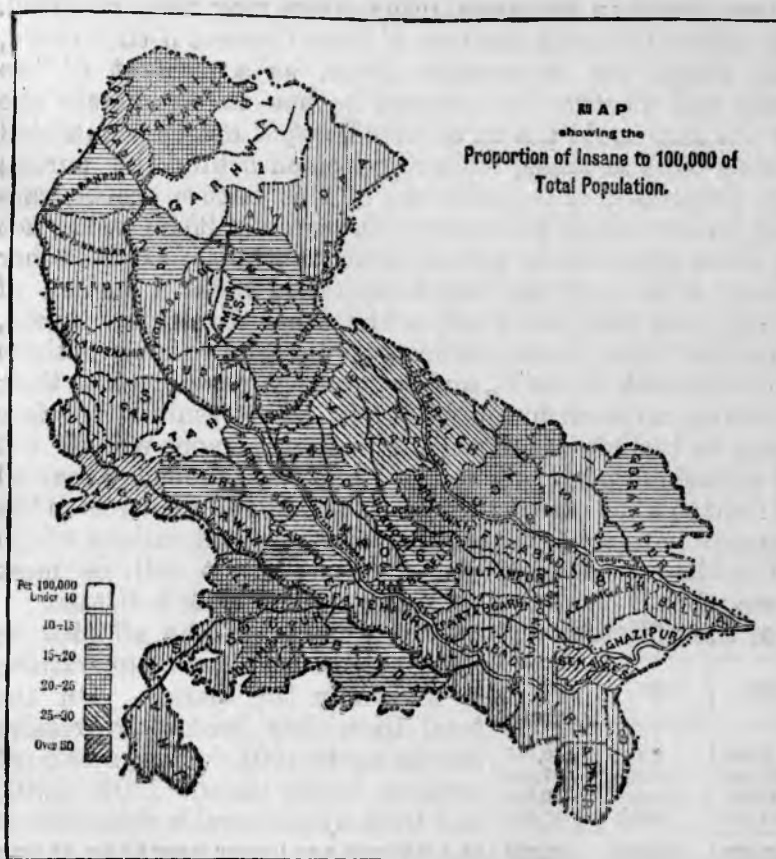
Ditto IV.—Number afflicted per 100,000 persons of each caste and number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.

(2) Great effects spring from small causes: and the fact that in vernacular the words “*paidaish se*” (from birth) in 1901 were placed in such a way that without straining language they might be supposed to apply to all four infirmities, possibly resulted in a decrease in the number of the insane, blind and lepers, and certainly gave a lot of trouble to the census staff.

blindness and leprosy, taken separately: as regards insanity, the lowest figure was in 1891 and the figure of 1901 was higher than that of 1881, whilst in 1911 it is higher than ever before. Deaf-mutism was highest in 1891 and lowest in 1901: the present figure is nearly the same as that of 1881. Between 1881 and 1891 there was therefore a general decrease save in the case of deaf-mutism: the decrease was common to almost all parts of India and was generally attributed to a more accurate enumeration (as also was the increase in deaf-mutes in this province). Between 1891 and 1901 there was another general decrease save in the case of the insane: this, again, was common to most parts of India and was again attributed partly to more accurate enumeration, though in part it may have been due to the vicissitudes of the decade, especially the famine of 1897, which would tell most heavily on these unfortunate beings who were least able to resist them. It will be easier to deal with the increase since 1901 for each disease separately; but the following arguments of a general nature may be advanced at this stage. Firstly, the increase is not an isolated phenomenon in this province; it has occurred elsewhere also (¹). Secondly, there is no reason to suppose that the figures of infirmity at this census have been less accurately taken than at former enumerations.

285. **Actual figures of insanity.**—There are now 8,055 persons returned as insane in British territory and 112 in the States, as against 6,849 and 73 respectively in 1901. The total increase is 17·4 per cent. in British territory and 17·9 per cent. in British territory and the States combined. Of this total 5,457 are males (5,532 with the States), and 2,598 (2,635 with the States) are females. The proportion of insane males to 100,000 of male population is 22 as against 19 in 1901, and 11 females as against 9.

286. **Distribution of insanity by natural divisions and districts.**—The



inset map shows the distribution of insanity in 5 classes. A glance at it will show that there are less than 10 persons of unsound mind per 100,000 of population in only 3 districts—Ghazipur, Etah and Garhwal. Excluding Agra and Benares, whose figures are vitiated by the presence of lunatic asylums, as is that of Bareilly, the tracts where insanity is most prevalent are (1) a block of 5 districts bordering on the Ghagra—viz. Sitapur, Bara Banki, Kheri, Bahraich and Gonda, (2) Jalaun and Hamirpur, south of the Jumna, (3) Tehri and Dehra Dun in the extreme north-west of the province. All

these have between 20 and 30 lunatics per 100,000 persons. Twelve districts, four of which lie either in or at the foot of the hills, whilst seven form a compact block in the centre of the province, show figures between 15 and 20 per 100,000; the rest have figures lying between 10 and 15. Of natural divisions the two Sub-Himalayan tracts with the Plateau and Eastern Plain have now the highest figures; the Himalayas and East Satpuras have the lowest. The distribution of insanity

(¹) In East Bengal and Assam and the Bombay presidency for instance. But I understand that these are not the only prov.nces.

has varied greatly since 1901, both as regards districts and divisions. The Western Sub-Himalayas stood first in both years; but the Eastern and Central Plains were 2nd and 3rd instead of 4th and 6th, and the Eastern Sub-Himalayas 4th instead of 2nd. The districts have varied in the same way. Out of the first seven districts in 1911 only three were in the first seven in 1901, and these three stand first, second and fourth now as against first, seventh and sixth then. Very little can be made of this district variation however, for the actual figures are so small. Twenty or thirty lunatics will upset the order by 3 or 4 places. And as regards the variation in the divisional figures, certain changes in the number and capacity of the various lunatic asylums have made a great deal of difference. The Lucknow asylum has been closed. This has made a difference of some 250 lunatics to the Central Plain and accounts for its lower place. The Agra asylum has been considerably enlarged which has raised the Western Plain a place. And when these facts are allowed for, the order remains much as it was, save that the increase in the Plateau figures has been so great as to bring it up to the third place (1).

287. **Proportion of the sexes.**—In most countries (except England, where female lunatics die or are cured less rapidly than males and consequently accumulate more rapidly) male lunatics are far more numerous than female lunatics. This is especially the case in India, owing to the seclusion and monotony of the life which females live, the fact that they do not indulge in the same excesses of various kinds as men, and that they are not exposed either to hardship or anxiety. In the United Provinces the proportion is something over 2 male lunatics to 1 female (2·1), and exactly the same as it was in 1901. It is all the more striking therefore to find nearly twice as many female as male lunatics in the isolated case of Dehra Dun; but since the figures are only 43 to 25, as against 20 to 39 in 1901, it is obvious that nothing can be based on the fact. Of the 43, 13 were found in one charge and 16 in another; whilst in the same charges were found 11 and 9 men respectively. One of these was in the Dun, the other in Chakrata and there seems nothing remarkable in either case. The persons concerned were all found scattered about in one's and two's in different circles. The proportion of male lunatics to females most nearly approaches equality in the hills (1·3 to 1), and in the East Satpuras (1·5 to 1) and the Plateau (1·8 to 1) the differences are also small; next comes the Central Plain (1·9 to 1) and then the other divisions, all lying between 2·1 and 2·6 to 1. It is, I think, fair to say that the proportion varies fairly accurately according to the share which the woman takes in the troubles and worries of life; the hill women and the women of the East Satpuras and Bundelkhand, where the castes are low and life hard, probably take a far more active part in agricultural operations and are more subject to the hardships and dangers which attend them than their sisters of the Doabs.

288. **Age distribution among the insane.**—The figures and diagram given in the margin are striking in many respects, and can be considered from several points of view. It will be noticed first that though the seriation is very much the same in 1901 and 1911, yet on the whole there were fewer insane persons of both sexes in 1901 in the first half of life and more in the second though at the highest age of all there were again fewer. This is a matter to which I shall refer again when considering the question of variations. Secondly, the difference in the seriation between

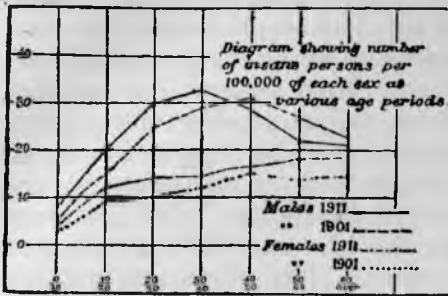
Distribution of 10,000 insane of each sex according to age.

	Males.		Females.	
	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.
0—10 ..	794	713	820	861
10—20 ..	1,781	1,706	1,813	1,799
20—30 ..	2,329	2,148	2,052	1,903
30—40 ..	2,103	2,210	1,738	1,894
40—50 ..	1,395	1,751	1,498	1,735
50—60 ..	665	903	959	929
60 and over ..	585	554	850	856
Unspecified ..	348	15	270	23

males and females is noteworthy. The figures are low in both sexes up to the age of ten, as is natural, for parents will not admit that their children are insane so long as there is any hope that they may be mistaken. There is a considerable increase in both sexes between the ages of 10 and 20, though probably owing to the cause just mentioned the increase is more apparent than real; it is however to be noted that the female figures are greater than the male figures at both ages, which is possibly due to the lower

(1) It may here be mentioned that when the number of lunatics in the asylums at Agra, Bareilly and Benares (as they stood on the 31st December 1910) have been deducted from the total, their figures become 12·2 males and 13·2 females per 100,000 of each sex in Agra, 24·8 and 13·8 in Bareilly and 11·0 and 6·0 in Benares, which puts them on a level with neighbouring districts.

esteem in which it is held; parents would not be so distressed by the insanity of a girl or conceal the truth even from themselves so long, whilst in the second



decade of life premature intercourse and child-bearing would have their effect. There is a very considerable increase indeed in the case of both males and females between 20 and 30,—the age when the passions are in fullest play—and then a decrease, which is more marked in the case of females. But as the diagram (which gives the proportionate figures of insanity according to the total population at each age-period) shows, proportionately to the total population, the rise in male insanity persists up to 40, though less

marked than in the former decade, whilst the female proportion is scarcely disturbed after the age of 20 till 40 is reached,—the age of change in female life,—when it rises up to the age of 60. The figures and proportion of males drop sharply after 40, from which it would appear that the chances of life of a male lunatic are less in later life than those of a woman lunatic, a fact which seems in accordance with English experience (already mentioned), so far as it goes. It is interesting to compare these figures with those of admissions to lunatic asylums. In the year 1910, the ages of the newly-admitted lunatics in United Provinces' asylums were as in the margin.

Ages of newly-admitted lunatics in 1910, per 10,000.

Age.	Males.	Females.
0—20 ..	657	645
20—40 ..	7,273	6,451
40—60 ..	1,818	2,420
Over 60 ..	252	484

Admissions under 20 are uncommon in both sexes: the figures of course are much smaller than the parallel figures in the whole population, simply because the young would not be sent to asylums till it became absolutely necessary, i.e. till they could no longer be looked after and restrained by their relatives, or became dangerous. By far the greater number in both sexes are aged 20 to 40, but the figure is higher among males, which corresponds with the figures observed in the total population;

though the former figures are naturally higher than the latter, because the prime of life would be the time when lunatics were most dangerous. From 40 to 60 the figure is still high, as it is in the total population, but females are proportionately more numerous than males—another point of correspondence. Finally over 60 the figures are low but considerably higher amongst females than males, which corroborates the fact, which emerges from the proportions on the total population, that female lunatics have a better chance of long life than males. The conclusion seems to be that the figures are not much disturbed by the return of cretins or the congenitally weak-minded as lunatics, but that the great majority of persons returned as insane belong to the category of lunatics properly so-called. There may be individual exceptions in the case of particular districts, as will be shown later; but the above statement appears to be generally true. Cretins would be most numerous at the earliest ages, and as their chance of life would be poor, there would be a drop in the figures by age-periods much earlier than is found in our returns, and after that drop the figures would be very low indeed. Since the opposite is very markedly the case, it seems obvious that cretinism cannot possibly enter into the census returns of insanity to any great degree.

289. **Variations since 1901.**—There is no advantage in taking the variations in individual districts simply because the absolute numbers are so small that it is unsafe to base any deductions on them. But if one neglects proportions and looks at the absolute figures themselves, it will appear that the absolute increase has been greatest in two tracts: the first consists of Banda, Hamirpur, Allahabad, Jhansi and Jalaun, and the second of Gorakhpur, Basti, Sitapur, Kheri and Gonda, to which we may add Bahraich in view of the fact that its figures are very high though there is an actual decrease. Both these tracts are well defined. The former consists of the Plateau *plus* Allahabad, of which a large part belongs really to the Plateau; almost the whole of this tract is south of the Jumna. The latter consists of the Eastern Sub-Himalayan division *plus* Sitapur and Kheri, of which two one district (Kheri) is also Sub-Himalayan, whilst all six border on the Ghagra river. It looks therefore as if there was some peculiarity about these tracts themselves to account for the increase. As regards the first tract, at all events, I think that the comparative age distributions of 1901

and 1911 afford a clue. The diagram given above shows the two curves. As regards males the curves are parallel as far as 40, but the 1901 curve rises above that of 1911 between 40 and 50 and remains above it till the end of life. There was in consequence a greater proportion of male lunatics from 40 to 60 in 1901 than in 1911. As regards females the curves are fairly parallel till 50; but between 50 and 60 the 1901 curve drops instead of rising, which means that there was a smaller proportion of lunatics of this age in 1901 than in 1911. The famine of 1896-7 probably accounted for a good many lunatics at all ages; in a time of stress their relatives could not assist them and they would suffer accordingly. But males would suffer comparatively less in the second half of life than in the first, simply because they would on the whole be rather less helpless and also better able to resist famine; whilst it is possible also that the anxieties of this period of stress might actually cause an increase in lunatics at this period, since anxiety of this kind would naturally fall most on the elder men, the fathers of families. In the case of women however a female lunatic at the age of 50 would be a weakly old crone ill able to resist famine; and the number at 50 and over might well go down considerably. In a word famine would seem to affect male lunatics chiefly at the lower end of life and female lunatics chiefly at the higher end of life; that it should affect the ends of life rather than the middle is in accordance with the effect of famine on the general population. The famine of 1907-8 did not affect the lunatic population in the same way, simply because the people were content to wait on Government and stayed at home, whilst gratuitous relief, which would of course reach lunatics, was poured in from the very beginning. In the second tract the explanation is probably different. The Eastern Sub-Himalayan region is the particular home of goitre, deaf-mutism and cretinism, all of which are inter-connected. In all these districts the number of deaf-mutes has greatly increased, and it is probable that the actual number of cretins has increased also. Though I do not think that cretinism has passed into the lunacy figures to any very considerable extent, yet where cretins are very numerous it is obviously quite possible that some cretins may have been returned as insane, at all events in sufficient numbers to account for a considerable part of the variations which, though comparatively large, are actually small enough. Another small point leading to the same conclusion can be extracted from the returns of double infirmities. In Gorakhpur and Gonda, where double cases of cretinism and deaf-mutism might be expected to be common and the double infirmities were carefully recorded, not a single case of insanity *plus* deaf-mutism was found. It is quite possible therefore that a number of such persons were shown only as insane, when it would have been more correct to show them as deaf-mutes. If an enumerator has a choice of diseases to enter and decides to enter only one of them, it is a mere matter of chance which he will enter, but the chance is obviously in favour of his entering a deaf-mute cretin as insane, which might well seem to him to cover the whole situation, and this tendency would be increased by the fact that of two diseases he would probably choose the one first mentioned in the rule, which was "insane," whilst deaf-mute was the fourth. It may be noted that in both these tracts plague and malaria were comparatively slight, so that the particular vicissitudes of this decade can have had little effect on the situation.

290. **Insanity in various castes.**—The table XII-A shows the figures for 34 castes, selected as being those which showed the largest absolute numbers of afflicted persons of various kinds (1). The high castes show much the largest proportions; the highest of all as regards males is the Kayastha. Next comes the Shaikh, and third the Bania; fourth is the Brahman. Other castes with high figures are the Darzi, Koiri, Murao, Pathan, Rajput, Kahar, Julaha and Mali. Generally speaking, the amount of insanity varies with social position; the lowest proportions are shown by the Dhobi and Kewat, whilst the Chamar, Dhunia, Gadariya, Kisan, Lodha, Luniya and Pasi have all low figures also. Amongst females the Shaikh shows the highest figures of all and next the Pathan; third comes the Darzi and then the Mali; whilst the Bania, Dom, Kayastha and Koiri have also fairly high proportions of female lunatics.

(1) These figures, it may be mentioned here, were taken out for the whole province, and consequently the difficulty noticed at last census when the figures were taken out only in the districts where the caste was most numerous, disappears. It was impossible to say of figures taken out by that method whether their nature was due to peculiarities of the locality or peculiarities of the caste. This is not an objection which can be raised against the present figures as nearly all the castes are widespread.

The following general conclusions emerge from the figures:—

(1) Muhammadans suffer more than Hindus. Not a single Muhammadan caste has a low figure: the four chosen, Shaikh, Pathan, Darzi and Julaha all have high figures, and besides these four, there is no Muhammadan caste of any size save the Saiyid. Of the four, Shaikh, Pathan and Darzi have higher female figures than any Hindu caste whatsoever.

(2) As already stated, amongst Hindus insanity varies with social position. The provincial mean for males is 22·1: the only comparatively low caste with a higher figure is Kahar; the only comparatively high castes with a lower figure are Ahir, Jat (with a very low figure indeed) and Kurmi. Here to some extent locality may influence the figures. Though Kahars are numerous everywhere, they perhaps form a larger share of the population in the two Sub-Himalayan divisions than anywhere else. It is here of course that insanity is highest. Jats are found chiefly in the Western Plain where insanity is low; but the Jat is in any case a level-headed, unexcitable, stubborn person whose mental equilibrium would not be easily disturbed. The figures for females are rather less conclusive. The provincial mean is 11·5; the Bhangi, Dom, Gadariya, Kahar, Kumhar, Nai and Pasi are all more or less low castes with figures higher than this, whilst the Rajput is below that figure. The Doms' figures are affected by the fact that he is chiefly a hill-man where insanity in the two sexes is most equally balanced. As regards the others, the women probably take a far larger share than usual in the work of the men and are consequently more liable to the causes which make for a higher degree of male insanity.

(3) The Christian community however possesses more insane persons than any single caste. The reasons are probably as follow. The Anglo-Indian is known to be particularly liable to insanity: it is possible that miscegenation, which so often produces a child with the weaknesses and vices of both parents and the physical and mental virtues of neither, may be a predisposing cause. The number is in all probability further swelled by the Christian orphanages. Children of weak intellect pass into these institutions in various ways, thereafter to be classed as Christians. And lastly the European is a stranger to India; his life is often one of considerable mental strain and anxiety, the climate is against him, and (among certain classes) he may be further submitted to temptations of a kind that may lead to insanity.

291. **Causes of insanity.**—The causes of insanity must be ultimately either

Natural divisions.	Order in respect of—	
	Insanity.	Deaf-mutism.
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	1	3
Ditto East ..	2	2
Central India Plateau ..	3	7
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	4	4
Ditto West ..	5	5
Ditto Central ..	6	6
Himalaya, West ..	7	1
East Satpuras ..	8	8

climatic, physical or social. As regards climatic causes, the close connection between goitre, deaf-mutism and cretinism has already been alluded to, and from the figures in the margin it will be noticed that there is a general correlation between the distribution of the two in point of relative incidence. The Himalayas are a notable exception; with more deaf-mutism than any other division they stand very low in the order of insanity, whilst the Plateau, which stands high as regards insanity, stands low as regards deaf-mutism. Generally speaking, both infirmities are common at the foot of the hills (i.e. in the two Sub-Himalayan tracts) whilst deaf-mutism but not insanity is common in the hills themselves. But all this shows is that at the foot of the hills there is a particular combination of circumstances which predisposes to both insanity and deaf-mutism, whilst in the hills themselves, that combination is so modified that it produces a great deal more deaf-mutism and rather less insanity. This proves nothing, for obviously in that combination may be included circumstances of a totally different nature some making for one disease some for the other. And though, as I have pointed out, cretinism cannot enter very greatly into the returns of insanity, yet in one or two districts, which belong to these tracts, it is possible and even probable that cretins (whether or no also deaf-mutes) have been shown as insane in sufficient numbers to affect the district and divisional proportions without leaving any noticeable mark on the provincial figures or the age distribution. Fifteen or 20 such cases in any one district would make all the difference, whilst such a number of cases could easily occur where cretins are in abundance, as in Gorakhpur and Gonda. There is not therefore any certainty that the figures of insanity of these divisions are as high as they appear.

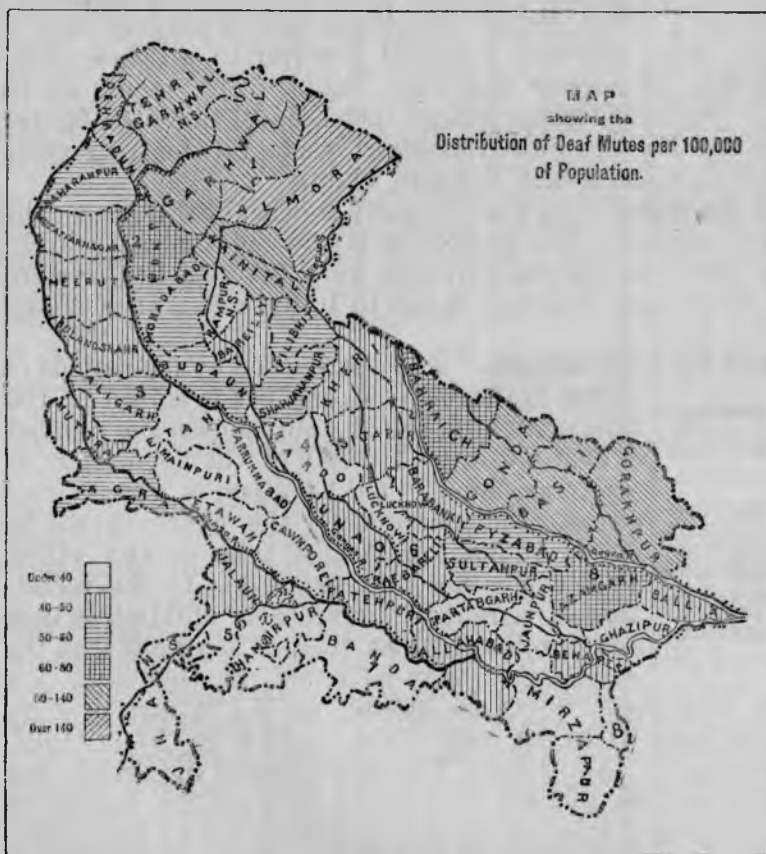
As regards physical and social causes, it will be interesting to consider

Cause.	Males.	Females.
Indian hemp ..	174	..
Other intoxicants (1) ..	55	2
Fever ..	30	14
Epilepsy ..	51	17
Congenital or hereditary ..	34	10
Exposure to sun or heat ..	10	2
Adolescence ..	43	..
Puerperal ..	..	14
Climateric ..	..	1
Senility ..	9	3
Privation ..	2	2
Previous attacks ..	58	15
Confinement in jail ..	4	1
Syphilis ..	2	..
Other physical causes (2) ..	62	19
Moral causes ..	91	63

(1) Spirits, opium, and preparations of it.
 (2) Shown as, "&c, &c."

the causes returned in the case of the insane persons confined in our asylums. The figures are given in the margin and refer to the total treated during 1910. It will be noticed that despite the findings of the Hemp Drugs Commission to the effect that the moderate use of *ganja*, *charas*, and *bhang* do no harm to the brain, the opposite view is still widely taken (1) and certainly hemp drugs when taken in excess, or when there is any hereditary predisposition to weak-mindedness, would have their effect, as the Hemp Drug Commission indeed admitted. Other intoxicants are much less harmful though spirits are responsible for 21 (2) cases: from the figures it seems probable that only a few cases are due to those poisonous decoctions of opium, *madak* and *chandu*.

Previous disease, fever or epilepsy, accounts for a number of cases; "adolescence and puerperal" exist in numbers which explain the high figures from 10 to 30 in the case of both sexes. By "moral causes" is doubtless meant immorality of all kinds and the figure is very high in both sexes. They too would affect chiefly the age of passion and that immediately succeeding it, namely 20 to 30 or 35. Though the majority of these causes are classed as physical from a medical point of view (as indeed they are directly) yet from other points of view and indirectly some of them are social. Such are the use of intoxicants of all kinds; the sexual excesses which come under "moral causes" must also be added to this class, whilst the figures under adolescence and puerperal are probably also affected by the custom of early marriage. For the fact that Muhammadans suffer more than Hindus noticed above, we may perhaps blame the fact that they are more given to the use of the most deleterious forms of drugs, *madak* and *chandu*; whilst those who claim that consanguineous marriages predispose to insanity can also point to the excess of insanity amongst Muhammadans in proof of their theory.



292. Actual figures of deaf-mutism.—

There are 27,125 deaf-mutes in the province, of whom 26,562 are found in British territory, as against 18,175 in 1901, of whom 17,758 were in British territory. This represents an increase of 49·8 per cent. Of these, 16,763 (16,426 in British territory) are males and 10,362 (10,136 in British territory) females. The increase in male deaf-mutes since 1911 is 44·4 and in female 57·8. The proportion of male deaf-mutes to 100,000 of male population is 67 and of female deaf-mutes to 100,000 of female population is 45, as against 46 and 28 respectively in 1901.

293. Local distribution of deaf-mutes.—The inset map shows the distribution of deaf-mutism over

(1) It must be remembered that these are the alleged causes though they are presumably not recorded till after they have been carefully enquired into.
 (2) One asylum has put all its returns of this kind under "other intoxicants".

the province. The major portion of the centre and south shows a proportion under 40: this is about the same as the provincial average of 1901 (38·0 per 100,000) and much below the present provincial average (56·6 per 100,000). To this may be added all the districts which have between 40 and 50 deaf-mutes per 100,000: and we shall then find that the whole of the Jumna-Ganges Doab, except Saharanpur, the whole of the Ghagra-Ganges Doab except Fyzabad, Sultanpur and Azamgarh, with Rampur and Bareilly in Rohilkhand, all districts south of the Jumna, and those south of the Ganges after the junction of the two rivers, are all sub-normal in the matter of deaf-mutism. All districts lying south both of the Himalayas and the Ghagra may be classed as normal, as they have figures between 50 and 60 per 100,000, save Bijnor and Azamgarh; whilst the abnormal districts are the four districts and one state lying in the hills, Bijnor lying at their feet, the four districts lying north of the Ghagra and between that river and the Himalayas, and Azamgarh lying south of the Ghagra. In a word deaf-mutism is in excess to the north of the province and grows progressively less to the southwards.

The table in the margin explains the variations in distribution since 1901

Natural divisions.	Males.		Females.	
	Order in—		Order in—	
	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.
Himalaya, West ..	1	1	1	1
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	2	2	2	2
Ditto West ..	3	7	3	7
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	4	4	4	6
Ditto West ..	5	8	5	8
Ditto Central ..	6	3	6	3
Central India Plateau ..	7	6	7	5
East Satpuras ..	8	5	8	4

for natural divisions and by sexes. It will be seen that in both sexes and at both enumerations, deaf-mutes were most numerous in the Himalayan and Eastern Sub-Himalayan tracts: but the Western Sub-Himalayas and Western Plain, which formerly stood lowest in the list, now stand 3rd and 5th respectively. The variations in the others, so far as they affect the order, can be neglected, for the differences between them are not great and in 1901 were most trivial. Generally speaking therefore the local

distribution is the same now as it was ten years ago. It must be also noticed that only six districts (Etah, Lucknow, Unao, Hardoi, Bahraich and Ghazipur), show a decrease as regards males; and nine districts (Almora, Garhwal, Lucknow, Rae Bareli, Hardoi, Partabgarh, Bara Banki, Hamirpur and Mirzapur) show a decrease as regards females; that decrease is trivial however in all these last-named districts, save Hardoi, Hamirpur and Bara Banki. The points to be explained therefore are (1) the considerable general increase, (2) the high figures in the Western Himalayan and Eastern Sub-Himalayan tracts, (3) the very great increase in the Western Sub-Himalayas and Western Plain.

294. Proportion of the sexes.—As with insanity so with deaf-mutism, the males greatly outnumber the females. The proportion is now 16 males to every 10 females as against 17 in 1901: the natural divisions vary between 19 (Western Plain) to 14 (Himalaya West and Plateau) males to 10 females. In England the proportions in 1891 were 12 to 10.

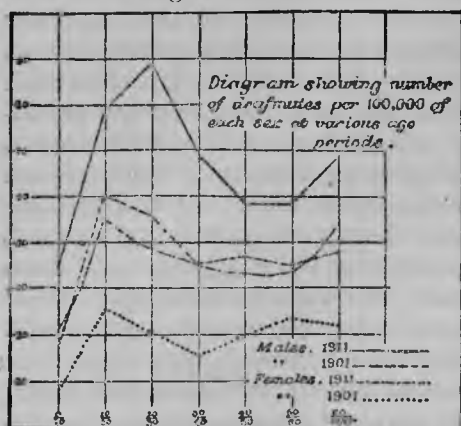
295. Age distribution by deaf-mutism.—The distribution by age-periods of

Age.	Males.		Females.	
	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.
0—10 ..	1,736	1,476	1,859	1,592
10—20 ..	2,449	2,757	2,250	2,415
20—30 ..	2,344	2,073	2,023	1,863
30—40 ..	1,488	1,433	1,508	1,380
40—50 ..	923	1,091	1,029	1,170
50—60 ..	558	663	642	837
60 and over ..	502	494	689	709
Unspecified ..	..	13	..	34

10,000 deaf-mutes of each sex is shown in the margin: whilst the diagram shows the number of deaf-mutes to 100,000 of the population at each age-period. Deaf-mutism is a congenital disease, and consequently the figures should be higher at the lowest ages than at any other. That this is not the case is due to the reluctance of parents to brand their children as deaf and dumb so long as there is any hope that the aural defect may be cured, or that they are

mistaken. This makes a very great difference indeed, as can be seen by comparing the present figures at ages 10 to 20, with those aged 0 to 10 in 1901. The former are the survivors of the latter. The death-rate of the decade was 39·3 per cent. of the population born in 1901. It would be a tedious matter to calculate the death-rate which has affected the deaf-mutes aged 0 to 10 in 1901, nor is it necessary for present purposes. Taking it at 40 per cent. (which would be a fair average rate inasmuch as the death-rates at the age-period 1 to 5 have been much higher than this, and in any case the mortality amongst deaf-mutes

would be higher than that in the



ordinary population), then the 6,303 deaf-mutes aged 10 to 20 would represent 60 per cent. of the deaf-mute population aged 0 to 10 in 1901, and the true figures of that year would be nearer 10,000 than 2,696, the recorded figure. After the age-period 0 to 10, the numbers should diminish very quickly: but owing to the facts mentioned above, the diminution does not commence till after 20. Then however it is regular and from 30 the decrease is very great. The reason of course is that deaf-mutes have not much longevity and their numbers at the higher ages should be very small indeed.

The diagram in the margin is important as throwing light both on the accuracy of the statistics and the variations since 1901. In 1901 the male curve rises till 20 when it drops slightly till 30 and sharply from 30 to 40. This is in accordance with the fact that deaf-mutes have a short span of life. But between 40 and 50 it rises slightly and after a fall rises again from 60 onwards. Both rises and fall are slight, but they are contrary to the natural order of things which demands a continued fall. In 1911 the highest point is transferred to 30; the fall is continuous till 50; then the figures remain constant and rise considerably from 60 onwards. The female curve of 1901 is normal till 40, but then rises considerably till 60 and then falls. The female curve of 1911 is normal till 60 and then rises.

296. Causes of the variation in the age distributions of 1901 and 1911.—

The first point that strikes one as probable on considering these curves is that both in 1901 and 1911 there must have been some inaccuracy in the returns; and that it took the form of including as deaf and dumb old persons who were merely deaf. The rises in the male curve of 1901 from 40 to 50 and from 60 onwards, in the female curve of 1901 from 40 to 60, and the rises in both curves in 1911 from 60 onwards all seem to point that way. But it should not be forgotten that there are two terms involved in the figures which produce this curve—the total population as well as the number of deaf-mutes, and a decrease in the former would contribute to the increase in the ratio, as well as an increase in the latter. We find for instance that in 1901 there is a fall in the male curve between 20 and 30, whilst there is a rise in it in 1911. Now the decade 1901—11 has suffered from plague and malaria, and these diseases have affected the period 20 to 30 at least as much as and probably more than other periods. But the great majority of the deaf-mutes live in Himalaya West and the Eastern Sub-Himalayan division; and in the former tract plague and malaria were totally absent, whilst malaria was totally absent in the second, and plague by no means severe. Deaf-mutes therefore have not been affected by the vicissitudes of the decade in the same measure as the total population has—a fact which affects not only the increase at 20 to 30 amongst males, but at all periods amongst both sexes. The same consideration applies with even greater force to the age-period 60 and over. The mortality amongst the very old has been appallingly high: but this has not been the case amongst the deaf-mutes, who reside chiefly in localities where the disasters which decimated the old did not occur. In 1901 however the deaf-mutes suffered from the effect of famine, just as the insane did, proportionately more at the ends of life than in the middle; but whilst males suffered most at the lower end, females suffered most at the higher end.

297. Accuracy of the statistics.—It is extremely difficult in the case of deaf-mutism to base any conclusions as to the accuracy of the statistics on the age distribution. The cardinal fact is that, so far as is known, deaf-mutism is almost invariably congenital. There have been cases reported of acquired deaf-mutism, but they are regarded with suspicion because of the tendency of parents to ascribe it rather to some post-natal accident than to admit it to be from birth. Consequently anybody aged 10 or over who is a deaf-mute in 1911 must have been a deaf-mute in 1901, and the deaf-mute population aged 10 and over of 1911 represents the survivors of the total deaf-mute population of 1901. Here however we are faced with the difficulty that it is impossible to say what that population really was. I have already estimated that the number of deaf-mutes under 10 in 1901 was

about 10,000, as against the 2,696 that are recorded. Even if we worked on that basis, the figures still remain unsatisfactory: for the survivors of 1911 are then only some 3,000 short of the estimated total of 1901, which gives a death-rate of about 14 per mille per annum for the decade, obviously far too low. But a further difficulty arises. Indians are very ignorant of their or anybody else's age, but probably more so of deaf-mute age than any other kind. Deaf-mutism like cretinism is a form of arrested development, which is both bodily and mental. I have myself seen a deaf-mute child aged about 8, who looked no more than 2. If Indians find it difficult to state age correctly when a person looks his age, they will find it much more difficult when he does not. This would probably affect the age figures of deaf-mutes in two ways. Concealment would go on not only till the child was 10, but possibly to a much later date: and the 10,000 I have estimated would consequently be too small a figure. Secondly, the parent knowing the child was much older than he looked might very well exaggerate his age in his efforts to get nearer the truth, and so it is quite possible that the deaf-mute ages generally are less than they are said to be. We should then get a deaf-mute population considerably larger than it is reported to be, of which the major part would be under 15, but concealed, whilst the rest would be really much younger than the census returns show.

If on these principles we increase the population of 1901 by a figure larger than 10,000 (say, at a venture, 15,000), to allow for concealment up to the age of 15: and neglect in the figures of 1911 rather more than the figures aged 0 to 10, on the ground that some of those aged 10 to 15 are really aged less, we shall then get more reasonable figures, and a death-rate (estimated as above) of about 45 per mille per annum, which at all events is nearer the true death-rate. But clearly such calculations are totally unsatisfactory, and indeed merely serve to emphasize the topsy-turvyness of the ages of deaf-mutes and the impossibility of relying on any arguments based upon them as a test of the accuracy of the total. There is only one fact based on the age distribution which can throw any reliable light on the matter. Since the deaf-mute who is aged over 10 now must have been deaf-mute in 1901, then if the increase is real, all the increase should be in the age-periods 0 to 10. Owing to the inaccuracy in the age distribution and the omissions of young deaf-mutes, the statement in practice has to be modified; it is safer to take the age-period 0 to 15 than 0 to 10. We then get the population of 1911 divided into two parts (1) 0 to 15, total 8,249, representing new accretions since 1901, (2) 15 to end of life, total 18,313, representing survivors of 1901. We may assume the errors due to omission to be constant at each decade, and to consequently cancel each other. We then find that 8,249 out of 8,704 (the total increase) is in the earlier ages, representing new accretions since 1901.

But this does not show necessarily that the statistics are accurate; it merely shows that they are no more and no less accurate or inaccurate than those of 1901, and that so far as can be seen the increase is real and not due to any difference of system in enumeration. As regards deaf-mutism there was indeed no such difference: the rule was precisely the same and I based my instructions on Mr. Burn's⁽¹⁾. The enumerators were carefully warned to discover whether the infirmity was or was not congenital and to enter no cases save those where both deafness and dumbness were present. But though they are as accurate as those of 1901, there is no doubt in my mind that the figures are not really accurate for several reasons. There is, first of all, the obviously large concealment of youthful deaf-mutes—a concealment with which it is impossible not to sympathize. There is, secondly, the great inaccuracy of the age return. There is, thirdly, the uncertainty as to whether deaf-mutism can be acquired after birth, which possibly vitiates every conclusion that is usually come to on the subject. There is, fourthly, the obscurity of its connection with cretinism. Cretinism⁽²⁾ may be defined as "endemic idiocy" of which the chief characteristic is an arrested development of body as well as mind. Generally the cretin is deaf and dumb, or able to utter only "a hoarse cry"; the power of articulation is frequently wanting. In such circumstances it is extremely probable that our deaf-mute returns include a number of cretins who are dumb, or inarticulate, but not (necessarily) deaf. Such a cretin would be unable to give a rational reply to a question and he might very well pass as a deaf-mute, though not really deaf, and rather inarticulate than mute: nor do I see how a person of the

(1) The only modifications indeed that I ever introduced into Mr. Burn's instructions were those which he himself suggested as advisable. But in this case I was particularly careful to do no more and no less than he; for in this particular case it seemed essential that whatever the figures represented, they should represent the same thing as his did.

(2) *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article on "cretinism."

mental calibre of the average enumerator or villager could possibly be expected to draw the fine distinction involved. Lastly, there is the possibility that persons who have become deaf in old age are entered as deaf-mutes. I do not think that any enumerator was ever guilty of this error. The words for deaf and dumb were *gunga bahra*, and it would be impossible for him, if he knew the truth, to enter *gunga bahra* when he knew the person to be only *gunga* or only *bahra* (1). But entries about deaf-mutes were naturally communicated by third parties and it is quite conceivable that they, misunderstanding the enumerator's questions, stated persons who were only deaf to be both deaf and dumb. There is no reason why such an error should occur more in the latter ages than at any other age, save that deafness is especially a disease of age. In short the deaf-mute return includes many who are cretins and some who are merely deaf, and excludes a great many who are really deaf-mutes; whilst the age distribution is far from correct. These errors however are repeated at every census and (save in so far as there were more people to make mistakes about), I do not think that the errors of this census are more numerous than those of 1901.

298. **The causation of deaf-mutism.**—So far as is known, deaf-mutism is an endemic disease or, to be more accurate, cretinism and goitre are endemic diseases, and deaf-mutism is sometimes a concomitant, sometimes a supplement of both. Cretins are often deaf and dumb, cretins often have goitres: deaf-mutes are often found in families of whom the other members are cretins, and are also found as a class in or in the neighbourhood of a cretin district. There are doubtless many deaf-mutes where cretins and goitre are not found: but they are rare compared to the number found in cretin districts. Deaf-mutism in this second case appears to be an inherited disease: that is to say in a family which has had deaf-mute members, deaf-mutism is prone to recur: and it apparently goes by sex, tending to affect the males in some families and the females in others (2). Of such cases as this, it is impossible to say more than that they doubtless follow the law of heredity. In this connection it may be noticed that at successive enumerations, the figures of deaf-mutism have alternately risen and fallen. It is a matter of common knowledge that inheritances of this kind tend to skip a generation, and I believe that the principle has now scientific acceptance. It may be that this fact has contributed to produce this alternate rise and fall, though of course it is impossible to dogmatize about it; for it would not follow that the free and affected generations were the same in all deaf-mute families or even in a majority of them, and the figures of earlier enumerations are too dubious to make it safe to base any theories on them. But it is clear that the fact (if in the case of deaf-mutism it is a fact) must affect the figures in some way or another, though it is impossible to estimate its effect. The most numerous cases of deaf-mutism however are those which are connected with cretinism and goitre.

The causation of cretinism and goitre appears to be entirely obscure. So much is certain that they appear to be entirely local or endemic. Healthy parents coming to a cretin district produce children with goitres or cretins: and diseased parents (i.e. with goitres) often lose their own goitres and seldom produce diseased children if they remove to untainted districts. The phenomenon is not confined to any race. "The Whites, the Indians, the Negroes and the half-breeds of Central South Africa . . . the Malayas and Dyaks of Borneo, the Mongolians of Nepal, Siberia and the Kwang Tung Mountains in China, the Berbers of Mount Atlas" are all subject to it in certain localities. Nor is it confined to one elevation or character of surface. It is found on the seashore (Viborg and the mouth of the St. Lawrence), on inland plains (Lombardy and Alsace), at moderate elevations (the Pyrenees), and on high plateaus (Peru). Temperature does not affect its presence: it is found both in the Algerian deserts and the Siberian frost-bound plains. Neither climate nor diet nor social circumstances are responsible (3). "The general result of many abortive theories is that some local telluric conditions must be ascertained"; or, in other words, when all other elements of environment are wiped out, there is nothing left common to all these cases but the presence of the earth, and consequently something in the earth is

(1) He occasionally entered only one of these; of course such entries were neglected.

(2) It has been objected that deaf-mutes do not marry. It is not necessary that they should. It is only necessary that members of families should marry in one or the other of which deaf-mutism is heritable. Cf. Reid's *Laws of Heredity*, page 189.

(3) It may be added that inhabitants of a particular district may change but cretinism remains. "*Quis iumidum guttur miratur in Alpbibus*?" writes Juvenal. Shakespeare also writes of "mountaineers dew-lapped like bulls." (*Tempest*, Act III, Sc. 3.)

the cause—which, to say the least of it, is vague. It has always been supposed that water is a contributing cause; there is so much in favour of it, that goitre has been artificially produced by the use of water to evade conscription, and has been known to disappear before the effect of proper water works. But nobody knows what is the poison that the water conveys. Generally speaking, the two most scientific views are that (1) the human body requires a certain normal proportion in the chemical elements which it consumes, and that goitre results when particular elements are lacking (1); and (2) that the human organism is dependent for its health on the chemical constitution of the soil; and that a certain soil constitution produces the disease (2). From all this one fact emerges, that it is necessary to demarcate as far as possible the area in which cretinism *plus* goitre, *plus* deaf-mutism occurs. Mr. Burn in 1901 located them chiefly in the alluvial tract on the north bank of the Ghagra in Tarabganj tahsil, and at the foot of the Nepal hills: along the Ghagra in both Fyzabad and Gonda, but not in Basti; and generally in the soil known as *kachhar* or new alluvium along the Rapti, though the effects cease as soon as the rivers leave the hills.

299. **Local distribution of deaf-mutism in certain districts.**—I have carefully examined the returns of several districts with a view to amplifying these statements. I give the results of this examination below.

Bhiraich district.—Deaf-mutism is found chiefly in the south-western part of Hisampur pargana, and in a less degree in thanas Khairighat and Nanpara. The whole forms a tract influenced by the Ghagra which bounds it, and many of its tributaries, especially the new and old Sarjus. The tract is low-lying (*tarhar*), moist and alluvial, upon a substratum of sand. There is also a tract of similar land chiefly in thana Ikauna along the Rapti, where deaf-mutism is common. Goitre is very prevalent.

Kheri district.—Deaf-mutism is mostly found in Nighasan tahsil (thanas Dhaurahra, Nighasan, Isanagar and Palia). This is a tract lying between the Ghagra (east) and Chauka rivers (south and west); the Chauka is also known as the Sarda. It is perhaps most common where the two rivers approach each other (they ultimately join). The soil is again largely alluvial; and goitre is found in the tract.

Bara Banki district.—Deaf-mutism in this district is found chiefly in the immediate neighbourhood of the Gumti (both banks), in thanas Subeha and Ramsanehighat; and not, as might be expected, along the Ghagra.

Fyzabad district.—Deaf-mutism is found chiefly in thanas Raunahi, Tanda and Ramnagar, all along the Ghagra banks; the soil is largely alluvial.

Azamgarh district.—Deaf-mutism is found chiefly in the *kachhar* lands along the Ghagra and between it and the Chhoti Sarju and Tons rivers, in the northern tracts of the districts. The thanas chiefly concerned are Atraulia, Ahraula, Maharajganj, Dohri, Raunpar, Kandhrapur and Madhuban. Goitre and cretinism are also prevalent in this tract.

Garhwal district.—Deaf-mutism is found chiefly in parganas Barahsyun, Badhan, Chandpur, Dewalgarh, Dasauli, Painkhanda and Ganga Salan. This is a tract which, roughly, runs like a sort of wedge through the district from south-west to north-east, and corresponds on the whole to the course of the various rivers which ultimately become the Ganges. The chief of these is the Alakhnanda, formed by the junction of the Vishnuganga and Dhauliganga (Painkhanda). The Alakhnanda then runs through or bordering Dasauli and Dewalgarh till joined by the Nandakini, and then along the border of Barahsyun and Ganga Salan till it meets the Bhagirathi and becomes the Ganges. Other tributaries are the Pindar (from the Pindari glacier) and Nayar. There is also some deaf-mutism along the upper reaches of the Ramganga. It is to be noticed that iron and copper mines used to be worked, that copper pyrites is not uncommon and, generally speaking, iron and copper abound in the soil. Goitre is common especially in the north (Painkhanda).

Almora district.—Deaf-mutism is chiefly found in parganas Barahmandal, Chaugarkha, Danpur, Gangoli, Johar, Sira, Shor and Askot. This corresponds roughly to the drainage basin of the Kali river system, of which the chief rivers are the Kali and yet another Sarju which after uniting leave the

(1) Iodine, phosphates of lime, and magnesium have all been mentioned.

(2) In connection with this, cretinism has been found to exist chiefly in metalliferous districts especially where iron pyrites and copper pyrites predominates. For the whole question see the article on cretinism in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

district at Barmdeo; this is the river which we have met in Kheri as the Sarda or Chauka river. Almora also possesses copper and iron mines and the pyrites of both are common. Goitre of course is well known.

Dehra Dun district.—The deaf-mutism in this district is found chiefly in Chakrata and that part of Dehra Dun tahsil which lies on the Himalayan slopes (thanas Chakrata, Sahaspur, Rajpur, Mussooree and Dehra). The Dun itself is almost free of it. The rivers which affect this tract are mostly the Jumna and its tributaries of which the chief is the Western Tons. There are also some tributaries of the Ganges but save in their upper reaches they hardly touch this tract. Copper exists in Jaunsar-Bawar. Goitre is very common⁽¹⁾.

Bijnor district.—Deaf-mutism seems to be almost confined in this district to a tract watered by the Gangan, Khoh and Ramganga rivers: the two former are tributaries of the latter. Goitre is found chiefly in the east of the district (i.e. in this tract) and the north (i.e. probably along the upper reaches of the same streams): but there appears to be little or no deaf-mutism in the north.

300. **Summary.**—The above are the districts which, with Gonda and Gorakhpur (into whose cases Mr. Burn inquired in 1901), possess most deaf-mutism. And the conclusions which appear to emerge from the details given are as follows. Deaf-mutism exists chiefly in three well-defined tracts. The first lies in part of Garhwal and Dehra Dun (with Tehri). These districts contain the upper reaches of the Ganges and Jumna and their tributaries; and deaf-mutism conjoined with goitre is found chiefly along them. These rivers however, if they are the cause of the infirmity, soon lose their noxious properties when they leave the hills. The next consists of parts of Garhwal and Bijnor, along the Ramganga river and its tributaries: but this river too ceases to cause deaf-mutism to any extent, once it gets into Moradabad. The third tract lies in Almora, Kheri, Bahraich, Gonda, Fyzabad, Azamgarh and to some extent Gorakhpur, along the banks of the Ghagra and its tributaries the Sarda, the Sarju and the Rapti. The evil properties of the Ghagra seem to persist as far, at all events, as Azamgarh, though less in some parts than others (e.g. Basti and Bara Banki). There is also a fourth less important tract in Gorakhpur along the great Gandak. The connection of these streams with the disease is striking, and it seems certain that, directly or indirectly, they are the cause of it. On the other hand it is also to be noted that the disease ceases at a certain point in all these rivers, which is more or less far removed from their sources, and that point appears to be—I venture to advance the suggestion with all reserve—when they cease to be much affected either directly or indirectly by the proximity of the hills. The Jumna and Ganges flow due south after leaving the Himalayas and receive no important hill-fed tributaries after doing so, save, in the case of the Ganges, the Ramganga: but this has to flow 370 miles in all before it reaches the larger stream, and has itself ceased to possess any evil properties long before it reaches it. The Ghagra receives tributaries from the hills in Bahraich (the Sarju) and in Gorakhpur (the Rapti and Bansganga): but in Basti it receives none and after leaving Azamgarh it very soon joins the Ganges. Possibly therefore the stream, swollen as it is by the Sarda and Sarju, both hill-fed and both but a comparatively short distance from the hills, maintains its evil qualities as far as the confines of Basti, loses them there, and regains them to a certain extent with the arrival of the Rapti and Bansganga, neither of which are far from the hills throughout their course. But what shape the effect of this connection with the hills precisely takes is not so clear. We have seen that the hills contain large quantities of copper and iron, especially of their pyrites: and the most scientific enquirer⁽²⁾ into the causation of goitre and cretinism has definitely connected the presence of these metals in the soil with those diseases. It is possible therefore that the rivers bring them down and spread them over their banks with their alluvium (which would agree with Mr. Burn's location of the disease on new alluvium along these rivers). Or it may be that the disease is connected with the drinking of snow water⁽³⁾, which of course would lose its effect as it travelled further from its source. It is to be noted that wherever goitre exists in a locality sufficiently close to the hills for the inhabitants

⁽¹⁾ There is a local story that some emperor established a summer residence at the foot of the hills. The hill-folk anxious to get rid of so expensive a neighbour, sent to wait on his ladies those of their women who were worst affected with goitre. These explained that goitre always affected foreigners and the ladies persuaded him to give up his project (Gazetteer, page 161).

⁽²⁾ M. St. Lager "*Etudes sur les causes du crétinisme et du goitre endémique*," referred to in the article on "Cretinism" already cited.

⁽³⁾ I cannot trace the reference, but I have somewhere seen Swiss goitre attributed to this cause.

to know anything about snow they attribute it to this cause (e.g. in Bijnor, Bahraich, Dehra Dun and of course the hills): elsewhere they attribute it to the river concerned. But whatever the cause, whether particular metals in the soil, or the drinking of water ⁽¹⁾ ultimately derived from snow and still possessing its properties, it seems clear that these rivers produce goitre and its concomitants so long as they are affected by the proximity of the Himalayas and lose it as soon as the hills become too far off to have much effect.

301. **Causes of increase in deaf-mutism.**—I have already suggested above that one of the causes why deaf-mutism has increased is because deaf-mutes, living where they do, have been less subject to the disasters of the decade than the total population and have consequently increased whilst the total population has decreased. A cause has yet to be found for the increase of the disease in other tracts where it is not so much endemic as hereditary. It appears to be reasonable to suppose that if deaf-mutism is an abnormality which can be inherited, then in a family where the taint exists it would be more liable to come out if the mother (especially, but also the father) was herself in bad health. From any figures of any census, it seems clear that there must be many such families. But it is obviously very difficult to say what particular one of the three chief disasters of the decade would be most likely to produce it. If we take the districts and divisions where the disease cannot be regarded as endemic in the sense that it is connected with endemic goitre and cretinism, we shall find the biggest increases in Saharanpur (Sub-Himalaya West) and in the Western Plain except Etah. The whole of this tract has suffered with extreme severity from both plague and malaria; on the other hand there are many tracts which have suffered just as severely from plague and not at all from malaria, where the increase has been much less. This looks as if the chief contributory cause was malaria. But the malaria referred to is the epidemic of 1908: any children affected by it would be only those aged under 5, and though there has been an increase at this age, nothing can be made of it for, as has been pointed out, the figure at this and next two ages are utterly inadequate. As regards endemic malaria, it has probably been on the whole worse than in the former decade; but it is not so severe in these tracts as some others, though severe enough. The matter is too obscure to be worth pursuing; but so much may be said, that in a bad decade, it is at least conceivable that abnormalities of this kind would increase more than in a good one, and that of all the disasters which may have contributed to produce it, possibly malaria is the most likely ⁽²⁾.

302. **Deaf-mutism by caste.**—Though the caste figures have been taken out and are given in subsidiary table IV, deaf-mutism goes by locality and they have consequently little value. The only points worth noting are firstly, that it spares neither high nor low. If the Brahman has 79 male deaf-mutes per 100,000, the Bhangi has 65: if the Kurmi has 68, the Koiri has 71. And secondly, that the Dom with the record figures of 240 (males) and 192 (females) is more subject to it than most because that caste is so largely a hill or submontane caste.

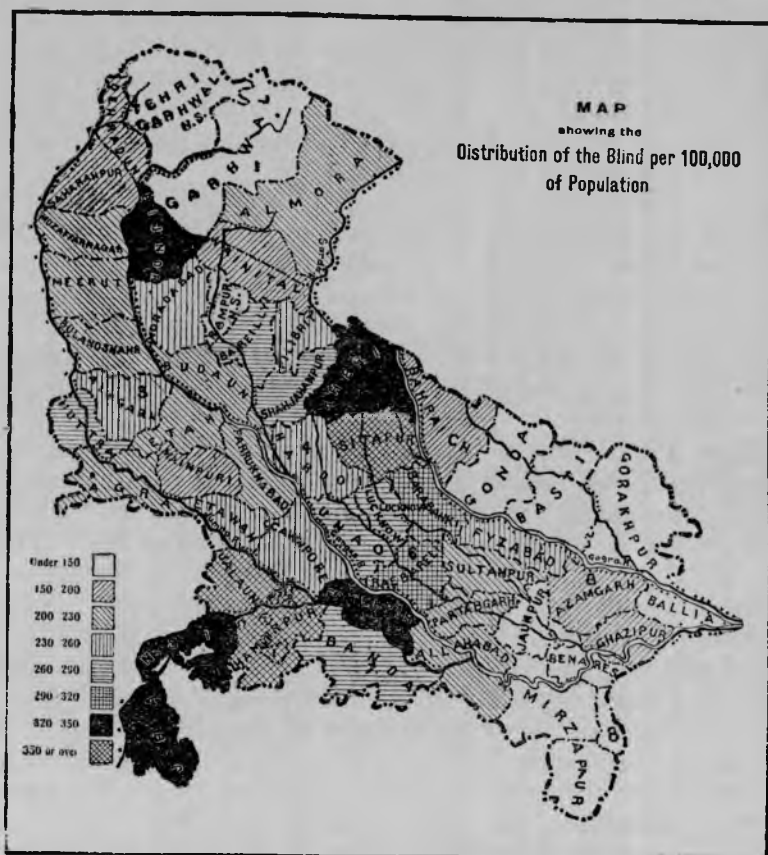
303. **Actual figures of blindness.**—There are in the province 105,722 persons who are blind of both eyes, of whom 104,566 are in British territory. In 1901 there were 82,551 in British territory, and 1,113 in the States, making a total of 83,664. This is equivalent to an increase of 26·3 per cent.; of these 52,081 are males and 53,641 are females as against 41,988 and 41,676 in 1901. The increase in blind women has therefore been slightly greater than the increase amongst men. There are now 21 men and 23 women who are blind to every 10,000 of the total population of each sex, against 17 and 18 in 1901.

304. **Distribution of blindness by natural divisions and districts.**—The map in the margin shows the distribution of blindness. The provincial figure is 220 per 100,000; in 1901 it was 173. There are 18 districts or states with a lower figure than 200, which may be considered as subnormal, and nine districts with a figure between 200 and 230, which may be considered normal. They fall into well-defined tracts: (1) Himalaya West *plus* Saharanpur, in the north-west of the province, to which may be added Rampur; (2) the greater part of the Western Plain, excluding Aligarh, Muttra, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad and

⁽¹⁾ Either could account for it in the hills themselves, of course, river or no river.

⁽²⁾ It is worth noting that some German savants have maintained that cretinism is caused by miasmatic fever or malaria. Cretinism and deaf-mutism however would not necessarily be synonymous in this case. *Encyclopædia Britannica loc. cit.*

Etawah ; (3) the whole of Sub-Himalaya East ; (4) the whole of the Eastern



Plain with Partabgarh, Allahabad and Mirzapur. The districts where blindness is most prevalent also lie together in two tracts:— (1) Kheri, Sitapur, Bara Banki, Rae Bareilly and Fatehpur which forms a wedge right across the centre of the province from north to south ; (2) Jalaun, Hamirpur and Jhansi in the Central India Plateau.

The comparative distribution in 1911 and 1901 by sexes and natural divisions can be seen from the marginal table. As regards males there is a general correspondence : that is to say the first four and last four divisions are the same in each case, but blindness has decreased in the Central

and Western Plains and increased in the Plateau and Western Sub-Himalayas in

Divisions.	Males.		Females.	
	Order in—		Order in—	
	1911.	1901.	1911	1901.
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	1	2	3	3
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	2	1	2	2
Central India Plateau ..	3	4	1	1
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West..	4	3	4	4
Himalaya, West ..	5	6	5	5
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	6	5	6	7
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	7	8	7	8
East Satpuras ..	8	7	8	6

the case of the first four ; whilst in the second four, the Eastern Plain and Satpuras show a decrease and the Western Himalayas and Eastern Plain an increase. Amongst females the order in both years is the same save that the Satpuras show a decrease and the Eastern Plain an increase. Of individual districts, Garhwal, Saharanpur, Lucknow, Unao, Hardoi, Partabgarh, Benares and Ghazipur alone shows decreases amongst males ; Saharanpur, Bijnor, Budaun, Lucknow, Unao, Hardoi,

Partabgarh and Benares show decreases amongst females.

305. **Proportion of the sexes.**—It is usual for females to show a higher proportion of the blind than males, but at this census the excess is not only proportional but actual. The only divisions where proportionately more males are blind than females at this census are Mirzapur and the Eastern Plain, though in 1901 this was also the case in the Eastern Sub-Himalayas. These are the divisions where blindness is of least importance. The greatest excess is, as usual, in the Plateau.

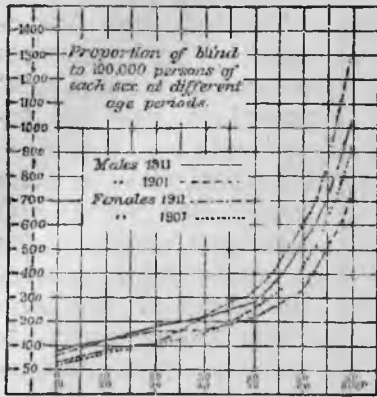
306. **Age distribution of the blind.**—The table in the margin shows the

Age.	Males.		Females.	
	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.
0—10 ..	755	896	462	599
10—20 ..	1,152	1,480	694	909
20—30 ..	1,494	1,534	1,018	1,062
30—40 ..	1,433	1,367	1,309	1,252
40—50 ..	1,450	1,302	1,550	1,277
50—60 ..	1,352	1,266	1,720	1,587
60 and over ..	2,362	2,138	3,247	3,083
Unspecified ..	..	17	..	31

distribution of 10,000 blind of each sex by decennial age-periods both in 1911 and 1901. The seriation in either sex is much the same in the two years. Amongst females the decennial figures increase regularly from the lowest to the highest ages. Amongst males in 1911 the figures increase regularly till 30 and then alternately rise and fall till 60 ; in 1901 they fell steadily between 30 and 60. The figures are low in the early years, simply because blindness is seldom congenital, being a disease of late middle and old age. It is noticeable that young males suffer more from

of late middle and old age. It

blindness than young females. The causes may be that when blindness is congenital males, who are more liable to all congenital affections than females, suffer the more; and also that to some slight extent blindness in females is concealed when they are still unmarried, lest nobody should agree to the match ⁽¹⁾. A far greater proportion of women become blind in old age than of men, which accounts for the figures at the later ages.



The number of the blind in proportion to 100,000 of the population at each age-period is shown in the marginal diagram. In both years, at the early ages the female curve is below the male, for reasons already given, and gradually approaches it, till at the age of 40 they join. Between 40 and 50 the female line crosses the male line and remains above it till the end of life.

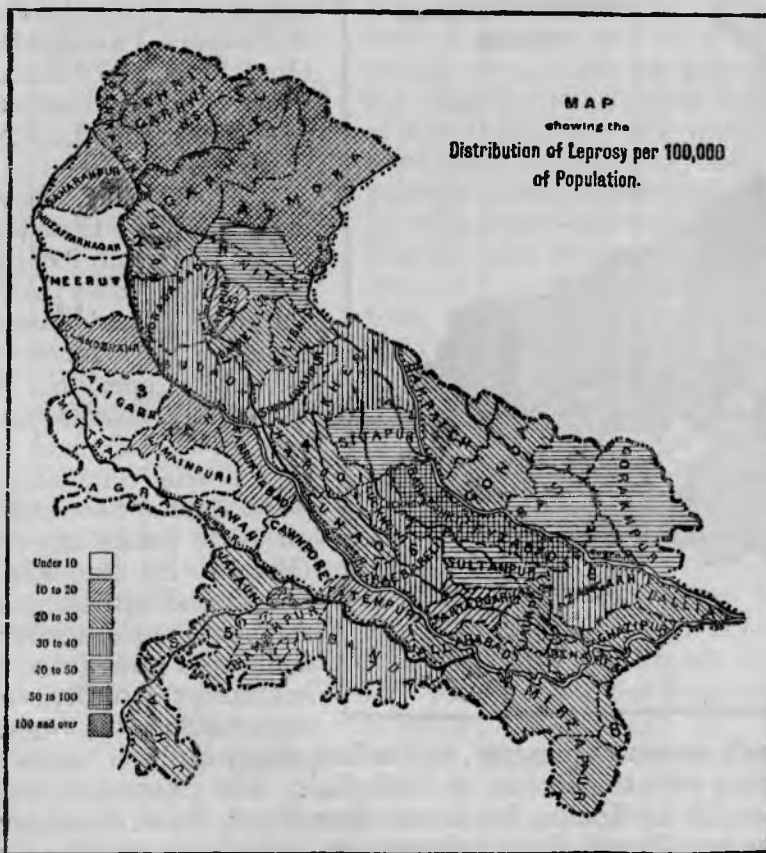
307. **Variations since 1901.**—There has been a considerable increase in blindness, but as the diagram given above shows, in proportion to the general population there is practically no increase in either sex till the age of 30. From 30 to 40 the increase begins and continues right up to the end of life. The cause is that the general population and blind population have both decreased up to the age of 20, and it would seem almost in the same proportion. From 20 to 30 the general population has slightly increased, but the blind population amongst females has increased slightly more and amongst males noticeably more. Above this age the blind have obviously found the decade more favourable than the general population has: amongst females at the highest period of all, the blind have apparently increased whilst the general population has decreased. The local distribution to some extent accounts for this. We have seen that the Western Sub-Himalayas has the greatest proportion of blind males and in that division, save in Saharanpur, plague was not very severe, whilst malaria hardly existed. The Central Plain, the division with the next greatest number of males suffered certainly from plague, but escaped malaria altogether. The Plateau escaped both. Consequently the three divisions which possess, all told, nearly 50 per cent. of the total number of blind persons have suffered considerably less than the rest of the province and the blind have been consequently favoured by the circumstances of the localities in which they chiefly live. Amongst females the fact is made more striking because they are in largest proportions in the Plateau, one of the two divisions which have escaped plague and malaria altogether. And when particular age-periods are considered, the variations in them point to the same conclusions. The increase is noticeable in both sexes from 30 onwards, whilst plague and malaria have been more fatal to middle age and old age than to the young. The blind therefore have increased just at the ages when the total population has suffered most, showing that they have felt the effect of these diseases less than the general population has: and since there is obviously no reason why they should, save that they were less exposed to them, it is clear that their local distribution is chiefly responsible for the increase. There appears to be nothing which leads to the supposition that blindness has actually grown more prevalent since 1901. Indeed, in face of the number of operations for ophthalmic diseases, the reverse is probably the case. These between 1901 and 1911 were 94,989 in number as against 72,941 in the previous decade and 47,081 between 1881 and 1891. In 1910, 461,522 cases of eye disease were treated; in 1909, 417,895, in 1908, 407,844. In 1911, alone, 9,738 operations on the eye were carried out. Of these cases 373 are shown as discharged "otherwise" (i.e. than cured or relieved), 4 died, 434 were still under treatment, 748 were discharged "relieved," and the rest, 8,179, were discharged cured. Nor is there any reason for supposing that any part of the increase is due to inclusion of the one-eyed for, as I have already said, the words for blind and one-eyed are totally different and never used as synonymous. In a word there seems no possible reason for the increase in the number of the blind save that their death-rate has been less than the general death-rate.

(1) "There are a hundred risks in marrying off a one-eyed girl" says the proverb. "You have got your son a one-eyed bride. Have I? Wait till the groom stands up" says another—a version of "the biter bit" and meaning that the one-eyed girl has been married to a lame boy.

308. **Causes of blindness.**—Blindness is more prevalent in this province than in any other save the Punjab. It is rarely congenital and probably never hereditary. Small-pox used to be a contributory cause of some importance, but the spread of vaccination has to a great extent nullified its results in this direction; the province moreover has suffered less from the disease than in any previous decade by some 42,000 deaths or 23 per cent. less than the figures of 1891—1901, the lowest previous figure. Climate has also been supposed to cause it; a hot and dry climate where there is much glare and dust would produce it more than a cool, damp country, where there is plenty of green to rest the eye and little dust⁽¹⁾. But it is difficult to draw any correlation between climate and blindness in this province. There is no reason why the Himalayas should have more blindness than the Eastern Plain, for instance. I doubt if there is any part of the province save the hills and possibly the forests of South Mirzapur where glare is not always present to a greater or less degree: whilst all parts at certain times of the year are alike green. None the less, climate doubtless helps to produce it, though it is impossible to say that it has a greater effect in one tract than another. Probably neglect and dirt are as fruitful a cause of blindness as anything in this province. Everybody must have noticed in villages children, even babies in arms, whose eyes are covered with flies: they seem to get used to and not to mind them, and the parents are not always by to drive them away. That there are more blind women than men in later life, is probably due in part to the lesser care that is taken of girls than boys in this as in other directions. Up to the age of 40, men seem to suffer worse than women, no doubt because they are more exposed to the effects of glare and dust: and in later life the accumulated effects of a life-time spent in dark rooms and of the smoke, tingling and pungent to the eyes as it is, of the fires at which food is cooked, produce more blind persons amongst women than men. As Mr. Burn suggested in 1901, the fact that the smoke escapes more easily from the wattle houses of the east, than the more strongly-built though just as small rooms of the houses in the west, may account both for the smaller amount of blindness in the east and the fact that women suffer proportionately or even actually less than men in this region. Generally speaking, if blindness in this province is not due to disease (small-pox and syphilis especially), or accident, it

is due to ophthalmia or cataract consequent on glare and dust without, and smoke, absence of ventilation and darkness within the house: whilst parental neglect of the children's eyes also must often result in blindness.

309. **Actual figures of leprosy.**—In 1911 there were 14,143 lepers in British territory and 377 in the States. In 1901 there were 11,328 in British territory and 373 in the States. The increase is one of 24·1 per cent.; of the total number 11,918 are males and 2,602 females as against 9,130 and 2,571 in 1901. Nearly the whole of the increase therefore is amongst males.



(1). It may be that the dust of the Plateau, proceeding from black cotton soil, is more prejudicial than dust in other parts. But this I admit to be a suggestion founded only on personal experience.

310. **Local distribution by natural divisions and districts.**—The inset map shows the distribution by districts. The provincial figure of lepers per 100,000 of population is 30 as against 24 in 1901. The districts which show a lower figure than 30 are 29 in number, whilst those which have figures in the neighbourhood of 30, and may consequently be considered as normal, are 7 more. These 36 districts include the whole of Sub-Himalaya West, the whole of the Western Plain, the Central Plain except Lucknow, Sitapur, Bara Banki, Fyzabad and Sultanpur, the whole of the Plateau save Hamirpur, Mirzapur, the Eastern Plain, and Bahraich in the Eastern Sub-Himalayas. The division of Himalaya West has much the highest figures : next come Bara Banki and Fyzabad.

The comparative distribution by divisions in 1901 and 1911 can be seen from

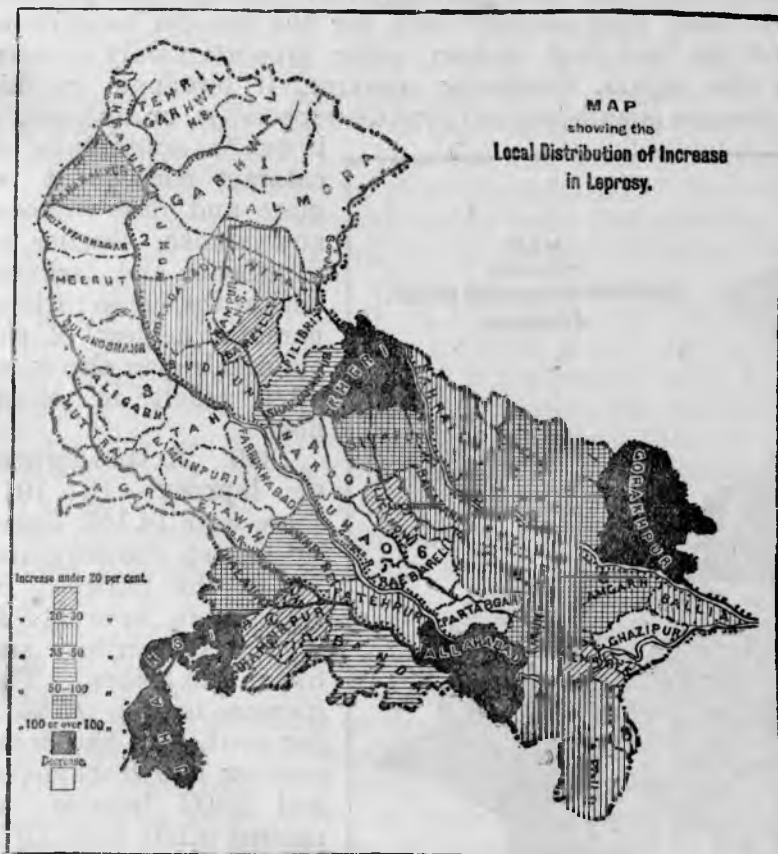
Natural divisions.	Males.		Females.	
	Order in—		Order in—	
	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.
Himalaya, West ..	1	1	1	1
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	2	3	3	3
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	3	2	4	4
Ditto East ..	4	4	5	7
Central India Plateau ..	5	4	2	2
Sub-Himalaya, West ..	6	6	7	5
East Satpuras ..	7	7	6	6
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	8	8	8	8

the marginal table. The Himalayan division has incomparably the largest number of lepers, though there is a decrease both amongst males and females, and the figures are obscured by the presence of several asylums. As regards males the Eastern Sub-Himalayas has risen above the Central Plain, but otherwise there is no change in the comparative distribution. As regards female lepers the Eastern Plain and Western Sub-Himalayas interchange places but otherwise there is no change. The following 17 districts show decreases as regards males:—Dehra

Dun, Almora, Garhwal, Bijnor, Pilibhit, all districts of the Western Plain except Meerut, Mainpuri, Banda, Moradabad and Shahjahanpur and Unao, Rae Bareilly, Hardoi, Partabgarh in the Central Plain. As regards females Naini Tal, Almora,

Garhwal, Bareilly, Bijnor, Pilibhit, Kheri, the whole of the Western Plain except Moradabad and Shahjahanpur, Lucknow, Unao, Hardoi, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Gorakhpur, Gonda, Benares and Ghazipur, 27 districts in all show decreases.

From the above facts it follows that the increase is much localized. The inset map shows the local distribution of increase. Generally speaking, it lies firstly, north and east of the Ganges as far as the Shahjahanpur boundary : secondly, on both banks of the Ghagra in its whole length and extending as far south as Lucknow, Sultanpur and Jaunpur inclusive ; thirdly, on



from Cawnpore and Jalaun's western boundary, and subsequently on both banks of the Ganges after its junction with the Jumna at Allahabad. The greatest increase is (1) in Kheri and Sitapur, (2) in Gonda, Basti and Gorakhpur, (3) in Azamgarh and Jaunpur, (4) in Jalaun and Jhansi, (5) in Saharanpur. Allahabad shows a very large increase, but this is due probably to an increase in the size of the leper asylum at that place.

311. **Proportion of the sexes.**—The provincial proportion of males to females

Natural divisions.	Proportion of males to 10 females.
Himalaya, West	23
Sub-Himalaya, West	64
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	76
Ditto Central	54
Central India Plateau	19
East Satpuras	33
Sub-Himalaya, East	55
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	46

is about 46 to 10. The proportions in the various natural divisions are given in the margin. For some reason, the proportion is least in the Plateau, whilst it is also very low in the East Satpuras: but excluding these two divisions, it can be said generally that the proportion of males to females is least where the disease is most prevalent and greatest where it is least prevalent. The figures are probably affected by the reticence of the

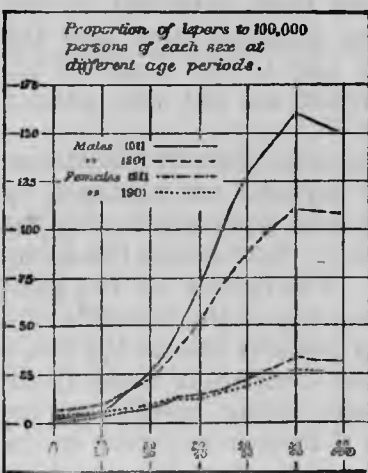
better classes about their females, and this may help to explain the high figures of females in the Plateau, Satpuras, Himalayas and to a certain extent in the Eastern Plain, as in the first, second and fourth mentioned divisions the population is on the whole of a rather lower social rank, and in the third there is much less reticence about women in any class.

312. **Age distribution.**—The table in the margin shows 10,000 lepers of each sex arranged by decennial age-periods.

Age-period.	Males.		Females.	
	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.
0—10 ..	65	297	124	567
10—20 ..	249	507	697	968
20—30 ..	977	1,122	1,355	1,467
30—40 ..	2,103	2,058	1,921	1,731
40—50 ..	2,420	2,559	2,308	2,021
50—60 ..	2,154	2,000	1,957	1,788
60 and over ..	1,533	1,426	1,638	1,414
Unspecified ..	..	31	..	44

The figures are of course low in early life though higher in the case of females than males. The disease is found chiefly between the ages 30 to 60 in both sexes. It is difficult to suggest any cause for the very high figures at the early years in 1901, which it may be remarked are unusual: the figures at these periods in 1891 and 1881, though higher than in 1911, were very much lower than in 1901. The sole explanation that suggests itself to me is that the famine of 1896-7 probably

caused considerable mortality amongst lepers, and if it did, it would naturally be amongst the worst cases which would be those of persons in later life. The disease amongst the young would not, probably, be so advanced, and despite the



fact that famine usually affects the two ends of life more than the middle, the lepers of the lower age-periods would have a better chance of resisting it than the older lepers. If that is so, then the large number at ages 0 to 20 in 1901 would be accounted for. It is to be hoped that the very low figures at 0 to 20 in 1911 point to a real diminution of the disease: they are, in both sexes, lower than they have ever been before. The diagram in the margin also shows that whilst at the early ages the proportion of the lepers to the total population was slightly higher in 1901 than 1911, from the age of 20 amongst males and 30 amongst females the proportions of 1911 rise considerably above those of the former census. The rise is slight in both sexes from 0 to 10 but regular and rapid after that, till the age of 50: there is then a fall.

The life of a leper is short, and it follows that the steady increase in the number of lepers after the age of 20 and up to the age of 60 indicates a marked rise in the liability to infection between these ages.

313. **Causes of the increase in lepers.**—Since the life of a leper seldom exceeds 20 years, it is obvious that a very large part of any increase must be due to fresh cases. At the same time there are two causes which may have contributed to the increase since 1901. The increase has been considerable in tracts where plague has not been very virulent in the Eastern and Western Sub-Himalayas, and in a large part of the Plateau. It was noticed in Bengal in 1901, that plague was especially fatal to lepers (1) and it may be that on the whole the leper population has suffered proportionately less from plague than the total population has. It is chiefly found in the hills where there has been no plague at all. And secondly, leprosy is a disease of which a complete record is extremely unlikely.

(1) Bengal Report, 1901, page 291.

In incipient cases, the sufferer may not realize that he has the disease: and considering the social disabilities which it brings with it, there would be every inducement to conceal it if it were possible. But it is probable that with time this tendency might disappear and even if it did not, the disease has attracted increased attention during the last decade and thanks to the efforts of the Mission to Lepers in India and the East, there are more asylums and consequently a greater proportion is now collected in places where an accurate record can be obtained.

314. Causes of leprosy.—Leprosy has at all times proved a medical puzzle; despite all the attention it has received, its causation is still unknown and a cure is unknown. All that is known of it with any certainty can be summed up in the four conclusions of the Berlin Conference of Leprologists in 1897:—

(1) The disease is communicated by a bacillus, but its conditions of life and methods of penetrating the human organism are unknown. Probably it obtains entrance through the mouth or mucous membrane.

(2) Leprosy is contagious, not hereditary.

(3) It is certain that mankind alone is liable to the bacillus.

(4) The disease has hitherto resisted all efforts to cure it.

In the absence of any cure and in the presence of its contagious nature, segregation in asylums is still, as it has always been, the sole hope of stamping out the disease. There are in all 18 asylums in the province⁽¹⁾. Of these the asylums of Allahabad, Benares, Almora, Lucknow, Srinagar and Dehra Dun have been declared asylums for the purposes of the Lepers' Act (III of 1898). There were 538 lepers in all these asylums on the 31st December 1910, and 3,627 cases were treated in the dispensaries of the provinces during that year as against 3,583 in 1901. The Act referred to above has been applied to the Kumaun division, and the districts of Allahabad, Benares, Lucknow and Dehra Dun; and also to the municipalities and cantonments of Cawnpore and Fyzabad. This Act gives power to arrest and send pauper lepers to an asylum. There is a further provision in the Act whereby lepers may be forbidden to follow callings connected with the preparation and sale of food, drink, drugs, tobacco and clothing, domestic service, medical practice, midwifery, washing clothes, hair cutting, shaving and prostitution or callings which necessitate the handling of food and drink: and also to bathe, wash clothes in, or take water from, certain wells or tanks or use any public carriage save a railway carriage. This provision has been extended to the Allahabad, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Fyzabad and Benares municipalities and the cantonments at the three last-mentioned places: and also to the Kumaun hill pattsis. It is clear therefore that the great majority of lepers are not and cannot be segregated.

315. Leprosy in selected castes.—The highest figure is shown by Christians. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that so many leper asylums are managed by Missionaries; the lepers, outcastes from their own social system, naturally turn to the religion of the first people who have ever treated them kindly. Next comes the Dom, and then, *longo intervallo*, the Rajput, Pasi and Kewat. The figures of the Dom and Rajput are doubtless affected by the fact that the majority of the former and a large proportion of the latter are hillmen; whilst locality possibly affects the Pasi's figure: he resides chiefly in Oudh and largely in those districts of north Oudh where leprosy is common. The Kewat is a river caste living chiefly in the Eastern Sub-Himalayas, where the disease is rife; but if there is anything in the old idea that a fish diet conduces to leprosy, this may possibly affect his case also. Other castes with high figures are the Ahir, Dhobi, Faqir, Kahar, and Murao, (also castes living in the leprosy tract), and Koiri. The Jat and Gujar have lower figures than any other caste.

Asylum and district.	Amount.
	Rs.
Maclaren, Dehra Dun	3,000
Almora	700
Garhwal	800
Naini, Allahabad	6,630
Total	11,130

316. Government assistance to leper asylums.—The annual grants made by Government or the District Boards to various asylums are as in the margin. Apart from this however considerable grants have been made at different times of a non-recurring nature. All other asylums are supported by private—mostly missionary—enterprise.

⁽¹⁾ At Agra, Allahabad, Almora, Bahraich, Benares, Bareilly, Cawnpore, Dehra Dun, Ghazipur, Gonda, in Garhwal, at Hardoi, Lucknow, Moradabad, Muzaffarnagar, Rae Bareli, Shahjahanpur and Sitapur.

Subsidiary Tables.

Subsidiary table I.—Number afflicted per 1,000,000 of

Serial number.	District and natural divisions.	Insane.							
		Males.				Females.			
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	British Territory	229	189	158	190	118	96	76	93
	<i>Himalaya, West</i>	<i>171</i>	<i>170</i>	<i>146</i>	<i>202</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>97</i>	<i>86</i>	<i>98</i>
1	Dehra Dun	207	379	209	298	511	265	251	200
2	Naini Tal	202	110	95	62	142	58	137	32
3	Almora	173	135	153	241	85	109	45	19
4	Garhwal	127	156	135	187	70	50	63	125
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	<i>340</i>	<i>295</i>	<i>239</i>	<i>273</i>	<i>168</i>	<i>147</i>	<i>123</i>	<i>136</i>
5	Saharanpur	233	191	191	230	115	93	87	15
6	Bareilly	579	595	497	551	281	267	249	251
7	Bijnor	197	189	186	164	124	115	114	77
8	Pilibhit	286	184	105	14	84	118	52	57
9	Kheri	323	199	114	164	174	108	59	80
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	<i>228</i>	<i>160</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>197</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>90</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>92</i>
10	Muzaffarnagar	209	170	191	264	83	69	110	138
11	Meerut	170	190	163	157	80	68	57	16
12	Bulandshahr	152	172	118	175	120	134	49	81
13	Aligarh	153	139	91	138	84	53	43	92
14	Muttra	136	110	123	61	98	44	48	19
15	Agra	852	148	429	364	407	159	151	154
16	Farrukhabad	188	300	153	253	106	153	89	118
17	Mainpuri	205	133	888	188	89	50	46	72
18	Etawah	204	153	88	170	76	87	103	86
19	Etah	124	167	86	198	60	73	50	55
20	Budaun	180	145	82	111	86	89	68	60
21	Moradabad	175	185	111	112	111	95	56	81
22	Shahjahanpur	205	111	93	254	130	91	50	111
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	<i>196</i>	<i>168</i>	<i>170</i>	<i>186</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>98</i>
23	Cawnpore	180	141	157	221	116	65	73	117
24	Fatehpur	137	19	92	158	89	59	41	18
25	Allahabad	169	121	173	239	118	47	110	94
26	Lucknow	219	665	562	471	119	270	229	139
27	Unao	163	166	196	178	74	82	101	20
28	Rae Bareli	199	222	156	221	115	75	85	83
29	Sitapur	299	111	141	134	201	70	77	84
30	Hardoi	198	220	116	171	102	67	46	112
31	Fyzabad	137	121	143	10	80	76	88	67
32	Sultanpur	178	137	123	15	77	115	90	44
33	Partabgarh	137	148	121	188	76	64	47	13
34	Bara Banki	305	219	142	224	146	139	65	91
	<i>Central India Plateau</i>	<i>236</i>	<i>146</i>	<i>133</i>	<i>241</i>	<i>139</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>198</i>
35	Banda	259	127	129	429	120	89	52	37
36	Hamirpur	307	157	92	14	187	123	71	65
37	Jhansi	177	154	183	150	103	17	89	143
38	Jalaun	220	118	108	260	179	41	62	193
	<i>East Satpuras</i>	<i>124</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>132</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>65</i>
39	Mirzapur	124	87	81	132	81	54	58	65
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	<i>243</i>	<i>178</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>119</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>51</i>
40	Gorakhpur	238	165	109	153	118	161	58	47
41	Basti	134	93	95	120	72	63	50	46
42	Gonda	294	119	109	89	133	83	48	44
43	Bahraich	374	423	149	29	191	221	50	84
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	<i>232</i>	<i>229</i>	<i>187</i>	<i>170</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>69</i>
44	Benares	677	892	548	410	238	78	266	186
45	Jaunpur	148	119	158	159	55	54	38	74
46	Ghazipur	98	94	103	91	57	41	49	47
47	Ballia	168	116	155	191	61	68	23	84
48	Azamgarh	141	13	88	48	61	65	31	34
	Native States .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49	Tehri-Garhwal (Himalaya, West)	256	105	186	224	171	103	49	72
50	Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	131	100	62	276	44	67	73	107

the population at each of the last four censuses.

Deaf-mute.								Blind.								Serial number.
Males.				Females.				Males.				Females.				
1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	1
666	462	873	769	449	277	516	473	2,088	1,681	2,282	2,691	2,356	1,784	2,410	3,217	
1,876	1,716	2,299	2,501	1,408	1,203	1,442	1,665	1,613	1,388	1,697	1,942	1,963	1,543	1,812	2,413	
2,638	904	2,811	2,191	2,578	716	3,067	2,363	1,522	1,021	1,605	1,714	2,448	1,154	1,784	2,031	1
1,012	665	892	538	768	658	655	396	1,794	1,318	2,209	2,241	2,035	1,635	2,250	2,062	2
2,491	2,809	2,990	3,245	1,655	1,706	1,532	1,883	1,816	1,588	1,716	2,000	2,255	1,772	1,555	2,588	3
1,463	1,749	1,837	2,823	1,113	1,186	1,108	1,778	1,293	1,399	1,423	1,979	1,449	1,379	1,952	4,105	4
594	359	865	814	420	198	560	529	2,649	2,136	2,682	3,409	2,899	2,213	2,967	4,160	
662	225	648	634	402	112	406	387	1,941	2,202	2,634	2,627	1,875	2,479	2,744	4,125	5
546	477	774	629	365	202	431	367	2,666	2,284	2,535	3,270	2,761	2,207	2,859	4,610	6
721	253	744	861	507	153	599	668	3,050	2,722	3,003	3,710	2,533	2,644	3,996	3,111	7
611	509	650	555	412	336	422	41	2,412	1,931	2,283	2,272	2,628	2,016	2,265	4,308	8
465	387	1,436	1,373	445	258	920	850	3,167	1,504	2,842	3,937	3,674	1,637	2,796	5,364	9
559	304	605	607	354	170	361	374	3,268	1,824	2,508	2,992	2,306	1,848	2,590	3,565	
542	241	868	94	358	93	440	528	2,275	2,022	3,520	5,095	1,805	1,726	3,429	3,018	10
549	160	586	481	366	81	359	297	2,043	1,707	2,655	2,958	2,143	1,584	2,578	2,976	11
548	179	586	524	309	98	318	245	2,349	1,779	2,404	2,677	2,100	2,033	2,619	3,699	12
668	194	480	441	321	85	231	247	2,384	1,802	1,700	2,865	2,492	1,581	1,641	3,012	13
553	232	703	45	400	240	391	190	2,385	1,961	3,376	2,136	3,108	2,155	4,048	2,934	14
628	188	648	448	362	122	414	259	2,126	1,557	2,644	2,126	2,418	1,973	2,959	3,165	15
453	367	646	493	313	240	424	381	2,243	1,407	2,022	2,769	2,074	1,172	1,757	2,917	16
425	417	466	54	284	201	258	29	1,875	1,679	2,279	2,271	1,708	1,011	2,175	3,176	17
478	363	746	547	282	252	480	269	2,134	1,576	2,334	2,550	2,649	1,854	2,632	365	18
415	598	619	585	317	227	496	379	2,063	1,870	2,156	2,729	1,912	1,735	2,267	4,022	19
611	427	679	646	416	288	349	317	2,471	2,730	3,018	3,018	2,148	2,277	2,564	397	20
655	482	520	1,222	452	268	335	934	2,392	2,109	3,055	3,102	2,742	2,737	3,300	4,687	21
631	411	434	54	382	225	291	373	2,722	2,083	1,771	4,441	2,693	1,971	1,848	4,547	22
489	468	719	577	350	305	419	359	2,432	2,160	2,333	3,243	2,987	2,559	3,123	4,184	
347	294	796	580	253	178	456	358	2,287	1,727	2,922	2,965	2,855	1,980	3,233	4,546	23
511	444	339	489	398	326	212	397	2,941	2,201	2,821	2,989	3,801	3,012	3,192	4,737	24
529	467	618	74	369	173	353	427	1,854	1,276	1,785	3,259	2,387	1,027	1,553	4,574	25
398	456	720	49	333	344	521	374	2,249	2,451	3,220	3,326	3,292	3,476	4,464	4,713	26
430	547	564	573	365	306	366	315	2,614	2,880	2,836	3,305	3,041	3,130	3,124	3,689	27
542	512	735	629	376	288	407	429	2,585	2,558	3,495	3,330	3,312	3,223	3,771	4,457	28
513	447	820	634	391	274	464	283	3,523	2,345	3,339	2,990	4,951	2,880	3,949	2,991	29
339	407	543	427	207	284	248	272	2,315	2,511	2,141	3,024	2,798	2,988	2,175	2,545	30
648	588	855	499	403	399	489	336	2,187	2,023	3,066	2,404	2,477	2,211	3,349	2,933	31
605	485	967	442	434	295	565	249	2,200	1,948	3,254	2,002	2,238	2,108	3,306	5,914	32
474	522	757	359	326	349	425	251	2,070	2,074	2,759	3,054	1,945	2,645	2,570	4,265	33
503	485	801	942	365	422	480	560	2,586	2,330	2,941	4,070	3,284	3,047	3,610	4,704	34
448	414	825	560	325	234	553	382	2,393	1,704	2,605	3,004	4,308	2,627	3,931	4,397	
449	444	622	663	332	207	401	290	2,068	1,269	2,648	3,177	3,470	2,377	3,875	2,798	35
451	530	902	619	260	310	597	444	2,695	2,011	3,097	3,068	4,822	4,042	4,642	3,124	36
431	299	857	445	318	113	552	268	2,342	1,275	2,540	2,478	4,258	1,732	4,224	1,949	37
473	383	1,024	467	405	264	775	337	2,658	1,231	2,019	3,382	5,183	2,600	2,601	4,945	38
431	419	517	555	251	252	314	309	1,276	1,082	1,145	1,795	1,386	1,010	1,135	1,949	
431	419	517	555	251	252	314	309	1,276	1,082	1,145	1,795	1,386	1,010	1,135	1,949	39
1,116	609	1,566	1,510	716	334	864	883	1,363	765	1,365	1,714	1,389	665	1,147	1,685	
1,231	475	1,854	1,696	794	303	1,050	1,018	1,161	440	1,097	2,950	1,057	281	958	1,502	40
1,022	530	921	1,154	630	282	438	574	1,379	779	1,479	1,847	1,344	733	1,050	2,576	41
1,164	725	1,290	1,274	663	267	621	671	1,616	771	1,294	1,586	1,823	615	1,215	1,715	42
878	959	2,248	1,938	682	608	1,424	1,351	3,381	1,605	2,032	2,402	1,733	1,736	1,942	2,166	43
570	436	690	400	364	231	390	230	1,488	1,186	1,644	1,640	1,475	924	1,527	1,630	
593	454	584	610	389	265	376	437	1,252	1,279	1,609	2,026	1,218	1,222	1,509	1,167	44
476	366	772	294	288	217	322	191	1,550	1,177	1,045	1,678	1,353	879	902	4,168	45
455	548	527	69	281	235	383	280	1,578	1,623	2,398	2,027	1,638	1,141	2,519	3,123	46
566	418	813	528	259	222	425	251	1,183	869	1,383	2,124	1,067	6,423	1,141	1,708	47
698	454	725	223	517	228	437	98	1,706	1,655	1,774	877	1,874	830	1,585	1,836	48
..	
168	1,109	1,487	2,218	1,103	1,093	920	1,241	1,361	1,072	1,208	2,257	1,582	1,299	1,283	2,370	49
311	320	237	1,052	234	123	135	663	1,512	1,612	1,374	3,517	1,148	1,352	1,242	4,296	50

Subsidiary table I.—Number afflicted per 1,000,000 of the population at each of the last four censuses—(concluded).

Serial number.	Districts and natural divisions.	Leper.							
		Males.				Females.			
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
	British Territory	480	359	574	630	711	708	730	759
	<i>Himalaya, West</i>	<i>1,465</i>	<i>1,719</i>	<i>2,209</i>	<i>2,333</i>	<i>710</i>	<i>779</i>	<i>958</i>	<i>909</i>
1	Dehra Dun	1,530	1,906	2,512	2,250	570	239	1,372	1,215
2	Naini Tal	552	416	217	177	249	282	84	21
3	Almora	2,112	2,636	2,736	3,453	1,102	1,322	1,141	1,231
4	Garhwal	1,421	1,668	2,431	1,364	700	710	989	984
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, West</i>	<i>383</i>	<i>288</i>	<i>450</i>	<i>550</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>98</i>
5	Saharanpur	211	123	248	321	74	17	87	98
6	Baroilly	387	364	556	673	44	59	39	69
7	Bijnor	344	452	576	68	92	94	104	14
8	Pilibhit	374	377	430	492	40	95	35	62
9	Kheri	598	205	456	654	92	178	45	85
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, West</i>	<i>252</i>	<i>243</i>	<i>382</i>	<i>540</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>141</i>
10	Muzaffarnagar	76	132	268	513	5	34	71	66
11	Meerut	131	130	313	461	49	47	87	78
12	Bulandshahr	209	255	413	530	32	97	76	118
13	Aligarh	156	161	208	330	30	34	29	35
14	Muttra	136	169	361	211	20	45	45	39
15	Agra	149	207	329	197	32	77	67	23
16	Farrukhabad	192	272	207	318	15	134	41	37
17	Mainpuri	146	142	226	33	14	24	12	47
18	Etawah	113	130	149	22	20	27	15	7
19	Etah	234	296	384	512	40	48	47	48
20	Budaun	526	410	548	673	59	85	14	74
21	Moradabad	503	426	938	1,113	87	71	180	736
22	Shahjahanpur	604	416	434	911	44	40	85	87
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>	<i>540</i>	<i>432</i>	<i>655</i>	<i>596</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>132</i>	<i>118</i>
23	Cawnpore	156	99	316	390	31	22	57	46
24	Fatehpur	197	157	151	342	64	42	118	11
25	Allahabad	372	141	923	379	154	60	134	18
26	Lucknow	663	636	754	561	65	68	156	120
27	Unao	397	457	558	590	53	73	80	11
28	Rae Bareli	542	627	782	651	125	89	178	137
29	Sitapur	785	460	991	721	100	61	85	79
30	Hardoi	456	462	453	598	53	67	56	49
31	Fyzabad	859	702	1,048	571	199	117	185	13
32	Sultanpur	702	494	811	392	137	138	178	127
33	Partabgarh	165	242	341	433	69	90	137	137
34	Bara Banki	1,071	758	1,263	1,755	154	144	215	180
	<i>Central India Plateau</i>	<i>413</i>	<i>298</i>	<i>752</i>	<i>856</i>	<i>222</i>	<i>137</i>	<i>223</i>	<i>534</i>
35	Banda	416	330	899	1,182	262	182	367	1,233
36	Hamirpur	511	500	959	820	304	215	395	239
37	Jhansi	386	193	582	677	176	73	284	159
38	Jalaun	348	136	529	676	139	129	151	120
	<i>East Satpuras</i>	<i>324</i>	<i>257</i>	<i>360</i>	<i>576</i>	<i>96</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>113</i>	<i>121</i>
39	Mirzapur	324	257	360	576	96	83	113	121
	<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>	<i>658</i>	<i>303</i>	<i>538</i>	<i>602</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>131</i>	<i>90</i>	<i>113</i>
40	Gorakhpur	707	237	578	617	123	159	98	116
41	Basti	700	378	615	712	129	119	91	135
42	Gonda	625	290	387	479	134	135	84	13
43	Bahraich	488	371	355	538	82	67	53	61
	<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>	<i>449</i>	<i>298</i>	<i>529</i>	<i>544</i>	<i>97</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>83</i>
44	Benares	378	329	563	431	117	147	112	113
45	Jaunpur	449	278	285	365	109	80	67	77
46	Ghazipur	376	353	641	856	91	94	125	114
47	Ballia	420	281	667	111	47	47	63	17
48	Azamgarh	552	276	547	196	108	65	100	36
	<i>Native States</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>..</i>
49	Tehri Garhwal (Himalaya, West)	1,590	1,634	2,112	3,238	551	561	488	800
50	Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)	170	260	213	390	36	24	27	62

Subsidiary table II.—Distribution of the infirm by age per 10,000 of each sex.

Age.	Insane.								Deaf-mute.							
	Males.				Females.				Males.				Females.			
	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
0—5 ..	129	170	148	69	172	245	138	51	377	299	434	355	424	443	490	437
5—10 ..	665	543	379	277	648	616	334	313	1,359	1,177	1,405	1,277	1,435	1,149	1,407	1,268
10—15 ..	867	872	668	728	820	884	681	742	1,379	1,476	1,356	1,470	1,230	1,292	1,147	1,331
15—20 ..	914	834	806	779	993	915	767	980	1,070	1,281	1,037	1,019	1,020	1,123	879	892
20—25 ..	1,107	987	1,089	2,576	1,127	983	1,182	1,975	1,220	1,073	1,020	2,039	1,042	972	954	1,694
25—30 ..	1,222	1,161	1,354		925	920	1,078		1,124	1,000	895		981	891	839	
30—35 ..	1,272	1,228	1,430	2,322	1,127	1,024	1,223	1,960	922	894	894	1,311	965	869	856	1,175
35—40 ..	831	982	840		611	870	819		566	539	554		543	511	505	
40—45 ..	879	1,079	1,110	1,601	981	1,146	1,096	1,752	611	686	686	945	731	738	757	983
45—50 ..	516	672	704		517	589	600		312	405	322		298	432	307	
50—55 ..	447	657	637	998	641	675	900	1,212	400	455	497	668	485	603	607	844
55—60 ..	218	246	250		318	254	294		158	208	183		157	234	201	
60 and over ..	585	554	585	650	850	856	888	1,015	502	494	717	916	689	709	1,051	1,376
Unspecified ..	348	15	..	..	270	23	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	34	..	..
	Blind.								Leper.							
	Males.				Females.				Males.				Females.			
	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
0—5 ..	245	319	527	314	158	220	321	197	28	104	57	29	52	173	115	107
5—10 ..	510	577	740	654	304	379	468	402	36	193	59	76	72	394	207	235
10—15 ..	586	785	795	809	352	476	472	429	83	217	113	190	243	470	258	442
15—20 ..	567	695	679	591	342	433	410	346	166	290	226	283	454	498	431	522
20—25 ..	708	744	732	1,377	470	490	522	984	356	451	428	1,193	590	695	628	1,443
25—30 ..	787	790	711		548	572	566		621	671	662		765	772	790	
30—35 ..	823	802	777	1,210	731	715	777	1,121	1,025	1,129	1,190	2,100	1,104	968	1,077	1,668
35—40 ..	610	565	528		578	537	523		1,078	929	1,054		817	763	900	
40—45 ..	904	798	779	1,151	940	915	891	1,359	1,730	1,620	1,766	2,601	1,439	1,258	1,287	1,962
45—50 ..	546	504	426		610	562	469		1,190	939	986		869	763	815	
50—55 ..	968	861	825	1,309	1,203	1,128	1,052	1,566	1,577	1,464	1,561	1,994	1,391	1,270	1,291	1,665
55—60 ..	384	405	335		517	459	417		577	536	441		566	518	442	
60 and over ..	2,362	2,138	2,146	2,585	3,247	3,083	3,112	3,596	1,533	1,426	1,457	1,534	1,638	1,414	1,759	1,956
Unspecified ..	..	17	..	..	..	31	..	..	..	31	..	..	..	44	..	..

Subsidiary table III.—Number afflicted per 100,000 persons of each age-period and number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.

Age.	Number afflicted per 100,000.								Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.			
	Insane.		Deaf-mute.		Blind.		Leper.		Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Leper.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0-5 ..	2	2	22	15	44	29	1	..	630	694	667	406
5-10 ..	11	6	68	49	80	54	1	1	460	652	616	429
10-15 ..	16	9	75	54	100	81	3	3	447	551	621	629
15-20 ..	24	16	83	61	138	107	10	7	513	589	623	591
20-25 ..	29	14	94	50	170	119	19	7	481	527	685	358
25-30 ..	31	12	83	48	183	142	33	9	357	538	721	266
30-35 ..	34	15	72	49	202	195	57	14	419	646	918	232
35-40 ..	32	12	63	41	213	232	85	15	347	592	978	163
40-45 ..	29	16	59	46	273	312	118	23	527	738	104	179
45-50 ..	31	17	55	37	291	397	947	27	473	589	1,118	157
50-55 ..	22	15	56	44	423	566	156	39	676	749	1,283	190
55-60 ..	29	23	63	44	477	746	162	39	697	612	1,377	212
60 and over ..	28	18	69	54	1,011	1,333	150	32	686	846	1,419	230
Unspecified ..	72,963	52,555	..	..	..	..	..	..	365	..	..	..

Subsidiary table IV.—Number afflicted per 100,000 persons of each caste and number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.

Caste.	Number afflicted per 100,000.								Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.			
	Insane.		Deaf-mute.		Blind.		Leper.		Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Leper.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.				
Ahir ..	18	10	72	48	214	259	50	12	499	613	1,103	210
Bania ..	34	16	77	49	219	189	33	6	414	554	753	155
Barhai ..	18	96	64	38	242	219	46	6	458	524	791	121
Bhangi ..	19	14	65	46	280	279	26	5	658	641	904	196
Brahman ..	29	12	79	44	203	185	47	10	372	503	820	196
Chamar ..	17	9	50	36	208	288	43	12	515	692	1,334	272
Christian ..	50	45	46	54	199	305	204	213	686	936	1,172	798
Darzi ..	28	17	58	58	261	330	31	10	850	778	1,160	317
Dhobi ..	9	8	56	43	207	263	55	11	829	711	1,191	184
Dhunia ..	14	10	58	35	160	191	38	8	667	587	1,151	203
Dom ..	20	16	240	192	233	198	189	87	743	751	796	434
Faqir ..	19	12	85	42	240	227	55	8	377	443	834	136
Gadariya ..	16	12	39	34	217	269	37	5	707	798	1,122	124
Gujar ..	16	5	51	25	187	161	15	4	242	380	670	250
Jat ..	13	5	42	31	196	207	16	3	304	559	807	132
Julaha ..	23	10	83	56	222	245	40	7	453	538	1,048	162
Kachhi ..	17	11	45	30	223	308	45	10	603	594	1,210	189
Kahar ..	24	13	72	37	232	307	52	11	504	573	1,235	193
Kayastha ..	49	16	76	28	220	157	37	3	283	330	636	73
Kewat ..	9	8	36	23	154	161	62	18	900	617	1,038	281
Kisan ..	14	6	47	29	245	245	42	4	370	522	853	87
Kori ..	27	16	72	46	303	394	59	14	559	613	1,239	22
Kumhar ..	20	12	68	41	213	198	47	9	572	572	982	180
Kurmi ..	21	11	56	37	147	178	60	10	534	624	1,051	157
Lodha ..	16	10	55	37	328	370	33	5	641	599	1,133	140
Lohar ..	18	8	67	42	197	206	41	5	714	573	846	119
Luniya ..	15	11	47	50	222	253	36	9	593	1,031	1,191	204
Mali ..	22	17	108	73	209	263	50	18	595	598	1,003	306
Murao ..	26	15	62	45	230	366	53	7	662	716	1,429	121
Nai ..	21	12	49	45	278	293	49	9	656	833	970	121
Pasi ..	16	12	49	44	206	274	62	14	704	848	1,267	211
Pathan ..	26	18	64	46	200	196	40	6	621	654	904	128
Rajput ..	25	9	82	55	175	154	66	20	310	580	762	258
Shaikh ..	49	26	112	88	314	343	47	7	476	707	976	128

Chapter XI.—CASTE (1).

317. **The nature of caste entries.**—Many readers will have seen at all events the outside of the tomes which are published from time to time by Sir Bernard Burke. If they are curious in such matters they will have noted the very large number of families that are dealt with, and shuddered to think what the dimensions of these volumes would be if they dealt with *all* families instead of titled and landed families only. Let us suppose that it was necessary in an English census to classify everybody according to his family: and not only so but to make sure that the classification was correct, that no Smith was shown as Smyth or Smythe unless he had royal warrant for the same, that no Brown adopted without permission a redundant “e,” and no Jacobson masqueraded as Jameson or Fitzjames. Let us further suppose that each family had several sub-families, whose names varied according to their profession, their country, their religious beliefs, or even their marital or other connections with totally different families: that the members of such sub-families preferred to describe themselves by their sub-family names, and that several families had sub-families with the same name (as of course they would); so that Smith and Jones, both of Cumberland, would describe themselves alike as Cumberland; whilst Snug the joiner and Quince the carpenter would appear as Joiner and Carpenter, and James Plush, footman of the Montmorencies, would return himself as James Montmorency. Anyone with a sufficiently fertile imagination to realize what would be involved in such a classification will obtain a not inadequate idea of what it means to classify Indian castes. It is not only that the actual number of castes is extremely large in a province such as this, or that the more ignorant have very little idea of what is meant by caste, and are apt to return an occupation, or a sub-caste, or even a more or less honorific title by which they are known to their fellow villagers, instead of a caste name. It is not only that castes are always “losing bits of themselves” which become separate castes or join themselves to other castes, so that their numbers vary from decade to decade: or that low castes claim high descent, usually from one of Manu’s castes, and change their names to match their pretensions. All these difficulties would be trivial, if only the enumerators were capable of dealing with them: but the average enumerator, though he may know all there is to know about the castes in his own immediate neighbourhood, knows nothing whatever of castes outside it and cannot correct any errors which the persons enumerated may commit. The record commences by being full of mistakes and it is only the higher grades of census officials who can put them right.

318. **The classification of caste entries.**—(1) *The Caste Index.*—These difficulties are by no means new, and every effort was made to meet them. It was not possible to give enumerators any lengthy instructions, but they were warned against some of the most common and likely errors they would encounter, such as the tendency to return a title as a caste name; for instance Lala for Kayastha. The supervisors were given instructions regarding the cases of some few particular castes where from past experience it was known that wrong returns might be made. The charge superintendents who knew English and their superiors district census officers, tahsildars and so on, received copies of the Caste Index—a new departure at this census and one which by general consent was of the utmost utility. It was based on the general plan of the Bengal Caste Index of 1901 (the first of its kind) and was divided into five parts. Part A gave list of all castes known to exist, with the locality where each was chiefly found, a very brief account of their chief occupations, the religions to which they belonged, and notes on possible errors that might arise in connection with the caste return. As an example I give the entry regarding the Agarias of Mirzapur:—

“Iron smelters: Hindu. Besides the Mirzapur Agarias there are—(1) some Agarias or Agaris in Bulandshahr and elsewhere who work in salt and saltpetre. They move to and from the Punjab and claim to be Rajputs; they are also called Gola Thakurs; (2) a caste called Agari, iron smelters in the hills: they are a branch of the Doms. (1) in 1891 and possibly in 1901 were included in Luniyas, which they probably are; (2) doubtless in Doms.”

Part B gave a list of indefinite terms, variant names of castes, sub-caste names, titles, &c., &c., which should not be used. Part C gave the sub-castes of those

(1) Subsidiary table I.—Castes classified according to their traditional occupations.
Subsidiary table II.—Variation in caste, tribe, &c., since 1881.

castes whose subdivisions were to be recorded, as well as the true names of Gurkha castes. Part D gave a list of castes to which special attention was drawn; whilst part E was a list of the chief castes found in the Native States. To the whole was prefixed a note on the nature and origin of caste terminology, which described the various kinds of names actually found (functional, local, racial, historical, &c.) and the various kinds of names which were not to be used⁽¹⁾. This index was based chiefly on Mr. Crooke's book "Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh"⁽²⁾ supplemented by information from other books of a similar nature, such as those of Sherring and Nesfield, census reports and caste monographs.

(2) *Further proceedings.*—District census officers and ethnographical officers in addition to the inquiries into various sub-castes which they were asked to make, were desired to report any changes in the constitution of particular castes, the local use of particular names as caste names, or the rise of fresh castes, which might come to their notice. I received many reports of this kind, which enabled me to amend entries which required it or to admit entries which would otherwise have been challenged. The deputy superintendents also sent me lists of caste entries which they could not understand or place. The district census officers, ethnographical officers, and deputy superintendents all made a full and invariably intelligent use of Crooke's work to assist them and accompanied their lists with suggestions as to classification, which were usually correct. It was originally my intention to prepare an addendum to the Caste Index, based on all this information, which would enable the deputy superintendents to classify all entries for themselves, but when I found that the addendum threatened to be longer than the index, and that about half these dubious entries referred to totally foreign castes of whom only a member or two were found in this province, I decided to keep the major part of this classification in my own hands. Though a very great deal of classification had already been carried out in the central offices, and in spite of the care taken to avoid wrong entries, yet when the caste figures finally reached me there were no less than 667 Hindu caste entries alone. These I reduced with the aid of the authorities already mentioned, and other books and lists (of which the most useful was the list of all sub-castes in volume III of the report of 1891) to 245 castes: there were amongst these 116 major castes, 100 minor castes (all shown under one head) and 29 foreign castes or sub-castes (also shown under the same head). Besides these, there were some 20 names which were obviously of sub-castes, but which I could not classify either because they were found in several castes, or because, though so much was fairly certain that they were sub-caste names, they were untraceable: a few territorial or vague terms such as Pahari, Punjabi, Purbia, Madhesia⁽³⁾; and a few functional names which could not certainly be assigned to any caste, but possibly denote new castes in the process of formation⁽⁴⁾. All of these were lumped under "minor castes." There were 540 Muhammadan caste entries. Apart from the certain entries (which included not only true Muhammadan castes, but Muhammadan members of Hindu castes) there were a considerable number of border Pathans (most of whom were identified with the assistance of a military handbook on the Pathan tribes), functional terms, such as *arakash* (sawyer), *chunapaz* (quicklime maker), *filban* (elephant driver), and totally unmeaning terms (as caste names), such as *jarsidan* (knowing Persian) or *dalal* (tout). Muhammadans however gave on the whole less trouble than Hindus—not because there were fewer wrong entries, but because it was usually obvious at once what the true caste must be, or obvious that it would be impossible to discover what it was.

319. **Accuracy of the statistics.**—At first sight it may seem that in such circumstances the castes figures are not likely to be particularly reliable. This however is not the case. Errors fall into two kinds, the intentional and the unintentional. The intentional error again falls into two classes. The most common is where a caste claims to be a branch of a higher caste than itself: or, to be more accurate, claims to be descended from one of the three twice-born classes of Manu. Claims of this kind probably occur with regularity from time to time and

(1) In drawing up this note I had the valuable assistance of Mr. E. H. Ashworth, C. S.

(2) This book, which is based on the results of the Census of 1891, is as systematic and complete an account of the caste system of any part of India as has ever been published. It has never been superseded and I do not suppose that it ever will. But I venture to think that it might be brought up to date, since many castes have altered a good deal since 1895, and additional information inserted.

(3) Madhesia may also be either a Kandui, Halwai or Kalwar. All claim to be Madhesia Banias.

(4) Zargar (jeweller), nilgar (worker in indigo), tikligar (spangle maker). There were many names connected with tir an arrow; probably Tirgar (an arrow maker) was once a caste. Cf. kamangar—bow-maker; sikligar, &c., &c.

might have caused much trouble, but for the fact that the claimants with one accord seemed to regard the Census department in the light of a College of Heralds and pressed all their claims upon me. Consequently, whether the change they wished to make merely involved the addition of Kshatriya or Brahman to their proper designation or involved the adoption of a completely new name, it was well known to me and I had no difficulty in restoring the entries to their proper heads. In one or two instances the claim was so far admitted that the caste was definitely permitted to adopt the variant if it wished to do so without let or hindrance: normally however the entries were put under the usual name. The chief

claims of this kind are noted in the margin. Occasionally too, sub-castes which had taken up a new occupation claimed to be separate from their old castes: and such cases were usually admitted. Instances are Chamar-Julaha, Chamar-Kori, Kayastha-Darzi and Kayastha-Mochi. The unintentional errors were those due to ignorance, which produced sub-caste entries, *gotra* entries, entries of titles, and so on. But though the actual number of such entries was large, the number of persons affected was invariably small and could make little or no difference to the figures, when it was not possible to assign them to the correct caste. In short, despite all the possible sources of error, the result on the figures is very small

Claim to be	Caste.	Name claimed.
(1) Brahman ..	Bhuinhar ..	(a) Bhuinbar Brahman.
	Lohar ..	Vishvakarmabansi Brahman.
	Barhai ..	..
	(Dhiman).	..
(2) Rajput or Kshatriya.	Belwar ..	(a) Belwar Brahman Sanadh.
	Taga ..	..
	Bhat ..	Brahmbhat
(2) Rajput or Kshatriya.	Mair or Tank	Mair or Tank Kshatriya.
	Sonar.	..
	Kurmi ..	Kurmi Kshatriya.
	Gadariya ..	..
	Karnwal ..	..
(3) Vaishya ..	Kayastha ..	Chitraguptabansi Kshatriya.
	Saundika (b) ..	..
	Kalwar ..	Batham Vaishya.
	Kandu ..	Madhesia Vaishya.
Halwai ..		

(a) Admitted as a permissible entry.

(b) Bengal caste.

indeed.

320. **The classification of castes.**—In 1891, the classification adopted was based on considerations of ethnology, history and function. In 1901 for this somewhat unsatisfactory method a classification by social precedence was prescribed, which though interesting, roused a great deal of somewhat acrimonious discussion and ill-feeling which, as experience has proved again and again at this census, still smoulders⁽¹⁾. The question of social precedence will not therefore be re-opened; the castes are shown alphabetically in table XIII and in subsidiary table I according to their traditional occupation.

321. **The origin of caste.**—It is not necessary to mention the better-known theories of the origin of caste. The impression obtained from most of them is that the Brahman took the existing social divisions (which are usually described according to the theorist's own particular views of what the social divisions in a primitive society are), and turned them for his own purposes (which purposes are usually said to be the maintenance of his own peculiar privileges and the purity of his own blood) into the caste system. Once again the Brahman figures as the divinity *ex machina* who shapes all Indian ends. Such evidence as exists in ancient authorities on the state of society in early times is either disregarded or contemptuously dismissed as a fiction of the same invaluable Brahman, especially the account of Manu, which grotesque and unreal as it is in details, is yet obviously an account of society as it actually was at the time, and as such is valuable.

Modern writers justifiably complain of this procedure. Dahlmann, Oldenberg and Bouglé all insist that the records of the past are good evidence of the social system of the past. As it happens, of late much fresh light has been thrown on the past by the study of Buddhist (Pali) literature⁽²⁾, especially the Jatakas, which being in essence folk tales, were not written with a purpose and

⁽¹⁾ The Khatrias for instance took offence at the fact that in the Caste Index, referring to their occupation, I described them as "traders of a Punjabi origin;" they thought this implied a departure from the scheme of 1901 where the place allotted to them was with the Kshatriyas. The Vaishya Mahasabha thought that because I usually referred to the caste as "Banias," they could no longer describe themselves as Vaishya, though it was obviously done merely for the sake of clearness. The Lohars were much troubled because they imagined I had said that Lohars were Doms: a curious misunderstanding seeing that what I *had* said was, in sum, that (hill) Doms were *not* Lohars, though some called themselves so.

⁽²⁾ An interesting study of the social system presented in this literature will be found in "Buddhist India" by Professor Rhys David, which is more accessible than the German accounts, such as that of Dr. Fick. The works of the three critics mentioned are Dahlmann's "Das Altindische Volkstum," Oldenberg's "Geschichte des Indischen Kastenwesens," and Bouglé's "Essais sur le Régime des Castes."

consequently do not distort the facts they represent. They have the further advantage that they are not written from a Brahmanical but a Kshatriya point of view ⁽¹⁾.

In this literature we find a social system in which Manu's four "colours" (*varna*) ⁽²⁾ are the basis—Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Sudra. They are classes, not castes in any sense of the word. "The Vaishya and Sudra came first and from them were the Brahman and Kshatriya made" says the proverb: and that is exactly the state of affairs. Kshatriya and Vaishya and Sudra can and do become Brahmans, Vaishya and Sudra can and do become Kshatriyas. Beneath this upper stratum of society there are *hina-jatiya* and *hina-sippani*—low tribes who hereditarily follow occupations such as making rush baskets, bird-catching, &c., which tribes are cognate to the occupational tribes of Mr. Nesfield's hunting state: and low trades, such as mat makers, barbers, potters, weavers, &c. There was nothing to prevent the members of the four *varnas* taking to these trades: love and avarice laughed at *varnas* just as according to the modern proverb "love laughs at caste," and we find nobles and king's sons and Brahmans taking to all sorts of occupations in pursuit of love or money. Inter-marriage had nothing to do with the *varnas*: it depended amongst the Aryans on the *gotra*, or group of agnates, and amongst the Dravidians on the village. Marriage and commensality were free as between colour and colour: the restrictions were similar both in degree and nature to those which are found in English society. A lord can eat with a groom or marry his daughter if he wants to, but normally he does not and people of his own rank look askance at him if he does. Side by side with these *varnas* existed certain occupational guilds, which are said to be 18 in number. They were not dissimilar to the merchant guilds of mediaeval Europe; they were normally ruled by a president (*shreshthi*) and council of four, which not only dealt with trade disputes, but with the domestic disputes of members. Even in Buddhist times the presidents were wealthy and important persons: later on, as many references in Manu, Yajnavalkya, Narada and Brihaspati show, they became extremely powerful. It is actually laid down that "the king must approve of whatever the guilds do to other people, whether it be cruel or kind." They tried their own law suits, had strict apprentice laws, and could only be taxed with their own approval. They had their own family and inheritance laws and the king could not interfere with them ⁽³⁾. In these trade guilds, Dahmann and Oldenberg find the chief basis of caste ⁽⁴⁾.

Quite clearly the origin of caste must be sought for in the peculiar circumstances of this complex system of society—a society of classes with a cross division of guilds. The classes were largely a matter of colour. The word *varna* means colour; the Vedas are full of references to the distinction between the fair-skinned Aryas and the dark-skinned Dasyus ⁽⁵⁾. The distinction amounted to actual enmity, and no wonder, since one was conqueror and the other conquered. But the fair conquerors had not a sufficiency of women ⁽⁶⁾, and were compelled to take wives from the dark-skinned conquered races. The result was a race of half-breeds. Both conquerors and half-breeds would be subject, in the circumstances,

⁽¹⁾ Brahmans, even Benares Brahmans, are spoken of as "low born" in comparison with kings and nobles. The word is *hina-jacco* (Buddhist India, page 60).

⁽²⁾ *Vanna* is the word in Pali. I prefer the better known words Vaishya instead of Vessa, *gotra* instead of *gotta*, *varna* instead of *vanna*.

⁽³⁾ For these trade guilds see a book by Professor Hopkins (Essays on Modern India): Buddhist India: and the authorities quoted above. The trade guild still flourishes in Gujarat and Rajputana. They are, he it noted, often coterminous with the caste, when they are known as *panchayat*. Members of an occupational caste are *ipso facto* members of the corresponding guild, and dismissal from the former involves dismissal from the latter.

⁽⁴⁾ Their accounts are not perhaps completely satisfactory. Like most theorists, they "protest too much" and lay too much insistence on the overwhelming importance of the cardinal point of their own theory. Dahmann for instance seems to insist that the guilds grew up inside the classes and that endogamy was introduced by the guilds. They became hereditary, says he, which is quite intelligible, for the tendency would be to pass a craft from father to son. But that would not necessarily connote endogamy. Smith might marry Potter's daughter: his son would still become a Smith.

⁽⁵⁾ Even to-day the distinction is constantly drawn. Fair brides find a market more easily than dark brides. Dark or black is a synonym for both ugly and blackguardly. "A fairy in the power of a black fisherman" is a proverb used of a pretty wife and ugly husband: "*kala admi*" is a term of abuse which with some races can only be washed out in blood. "The mother's womb is like a potter's kiln: some leave it fair (*gora*), some leave it dark (*kala*)"—is a proverb which emphasizes the distinction. Gods and goddesses again are almost invariably represented as fair skinned (unless they are malevolent). That malignant ghost, the Churel, is described as fair in front and black behind and her great danger is her beauty. Most striking of all, those horrible oleographs of a more or less unpleasant nature which form the delight of courtesans and their admirers are invariably of white-skinned women. It is of course unnecessary to point out how fair many of the higher castes are. The most extraordinary case I have ever seen was of a Bania (Rastogi, I think) who had red curly hair, a florid complexion and blue eyes; as had his son.

⁽⁶⁾ This is Sir H. Risley's, and perhaps, the usual explanation. But whether there were enough women of their own blood or no, mixed marriages would have occurred. The women of the conquered would have formed part of the conqueror's booty: and, if so, would have become wives or concubines. There is no doubt that there were slaves of this kind in ancient India. See Buddhist India, page 68. Manu also contemplates the possibility of marriages between the high castes and Sudras.

to the pride of blood : and the result would be that, so soon as they had bred enough women of their own kind, mixed marriages would cease ⁽¹⁾. Later, the cadets of both races pushing further afield would repeat the process. And the ultimate result would be that society would become divided into groups of all shades of "colour," i.e. of all degrees of mixed blood, all with a tendency to close their ranks to those below them. But this was no more than a tendency at first, in Manu's time and probably long after. Meantime the guilds were growing up, strong organizations sternly ruled by their *panchayats* (to use the name by which at a latter date they became known). As we have seen, they would have recruits of all classes (*varnas*)—Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Sudra, of the pure and mixed blood. Within the guild would be little groups all with the same class prejudice against corrupting their blood by intermarriage. They would be brought into closer contact with persons of other classes than ever before, in their necessary relations with members of such classes within the guild; and consequently would probably become more strictly endogamous within the guild than they ever were without it. Meantime the idea of hereditary occupation came into full play; the guild would cut itself off entirely from other guilds, and, with the idea of endogamy also in full play, would easily become endogamous. The *panchayat* would have the power to enforce the principle: the Indian's lack of personal independence and fear of offending against custom would make him ready and even willing to submit to the *panchayat's* coercion. The guilds would become themselves endogamous, and contain within them also endogamous groups. In a word, they would become castes *with endogamous sub-castes*. Meantime the non-functional groups, already predisposed to endogamy, would follow the example of these functional castes—not consciously perhaps, but simply because the existing sentiment of social exclusiveness would be strengthened by this example ⁽²⁾. And so caste would become an universal feature of the Hindu social system ⁽³⁾.

322. **The bearing of the theory on caste as it is.**—If this theory is to find acceptance it must explain the caste system as it is at present. The ordinary view of caste is probably that all castes are of the same kind, built on a kind of sealed pattern, the reflection of an "auto-caste" laid up as an archetype in heaven. As a matter of fact, castes are of many varieties. There is the functional caste, by far the most common kind ⁽⁴⁾: the racial caste ⁽⁵⁾: the sectarian caste ⁽⁶⁾: the caste sprung of miscegenation ⁽⁷⁾: the "cave of Adullam" caste ⁽⁸⁾. These classes differ to some extent in their customary restrictions and in other ways. But without going into minor differences, it may be said that there are two main kinds of caste—the functional and the non-functional; and that these have two important differences. Firstly, the functional caste is, generally speaking, endogamous as a whole; but it is made up of parts (sub-castes) which are also endogamous. The Kayastha, Sonar, Barhai, Lohar are all composed of endogamous sub-castes. The non-functional castes are endogamous as a whole, but are not so generally made up of endogamous sub-castes. The Rajput and Khattri castes, both descendants of the ancient Kshatriyas, are made up of exogamous sections: so is the Jat caste ⁽⁹⁾. Secondly, generally speaking, the functional caste has a much

⁽¹⁾ For examples from other races see India Report, 1901, page 555.

⁽²⁾ There might be reaction as well as action. Not only might the example of the functional castes drive the non-functional groups to endogamy, already predisposed that way; but the non-functional groups, despising their members who had become artisans, would themselves close their ranks to the guilds as a whole, including those of their blood who had joined them. Further, Mr. Nesfield's "imitation in self defence" might come in. There is always antagonism between the aristocracy of blood and the aristocracy of wealth, and when the latter is as powerful as the guilds were, the former might well combine against them. And it is perhaps also legitimate to suggest that the whole Buddhist period witnessed a struggle between Kshatriya and Brahman, and that the aristocracies of blood and of learning might also close their ranks to each other in the same way.

⁽³⁾ This account is in all essentials that in the article on caste in the new Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. It differs from Dahmann's in that he regards the guilds as growing up within the class, which would seem to result in a Brahman guild of (say) Sonars, a Kshatriya guild of Sonars, and so on; whilst there is one caste of Sonars at the present day with endogamous sub-castes *within it* whose origins are undoubtedly different. It also differs from Oldenberg's though to a less extent: he regards the guilds as adopting endogamy from the classes.

⁽⁴⁾ Barhai, Lohar, Sonar, Barai, Mali, Nai, Dhobi, &c., &c. Be it noted that the Brahman is in essence a functional caste, and the oldest of them all.

⁽⁵⁾ Jat, Gujar, Bhar, Dusadh, Pasi, probably also Ahir and Dom.

⁽⁶⁾ This kind is rare in the province. Atit, Bishnoi, Goshain are three well-known instances. They are religious sects which have taken to family life.

⁽⁷⁾ Also rare in this province: the Khawas (sprung of Nepalese Rajputs and slave girls) are an instance. Less certain cases are the "Gola Purna Brahman" or Gola Purab, and the Gola Thakur (name for the Bulandshahr Agaria). The Malkana (see chapter IV, paragraph 170) is also sprung of various elements, amongst whom miscegenation has doubtless occurred.

⁽⁸⁾ The term is Sir A. Lyall's. These are groups of new converts or of broken men of all castes. Sir A. Lyall's own instance is the Meo; but the gipsy castes are very possibly of similar origin: even still they are known to kidnap girls of other castes.

⁽⁹⁾ The case is less clear with the Bhar and Pasi, but it is quite certain that these castes are of mixed origin, which accounts for the variation. The Dusadh's sections used to be exogamous, but have now become endogamous. The Brahman, a functional caste, is composed of endogamous sub-castes: the caste is of course of very mixed origin.

stronger and more powerful *panchayat* than the non-functional: the *panchayat* of the functional kind is also usually permanent, whilst among non-functional castes it is impermanent. It may also be noted that whilst non-functional castes usually claim descent, ultimately, from a common ancestor, the functional castes frequently do not. Amongst the Sonars, for instance, the names of the sub-castes prove their differences of origin. The Bagri, Chatri, Mair and Khatri claim Kshatriya origin: the Rastogi and Ajudhiabasi are clearly of Vaishya descent. Amongst the Lohars some sub-castes claim Brahmanical origin, e.g. the Dhaman or Dhiman, the Vishvakarmabansi, and the Ojha: many others do not.

The theory sketched above seems to allow for these divergences. The functional castes, sprung from guilds, naturally have endogamous sub-castes, strong *panchayats* and do not claim a common origin: the non-functional castes, sprung largely from the classes, do not have endogamous sub-castes or strong *panchayats* and naturally claim a common origin. And the latest definition of caste is quite consistent with the theory. "An endogamous group, or collection of endogamous groups, bearing a common name, having the same traditional occupation, claiming descent from the same source and commonly regarded as forming a single homogeneous community" (1).

323. **Claims of certain castes to higher origin in the light of this theory.**—And if the guilds are the parents of the functional castes, and the guilds were made up of recruits from all classes, there is nothing essentially incongruous and nothing incredible in the claims of certain sub-castes of such castes to higher origin than is usually assigned to them. When the Vishvakarma Lohar and Dhiman Barhai claim to be Brahmans, or the Mair or Tonk Sonar or the "Chitraguptabansi" Kayastha claim to be Kshatriyas, it is not possible to greet their claims with ridicule. The Census department is not a Herald's College, and it is impossible to definitely pronounce that the claim is correct or incorrect: from the papers submitted to me there seem to be both points of similarity and points of difference, such as would naturally grow up when the group cut itself off from its former class by joining the guild. But so much may certainly be said, that there is no *prima facie* improbability in any of such claims, and that indeed it is only what one would expect in the light of our present knowledge of ancient society.

324. **Caste rules and restrictions.**—"How far intermarriage is permitted, what are the effects of a marriage permitted but looked on as irregular, what are the penalties for a marriage forbidden, whether the rules protecting trades and occupations are in effect more than a kind of unionism grown inveterate through custom, by what means caste is lost and in what circumstances it can be regained—these are subjects regarding which very little real or definite knowledge exists."

This quotation from the article on caste in the new Encyclopaedia Britannica is undoubtedly too sweeping, though it is so far true that the knowledge is hidden away in books little known out of India. If the author had consulted those books, he would have found any amount of such information. But it makes it desirable to discuss the actual facts regarding certain aspects of the caste system. These are (1) caste rules and restrictions, (2) caste government, (3) the distinction between function, caste and sub-caste, (4) the formation of new castes.

325. **Rules and restrictions on intermarriage.**—By far the most important restrictions in the caste system are those relating to marriage. This subject has already been discussed with some fullness in the chapter on marriage (chapter VII), and it will only be necessary here to recapitulate the chief points (2).

(1) Every caste is an endogamous group: that is to say no member of any one caste can ever marry any but a woman of the same caste; to this rule there are practically no exceptions, save amongst the "cave of Adullam" castes referred to above. But these are, as it were, castes in a caste of perpetual formation (3).

(1) This is the definition in the article referred to above. Personally, I should be inclined to read "either having the same traditional occupation or claiming descent from the same source."

It is to be noticed that many racial castes have acquired a common occupation, or have always possessed one, e.g. the Ahir (cow-herds) and the Pasis (toddy drawers). They are comparable to the *hina-jatiyo*, mentioned above. Further, they frequently possess strong *panchayats*. These low occupational tribes may have imitated the guilds, or more probably these *panchayats* may be survivals of the old tribal councils. There are very few rules which have no exceptions, and this is particularly true of the caste system. In a society sprung from Aryan *varnas*, better class Dravidians, low tribes with hereditary occupations, low tribes without hereditary occupations, groups of the pure Aryan blood, groups of the pure aboriginal blood, groups of the mixed blood, guilds formed of bits of all these, freemen and freedmen and slaves, it is obvious that there might well be many variations from the normal.

(2) See chapter VII, paragraphs 211 *et seq.* for details.

(3) A most curious exception has been reported from Cawnpore—that a Kanaujia Bharbhunja following the trade of Halwai can, if he wishes, marry into the Halwai caste. The matter is regarded as perfectly natural.

(2) In a majority of cases however there are endogamous groups, or sub-castes, within the caste. Generally every sub-caste is endogamous. Occasionally, a particular group of sub-castes are exogamous as regards each other but endogamous as regards all other sub-castes. When this phenomenon is found it would appear that the sub-castes are sprung from different sources: which sources differ either in social rank or in the original locality of their home. Usually however there is nothing to show the origin but the name. Other sub-castes appear to be totemistic or occupational.

As an example I take the Kurmi caste. Their main sub-castes as given by Mr. Crooke are 10 in number. Of these Gangapari (residents beyond the Ganges), Gujrati (residents of Gujrat), Jaiswar (residents of Jais in Rae Bareli district) ⁽¹⁾, Kanaujia (residents of Kanauj) and Singraur (connected with Singrauli, a pargana in Mirzapur), are all local. Baiswar may be connected with Baiswara and also be local: or may be a tribal name denoting relationship with the Bais clan of Rajputs. The Kharebind (pure Bind) is also a tribal name. The Pattariha (stone-men) and Bardiha (bullock men) are occupational names: the Sainthwar is of dubious derivation, but the word appears to come from *sentha*, a sort of reed grass, and may possibly be totemistic in origin. The Kahar again has an interesting set of sub-castes. Of these Batham appears to be local: Bot (Tibet) may be so too, whilst Jaiswar certainly is. Dhimar (fisherman), Gharuk (house-man, i.e. domestic servant), Mahar or Mahra (women—referring their having the entry of women's apartments), Singhariya (cultivators of the singhara nut), Kamkar (either workman or drawer of water) are professional terms. Dhuriya refers to the origin of the sub-caste's ancestors (formed by Mahadeo out of a handful of dust—*dhur*): Mallah and Baiswar are tribal names referring to origin. Difference of locality, and difference of origin, generally, would of course make for endogamy ⁽²⁾.

(3) Within the endogamous group (whether caste or sub-caste) there are a number of exogamous groups, whose origin is various. Of these the *gotra* is the most famous. Within these a man may not marry ⁽³⁾.

(4) There are also prohibited degrees, which vary. Among the higher castes they extend to *sapindas*, i.e. to any two persons whose common ancestor is not further removed than 6 degrees on the male and 4 degrees on the female side. Amongst other castes, the degrees include all relatives in the line of uncle and aunt on either side ⁽⁴⁾.

(5) Hypergamy also has a bearing on the question of marriage. In some castes it is an absolute rule, in all probably it is a tendency. A girl may only marry a man in a section higher than hers in social rank, or more generally a man in a higher social position than herself ⁽⁵⁾.

(6) Widows may not be remarried in most high castes and in a large proportion of castes of the middle rank. Many castes which generally permit it have sub-castes which are peculiar for forbidding it, and this almost invariably causes that particular sub-caste to be endogamous, whether the rest are so or not ⁽⁶⁾.

(7) Even where widows may be remarried, it used to be obligatory, and is still usual for them to marry their husband's younger brother *en secondes nocces*. If there is no such brother they normally can marry anybody else; frequently they may do so, even if there is: but occasionally they may in his absence marry nobody at all. This is the well-known levirate custom ⁽⁷⁾.

(8) Irregular unions are frequently possible. Amongst some high castes which feel the pressure of hypergamy (in a hypergamous system the choice of the men in the lowest sections is obviously much restricted) it is not uncommon to take "wives" of other castes: but this is invariably *sub rosa*: the girl is passed off as of a higher caste, and frequently the husband practically connives at his own deception. Amongst lower castes recognized concubinage is not uncommon: it usually is a concomitant of the recognition of widow remarriage (which in so far as it can only be carried out by a valid but still maimed right is itself scarcely distinguishable from concubinage). Such concubinage must, almost invariably, be with a woman of the same caste. The children of such unions have full caste

⁽¹⁾ A Kurmi correspondent writes that Jaiswar was originally the title for a victorious soldier, or else a regimental name meaning victorious soldier; it is not quite clear which he means, still less how he derives the word unless he connects it with 'jai' (victory), though then the "swar" is dubious. (One critic suggested it might be *jai and sowar*.) The Jaiswar sub-castes found in other castes he appears to consider descendants of the servants and followers of this regiment. As an etymological effort it is more curious than convincing.

⁽²⁾ It may be mentioned here—the point will be referred to again later—that the sub-castes of a caste vary in different localities both in name and number.

⁽³⁾ Chapter VII, paragraph 217.
⁽⁴⁾ " " 219.
⁽⁵⁾ " " 220.
⁽⁶⁾ " " 221.
⁽⁷⁾ " " 222.

rights. Irregular unions in castes which do not recognize concubinage, or unions with women outside the caste in those which do, involve excommunication; whilst such unions even when permitted frequently involve the penalty of a fine and feast to ensure recognition⁽¹⁾.

These are the chief restrictions on marriage: a fuller description will be found, as already stated, in chapter VII. And to make clear what it means "to one about to marry" I am tempted to imitate Sir H. Risley and imagine the case of an English family which was ruled by caste law. Let us suppose the family of Smith divided into three endogamous sub-castes, the "Khare"-Smiths (or pure Smiths), the Smyths and Smythes. Let us further suppose each divided into two exogamous sections, Jones and Brown. We then get the following restrictions. Suppose that a man of the Jones-Smyth exogamous section wishes to marry. He cannot marry a Robinson or a Tomkins, or even a Smith or a Smythe. Nor can he marry a Jones-Smyth. His bride must come from the Brown-Smyth section (which as there are only two groups we must suppose to be the lower: at all events his bride must be of lower social status than he; e.g. a naval man could marry a soldier's daughter: a soldier could not marry a naval man's daughter). As his own mother must have been a Brown-Smyth too, from amongst the Brown-Smyths he must choose a girl who has no common ancestor with himself within four generations; and she must not be a widow. In such circumstances it is obvious that his choice would be considerably restricted even in so widespread a clan as the Smyths. He would also, in all probability, have to go outside his own village to find his bride: but not so far that distance stepped in to make a further bar⁽²⁾.

326. **Rules and restrictions on commensality.**—This is a branch of the subject with which Mr. Burn dealt fully in 1901 from one point of view. Speaking generally food for this purpose is of two kinds, *kachcha* and *pakka*. The former is any food cooked with water, the latter any food cooked with *ghi*. Drinking of water and smoking are two other points that need consideration. As a rule a man will never eat *kachcha* food unless it is prepared by a fellow casteman, which in actual practice means a member of his own endogamous group, whether it be caste or sub-caste; or else by his Brahman *guru* or spiritual guide. There are always very close relations between *guru* and *chela* and this is one of the most striking ways in which the fact is exemplified. *Pakka* food can generally be eaten if prepared by a fellow casteman, whether of the same endogamous group or not; or by the Brahman *guru*: whilst most castes can accept *pakka* food from certain other castes and there are few who would refuse such food if cooked by a Brahman. In the matter of eating the degree of contact involved makes a difference. Generally speaking, it is the person that prepared the food that matters; such contact as is involved, say, in carrying it does not matter, unless of course it be touched by a member of an "untouchable" caste. Again, people of one caste will eat food prepared by some one of another caste, but would not necessarily be willing to eat *with* that person. The restrictions on the guests you can invite to dinner are much more strict than those on the cook you can employ, though of course it is quite possible to ask guests to a meal but not eat with them: or even to have a meal specially cooked by a different cook for their benefit⁽³⁾. As regards water, the restrictions are on the whole less strict than on food: they approximate to the restrictions regarding *pakka* food, with a tendency to greater laxity. The vessel in which the water is brought affects the question. A high caste man will take water out of his own *lota* from the hand of a low caste man, but not from the *lota* of that low caste man. Probably no one would refuse water from a Brahman or from his *lota*⁽⁴⁾. The rules appear to be strictest as regards smoking. It is very seldom that a man will smoke with anybody but a fellow casteman: so much so that the fact that Jats, Ahirs and Gujars will smoke together has been regarded as evidence that they are very closely related. The reason doubtless is that "smoking with"

(1) Chapter VII, paragraph 225. There is a sarcastic proverb on the subject of concubines of a different caste to their husbands. "*Bahaurigan ke bahar duar, handi basan chunne na paws.*" (He gives) many caresses (to his mistress) but she must not touch the house vessels.

(2) This rule of marrying outside the village may possibly be the result of the old Dravidian rule of village exogamy. But inasmuch as one village usually has only members of a particular *biradari*, which may be taken as equivalent to blood-kin or exogamous section, a man would naturally have to go outside it to find his bride. There are also other reasons—vide chapter VII, paragraph 218.

(3) This is doubtless the method employed at feasts where Brahmans are fed by members of lower castes, though frequently the "feeding" consists merely in giving them uncooked food. Cooks are frequently Brahmans (see chapter IV, paragraph 168).

(4) Jail cooks are Brahmans and the persons who give water to railway travellers at stations are also Brahmans—*vani pande* is a well-known cry. They pour the water from a bucket with their own *lota* into the traveller's.

a man generally means smoking the same pipe, and involves much closer contact than taking food prepared by him. There is one caste (Mallah), which will eat food cooked by a Brahman, but only if it is cooked at the cooking place of a member of the caste. I have examined the facts regarding 64 castes and they fall into the following categories:—

(1) *Taking neither kachcha nor pakka food from anybody save a fellow casteman* ⁽¹⁾.—Agrahri, Chai, Kayastha, Khairwa, Kumhar, Kurmi.

(2) *Taking kachcha food from none save a casteman and pakka food only from a Brahman*.—Chero, Kasarwani, Kasaundhan, Kharwar, Koiri, Majhwar, Mallah, Panka.

(3) *Taking kachcha food from none save a casteman and pakka food only from the twice-born*—

From (a) Brahman and Rajput only.—Sonar.

(b) Brahman, Rajput, Vaishya.—Barai ⁽²⁾, Halwai ⁽²⁾, Kaseera ⁽²⁾, Kewat, Lohar ⁽²⁾, Ramaiya, Tarkihar ⁽²⁾, Bharbhunja.

(c) other combinations of the twice-born.—Rahwari (no caste lower than Jat), Ror (no caste lower than Gujar).

(4) *Taking kachcha food from none save a casteman and pakka food from castes more or less low*—(a) *When these castes are specially connected with the preparation of food*.—All castes can take *pakka* food from a Halwai, though some Kanaujia Brahmans will only take certain kinds of sweetmeats (those composed only of milk and sugar), and some Sarwariya Brahmans will take nothing at all.

(b) *Where the lowest caste is specially connected with domestic service*.—All castes will take *pakka* food prepared by a Kahar save a Kanaujia Brahman.

(c) *Other combinations of castes*.—The Balahar will take *pakka* food from all castes down to and including the Bhangi; the Dharkar from all excluding the Chamar, Dom and lower menial castes, the Nai from all castes down to a Kayastha.

(5) *Taking kachcha food from Brahmans and pakka food from other castes* (the lowest caste from which *pakka* food is taken is given in brackets).—Agarwala (Khatris), Ahir (Vaishyas), Banjara (Brahman), Barhai (Vaishyas) ⁽²⁾, Bhar (Vaishyas) ⁽²⁾, Byar (Brahman), Chhipi (Agarwala), Gandharb (Ahir), Golapurab (Nai), Kandu (Bari), Lodha (Halwai), Pasi (Halwai).

(6) *Taking kachcha food from a lower caste than Brahmans and pakka food*

Caste.	Takes <i>kachcha</i> from—	Takes <i>pakka</i> from—	<i>from the same or a lower caste still</i> .— These are best arranged in tabular form.
Agaria ..	Rajput	Kahar.	The lowest caste from
Aheria ..	Barhai	Nai.	which food is taken is alone
Bajgi ..	Any but Dom and Chamar	Any but Dom and Chamar.	mentioned.
Balai ..	Gujar	Nai.	To complete this survey
Bari ..	Kayastha	Nai.	a few other instances may
Basor ..	Nai	Nai.	be mentioned. Brahmans
Bhangi ..	Any but Dom and Dhobi..	Any but Dom and Dhobi.	will accept <i>kachcha</i> food
Chamar ..	Any but Dom and Dhobi..	Any but Dom and Dhobi.	Brahmans will take <i>pakka</i>
Dom ..	Any but Dhobi	Any but Dhobi.	food from Agarias, Bhar-
Dusadh ..	Ahir	Ahir.	bhunjas, Chhipis, Halwais,
Gujar ..	Ahir	Ahir.	Kahars, Kaseras and Kur-
Kahar ..	Rajput	Ahir.	mis: the lower class of
Khagi ..	Agarwala	Kahar.	
Khanger ..	Vaishyas	Kurmi.	
Khatik ..	Nai	Nai.	
Kori ..	Rajput	Vaishyas ⁽²⁾ .	
Mali ..	Lohar	Kayastha.	
Sejwari ..	Rajput	Rajput.	

Brahmans will also take it from Barais, Barhais, Baris and Lohars, whilst Rajputs would add Lohars. Vaishyas take it from their own class, higher classes and sometimes from Bahelias and Cheros. Jats, Ahirs and Gujars will eat *pakka* together; Khatris and Saraswat Brahmans (amongst whom there is a very close bond: the latter are the hereditary priests of the former) will eat either *kachcha* or *pakka* together—an almost unique case. None will take water or food from Agariyas, Bajgis, Balahars, Basors, Bhangis, Chamars, Dhobis, Doms, Haburas, *et hoc genus omne*; whilst only a Chamar will take water from a Pasi. All will take water from Barhais, Baris, Bharbhunjas, Halwais, Kahars and Nais.

It will be noticed that many low castes have very strict regulations. In the first two classes, out of 14 castes mentioned 8 are low, the Chai, Khairwa, Kumhar.

⁽¹⁾ Or a Brahman *guru*. For this purpose he seems to rank as a casteman.

⁽²⁾ Vaishyas, excluding Kalwar, probably because he deals in liquor.

Chero, Kharwar, Majhwar, Mallah and Panka. It will be noticed, too, that save in the case of the Kumhar, the "lowness" of these castes consists rather in their aboriginal blood and aboriginal customs than in any low trade or occupation: whilst the Kumhar is probably more aboriginal than not, and his trade is considered low chiefly because it is associated with that impure animal, the donkey, and because of a fanciful resemblance between himself and a butcher (1). It is true that he uses manure for his fuel, but he is not really any worse in this respect than most decent Hindus, for his fuel consists chiefly of the sacred cow-dung. In a word, his low status is due to the accident of a religious consecration and a metaphor which does more credit to imagination than to common sense. This suggests that possibly many of these restrictions on commensality, which in sum resolve themselves to considerations of ceremonial purity (2), were not of Aryan origin at all, but derived from aboriginal custom. It is a thorny question and not one that can be pursued to any advantage: restrictions of this kind are found in all primitive peoples and it seems impossible to say how much is Aryan and how much aboriginal.

Another point worth noting is that these restrictions often vary in the same caste in different localities. It is impossible to attempt to analyse these differences. The restrictions seem to vary chiefly according to the local standing and wealth of the caste itself; and to some extent with its local differences of occupation. The Kahar for instance in Jhansi will eat the Ahirs' *kachcha* food; in the eastern districts only the Brahman's and Rajput's. The Barai of most places will eat the *pakka* food of Vaishyas, but in Gorakhpur he will not do so. The Baris' case is still more complicated. In the east they will eat the leavings even of Kayasthas; in Muttra they eat nobody's leavings: whilst in Unao they eat both the *kachcha* and *pakka* food of a Nai, in Muttra they will eat the *kachcha* only of a Bania or Kayastha. In Mirzapur only the highest Brahmans will not eat their *pakka*: in Unao no high caste Hindu will take anything from them but water.

327. **Caste restrictions on food.**—Hindus are generally regarded as strict vegetarians. It is no doubt true that high castes which pride themselves on their ceremonial purity are so. But there is no general religious or social prohibition against eating meat, as Dr. Buchanan's statement with regard to the Sarwaria Brahmans of Gorakhpur proves (3). Though this statement is probably not true of all Sarwaria Brahmans in all parts of the country, let alone of all high castes, and is probably less true now than it was in his day, yet the fact remains that he reports this very high caste to eat goat's flesh, deer, porcupines, hares, partridges, quails, pigeons, doves and wild duck of several kinds. In the Vedic and Epic periods flesh meat was freely eaten, though its use is condemned in the Mahabharata (4). The normal meal of all classes consists of *chapatis*, or unleavened cakes of various kinds of flour, with vegetables and pulse cooked with *ghi*, and sweet cakes. High caste Hindus of the Saiva sects often eat mutton (or goat's flesh) and so do lower caste Hindus when they can afford it (5). This statement points to the two main reasons which makes Hindus indulge chiefly in a vegetable diet: the first is that they cannot as a rule afford flesh, and the second is religion. Whilst Saivas will eat meat, and Saktas also drink liquor, Vaishnavas and Jains are strict vegetarians; and it is not uncommon to find that the Vaishnavas in a caste eat no meat, whilst the rest of the caste does.

Whatever they may not legally eat, in actual practice most Brahmans and many Vaishyas (in the restricted sense of the sub-castes of the Bania or Vaish

(1) The donkey is impure because he is sacred to Sitala, the small-pox goddess. The resemblance between the Kumhar and the butcher is that he cuts the throats of his pots on his wheel. "Had he cut human throats" remarks one sarcastic critic "he would probably have attained a higher station."

(2) They again possibly reduce themselves in the end to considerations of sanitation and health. It is impossible to suppose that Moses forbade to the Jews the use for food of all creatures which did not happen to both chew the cud and be cloven-footed, simply because they did *not* chew the cud and were *not* cloven-footed; there must have been some better cause behind the law. The suspicion that there was method in these unexplained taboos is only strengthened when one finds that other peoples of totally different religious beliefs, but living in a similar climate, have almost exactly the same restrictions. The Hindu's "unclean" animals to this day are almost exactly the same as those forbidden by Moses. To primitive peoples the strongest of all possible sanctions is the religious; and no doubt this fact explains why these restrictions become bound up with religion. It has even been suggested somewhere that the numerous lustrations found in so many primitive religions were laid down so as to compel people to occasionally wash; though a curious phenomenon is that sanctity is often connected with uncleanliness. Many *faqirs* at the present day live literally in all the odour of insanitary holiness, just as many Christian Saints of the early mediæval period did.

(3) See the article Sarwaria in Crooke's *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, paragraph 9.

(4) Hinduism, *Ancient and Modern*, page 84.

(5) Imperial Gazetteer, United Provinces, volume I, page 48.

caste), and probably most Rajputs are vegetarians, and eschew flesh of all kinds (1). The better castes, apart from these, who eat meat usually eat only mutton or goat's flesh or wild birds and venison. The Arakh, Barai, Bhar, Bharbhunja, Bhot, Dusadh, Gharuk, Halwai, Kahar, Kayastha (2), Luniya, Majhwar, Mali, Nai, and Sonar fall in this class. Next come a class which also eat fowls, or fish, or both. The Bahelia and Baiswar eat goats, sheep, deer and fowls: the Barwar, Gandharb, Kamkar, Kandu, Kasera, Kathak, Khairwa, Kisan, Koiri, Kumhar, Kurmi, Lohar, Mallah, and Tamboli will not eat fowls but eat fish (3): the Kalwar, Kingaria, and Teli eat both. Next to these come the large class which eat pork as well as some or all of the above animals. These include the Balai, Banjara, Beriya, Bhangi and Sahariya (who eat any cloven-footed animal save cattle, but eschew both fish and fowls), the Dhanuk (who eat any cloven-footed animal save cattle, and also fish), the Ghasiya and Gujar (whose diet is the same save that they eat fowls and do not eat fish), and the Bansphor, Basor, Byar, Kharwar, Kol, Lodha and Panka (who eat all the animals mentioned). The Jat eats the flesh of the wild hog, with mutton, goat or fowls, but eschews the domestic pig (4). Various other castes have a still more diverse diet. The Beldar has a curious taste for field rats: so have the Bhuiya, the Bind and the Pasi. Of these the Beldar and Bind do not eat fowls. A large number eat almost anything but beef: for instance the Agaria, Bajgi, Balahar, Chero, and Sansiya. The Chamar eats pork, beef, fowls and cloven-footed animals. The Dhangar will eat anything, not excepting beef, save reptiles of various kinds (the crocodile, lizard and snakes) and the monkey; so does the Dom, who does not even except tiger's flesh. The Kewat though eschewing beef, pork and fowls, varies his diet with tortoises and crocodiles; whilst the Korwa not only eats pork, beef, bears' flesh and venison, but is about the only caste who will also eat monkey. He will not touch the flesh of the tiger, hyaena, jackal, vulture and reptiles: but otherwise seems to eat anything. Generally speaking, cloven-footed animals (except cattle), scaled fish, wild birds (save those that are carnivorous), and fowls are the only creatures eaten by any castes save the lowest of the low: whilst cattle, monkeys, animals with uncloven feet like the jackal, horse and donkey, scaleless fish, reptiles, vermin and carnivora generally are never eaten. Liquor is drunk by most castes save the "twice-born" or high castes. It may be noted that pork though eaten by men is occasionally forbidden to women, as in the Byar, Ghasiya and Kol castes. It should also be remarked that in many castes who indulge in flesh and liquor, there are a certain number of Bhagats, i.e. persons who have taken a vow of abstinence. They are usually Vaishnavas who abstain from both flesh and liquor: but there are also some Sakta Bhagats who eat flesh but drink no liquor.

328. **Other caste restrictions.**—(a) *Pollution.*—A disability attaching to certain castes is their power to convey pollution by touch. The idea is much more developed in other parts of India than it is in the United Provinces; but no Hindu of decent caste would touch a Dom, Bhangi, Chamar or any other of those untouchable menial castes who follow degrading occupations. Some castes which are themselves low are especially strict in following this rule. The Bansphor and Basor, themselves branches of the Dom caste, will touch neither a Dom nor a Dhobi: whilst the Basor, with all the intolerance of the parvenu, extends his objections to the Musahar, Chamar, Dharkar and Bhangi. The Ghasiya, for a traditional reason, refuses also to touch a Kayastha.

(b) *Following particular methods of work.*—Some castes disapprove of certain methods of work as derogatory to the caste. There is very little information available on the point, but a few instances may be given. The Agrahris are a Vaishya section closely connected with the Agarwalas, but now separated from them. Whatever the original cause of separation was, they are generally discredited at the present day because their women serve in their shops. Similarly a certain section of the Gujars are looked down on because their women sell butter and *ghi*.

(1) Also such castes as the Chhipi and Dangi. All Rajputs are not vegetarians. The Bundela, for instance, will eat mutton, goat, venison, wild hog, and fish. The Saraswat Brahman is also said to eat mutton, goat, venison, wild birds, and fish.

(2) The Kayastha is said by Crooke to eat only mutton and goat. I know he eats venison for my Kayastha clerks, in camp, have often accepted a joint from a black buck or chinkara.

(3) These are usually scaled fish only. Some castes have prejudices against particular kind of fish, such as the porpoise: but they seem to be due to superstition and for this purpose are unimportant.

(4) According to Dr. Buchanan (*loc. cit.*) the wild boar is not a forbidden article of diet according to the written law.

The Kahars who are engaged in domestic service consider themselves superior to those engaged in menial occupations, such as fishing or *palki* bearing : whilst there can be little doubt that the Gharuk caste, once a Kahar sub-caste, from which most of our Hindu bearers come, had to break off from them because they took service with Europeans. It appears from a case reported from Lucknow, that Khatiks object to women peddling fruit : a woman ought to sit in a shop and peddling is derogatory to the caste's dignity. I have known a Kachhi who was looked down on and to some extent bullied because he made a speciality of growing European vegetables : this I fancy was largely due to jealousy, for he was a man who knew how to prosper. The town *mistri* (sometimes called Lohiya) who makes carriages, horse-shoes and keeps an ironmonger's shop is of quite other social rank to the village Lohar who mends ploughs, or the wandering tinker who makes and mends tools. It is said that the rest of the Musahar caste look down on the Dolkarha sub-caste who carry palanquins. Normally however such peculiarities ultimately result in the formation of a new sub-caste and will be more conveniently considered in that connection.

(c) *Jajmani*.—Many castes from the Brahman downwards have the practice expressed in the word "*jajmani*" (1). Literally the word *jajman* means "he who gives the sacrifice," i.e. the person who employs a priest to carry out a sacrifice for him and of course provides him with the means for doing so ; but it is now extended to include a client of any kind. The *jajmans* of a Brahman *purohit*, or house priest, are his parishioners, whose domestic rites at birth, initiation and marriage it is his duty to superintend. In the same way Chamars, Doms, Dafalis, Bhats, Nais, Bhangis, Barhais, Lohars all have their *jajmani* or circle of clients, from whom they receive fixed dues in return from regular service. The clientele is hereditary, passing from father to son. The Chamar's *jajmans* are those from whom he receives dead cattle and to whom he supplies leather and shoes : whilst his wife has likewise a clientele of her own for whom she acts as midwife and performs various menial services at marriages and festivals. The Dom's *jajmani* consists of a begging beat, in which he alone is allowed to beg or steal ; the Dafali also possesses a begging beat ; and besides begging he has to exorcise evil spirits and drive away the effects of the evil eye. The Nai has a clientele whom he shaves and for whom he acts as matchmaker and performer of minor surgical operations (drawing teeth, setting bones, lancing boils, and so on) : whilst his wife is the hereditary monthly nurse. Barhais and Lohars in villages have their circles of constituents whose ploughs, harrows and other agricultural implements they make or mend ; Bhangis serve a certain number of houses, and Bhats (2) of the Jaga sub-caste act as perambulating genealogists for their clients, visiting them every two or three years and bringing the family tree up to date. These circles of constituents are valuable sources of income, heritable and transferable (the Dom's begging beat and the Bhangi's *jajmani* are often given as a dowry) : and as such they are strictly demarcated, and to poach on a fellow casteman's preserves is an action which is bitterly resented. In many castes one of the *panchayat's* chief duties is to deal with offences of this kind. A Dom would not hesitate to hand over to the police a strange Dom who stole within his "jurisdiction" (3).

329. **The system of caste government.**—By the system of caste government is meant the manner in which the caste restrictions detailed above are enforced. The matter is of interest as throwing light not only on the origin

(1) A synonym is *brit* or *birt*. Brit Nai, brit Bhangi, &c., &c., are common entries in the occupation column and may be best translated by "caste dues." *Jajmani* is also so used, but generally it is reserved for the Brahmanical dues and probably includes not only the dues connected with *purohiti*, but those vaguer sources of income, such as presents and food received by all sorts of Brahmans at feasts of every kind.

(2) From Cawnpore comes the following details. The Kachhwaha Rajputs have a class of Dasaundhi Bhats attached to them who visit all Kachhwahas to write up their genealogies. Their volumes of genealogy are enormous, often needing camels to carry them, and contain the whole family tree from Ram Chandra downwards. They will not deal with outcasted Kachhwahas however highly bribed. This is obviously the explanation of the Bhat divisions with Rajput tribal names mentioned by Mr. Crooke on page 22, volume II. The information was supplied by a Kachhwaha Rajput.

(3) It may be asked what happens if a client refuses to utilize the services of the particular Dom or Bhangi or Barhai to whom he is assigned. In all probability he would be boycotted and nobody would work for him. Where guilds are powerful this would certainly occur. There was a case in Ahmedabad, quoted by Dr. Hopkins (*loc. cit.*) where a banker who was re-roofing his house quarrelled with a confectioner. Not only would no confectioner serve him but the confectioner's guild complained to the tile-maker's guild and prevented any tile-maker supplying tiles for his roof. In the same way dwellers in cities are used to strikes of butchers, sweepers, tika gari drivers and so on, when they are aggrieved by some new regulation or restriction : and ladies know that the dismissal of a servant often means that no other servant will take his place. To interfere with the customary perquisites of a caste or trade will generally result in the revolt of the whole caste against the oppressor, whether he be the local municipal board or a private person.

of caste but on its true character, apart from such incidental matters as the extraordinary way in which scruples which in other countries are matters of personal prejudice or social convention are transmuted by Hindus into rigid rules.

The body which rules the caste is generically known as *panchayat*: and before going any further, it will be as well to clear up some misconceptions on the subject. Firstly, there is a natural tendency (considering the meaning of the name) to regard such a body as normally consisting of 5 members. It never consists of 5 members; it is not an oligarchic, but a democratic, or at the very least a representative assembly. Every male member of the group ruled by the *panchayat* is a member of that *panchayat*: or in the alternative the *panchayat* sometimes consists of a considerable body of the brethren selected on different bases. Sometimes every family has a representative: sometimes all old men of experience are members: sometimes the number is otherwise limited. So much however is true that the *panchayat* has usually a sub-committee which guides its deliberations and generally rules it—the cabinet in this House of Commons. The number of this sub-committee is often 5 and at all events is always small. Secondly, caste *panchayats* are spoken of as if they comprised or were selected from the whole caste. In the first place, the unit is not the caste as such, but the endogamous group: if a caste contains endogamous sub-castes then the *panchayat* is that of the sub-caste, which acts, save on the rarest possible occasion, independently of all other sub-caste *panchayats*. Such occasions are when the interests of both groups are affected; but these are rather monster mass meetings than *panchayats*, and it is a mistake to consider them as such⁽¹⁾. If on the other hand a caste contains no endogamous groups then, being itself such a group, the *panchayat* is a “caste” *panchayat*. I have examined numerous reports from all over the province about all sorts of castes, and with a single exception I have found none which did not conform to this rule⁽²⁾. On the other hand I have not found a single instance where an exogamous group possessed a *panchayat* of its own⁽³⁾. And, in the second place, *panchayats* have strictly limited local jurisdictions, beyond which their decrees do not run; and though there is usually so much of an *entente* between *panchayat* and *panchayat* that the one respects and enforces the other’s decision, even this is not invariable. These localities are known variously as *ilaya*, *juwar* (also spelt *johar*), *tat* or *chatai* (from the tribal mat on which the *panchayat* sits), *ghol*, &c., &c., and may comprise a single village or a group of villages according to circumstances. A *panchayat* therefore consists of the whole brotherhood which resides in a particular locality, or of selected brethren from the locality, who belong to the same endogamous group. On the other hand, in important matters, several neighbouring *panchayats* belonging to the same endogamous group may meet together for discussion and issue a joint decision: such joint *panchayats* may be either specially called, or may meet on the occasion of a particular fair or religious gathering. The councils of a caste, as such, are the Sabhas, an essentially modern product, which do not deal with individual cases, but frame caste rules and pass resolutions applicable to the caste. Sometimes they include many cognate castes, like the Vaishya Mahasabha: sometimes one caste, like the Jats, has many Sabhas: sometimes they deal with the affairs only of a particular sub-caste, like the Kanaujia Brahman Sabha. Important as they are and great as is the work which they set themselves to do, they are not *panchayats* in any sense of the word.

330. **Permanent and impermanent panchayats.**—*Panchayats* fall into two classes, the permanent and the impermanent. By a permanent *panchayat* is meant one in which there is a permanent element, which consists usually of the sub-committee referred to above, or of certain members of that sub-committee. By an impermanent *panchayat* is meant one which has no such sub-committee, or if it has, has a sub-committee as impermanent as itself. The distinction is important. The permanent *panchayat* is always in existence, in the person of its sub-committee, ready to be appealed to at a moment’s notice. The impermanent

⁽¹⁾ The case of the recalcitrant Koeris mentioned later is such a case. But *panchayats* even of different castes have been known to meet together when necessary for a special purpose. A Barhai insulted a Lohar on one occasion and the two *panchayats* met together to consider whether the Barhai caste was so much higher than the Lohar caste as to make this pardonable. It was decided that it was not.

⁽²⁾ The exception is the Nai. See paragraph 331.

⁽³⁾ The Rajput clans are no exceptions. They usually possess nothing of the nature of a *panchayat* at all. See paragraph 332.

panchayat only meets for a special purpose: or even meets only by accident as it were (at festivals and other such occasions), when it considers anything that may be brought before it. The former type of council is found chiefly in functional and low castes. Its power is great and it deals promptly with all offences however trivial. At the same time it has just as great a power to remit as to inflict punishments. Its functions, methods of procedure and tariffs of punishment are definite and clear cut. The latter type of council belongs chiefly to high and non-functional castes. It is an unwieldy body not easily collected, and in consequence is probably seldom called on to deal with comparatively trivial matters. When called upon it is generally to confirm an excommunication already informally passed on an offender by general consent, or to substitute some lesser punishment for it. Its functions and procedure are ill defined. I propose to deal with these two classes separately.

331. Permanent panchayats.—(1) *Classes of castes that possess them.*—I give

Functional castes.—Agrahri, Baghban, Baheliya, Bulahar M., Bansphor, Barha, Barai, Bari, Beldar, Bhangi M., Bhishti, Chamar, Churihar M., Chhipi, Dafah M., Darzi M., Dumar M. (1), Dhunia (Behna) M., Dhobi, Gadariya, Halwai M., Julaha M., Kahar, Kalwar, Kandu, Kanmail M., Kasarwani, Kayastha, Mochi (2), Kewat, Khapuriya, Khatik, Kori, Kumhar M. (2), Kutamali, Lohar, Lunya (2), Mahesri, Mali, Manihar M., Mina, Mirasi M., Mochi, Nanbai M., Nai, Niyariya M., Oswal, Qalandar M., Qassab M., Rauniar, Singharia, Sonar (2), Tamboli, Tawaif M., Teli, Thathera.

Other castes with functions.—Agaria, Ahir, Banjara M., Dakaut, Khunra M., Kunjra M., Pasi.

Non-functional castes of good position.—Baiswar, Bhoksa, Bishnoi, Dangi, Gorcha, Goriya, Gujar, Kachhi, Khagi, Khagi-Chauhan, Kirar, Koiri, Murao, Soiri.

Non-functional castes of low position.—Aheriya, Bhar, Bhuiya, Bhuiyar, Bind, Byar, Chai, Dhangar, Dharkar, Dom (3), Dusadh, Ghasiya, Ghogar, Gidhiya, Kanjar, Kharwar, Kol, Korwa, Majhwar, Musahar, Nat M., Parahiya, Phansiya.

(1) Sub-caste of Katar.

(2) In some places only.

(3) Plains Doms only.

M = Muhammadan caste or possessing a Muhammadan branch.

in the margin all castes which are known to me to possess *panchayats* with a permanent element in them. I have divided them into four classes: (1) those functional in origin, (2) those not originally functional, but possessing a fairly well defined traditional function, (3) non-functional high castes, (4) non-functional low castes. It will be noted that of the 99 groups mentioned 55 are functional in origin; 7 more have acquired functions: and 23 are low castes, whilst of the remainder none are more than comparatively high. It is obvious therefore that this type of council is

justifiably assigned to the functional and low castes. The most striking exceptions are some Vaishya castes (Agarwal, Umar and so on); the most curious inclusion is the Bishnoi, a sectarian caste (1).

(2) *Permanent element in the council.*—Generally speaking the permanent element in these councils consists merely of a headman, whose office is either hereditary or elective for life. He is known by various names which vary rather with locality than with caste: *chaudhri* is the most common title; others are *padhan*, *mahto*, *jamadar*, *takht* (throne), *muqaddam*, *badshah*, *mehtar*, *mahati*, *saqi*, &c. The generic term is *sarpanch*. Besides the headman there are occasionally one or more functionaries, also permanent, who are either hereditary, or elected or nominated for life: their duty is usually that of vice-president, or else summoner of the court. Their names also vary; *munsif*, *darogha*, *sipahi*, *naib-sarpanch*, *chobdar*, *charidar*, *duwan*, *dhari*, *mukhtar*, *piada* are some of them. Elsewhere there are four or five hereditary or elective panches: occasionally every head of a family has a prescriptive right to sit in the council. But in perhaps a majority of cases, the permanent element in the *panchayat* is like the judge and jury system—the judge (or *chaudhri*) is permanent, the jury (or other *panches* of the sub-committee) are chosen when required. This sub-committee guides the deliberations of the general assembly and the final decision usually rests with them. Actual instances will best show the types of variation that are found.

The Gujar have in each village a *panchayat* of 4 or 5 members all hereditary: they have a *sarpanch*. For graver offices the *panchayat* of several villages meet under a *sarpanch* (also permanent). The Khagi-Chauhan has a permanent and hereditary *panchayat* of 5 including a *sarpanch*. The Ahirs in Hardoi and Partabgarh have a similar system. Elsewhere (in Lalitpur and Fyzabad for instance) the Ahir *panchayats* are impermanent: in Gorakhpur only the *sarpanch* is hereditary, and the *panchayat* is made up of a member from each family. The Khumra, a small Muhammadan caste, has a curious system. Each village has its hereditary *chaudhri* and an assembly of *chaudhris* forms the *panchayat* (a caste one—there are no sub-castes). In Bijnor the *chaudhris* of various places have different names; the *chaudhri* of Nagina is “*badshah*,” he of Jamdaspur is “*wazir*,” the Tajpur and Sherkot officials are “*munsifs*” (and as an exception to the general rule are not

(1) See Ethnographic Glossary, end of this chapter.

hereditary). These four form a sort of permanent sub-committee of the caste *panchayat* of the district. Amongst the Banjaras the hereditary sub-caste headman (or *naik*) is *sarpanch ex officio*: the Badis have a complete hereditary *panchayat*, but most Banjara sub-castes have no permanent element save the *naik*. The Dhunia sub-castes have hereditary *chaudhris* whose jurisdiction extends over a few villages (known as *ilaga*, *bansi*, or *juwar*). Amongst Lohars there is a hereditary *panchayat*: but the *chaudhri* is merely the summoner and the *sarpanch* is selected for each *panchayat*. Amongst the Thatheras there are hereditary *chaudhris*, who, if their local jurisdiction extends to more than one village, appoint a "*mukhia*" to each village, whose duties are those of informer: each *chaudhri* has nominated *supahis* or orderlies. The *panchayat* consists of all the brethren. The Nais have a permanent *chaudhri* assisted by a selected jury of four. This caste is the only one where there is a caste *panchayat*: in Muzaffarnagar there is only a caste *panchayat*: in Pilibhit a caste *panchayat* as well as sub-caste *panchayats*: whilst in Bulandshahr, there are village and tahsil *chaudhris* and a head *chaudhri* resident at Delhi. The Kahars possess a permanent body of *sarpanch*, *naib-sarpanch*, *chobdar* (summoner) and 4 members. The Kewat has a permanent council of heads of families with a permanent *sarpanch*. The Bari has a permanent hereditary *chaudhri* and a selected jury of *panches*: the Teli has a permanent hereditary *panchayat* and a selected *chaudhri*. Even in the same caste there are often great local variations, as can be seen by considering the case of the Khatiks. In Aligarh there is a permanent and hereditary *chaudhri* assisted by a *panchayat* of 4 or 5, chosen for the occasion and so far hereditary that if a man usually acted as *panch*, his son, even if not a man of much influence, will generally be selected after his death. In Gorakhpur, one sub-caste, the Sonkhar, has a *chaudhri* and six or seven *panches* all hereditary: another, the Poldar, has a hereditary *chaudhri* and a hereditary *padhan* (in this case, vice-president) with membership of the whole sub-caste; a third, the Saqba, has a *chaudhri* elected for a term only (a year: the election is usually at Dasehra). In Bulandshahr, every 100 villages or so has a hereditary *chaudhri* with 2 *diwans*, whilst each village has a *muqaddam* who decides minor cases. The Beldars in Gorakhpur show a further variation: the *chaudhri* is elected for life (though there is a tendency towards the principle of heredity), and assisted by a *dhari* (summoner): the *panches* consist apparently of all the brethren, but not less than five of their *kuris* (or exogamous groups) must be represented.

(3) *Conditions attaching to office, qualifications for office and methods of election.*—The conditions attaching to the holding of office show no variation from caste to caste. Whether the office be that of *chaudhri* or *panch*, it is held subject to good behaviour, and of course mental fitness. This obtains whether the post be hereditary or elective. The qualifications required also vary very little. When an office is hereditary, sonship is sufficient, always provided that the son is of good behaviour and not absolutely unfitted for the office. A minor is almost invariably represented by a relative during his minority: some castes have the curious little ceremonial of making the minor announce the decisions come to in his name (of course, if he is capable of doing so) (1). If a son is unfit for office, or there is no son the office goes to a member of the same family, not necessarily the next heir, but selected. Where an office is elective or selective, usually, and subject to any other condition of tenure that may exist (e.g. that every family should be represented), those who are best fitted by age, experience and wisdom are chosen: but there is frequently a tendency to follow the principle of heredity so far as possible, as in the case of the Aligarh Khatiks. There is little information relative to the actual ceremony of succession or election as the case may be; but generally speaking the insignia of office in the case of a *chaudhri* consist of a turban which is produced and ceremonially tied on the new *chaudhri's* head. Sometimes he pays for it, sometimes it is presented to him; sometimes he puts it on himself; most commonly it is put on for him. But "to wear the turban" is said to be almost synonymous with "to be a headman" (2).

(4) *Procedure of the permanent panchayat.*—I adapt the major part of this paragraph from an excellent note on the subject from Bara Banki (3). The *panchayat*, it is stated, is ultimately the whole brotherhood belonging to one of

(1) Like the child Louis XIV of France signing the edicts which ultimately produced the revolt of the Fronde.

(2) It is not an expensive crown: it usually costs 8 annas.

(3) By Mr. V. N. Mehta, I.C.S., put in brackets any comments I have to offer, or additions to make.

the main subdivisions (endogamous sub-castes) living within a certain locality; the whole body is the deliberating assembly and no council of elders is chosen. (This statement is much too wide; as has been seen there is usually such a presiding council, though I agree that it is in ordinary times merely a permanent sub-committee of the whole body, and at its meetings a sort of cabinet.) There is one leader, generally called *chaudhri*, who is hereditary and "wears the turban." The *panchayats* meet in three different ways:—

(a) At caste dinners of all kinds, when somebody, taking advantage of the actual though accidental presence of the *panchayat*, gets up and makes a complaint.

(b) When summoned specially by the aggrieved person (or the accused).

(c) When specially summoned to discuss some problem of importance. Taking these *seriatim* (a) at marriage gatherings, it is said, questions likely to lead to a dispute are seldom raised, lest the harmony and good will of the assembly be disturbed. Funeral gatherings however have a way of resolving themselves into courts of inquiry. Somebody rises and makes a complaint: the brotherhood at once cease to be mourners and become judge, jury and advisers. The offender is called upon to plead to the charge. Then the proceedings closely follow the usual procedure of a court of law. A plea of guilty results in immediate sentence. If the culprit pleads not guilty evidence is heard. If found to be innocent he is acquitted: if proved guilty he is sentenced (to fine, let us suppose), with out-casting in default and until the fine is paid. On payment of the fine sweets are purchased, as a rule, and distributed; the *chaudhri* gets an extra, usually a double share.

(b) Under this head two cases arise, when the aggrieved person lays his complaint (and when the accused person demands an inquiry⁽¹⁾). This is a most important and interesting distinction, exactly similar to the distinction between the law of ejection in Agra and Oudh. In Agra the landlord sues to eject a tenant: in Oudh he ejects him first and the tenant sues to regain his holding. In the former case too, the complainant brings a charge against his enemy: in the latter the offender is first informally outcasted by general consent, and then sues to have his case inquired into.) In either case the person who would summon the *panchayat* approaches the headman, who arranges a meeting through whatever the local agency may be; if he has no official summoner, the barber usually acts as such. The case is then thrashed out in the way already described.

(c) The third case is rare. The meeting is usually not of one *panchayat* but several, who are all interested (and even of the *panchayat* of two or more castes. Most often perhaps it is not specially called together: but the questions are decided at some general meeting of the caste at a fair or religious gathering, or, among castes which possess them, at the caste Sabha meetings. Instances will be found in the ethnographic glossary at the end of this chapter: e.g. amongst the Bishnois and Singharias. Another excellent instance is that of the Gonda Halwais who have a permanent *panchayat* at Ajudhya which meets only every 3 or 4 years). They then frame resolutions of the kind to which the proceedings of Sabhas have familiarized us: that liquor shall not be drunk, that marriage expenses shall not exceed a certain sum, that education is a blessing and ought to be encouraged, that restrictions on commensality or infant marriage, &c., &c., are an anomaly and ought to be abolished.

All *panchayats* are convened in one or other of these ways. The notable points of procedure are that all evidence is oral; that anybody present has a voice, but the decree⁽²⁾ is passed by the permanent element if there is one, through the mouth of the headman; that if the punishment inflicted is not carried out, out-casting till it is carried out is the result; and that if the punishment cannot be carried out on the spot, the convicted person is outcasted till he has completed it.

Though in view of the fact that there are no cardinal differences in procedure amongst *panchayats* it is unnecessary to give any lists of castes that differ in detail from one another, a few curiosities of procedure may be mentioned.

(1) Amongst some castes it seems to be the only form of *panchayat*, e.g. Bhoksa, Thathera, Julaha and Bhar.

(2) Castes vary as to whether the decision must be unanimous, or by a majority of votes. It is perhaps usual that (1) the permanent element should be unanimous and (2) agree with the majority of votes. Everybody of course uses his own private knowledge of the facts of a case in coming to a decision: judge and jury are all potential witnesses. It is improbable that the inquiry is carried out in a very formal manner. In the case of the Bhotias, it is said that the debate consists of "uproarious questioning and answering."

Amongst the Bhotias of Kumaun, if a decision seems a long way off, debate is stopped, and an attempt is made to extract the truth by what my informant calls "Socratic questionings" to both parties; presumably leading questions are asked and admissions extracted and the *panchayat* becomes a sort of *juge d'instruction*. Ultimately a fetish called "Bharto," or "Barto" is produced, consisting of a white stone tied with a black woollen thread; on this the parties place their right hands, when they dare not tell a lie⁽¹⁾. In Garhwal until recent times there was always an officially recognised person called Dharmadhikari, with *parwanas* of appointment, who had the power to purify outcastes and restore them to caste—a curious instance of law overriding caste decisions. The present holder of the office is named, and though, as I understand, the practice of official recognition has lapsed, petitions are still received from outcastes praying for an order to send them to him to be purified. If unanimity is not obtainable amongst the Doms, the *chaudhris* and *sardars* decide the case: in similar circumstances amongst the Agrahri Baniyas the matter is adjourned to another meeting. Amongst the Ghosis of Sultanpur some unfortunate member is selected as surety to see the decision carried out. The Nais of Bulandshahr have a curious custom. When a member of a *panchayat* spies "a stranger in the house," i.e. an offender who ought to be excluded from the meeting, he remarks *bal makkhi dekhkar khana* (look out for hair and flies in your food before you eat it—or as the ethnographical officer who reported the matter not inaptly rendered it "there is something rotten in the state of Denmark"). A summary inquiry then follows. Amongst the Kewats the accused has to give his replies with folded hands and standing on one leg. A case is reported of a Gadariya *panchayat* which welcomed the unofficial assistance of some government chaprasis who were not even Gadariyas⁽²⁾.

(5) *Scope of jurisdiction*.—The type of cases which are tried by a *panchayat* are breaches of the social custom of the caste, breaches of morality, if they infringe caste rules, certain religious offences, domestic disputes, such as suits for the restitution of conjugal rights, breaches of promise of marriage, or neglect to send a wife to her husband when of age; less usually, minor cases that could have come under the law of the land, whether civil or criminal, such as assaults or debt; and not infrequently cases involving a trade dispute. The matters actually dealt with vary from caste to caste; but it is very difficult to decide whether in any particular case the fact that a *panchayat* does not deal with a particular class of offence implies that it cannot, or merely that it has never had occasion to. The information on the subject is not derived from a written code, but from verbal statements of members of the caste: and if no case of a particular kind has ever occurred within the memory of the informant, he may very well assert that cases of that kind are never tried by the *panchayat*.

A specimen list of the offences dealt with by *panchayats* would be as follows:—

- (1) Eating, drinking, or smoking with a forbidden caste (or sub-caste).
- (2) Keeping a concubine of another caste.
- (3) Enticing away or committing adultery with a married woman.
- (4) Fornication within or without the caste.
- (5) Refusing to carry out a marriage when promise to do so had been given.
- (6) Refusing to send a wife to her husband when old enough: i.e. refusing to carry out the *gauna* ceremony.
- (7) Refusing to maintain a wife (restitution of conjugal rights).
- (8) In certain castes where the permission of the *panchayat* is necessary, remarrying a widow without permission.
- (9) Non-payment of debt.
- (10) Petty assault cases.
- (11) Retrial of criminal offences decided by courts.
- (12) Breaches of the trade custom of the caste in respect to encroaching on another's clientele, raising or lowering prices, methods of sale, &c., &c.

(1) "*Jakha panch takha Parameshwar*" says the Garhwali proverb (God is present when the *panches* assemble). Apparently his visible sign is Bharto.

(2) This particular *panchayat* was a curious one. It was met to try a suit for the "restitution of conjugal rights": a husband had allowed his wife to go home on a visit and then refused to take her back at all. His sole excuse was that she was ugly. The council (of brethren dragged in probably from several miles) were naturally indignant and pointed out to him with much vehemence that his own personal appearance left much to be desired, gave him much true information on the subject of the evanescence of all charms save virtue, and ordered him to take her back at once on pain of outcasting. In such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that the chaprassis found it an interesting meeting.

(13) Killing certain animals: the cow, and occasionally others, e.g. dog or cat.

(14) Insulting a Brahman.

(15) Breaking caste custom in the matter of feasts at marriage, &c.

The lists supplied to me are not complete, for the reason given above: and most frequently my informants content themselves with stating that the offences dealt with are "social, domestic and moral offences of the usual kind." Consequently it is useless to attempt to classify castes according to the offences that their *panchayats* try. I think however that the following general principles can be laid down.

(a) Any Hindu caste would deal, if occasion arose, with offences (1) to (7) above: and with (13) to (15). Only certain castes of course would have occasion to deal with offences falling under (8).

(b) Cases of (9) and (10) are extremely rare: indeed only the Gidhiya, Ghogar, Phansiya and Kanjar are reported to submit cases of debt to the *panchayat*, and only the Gidhiya, Nat, Phansiya and Kanjar consider cases of assault. The reports in every case come from a single district, Moradabad, and as my informant specially mentions in his notes on several other castes that such cases are not dealt with, it seems obvious that they seldom come before *panchayats*. I imagine however that this is due not so much to lack of power to deal with them as to lack of opportunity. These matters are cognizable by the ordinary courts, and a most remarkable factor in the general situation is the relations between *panchayats* and law courts; save in the case of such offences as adultery the former very seldom encroach on the latter's domain. If cases of debt or of assault were brought, in nine cases out of ten I fancy that the *panchayat* would simply refer the complainant to the courts. Some cases of assault however, of a domestic nature or where a Brahman is the victim, might well fall within their ordinary jurisdiction. Moreover, the Indian is a litigious person and loves going to law: going to law, especially criminal law, is not a very expensive amusement, and to have a law suit is almost regarded as a hallmark of respectability; and I doubt if many complainants would willingly exchange the fierce light that beats on even a third class magistrate's courtroom for the dim obscurity that surrounds the *panchayat* mat. It will be noted that of the five castes mentioned, four at all events would often have very good reasons for avoiding a law court of any sort or description. Cases of (11) are not at all uncommon amongst the castes whose members frequently find themselves in the dock. Conviction often involves an extra punishment in the shape of a fine from the *panchayat*, especially if the offence has been committed at the expense of a caste fellow (1).

(c) Muhammadan *panchayats*, of course, deal with far fewer offences, for their ordinary law would deal with some of those mentioned and others would not arise at all. Breaches of promise of marriage and adultery are the subjects with which they chiefly deal.

(d) The decision of trade disputes, though fairly common, are much less so than might be expected. With this however I shall deal in a separate paragraph.

(6) *Forms of punishment*.—These too vary but little from caste to caste. Fine, feasts to the brotherhood or Brahmans, and outcasting, temporary or permanent, are the most common: and for some classes of offences, pilgrimages, begging alms and various forms of degradation are also imposed. Corporal punishment is now unknown amongst most castes. I give below the "tariffs" of some castes.

(a) Nat.—Cow-killing.—Begging alms for 40 days, bath in the Ganges, feeding of brotherhood and Brahmans.

Killing dog, cat or ass (2).—Fine (Rs. 2 to Rs. 4).

Smoking, &c., with prohibited caste.—Fine (Rs. 5 to Rs. 10), bath in the Ganges, feasts to brotherhood and Brahmans.

Assault.—Fine (Rs. 1 to Rs. 4).

(1) There is unfortunately little information on the subject; though indubitably such cases occur. I myself remember being told that one caste (the Oudh Pasas, I think, but am not certain) invariably retry their offenders when they come out of jail: and that they very seldom reverse the court's decision. If this is true it is a considerable compliment to the courts, for the *panchayat* naturally possesses much better information than the courts does. It would be interesting to know if higher castes punish their occasional criminals, but on this I have no information whatever.

(2) It would be interesting to know why these animals are selected. To kill a dog or cat is an offence amongst several castes, e.g. Kanjar and others of the same kind.

Adultery.—(a) Fine and restoration of the woman : or (b) fine and payment of bride price, whilst the woman is made over to the abductor ⁽¹⁾.

Breach of promise.—Either (a) the marriage is ordered to be carried out or (b) the bridegroom's expenses are returned.

Temporary excommunication of course is a concomitant of all sentences until they are completely carried out. Occasionally, the offender is made to put the shoes of the brotherhood on his head in lieu of other punishment.

(b) Singhariya.—Adultery (a) intra-tribal.—As amongst the Nats.

(b) extra-tribal.—Permanent excommunication.

Breaches of the commensal law.—Pilgrimage, bath in the Ganges and feast to brotherhood and Brahmans.

Cow-killing.—As above, with begging of alms.

Not giving a feast at a marriage ceremony.—Temporary excommunication till the feast is given : or fine.

(c) Phansiya.—Trade dispute.—Fine.

Not giving a marriage feast.—As amongst the Singhariyas.

Adultery (a) intra-tribal.—As amongst the Nats.

(b) extra-tribal.—As amongst the Singhariyas.

Eating *kachcha* food with forbidden caste.—Fine, bath in Ganges.

Drinking liquor to excess.—As above.

Smoking with forbidden caste.—As above.

Drinking water with forbidden caste.—Excommunication.

(d) Gidhiya.—Civil suits (non-payment of debt).—Fine (Re. 1 to Rs. 2).

Breaches of promise.—Fine (Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 5).

Assault.—Fine (Re. 1 to Rs. 2).

Adultery (a) intra-tribal.—Fine (Rs. 5) (male or female).

(b) extra-tribal.—Excommunication for female : for male—

(1) if the woman is of a higher Hindu caste—fine (Rs. 5).

(2) if she is of a lower Hindu or non-Hindu caste—excommunication.

Cow-killing.—Begging alms, bath in Ganges, feast to caste, with temporary excommunication.

Breaches of commensal law.—As above.

(c) Baghban.—Adultery by female (a) intra-tribal—Fine.

(b) extra-tribal—Excommunication if the caste is lower, and fine if it is higher than the Baghban.

Adultery by male (a) intra-tribal.—As amongst the Nats.

(b) extra-tribal—Excommunication or fine, as for female.

Smoking with prohibited caste.—Fine and bath in Ganges.

Eating with prohibited caste.—As above.

Cow-killing.—Begging alms with the cow's tail tied to a *lathi*, sleeping at a Kumhar's furnace, bath in the Ganges and feast to Brahmans and caste.

Killing dog or cat.—Fine, feast to Brahmans and bath in Ganges.

From these examples ⁽²⁾ it will be seen that there is very little variation in the scale of punishment from caste to caste. The Baghban and Singhariya are respectably high castes, the Phansiya low and the other two very low. Generally speaking cow-killing and extra-tribal adultery are the most serious offences : the latter generally involves permanent excommunication, the former a variegated punishment which extends over a considerable time and is coupled with temporary excommunication. Breaches of the commensal law are the next most serious offences, also involving a mixed punishment with temporary excommunication : other offences are usually met by fine which is apportioned to the circumstances of the offender. Offenders can often escape from paying a fine by putting shoes on their head, though this is occasionally used as an extra punishment. A few instances of actual decisions, or of unusual punishments may be mentioned.

Ahir (Fyzabad).—A cow-killer is sent to a certain Goshain in a village called Baisona and if found guilty by him ordered to go begging for two or three months.

⁽¹⁾ Possibly, at times, the severer punishment of the two ; but *panchayats* often have a knack both for "making the punishment fit the crime," and also for making the prisoner a "source of innocent merriment." It is pleasant to note that the husband in this kind of case is often fined for being by his ill-treatment the ultimate cause of it.

⁽²⁾ They all come from Moradabad. No ethnographical officer gave such complete details as the officer of this district. Others were usually content with indicating the general principles on which punishments were decided.

Tharu (Naini Tal).—The fine for adultery is extremely high, Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, with 10 per cent. on the sum to the *panchayat*.

Kanjar (Moradabad and elsewhere).—The cow-killer has to give a calf to a Brahman in addition to other more usual punishments. The caste also has a curious ordeal by fire in cases where there is doubt of guilt: 7 pipal and 7 bétel leaves are bound on the accused's palm with 7 turns of a thread and he has to walk 7 paces with a red hotspud in his hand. If the hand is burnt he is adjudged guilty.

Banjara (Bijnor).—Amongst the Gaurs in serious cases the offender has to give a girl out of his own family in marriage to the family of the complainant. This seems to point to hypergamy, as the penalty would otherwise not be a real one. Or it may be merely a quaint kind of compensation.

Dhimar (Muzaffarnagar).—A man had intercourse with his sister's daughter—for all sorts of reasons a very heinous offence. He was fined Rs. 100, supplied a feast to his brotherhood, was hung by the hands to a tree, and excommunicated for 12 years.

Thathera (Azamgarh).—A man entered a cow-shed (in Sylhet) and committed an indecent offence with a cow. He was immersed for three days up to the neck in a pit filled with cow-dung and water, sent on pilgrimage to Puri and Benares and made to feast the brethren. On the other hand a man who kept a Muhammadan mistress was merely punished with feast and fine, and not excommunicated, because he proved that he had never eaten food prepared by her—a curious sidelight on the respective values attached to commensal pollution and extra-tribal immorality.

Julaha (Sitapur).—A man, for rape, was tied to a tree, and a *gharra* placed on his head. It is said that corporal punishment can still be inflicted.

Beldar (Gorakhpur).—A possible punishment (presumably a minor one) is five kicks.

Kachhi (Hardoi).—(1) A Kachhin widow had an intrigue with a Lohar. She was treated as an outcaste. Relations persuaded her to give up the connexion and summoned a *panchayat*, having collected Rs. 25 against the certainty of a fine. The matter was at this stage when the ethnographical officer learnt of it but one of the *panches* told him that the probable penalty would be a fine of Rs. 30 and a feast to 50 brethren.

(2) A widower had a Chamarin mistress. The *panchayat* ordered him to pay a fine of Rs. 100 and turn her out. He refused to do either. He had two sons by her: but though she is now dead neither he nor his sons can ever be anything but outcastes.

Dom (Almora).—For cow-killing a Dom has to beg alms for three to six months with the fatal implement in his hand. This he has to show to every passerby and tell him of his crime. He also visits three shrines and gives a feast, and then he is restored to caste.

Chamar (Ghazipur).—(1) A *chaudhri* was outcasted for 12 years "for showing partiality to his brother"—which seems a venial offence. The council (i.e. the council formed of several *panchayats*) reduced the punishment to a fine.

(2) A Chamar disgraced the caste by begging and was excommunicated. Before his death he settled down to regular labour: and his son was reinstated on paying a fine of Rs. 4 and feasting five Brahmans.

Dhobi (Cawnpore).—A Dhobi attached to a regiment was accused of keeping a Bhangin mistress. The accused agreed to stand or fall by the statement of a munshi whose story went against him and was outcasted till he had feasted the brotherhood. The introduction of a witness of another caste was curious.

Kumhar (Cawnpore).—(1) A wife saw her husband leaving a certain house at night. On the initiative of the owner of the house, the husband, who was naturally suspected of an intrigue, was informally outcasted by the Kumhars of three or four villages. The husband at last begged forgiveness from each individual and a *panchayat* assembled which fined him Rs. 25, reduced on his protesting to Rs. 5. He was then readmitted. This is a good instance of outcasting before the case is formally tried, and of the accused having to call a *panchayat* to get it thrashed out.

(2) A *chaudhri* had an intrigue with a married caste woman. He was fined Rs. 75 and the husband of the woman would also have been fined had he not died before the *panchayat* was held.

(3) A Kumhar had a wife of ill repute, whom he could not control. He called a *panchayat* and explained his difficulties. He was found nominally guilty and sentenced to feed five Brahmans, after which he was reinstated.

Bhangi (Cawnpore).—A Bhangi was guilty of abducting a married woman. It was a serious offence (the girl had not apparently yet gone to her husband) but he was a poor man. As a punishment the hair of half his head, one eye-brow, one side of his moustaches, and half his beard were shaved; his face was painted black, and he was outcasted.

Darzi (Etah).—A family had adopted the form of *dharauna* marriage contrary to custom and was informally outcasted. The outcasted family called a *panchayat* which imposed a fine of Rs. 200 and of a feast to the caste.

Kumhar (Etah).—A Kumhar married a Bhangin "by mistake." He was outcasted but explained matters to the *chaudhri*, who called a *panchayat* which ordered him to feast five Brahmans, bathe in the Ganges and turn the woman away. The "mistake" was doubtless a case of personation.

Kunjra (Gonda).—Some Kunjras were dissatisfied with a *panchayat* decision. They referred the case to a *sajjada nashin* (incumbent of an endowed shrine) in Bara Banki and settled the matter according to his advice—a curious case of going beyond the *panchayat*. The caste however is Muhammadan.

Chamar (Bara Banki).—Some men were outcasted for 12 years for poisoning cattle, after conviction in a court of law. The accused offered Rs. 500 in lieu of outcasting, but in vain.

Mali (Bara Banki).—A Mali woman beat a Brahman *purohit*. She was fined Rs. 10 and on failing to pay, both she and her husband were outcasted.

(7) *Objects to which fines are devoted*.—In most cases small fines are immediately spent on purchasing sweetmeats or liquor for the brotherhood. At other times, when the fine is sufficient, a feast is provided. They are also often spent in buying vessels, matting or other furniture for the use of the *panchayat*: or in repairing temples, wells or mosques or other charitable objects, such as finding a dowry for an orphan, feeding poor Brahmans and so on.

(8) *The influence of Brahmans on caste panchayats*.—As a general rule the Brahman has no influence on or voice in the decision of cases before *panchayats*. When the offence is heinous, especially if of a religious or semi-religious kind, the Brahman may be consulted as an expert adviser as to the nature and degree of the punishment that will fit the crime: but he has no right to decide on a man's innocence or guilt. The case of the Goshain of Baisona, mentioned above, is an exception. In Almora there is a regular Dharmadhikari, who is a Tewari Brahman, who fixes the punishment in such cases: elsewhere any Dharmashastra Brahman (i.e. one learned in the law) may be called in. In Garhwal, it will be remembered, the Dharmadhikari is an official who purifies the outcaste. The case of the *sajjada nashin* who reversed the decision of a Kunjra *panchayat* is a Muhammadan parallel. But, save in the hills, where the *panchayat* system is to some extent *sui generis*, to ask the advice of a Brahman is unusual. The only case where the Brahman (in this case the *guru*) takes the place of the *panchayat* is amongst the Mahalodhi sub-caste of the Lodhas.

(9) *The binding nature of a panchayat decision*.—Normally a *panchayat* decision is absolutely binding on all whom it may concern and anyone who disregards it becomes himself liable to punishment. *Panchayats* however do not seem to publish their decrees save in special cases when information is sent to all *panchayats* of the sub-caste. It would be necessary of course only in cases of temporary or permanent excommunication. Very occasionally, one *panchayat* will disregard or modify the orders of another. Amongst the Sitapur Behnas and Julahas, for instance, a man sentenced by the *panchayat* of one *juwar* can go to the *panchayat* of another, who will often admit him to membership with them on payment of a less penalty; and something similar occurred amongst the Lucknow Khatiks, a case to which I shall refer later. Bad blood is the natural result in such cases and all intercourse stops. There is no doubt that such quarrels must frequently lead to a sub-caste breaking up into two divisions which ultimately may become separate sub-castes. A more frequent cause of this however is when members of a *panchayat* disagree on some point, when the result is frequently that one *juwar* or *tat* breaks up into two, and unless an accommodation is effected, may become two sub-castes. The two subdivisions are occasionally known as *thoks*. The selection of a new *chaudhri* often leads to this kind of quarrel; the *thoks* then choose each

its own *chaudhri*. It is said that such splits have been known to last for years amongst the Thatheras of Azamgarh.

(10) *The panchayat and professional matters.*—In view of the theory that derives castes ultimately from trade guilds, the connection of caste *panchayats* with trade matters is of importance and particular attention was directed to the question. I first summarize such information as I have received on the subject—

In Bulandshahr certain Gujars were outcasted for a reason that does not matter. The Nais held a *panchayat* and boycotted them with the result that no barber would shave them.

In Ghazipur the Chamar *panchayat* deal regularly with professional matters especially those relating to *jajmani* (vide paragraph 328). Two Chamars were fined Rs. 10 and Rs. 6 for removing dead animals from the house of another Chamar's clients: a Chamar woman worked as midwife for another Chamar's client and her husband was fined Rs. 5. It is contrary to caste custom to handle manure save cowdung: to do so involves outcasting. There have been similar occurrences in Bahraich.

There was a serious strike of the Koeri opium growers some 20 years ago. Dissatisfied with the rates paid for opium by Government, they summoned a monster *panchayat* and decided to refuse payment at the prevalent rate and to cease growing poppy, unless the rate was enhanced. In the end the rate had to be raised.

The Bhangi *panchayat* deals with cases arising from the encroachment of one member on the *jajmani* of another and is powerful enough to organize effective strikes if necessary. In one city some years ago the municipality decided to sell the night-soil which had been the perquisite of the sweepers. They not only struck but were able to prevent other sweepers taking their places and the municipality had to come to terms.

The Nai *panchayat* deals regularly with questions connected with *jajmani*.

In Azamgarh the Lohar *panchayat* fixes the rates of wages and prevents newcomers coming into competition with their own members. In one case a zamindar gave a piece of work to the local Lohars, but was dissatisfied with them and transferred it to some outsiders. The two *tats* met and decided that the zamindar had a real grievance and allowed the outsiders to finish the job: but they had to give up one of their own customers by way of compensation.

From Moradabad it is reported that 8 caste *panchayats* deal with trade matters. Of these two are the Bhangi and Nai, already referred to. The Ghogar outcastes a member who works at lower rates than those fixed by the council: the Phansiya is not allowed to outbid a caste-fellow for a fruit garden; the Mirasis boycott a prostitute who dismisses her Mirasis during the marriage season. Other castes of the same kind are the Bhishti, Nanbai (baker), and Qassab. The Nanbai is not a caste at all but an occupation, and his *panchayat* (or rather his *panch* for there is but one) deals only with trade questions: the Nanbais in fact form a small trade guild.

The Julahas are said to have a loom-tax, the proceeds of which go to fighting out suits with professional outsiders. They possess a system of apprenticeship. They also collect money for caste *taziah*s, one to each street of weavers. The old trade guilds spent much money on similar objects.

Barhais are said to possess a trade guild which preserves the ancestral methods of carpentry and building.

Kathaks, who are a class that used to correspond to the troubadours of medieval Europe, save that their songs and recitations were of religion rather than of love, are said to also have a similar association.

From Etah it is reported that if a Darzi cuts into a piece of cloth and returns it unfinished to his employer owing to some dispute, no other Darzi will take up the work without the permission of the Darzi concerned.

From Etah also comes the case of a Bhishti. A rich man was building a house and one day a Bhishti came late to work. He was rebuked, and threw up his employment. At once all the other Bhishtis followed suit and the employer had to apologize before they would resume work.

The same district reports a case where a Julaha was fined for preparing cloth of a colour that faded, as the local Julahas have an understanding that

their colours must be fast and permanent. (Elsewhere, I understand that they have forbidden the use of aniline dyes.)

The Etah Nais boycotted all the dancing girls because they refused to dance at a Nai's wedding.

The Behnas of Sitapur boycott and outcaste persons who try to ply their trade in villages to which they are strangers.

The Rajs of Meerut are not a real caste, but an occupational group recruited from many castes (Chamar, Khatik, Muhammadan Banjara, Panwari, Teli, Ranghar, Saiyid, Pathan, Moghul, Shaikh, and Qassab are mentioned). They have a system of apprenticeship. When the apprentice is out of his indentures, he presents a turban to his master and feasts the members on cardamums. This is a distinct trade guild formed of many castes: its members remain members of their own castes as regards social matters. It is interesting as showing how trade guilds were built up. The Raj in most places is regarded as a caste.

The Dhobis of Shahjahanpur city boycotted the Kahars because of a dispute. No Dhobi would wash a Kahar's clothes.

These instances, though few in number, are sufficiently striking in character. All of them point to action on the part of the *panchayat* of a kind that one would legitimately expect of a trade guild: and, not only so, but in many cases similar action is known to have been actually taken, both by the trade guilds of ancient times and also by their more modern counterparts in Gujarat and Rajputana. But though where *panchayats* deal with professional matters their power seems even greater than it is in their social and domestic jurisdiction, the fact remains that instances are very few and that a vast majority of functional castes appear to leave professional matters alone altogether. The reason of this is I think rightly alleged by the Etah report to be that adherence to hereditary occupation nowadays is nothing like as rigid as it was in ancient times. Castes no longer follow their traditional occupation and no other; they take to other trades freely. This would necessarily involve a gradual disappearance of the functional powers possessed by the caste *panchayats*. If the cases given be examined it will be found that the castes which appear to deal most with trade matters are just those which cling most steadfastly to their traditional profession—first and foremost, the Bhangi, then the Nai, the Chamar, the Bhishti, the Julaha, the Darzi, the Dhobi, the Behna. The Ghogar and Phansiya too appear to be new occupational offshoots from other less purely occupational castes. But other castes, Gadariyas, Lohars, Sonars, Kayasthas, &c., &c., now take to all sorts of professions. On the other hand there is often an understanding between members of an occupation, whether they belong to different castes or the same caste. Landowners' and bar associations are well known: their ultimate object is to safeguard their mutual interests. Bakers, butchers, ekkawalas, domestic servants can join for the common benefit against a real or supposed case of oppression: they only do on a small scale what landowners and lawyers do on a large scale. Union is strength and the tendency for members of a common occupation to unite is natural. So long as occupations were hereditary in particular castes caste membership supplied the most obvious and most powerful bond of union: but now that under modern conditions castes no longer adhere to their traditional functions, fresh unions are arising which form a cross division to the castes. But the old principle which caused the growth of the trade guilds still exists; and if in olden times a trade guild could compel (as so often in the old stories) a king to send his eldest son into exile for philandering with its daughters at the village well, the opium-growers of to-day can force a rise in rates and the sweepers or hackney cab-drivers of a town are quite capable of successfully resisting any changes to their detriment.

332. **Impermanent councils.**—I now turn to the consideration of those castes which have no permanent councils at all. The information on the subject is extremely vague, which is natural since the councils themselves are exceedingly nebulous bodies, with no constitution of any kind, and no principles of action on which it is possible to lay hold. It is unnecessary to attempt to give any list of the castes which possess such councils; but generally it may be said firstly, that high castes, those which are, or with some show of reason claim to be, descended from the twice-born classes of Manu have such councils: and secondly, that the higher the caste, the more nebulous its council is. Generally speaking Brahmans, Rajputs, and the highest classes of Vaishya have nothing of the nature of a

council at all, or next to nothing: amongst the last mentioned may be included such castes as the Agarwal and Umar (Bania) and Bhat. Other castes such as the Chauhan, Ghosi, Lodha, Kurmi, Orh, Turk, Tharu, and in some places the Sonar, Kumhar, Luniya, and Kayastha-Mochi, have a *panchayat* of some kind. Where there is no council, public opinion takes its place. An offender is excommunicated forthwith, without inquiry or ceremonial, and remains so for the rest of his days; there seems to be no possible way in which he can be reinstated. On the other hand, some castes which would scorn the suggestion that they possess a permanent *panchayat*, have an equivalent. The outcaste goes to some raja of his clan, who is usually always the same man in any one locality, and persuades him to take up the case. The raja does so and with the assistance of assessors and in full conclave of the clan enquires into the matter and delivers sentence. There is no real difference between this type of caste government and that of the permanent council, save that the sole punishment for any offence is permanent excommunication. The Kachhwaha Rajputs of Cawnpore go to a raja in Jalaun (whom at the meeting they actually call the *sarpanch*): the Chandels of the same district go to a leading Chandel gentleman of the locality. Many castes, too, possess Sabhas which meet once a year and lay down caste rules: but it does not appear that they as a rule take up individual cases. In other cases, where the council is a recognized body, it is either called together when required by the offender or complainant, and the matter is decided in the same way as in a permanent *panchayat*: or it is brought up on the next occasion that the brotherhood will meet in the ordinary course of events, at marriage, funeral, or other gatherings. The punishments in such cases are of the same kind as in the case of permanent *panchayats*. The case of the Jats is instructive. As a rule there is no permanent *panchayat* or permanent official who represents the *panchayat in posse*. When a case has to be decided, if the village elders cannot do so, the offender calls together some 20 or 25 elders of the neighbourhood who select 5 to 10 of their number to inquire into the case: or, if the case is important, the number may be as many as 50 or 60, usually one from each village. There is no *sarpanch* and a majority of votes decides the matter. When the meeting takes place at a fair, it is called together by the secretary of the local Jat Sabha, of which there are several. This is the procedure obtaining in Moradabad. But in Muzaffarnagar there is a particular group of Jats living in 32 villages of tahsil Kairana which has a strong permanent *panchayat*. The head of one family in Bhainswal is regarded as raja of this *battisi*: the head of another in Oun is regarded as its *diwan*, whilst the presence of the headmen of three other families in Pindaura, Salawar, and Malahandi is also necessary for a *panchayat* to be considered complete. This amounts to a very strong permanent council in this particular tract. It is however exceptional; and the caste must be regarded as generally possessing an impermanent council only. It is however more than usually subject in many respects to its Sabhas, which are numerous and strongly organized, and of course permanent bodies.

333. **The comparative influence of permanent and impermanent councils on their members.**—It is generally held that the permanent council is a much more powerful and influential body than the impermanent. It is so, in so far that being well organized and always in existence, at all events in the person of its *chaudhri* or headman, it is much easier for offenders to be brought to book and for complainants to get their troubles attended to. The impermanent council, on the other hand, is an unwieldy thing to call together: it is nobody's duty to see that it is collected when required, and no doubt in petty matters the complainant lets his complaint pass rather than go to the trouble involved. In serious matters, on the other hand, the offender is invariably sent to Coventry, or informally outcasted first: and unless the council's decision is likely to be a confirmation of the informal excommunication, he will be fairly certain to call it together, if only to get his sentence mitigated to a fine or other minor punishment. In serious matters, therefore, the control of both kinds of council is probably equally real, though the impermanent council's control is possibly rather less continuous, and doubtless it is seldom called on to decide trivial matters. But when all is said and done the offenders in castes which have no councils at all suffer most severely, in serious matters at all events. They are automatically excommunicated, without inquiry or trial, and once excommunicated there is no hope of reinstatement since there is no council to whom they can appeal. It is little wonder that one

finds small colonies of outcastes scattered up and down the country. One (of Chandels) is mentioned as living in 12 villages of Sheorajpur tahsil in Cawnpore district.

334. **The panchayat system in the hills.**—In the hills there appears to be no system of caste *panchayats* outside the towns, such as Srinagar; their place is taken by the village *panchayats*, of which the *padhan* or *thokdar* is the *sarpanch* (in Jaunsar Bawar, i.e. tahsil Chakrata of Dehra Dun district he is called *siana*). To these members of all respectable castes belong: lower castes such as the Dom and Bajgi get their affairs settled by it, but apparently have no voice in its deliberations. Their *panchayats* deal not only with social matters, but it appears that matters which would normally come before a law court, whether civil or criminal, are usually discussed in *panchayat* before the courts are moved, and frequently finally decided there. In Garhwal the *panchayats* also deal with the arrangements for periodical festivities. In Almora the *panchayat* is described as a primitive court of justice: the accused if found guilty has to sign a *kailnama*, or admission of guilt, which is countersigned by all members of the *panchayat* and handed to the complainant. Fine is the usual punishment, but *gauhatia* or cow-killing demands as usual a severer expiration. In Garhwal the Dharmadhikari (mentioned above, paragraph 331 (8) purifies the offender who has been sentenced by the *panchayat* and so makes his reinstatement in caste possible: but in Almora he decides what the punishment should be after the *panchayat* has found him guilty. Persons dissatisfied with a *panchayat's* decision often have recourse to the courts: but it is not clear what occurs if the court should not agree with the *panchayat's* views. In the Tarai and Bhabar the Tharus and Bhoksas seem to possess caste *panchayats* of the usual type.

335. **The case of the Lucknow Khatiks.**—I give in some details the facts concerning the Khatiks of Lucknow city, partly because they exemplify the working of the *panchayat* system in many of its phases, partly because they appear to be in some respects unique. That particular sub-caste of the Khatiks which resides in Lucknow consists of three *ghols*, known as Manikpur, Jaiswala, and Dalmau. They are immigrants from Jais and Dalmau in the Rae Bareilly district and Manikpur in Partabgarh: and came to Lucknow three generations ago. Each *ghol* has its *chaudhri* or *chaudhris*: Jaiswala has three, Manikpur two, and Dalmau one. Normally the three *ghols* both eat and smoke together and intermarry; and normally, the members of all three meet together in *panchayat* under the presidency of their *chaudhris*. Fines are equally divided if worth dividing and go to provide a feast or a *katha*. The three *ghols* once possessed seven specially large cooking dishes which were their joint property. Of late however these have been divided, Dalmau and Manikpur taking each three of the smaller ones and Jaiswala the 7th and largest one. The *chaudhriship* is hereditary: and 20 years ago each *ghol* only had one *chaudhri*. But the *chaudhri* families of Jaiswala and Manikpur were very large and this, it is said, led to an increase in the number of *chaudhris*. There has been a great deal of bad blood between the *ghols*. It appears to be permissible for a member of one *ghol* who is dissatisfied with the decision of his own group to join another *ghol* on payment of an "entrance fee," which varies from Re. 1 to Rs. 80. Whether this was always the practice, or whether the custom grew up in the course of the quarrel which is now to be mentioned is not quite clear. This quarrel, or rather series of quarrels, was as follows. Firstly, a certain woman peddled fruit with her basket on her head—an act considered derogatory to the caste's dignity—women should only sell at shops. Two brethren told her to stop doing so, or they would bring the matter before the *panchayat*. She and her husband said they would shoebeat these men. Ultimately the husband was excommunicated; it does not appear to which *ghol* he belonged, but at all events the Dalmau *ghol* took his part and allowed him to join them on payment of Rs. 80 (described as entrance fee). Secondly, a certain man (his *ghol* is not mentioned either) was excommunicated for a social offence; and while his case was under trial a *chaudhri* of the Jaiswalas sent him an invitation to dinner "by mistake." He and his two fellow *chaudhris* were fined Rs. 30. Thirdly, it was decided to have a *katha* as certain fines had accumulated. The Dalmau *chaudhri* claimed his third of the money: but the Manikpur *chaudhris* who held the money refused, taking up the attitude that there was going to be a *katha* to which the Dalmau people could come or not as they liked. The matter was then brought into court. There are several cases of men leaving one *ghol* for another.

These are the facts as they reached me. There is obviously much left unexplained. Points that need clearing are (1) Do the *ghols* meet in *panchayat* as separate units? (2) If so, was it *ghol* or caste *panchayat* which punished the pedlar's husband? (3) Was it *ghol* or caste *panchayat* which punished the Jaiswala *chaudhris*?

I think the facts are probably as follows: these *ghols* are in all probability merely *juwars* or *tats* (local *panchayats* with separate jurisdictions) under another name. In their own country they would be separated by 20 odd miles from each other. When they migrated to Lucknow, doubtless their numbers were small and they found it convenient to amalgamate their *panchayats*: which would be easy enough, as even at home they could have met in joint assembly to decide any important point. We have seen instances in Sitapur where one *juwar* will take in an offender from another *juwar* on a mitigated punishment. This kind of thing might well occur in cases where *juwars* held different opinions; and so long as distance was a bar to any *real* commensality or intermarriage between *juwar* and *juwar* (whatever *theoretical* commensality or intermarriage might exist) it would do little actual harm to their normal relations. Now it seems quite clear that the husband of the woman who peddled fruit was treated with unnecessary harshness. His and her offences were not very great and to excommunicate him was extremely severe. It is quite possible that the Dalmau *ghol* thought so⁽¹⁾, and so were willing to adopt him into their own *ghol* on payment of a fine: which was not an entrance fee, but a minor punishment substituted for excommunication, and quite sufficiently severe, since the amount was Rs. 80. It follows therefore that either this man was outcasted only by his own *ghol* or in general *panchayat* by the votes of Manikpur and Jaiswala, Dalmau dissenting. The second case however makes it probable that *ghols* do act independently: for it is difficult to see how the Jaiswala *chaudhri* could possibly invite a man to dinner "by mistake," whilst he himself was actually helping to try him in the joint *panchayat*. Living side by side as they were, these cases would cause a great deal more bad blood than they would if the *ghols* had been separated, as they usually would be, by a wide stretch of country. The *katha* quarrel simply brought matters to a head.

The case is interesting chiefly as exemplifying (1) that the *juwar* or *tat panchayats* have merely arisen from considerations of convenience and distance, and there is nothing to prevent their amalgamation if the circumstances should change, (2) the conservatism of India, which helped to maintain these divisions in theory when they meant nothing in practice, with the result that if a further cause of cleavage arose, a fresh split was easy, (3) the working of the *tat* system in the matter of the mitigation of the decision of one *tat* by another *tat*, (4) the results of that system in the shape of the splitting up of an endogamous group. That these results do not occur more often can only be due to the fact that in practice the endogamous group is split up by distance, though in theory it may be one.

336. **Rajas and caste panchayats.**—There is little evidence to show that ruling rajahs have any influence on the caste *panchayats*, though it is known to occur elsewhere. The cases of the Rajput raja and the Chandel gentlemen who act as a kind of *sarpanch* in Cawnpore (paragraph 332) possibly come under this category: but in that case they interfere only in their own caste matters. Two curious incidents are however reported from Shahjahanpur. In one case two *thoks* (or *juwars*) of the Dhobi caste quarrelled as to which *thok* a certain village was in; a *panchayat* was held in it and both *chaudhris* claimed the *chaudhri's* fee of Re. 1-4 of which Re. 1 had to be paid to the Raja in whose estate the village lay. One *chaudhri* obtained a *parwana* from the Raja giving him authority to collect the fee. In the other a Dhobi claimed his rights as *chaudhri* in a court of law. He stated that his own grandfather had been made *chaudhri* by the grandfather of the present Raja (not the same gentleman as in the other case): but that on his father's death the Dhobis selected not himself but another man. The complainant had to admit that the hereditary principle though usual was not compulsory.

337. **Caste Sabhas.**—I have received notes on the Gaur (Brahman) Maha Sabha, the Taga Sabha, and the Vaishya Mahasabha, and it may be interesting to explain briefly the nature of these modern successors and to some extent supplanters of the old *panchayat*. The Gaur Maha Sabha is a central body consisting of

⁽¹⁾ They were not however unanimous; for two persons are mentioned as leaving the Dalmau *ghol* over this case. This could only have been because they objected to the action taken by their own *ghol*.

100 elected members whose term of office lasts a year. The president is selected by these 100, and his term is also a year. It meets once a year. Its jurisdiction extends nominally to the whole of India but it has little influence where there are no local Sabhas. It endeavours to reduce expenditure at births, marriages, and funerals, to inculcate the true principles of religion and the observance of religious rites, and to encourage the study of Sanskrit. It is a registered body. The Taga Sabha is known as Dan Tyagi Brahmana Prautia Sabha. (Tagas claim to be Brahmans and derive their name from *dan*—charity and *tyagi*—renouncer: one who has renounced the acceptance of offerings.) Its objects are the diffusion of knowledge and education. The Vaishya Mahasabha was established in 1893, and is the executive committee of the annual Vaish Conference. The subjects discussed by the conference are education, social reform, and the reduction of expenditure at festivals. There are local Sabhas in large cities whose duties are to give effect to the resolutions passed by the conference. These are of the nature of *panchayat*s and impose fines or excommunication.

338. **The relation of caste to sub-caste.**—The importance of the sub-caste is already apparent from the account given of the *panchayat* system. It has been shown that the *panchayat* is of the endogamous group whether of caste or sub-caste: that there is no such thing as a caste *panchayat* if the caste is made up of endogamous sub-castes and that there is no such thing, strictly speaking, as a *panchayat* belonging to an exogamous sub-caste (1).

It would seem therefore that the true unit of classification is not the caste but the sub-caste, or rather the endogamous group. M. Senart said long ago that the real caste was the sub-caste because it was the true endogamous group, that the caste name is merely a general term including many castes (i.e. sub-castes) following the same occupation and that sub-caste should be substituted for caste in classification. To this there are many objections. The first is terminological: sub-caste is used to denote not only endogamous but exogamous group. Secondly, it has been said that most castes with endogamous sub-castes have a common tradition of origin as well as a common occupation to bind them together. I have already suggested that this is as a general rule not so. But thirdly, the most important objection of all is that though the endogamy of the caste is with the very rarest exceptions, absolutely stringent, the endogamy of the sub-caste is much less so. It is said that to marry outside the sub-caste is an offence that *can* be expiated. Excommunication follows but can be wiped out in a purificatory ceremony, usually the *prayaschitta* (2). But even this fact is unimportant compared with the constant variations in the restrictions on marriage that occur in endogamous sub-castes. It does not appear very difficult to get rid of them altogether. The Brahman sub-castes are normally endogamous, but exceptions occur when circumstances call for them (e.g. a paucity of girls). Saraswat occasionally marries Gaur, for instance: Sanadh and Jujhotia are both said to give their girls to Kanauja, and the former also to Gaur. And if the Brahmans can get rid of their endogamous restrictions, it is obviously easier still for other castes. Not only so but the connubial restrictions between the same sub-castes vary from place to place. No more striking example of this can be found than the instance of the Cawnpore Dhanuks given in the ethnographic glossary at the end. Taking a single sub-caste, the Laungbarsa, we find that within the boundaries of a single district, it is (1) exogamous as regards one sub-caste, but endogamous as regards all others, (2) strictly endogamous, (3) strictly exogamous. Further wherever it is exogamous its exogamy varies in that it sometimes gives girls to, sometimes take them from, the

(1) As regards exogamous sub-castes what seems to occur is that sub-castes who intermarry have a common *panchayat*: but if for any reason they are endogamous to any particular sub-caste they cannot meet it in *panchayat*. A better way of putting the above statement is therefore that people who can intermarry can meet in *panchayat*: people who cannot do so cannot meet in *panchayat*. This covers the curious case of the Dhanuks of Cawnpore (see below) whose *panchayats* follow their endogamous and exogamous variations. The only exceptions I have traced are (1) the Qalandar (a Muhammadan caste of wandering bear and monkey showmen, who might very well travel outside the ordinary rule). They used to consist of 3 exogamous sub-castes; one of these, the Chindi, was practically outcasted (nobody now will eat or smoke or marry with them) because they admitted a man into their sub-caste from another sub-caste, the Khokar, and he gave away to them the secret of a lot of Khokar charms (*jadu*). But in spite of this they still maintain their former common *panchayat* and the *sarpanch* is actually a Chindi. (2) The Khunkhuniya Ahir (see below), who has no *panchayat* of his own though endogamous but can attend the *panchayat* of any other sub-caste. It should be noted that *juwars*, though they are exogamous groups, are in no sense sub-castes but mere local subdivisions. A man can only be born a member of an exogamous sub-caste, just as he can of a caste: but he can become a member of a *juwar* (cf. the cases of the Khatiks of Lucknow and Julahas and Behnas of Sitapur). I am inclined to think that the so-called exogamous sub-castes of Qalandars are really *juwars* since the split was due to the admission of a man of one group into another: it may be noted too that the Chindi live in a different district to the rest.

(2) Amongst Brahmans, the rite of purification is called *Chandrayan*.

same sub-caste. How is it possible to consider the Laungbarsa a caste, when the very criterion of a caste is strict endogamy?

Nor is this all. Not only is a sub-caste endogamous in one place and exogamous in another and both exogamous and endogamous in a third, but its marriage restrictions vary from time to time. A caste's restrictions never vary either in time or place. The Khatiks are endogamous always and everywhere: but the Khatik sub-castes are not. The case of the Lucknow Khatiks (above paragraph 335) is most instructive as to the circumstances which lead to this, and it is worth while following it up to understand the matter. We are not told to what sub-castes these three *ghols* belonged: but since at one time they intermarried they obviously at one time formed part of one sub-caste, which we may call X. In Lucknow, therefore, a few years back, there were certain endogamous sub-castes—say X, Y, Z. There are now to all intents and purposes 6 sub-castes, X (the rest of this sub-caste minus the 3 *ghols*), Y, Z, and Manikpur, Jaiswala and Dalmau. X is endogamous as regards Y and Z, but exogamous as regards the 3 *ghol* sub-castes: each of the 3 *ghol* sub-castes is endogamous as regards every other division save X; Y and Z are completely endogamous. Meantime elsewhere, say in Rae Bareilly whence the *ghols* first came, either only 3 sub-castes will be supposed to exist as usual, all endogamous: or if by any chance and on the force of the Lucknow analogy the three *ghols* are there also considered to be sub-castes we shall get a further variation—X and the 3 *ghols* will all be shown as exogamous to each other and endogamous to everybody else. Or let us suppose that after a certain lapse of time when the Lucknow *ghols* have been firmly established in popular estimation as sub-castes, the trouble is patched up (and we have had evidence from Azamgarh to show that such quarrels may cause a split of the same kind to last for years, only to be mended in the end), we shall get in Lucknow yet another variation. Or some of the *ghols* may come to terms and not all: when there will be still a further variation. Yet the cause of this quarrel was trivial enough: similar quarrels must occur again and again in all castes. The diversity of sub-castes in different places, the diversity of the restrictions obtaining between them at different times and in different places need therefore cause no surprise. The Dhanuks of Cawnpore are by no means abnormal. The Tambolis afford another instance. They have amongst other sub-castes the Jaiswar and Chaurasiya. In Bahraich and Cawnpore the former is endogamous: but in Unao it intermarries with the Kathyar or Kathwar, in Cawnpore it does not. Now the Kathyar is the sole Tamboli sub-caste which does not permit widow remarriage. Since the Jaiswar and Kathyar intermarry, it seems probable that the Kathyar broke off from the Jaiswar owing to this custom: and if in Unao either the Kathyar have given it up or the Jaiswar have taken to observing it, it would account for their intermarrying there and not elsewhere. The Chaurasiya similarly is found in Unao, Jalaun, and Cawnpore and in Jalaun intermarries with the Kandariya, also probably the result of a split from the Chaurasiya which has since been mended. These examples serve to show the infinite variety in sub-castes and the consequent impossibility of using them as a basis for classification, since in nature and number they are never the same from district to district or census to census.

339. **The origin of sub-castes.**—The origin of most sub-castes is shrouded in the obscurity of the past and there is generally nothing but the name and an occasional legend to explain how it came into being. A majority of the names are local. These may be vague, referring only to a point of the compass ⁽¹⁾: or relate to a more or less well defined part of the country ⁽²⁾, or to a town (ancient or modern) ⁽³⁾; and in the last two cases the part of the country may be either within or without the province. Occasionally one finds an eponymous title ⁽⁴⁾ or a totemistic section ⁽⁵⁾, though these last are usually reserved for exogamous rather than endogamous sections, as is natural, and are found chiefly among low tribal castes. The names of other castes are also very common. These may occasionally be the name of the particular (higher) caste or clan that was served by this sub-caste, from which they borrowed the name ⁽⁶⁾: or may point to

⁽¹⁾ Purbiya (eastern), Uttariya (northern), &c., &c.

⁽²⁾ Madhesiya (Madhyadesa), Antarvedi, (the lower Jumna-Ganges Doab), Sarwariya (Sarjupari-dwellers beyond the Sarju)

⁽³⁾ Kanaujia, Saksena (Sankisa), Srivastava (Saraswati), Jaunpuria, Jaiswar.

⁽⁴⁾ Benbansi (Raja Vena), Nandabansi; and most words ending in *bansi*.

⁽⁵⁾ Markam (tortoise), Sanwan (*san*—hemp), Gidhle (*gidh*—vulture).

⁽⁶⁾ *Bais* Dhobi, *Kashhwaha* Bhat, *Panwar* Dusadh. The Bhat have a great many such sub-castes.

the elements from which the caste was made up ⁽¹⁾: or simply denote a close connection between the castes ⁽²⁾. There are many occupational titles of all kinds, some akin to nicknames ⁽³⁾; finally a few denote changes in social practice ⁽⁴⁾, or particular religious tenets ⁽⁵⁾.

340. **Accretion and fission.**—How the sub-castes arose, there is as I have said, generally nothing but the name to show; but it appears that most cases if not all are cases of either accretion or fission. Accretion would occur when a group tacked itself on to another group because it practised the same occupation, or perhaps held the same religious beliefs. Long before there were castes it is probable that the guilds grew chiefly in this way. A goldsmith guild would come into being amongst either the aborigines or the Vaishyas; to this guild Brahman and Kshatriya and all sorts of other groups who were also goldsmiths by profession would join themselves. Local sub-castes would possibly also be accretions in many cases. There would be (say) Telis everywhere; and as the Telis of one place grew gradually into a caste (probably *viâ* a guild), the Telis of other places would become as gradually included in it. Or put in another way, each of the old political divisions of India evolved its own functional groups: and when all those who followed one occupation came to be regarded as one caste (whenever that was), the functional groups, now sub-castes, would be distinguished by their local names ⁽⁶⁾. Sectarian castes obviously grew by a process of accretion; the Bishnoi caste mentioned in the ethnographic glossary (q. v.) is an excellent example. But the principles on which accretions to castes occur at the present day are also the principles on which entirely new castes come into being: and they invariably involve previous fission from some other caste. It will be more convenient therefore first to consider the growth of sub-castes by fission.

341. **Sub-castes due to fission.**—If a caste is a solid (or solidified) body, it is made up of much less solid bodies, its sub-castes: and these have a strong tendency to break off, and having done so, either to solidify themselves, or to gravitate to other bodies. The causes of such a break are various. A difference of locality may cause it, or the adoption or abandonment of a degrading occupation; a change in social practices: pollution of some kind, possibly involved in a change of social practices: an increase in prosperity: or, as we have seen, a caste quarrel—may all lead to fission and its consequences.

(1) *Difference of locality.*—As regards fission due to a change in locality it is impossible to speak with certainty. When one finds a caste divided into several endogamous sub-castes, some of which belong to different localities, it is impossible to say whether these sub-castes grew up independently in the first place, and with the lapse of time and the improvement of communications joined together to form a caste whilst preserving their endogamy: or whether from a caste a sub-caste went off to settle in another place, became known by that place's name, and was compelled by mere distance to become endogamous. That it would naturally become endogamous is certain: distance would prevent would-be husbands going to their original homes to get a wife and, as a correspondent points out, such a man would probably not get one even if he did go, since in the absence of railways and penny postage, separation of this kind would mean lifelong separation and parents would refuse to give him a daughter. But that the formation of the local sub-caste is often due to change of locality is shown by many legends. Not only have many caste and sub-castes traditions of an original home whence they migrated but some definitely ascribe their present endogamic rules to that migration. The Sarwaria Brahmans for instance ascribe their origin to their ancestors having been sent to perform the *yagia* (purificatory) ceremony for Rama after he had killed Rawan: on

(1) *Chhatri* and *Eastogi* Sonar, *Vishvakarma* or *Ojha* (Brahman) or *Tumariya* Lohar.

(2) *Barai*—*Tamboli* and *Tamboli*—*Barai*; *Dharkar*—*Dom* and *Dom*—*Dharkar*, &c., &c.

(3) *Dhalwal* (shield-maker) among *Barhais*: *Gadharia* (donkey-drivers) among *Dhobis*; *Ghorcharha* (horseman) among *Ahirs*, &c.

(4) *Byahut* (married, i.e. forbidding widow marriage) is the most common.

(5) *Pachpiria* and *Mahabiria* (Tels).

(6) Some very important deductions follow from this—namely (1) that local sub-castes may connote racial differences and (2) that the sub-caste is frequently racial, whilst the main caste is usually functional, in origin. To this it may also be added that when the sub-castes are not local (and therefore possibly racial) they often appear to belong to and be sprung of different social classes. Race and social grade go together and consequently both these deductions agree with the theory of the origin of caste sketched earlier in the chapter. They also throw light on the matter of anthropometry. The majority of measurements hitherto made did not distinguish between caste and sub-caste. If castes are made up of numerous groups of different racial origin, it would not be surprising to find (as has been found) differences in physical type in the same caste. Though anthropometry has been greatly discredited as a test of race, it is obvious that if this view is right anthropometry to be of any value should work on a basis of sub-caste not of caste; though even here owing to a long-continued process of fission and fusion, the result would probably only be confusion.

their return they were not received by the Kanaujias to whom they belonged, and were made to settle across the Sarju.

(2) *Adoption or abandonment of a degrading occupation.*—This is much the most common cause of fission, and cases distinctly traceable to it occur even at the present day. To these must be added all the occupational sub-castes which (though the exact process is no longer traceable) probably arose in most cases from the same cause. Sometimes the sub-caste which comes into being forms merely a fresh sub-caste in the same caste: sometimes when there is no possible connection between the occupation abandoned and the one adopted it forms a fresh caste altogether. I give instances of both here though the latter type of case will also have to be referred to in fuller detail later on.

Bhar and Raj Bhar were obviously one in the past. The Bhar now keeps pigs, the Raj Bhar does not and they are separate sub-castes. Probably in view of the exalted position of the Bhar in old times, this fission was due to the adoption, not the abandonment, of this degrading function.

Belwars claim to be Sanadh Brahmans, and since in most of their customs they are orthodox Brahmans, their claim is probably correct⁽¹⁾. They took to dealing in cattle and cattle-carried commodities, which caused their separation. Now some of them in Hardoi have given up this profession and other non-Brahmanical habits like smoking tobacco: and though these customs have been followed for 150 years at least, the Hardoi Behnas are again being recognized as Sanadh Brahmans, intermarrying with them and receiving the *puelagan* or Brahmanical salutation.

In Mainpuri Ahirs have the curious subdivision of Dwijat, Uttam Sudras, and Adham Sudras. The last two are clearly a case of fission, and it is due to the fact that they take menial service.

Kuta Banjaras are an occupational offshoot due to their following the profession of husking rice.

Kayastha-Mochis are said to be Kayasthas who have taken up the profession of saddlers.

Kayastha-Bharbhunjas similarly are Kayasthas who have taken up grain-parching. It may be noted that several of the Bharbhunja sub-castes plainly point to Kayastha origin, e.g. Kaithia, Srivastava, and Saksena.

Kayastha-Darzis again are Kayasthas who have taken to tailoring.

Chamar-Julahas in Moradabad are said to be an occupational offshoot of the Jatiya Chamar who have taken to weaving. The Jatiya Chamar claims descent from a Jat and his Chamarin mistress. They are occasionally called Bhuiyars (weavers).

Mochi, now a caste, is merely an occupational offshoot from Chamar.

The Gharuk is an occupational offshoot from the Kahar, due to the fact that Kahars took service with Europeans. Many of the Kahar sub-castes are occupational.

The Kumhar sub-castes are largely occupational. We have the Bardhiya or Baldiya (using oxen), the Gadhere or Gadhila (using donkeys), the Hateria (or Gola) who does not make pots with a wheel but by hand (*hateli*-palm), Kasgar (Kuzagar) who makes goblets, Intpaz (who makes bricks). All these are as a rule endogamous.

Phansiyas are Pasis in Moradabad who have taken to the occupation of fruit-selling and changed their name (see ethnographic glossary).

Singhariyas are an occupational offshoot of uncertain origin. They grow the ground nut. They claim to be Rajputs of various kinds but are probably either Kahars or Kachhis.

There appears to have been a curious case of fission and accretion between the Nat and Banjara in Moradabad. The former consist of Gual, Chaudhri, and Kanchan (divided into Kabutar and Kalabaz). Amongst the Guals, only married women dance and sing: the Kanchans make their unmarried girls dance, sing, and prostitute themselves. The Chaudhris are Kabutar Kanchans who have risen in the social scale by giving up dancing and taking to agriculture. The Kalabaz (acrobats) was formed by fission from the Kabutar. Chaudhris will marry Kabutar girls. Some Gual Nats appear to have taken to trade during last 10 years and now call themselves Badi Banjaras, though the other Banjaras look down on them.

⁽¹⁾ A small matter pointing to Brahmanical origin is their habit of sitting *dharma* at a debtor's door; it would have no effect of course, unless the Belwar was a Brahman.

The Gidhiya is an occupational (hunting) offshoot from the Bawariya (see ethnographical glossary).

The Balahar is an occupational offshoot from the Dom tribe. He beats the drums at weddings.

Kayastha-Senduria (Gorakhpur) are similar to Kayastha-Mochis. They sell *sendur* (red lead).

The Khunkhuniya Ahir is the privileged mendicant of the Ahir caste and its only occupational sub-caste.

The Khatiks of Cawnpore have 3 occupational sub-castes: Rajgar (masons), Sombatta (rope-makers), and Mewafarosh (fruit-sellers). There also appears to be a fourth sub-caste in the making, drawn from all three, which sells pork and is known as Bikanwala.

Many more instances of occupational sub-castes some of which must obviously fall into this category could be found in the pages of Crooke.

(3) *Change in social practices.*—The most common instance of this is the Byahut sub-caste found in several castes, e.g. the Kalwar, Lohar, Nai, and Teli, where the particular section is marked off by refusing to marry any but virgin brides. Another excellent instance are such cases as the Basor, Bansphor, Dharkar, all branches of the Dom tribe who have broken off from them on giving up their wandering habits and settling down⁽¹⁾. There are also certain social differences between the Dhe and Hele Jats: and the Khare and Dusre sections of Srivastava Kayasthas may also be due to some original social difference. The Purbi and Pachhmi Sonars in Benares are divided on the subject of widow-remarriage: the latter (or one section of them, the Ajudhiabasi) permit it. Baiswar and Jaiswar Kurmis in Sitapur are looked down on for the same reason. In Jhansi the Sadh Kori is said to be superior to all others as he will not eat flesh. The Kayastha Darzis and Kayastha Sendurias try to account for their fission by alleging that they could not stand the drinking habits of the Kayasthas proper (!); whilst the Bharbhunjas in the same district are said to have left the Kandus for a similar reason (the Bharbhunjas in this case being the offenders), and the Turaha the Kahar. Instances of this however seem to be now uncommon: the change in social practice seems to be usually a result of the fission (which in such cases is generally due to increased prosperity) and not its cause.

(4) *Changes due to pollution including alleged low origin.*—Cases of these are rather more common, as might be expected. In Sitapur the Behnas or Dhuniyas have 3 sub-castes, nominally endogamous, Mehtariya, Khwaja Mansuri, and Qassaiya. The Qassaiya is an occupational offshoot which has taken to butcher's work and the other two will have nothing to say to it. These two alike claim the higher status: the Mehtariya says the Khwaja Mansuri used to keep pigs, the Khwaja Mansuri retaliates that the Mehtariya is the offspring of a Khwaja Mansuri and a female sweeper (Mehtarani). The Kurmia Ahirs of Hardoi are said to be the descendants of an Ahir and a Kurmi mother and are despised in consequence. The Gual Ahir in Bijnor is looked down on because he is said to be descended from the servants (cattle-herds) of the true Ahirs who owned the cattle. The Nikhar or Salia sub-caste of the Gadariyas is despised because of a similar stigma of illegitimacy, though elsewhere "Nikhar" is interpreted as "pure;" whilst in Cawnpore the Dhingar is despised because he follows some Muhammadan customs. The Khagi-Chauhan (vide ethnographical glossary "Chauhan") is clearly of mixed origin. The Jatiya Chamar is of mixed origin which is indicated by the name. The Dakaut and Mahabrahman would also be polluted Brahmans. Amongst the Luniyas is found a sub-caste which is reported under the name of Gola Agaria, who claim a Thakur origin: they are obviously the same as Crooke's Agaris who claim such an origin and are known as Gole (bastard) Thakurs. In a village in Cawnpore were found some "Thakur Arakhs" consisting of two or three families which, as the Cawnpore ethnographical officer says, were obviously the descendants of some mixed union. To these instances must be added other cases of bastards born of mixed marriages. They are mentioned as occurring in the case of four castes, Gujar, Rajput, Brahman, and Bharbhunja; and are known as *dogala*. These unfortunates are compelled to marry amongst themselves. An instance is reported of the daughter of a Bargujar

(1) Query—are the various Bhangi castes (they are not really sub-castes) instances of the same thing? The relation between Bhangi and Dom is remarkably close in every possible respect and it is quite possible that the Bhangis once formed part of the Dom tribe and broke off on settling down (as of course they must) to their present avocation.

Rajput by a Nai mistress who was married to the son of a Rajput of another sept by a similar union. They are obviously similar to the Thakur Arakhs just mentioned. There is a proverb, sarcastic enough in the circumstances: "*Raja mane so rāni, chhāni binti āni.*" The Raja's love is a Rani, even if she live by gathering cowdung. It may be so, but the Rajput's love never becomes a Rajputni.

(5) *Changes due to increased prosperity.*—Changes of this kind are rare; indeed only two or three are mentioned which can be definitely put down to such a cause. There is firstly the case of the prosperous Kalwar who insists on calling himself Mahajan—merely, so far as one can see, because it sounds better. Secondly, the Sainthwar sub-caste of Kurmis, chiefly because of the rise of its leading family (of Padrauna in Gorakhpur), is now a separate caste. It has legends of its own which assimilate it to the Bisen Rajputs and it has given up widow-remarriage. But as a caste's prosperity increases, it usually takes a different line. It does not merely cut itself adrift from its humble relatives: it tries to push its way into the ranks of a higher caste, usually the Rajput. Many historical cases are mentioned in the pages of Crooke and I need not refer to them. I have already referred to several modern cases in an earlier paragraph: I may also mention the case of the Jujhotia Brahmans (see ethnographical glossary), the Khagis who claim Rajput origin, and of some Tambolis in Bijnor who claim to be Gaur Brahmans; whilst (thanks in part to the actual presence of Kayastha Darzis and Kayastha Bharbhunjas) both Darzis and Bharbhunjas seem to be setting up a semi-general claim to be all Kayasthas. It is not for me to pronounce on the truth or falsity of these claims⁽¹⁾: all that I am concerned to point out is that, if the caste had not prospered, they would not have been made.

342. **Sub-castes due to changes in religion.**—It is natural that when in any caste any particular group takes to some new or unusual worship, especially if other members of the caste or sub-caste do not approve of it, that group should break off and become an endogamous sub-caste. Amongst Hindus such sub-castes are not very common simply because the Hindu is a tolerant person in matters of religion and generally he will care very little what particular god or godling a man believes in or how he worships him. All he cares about is what and with whom he eats and drinks and whom he marries: and so long as he does not break caste laws in these matters he will let him believe anything he likes so long as the Brahman's supremacy is not disputed. We do however find the Mahabiria and Pachpiriya sub-castes in the Teli caste, the latter also in the Halwai, and the Nanakshahi in the Barhai, Bhangi, and Kadhera: whilst the Sadh sub-caste of Koris may also be a case of fission due to change of religion. The most important and commonest cases are those of the Muhammadan sub-castes of castes common to both religions: their names are often the same in both the Hindu and Muhammadan branches and it is probable that many such sub-castes are cases of this kind of fission. Another point worth noting is that the Christian members of castes are now apparently forming, or at all events are regarded by Hindus as forming into sub-castes. One or two ethnographical officers speak of Christian Bhangis as if they were a Bhangi sub-caste: and apparently some of these men seem to think of themselves in much the same light, describing themselves as Bhangi Isai⁽²⁾. I have already given reasons (chapter IV, paragraph 139) for considering such a development to be, from the Hindu point of view, quite normal. One officer speaks of the Arya movement as likely to introduce a similar result and it is quite possible that if they ever are regarded as merely Hindu sectarians, "Arya" sub-castes may be added to various castes. At present however there is no sign of it; the Arya in 99 per cent. of cases simply gives his caste name, as if he were an ordinary Hindu. Jain Baniyas, of course, often describe their sub-caste (or to be more accurate, in this case their caste) as Jaini or Saraogi.

343. **Rigidity of the rules regarding sub-caste commensality and endogamy.**—Generally speaking, the commensal, connubial, and inter-*panchayat* customs all follow each other: that is to say sub-castes who can intermarry, can also hold joint *panchayats* and eat any kind of food and drink or smoke together. On the other hand it is probable that it would not be sufficient that two sub-castes *can* intermarry to enable them to eat together: they must have actually intermarried. At the present time this would rarely make any difference, but it serves to show

⁽¹⁾ I have indeed suggested that there is nothing impossible in them.

⁽²⁾ A wrong entry as it happens, but an interesting one in the circumstances. The Lal Begi Bhangi (Lal Guru amongst Hindus) may or may not be a religious sub-caste.

that commensality becomes possible with actual relationship. Hypergamic restrictions seem to introduce no variations in this rule. All Rajput septs have hypergamous rules but if they have intermarried they can eat together: the Dhanuk sub-castes also have hypergamy, but though a Badhik in one part will not give his daughter to a Laungbarsa he can still eat, drink, and smoke with him, because he can take a Laungbarsa damsel to wife. I can find no variations to this and indeed none could be expected. The basis of the existing commensality, as of the joint *panchayat*, is relationship though marriage and it would be the extreme of purism not to eat with one's wife's relations, though some Brahmans do carry purism to such a pitch ⁽¹⁾. As regards endogamous sub-castes the matter is different, and the rules are varied. Generally speaking the rule seems to be that if a caste is endogamous it will eat or drink with nobody else; which is the converse and natural corollary of the rule stated at the beginning of this paragraph. To do so involves severe punishment. A Karaul Baheliya can neither eat, drink or smoke with any other kind of Baheliya on pain of permanent outcasting. If amongst the Dhanuks a Laungbarsa man and Badhik woman married contrary to the rules of hypergamy, they would be fined and have to annul the marriage. Elsewhere where the Laungbarsa is the superior sub-caste, a similar result would follow if he married his daughter to a Badhik, but he would be permanently outcasted if he married her to a Taihal, who is beyond the exogamous pale. In other words a breach of the rule of hypergamy is less serious an offence than a breach of the law of endogamy. Similarly intermarriage or commensality by any other Gadariya with a Dhingar Gadariya would involve permanent outcasting. Amongst the Kahars, to eat, drink or smoke with another sub-caste involves fine: to marry outside the sub-caste involves permanent outcasting. Among the Kayastha members of different endogamous sub-castes may smoke together in *narial* fashion (i.e. putting their hands to the stem of the pipe but not putting the pipe itself in their mouths), or drink, or eat *pakka* food together: but may not intermarry or eat *kachcha* food together, on pain of permanent outcasting. Amongst the Khatiks either commensality or endogamy among endogamous sub-castes would involve permanent outcasting, though the offender's son could get back into caste by a fine and feast. The case amongst the Lodhas is more complicated. Commensality between endogamous sub-castes as well as intermarriage is punished by fine; the married pair must also give each other up. Seduction of a woman of one's own sub-caste is punished by permanent excommunication. The Srivastava and Umar Nais can intermarry and share food and drink: but if either committed these acts with any other sub-caste, permanent outcasting would follow. Amongst the Qalandars a breach of the restriction on intermarriage with the Chindi sub-caste only involves a fine. Amongst the Telis of Cawnpore a breach of the endogamous restrictions would involve a fine only; but in Moradabad it would involve excommunication. All the above instances come from Cawnpore. In Gorakhpur it is said that any breach of the endogamous restrictions involves outcasting in any out of 21 castes ⁽²⁾. From Etah it is stated that though endogamous restrictions amongst the Kayastha sub-castes are still strict and a breach of them involves excommunication it is only partial because the more enlightened members of the community sympathize with the offenders. This is a change due to modern progress: as is the all but complete disappearance of commensal restrictions in the same caste. In Bijnor the penalty for intermarriage between two endogamous sub-castes (Dhingar and Nikhar) of the Gadariya is permanent excommunication; commensality however is condoned if not permitted. There are also examples from Moradabad and Ghazipur, but they merely strengthen what has been said above. Generally speaking it may be said that the penalty for intermarriage between endogamous sub-castes is excommunication more or less permanent; the sole exceptions seem to be the Lodha and the Teli, both in Cawnpore. The information about breaches of the commensal law is less satisfactory: but it is obvious that as a general rule the offence is not regarded as so serious, and there are variations in practice. On the other hand it is stated that even breaches of the sub-caste endogamous restrictions can occasionally be forgiven on performance of

⁽¹⁾ I have seen it recorded somewhere that one kind of Brahman cannot eat food cooked by his own mother-in-law in any house but his own. I also remember a Brahman telling me that normally speaking the only food he could eat was what had been cooked by himself or his wife. But such cases are probably extreme.

⁽²⁾ Ahir, Baheliya, Bharbhunja, Bhat, Bhuinhar, Chamar, Dom, Gadariya, Mali, Koeri, Kurmi, Kori, Kumhar, Kabar, Kayastha, Khatik, Nai, Pasi, Sonar, Teli. These 21 castes were inquired into generally, but few reports were as full as those of Cawnpore, Moradabad, Ghazipur, and Gorakhpur.

the *prayaschitta* ceremony (e.g. amongst Kumhars and Ahirs in Ghazipur) : whilst as regards commensality there is probably a distinction made between eating *kachcha* and *pakka* food. A very large number of castes will take *pakka* food from other castes, and it is scarcely conceivable that they would not also take it from other sub-castes of their own caste. In all probability the restrictions referred to above refer chiefly to *kachcha* food.

344. **Summary.**—We may now attempt to sum up what appears to be the general principles on which the caste system is based in the matter of *panchayats*, commensality and intermarriage.

(1) The unit to be considered and which governs the situation, is not the caste or the sub-caste, but the endogamous group, whether it be caste or sub-caste.

(2) Normally, if two persons can intermarry, they can eat, drink, and smoke together and meet together in *panchayat* : if they cannot intermarry, they cannot meet in *panchayat*, nor can they eat *kachcha* food together. It is probably generally possible for them to eat *pakka* food together and drink together, at all events if they will do so with members of other castes altogether, and provided that either of the sub-castes concerned is not one which has broken off for some cause which involves pollution in any way.

(3) It follows that *panchayats* are only of (1) endogamous sub-castes, or (2) castes that have no endogamous sub-castes, and not of exogamous sub-castes.

(4) The *panchayat* is not however, as a rule, an assembly of, or representing, the *whole* endogamous group. An endogamous group may have within it dozens of *panchayats*, which are chosen only from members of that group residing in a particular locality ; and these are the normal *panchayats*. Occasionally several such *panchayats* meet together to consider important matters.

(5) Though sub-caste restrictions on endogamy are strict, they are subject to variation due either (1) to circumstances such as a lack of girls which makes it impossible to maintain them, (2) to quarrels of various kinds which result in fission of the sub-caste into various other groups, which, according to circumstances, may be exogamous to some of the resultant groups, and endogamous to others ; whilst if the quarrel is of the particular kind which may cause one or more of the resultant groups to be looked down on by the rest, the exogamous rules may be modified by hypergamous restrictions.

(6) The penalty for breaches of sub-caste endogamy appears to be as severe as the penalty for similar breaches of caste endogamy—namely outcasting which is usually permanent. Indeed it is often more severe, for certain breaches of caste endogamy (e.g. where the offender sins with a person of a higher caste) in some castes are leniently treated. On the other hand it is probable that in some cases the sin can be washed away by a purificatory rite.

(7) The penalty for breaches of sub-caste commensal restrictions varies in different castes but generally speaking it would seem that sub-caste and caste commensality are much on a par in this respect : but where a distinction is drawn between commensality with a higher and lower caste, sub-caste and lower caste commensality seem to be treated alike. In other words, both as regards intermarriage and commensality, the word “higher” is strictly interpreted and does not include “equal,” as of course sub-castes normally are.

345. **Some curiosities among sub-castes.**—It is noticeable that there are several pairs of castes, one (or each) of which has a sub-caste known by the name of the other caste. Such pairs are the Ahir-Gujar, the Barai-Tamboli, the Arakh-Khangar, the Bhar-Dusadh, the Bhar-Pasi, whilst there are many such correlations amongst the Dom and Bhangi caste. Cases such as the Barai-Tamboli are intelligible enough : they are both connected with the trade in betel, and though the traditional difference is that the Barai grows the plant and the Tamboli sells it, it is merely traditional. In Gorakhpur the two terms are practically synonymous, Tamboli being restricted rather to the city folk who deal with this commodity. It is easy too to see how either could contain a sub-caste called by the other's name. The two are necessary to each other (a man cannot sell betel if nobody grows it and it is no use for a man to grow it, if nobody sells it). In such cases as the Ahir-Gujar, the Bhar-Dusadh, the Bhar-Pasi, and the Dom affinities, the correlation obviously points to racial kinship. I need not go into this for Mr. Crooke deals exhaustively with the subject. The close relationship between Ahir, Jat, and Gujar is well known. The Arakh-Khangar seems to be a real case

of confusion. In Cawnpore one of the Arakh sub-castes is Bal, which is according to Mr. Crooke a Khangar sub-caste; whilst Khangars in that district say that across the Jumna Arakhs and Khangars are "two separate equal castes forming one united *biradari* with one *panchayat* and marrying, eating, and drinking amongst themselves"—which can only mean that they are really two exogamous sub-castes of the same caste. There is a sub-caste of Arakhs called Khagar (or Khangar), and the Khangars have a legend that the Arakhs are a Khangar offshoot, which seems to be correct. The Khangar is a caste that has risen in the normal way (*viâ* gotras provided by a "venal" Brahman) and it is probable that they left the Arakhs, who are much lower in the social scale, behind in the process.

A curious case is reported from Cawnpore. The Kanaujia Bharbhunjas regard the Halwai as an equal caste, so much so that if a Kanaujia follows the trade of Halwai he will intermarry with true Halwais though he would not if he followed any other trade. Those who have so intermarried hold joint *panchayats*. If this is so it is a curious reversion to an endogamous trade guild system. Both Bharbhunjas and Halwais have a section named Kanaujiya.

There is also much confusion between Kewat and Mallah. One of the Kewat sub-castes is given as Jariya which is given by Crooke as a Mallah sub-caste; whilst the Batham sub-caste appears in both castes. As for the confusion, the following facts speak for themselves. One man in Cawnpore before the ethnographical officer stoutly declared he was a Kewat, but two friends as stoutly maintained that the first man had forgotten (!) his caste and that all three (they were all Bathams) were Mallahs. They admitted that they were sometimes called one, sometimes the other. Another man said first he was both Mallah and Kewat, and then asserted he was Mallah but kept on speaking of himself as a Kewat. Neither the Jat nor the Gujar appears to have any endogamous sub-castes though both have innumerable exogamous *gotras* or clans; the Gujars say they possess 100,084 of these. The Ahar and Ahir have always been supposed to be closely akin. The Ahir himself derives his name from *ahhir* (fearless); they say they settled in Gujarat after the war of the Mahabharata. The division into Ahar and Ahir was the result of an internecine strife which occurred "after the death of Lord Krishna." Of late there have been attempts to accommodate this very ancient quarrel by promoting intermarriages but without much success. Another curious point is reported from Bijnor about Ahirs, viz. that the Jadubansi and Nandbansi sub-castes are on the high road to amalgamation. The ostensible cause is that they belong to the same ancestry: though they smoke together, they have not yet begun to intermarry but it is expected that they soon will. Amongst the Kanaujia Kurmis in Sitapur there is a curious local custom of hypergamy⁽¹⁾. They are divided into three septs, Southern, Northern, and Chaudhris. The Chaudhris live in four villages, divided into two groups of two each. Southern takes bride from Northern and Chaudhris:—Northern takes brides from Chaudhris:—one group of Chaudhris takes brides from the other group, but only gives its daughters to Southern: so that Northern can only get brides from the second group of Chaudhris.

346. **Caste and sub-caste in the Hills.**—The information on this point is precise and valuable, and I give much of it verbatim. Mr. Stowell, Deputy Commissioner of Garhwal, writes as follows:—

"The Rajputs of Garhwal are or used to be divided into three classes, the high caste Rajputs, second class or ordinary Rajputs and third class or Khasias: many of the last class (Khasias or Khas Rajputs) did not rank as Rajputs at all . . . Mr. Pauw in his settlement Report of 1896 . . . remarks on the constant process of Khasis putting on the *janeo* and raising themselves into the ranks of Rajputs But nowadays all such distinctions are breaking down Respectable families of the first group still as a rule intermarry with their own group. But even with them it is becoming more a matter of material position and of the individual than of the former status of the clan. For instance amongst the Ringwara Rawats (first class) the poorer members of the clan have

(1) The report from Sitapur about Kurmis shows how difficult it is to get correct information about sub-castes: it varies according to the informant. I summarize it below:—

(a) Informant (Manwar no. 1) says sub-castes are 4:—Manwar, Gujarati (both high), Baiswar, Jaiswar (both low—all endogamous).

(b) Informant (Manwar no. 2) says sub-castes are 7:—Kanaujia, Manwar, Kathiwar, Saurani (arranged in hypergamous order): Gujarati, Baiswar, Jaiswar, (endogamous).

(c) Informant (Baiswar) says sub-castes are 7:—Kairati, Baiswar, Jaiswar, Gujarati, Manwar, Bilwar, Pitarha (all endogamous save that Kairati takes Jaiswar girls. Kairati is a subdivision of Manwar).

(d) Informant (Jaiswar) says sub-castes are 4:—Baiswar, Sainthwar, Jaiswar, Kairati.

(e) Another says sub-castes are 3:—Kanaujia, Baiswar, and Jaiswar. Baiswar give girls to Kanaujia. It is obviously difficult to decide anything definite about the Kurmi sub-castes on such information.

taken to intermarrying with lower castes Rajputs and prosperous Khasias A certain man of a very low Khasia caste enlisted and became a subahdar-major: he has married his daughters to high caste Rajput husbands. This would have been impossible a generation or two ago No distinction is made between the giving and taking of girls as wives among these castes There is a family of Tibetan Lamas who have settled down in Garhwal and been transformed into a sub-caste of Lama-Negis intermarrying with lower class Rajputs. The Negi caste is a sort of Rajput refuge of the destitute, who thus find a backdoor entrance into a recognized caste"—like the Kashyapa *gotra* in the plains.

"The Brahmans of Garhwal fall into two main divisions: (a) Sarolas and (b) Gangaris. There are also a number of Khas-Brahmans (somewhat similar in status to the Khasias of the Rajput divisions). The Sarolas are by origin a functional group with local clans The original clans were the priests, cooks, astrologers, &c., of the Chandpur Rajas who are now represented by the Raja of Tehri Other functional clans were subsequently admitted as Sarolas such as the Dimris (priests of a shrine at Badrinath) They are mostly called by local names according to the villages assigned or granted to them The Gangaris include all the other castes or clans of Brahmans proper in Garhwal"

The marriage rules of these Brahmans are most curious. There is hypergamy as between Sarola and Gangari. Sarolas may intermarry or a Sarola man may marry a Gangari girl: but if he does the latter, then the offspring are Gangari not Sarola, and the result is that one finds Gangari sub-clans attached to Sarola clans; these persons of the mixed blood can only intermarry with Gangaris. A Sarola may also keep a Khasia or Rajput woman as a concubine: the offspring are Khas-Brahmans. The Gangaris, save certain high sub-castes (especially the Dobhals, Unyals, Dangwals, and Bughanas) do not observe any fixed rules but marry with any Gangari clan or sub-caste: among the four clans mentioned, a wife from a lower clan is forbidden to eat with her father's family after marriage—a curious, possibly unique, prohibition. Some low caste Khas-Brahmans, especially the Ghidwals (who call themselves Ghildyals which is a respectable Gangari clan) and the Belwals, have lately begun to intermarry with Gangari sub-castes. The Belwal is a sub-caste degraded by pollution, as they are the recipients of such gifts as cows which bleed at the udder and of oxen on which the shadow of a snake has fallen, both of which are reckoned impure (1). The Kedarnath Pandas who used to be reckoned Khasias now call themselves Brahmans but have not yet obtained recognition as such: they still marry among themselves and with the Dakhinis, or offspring of Madrasi priests by hill women. Briefly, then, marriage rules amongst hill Brahmans are rigid only amongst Sarolas and the higher Gangari clans.

In Almora four Brahman sub-castes are mentioned with whom good Brahmans do not intermarry: the Bhandharias (stewards of the Rajas), Harbaulas (heralds), Mathpals (watchers of the *math*) and Phularas (royal florists). These are instances of fission due to degrading occupation. The former were once Upadhyas and the second Pantis: it is not said to what branches the two last belonged.

The Dom is said by Mr. Stowell (whose knowledge of the hill tribes is unrivalled at the present day) to be not a tribe as it is in the plains but a race of aboriginal non-Aryans with non-Hindu gods. Their divisions are rather castes than sub-castes. These fall into 6 groups as follows:—(1) Koli, (2) Lohar (with Agri); Tamta (with Kothyal), Ruria, Chunara, and Orh, (3) Dhunar, (4) Mochi, (5) Auji, (6) Hurkia, Badi, and Dhaki. These six groups are arranged according to their superiority and as groups are endogamous, though the castes in each group intermarry. Any Dom can eat food cooked by a Koli, but a Koli will eat food cooked by no other Dom, and only drink water from the hands of group (2). All the classes or castes in group (2) eat and marry with each other: they will not take food from group (3), or food or water from groups (5) and (6). Groups (3) and (4) are strictly endogamous and have no commensality with any other Dom. Group (5) is rather higher than group (6). The Almora report gives a list which is slightly different and rather longer: it is as follows, arranged in endogamous groups:

(1) Hankya (potter), (2) Bare (stonemason), Orh (stonemason), (3) Lohar, Tamta (copper and iron smith), Barhai (2), (4) Bhul (oilpresser), Chandal (Chamar), (5) Koli (weaver), (6) Auji or Dholi (musician and tailor), Dhuni (catechu manufacturer), Bairi or Ruria (basket-maker), Pahari (watchman), Khaikut (excavator), Turi (trumpeter), (7) Damai (drummer) (3), (8) Mochi or Sarki (tanner), (9) Hurkiya (dancing master), (10) Parki (maker of wooden vessels).

(1) The latter kind of animal must be so rare as to be worth receiving as a curiosity.

(2) This group also intermarries with Orh.

(3) Also intermarries with Auji or Dholi.

The system of *panchayats* in the hills has already been dealt with. Notes on the Tharus and Bhoksas will be found in the ethnographical glossary.

347. **New castes and accretions to castes.**—It is a popular theory that caste is eternal and immutable; and at any given moment it may indeed appear so. Yet if the past is compared with the present, or even if various periods in the past are compared together, for instance the Vedic period and that which is represented in the Institutes of Manu, it soon becomes apparent that caste is nothing of the kind, but "*varium et mutabile semper*," like woman or the rupee. Few of the tribes mentioned in the Mahabharata or the Vishnu Purana are traceable in caste nomenclature nowadays. Abhira, Ambastha, Kaivarta, Malava, Nishada, Tomara, and Yadava and one or two more may possibly survive: but where are all the rest—the Angas and Aparakashis and Sakas and Surasenas and Yamunas, not to mention many of Manu's mixed castes? Caste has become no more immutable with time. Such changes are still in progress and are very noticeable at this census (1). "New endogamous groups are constantly being created, the process of fission is ever in operation and what is more important still the *novus homo* like his brethren all the world over is constantly endeavouring to force his way into a higher grade (2)." Not only do sub-castes break up within the caste, but sub-castes break off from a caste and form a new caste altogether. Some examples have been already given. The Kayastha-Mochi, Kayastha-Darzi, Kayastha-Bharbhunja, Kayastha-Senduria, Chamar-Julaha, Baghban, Ghogar, Gidhiya, Kanmail, Phansiya, Singhariya, Sainthwar, Turaiha, Chikwa, Mahajan, Kutamali, and Dhimar are all offshoots from other castes, who have broken off for some reason or other from the parent caste and have become new castes. The reason is generally a change of occupation; occasionally it is due to greater prosperity as in the case of the Mahajan and Sainthwar, sometimes there is no very obvious cause as in the case of the Turaiha and Dhimar. The Phansiya, Ghogar, and Gidhiya appear to have risen in the world by changing their occupation; the rest have generally fallen. These are all instances which have been noticed for the first time at this census: but if one searched the pages of Crooke many other instances could be found (3). It is unnecessary to give details here as all of these castes will be found in the ethnographic glossary, with several others, such as the Dakaut and Gharuk which have been formed in the same way.

A case however may be mentioned which exemplifies the process of formation of a new caste. It is reported from Azamgarh. As is well known patwaris are generally Kayasthas. The caste is as a whole in good repute: but the village Lala has a name (in my own experience not always deserved), for chicanery and astuteness. The occupation of a patwari is despised by Kayasthas of better position: and it is said that many Srivastava families, especially in Oudh, object to inter-course whether commensal or connubial with patwari families. It is said that a "patwari" division was avoided by the Kayastha Sabha just in time. If that endogamous division had been formed from among the Srivastavas, I think it is quite certain that it would in time have included not only Kayastha patwaris of other groups than the Srivastava, but probably also patwaris who were not Kayasthas at all: and there would have been a patwari caste, occupational, with endogamous "caste" sub-castes. When a sub-caste has broken from its parent caste, then there is always a possibility of its attaching itself to another caste, especially if the fission is due to its having adopted that caste's occupation. It is almost impossible to trace such cases for the process of transfer is slow and almost imperceptible. In paragraph 340 I have already tried to show that functional castes in the past probably grew very largely by such accretion: but it is impossible to prove it in any particular case. The Bharbhunja is a caste that has probably grown by accretion. It has sub-castes pointing to Kayastha, Rajput, and Brahman elements (apart from the new Kayastha-Bharbhunja); whilst the Bharbhunja, Kandhu, and Halwai are also inextricably mixed up (4). In Gorakhpur the local Bharbhunja is represented

(1) Probably however this is merely because special attention was directed to the matter.

(2) Crooke's *Tribes and Castes of the N.-W. P. and Oudh*, Introduction volume I, page XIX.

(3) Ahir (certainly broken off from Ahir, a very old case of fission): Ahirwasi (occupational offshoot from Brahman): Arakh (offshoot from Khangar): Balahar (Dom offshoot): Bansphor (Dom offshoot): Bargahi and Bargi (probably offshoot from Bari): Basor (Dom offshoot): Belwar (Brahman occupational offshoot): Benbansi (risen Kharwars): &c., &c. One has only to look through the pages of Crooke's index and see how often caste names (easily distinguishable as marked by an asterisk) are also sub-caste names in other castes to see how very great this process of fission and accretion must have been; e.g. the Chai sub-caste of Bhar, Bind, Kahar, Kewat, and Mallah: the Dhanuk, or Basor, Bansphor, Beriya, Darzi, Kadhera, and Pasi, and so on.

(4) Sir H. H. Risley treats Kandhu and Bharbhunja as synonyms in Bihar and Bengal: Mr. Sherring calls Kandhu a sub-caste of Bharbhunjas.

as really a **Kandu**, in Cawnpore, as we have seen, the **Bharbhunja** and **Halwai** are closely connected: in Azamgarh there is a **Halwai** sub-caste (**Madhesia**) which is said to be **Kandu** in origin: whilst **Madhesia** is a constantly recurring sub-caste among both **Bharbhunjas** and **Kandus**. The **Bharbhunja** and **Halwai** are purely occupational castes and many other castes especially **Brahmans** and **Vaishyas** follow these occupations at the present day without calling themselves **Bharbhunjas** and **Halwais** ⁽¹⁾: so that the explanation is probably that the **Kandu** is the oldest of the three and that there is a **Kandu** element in the **Bharbhunja** and **Halwai** castes in the east, just as there is a **Kayastha** and **Rajput** element in it in the west. The **Kori** is another very mixed caste. It has sub-castes connecting it with both **Kayastha**, **Rajput**, and **Chamar**; these last are known as **Bhuiyar** (weaver) in **Moradabad**, **Kor-Chamra**, **Chamar-Julaha**, and **Chamar-Kori** elsewhere. There is also an **Orh** sub-caste who seem to be the same as the wandering **Odhs** of **Rajputana** and the **Punjab** and should be treated (as they usually are) as a caste. It has been said that **Koris** admit outsiders to their caste, and though they themselves deny the impeachment now, there can be no doubt that they have done so in the past. The **Sonar** is another very obvious caste of accretion, being made up of sub-castes with **Vaishya** names such as **Rastogi** and **Ajudhyabasi**, and others with **Kshatriya** names such as **Chhatri**, **Khatti**, and **Mair**. The same thing is observable amongst **Lohars**, **Barhais**, and **Telis**: the **Teli Rathaur** sub-caste claims descent from a craven **Rathaur Rajput** who to escape his enemy began to work at a **Teli's** oil press and described himself as a **Teli**. The most striking case however and almost the only one reported at this census is that of the **Badi Banjara** already referred to. They are said to be **Gual Nats** who have taken to trade and adapted the style and designation of **Banjara**. There seems to be no doubt of the fact for they are said to be specially looked down on by other **Banjaras** because their women still occasionally dance; and they also possess the same "*gotra*" (**Dharam Soti**) as the **Gual Nats**. It would not as a matter of fact be a difficult matter for the **Gual Nats** to pass themselves off as **Badi Banjaras**. In **Rohilkhand** where this occurred, there are **Gual** and **Banjara** and **Badi Nats**, and also **Badi** and **Gual Banjaras**. Both again are alike in using the term *naik* freely for headman; and in short there is a good deal of external similarity between the two tribes which would assist the accretion, which amounts in this case to little more than deception.

I know of no case where a single man can change his caste save in such well known instances as **Bhangi**, **Nat**, *et hoc genus omne*, or a "cave of **Adullam**" caste such as the **Meo**: but I doubt if this is common at the present day amongst either sex and it probably never occurs among men.

348. **The caste system amongst Muhammadans.**—There is very little to be added to what has been said of **Muhammadan** castes by **Mr. Burn** in 1901. These comprise original foreign tribes (**Saiyid**, **Moghul**, **Pathan**, and **Shaikh**), which are divided into sub-tribes, mostly racial or local in character. There is a tendency to endogamy amongst most tribes and sub-tribes: but it is due not so much to any definite connection between endogamy and the tribe, as to the fact that **Muhammadans** are apt to marry in a very restricted circle of relations (cousins of various kinds) and the result is to draw a very tight endogamous bond. *Panchayats* are unknown. **Shaikh** takes the place of **Kshatriya** amongst **Hindus** as the tribe to which persons of doubtful origin affiliate themselves: similarly the **Siddiqi** or **Qureshi** sub-tribes take the place of the well-worn **Kashyapa** or **Bharadwaja gotras**. To the title of **Shaikh** is often appended a term which shows the true caste, such as **Momin** (**Julaha**) or **Mehtar** (**Bhangi**). These four tribes are probably the only true **Muhammadans** by descent. The rest as a rule are converts from **Hinduism** and to a greater or less extent possess customs with regard to marriage and *panchayats* which are the counterpart of the castes to which they formerly belonged. **Muhammadan Rajputs** are strictly endogamous as a whole and have even occasionally preserved the **Rajput** exogamous rules. The occupational groups usually have *panchayats* quite as strong as those of their **Hindu** brethren; this is the case amongst the **Banjaras**, **Khumras**, **Julahas**, **Behnas**, **Kuzgars** or **Kasgars** (**Muhammadan Kumhars**), **Mukeris**, **Tawaif**, **Shaikhs**, **Mehtars** (**Bhangis**), **Halwais**, **Kunjras**, **Manihars**, **Churihars**, **Nanbais**, **Qalandars**, **Ghogars**, **Kanmails**, and others ⁽²⁾. There is nothing striking in the *panchayats* in any of

⁽¹⁾ There are, e.g. some persons following the trade of **Halwai** at **Bijnor** who claim to be **Gaur Brahmins** and appear to be really so.

⁽²⁾ **Muhammadan** castes or castes with **Muhammadan** branches are marked with **M** in the list in paragraph 331.

these cases, which are in all respects permanent *panchayats* of the usual type: though as already noted, they have rather less to do, as many acts which are offences in a Hindu caste are not so in a Muhammadan caste.

349. **Local distribution of castes.**—There is nothing of any importance to notice in this connection. There is no change from the normal. Certain castes, the Ahar, Jat, Gujar, and Taga are found entirely in the west, others the Bhuinhar, Bhar, Dharkar, Dom, and a number of low castes are found entirely in the east. Of purely cultivating castes the Baghban, Jat, and Kisan are western castes, the Koeri is an eastern caste. But there is nothing important and no change in the local distribution.

350. **Variations since 1901 in Hindu castes.**—The most important variations are as follows since 1901:—(1) Decreases—Bania castes 16·9, Barhai 8·7, Bharbhunja 7·6, Bhat 12·1, Bhuinhar 34·9, Darzi 20·4, Halwai 16·2, Jat 9·8, Kahar 11·9, Kalwar 11·7, Kayastha 9·8, Khatik 8·5, Kisan 6·2, Koeri 12·1, Kori 14·7, Kurmi 5·5, Lohar 5·8, Mali 37·3, Sonar 8·7, Tamboli 15·0.

(2) Increases.—Bhangi 7·6, Dom 16·6, Gond 450·0, Kewat 3·7, Mallah 7·4, Pasi 5·7.

The Khatik, Kori, Kurmi, and Mali decreases are easily explained. The Chik was included in Khatik in 1901 but is now shown separately: this reduces the decrease to 3·5. The Julahas shown amongst Hindus are almost certainly Koris, or rather were so shown in 1901; they are found in districts which show unusual decreases in Koris. Even after adding these figures however the decrease is still very large, and probably some Koris have disappeared amongst Chamars who show an increase. (For this see the ethnographic glossary.) To Kurmis Sainthwars must be added and to Malis Baghbans; the decreases then become increases.

As regards the Bania castes, the decrease is fairly equally distributed amongst all the castes, and also equally spread over the province with the exception of Gorakhpur and Kumaun divisions. The cause appears to be plague chiefly for the loss amongst women is 19 per cent. and amongst men only 14 per cent. It is not however quite clear whether Jain Banias were shown amongst the Hindus in 1901: if so this, with the increase in Arya Banias, would account for some 82,000 souls and reduce the decrease to some 10 per cent. Banias, tied to their shops as they are, probably cannot leave plague-infected areas as easily as other folk and doubtless suffered more severely than those who live an out-door life.

As regards the Barhais and Lohars their losses are chiefly in the western districts. It appears to be probable that some, especially the former, disappeared among the ranks of Brahmans. There were energetic demands amongst the Dhaman Barhais and Visvakarma Lohars, especially the former, to be classed as Brahmans and in the case of the Barhais these demands came chiefly from the western divisions. This coupled with plague and malaria doubtless accounts for the decrease. It is worth noting incidentally that Muhammadan and Arya Barhais and Muhammadan Lohars have greatly increased in numbers, so conversion may account for a part of the loss.

The loss amongst Bharbhunjias is evenly distributed over the province and though a part of it may be due to Bharbhunjias returning themselves as Kayasthas I should say that what applies to Banias applies also to them and that the disasters of the decade caused most of their losses. The same applies also to Darzis and Halwais; though it is probable that some Halwais have returned themselves as Kandu Banias (as many of them probably are), e.g. in Gorakhpur where the Kandus have increased and the Halwais decreased. The Muhammadan Darzis have increased so that again there is possibly a gain by conversion.

It is probable that some of the Bhats (the Brahmabhats of Allahabad division especially) have returned themselves as Brahmans. But most of the loss is undoubtedly due to plague.

The Bhuinhars have suffered very severely. I thought at first that it was possibly due to their recording themselves as Brahmans, but nearly the whole of the loss is in Azamgarh, Ballia, and Ghazipur whilst there are increases in Gorakhpur, Benares, and Basti, and I am inclined to think that plague accounts for most of it, especially as the decrease is greater amongst women than men. The first three districts were severely affected by plague, the second three much less so: and it is in these six districts that some 90 per cent. of the total number of Bhuinhars reside. The Jat's losses are easily accounted for, partly by plague and malaria (they live in the west where both were rife), and partly by conversion to Aryaism.

As regards the Kahars there has obviously been confusion with the Gond. The Gond suddenly appears in large numbers in Gorakhpur and Benares divisions whilst Kahars disappear from the same localities. If the excess of Gonds be added to Kahars the loss is reduced to 5 per cent. ; whilst probably Kewats and Mallahs have also increased at the expense of Kahars in the same locality. The Dhimars, a Kahar sub-caste, are also shown separately. The confusion between Gond, Kahar, Kewat, and Mallah always exists : it may be mentioned that the Gonds are now back at the figure of 1891.

To the Kalwar figure the Mahajans (shown separately) must be added which reduces the decrease to something under 2 per cent. The local distribution of the decrease amongst Kayasthas and its nature (it is greater amongst women than men) shows clearly that it is due to the vicissitudes of the decade though conversion to Aryaism also accounts for a considerable proportion. Kayasthas of course are by the nature of their occupation tied to their houses and shops and both plague and malaria are house diseases. The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of Kisans, Koeris, and Tambolis, whose losses are greatest in districts that have suffered from plague, and greater amongst women than men, whilst where plague was not severe, they show increases ; whilst Sonars have also lost chiefly from disease and especially amongst women, though conversion to Aryaism has also had some effect.

The only increases that remain to be mentioned are those of the Bhangis, Dom, and Pasi. As regards Bhangis there is a huge decrease amongst Muhammadans and both it and the increase amongst Hindus is widespread. It is well known that the Bhangis religion is a thing which cannot be easily classified ; and it depends very much on the taste of the enumerator or the person enumerated to which religion he assigns such a cult as that of Lal Beg. For some reason it would seem than in 1901 a large number chose to record themselves as Muhammadans : whilst the Muhammadan figure of 1891 is smaller even than that of 1911. Taking both religions together the decrease in Bhangis is 9·1 per cent. ; which is intelligible in view (1) of the general losses of the decade, (2) of the large number of sweepers converted to Christianity, and (3) the fact that a fair number of Shaikh Mehtars (the one kind of Bhangis who is certainly Muhammadan) have undoubtedly returned themselves as Shaikhs simply, thus disappearing into that comprehensive class. I have known cases myself, and they are undoubtedly common, of Muhammadan Bhangis taking to other trades of a more reputable nature and palming themselves off as Shaikhs : and it is probable that the practice has grown considerably. The Dom increase is almost entirely in the hills and Dehra Dun and no explanation is needed : but it appears that the Allahabad division's Donars have at this census been shown as Doms. There is little difference between them. The Pasi increase needs no comment.

As regards Muhammadan castes little comment is needed. Neither increases nor decreases are very striking save one or two. Faqirs have increased greatly, whilst the increase in such a caste as the Dhobi and Nai is quite possibly due to conversion. The Bhangis decrease has been mentioned ; that decrease, and possibly the decreases amongst Qassabs, Kunjras, Churihars, &c., are accounted for by persons calling themselves Shaikh : this is the largest Muhammadan caste, yet it has only decreased by some 3 per cent. in a most unfavourable decade. A most striking decrease however is that in Muhammadan Rajputs (over 50 per cent.) coupled with a great increase in Pathans (17 per cent.). The local distribution of this decrease and increase is the same and it is absolutely certain that Muhammadan Rajputs have suddenly taken to calling themselves Pathans ; why can only be a matter of conjecture, but it is a deception easily enough carried out since in their names the Rajput "Singh" is usually replaced by the Pathan Khan. Reconversion to Hinduism *via* the Arya backdoor is known to explain some cases, but it can scarcely have any appreciable effect on the figures.

As regards Aryas all the castes shown have greatly increased. The Ahirs and Lodhas have suddenly taken to Aryaism. The Rajputs, Baniyas, Brahmans, Kayasthas, and Jats still possess most members of that religion. No remarks are needed as regards the castes amongst Jains and Sikhs : practically all Jains are Baniyas and about half of the Sikhs are Jats : there are also a fair number of Rajput and Khatri Sikhs.

351. **Race.**—Anthropometry as a test of race is out of fashion and even to some extent discredited. One German savant has shown that the shape of the

head depends largely on whether an infant lies on its back or on its side⁽¹⁾. It has been argued that physical type depends more on environment than race: and that mere numerical indices are insufficient and should be supplemented by contours. There is also the difficulty caused by the sub-caste question, whilst locality also affects the matter; and both have hitherto been generally neglected.

The question has been fully discussed again and again and it is unnecessary to reopen it. That racial differences exist in India, and that they certainly exist in various castes, and in all probability went to the making of caste, is a statement that will scarcely be denied: but all data bearing on the connection between the two are vague and inconclusive⁽²⁾. Certain points however may be mentioned which may possibly prove useful, though it must be left to experts to value them.

(1) *Baelz's blue patches*⁽³⁾.—Herr Baelz is in charge of a large Government Hospital in Tokio. He states that every Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Malay is born with a dark blue patch of irregular shape in the lower sacral region, which may be as small as a shilling or as large as a hand, whilst there are also more or less numerous patches on the trunk and limbs (never the face). The patches look like the bruise from a fall and usually disappear within the first year of life, but some times persist much longer. He believes them to be found exclusively amongst persons of Mongolian blood: the Ainos, a race said to be allied to the Caucasian and the modern Russian, who were in Japan before the Mongolian Japanese, have not got them, nor have children of mixed Japanese and European parentage who take after the European parent, though those who take after the Japanese parent have. The colour is in the true skin, not in the epidermis like the normal pigment, and has been traced in a four-month old foetus. These marks had been noticed in Santal children as early as 1904⁽⁴⁾. I learn that since then they have been noticed in persons as ethnically different as Bengali Brahmans and Hazara Pathans. Inquiries were made by some Civil Surgeons in the province which I summarize as follows:—

Nains Tal.—One hundred and sixty-seven Tharus were examined. Amongst 86 adult males the marks were found in 14: amongst 13 boys in 5: amongst 34 women in 5 and amongst 34 infants in 3. The Tharu percentage is 13·7, and the facts are curious as the marks would seem to remain till late in life. The civil surgeon writes that the younger the person, the better marked was the pigmentation: it was very difficult to trace in adults on account of skin diseases and pigmentation round old boils. Three hundred and ninety Doms were also examined; and 7, of whom 2 were men and 5 children, had indistinct sacral patches.

Almora.—Seven Rajis were examined. The Rajis are jungle nomads very difficult to meet and still more difficult to induce to converse with strangers. Of the 7, 5 were children, aged respectively 6, 7 and 8 years and 3 and 4 months. None of the 3 elder children had any blue spots; the two younger of them had white or brown patches on other parts of the body, as had the child of 4 months. The youngest child of all had an oval patch of bluish tint at the upper part of the sacrum. The civil surgeon reports that he has frequently seen a distinct blue patch on other children in the district.

Fatehgarh.—Eight hundred and forty-two cases were examined, but no case of the spots was found.

Jalaun.—At Kunch 91 cases were examined and 26 instances of the patches

Castes.	Cases examined.	Instances found.
Kori ..	29	7
Chamar ..	21	7
Kachhi ..	6	2
Kahar ..	4	1
Julaha ..	8	3
Kunjra ..	4	1
Teli ..	3	..
Kumhar ..	5	1
Bania ..	2	..
Others ..	13	4

were found as in the margin: whilst at Orai 29 cases resulted in 13 instances of the phenomenon. At Orai the number of cases examined is not given by castes, but the instances found were 2 each amongst Pathans, Dhimars, and Kahars, and 1 each amongst Dhobis, Telis, Qassabs (or Chik), Kanjars, Nais, Ahirs and Sunkhars. These were all children.

Mirzapur.—In South Mirzapur 2 children were brought in, one under a year and the other under

(1) Is not this merely pushing the inquiry a step further back? If the matter is not one of chance merely, the shape of the head will depend not on race but on the customs of various races in the matter of the carrying of infants. There are of course differences in such customs: but we have still to look to the different races for the different shapes of head.

(2) The historical evidence and a curious parallelism between race and dialect is referred to on page 241 of Mr. Burn's U. P. Report, 1901.

(3) Article entitled "On the races of Eastern Asia with special reference to Japan" in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1901, Part II.

(4) *J. A. S. B.*, 1904, page 26.

2 years old. The first was the child of a father who was himself the result of a mixed marriage (Ahir and Panka), and a Chamar mother: the second was the child of a Kakara (said to be a Goshain) and a Majhwar mother. Both had the spots: in the former case they were turning white, which was why the child was brought. It is reported from the same place that the patches are often found on Kalwar and Majhwar children. From Sitapur it is reported that the patches have been found among Pasis, Dhobis, Baniyas, and Julahas. There are no other reports, but it is to be noted that save 2 cases amongst Pathans and 2 amongst Ahirs in Jalaun, no caste in which this phenomenon has been found is high. It is commonest in Almora, Naini Tal and South Mirzapur where the tribes are aboriginal, and of all castes commonest amongst Tharus who have always been supposed to have an admixture of Mongolian blood.

(2) *Melanoglossia*.—It was noted that many tribes have tongues which are pigmented. A record was made in 1897 by Captain Maynard, I.M.S. at Lohardaga

Caste.	Cases examined.	Cases of melanoglossia.	Percentage.
Kori ..	35	11	31·4
Chamar ..	32	9	28·1
Kachhi ..	12	2	16·6
Kahar ..	12	2	16·6
Julaha ..	8	1	12·5
Kunjra ..	6	..	..
Teli ..	7	2	18·5
Kumhar ..	5	2	40·0
Brahman ..	4	1	25·0
Kayastha ..	4	..	..
Bania ..	2	..	..
Sweeper ..	2	..	..

in Assam and he found that this was much commoner among Dravidian tribes (44·8 per cent. of cases examined) than among Aryan tribes or castes (19·9 per cent.). The depth of skin and tongue pigment varied together: it is equally common in both sexes but commoner in low than high races. The matter was examined by several Civil Surgeons with the following results:—

Jalaun.—The Kunch figures are given in the margin. In Orai 61 cases were examined and 32 of them had pigmented tongues (52·5

per cent.): of these 4 were Saiyids, 5 were Dhimars, 3 Bhadauria Rajputs, 2 each Sengar and Kachhwaha Rajputs, Baris, Brahmans, and Dhanuks, and 1 each Pathan, Gujar, Chauhan Rajput, Parihar, Kori, Kanjar, and Sunkar, as well as 2 unknown. The castes it will be noticed are both high and low: the percentages mean little as the numbers examined were so small.

Sultanpur.—Two hundred and forty-three prisoners were examined and 35 were found to possess black tongues: of these Pasis and Chamars had 7 each, Brahmans, Rajputs, Ahirs, Muhammadans, and Banmanus 3 each, Luniya, Bania, Barhai, Bhangi, Nai, and Bhat 1 each.

Ballia.—Six cases were found in Ballia at one dispensary: but it is not said how many were examined and the caste of only 4 is mentioned: these four were Kalwar, Kayastha, Brahman, and Gond.

Hamirpur.—Out of about 1,000 cases examined 20 were instances of melanoglossia, chiefly amongst Ahirs, Nais, Pasis, and Chamars; with one each amongst Brahmans, Kayasthas, and Muhammadans. It is said that the darker the skin the darker the tongue pigment.

Sitapur.—Forty-seven cases were inspected amongst Pasis of which 7 had pigmentation.

Ghazipur.—Ninety-nine Bhars, 22 Binds, and 27 Musahars were examined of whom 18, 5, and 15 respectively had melanoglossia.

Mirzapur.—Melanoglossia is said to be very common round Dudhi. Two cases were observed, one an Ahir and one a Majhwar.

Almora.—Two adult Rajis had pigmented tongues (the only two examined).

Naini Tal.—Out of 167 Tharus examined 66, or 39·5 per cent. and out of 380 Doms 22 or about 7 per cent. had pigmented tongues. On the whole though melanoglossia is found in castes of all social grades, it appears to be commonest in the lowest and most aboriginal, the Tharu, Pasi, Kori, Chamar, &c., &c.

352. **Ethnographic glossary**.—Below are given details concerning some castes or fresh information about castes already in existence.

(1) *Baghban*.—Mr. Burn in 1901 mentioned that the Baghban sub-caste had split off from the Mali caste. Mr. Crooke mentions Baghbans in Kheri whom he alleges to be practically the same as Kachhis. It is now reported from Moradabad that they have four exogamous sub-castes, Baramasi, Sani, Chhajarwar, and Karoniya. Baramasi is a name in the western districts for Kachhi and means those who cultivate their lands all the year round. Sani is a sub-caste of the Kheri Baghbans mentioned by Mr. Crooke (derivation "*sanna*," to mix up, referring to their careful preparation of the soil); Karoniya is a name found among the Mali

subdivisions: Chhajarwar I have been unable to trace. There is obviously a very close connection between the Mali, Kachhi, and Baghban.

The Baghbans possess a permanent *panchayat* consisting of three or more members whose posts are hereditary: a minor son of a *panch* is represented by a relative till he comes of age. The president is usually known as *sarpanch* and the members as *padhans*, but occasionally the president is called *padhan* and the members *diwans*. The *panchayat's* jurisdiction is restricted to a certain locality (village or group of villages): if an important case arises or one that affects the Baghbans in two or more such localities the *panchayat* concerned hold a joint meeting. Breaches of social law are dealt with such as fornication, breaking off a marriage, breaches of the commensal laws, adultery, and killing a cow, dog or cat. The punishment for immorality with a man of lower caste involves excommunication: intra-tribal immorality, whether the offender be single or married, involves a fine; breaches of commensal rules, or killing a dog or cat, a fine, feast, and bath in the Ganges, to which in the case of a cow is added the curious punishment of begging for a few days with the cow's tail tied to a *lathi*, and sleeping near a Kumhar's furnace. The fines run low, from 4 annas to Rs. 5. There is also the possibility of obtaining pardon by abasing oneself before the *panchayat*. Contumacy is punished by excommunication till the culprit conforms. The levirate exists, but is not compulsory: if a widow does not marry the levir, her second husband must repay the bride price. The inheritance of the children of the two marriages follows the usual rules. The caste is served by Gaur and Sanadh Brahmans. It grows both flowers and vegetables.

(2) *Banmanus*.—The Banmanus (men of the forest) are described by Mr. Crooke as a Musahar sub-caste. In Sultanpur they appear to be quite distinct, and have no intercourse with the Musahars of any kind. They claim to be the descendants of Sewak an Ahir, whose family was slaughtered, save one single pregnant woman, by the followers of Deoria, another Ahir. From this woman the original Banmanus was born. They worship Raja Bal, usually regarded as a Bhar king of Dalmau who was killed by the Muhammadans in the time of Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur: but they connect him with the Ahirs through a curious tale which is also told in connection with the later caste. A cow was killed by a wild beast; and a Brahman (Raja Bal) happened to blow his *sankh* (or horn) by accident near the spot soon after. The Ahirs hearing the sound thought it was the dead bones crying out against their slayer and killed the Raja. On finding out he was a Brahman they raised a shrine to his honour and deified him. There are various other legends of a similarly curious kind, which all seem to connect them with the Ahir. At all events it seems quite clear that they are not Musahars. They are endogamous: they follow the usual Hindu customs at marriage; the levirate is usual. They have a permanent *panchayat* and a hereditary *chaudhri* and use the Brahman for astrological purposes. Their chief occupation is making leaf platters and collecting wild honey: they are described as a shy, wild tribe, and very difficult to approach. This seems exaggerated, as the Banmanus I personally interviewed struck me as a genial, pleasant old low-caste villager, far from shy or wild, and quite willing to answer my questions. It is however possible that he was one of those who had settled down in a village and given up jungle life.

(3) *Belwar*.—Very little has been known of this caste in the past. Mr. Crooke admitted ignorance, but states one important fact, that their main sub-caste is Sanadh. They appear to be in origin the same as the Naik Banjaras of Gorakhpur. The Belwar is found chiefly in Oudh, the Naiks fix their original settlement in Pilibhit on the Oudh borders. Both claim to be originally Sanadh Brahmans and in both cases it appears probable that their claim is correct. They are orthodox Brahmans in all their customs save that they smoke tobacco and deal in cattle and cattle-carried commodities, like other Banjaras. Both the Naiks of Gorakhpur and Belwars of Hardoi get the *paelagan* and *namaskar* of Brahmans, though in Bara Banki they do not; but this is easily explained by the fact that in Gorakhpur and Hardoi they have dropped the un-Brahmanical occupation and customs which marked them off, whilst in Bara Banki they have not done so. More striking still, in Hardoi they sometimes marry into Sanadh families: whilst they used to have a habit of sitting *dharna* at a debtor's door, which would of course be ineffective if the sitter was not held to be a Brahman. They are a well-to-do community. In Champaran, Belwars and Naiks are said to intermarry.

(4) *Bhangi*.—It was thought probable, in view of facts in other provinces, that it would be found that the Bhangi caste had broken up at this census and that all its sub-castes were now real castes. The account given of them by Mr. Crooke made it very probable, for the various main divisions of Bhangi were obviously quite separate and distinct, and seemed to have no sort of connection save the possible one of common origin. All reports show that this expectation was correct. Helas, Lal Begis, Balmikis, Rawats, and Shaikh Mehtars seem to be the chief castes; and all with one accord and everywhere state not only that there is not now but that there never has been such a thing as a Bhangi caste. There is little fresh information to support the statement; but so different were the sub-castes already that none was needed. The instance of the Turaiha (q. v.) a comparatively unimportant sub-caste, proves how great is the fission.

(5) *Bhoksa*.—The origin of this submontane tribe is said to be as follows:—They settled in the Tarai from Delhi in the Moghul period either as voluntary settlers or as exiles; they were of Rajput origin. One account says that when certain Rajput chiefs were about to rebel against the Moghul power they sent their *ranis* with their maids and an escort of Kahars to the safety of the jungle. The chiefs were all killed, and the Bhoksas sprang from the union of the Kahars and the Rajput women. They point to the following customs to support this theory:—Bhoksa women will not eat food cooked by the men; women eat their food in the house, men eat theirs outside; and women do the marketing whilst men attend them and carry home their purchases—all customs pointing to the superiority of woman over man, which they say is due to the better birth of their ancestresses. Up to 50 years ago Rajputs drank water from the hands of Bhoksas, but since they have taken to eating fowls this has stopped. Bhoksas have a permanent *panchayat*, with a headman called *takht*, a *munsif* and *darogha*, all hereditary; the members are the village headmen, called *chhota bhaiya*. The proceedings are of the usual type save that a system of “proxies” for voting obtains. The *darogha* acts as investigating officer. The Bhoksas are semi-Hinduized as regards religion: they allow widow re-marriage but regard it with disfavour.

(6) *Bhuiyar*.—In Moradabad there is a caste called Bhuiyar, not to be confused with the Mirzapur Bhuiyar. Elsewhere in the west they are called Orhs: their occupation is weaving coarse cloth and blankets. They have an impermanent *panchayat* and the usual customs of low-caste Hindus, including the levirate, and there is nothing worth noting about them but the name, which is used generally for weaver in this district. In the same district however there is another class of Bhuiyars who reside in pargana Thakurdwara, who say they are descended from one Raja Jagdeo and got their name because they “lost their land” (*Bhuin* or *Bhumi*, land and *har*, loser). They are chiefly cultivators, but also occasionally weavers. These people have a permanent *panchayat*, and differ from the other Bhuiyars in other minor ways (such as certain ceremonies, and the possession of gotras and gotra exogamy). The ethnographical officer thinks these people to be Chamar weavers (Chamar-Julaha or Chamar-Koris), the others to be Orh-Koris, and both to be called Bhuiyars from their occupation. The second class assert a connection with the Bhuinhar Brahmans of the eastern districts, which of course is ridiculous.

(7) *Bishnoi*.—The following additional information is available about this sectarian caste (*cf.* Crooke’s Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh). The Nai and Bayar Bishnoi sub-castes seem to have disappeared: in their place are found the Kasibi or Kashyapi and Shaikh or Seth Bishnoi. The caste possesses two sorts of *panchayat*, the *panchayat* of the sect as such, and the sub-caste *panchayats* in such sub-castes as possessed them before they joined the sect (Jat, Chauhan, Nai, &c.). The sectarian *panchayat* consists of a general meeting (*jumala*) on the Amawas in every month at a temple or house of some Sadh (priest), when the *hom* ceremony is carried out: and cases are brought up for decision. The Sadh and some leading members of the sect form the judges. On Chait Amawas the Bishnois of Naini Tal, Moradabad, Bijnor, and neighbouring districts meet for a large annual *jumala* at Lodhipur (tahsil Moradabad) where important cases are decided. The offences dealt with in these meetings seem to be chiefly those of a religious nature. The sub-caste *panchayats* are permanent and of the usual kind, and deal with social offences; these include, in addition to the ordinary list, selling a cow or buffalo to a butcher and the use of bhang and tobacco. The decisions of *jumala* and sub-caste *panchayats* are mutually binding on each

other. The punishments are of the usual kind. (The *jumala* is mentioned by Mr. Crooke, but not as a *panchayat*.) In connection with the story mentioned in paragraph 12 of Mr. Crooke's article, it is worth noting that not only did the Bishnois use the title of *Shaikhji* and the Muhammadan salutation *salam alaikum*, but it is said that they used to bear Muhammadan names and their women used to wear trousers, though both customs have died out.

(8) *Boriyas*.—In Cawnpore and the neighbourhood Boriyas are regarded as a notorious criminal tribe, which one would certainly not gather from Mr. Crooke's article on the caste. Boriyas are obviously the same as Bauriyas or Bawarias.

(9) *Chauhan*.—There is a great deal of confusion about the Chauhan in Moradabad and Bijnor. It is quite clear from the Gazetteers that these districts have a number of true Rajput Chauhans, including the families of Sherkot and Haldaur. There are also others who are only more or less Rajput. These Chauhans fall into 3 classes, Chaudhri, Padhan (or Bar), and Khagi. Of these, the Chaudhris are the highest and will not give their daughters to others, though they are willing to take wives from the Padhans. They have several traditions; one is that they lost caste when they crossed the Indus in 1586 with Maharaja Man Singh; another tradition endeavours to connect them with the true Rajputs as follows. In 1488, it is said, a Sadhu invited Rajputs of 12 septs to avenge him on his persecutor, a Muhammadan governor named Fateh-ullah Khan. They came and conquered him, and then settled down in this tract. They followed and still follow the ordinary rules of Rajput exogamy. The 12 septs included Chauhans of two kinds—Mahandwar Chauhans from Mainpuri and Rajput Chauhans (whatever the distinction may be) from Nonagarh. These Chauhans have broken up into two divisions—Chaudhri and Bar or Padhan—who mutually claim superiority. The Chaudhris are rich (the families of Sherkot and Haldaur are said to belong to them); the Bars are poor and also practise widow-marriage. The result is complete separation; despite the fact that an attempt has been made to compose the difference in a joint *panchayat*, the Chaudhris refuse to give the Bars their daughters as brides, though they will take brides from them; but the Bars will not deal on such terms and in consequence are now practically endogamous. In Moradabad however it is said that the Chaudhris themselves practise widow re-marriage. There is obviously much confusion here. It seems obvious that there are firstly true Chauhans to whom Sherkot and Haldaur belong: the fact that they bear the hereditary title of Chaudhri could account for the confusion. There are then Chaudhris and Bars or Padhans: these are probably true Rajputs, but have obviously departed from Rajput custom in many ways. They do not wear the sacred thread, they eat *kachcha* food in the fields instead of at home—an infringement of the *chauka* custom⁽¹⁾; and if it be true that they were once a single caste, they must clearly have been an endogamous caste at one time; for the fact that the Chaudhris no longer give the Bars their daughters clearly shows that at one time there must have been intermarriage. The Bars at all events practise widow re-marriage and apparently in Moradabad the Chaudhris do too. They have accordingly lost status and have been classed with the Khagi Chauhans who are not Rajputs at all.

These Khagi Chauhans are almost certainly Khagis. The Khagis claim to be Chauhan Rajputs who lost caste at a very early date by remarrying their widows. There is a Chauhan sub-caste of the Khagis, as well as a Khagi sub-caste of the Chauhans, which points to a close connection; though it does not follow that there is any real connection with the Rajput Chauhans, and indeed it is quite possible that the word is Chuhan (connected with *chuha*, rat), which is a derivation given in Moradabad. Their customs are in no way Rajput. They have a permanent *panchayat* of the usual type, the levirate is practised in the usual form, widow marriage exists and they are strictly endogamous, though it is said that Bar Chauhans are taking their daughters to wife—perhaps because of their own enforced endogamy. They are said by one informant to possess anything but Aryan features in 90 per cent. of cases, and to be often indistinguishable from Chamars. There is a proverb "*Chauhan aur Chamar ki ek ras*" [the planets (horoscope) of Chauhan and Chamar are one] which is said to be interpreted as meaning that they have similar characteristics; but it may clearly mean no more than that the horoscope of Chauhan and Chamar are one, since the same planets

(1) See article on Kayastha-Mochi below, for an explanation of this custom.

shine on both—another form of “the rain falls alike on the just and unjust” or “all men are alike in the sight of God.”

(10) *Chik or Chikwa*.—In Cawnpore and elsewhere Chikwas or Chiks disclaim any connection with Khatiks, and Khatiks with them. This is contrary to Mr. Crooke's statement, who in one place makes Chik a Khatik sub-caste (volume III, page 258) and in another makes Khatik a Chik or Qassab sub-caste (volume IV, page 190). The Chiks are all Hindus. Baqar qassab is not a mere variant for Chik, as Mr. Crooke alleges, but an entirely distinct Muhammadan caste, also called Turkiya. The Chiks have their own permanent *panchayats* and are endogamous. They have seven exogamous subdivisions which are called *gotras*, of which Katauliya, Kasratiya, Kas, Rajauri, and Bainia are mentioned. Widow-marriage and the levirate are permitted.

(11) *Dakaut or Joshi*.—Some fresh information is available about that puzzling clan the plains Joshi. They say their original home was in the hills. Their real name is Jotshi or Jyotshi Brahmans, i.e. Brahmans versed in astrology; and Dakaut is a derogatory name used in Bijnor only. It comes from the fact that some of them accept *dan* (gifts) made to the idol of Sani (Saturn) in the village of Dakaur near Bombay. In Bijnor they have a *panchayat* which meets only when a number of important matters, at least 10 in number, are ripe for decision. There are usually some 500 members: the expense is borne by the persons of the locality where it meets. There is an elected *chaudhri*, and also a *patwari*, *rai*, and *padhan*, officials whose duties are not defined. The Bijnor district *panchayat* has 2 (apparently permanent) members from Nagina, 2 from Seohara, 3 from Jhalu, 2 from Nandawar, and 2 from Nehtaur; vacancies amongst these are filled up by selection. The *panchayat* is held either at Jhalu or Nagina. Five members (presumably 5 permanent members) form a quorum. The matters dealt with and the punishments are of the usual kind; but apparently an appeal from a *panchayat* decision to the law courts is allowable. The levirate in the usual form and widow-marriage exists. This and the presence of a *panchayat* in the castes makes it improbable that they are true Brahmans.

(12) *Dhanuk*.—As an instance of how fluid endogamous relations between sub-castes often are, I give the following details regarding the Dhanuk caste in Cawnpore. The sub-castes are Laungbarsa, Badhik, Hazari, Kathariya, and Taihal.

In South Cawnpore Laungbarsas intermarry and give their girls to Badhiks: Badhiks will not give their girls to Laungbarsas.

In Eastern Cawnpore Laungbarsas are strictly endogamous.

In North-Eastern Cawnpore Laungbarsas take girls from Badhiks, Kathariyas, and Hazaris and give girls to Hazaris only. The Laungbarsas are strictly exogamous.

In North-Western Cawnpore Laungbarsas and Kathariyas give and take girls from each other, but will not give girls to Badhiks, though taking them from them; but Laungbarsas can intermarry.

The commensal customs generally follow these variations, as does the practice of joint or separate *panchayats*. (See former paragraphs for discussion of this subject.)

(13) *Dhimar*.—Is a sub-caste of Kahar which, from places as widely separated as Muzaffarnagar and Hamirpur, is said to be detaching itself from the main caste for a totally unknown reason; its occupation and customs are the same as those of Kahars. They have a permanent *panchayat*.

(14) *Gharuk*.—Also a Kahar sub-caste which, according to the statement of most Gharuks is now separated from the main body. They are mostly domestic servants, and look down on the Kahars, who carry water. They are an exceedingly clannish lot. One theory (supported by at least one Gharuk informant) is that they took to serving Europeans and that this was the cause of the split. This informant said that once they were established in European service they considered other Kahars beneath them: but I should be inclined to think it more probable that the other Kahars outcasted them.

(15) *Ghogar*.—This appears to be a new caste of Muhammadan converts from Hinduism, found in Moradabad, Naini Tal Tarai, Bijnor, Meerut, and Muzaffarnagar. Their origin is uncertain. One theory is to the effect that Ghogar is a corrupt form of *do ghar* (two houses) because they were sprung from a Khagi Dhinwar and a Bharbhunja woman. To support this theory it is pointed out that

they dig wells and parch grain, which are the traditional occupations of these two castes. Another theory, rather less improbable, makes of the ancestor a Kewat or Mallah Ghogh, of which Ghogar is a diminutive. They themselves say, some of them that they come from Arabia, others that they are Kshatriyas.

Their system of caste government is as follows :—Every village has a *panch* whose office is hereditary and he decides cases in the first instance. From his decision there is an appeal to a committee of such *punches*. They deal chiefly with debts, professional matters, and breach of promise cases. The punishments are fine, ranging from 2 annas to Rs. 5, or excommunication. The levirate exists in the usual form : it is said that a *jeth* can marry his *deorani*. Marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is permissible, but no other sort of cousin-marriage is allowed. They still observe some Hindu festivals, but they are gradually becoming better Muhammadans. Their chief occupation is digging wells for which the *panchayat* fixes a rate : to disregard it involves excommunication. They are regarded as rather simple and slow-witted. There is a proverb, "*ghunga aur Ghogar*," a snail and a Ghogar.

(16) *Gidhiya*.—This is a curious caste which seems to belong to the Bawariya tribe. They say firstly that they are descended from a class of Kshatriyas called Athpahariya, who used to reside in Gujarat, and secondly that they came from a place called Harewala many generations ago. They do not know where Harewala is. Their traditional occupation is bird-catching ; for this reason they were called Phandiya in their native land. They explain the name *Gidhiya* as referring to the fact that they make their nets from the sinews of the kite (*gidh*). They live in tahsils Thakurdwara and Amroha of Moradabad, in the Naini Tal Tarai and Bijnor. They have a permanent *panchayat* consisting of 2 or 3 hereditary members ; the succession goes under the ordinary rules. There is this peculiarity that the *panch* pays Rs. 5 on his accession, with which sweetmeats are bought. The *sarpanch* is called *padhan*. The jurisdiction extends to a village or group of villages. Each sub-caste has its own *panchayat* : the sub-castes are Athpaharia, Bawariya, Gandhila (in the Deccan), and Phandiya. The *panchayat* deals with cases of debt and assault, cow-killing, and social breaches. The levirate exists in the usual form. Cousin-marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter is possible. The sub-castes are endogamous and appear to be local. The exogamous rule appears to be that a son cannot be married into the same family in which a father's sister is married, but a daughter can. The caste used to be considered criminal but has now settled down to cultivation. The reasons which lead me to suppose them to be Bawariyas are as follows :—

- (1) *Gidhiya* is a local name for Bawariya (Crooke, volume I, page 231).
- (2) The Bawariyas say they were originally Rajputs from Marwar.
- (3) One of the *Gidhiya* sub-castes is Bawariya and another Gandhila, another vagrant tribe (see Crooke *sub verbo*) which appears akin to the Bawariya.
- (4) The Bawariyas used to be bird-catchers.
- (5) The Bawariyas eat food cooked by any touchable Hindu as the *Gidhiyas* do ; their diet includes every kind of meat except beef, and though *Gidhiyas* now will not touch pork or fowls either, they eat everything else, even kites.
- (6) Both Bawariyas and *Gidhiyas* worship Kali.

It should be noted that I am referring to the Western Bawariyas, not to the Eastern Bawariyas of Mirzapur.

(17) *Jujhotia Brahman*.—There is no authority for the spelling *Jhijhotia* which agrees with none of the recognized definitions (for which see Crooke, volume III, page 56). Another name of Bundelkhand and the neighbouring tracts appears to have been *Yudhvati* ; whilst the Vishnu Dharam Purana calls the country between the Vindhya, Jumna, and Narbada, *Yudhdesh*. This is the tract where *Jujhotias* are chiefly found. The *Jujhotias* have lately met to discuss caste origins at Srinagar in Mahoba and accept the theory that they got their name from one *Jujhar Singh*, a ruler of remote antiquity, who settled in Bundelkhand and finding no Brahmans there imported Kanaujias from the north side of the Jumna and called them by this name. The theory is obviously not disinterested, but it is even less disinterested than it looks. Not only do they thus assert Kanaujia origin, but they incidentally honour the present ruler of Charkhari, whose name happens to be *Jujhar Singh*. They are as a matter of fact regarded as similar but inferior to Kanaujias whose *pakki* they will eat, though Kanaujias do not return the compliment.

(18) *Kanmail*.—A Muhammadan occupational caste. Their occupation as their name shows is the somewhat unpleasant one of ear-cleaning. They have no sub-castes. They have a *panchayat* presided over by a permanent elected *chaudhri*. Its jurisdiction is restricted to the immediate locality and to social questions, especially breaches of promise of marriage. The custom of the levirate exists with the usual restrictions; but the *jeth* is said sometimes to marry the *deorani*. Cousin-marriage is possible with cousins on the mother's side, but not on the father's. The marriage customs are perfectly normal; but rather adaptations from Hinduism than Muhammadan. They are obviously new converts from Hinduism, though they claim to be Siddiqi Shaikhs. Kanmailiya is another name for the Mahawat Nat and these people are probably an occupational offshoot from them, all the more so that they are occasionally called Baid, as the Mahawat Nat is, and Bindhi, as all Nats appear to be—this name is a reference to a peculiar way in which they tie the turban. (See Crooke, volume IV, pages 70 and 71.) But they appear to be considerably more civilized than the Mahawat in the matter of their ceremonies, whilst they circumcise their sons which the Mahawats do not do. This is probably the result of a more settled mode of existence. The report comes from Moradabad.

(19) *Karwal* or *Karaul*.—A most interesting account comes about this caste from Hardoi. Their ethnic affinities are uncertain. The Karwals themselves say they are Kols, who however now look down on them, since they (the Kols) have given up nomadic habits. They also state that they can intermarry with Beri-yas, but are distinct from them in that they do not prostitute their women. The people call them Haburas, but that is a generic term applied to all criminal tribes. Karaul or Karwal is found as a sub-caste amongst the Aheriya, Baheliya, Bhangi, and Chamar castes. The Karwals are vagrants under police surveillance. They worship Jahar Pir ⁽¹⁾ a Muhammadan saint, whom they suppose to be buried in the precincts of the Taj at Agra; the Panch Pir, Madar Sahib, and Ghazi Mian (all be it noticed Muhammadan in origin), and occasionally Kali and the Ganges. They eat goats, sheep, pigs, porcupines, lizards, fowls, quails, partridges, peafowl, pigeons, and the leavings of all castes save Chamars, Bhangis, Dhobis, Doms, Koris, and Dhanuks. They have some curious customs. At birth [where a midwife of the caste attends ⁽²⁾], they bury the umbilical cord and placenta with a scorpion's sting, two and a half bits of donkey's dung, a porcupine's intestines, and some liquor. The scorpion's sting renders the babe immune, not from being bitten by, but from feeling the bite of a scorpion; the dung is supposed to prevent an excessive secretion of bile; the intestines to ward off colds; and the liquor is thrown in for luck! There are the usual feasts on the 6th and 12th days when liquor is drunk ⁽³⁾; and at a later date the headman or headwoman ⁽⁴⁾ of the *ghol* (band, camp), who is known as *mukhia* or *sardar*, names the child on payment of a fee of Re. 1-4-0. Marriages need the sanction of the tribal council, and the fee is Rs. 4; but there is no ceremony save the *dudhabhati* ⁽⁵⁾. A man may marry in his own or any other *ghol* or with Beri-yas. The levirate exists, but a man may marry his younger brother's widow on payment of Rs. 24 to the council. To marry a widow costs Rs. 30, or Rs. 60 if she is virgin. If a Karwal covets his neighbour's wife, he can buy her by paying Rs. 24 to the council and Rs. 60, plus the expenses of the original wedding, to her husband. A Karwal may marry a woman of any other caste save those mentioned above (Chamar, Bhangi, &c.) on payment of Rs. 7. Divorce is allowed for adultery on the part of the wife if proved to the satisfaction of the council; but it is said that the rape of a widow costs Rs. 150. Most curious of all are their burial rites. They distinguish between "*pakka*" corpses which they burn and "*kachcha*" corpses which they bury ⁽⁶⁾. The *pakka* are all those who have had small-pox (or in these modern times have been vaccinated). *Kachcha* corpses are buried in the clothes worn at

(1) This is probably Zahir Pir *alias* Guga Pir *alias* Guga Bir. Cf. Crooke's "*Popular Religion and Folklore of North India*," pages 133 *et seq.*

(2) These women pride themselves on their skill and even pretend to be able to successfully perform such operations as craniotomy and caesarian section!

(3) Women do not get any. "How can a poor man afford enough liquor for the women?" was the plaintive answer in reply to a question on the point.

(4) Headwoman only because most of the men were in jail, no doubt. Criminal gangs frequently have female *mukhias*.

(5) Eating rice and milk together by the bride and bridegroom—a rite at many Hindu weddings and a sort of *confarreatio*

(6) *Pakka* and *kachcha*, from the kind of food given at the two kinds of funeral.

death; but *pakka* corpses are wrapped in a new loin cloth and turban with a winding sheet: women are clothed in a new skirt, bodice, and veil, whilst a comb and needle are put in the winding sheet, for "a woman's toilette is no trifling matter," as the Karwal who gave the information said. The ashes of a *pakka* corpse are collected for interment in the tribal burial ground which is visited every year for the purpose. The Karwals have the same ordeal by fire for use in cases before the council as the Kanjars [see paragraph 331 (6)]: they have also an ordeal by water, in which a man has to keep his head under water whilst a man runs 200 paces; if he can do so without coming up to take breath he is adjudged innocent. A form of oath is by cutting at the roots of a *pipal* tree.

It may be remarked that Zahir Pir is worshipped by Haburas, and Madar Sahib by Beriyas. The *pipal* tree oath is used by Haburas and the ordeal by fire by Kanjars and Sansiyas. It seems most probable that these people are one of these "gipsy tribes."

(20) (a) *Kayastha-Bharbhunja*.—Matters are complicated in this case by the fact that the Bharbhunja has a Kaithia sub-caste, which claims Saksena Kayastha origin. The only report of any value on the subject obviously confuses the new Kayastha Bharbhunja with the old Bharbhunja Kaithia, a mistake easily made. There can be no doubt of the existence of this sub-caste; I heard of them in many places. The Kaithia Bharbhunja has the levirate custom.

(b) *Kayastha-Darzi*.—The existence of this caste is reported from Gorakhpur, Etah, and Moradabad. In Etah and Moradabad they claim to be Saksenas and in both cases mention *gotras* (some of which are *als* or *sub-gotras*), one of which is Kashyapa. They have published a book on their ethnology. They possess a *panchayat* and tolerate but do not approve of the levirate. In Gorakhpur they claim to be Srivastava Kayasthas.

(c) *Kayastha-Mochi*.—In Cawnpore these claim to be Srivastava-Kayasthas who regard Mochi as a term merely denoting their occupation. They make saddlery and harness, not shoes, and prefer to describe themselves as Kayastha-Zingar⁽¹⁾. Mr. Crooke, who mentions them, incidentally states that they intermarry with ordinary Kayasthas and have the same manners and customs. The latter is to some extent true, but they admit that they have neither commensal nor connubial relations with other Kayasthas. The main difference between them and ordinary Kayasthas seems to lie in their possession of a *panchayat* which seems to be usually permanent, though it takes different forms; in South Cawnpore it is an annual meeting in Charkhari State under a permanent headman called *sarmaur*, whilst in Cawnpore city, though dignified by the name of a Sabha, it is of the ordinary type. They have no relations whatever with the ordinary Mochi. They are endogamous, and possess the usual rules of *gotra* exogamy: they observe the ordinary Hindu customs at birth, marriage, and death, and in the matter of food (e.g. the *charuka* custom, which means practically that *kachcha* food must be eaten only at home and in a certain place in the house). The sole non-Kayastha custom is the levirate.

(d) *Kayastha-Senduria*.—These are reported from Gorakhpur only and are similar to the Kayastha-Darzis of that locality.

(21) *Khumra*.—Very little is said of this caste by Mr. Crooke, and it was included in 1901 under Raj. They say they come from Kafa in Arabia and are the descendants of one Kamraha, a disciple of Ali, whom Ali carried off in his waistband (*kamarband*) when a boy. They consequently derive their name from "kamar," though the fact that "kamar" is not an Arabic word rather spoils the story. They are strictly endogamous as a whole; nothing is said of Mr. Crooke's divisions which must be exogamous. They have a permanent *panchayat*, already described. The levirate is usual, without the usual restriction against marrying the husband's elder brother; their domestic customs are the usual mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan. Their occupations are, as Mr. Crooke says, weaving mats and making mill stones. They appear to be a true caste.

(22) *Kori, Koiri, and Chamar*.—The relation between Kori and Chamar has already been referred to above (paragraph 347). In Gorakhpur it appears to be closer still, and it is said that there are no Koris there save Kori Chamars. The

(1) The *zingar* or harness-maker considers himself an infinitely superior being to the shoemaker. In a certain hill station it was found necessary to order the muzzling of dogs, and owing to the paucity of muzzles, the public notice ordering the muzzling also stated where muzzles could be obtained. The shopkeeper in question was described as Mochi and complained that everybody in the bazar was laughing at him in consequence. He explained that he was a *sajwala* (harness-maker) and by no means a Mochi.

Kori Chamar however drops the Chamar and tries to pass himself off as a Kori pure and simple, or even, by slurring the word, to make it sound like Koiri. A *khalasi* in Gorakhpur district was severely beaten by the rest of his Hindu fellow servants for playing this trick and making them take water from his hands. A Jaiswara Chamar in the same way will never admit he is a Chamar, but tries to pass his caste off as Jaiswara alone, a sub-caste of many castes including Rajput. A syce once tried the trick on me, and at Tundla in Agra district I found a whole colony of "Jaiswaras" who on inquiry proved to be descendants of Chamar regimental syces who had settled there.

(23) *Kuta-Banjaras*.—These appear to be the same as Mr. Crooke's Dhankuta Banjaras (volume I, page 157, paragraph 11). They were found in Moradabad and Naini Tal Tarai, and said they came from Delhi and were Rajputs. They are now carriers and cultivators. They have an impermanent *panchayat*. The levirate is usual but not binding on the widow. Their gotts or septs are 8 in number; three of them are Rajput (Gahlot, Chauhan, and Panwar), the others are of unknown origin.

(24) *Kuta Mali*.—These trace their descent to Jigangarh in Muttra, and have a curious legend connecting them with the Lalkhani Muhammadan Rajputs. Their ancestors were the few who escaped from the sack of Jigangarh most of whose inhabitants were forcibly converted to Islam and became the Lalkhanis. They took shelter in a faqir's garden who protected them from the pursuing soldiery by describing them as his gardeners; whence they were known as Malis. When they took to pounding rice they became known as Kuta Malis. They also have a traditional connection with Delhi where there are 44 villages of them. In this province they live in Moradabad, Bareilly, Bijnor, Rampur, and Naini Tal. They have a strongly organized *panchayat* of a permanent type with two *sardars*, 22 *padhans* and 22 *chakrayats*, all hereditary. Each *mohaila* (or village) has a *padhan* and *chakrayat*; the *chakrayat* serves for a *padhan* whilst he is a minor. These decide unimportant matters on their own authority and call the adult brethren together only in serious cases. The *panchayat* deals with the usual offences in the usual way. The levirate exists in the usual form: all ceremonies are normal. They are a thrifty, hard-working caste. One proverb says "*Kuta Mali kabhi na baitha khali*"—(a Kuta Mali never sits idle); another—"jahan Kuta Mali wahan uski gharwali"—(where the Kuta Mali is his wife is also—said to refer to the fact that the two work at pounding and sifting grain together).

(25) *Lodha*.—The Bundelkhand Lodhas or Lodhis have long claimed to be Rajputs. It may be noted that a certain sub-caste of Lodhas, the Mahalodhis do not permit widow-marriage, have no permanent *panchayat* as other sub-castes have, and are looked up to by other sub-castes. These Mahalodhis seem to be found in Bundelkhand only; and at all events it must be admitted that there is a very considerable difference between them and the rest of the Lodhas. The Mahalodhis have this peculiarity that their Brahman *guru* fulfils the functions of a *panchayat*.

(26) *Mahajan*.—There is a Bania sub-caste of the name. In Cawnpore and elsewhere prosperous Kalwars are trying to sever themselves from their own caste and form a new one to which they give the name Mahajan, which is a name arrogated to themselves by some Kalwars who have given up selling liquor, though this is not the case amongst these newer Mahajans. They retain their Kalwar endogamous sub-castes but have cut themselves off both as regards marriage and commensality from all lower Kalwars. These however resent and refuse to recognize the distinction.

(27) *Manihar*.—Manihars, Churihars, and Lakheras are said in Cawnpore to be all the same caste, with at most a functional difference—Churihars make glass bangles, Manihars sell them, whilst Lakheras make lac bangles. The Lakheras are sometimes Hindus.

(28) *Mina*.—This caste in Moradabad has a permanent *sarpanch*, known as *muqaddam*, with selected *panches*, who deal with the usual kind of offences in the usual kind of way. They have a traditional connection with Jaipur and disclaim any connection with Meos. Their septs are Gahlot, Amethi, Tatri, and Lalsoti (Lal Sot is a village in Jaipur). Cf. Crooke, *sub voce* Meo.

(29) *Nanbai*.—These are not a caste, but a trade; most claim to be Shaikhs. In Moradabad they have a single *sarpanch* who deals only with occupational matters. It is mentioned that they allow widow re-marriage and the levirate by mutual consent; but this is no more than what most lower class Muhammadans do.

(30) *Phansiya*.—The word is connected with *phansi*, a noose. The same people are called *Aheriya* on the right bank of the Ganges and *Chirimar* around Delhi; the name *Phansiya* is that by which they go in *Moradabad*, *Bareilly*, and *Rampur*. They claim connection with the *Bhil* tribe. It seems quite obvious that they are really *Pasis*: the two *Pasi* sub-castes in *Moradabad* are *Aheriya* and *Bhil*, and *Bahelia* and *Bhil* in *Budaun*; whilst *Pasi* and *Phansiya* are synonyms. *Aheriyas* are also known as *Bhils* in *Aligarh*. It seems quite clear that *Aheriya*, *Baheliya*, *Phansiya*, and *Pasi* in the western districts are closely connected with each other and may possibly belong to the *Bhil* tribes of the *Deccan*, and that the *Western Pasi* is different to the *Oudh* and *Eastern Pasi* who are akin to the *Bhar* tribes. Though, like *Aheriyas* and *Baheliyas*, the *Phansiyas* used to be hunters and fowlers, they are now cultivators and fruit-sellers. They have a *panchayat* which may include the whole brotherhood or merely a few selected *panches*. Each *panchayat* is local and each locality has 2 hereditary *chaudhris* and a selected *sipahi* whose duty it is to call the *panchayat* together. The *panchayat* deals with social, domestic, and professional matters; the social and domestic matters are of the usual kind, and so are the punishments for them. There is however a curious provision that if a married woman runs away with some person unknown and on her return her husband refuses to keep her, any other member of the community can keep her as a mistress on payment, which is sometimes as low as Rs. 3. The professional matters dealt with are such as fixing the rates at which fruit must be sold, or punishing any attempt at competition within the caste. A *Phansiya* may not outbid another *Phansiya* for (e.g.) the right to the fruits of an orchard, on pain of fine. The *levirate* exists in the usual form. The caste is served by *Gaur Brahmans*. The practice of marrying outside the village is strictly maintained. The caste has risen considerably in the social scale: they only eat such meat as high caste *Hindus* eat, and any *Hindu* will now drink from their hands. In a word, as my informant says, the caste is a typical instance of how an untouchable caste can become touchable by adopting a clean profession and following *Brahmanical* rites.

(31) *Qalandar*.—Mr. Crooke has an article on this caste to which some *addenda* and *corrigenda* are necessary. They deny that they charm snakes, as he alleges: nor have they ever heard of any *Langre Qalandars*, though they admit that there are *Rohilla Qalandars* from *Rampur*. They have three exogamous subdivisions, *Khokhar*, *Ghorawal*, and *Chindi*, the last of whom however has been outcasted as regards commensality and endogamy, because they affiliated a *Khokhar* to their subdivision who gave away some charms to the *Chindi* of which the *Khokars* had the secret. None the less there is a *panchayat* common to all three sub-castes with a permanent hereditary *sarpanch* who is actually a *Chindi*. The *panchayat* is held once a year at *Nawabganj* near *Cawnpore*, and once a year at *Bahraich*. To these *Qalandars* from most of the districts round *Lucknow* come. It deals with the usual kind of offences, but punishes only by fine or feast with temporary excommunication. A thief is punished with fine if his victim is a fellow casteman; but thieves who steal from strangers are only punished if they have been convicted and sent to jail, when on their release they have to feast the caste.

(32) *Rajputs—Baghel and Chamargaur*.—If a *Baghel* in *Banda* is outcasted by public opinion, a relative can call a *panchayat* attended by the head of each house with the eldest person present as *sarpanch*. The *Brahman* priest also attends and advises—a very unusual incident. But it is said that such a *panchayat* has not been held for 3 generations. Amongst certain *Chamargaur*s of *Pailani* in *Banda* (who seem in a somewhat lower position than other *Chamargaur*s in the district) there is a tradition of the holding of a single *panchayat*. A man was outcasted for marrying a girl of bad character. He went on a pilgrimage and gave a feast to the caste, after which a *panchayat*, consisting of a man from each family, was held and he was restored to caste save in the matter of eating *kachcha* food. The *Muhammadan Chamargaur*s have a *panchayat* of another type. An outcaste prepares food on a day fixed by himself and assembles the members of the caste, whether *Hindu* or *Muhammadan*, and some *Brahmans*. If all agree that he may be reinstated they show it by eating the food; but one dissentient amongst the *Muhammadan* members and 3 or 4 amongst the *Hindu* members or *Brahmans* would make it impossible. Such a *panchayat* has never been actually held within the memory of man but the procedure has been traditionally handed down in the caste and it is said that it would have been actually adopted in one case if the

outcaste concerned had not died. This last case is obviously nothing more than a formal obtaining of general public opinion, as the presence of Hindus and Brahmans shows.

(33) *Ramaiya*.—In Bijnor this caste says it came originally from Sankaldip beyond Sangla (said to be Colombo); some Ramaiyas stated that they had been there: thence they migrated to Jaipur and thence to the Punjab. The geography is a trifle wild, as Sankaldip is usually located near Kabul, and there is not very much land "beyond" Colombo.

(34) *Sainthwar*.—This has always been regarded as a Kurmi sub-caste, but it is now to all intents and purposes a separate caste. The chief member of the caste is the Raja of Padrauna in the Gorakhpur district; and it appears to be due to the rise of his family to prominence that the fission occurred. Kurmis claim descent from Mayur Bhatta, the traditional ancestor of the Bisen Rajputs of whom the Majhauri family is the head, by a concubine; but the Sainthwars allege that they are the sole descendants of this union, whilst another version is that the Mal exogamous group of Sainthwars alone is so descended. The Majhauri tradition is that this concubine was a Kurmin. It may be noted that the Majhauri surname is also Mal. Sainthwars differ from Kurmis in disallowing widow-marriage, which however is more probably the result than the cause of the fission.

(35) *Singhariya*.—The Singhariya has usually been regarded as a sub-caste of the Kahars. The Moradabad Singhariyas however claim to be Rajputs of the Kachhwaha, Panwar, Surajbansi, and Tomar clans who took to the profession of growing ground-nuts, and deny any connection with Kahars who serve them as they do other castes. There can however be no doubt that they were Kahars and that this Rajput origin is a fiction. No other caste has a sub-caste of this name. That they were a sub-caste which has now broken off is shown by the fact that they have no subdivisions of their own. The *panchayat* has a permanent elected *chaudhri* and *panches* elected for the particular occasion, usually 5 in number. The *panchayat* is a local committee; very important matters are referred to a caste *panchayat* of *chaudhris* at the Chaiti fair at Kashipur in the Naini Tal district. The *panchayat* deals with the usual social and domestic matters and the punishments are normal. The levirate exists in the usual form. The prohibited degrees are those of the parents and grand-parents on both sides.

(36) *Tawarif*.—It is worth noting a point not mentioned by Mr. Crooke. This caste has also a *panchayat* of women. The *chaudhrain* is elected for her life; the other members are selected when required. The *chaudhrain* must be a permanent resident of (i.e. born in) the place; a person born elsewhere though otherwise a permanent resident is never selected. There is generally one *chaudhrain* for each town. They deal with caste offences such as dancing at the house of a low-caste person or refusing to take part in a ceremony or feast given by a fellow prostitute. There are of course numerous proverbs at the expense of this caste. *Randi ka joban rakabi men*,—a harlot's charms are in the dish (or as we should say, in the make-up box); *Randi howe kiski? paisa dewe tiski*,—(a prostitute is his who pays her); and *Randiyan ki kharchi vakilon ka kharcha peshgi hi diya jata hai*,—(a harlot's pay and a lawyer's fees are paid in advance) are some of the best.

(37) *Tharus*.—There is no element of permanency in the *panchayat*, save that the village headman is also the *sarpanch* ex-officio. In serious cases the *bari panchayat* of the whole community assembles under a permanent hereditary *sarpanch* called *barbag* (great tiger). There is only one *barbag* for the whole caste and the post has been hereditary in one family from time immemorial: he possesses an ancient copper plate which is his badge. The caste is endogamous as a whole in the Tarai, though they have sub-castes.

(38) *Turaiha*.—This is a sub-caste of Bhangis found in Unao and Cawnpore. They do the work of Bhangis and are usually known by that name, but objected strongly to being so called. They acknowledge no connection with any other Bhangi sub-caste. They are endogamous, with a somewhat weak *panchayat*; widow marriage and the levirate are allowed.

(39) *Tyar*.—In 1901, 135 Tyars were enumerated in Ballia: in 1911 none were found. The fact is interesting as it marks the disappearance of a tribe which has acquired a certain notoriety in anthropology. Lord Avebury in his work "The Origin of Civilization" (quoting from another work entitled "The People of India" by Watson and Kaye) mentions them as an instance proving his theory of

communistic marriage. There appears to be here a double error. The persons he refers to are the "Teehurs of Oudh," and there seems to be no ground whatever for supposing that these Tyars ever lived in Oudh; they belong to the Eastern districts. The Tyars of the Eastern districts and Bengal are boatmen and fishermen, probably a sub-caste or branch of the Mallahs, and though it is possible that in a community where the men are forced by their profession to leave the women for long periods ideas on the restrictions imposed by the marital tie may easily tend to grow lax, yet this does not justify the assertion that such a system as communistic marriage was recognized as lawful. Communistic marriage, like polyandry, is in such cases merely a polite term for adultery. Nor, so far as appears, is there any ground for supposing that these Tyars *were* particularly lax in sexual intercourse save this one unsupported statement, which is certainly erroneous in another direction (that of the locality where they live), and is not therefore particularly convincing. There have been Tyars or Tiars in Oudh (Sultanpur) but they were a Rajput clan, now it seems extinct, and certainly *they* never had such a custom. Their name survives in *tappa* Tyar in the above mentioned district, which probably was the extent of their dominions, and was, as one of the early settlement officers of Sultanpur put it, "like Niobe, all Tiars."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

I have received the following suggestions with regard to various points in this chapter which came too late to be incorporated in it. I accordingly put them here :—

Note 7, page 325.—The Sadh of Farrukhabad and Mirzapur is another excellent example of a sectarian caste.

Note 8, page 325.—The offspring of miscegeration at the present take the caste of the father if they have money enough to support the position and obtain a bride of proper rank. Otherwise they can only intermarry amongst themselves.

Page 326, 7th line sqq.—It is probably too much to say that Rastogi and Ajudhiabas Sonars are “clearly” of Vaishya descent. “Possibly” is a better word. Mr. Burn doubts whether Sonars at all events are ever of Aryan blood.

Note 3, page 326.—It is possible, indeed even probable, that this curious phenomenon is due merely to confusion between the caste and the trade of Halwai.

Note 1, page 331.—Rajputs will eat wild hog in the western districts.

Middle of page 338.—In Bundelkhard and Kumaun debt cases and other disputes are commonly settled by a *panchayat*, but not a caste *panchayat* : it is a committee of arbitration.

References to punishments for cow-killing on page 339 sqq.—A part of the punishment often involves consumption of all products of the cow, including dung and urine. The begging is often done with a cow whose tail the offender has to hold.

Reference to Thathera on page 340.—Even high-placed gentlemen attach a greater value to commensal pollution than to extra-trital immorality. One such once condoned the latter offence on the ground that the offender was a man : but when the offender had drunk water in his mistress's house, considered that he had put himself entirely without the pale.

Page 343.—Another instance of the interference of a *panchayat* in profession matters is as follows :—A planter tried to stop cattle-poisoning by insisting on all his tenants slashing the hides of all bullocks which died without any obvious reason. The tenants were willing enough at first, but in the end begged that the rule should be cancelled. The Chamar *panchayat* had decided that none of their women should act as midwives. This was in Gorakhpur.

3rd line, page 344.—The Chauhan referred to is not of course the Rajput Chauhan, but the Rohilkhand Chauhan.

Paragraph 340, page 340.—As regards trital castes, the sub-castes would be portions of the tribe, which split off by reason of differences in residence, function or social position : or possibly a group of tribes (as the Bhar possibly was) would become the castes and its component parts the sub-castes.

12th line, page 350.—Mr. Burn considers that probably aborigines had little objection to pig and that the difference between Raj Bhar and Bhar was one of social position.

29th line sqq., page 350.—Mr. Burn considers that all these cases are instances of rising in the social scale—viz. that they are Chamars who call themselves Kayasthas.

11th line from bottom, page 351.—The Dakaut and Mahabrahman may also be aboriginal priests (like the Ojha, Patari, and Baiga of the present day) who have claimed and to a certain extent made good a claim to be regarded as Brahmans.

NOTE 1, page 353.—These are probably Kanaujia Brahmans.

Paragraph (17), page 367.—On the other hand there are inscriptions which give the name Jejaka Dhukti to parts of Bundelkhand, whilst the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang called it Chi-ki-to.

Subsidiary table I.—Castes classified according to their traditional occupations.

[*000's omitted.]

Group and caste.	Strength.*	Group and caste.	Strength.*
1	2	3	4
<i>Landholders</i>	(85) 4,105	<i>Tailors</i>	(6) 253
Bhuinhar	135	Darzi	253
Rajput	3,658	<i>Carpenters</i>	(12) 600
Sainthwar	119	Barhai	600
Taga	168	<i>Potters</i>	(15) 725
Others	25	Kumhar	725
<i>Cultivators</i>	(149) 7,176	<i>Glass and Lac-workers</i>	(2) 107
Baghban	135	Others	107
Barai	139	<i>Blacksmiths</i>	(12) 588
Bhar	393	Lohar	588
Jat	743	<i>Goldsmiths</i>	(6) 267
Kachhi	738	Sonar	267
Kisan	353	<i>Brass and Copper-smiths</i>	(4) 20
Koiri	446	Others	20
Kurmi	1,889	<i>Confectioners and Grain-parchers</i>	(8) 392
Lodha	1,114	Bharbhunja	301
Mali	186	Halwai	91
Murao	674	<i>Oil-pressers</i>	(20) 968
Others	366	Teli	968
<i>Labourers</i>	(10) 461	<i>Toddy-drawers and Distillers</i>	(33) 1,607
Dhanuk	129	Kalwar	287
Others	332	Pasi	1,311
<i>Pastoral</i>	(117) 5,614	Others	9
Ahar	270	<i>Butchers</i>	(4) 187
Ahir	3,903	Qassab	172
Gadariya	983	Others	15
Gujar	366	<i>Leather workers</i>	(127) 6,091
Others	92	Chamar	6,082
<i>Fishermen, Boatmen and Palki-bearers,</i>	(18) 845	Others	9
Kewat	445	<i>Basket and Mat-makers</i>	(1) 61
Mallah	249	Others	61
Others	151	<i>Earth, Salt, &c., workers</i>	(9) 448
<i>Hunters and Fowlers</i>	(1) 60	Luniya	409
Others	60	Others	39
<i>Priests and Devotees</i>	(111) 5,353	<i>Domestic Servants</i>	(25) 1,212
Brahman	4,678	Kahar	1,112
Fagir	528	Others	100
Goshain	94	<i>Menials</i>	(7) 334
Others	53	Dom	334
<i>Genealogists and Bards</i>	(3) 145	<i>Sweepers</i>	(9) 418
Bhat	145	Bhangi	418
<i>Writers</i>	(10) 484	<i>Criminal and Vagrant</i>	(1) 57
Kayastha	484	Others	57
<i>Musicians, Dancers, Singers, &c.</i>	(3) 130	<i>Others</i>	(67) 3,210
Others	130	Bhishti	98
<i>Traders and Pedlars</i>	(34) 1,609	Gond	110
Bania	1,209	Pathan	961
Khatik	182	Saiyid	250
Others	218	Shaikh	1,315
<i>Carriers</i>	(2) 96	Others	476
Banjara	94	<i>Weavers and Dyers</i>	(48) 2,238
Others	2	Dhunia	404
<i>Barbers</i>	(19) 911	Julaba	990
Nai	911	Kori	860
<i>Washermen</i>	(15) 724	Others	34
Dhobi	724		

NOTE.—Figures in brackets show the proportion per mille of the population of the province.

Subsidiary table II.—Variation in caste, tribe, &c., since 1881.

Figures for Hindus before 1881, Muhammadans and Aryas before 1891, and other religions except in 1891 are not available.

Caste, tribe or race.	Persons, 000's omitted.				Percentage of variation increase (+), decrease (—).			Percentage of net variation 1881—1911.
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901—1911.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
HINDUS.								
Ahar	283	246	244	273	+15.0	+8	-10.6	+3.7
Ahir	3,884	3,837	3,933	3,584	+1.2	-2.4	+9.7	+8.4
Baghban (1)	135	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bania	1,114	1,340	1,288	1,213	-16.9	+4.0	+6.2	-8.2
Banjara	46	45	40	..	+2.2	+12.5	..	..
Barai (2)	139	138	153	..	+7	-9.8	..	..
Barhai	503	551	503	500	-8.7	+9.5	+6	+6
Bhangi	398	370	415	435	+7.6	-10.8	-4.6	-8.5
Bhar	393	381	418	349	+3.1	-8.9	+19.8	+12.6
Bharbhunja	290	314	306	305	-7.6	+2.6	+3	-4.9
Bhat	116	132	132	130	-12.1	..	+1.5	-10.8
Bhuinbar	134	206	221	188	-35.0	-6.8	+17.6	-28.7
Brahman	4,660	4,805	4,830	4,712	-3.0	-5	-2.5	-1.1
Chai	30	29	29	48	-3.4	..	-39.6	-37.6
Chik (3)	10	..	9	..	..	..	..	..
Chamar	6,076	5,932	5,854	5,413	+2.4	+1.3	+8.1	+12.2
Darzi	82	103	84	89	-20.4	+22.6	-5.6	-7.9
Dhanuk	129	127	146	119	+1.6	-13.0	+22.7	+8.4
Dhobi	623	615	585	523	+1.3	+5.1	+11.9	+19.1
Dhunia (4)	28	20	..	37	+40.0	..	..	-24.3
Dom	329	282	315	205	+16.7	-10.5	+53.7	+60.5
Faqir	144	297	149	225	-51.5	+99.3	-33.8	-36.0
Gadariya	982	948	936	867	+3.6	+1.3	+8.0	+13.3
Gond (5)	110	20	124	..	+450.0	-83.9	..	..
Goshain (6)	94	..	138	120	..	..	+15.0	-21.7
Gujar	292	285	281	270	+2.5	+1.4	+4.1	+8.1
Halwai	57	68	77	66	-16.2	+11.7	+11.7	-13.6
Jat	710	787	680	674	-9.8	+15.7	+9	+5.3
Julaha (7)	37	..	..	38	..	..	..	-2.6
Kachhi (8)	728	714	706	..	+2.0	+1.1	..	..
Kahar	1,104	1,253	1,201	1,222	-11.9	+4.3	-1.7	-9.7
Kalwar	286	324	347	346	-11.7	-6.6	+3	-17.3
Kayastha	471	522	519	520	-9.8	+6	-2	-9.4
Kewat (9)	445	429	316	..	+3.7	+35.8	..	..
Khatik	182	199	189	152	+8.5	+5.3	+24.3	+19.7
Kisan (10)	353	375	369	..	-5.9	+1.6	..	..
Koiri (9)	444	505	540	..	-12.1	-6.5	..	..
Kori	860	995	925	843	-13.6	+7.6	+9.7	+2.0
Kumhar	715	711	708	639	+6	+4	+10.8	+11.9
Kurmi	1,887	1,998	2,035	..	-5.6	-1.8	..	..
Lodha	1,111	1,097	1,065	1,040	+1.3	+3.1	+2.4	+6.8
Lohar	502	533	527	497	-5.8	+1.1	+6.0	+1.0
Luniya	409	400	413	379	+2.2	-3.1	+9.0	+7.9
Mali	181	289	268	257	-37.4	+7.8	+4.3	-29.6
Mallah	245	228	365	..	+7.4	-37.5	..	..
Murao (9)	674	659	678	..	+2.3	-2.8	..	..
Nai	674	675	673	644	-1	+3	+4.5	+4.7
Pasi	1,311	1,240	1,221	1,034	+5.7	+1.6	+18.1	+26.8
Rajput	3,429	3,525	3,409	3,156	-2.7	+3.4	+8.0	+8.7
Sainthwar (11)	119	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Saini (9)	66	74	99	..	-10.8	-25.3	..	..
Sonar	262	287	258	251	-8.7	+11.2	+2.8	+4.4
Taga	103	109	99	101	-5.5	+1.0	-2.0	+2.0
Tamboli	68	80	74	..	-1.5	+8.1	..	..
Tali	734	735	744	687	..	-1.2	+8.3	+6.8
Baghban and Mali	316	289	268	257	+9.3	+7.8	+4.3	+23.0
Barai and Tamboli	207	219	227	210	-5.5	-3.5	+8.1	-1.4
Kewat and Mallah	690	658	681	612	+4.9	-3.4	+11.3	+12.7
Gond and Kahar	1,214	1,258	1,308	1,209	-3.5	-3.8	+8.1	+4
Faqir and Goshain	238	297	287	345	-13.1	+3.5	-16.8	-31.0
Julaha, Dhuna and Kori	925	1,015	925	918	-8.9	+9.7	+8	+8
Kachhi, Koiri, Murao and Saini	1,912	1,952	2,023	1,959	-2.0	-3.5	+3.3	-2.4
Kisan, Kurmi and Sainthwar	2,359	2,373	2,404	2,110	-6	-1.3	+18.9	+11.3
Chik and Khatik	192	199	198	152	-3.5	+5	+30.3	+26.3

(1) Included in Mali before 1911.
 (2) " " Tamboli in 1881.
 (3) " " Khatik in 1901 and 1881.
 (4) " " Kori in 1891.
 (5) " " Kahar in 1881.
 (6) " " Faqir in 1901.

(7) Included in Kori in 1901 and 1891.
 (8) Kachhi, Koiri, Murao and Saini shown together in 1881.
 (9) Included in Mallah in 1881.
 (10) " " Kurmi in 1881.
 (11) " " " 1901, 1891, and 1881.

Subsidiary table II.—*Variation in caste, tribe, &c., since 1881—(concluded).*

Caste, tribe or race.	Persons, 000's omitted.			Percentage of variation increase (+) decrease (—).		Percentage of net variation 1891—1911.
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1901—1911.	1891—1901.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
MUHAMMADANS.						
Banjara	47	44	35	+ 6·8	+ 25·7	+ 34·3
Barhai	95	81	66	+17·4	+ 22·7	+ 43·9
Bhangi	20	91	17	-78·0	+435·3	+ 17·6
Bhat	29	35	29	-17·1	+ 20·7	..
Bhatiyara	34	35	31	- 2·9	+ 12·9	+ 9·6
Bhishti	98	85	83	+15·3	+ 2·5	+ 18·1
Churihar	31	36	28	-13·9	+ 28·6	+ 10·7
Dafali	33	38	43	-13·2	- 11·6	- 23·3
Darzi	170	163	149	+ 4·3	+ 9·4	+ 14·1
Dhobi	102	97	85	+ 5·2	+ 14·1	+ 20·0
Dhunia	376	362	408	+ 3·9	- 11·3	- 7·8
Faqir	383	347	351	+10·4	- 1·1	+ 9·1
Gaddi	55	59	53	- 6·8	+ 11·3	+ 3·8
Gora	49	54	51	- 9·3	+ 5·9	- 3·9
Ghosi	36	41	28	-12·2	+ 4·7	+ 28·5
Gujar	72	78	65	- 7·7	+ 20·0	+ 10·8
Halwai	34	32	31	+ 6·3	+ 3·2	+ 9·7
Jhojha	30	30	27	..	+ 11·3	+ 11·1
Julaha	953	923	902	+ 3·3	+ 1·2	+ 5·7
Kunjra	72	83	86	-16·3	..	+ 16·2
Lohar	96	84	72	+14·3	+ 16·7	+ 33·3
Manihar	75	74	68	+ 1·4	+ 8·8	+ 10·3
Meo	62	58	67	+ 6·9	- 13·4	- 7·5
Mughal	60	84	79	-40·0	+ 6·3	- 24·1
Nai	237	227	201	+ 4·4	+ 12·9	+ 17·9
Pathan	960	816	749	+17·6	+ 8·9	+ 28·2
Qassab	172	184	152	- 6·5	+ 21·0	+ 13·2
Rajput	194	406	379	-52·2	+ 7·1	- 48·8
Rangrez	34	39	37	-12·8	+ 5·4	- 8·1
Saiyid	250	263	249	- 6·7	+ 7·6	..
Shaikh	1,315	1,365	1,358	- 3·7	+ 5	- 3·1
Teli	233	215	200	+ 8·4	+ 7·5	+ 16·5
ARYAS.						
Ahir	6 861	1,882	193	+396·5	+616·1	+3,454·9
Bania	21,563	13,546	5,750	+ 59·2	+135·6	+ 59·1
Barhai	2,061	749	81	+175·2	+824·7	+1,456·8
Brahman	17,970	10,887	5,042	+ 65·1	+115·9	+ 256·2
Jat	9,765	4,367	724	+123·6	+503·2	+ 179·3
Kayastha	11,992	5,895	2,889	+103·4	+104·1	+ 315·1
Kurmi	2 480	1,046	140	+137·1	+647·1	+1,642·8
Lodha	2,990	144	12	+1,976·4	+1,100·0	+24,816·6
Rajput	32,659	17,673	3,710	+ 84·8	+376·4	+ 753·3
Sonar	2,345	1,197	240	+ 95·9	+398·8	+ 877·1
Taga	4,662	2,434	1,036	+91·5	+134·9	+ 3·5
MINOR RELIGIONS.						
<i>Jain—</i>						
Bania	74,137	..	84,178	..	..	..
Brahman	111	..	32	..	..	..
Kamboh	168	..	..	..	..	..
Rajput	688	..	441	..	..	..
<i>Sikh—</i>						
Bania	242	..	90	..	..	..
Banjara	678	..	246	..	..	..
Brahman	115	..	116	..	..	..
Chamar	118	..	260	..	..	..
Jat	7,000	..	6,058	..	..	..
Julaha	148	..	..	..	..	..
Kachhi	123	..	..	..	..	..
Kahar	313	..	60	..	..	..
Kamboh	118	..	28	..	..	..
Khatri	1,004	..	635	..	..	..
Murao	173	..	..	..	..	..
Rajput	1,335	..	849	..	..	..
Ramaiya	148	..	72	..	..	..

Chapter XII.—OCCUPATION ⁽¹⁾.

353. **Tables.**—The statistics regarding occupations will be found in tables XV and XVI. The former is divided into five parts:—

- A.—Showing the number of persons following each occupation shown in the classified scheme of occupations by districts and cities.
- B.—Showing the subsidiary occupations of persons mainly dependent on agriculture.
- C.—Showing the figures for certain pairs of occupations.
- D.—Showing the distribution of occupations by religion.
- E.—Showing the figures of operatives and nationalities or castes of owners and managers of certain classes of factories, with other information.

Table XVI combines occupation with caste. The same castes are dealt with as in tables IX and XIV, and the figures are arranged so as to show the number of persons in each caste who follow the caste's traditional occupation, and the rest of the caste under certain major occupational heads.

354. **Difficulties of enumeration.**—There were three columns for occupational entries in the schedule. In the first (column 9) was entered the principal occupation, which was interpreted to mean the most lucrative; in the second (column 10) was entered the subsidiary occupation, which was interpreted to be the most lucrative of any other occupations, besides the principal occupation, which a worker might follow; and the third (column 11) was reserved for the non-workers, who were considered as dependent on the principal occupation of the person who supported them, which occupation was entered in this column. In about ninety per cent. of all cases or even more, the entries on this basis caused no difficulty. There would be one occupation or possibly two: the head of the family and his adult sons would all work at it or them: or possibly some of the sons whilst working at the principal occupation, had a secondary occupation of their own: the same would apply to the women, if the caste was not one that keeps women in purda: and for the dependents, children too young to work, women in purda or women too old to work if purda is not observed, the entry was the principal occupation of the head of the family. But in the remaining 10 per cent. of the entries many errors might occur. There was firstly the fact that the principal occupation so far as its effect on the family income is concerned is by no means always the "principal" occupation in any other sense of the word. The most striking instance of this is that of the subaltern in a British regiment. His "principal" occupation is soldiering: but few subalterns find it the most lucrative of their "occupations" (which term of course includes sources of income). Many Indian officials have a much larger income from private property than from their salaries. In such cases to keep strictly to the rule would be to absolutely obliterate the facts, and it was necessary to explain that in cases of this kind the principal occupation to be entered was the one that took up most time; but there were doubtless many cases where the rule was followed and not the exception. Secondly, when a man has two occupations, it is very largely a matter of whim which he enters as the principal one. A labourer who rents a little land, a village artizan who rents or owns a few fields, a tenant who owns a fraction of the land he cultivates will return his principal occupation as tenant or landlord instead of labourer or artizan or tenant, simply because it sounds better. I have said before and I repeat that there is a great deal of human nature involved in the filling up of a census schedule: and in such cases the principal occupation entered is not the most lucrative but the most dignified. Similarly many

(¹) Subsidiary tables—**I.** General distribution of occupation.

II.—Distribution by occupation in natural divisions.

III.—Occupations combined with agriculture (subsidiary).

IV.—Distribution of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional population in natural divisions and districts.

V.—Occupations of females, by sub-classes and selected orders and groups.

VI.—Occupations combined with agriculture (principal).

VII.—Selected occupations 1911 and 1901.

VIII.—Occupations of selected castes.

IX.—Distribution by religion and by occupation of 10,000 persons.

X.—Number of persons employed on the 10th March 1911 on Railways.

XI.—Number of persons employed on the 10th March 1911 in the Irrigation department.

XII.—Number of persons employed on the 10th March 1911 in the Postal department.

XIII.—Number of persons employed on the 10th March 1911 in the Telegraph department.

Brahmans doubtless entered their principal occupation as *panditai*, *purohiti*, or *jajmani*, instead of agriculture. Again, one charge superintendent (I forget where) expressed the fear that some artizan-tenants would falsely describe their tenures as their subsidiary occupation to avoid an enhancement of rent which they were anticipating. So long as both occupations were agricultural, probably little trouble was involved: the enumerator, and in almost every case at all events the supervisor knew in his capacity of patwari every inch of ground possessed or rented by any particular agriculturist and its exact value much better than the man himself did, and would laugh to scorn the attempt of a tenant to describe himself as a landlord because he owned a couple of fields whilst renting forty or fifty; and indeed, as a rule of thumb, the staff were instructed to enter the principal and secondary occupation in such cases according to the area of each kind of holding. But matters were very different when one of the occupations was non-agricultural, and, save in very obvious cases, it was then difficult to resist a man's contention that he got more from his land than from his other occupation. I have no doubt whatever that this tendency as at last census has caused a good deal of error. Thirdly, there is the great difficulty of drawing the line between worker and dependent. In vernacular there is no very good term for dependent. I called for suggestions but all were unsatisfactory; the majority were translations of "wife and family" such as '*bal bacha*' which was precisely what dependent did not mean⁽¹⁾. In the end the two terms had to be carefully interpreted as equivalent to worker and non-worker: and non-worker had to be further explained as a person who does not increase the family income, thus excluding married women whose sole occupation is their household duties, children who are allowed to play at work (e.g. weeding) merely to keep them quiet, and old folk who are too old to work, though nominally owning the business or land which is worked by their sons for them: but including women who make money by collecting firewood, grinding grain or selling articles, elder children who make money by herding cattle, and both women and children who save money (i.e. the money that would otherwise be spent on paid labourers or shop assistants) by helping their husbands and fathers in their fields or shops. A difficulty that arose in this connection was as follows. I found it extremely troublesome to dispel the idea that only those persons should be entered as working tenants of any particular kind, who were entered as such tenants in the revenue papers. This would have been disastrous, for not only would it have excluded all women and elder children who helped to work that holding, but it might very well have excluded many actual owners or tenants of land. In the joint family system many are co-owners and co-workers: but frequently only one (especially if the one is a father and the rest sons) is entered as owner in the record-of-rights. The stock objection was that the census papers would then show more of a particular class of tenants than the revenue papers did. In the end I persuaded the staff that that was precisely what I expected the census papers to do, but it was not an easy idea to get rid of, and the task was made no easier by the fact that the vast majority of the census staff were patwaris and kanungos, i.e. revenue officials.

On the whole I should be inclined to say that the staff, so far as they could influence the matter, made few mistakes. Certainly they evinced an extraordinarily keen interest in getting their occupational entries right. All through the touring period I was a target for occupational conundra usually propounded at my visits of inspection, but occasionally sent to me by post. As these represented merely the remnant which the district census officers had been unable to answer themselves, I can vouch for the fact that few possible "puzzles" were left unconsidered. Nor were the staff the only people who were exercised in mind over the subject. For instance, an old friend, a prosecuting inspector, came to see me when I was on tour, and explained that he had had some discussion with the charge superintendent regarding the occupational entries to be made in the case of his own very numerous household (which ranged from his own mother to his grandnephews) and invited me to give an authoritative decision. It took me about half an hour to decide all his "hard cases."

(1) The stock term "*mutaalliqin*" is unsatisfactory partly because it is a high flown expression and conveys nothing to ordinary people: but partly too because it is the term used in famine. There is no doubt of the curious fact that the famine use of this term influenced the interpretation put upon it. But famine and census dependents are by no means synonymous. The former means a person incapable of a particular kind of manual labour: the latter means a person incapable of increasing the family income in any way whatever. A girl who collects firewood or cowdung might be a famine "dependent" because she was incapable of carrying earth: but she would not be a census "dependent."

A frequent cause of error is usually found to be confusion between a man's traditional and actual occupation. I endeavoured to prevent this partly by avoiding any reference whatever to a "traditional" occupation in the course of instruction, and also by laying down as a strict rule that a man's occupation was never to be entered by a caste name but in some other form, in the hope that this would at all events compel a question to discover whether the occupation was that usually followed by the caste or not. It was forbidden to enter a Halwai's occupation for instance as halwai, but as *mithai banana*, or a Kumhar's as kumhar, but as *mitti ke bartan banana*, and so on.

Another cause of error is the use of vague terms such as service, clerk, contractor, and so on. To this the rule drew special attention, and the proof that there has been great improvement lies in the figures. "General labour" for instance in 1901 included 3,106,000 persons, and in 1911 the head "labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified" includes only 1,603,000 persons. Cashiers, accountants and other unspecified clerical employes amount to 39,000 persons as against some 77,000 in 1901. There are 16,000 merchants and contractors unspecified as against 22,000 unspecified contractors alone in 1901. There are 26,000 unspecified shop-keepers as against 46,000 such in 1901⁽¹⁾. Moreover it must not be forgotten that in some of these cases there always will be some who are really "unspecified" and can be described in no other way. Most of the "labourers and workmen unspecified" would be more accurately described as "general labourers" (*rozgari or mazduri am*), a common entry which means that the labourer does a bit of everything as the seasons dictate and cannot say that he gets more income from one kind of labour than another: sometimes ploughing, sometimes reaping, sometimes mending a road, or making or mending a house, or "*liping*" a floor, or carrying a load, or pitching a camp and so on. Such men are most correctly described as general labourers. Similarly there are many shops selling every conceivable kind of article; their owners are not "general merchants," as we understand the term, simply because these are as a rule big establishments with separate departments, whilst these general shops correspond rather to our "village shops" at home, where groceries and greengroceries and haberdashery and stationery jostle each other and a post and telegraph office is usually combined with them. Similarly unspecified clerks and unspecified contractors are not due merely to insufficient entry, but are a real phenomenon. There are many clerks who will take a post in any sort of office and so long as they are temporarily unemployed are also unspecified: and there are many contractors who will "contract" for anything, though in India certainly this particular brand of general middleman is not so common perhaps as at home. In brief I should be inclined to say that whilst the staff probably made far fewer mistakes than of old in the record of occupations, there is nothing to show they were not frequently misled in various ways by the person enumerated⁽²⁾.

355. **The scheme of classification.**—The scheme of classification differed fundamentally from that of 1901. That scheme was subject to many objections: it is unnecessary to state them all for the matter was fully dealt with in the India Report of 1901⁽³⁾. Generally speaking it was far too elaborate and its very large number of groups resulted in the differentiation of functions very closely allied, whilst at the same time making it very difficult to allocate many occupations to any particular head. The natural result was that the scheme was understood in many different ways, and the classification varied not only from province to province, but from abstraction office to abstraction office. Even if the entries in the schedule had been sufficiently precise to enable a classification to be accurately carried out in such excessive detail (which they were not and never can be), the scheme was based on a wrong conception of the limitations of a census in regard

(1) The figures of 1911 given above in every case include States whilst those of 1901 exclude them—a point which increases the difference.

(2) It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on the errors in the household schedules. These were as faulty as over. Sightseers described their occupation as globe trotting, ladies put themselves down as dependent on the occupation of "my husband" without saying what their husbands were, and even when they did, frequently put the entry in the wrong column: one lady, for instance, had obviously read the rules, for she put herself down as Captain, R. A., but put it in column 9 instead of 11. A hotel keeper and his wife put their joint entries on the same line, entered 2 in the serial column, and "actual work" in column 11. Even civilians were usually content with "civil service" or "Indian civil service" though their actual posts were required. I however went through most household schedules personally and corrected the entries as well as I could. "Globe trotters" I was compelled to put down as "of independent means." Some people had curious notions of what an "occupation" meant: one man entered "playing bridge" as his subsidiary occupation.

(3) India report, chapter VI, paragraph 505, 399.

to occupation. A census "does not supply data which are suitable for minute classification or admit of profitable examination in detail" (1). It can only give a picture of the occupational distribution of the people, which is correct in its main lines, but does not attempt to fill in minor details; it is a mere study or sketch, not a finished painting or a photograph.

Even then, if there had been no other reasons for adopting a different scheme, the old scheme would have had to be so greatly modified as to be practically new. There is an obvious disadvantage in changing such schemes, to wit the difficulty it entails in making comparisons between successive decades. But there is another side to the matter in this respect. As regards most subjects of inquiry (age, education, and so on) the errors in the schedules are constant from decade to decade and there would be a distinct disadvantage in a change of systems: but as regards occupation the errors are by no means so constant. Human vanity will always impel a man to return his most dignified occupation as his principal one: but most other errors are preventable, and should grow less at each census, for each census profits by the experience of preceding ones. Consequently, even if the scheme of classification had remained the same at succeeding enumerations, the results would have varied in that it was more scientifically used and contained fewer errors; and comparison would have been just as difficult. The old scheme had the disadvantage that it was based purely on Indian conditions and this made it impossible to compare Indian results with those of other countries, obviously a desirable object. As therefore a change of some kind was imperative it was decided to change entirely and to wheel Indian statistics into line with those of other countries by adopting, with such minor modifications as were necessary in an Indian environment, the international scheme of classification invented in 1889 by M. Jacques Bertillon, Chef des Travaux Statistiques de la ville de Paris, and commended for general adoption by the International Statistical Institute. This scheme has many advantages. It was framed after a careful study of the various schemes in actual use, and is very logical in its arrangement, as will be seen later. It is extremely elastic; so long as the orders are maintained, the classification by groups and sub-groups can be as detailed or simple as desired without interfering with the comparability of the statistics. Finally with some minor manipulations of the figures of 1901, it still remains possible to institute all the necessary comparisons.

M. Bertillon's scheme had 4 classes, 12 sub-classes, 61 orders, 206 sub-orders and 499 groups. As adapted to Indian conditions it has the same number of classes and sub-classes, but only 55 orders and 169 groups; sub-orders are done away with. The reduction in the number of orders is due to the amalgamation of two of M. Bertillon's scheme ("maritime" and "fresh water transport") which could not be distinguished in India: and the omission of five others—"nomads," "other industries" (meant to allow for any omission which may occur), "persons temporarily unemployed" (who in the Indian scheme are shown under the occupation previously followed), "persons without any occupation" (who correspond to our dependents), and "occupation unknown" (which should never occur). The greater simplicity of this scheme is obvious when it is remembered that the scheme of 1901 had 520 groups.

The arrangement of M. Bertillon's scheme as so adapted is as follows. The four classes are (A) "Production of raw material," subdivided into (i) "Exploitation of the surface of the earth," (ii) "Extraction of minerals"; (B) "Preparation and supply of material substances," subdivided into (iii) "Industrial occupation," (iv) "Transport," (v) "Trade"; (C) "Public administration and liberal arts," subdivided into (vi) "Public force," (vii) "Public administration," (viii) "Professions and liberal arts"; (D) "Miscellaneous," subdivided into (ix) "Persons living on their income," (x) "Domestic service," (xi) "Insufficiently described occupations," (xii) "Unproductive." How logical the scheme is is obvious. For every occupation raw material (A) is necessary, which is obtained either from the surface of the earth (i) or from under the soil (ii). These raw materials have to be prepared for use and supplied to those who use them (B): Industry (iii) prepares them, Transport (iv) carries them to the place where they are needed and Trade (v) supplies them. Public administration is required to protect these occupations and certain professions and liberal arts are required to serve them (C). Public administration is made up of the element of public force (vi) and

(1) Report, Census of England and Wales, 1891, page 35.

administration proper (vii). The professions come under (viii); whilst there are also the lucky few who need no occupation, having money of their own (ix), the servants of these and others (x), with unproductive occupations (persons in jails and asylums, beggars and so on) (xii), and those who have not sufficiently described themselves to be placed in any of these groups (xi).

The groups would have been even fewer but for the fact that it was found necessary to subdivide some of the groups of last census so as to preserve the distinction between industry and trade. This is one of the most important characteristics of the new scheme and at the same time its most difficult feature to deal with in actual practice. The difference is that between the maker of a thing and its seller and it is an obvious and important difference. But in English, Urdu and probably most languages the word for both is usually the same—a hatter, to use M. Bertillon's example, may either be the maker or seller of a hat. The English scheme of classification does away with the difference altogether, which is regrettable, for as M. Bertillon points out not only are the avocations different, but so are their training and often their interests. In India the difficulty is that so often the maker and seller is the same person and if a clear distinction were not made in the schedule and classification both, confusion between the two would certainly result. The difficulty has been settled partly by insisting on the entry of details sufficient to show whether a man makes only, or makes and sells, or sells only. People who are makers, whether they also sell to the consumer or not, are classed as makers (under industry): people who sell only as sellers (under trade.) Similarly persons who grow or extract an article before selling it are treated as growers or extractors, as are people who grow or extract a thing before manufacturing or in some way manipulating it. In a word if a man follows two or more occupations in respect of the same article of which one is a necessary preliminary to being able to follow the other occupation or occupations, he is shown under the head appropriate to the preliminary occupation. Another point of detail to be noted in connection with the scheme is this. Industrial and trading occupations are of two kinds; (1) where the occupation is classified according to the material worked in, and (2) where it is classified according to the use which the made up material serves. The first kind includes chiefly such occupations as deal with the manufacture or sale of articles whose use is not finally determined: for instance a tanner where the leather may be used for shoes or harness or a trunk, goes in order 7 (industries connected with hides, &c.). A shoe maker or harness seller are instances of the second kind; they go in order 13 (industries of dress) or 16 (construction of means of transport); but there is no appropriate order for a trunkmaker and consequently he is placed with other similar workers in leather in a special group falling under order 7 (industries connected with hides, &c.). In some cases moreover occupations have been classed according to the material worked in even though certain articles made of it are specified, because the material is more characteristic of the occupation than the article. For instance makers of palmleaf fans or bamboo screens are put under 37 (basket makers and other industries of woody material including leaves) instead of 91 (toy kite, cage &c. makers) and 74 (cabinet makers, &c.).

As regard persons in the service of Government, on the general principle that the nature of the occupation is the deciding factor and not the source from which the salary comes, many Government servants are placed not under public administration or public force, &c., but under other heads. For instance every kind of medical man goes under 154 (medical practitioners), never under 139 (army) or 144 (service of the state). Educational officers of all kinds go under order 49 (instruction), save professors of law, medicine, music, dancing and drawing, who in the same way go under other heads. Public Works Department (Buildings and Roads Branch) and the Survey department fall under 158 ("architects, surveyors, engineers and their employés"): but certain officials of this department fall under other heads (e.g. road surveyors and overseers under 95 "persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges"), whilst the Irrigation branch⁽¹⁾ has a head of its own (96). The Director of Agriculture and most settlement officials fall under "agents and managers of landed estates," with Court of Wards officers: and so on. The regular heads in subclasses VI and VII are reserved

⁽¹⁾ Canals have been placed under order 20, transport by water. This is to avoid an unnecessary departure from M. Bertillon's scheme. In this country of course canals are mainly though not wholly meant to serve agricultural purposes; in Europe however they are chiefly artificial waterways.

only for those officers whose duties are of too wide or indeterminate a nature to be entered under specialist heads, or are connected definitely and solely with public administration in any of its branches whether administrative, executive, or judicial ⁽¹⁾.

356. Limitations of the scheme of classification and differences from other schemes.—There is one exceedingly important limitation to the scope of the occupational figures. They refer only to the state of affairs on a single day of the year and the result is that the importance of seasonal occupations which are then in full swing is exaggerated whilst others are almost obliterated. To take a few obvious instances, I do not suppose that there is a single punkah coolie to be found in the whole schedule: whilst agricultural labourers are probably in exaggerated numbers owing to the presence or near approach of the spring harvest. Work in indigo factories is almost entirely non-existent; ice factories are not in full swing and so on. Similarly such periodical employments as railway construction vary from census to census with the amount of railway construction work in progress ⁽²⁾.

Again, simple though the scheme is, it has involved at times the differentiation of certain occupations which are closely allied and in practice interchangeable. It has involved for instance different heads for labour on roads, railways and canals, though the labour in every case consists chiefly of digging earth and the same man would follow any one of them as occasion offered. In 1901 all these were shown under one head. Yet it has caused no difficulty: all through the necessity of giving all possible details was insisted on, and the result is that in 1911, 13,600 persons employed on the maintenance of canals (of whom only a certain number however would be coolies), 21,700 persons employed on the maintenance of roads (of whom the majority must be coolies), and 16,000 labourers employed on railway construction are returned, as against 18,000 in the combined head of "road, canal, and railway labourers" of 1901. There is also the incongruity of placing canals under transport instead of irrigation, but this causes no practical difficulty. No scheme ever devised is free from errors of this kind ⁽³⁾.

Remains to mention a few points in which the present scheme differs from others in use. Some countries show women employed in domestic duties and school children as workers (they would doubtless agree), and lump all other non-earners under one head. Others show all non-earners under one head (as does M. Bertillon's scheme in its original form). Some distinguish between employed and employer. This was attempted in 1901 in India: but the result was that in some occupations there were more employed than employers, whilst in this province matters went further still and table XV disclosed many employers who apparently had no employes at all. Table XV-E to some extent supplies this deficiency.

357. The accuracy of the figures.—I have already dealt with the errors likely to occur in the schedules; it remains to refer to those that were likely to arise in compilation. They would be due to careless copying and sorting, to misposting entries in the classification registers and to wrong classification. It must be stated that there are striking divergences between the returns of 1901 and 1911, but in the case of most of them it is possible to say with certainty that they are due either to the change of scheme or to a change in circumstances. The decade has been one of progress in some directions and of change in many. High wages have made agricultural labour expensive; this has operated to turn such labourers into tenants whilst not diminishing the number of the labourers themselves, an apparent contradiction that will be explained subsequently. There has been a growing interest in industry, combined with increasing difficulty in getting labour for it; the result has been a tendency to have recourse to labour-saving machinery and a consequent diminution of the numbers actually employed in industry; for machinery drives out men. Trade in some directions, which in India thanks to the differentiation of labour implied in the

⁽¹⁾ The distinction between "specialist" officers of Government and others may also be expressed in the form that the former could generally follow their particular occupations whether they were servants of Government or not, the latter could not do so. It may be noted that in this respect there is a difference between tables XV-A and XV-E which was based on a special industrial schedule. In the former the actual occupation of individual employes is looked to, in the latter the industry, e.g. a carpenter in a printing press, or a scavenger in a distillery in Table XV-A is shown as carpenter or scavenger, in table XV-E as employe of printing press or distillery.

⁽²⁾ To some extent the new industrial schedule and its consequent Table (the four parts of XV-E) remedies this by showing the actual state of each industry on census day in relation to the normal.

⁽³⁾ The scheme of 1901 included hotel keepers in personal service and juxtaposed Government pensioners and lunatics.

caste system has usually been all but immutable, is in a state of flux. The Teli's vegetable oil industry and trade is being ousted by kerosine oil and he turns to other trades, grain dealing and confectionery. These account for a number of changes which at first sight, and in default of explanation, might seem to be errors.

As regards the probability of error, the simplicity of the scheme and the index of occupations were against widespread mistakes. Both the deputy superintendents of 1911 who had held the same post in 1901 told me that classification at this census was the merest child's play compared to the older methods. The index referred to was sent in English by the Census Commissioner and was added to and translated into vernacular by me with the invaluable assistance of the Superintendent of the Vernacular department of Government (1). The deputy superintendent had the index in both languages and every compiler had it in vernacular. The list included some 2,000 occupations. Any other occupation which was found in the course of compilation was referred to me and my orders on its classification were circulated to all offices. Some were interesting. One found side by side "*farokht cha* (hot tea vendor), and "*churel doctor*" (exorciser of churels) (2)—a conjunction pointing to the curious mixture of old and new which India is. "*Gaulochan bechna* (gaulochan is a yellow substance decocted from cow's liver which is esteemed for its medical properties), "seller of Ganges mud" (for caste marks), "*charwaha batakh*" (duck herd), "*duago*" (offerer of prayers), "living on the offerings made in expiation of *zulm* (tyranny)", "and *jonkh lagana*" (leach applier) were other curious occupations: whilst "*talib-ul-ilm*" (student), in the restricted sense of a Muhammadan religious student supported by charity, and "*khairkhwah sirkar*" (well wisher of Government) were also found. It is pleasant to think that the last mentioned person seemed to find loyalty paying as he put it down as his principal occupation.

Very few errors were actually found in compilation. There were three curious cases of misposting in the first proof, which are worth mentioning as showing how errors can occur. I found to my amazement that Gonda had not a single landlord, whilst Etah had over 24,000 authors and some 500 prisoners in another district were shown to possess some 90,000 dependents between them. These of course were mere copying errors and gave no difficulty. The classification registers of several districts, selected as possessing big cities and consequently a variety of occupations, were scrutinized in complete detail. I only found a dozen entries or so in all that were dubious, and the cases of all but four were debatable. These four were all single person entries and may be mentioned; *naukar abpashi*, a very vague entry which might mean an irrigation employé or a farm servant who watered the fields, was entered under group 167 (general labourer); *meva farosh* (fruit seller) was by a slip put in 125 instead of 119: a Ganges water seller was classed as a vendor of aerated waters, and a "bioscope superintendent" as a Government servant, obviously because the compiler did not know what a bioscope was, thought it sounded as if it might be a Government department and was misled by the word "superintendent." Such a paucity of errors as this points to very considerable accuracy. I found however two widespread errors. In several offices *chamre ka kam karna*, which should have gone into group 32 (tanners, &c.) was placed in group 33 (makers of leather articles); this was corrected. The other was the confusion between religious and other mendicants referred to later, which could not be corrected; and this is an error which I am persuaded has occurred with regularity at all censuses.

358. Variations between 1901 and 1911.—There have been some striking changes since 1901. A consideration of these will lead to a consideration of the main economic factors of the decade which have produced the present situation and make it more intelligible and I accordingly vary the usual procedure by considering these variations before dealing with the present distribution. In the margin I have given figures for certain very wide heads, which do not necessarily correspond to any of the major heads of either this census or last, but serve to show in what general direction these variations have occurred.

(1) The Mr Munshi, as he is generally called, took the greatest personal interest in this compilation, not only checking and revising my translations but dealing with the proofs. I am glad to acknowledge my deep obligations to an old friend.

(2) A *churel* is the very malignant ghost of a woman who has died in childbirth. The term itself is curious.

Head.	Groups concerned.	Variations per cent 1901—1911.
Agriculture	1-8	+8.3
Breeding and sale of domestic animals and their products.	9-12, 61, 118	+51.1
Collection and sale of wild produce	8, 130	+179.8
Minerals	17-20	-43.5
Textiles : (1) Manufacture	21-27, 31	-18.0
(2) Sale	108	-18.0
(3) Dyeing of	30	+27.4
Leather (1) Preparation	32	-36.8
(2) Working up into articles	33, 69	+17.3
Carpentry, &c.	36	-12.1
Metals : Manufacture and sale	38, 44, 111	-23.4
Pottery	47-48, 112	-18.1
Cereal Food : (1) Preparation	56-58	+8.5
(2) Sale	121	+1.8
Sugar : (1) Manufacture	62	+149.5
(2) Working up into food	63	-27.5
(3) Sale	66	-79.7
Tobacco and drugs (1) Manufacture	67, 68, 70	+35.8
(2) Sale	122	-5.2
Dress :—(1) Manufacture	125	+01.7
(2) Sale	78-79, 128	+10.3
Building : manufacture and sale of materials	96-100, 103-104, 129	+4.2
Transport	106-107, 164-165	-32.4
Commerce	53, 117	-23.0
Groceries and oil, manufacture and sale	120	+36.4
Grocers, &c.	139-147	-5.0
Public administration	148-151	-26.6
Religion	72, 73, 162-163	-21.9
Domestic services		

359. **Agriculture.**—The first and most striking change is the increase in agricultural occupations. This is not confined to any particular branch: landlords, tenants and field labourers have all increased though there are decreases in the minor heads "agency of landed estates" and "growers of special products." The increase is largest, proportionately, amongst landlords and, actually, amongst tenants. There can be no doubt of the causes of this increase. There are two factors in the situation: the first is the fact that wages, especially agricultural wages, have ruled high all through the decade: and the

second is the excellence of the crops for the two years preceding the census. The height of wages has enabled the labourer to take up fields, which has swelled the number of tenants. This would normally deplete the ranks of agricultural labour; but the agricultural labourer is really and for the most part a general labourer, working now at agriculture and now at other things according to the season; and he appears among the ranks of agricultural labourers because that is the most lucrative kind of labour that he does. With agricultural wages ruling high, it is not surprising that there is a decrease in general labourers (group 167) and an increase in agricultural labourers. The excellence of the crops of late years has affected the situation thus. It has been pointed out that the returns represent the state of affairs on a particular day; and one of the circumstances included in that state of affairs was the fact that agriculturists, thanks to the excellence of these crops, had their pockets full of money. It is a fact reflected by the statistics in other ways too, for instance the very high birth-rate in 1910 despite the very low birth-rate of 1909, and the number of infant marriages, most of which occurred in 1909 and 1910. The result is that the very large proportion which is partially agriculturist, the village artisans and servants, such as nais, lohars, barhais, kumhars, chaukidars, goraitis and so on, were making *at the time of census*, more from agriculture than from their non-agricultural professions, and instead of representing themselves as artisans who are partially agriculturist, they have represented themselves as agriculturists who are partially artisan; and consequently the figures of nais, lohars, &c. are smaller and those of agriculturists larger. This would increase the total of the tenantry: and (since persons like Chamars frequently eke out their traditional occupation by agricultural labour) it would also affect the total of agricultural labourers. The increase in the number of landlords probably stands on another plane. It is possible that the tenantry, with good times, have been purchasing small plots of land, but it is improbable that they could purchase enough land to make their *zamindari* more valuable than their *kashtikari*. It is due, I think, to the peculiar classification adopted at this census. The heads in the general (imperial) scheme are "income from agricultural land," and "ordinary cultivation," corresponding to those totally misleading terms of 1901, "rent receivers" and "rent payers." At the same time, for obvious reasons of provincial administration it was desired to maintain the difference between landlord, occupancy tenant and non-occupancy tenant which was drawn in 1901. The only way of doing this and at the same time preserving the divisions of the imperial scheme was to subdivide each of the 3 groups framed on a basis of tenure into 2 sub-groups, according as they cultivated their land themselves or let it to others to cultivate. Accordingly there were 6 groups in all (1) landlords who leased their land, (2) landlords who cultivated their land themselves, (3) occupancy tenants who sublet their lands, (4) occupancy tenants who cultivated their lands themselves, (5) non-occupancy tenants who sublet their lands, (6) non-occupancy tenants who cultivated their lands themselves. In (6) were included subtenants, cultivating their lands and in (5) the few subtenants who have again sublet their lands. In the complications of the Indian

system of land tenures (which are due ultimately to the ramifications of the Indian joint family system), it is common, even more common than not, to find a single individual who has land falling under some or even all these categories. In one *mahal* of a village he may own or partly own a share. Of this share, if large, he probably cultivates a portion, which is known as his *sir* or *khudkasht*, and lets the rest. In another or possibly in two or more other *mahals* of the village, he will have taken up lands as a tenant, and if he has held them long enough, may have acquired rights of occupancy in them. Some of these (especially those held by occupancy right) he has probably sublet, simply because he cannot manage them all with convenience. In 1901, there were only three divisions, according to tenure: and the large number of persons who possess small or even minute shares in proprietary tenure and large areas as tenants would be shown as tenants, not as landlords. But in 1911, each of the six possible groups was considered as a single occupation for the purposes of deciding what was to be entered in column 9 (principal occupation) and what in column 10 (subsidiary occupation). The result of this on the figures can be best shown by an example. A man owns as proprietor 30 acres, holds 40 acres on an occupancy tenure and 10 on an ordinary tenure. He would probably make more out of his 40 acres than he does out of his 30, and certainly more than he does out of his 10: in 1901 he would therefore appear in column 9 as an occupancy tenant and in column 10 as a landlord. But let us suppose that of his 30 acres he cultivates 20 himself and lets the other 10. Of his 40 acres he cultivates 30 himself and sublets 10: and he cultivates the whole of the remaining 10. His 20 acres of *sir* and *khudkasht* will certainly be good land, or he would not cultivate it himself but let it: and it is more than probable that it is more valuable than the 30 acres he holds in occupancy tenure, simply because the proprietors of the other *mahal* or *mahals* would keep their best lands for themselves, just as he has kept his. It is also of course more valuable than the rest of his holding, especially when divided up into three tracts of 10 acres each. In 1911 consequently he appears in column 9 as a landlord who cultivates his land himself, and in column 10 as an occupancy tenant who cultivates his land himself. In a word the subdivision of the occupational groups based on tenure into sub-groups based on cultivation *per se* or *per alium* has had the result of making the *value of the land concerned* in each case dominate the classification. This appears clear in a further way. Of the total number of landlords, no less than 89 per cent. appear as such on the score of the land they cultivate, not of the land they own; whilst of occupancy tenants (who of course lease the next best lands after the *sir* and *khudkasht*, since they have found it worth while to keep them for a lengthened period, which in Agra is not less than 12 years), no less than 98 per cent. are in the same case. In a word "agriculture" shows increased figures (1) because it was, and had been for some time, so extremely valuable that it had become temporarily more lucrative than their labour to the artizans and agricultural labourers who had a few fields of their own; and (2) because agricultural wages had ruled high, which had both turned labourers into tenants, and general labourers into agricultural labourers: whilst (3) the increase in landlords is due to the change in method of classification.

360. **Breeding and sale of domestic animals, &c.**—There is no important occupational head which is more difficult to compare with the figures of 1901 than this, especially in the matter of cattle. Generally it is possible to get one or two groups of 1901 which correspond closely to one or two groups of 1911, especially if one reunites manufacture (or, as in this case, breed) and sale. But it is impossible to do this in the case of the breed and sale of cattle and their produce (1). It becomes necessary to estimate the proportions of breeders of cattle to dealers, keepers and sellers of the produce. Every breeder of cattle is certainly a dealer in them: but every dealer is by no means a breeder, and breeders are probably fewer in numbers than mere dealers. The "keeper of cattle" of group 9, as opposed to the breeder on one side and the dealer in cattle or in their produce on the other, does not exist. No man keeps cattle merely to look at them; every "keeper" therefore is either a dealer in cattle or a seller of cattle

(1) I wasted 20 minutes or so in seeing how far the addition of group to group would be necessary before two figures could be obtained representing exactly the same combination of occupations at both censuses and including in each case the breed and trade in cattle. I found that 18 groups of this census would have to be compared with 54 groups of 1901: and they would include persons as various as cattle breeders and dealers, hirers of cattle and all sorts of animals and means of conveyance, railway and tramway staff, elephant catchers, makers and vendors of combs, tooth sticks, mosaic ornaments, toys, *hukka*-stems, spangles, sacred threads and flower garlands, and sellers of cotton carpets and furniture!

produce, or else a hirer of them for various purposes. Consequently the 16,000 of group 9 may be taken as breeders: the 115,000 sellers of dairy produce (group 118) and a part of the 46,000 dealers and hirers of cattle (and other animals and means of transport, group 129) represent the rest of the persons connected with the cattle and dairy trade, inclusive of the "keeper" of cattle. Allowing some 20,000 out of the 46,000 to represent dealers and hirers of cattle, this would give a total of 151,000 as against 167,000 in 1901, a decrease of about 9 per cent. easily accounted for by the vicissitudes of the decade, and the probability that pastoral folk, like others, have preferred for good and sufficient reasons to describe themselves as agriculturists if they had any land. The figures of the similar occupations connected with sheep, goats, pigs and other animals need not detain us, for they are of minor importance: it may be said that the decrease is very similar. We can pass at once to herdsmen (group 12); it is this head which causes the huge variation of 51 per cent. increase. This increase is entirely in workers: dependents have decreased to some extent. It is probable that a large proportion of herds of all sorts and both sexes are aged under 15. A child is sent out with animals to the grazing grounds at a very early age, and within reasonable limits ought to be reckoned a worker; I say within reasonable limits, for an elder brother or sister often take their younger brothers and sisters with them to the herding, nominally as assistants, but really to keep them both out of the way and out of mischief, and it would be absurd to count these youngsters as workers, since they probably give their elders much more trouble than their animals do. Such young workers may not actually make money, though some of them do, but at all events they save the expense of paid herdsmen and so increase the family income. Not only was the principle that saving money connoted a worker insisted on, but the employment of children as herds was perhaps the most usual example taken to explain the principle; and I have no doubt whatever that this is the chief reason of the very large increase in this group. Such children if not reckoned as working herds, would of course appear as dependents and in most cases on some other occupation, generally agricultural. The same applies *mutatis mutandis*, to the collection of firewood and other wild produce, which is carried out chiefly by persons who would otherwise be non-workers.

361. **Minerals.**—There are next to no minerals in the province. Coal exists in south Mirzapur, but is not worked: there are some unimportant iron and copper mines in the hills: *kankar*, a form of calcium carbonate, is found in most parts of the plains, whilst saltpetre is refined in many places. But this is the sum total of the province's mineral possibilities. The 81 coal miners are doubtless labourers in coal mines in other provinces (home for a rest or out of employment) and their relatives; the iron miners are either found in Garhwal, where there are mines, or are of the same kind as the coal miners. There are 2,904 persons in group 18, mostly limestone quarriers and 5,586 in group 20, who are saltpetre refiners. The decrease is mostly in the latter category though the figure of 1901 probably included *kankar* quarriers for whom there was no special provision.

362. **Textiles.**—There is a very considerable decrease in the number of persons employed in the cotton industries, whilst the industries connected with jute, rope, silk and other fibres, as well as other textiles, such as lace and embroidery, have all increased. The cotton industry is perhaps the chief industry of the province, just as cotton is its chief non-food staple, and it is necessary to examine the reasons for this decrease. This, I think, is due to the well known economic factor that machinery ousts men. The industry, as regards the majority of the persons that follow it, is even still a hand industry: cotton is ginned, spun and woven with rude appliances all over the province. But hand ginning, spinning and weaving have long been known to be suffering from the competition of the mills, though the rate of decline was said to have lessened during the two decades up to 1901. In 1901 there were 71 mills and factories for ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving cotton: since that date there have been not less than 90 new ventures of the same kind. This must certainly have affected the hand industry and indeed it is known that many of the Julahas, hereditary weavers of Jaunpur and elsewhere are in the habit of migrating to the mills and factories of Cawnpore and other places. The amount of cotton dealt with in the province has probably not decreased, for though exports of raw cotton have increased, so has the area sown with that crop, and in all probability so has the yield of the crop, for the Agricultural department has for some time turned its

attention to experimenting with new kinds of seed and has done its best to make them available to the cultivator. The loss has fallen on the hand industry, ousted by the competition of the mills. It is improbable that it will ever be entirely killed, for hand-woven cloth, though rougher and more uneven than machine-woven cloth, is preferred for some things such as quilts, and is more durable. Attempts have been made to introduce better appliances that can be worked by hand and I believe that the Salvation Army hand loom is a great success. There has been a very striking increase in other textiles such as jute (which as an industry was practically non-existent in 1901 and now finds work for over 6,000 labourers), rope, twine and string (the number of labourers in which industry have more than doubled and now number over 42,000), whilst there is a minor increase in silk and a trivial decrease in wool, also probably in the hand industry (blanket makers). The number of persons engaged in the dyeing, bleaching, printing and other preparation of textiles has increased by 27·4 per cent., which seems to show that there is no decrease in the output of textiles, however the number of operatives engaged in producing the output has been affected. Aniline dyes are said to be driving out the old vegetable dyes, but it is noticeable that many Julahas refuse to use them and even outcaste such of their members as do ⁽¹⁾; the reason given is that the dyes are not fast, and they seem to consider themselves pledged to use fast dyes alone. If this is at all a widespread idea, it is a remarkable instance of the way in which trade guilds, whether Indian or European, maintain the purity of their craft and look askance at any attempt to depart from its old high standards.

363. **Leather.**—Whilst tanners, curriers, &c. (group 32) have decreased, makers of leather articles (33) and shoemakers (69) have both increased. The increase in agriculture certainly accounts for a part of the decrease in chamars, but most chamars make leather articles from the hides they have themselves tanned and it is highly probable that a part of the increase in shoemakers, &c. is due to the fact that they prefer to mention this part of their occupation. The mochi thinks himself superior to the tanner and the harness maker thinks himself superior to the mochi. It is highly probable, too, that the tanneries are now to some extent replacing the hand worker.

364. **Carpentry.**—The decrease in carpentry is of 12 per cent. and is accounted for by the increase in agriculture. Over 20 per cent. of Barhais (workers only) recorded agriculture as their principal occupation, and they greatly exceed the number who returned carpentry as their principal occupation.

365. **Metals.**—As regards metals, there is a practically new entry in the shape of iron foundries. Makers of agricultural implements (39) and other workers in iron (41) which between them include the majority of all lohars, have greatly decreased though trade in metals has greatly increased. The number of lohars who returned cultivation as their principal occupation amounted to over 53 per cent. of the whole and there can be no doubt that this accounts for the greater part of the decrease. Other heads have increased or show a trivial decrease. It is noticeable that there are about 11,000 lohars who are workers in other trades as artizans.

366. **Pottery.**—The decrease in potters is very marked but is partly counter-balanced by a great increase in brick and tile makers. On the other hand, the sellers of pottery ware have vastly decreased and I cannot help thinking that the figures of 1901 must have been wrong. Apart from brick and tile sellers, the potter who makes is almost invariably the potter who sells. There has therefore been some differentiation of function but once more the chief cause is the preference for returning an agricultural occupation. Amongst workers, there are very nearly as many Kumhars who returned cultivation as their principal occupation as there were potters, and if agricultural labourers are included, there are more.

367. **Cereal food.**—There is a very great increase in rice pounders and flour grinders, probably due to more careful enumeration as workers of the many women who make money by grinding grain, and but for that source of income would be regarded as dependents (on some other occupation). Grain parchers have on the other hand gone down in numbers considerably: it would appear that the increase in agriculture is once more the cause, for in the Bharbhunja caste no less than one-third of all workers are cultivators.

368. **Sugar.**—The variations in industries connected with sugar are curious. The makers of sugar and cognate articles (group 62) have greatly decreased

(1) Cf. chapter XI, paragraph 331.

in number. The sweetmeat makers (group 63) have increased enormously. It seems to be possible that there was some confusion between makers of sugar and makers of sweetmeats in 1901 for there were actually as many of the former as the latter, which seems unlikely. There has been some decrease in the area under sugarcane, and there has been a tendency towards adopting better machinery; whilst doubtless foreign sugar has to some extent driven Indian sugar out of the market. The man who grows the sugarcane frequently presses it and it is possible that the boom in agriculture has also had its effect. There can be no doubt that these causes between them account for the decrease in the numbers employed in this industry.

369. **Tobacco and drugs.**—There has been a very great decrease in the number of manufacturers of tobacco and drugs and a great increase in the number of the sellers. The bulk of the decrease is in tobacco, of course, since opium is only prepared in a Government factory. It is not easy to account for the former decrease: but I should be inclined to say that the growing taste for tobacco manufactured in the European method (especially cigarettes) accounts for it. These tobaccos are made largely in India but entirely out of the province, so far as I know; and I should say that the increase in sellers of tobacco is due to the large number of cigarette sellers. The itinerant hawk of cigarettes is now as common a sight on every station as the sweetmeat seller.

370. **Dress.**—In this head I have included hatters, tailors, and sellers of articles of dress. The decrease in manufacturers (groups 67 and 68) is small; but the sellers are very much more numerous than they were. Practically speaking, save perhaps some European establishments, there are no sellers of clothes who do not themselves make them; but it is probable that the sellers of hosiery and haberdashery, and of hats and caps have considerably increased.

371. **Building materials.**—There is a slight and normal decrease in stone and marble workers, masons and bricklayers (group 78): but others engaged in the building trade, thatchers, house painters, tilers, plumbers, building contractors, locksmiths, &c. (group 79), have increased from 7,000 to 41,000. This group is wider than the corresponding groups of 1901: tilers and locksmiths are new additions and it is probable that many who were included at that census in potters, brick makers and iron smiths have found their way into this group. There is also a large decrease in the manufacture of dyes, paint and ink (group 83). The vast bulk of this group in 1901 were "persons occupied with miscellaneous dyes," a vague term which could be made to include the *rangsaz* (painter) and *rangrez* (dyer): and I should be inclined to say that most of the former have come into this group and most of the *rangrez* into the "dyer of textiles" (30). Indigo has also declined and it is not clear whether the manufacturers of the dye were classed in 1901 with the plantations that produced it as they were on this occasion, in group 5. It seems to me certain that the majority of *rangsaz* have now come into group 79 where they are certainly better placed. The increase is entirely in group 79, for both group 78 and group 128 (sale of building materials) show slight decreases.

372. **Transport.**—The items included in transport have varied considerably. Employés on the maintenance of streams, rivers and canals (96) have increased, probably because of a more detailed enumeration of the earth workers and general labourers: and the same applies to persons employed on the maintenance of roads and bridges (98) and railway construction coolies (104). Boatmen (97) and *palki* bearers and owners (100) and owners and drivers of pack animals (101) have decreased: as regards the former it is noticeable that but few of the two main riverain castes (Kewat and Mallah) seem to be engaged in their traditional occupation, which has doubtless been much affected by the growth of railways and the profitable nature of agriculture. *Palkis* and pack animals, with the advent of railways, are means of transport the use of which must have declined: but there is an obvious confusion also between the "owner" of a pack animal (group 101) and the hirer of various animals (group 129). Both will be owned or hired chiefly for transport purposes: and it is obvious that the *mere* owner of a pack animal, unless he hires it out for transport too, no more comes under this head than the owner of a riding horse does. I have no doubt that many owners of pack animals have been shown as hirers in group 129 (a group that has increased); though even so the occupation must have decreased. Porters

(group 102) show a decrease : but to balance all these decreases and the cause of most of them there is an increase under the head of railway employés (103).

373. **Commerce.**—There is a striking decrease of nearly one-third in groups 106, 107, 164 and 165, bankers, money-lenders, brokers, commission agents, &c., &c. This decrease is chiefly in group 107 ; but of the two main heads in this group “brokers and agents” “and weighmen and measurers,” most agents would be shown as employés of the particular commercial concern for which they were agents (including those in 106), and most weighmen and measurers would similarly be weighmen and measurers employed in a particular trade, and would be shown under that trade. The decreases under groups 164 and 165 which are “unspecified” groups are due simply to a more detailed enumeration. The decrease under commerce therefore is chiefly fictitious.

374. **Groceries, green groceries.**—There is practically no decrease in the number of persons employed in the manufacture of oil (which is of course chiefly vegetable) ; which is surprising both in view of the growth of oil mills and the fact that kerosine is driving out vegetable oil for lighting purposes. It may be that the absence of any great decrease points to an increased demand for oil, and if so, it would be due to a rise in the standard of comfort. There is however a very great decrease in the number of grocers and sellers of vegetable oil, and I think that it points to a certain amount of over-elaboration in enumeration. The grocer generally sells all sorts of things—grain, salt, tobacco, spices, oil and all sorts of condiments. The return has often been not of a single term inclusive of all these such as *kirana dukan* but of a number of these different articles. The compiler then had no choice but to place the grocer under the head from which he probably made most money, and consequently such trades as grain dealer, tobacco dealer and even vegetable dealer, have all gained at the expense of groceries ; all of them show considerable increases.

375. **Public administration.**—There is, taking all heads together, a decrease of 5·9 per cent. and I have no doubt that it is due to the fact that many Government servants have shown Government service as a secondary occupation with agriculture as a primary one. Though instructions were issued that this was not to be done in the cases of the higher ranks of the services (including for instance clerks) it was not generally considered necessary in the case of menials, chaukidars, chaprasis and so on. There is no doubt whatever that a considerable number have shown their agricultural income as the principal one.

376. **Religion.**—There is a great decrease under this head : but seeing that only 7·5 per cent. of all Brahmans have shown priesthood or “religion” of any kind as their principal occupation and 77 per cent. have put agriculture in its place, this is not surprising. There is a great decrease (nearly 73 per cent.) in religious mendicants : the cause will be dealt with later, but it may be said here that it is due partly to insufficient detail in enumeration and partly to forgetfulness in classification. Nobody would regret the decrease if it were a true one. There are also curious variations in groups 150 and 151. The parallel groups in 1901 were 445 and 447 ; and whilst there were 33,000 persons in group 445, there are now 5,000 in group 150 ; on the other hand, whilst there were 18,000 persons in group 447 there are 37,000 in group 151. Group 150 is practically confined to Christian, and group 151 to Hindu and Muhammadan religious service ; *a priori* therefore group 151 should be the larger. But in 1901 the word “church” was, doubtless by inadvertence, repeated in both groups and this must have caused confusion ; whilst it is not clear where mosque service, which is not definitely mentioned, was put in 1901. If it went into group 445 as is quite possible and even arguably preferable, the difference is easily explained ; for it went into group 151 on this occasion.

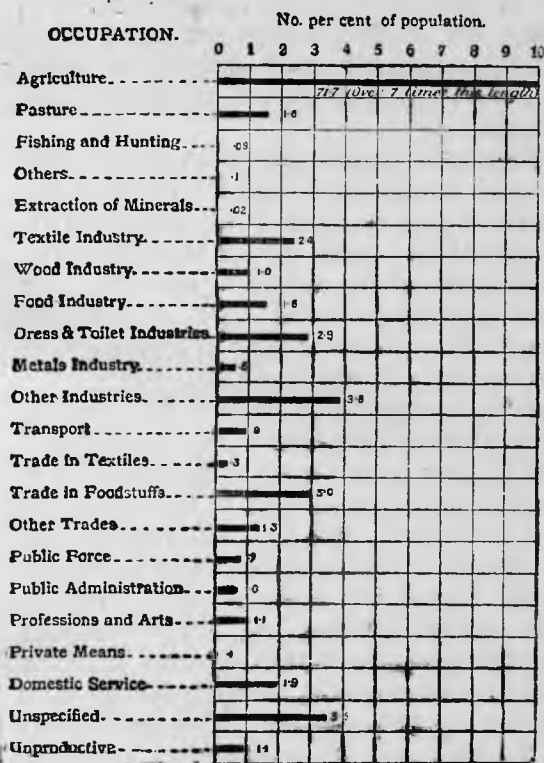
377. **Domestic service.**—There is a very considerable decrease in domestic services, in which I have included the trades of washerman and barber. This is easily explained by the very large figures of agriculturists amongst such castes as Nai, Kahar, and Dhobi, which are shown by table XVI. My own bearer, a Gharuk, when I was inquiring into his occupations, informed me that he was an under proprietor in Gonda and made more from his land than he did from service ⁽¹⁾.

(¹) It may be asked why in such circumstances he remains in service. The answer is that service brings him ready cash, whilst his agricultural wealth is mostly in grain which has to be converted into cash possibly at a loss and certainly at varying rates. This is a factor of some importance in inducing agriculturists to take up subsidiary occupations. The *jhampanis* in hill stations are all agriculturists, sometimes even landlords : but they act as dandy-bearers to obtain the ready money to supplement their possessions in kind, and will freely admit it if asked.

378. **Other variations.**—These are the chief differences: but a few others may be mentioned. Forest officers, &c. (group 7) have greatly increased; fishers show a slight increase, hunters a decrease of 50 per cent. Makers of glass have decreased greatly, but makers of porcelain have come into existence since 1901. Though the small number of persons employed in making paper have decreased (due probably to the growth of paper mills), persons connected with printing (group 84) and the bookselling and publishing trade (group 133) have both increased. There is a huge decrease in well sinkers and tank diggers (group 77), but this is due to obvious misclassification in 1901 when Basti returned no less than 4,637 professional tank diggers (workers only) out of 5,341 in the whole province. Goldsmiths (group 89) show a slight decrease; so do sweepers, porters, owners, &c. of hotels and sarais, liquor vendors, fishdealers, dealers in bangles, toys, &c., as well as shop keepers unspecified. Postal and telegraph officials, the medical profession, and the professions of education and engineering all show increases; whilst music masters, composers, &c. are exactly 105 fewer than 10 years ago. Finally there is a satisfactory decrease in prisoners and inmates of asylums and in beggars, vagrants and prostitutes, though doubtless many of the last named have hidden their identity under the designation of singers and dancers.

379. **General distribution of the population by occupation.**—The diagram in the margin shows more eloquently than any words could the enormous proportion of the population which is dependent on agriculture. Out of every 10,000 of population 7,174 are agriculturists, of whom 6,160 are landlords or tenants and 949 agricultural labourers; the rest are agents or growers of special products. Fishers and hunters amount to 9 per 10,000, and extractors of minerals to 2. The preparation and supply of material substances engages the energies of 1,755 persons per 10,000, of whom 243 are engaged in the textile industries, 280 in industries connected with dress and the toilet, 164 in food industries and 101 in industries connected with wood: whilst chemical products (89), ceramics (76), industries connected with luxury (66), metals (60), and with refuse (76) also show high figures. Next come industries connected with hides (27) and building (29). Transport engrosses the attention of and supports 93 persons per 10,000; of various means of transport, road (53) and rail (26) are the chief. Trade and commerce support only 446 persons per 10,000 in all, of whom no less than 303 are connected with foodstuffs, 30 with the higher branches of commerce (exchange, insurance, brokerage, &c.), and 27 with textiles; whilst the supply of fuel (19), articles of luxury (11), and clothing (12), of other trades, also show figures over 10. The small number of traders is of course due to the fact that the manufacturer and trader are so often one and the same. The army and police are occupations supporting 70 per 10,000 of the population; other servants of the State amount to 55, and the learned professions and liberal arts claim 111: of whom half are engaged in religion, 19 in letters, arts, &c. of all kinds, 14 are connected with instruction, 13 with medicine, and despite the oft-repeated statement that India is a lawyer-ridden country—only 8 with law. The lucky few who need not work at all are only 15 per 10,000; whilst domestic servants amount to 192. No less than 346 are “insufficiently described” (though of these a majority are described as much as they can be, for instance general labourers): whilst jails and asylums own the low figure of 5 per 10,000, and beggars amount to 104.

Diagram showing General Distribution of the Population by Occupations.



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380. **Agriculture.**—“*O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint agricolas.*” Normally, the farmer does not know the blessedness of his lot, or refuses to

acknowledge it if he does : and the Indian farmer is no exception to the general rule. Compliment any villager on the excellence of his crop, and his answer will begin with a "Yes—but." But there is one time when the farmer does acknowledge his blessings, and that is census time. If he cannot claim prosperity, he remembers at least the dignity of his occupation, and if he has the least excuse for doing so, describes himself as an agriculturist. At this census his pocket was as full of money as his heart was of not illegitimate pride : and the result is seen in the huge increase in the figures of this occupation.

Taking the three main divisions of agriculturists 815 per 10,000 of population

Kind of agriculturist.	Proportion per 10,000 of population.
All	7,174
Landlords :—	815
(a) Cultivating ..	725
(b) Not cultivating..	90
Occupancy tenants :—	2,309
(a) Cultivating ..	2,271
(b) Not cultivating..	38
Ordinary tenants :—	3,036
(a) Cultivating ..	2,984
(b) Not cultivating..	52
Labourers ..	949
Agents, &c... ..	41
Growers of special products.	12
Foresters, &c. ..	12

are landlords, 5,345 are tenants and 949 are agricultural labourers. To these 41 agents, &c. of landed estates, and 12 growers of special products must be added.

Taking the cross division, according as a farmer lets his land or cultivates it himself, we find that 180 persons per 10,000 of population fall in the former and no less than 5,980 in the latter category. Of the said 180, 90 are landlords, the rest tenants ; of the 5,978, 725 are landlords. Subdividing the tenants into those with and without occupancy rights, 2,309 are in the former, 3,035, inclusive of sub-tenants, in the latter.

The variations since 1901 have been dealt with already in some detail : but it remains to consider the variations of the three kinds of tenure. Landlords have increased by not less than 14 per cent., and

tenants by over 16 per cent. ; occupancy tenants have however only increased by 1·6 per cent. The smallness of the increase in occupancy tenants as compared with the increase in landlords and ordinary tenants needs a word of explanation. It has already been pointed out that the agricultural increase is largely artificial ; it is not so much due to the fact that there are really more agriculturists but that because of the lucrative nature of agriculture in the last few years more persons who were partially agriculturist and partially something else have returned themselves as chiefly agriculturists. This affects all kinds of tenure alike, as does the variation introduced by subdividing each kind of tenure according as its holder cultivates himself or lets his land to others. But in the case of landlords and ordinary tenants there must have been some measure of real increase as well. We know that it has occurred in the latter case : agricultural labourers have begun to take up land and become tenants. It is probable that in a decade which, save in two years, was prosperous enough from a pecuniary point of view, many who had money to spare—pleaders, professional men, commercial men—have bought land. There is always a tendency to invest spare cash in land amongst such classes. But though it is easy enough to rent and not difficult to buy land, it is very difficult to acquire occupancy rights. They cannot be bought : the right vests in the tenant not in the land, and though he can pass it on to his son, he cannot sell it. It is a legal right only obtainable (with rare exceptions) ⁽¹⁾ by holding certain lands for 12 years ; and to the accrual of such rights landlords, not unnaturally, are apt to oppose obstacles. The increase of occupancy tenants is therefore bound to be slow. The only other way in which their numbers could increase is by the natural growth of the population (since the rights are heritable) and we know that in this decade there has been no such growth, but retrogression. It is not surprising to find occupancy tenants showing a much smaller increase than other tenants or landlords : and indeed there can be no doubt that such increase as there is is due to the artificial causes mentioned above and that there has really been a decrease. And there is one cause which has probably contributed to this decrease—the break up of the joint family system. Every additional member in a joint family means additional pressure on its holding ; it means too that the share to which a man will be entitled if partition occurs becomes automatically less and will ultimately become infinitesimal. The result is that the younger members of such families are apt to leave an agricultural occupation for other, chiefly urban, pursuits. This tendency does not affect the figures of ordinary tenants : such folk naturally take up only as much land as they can cultivate and if a man goes from their number they will either sublet a part of their holding or abandon it, when somebody else

⁽¹⁾ E.g. exproprietary tenants, i.e. landlords who on selling their lands get occupancy rights in certain portions of their *sur* lands.

snaps it up: and the sub-tenant or the new tenant fills the blank left by the exile. It does not much affect the figures of landlords: they have less reason to give up their agricultural status for other pursuits and if they do can still keep their share as a subsidiary source of income. But it does affect the figures of occupancy tenants. They are, as already pointed out, limited in number. If a man goes there is one tenant the less: and if to replace him the land is sublet, or if it is abandoned, the newcomer will be a tenant, not an occupancy tenant—a further reason for the increase in ordinary tenants. There are other reasons for this break up in the joint family system. Modern conditions involving industrial growth, which demands an increasing supply of men, the spread of education which sends men from the plough to the city office or the factory where their knowledge is of practical value, also tend towards the dissolution of this time-worn system: and other reasons have been referred to in paragraph 22 of chapter I. But whatever the reasons may be, there can be no doubt that it has affected the figures of occupancy tenants.

381. **Classification of particular tenures.**—In Oudh and Kumaun there are special tenures, and it may be as well to state how they were classified. The Oudh *pukhtadar* (sub-settlement holder) and *matahatdar* (under-proprietor) were classed as landlords. Various kinds of favourable tenures in Oudh (e.g. *bridar*, *sankalpdar*), of an unimportant nature were classed as occupancy tenants⁽¹⁾. The Kumaun *khaikar* was also so classed, the Kumaun *sirtan* was classed as an ordinary tenant. Rent or revenue-free grantees (*muafidars*) were classed as landlords or occupancy tenants, generally according as their grants were or were not resumable or conditional; most *muafidars dad i sarkar* (Government grantees) were classed as landlords, most *muafidars dad i zamindar* (grantees holding grants from a landlord) were classed as occupancy tenants. As a general rule any right that was hereditary and transferable was regarded as a proprietary right, a right that was hereditary and favourable in the matter of non-liability to ejection save on special conditions, but not transferable, was regarded as an occupancy right: other rights were regarded as ordinary tenancy rights, including the Oudh statutory tenant.

382. **Local variations in agricultural occupation—(a) tenures.**—The figures

Revenue division.	Percentage of total population who are—			
	Landlords.	Occupancy tenants.	Ordinary tenants.	Total.
Meerut ..	14	15	16	45
Agra ..	7	31	18	56
Rohilkhand ..	4	40	17	61
Allahabad ..	5	29	18	52
Benares ..	6	34	20	60
Gorakhpur ..	11	39	24	74
Kumaun ..	47	18	19	84
Lucknow ..	4	1	59	63·1
Fyzabad ..	6	1	62	69

in the margin show by revenue divisions⁽²⁾ the distribution of the different kinds of tenure. Excluding Kumaun and Oudh from consideration for the moment, it will be seen that most landlords are found in Meerut and Gorakhpur and fewest in Rohilkhand; whilst occupancy tenants are least common in Meerut and most common in Rohilkhand. Rohilkhand

is (for Agra) a division of large estates, which means few landlords, and of many occupancy tenants. The figure of the latter has always been high, but inasmuch as Rohilkhand has many excellent cultivators, and occupancy lands are usually better than lands held under an ordinary tenure it is certain that tenants who held lands under both tenures would usually and rightly record the occupancy tenure as the most lucrative, unless the other holding was very much the larger; so that the figure would expand under the conditions of the present scheme of classification. In Meerut, on the other hand, the landlords hold small shares, so that there are many landlords, and since this division too has many excellent cultivators, especially Jats, and its landlords cultivate their lands themselves to a very great extent; and since further, as pointed out above, the *sir* and *khudkasht* lands of *zamindars* are generally the best they possess under any tenure, they would usually and rightly record themselves as *zamindars*: so that again the figure would expand, thanks to the influence of the classification scheme. In Gorakhpur the cause of the large number of landlords is due to the very minute subdivision of shares; but the total number of landlords has decreased since 1901, and the cause is this existence of very minute shares, coupled with the scheme of classification. A man who was

⁽¹⁾ Occupancy tenants are rare in Oudh. See below.

⁽²⁾ In this chapter I do not refer to natural divisions; there is no correlation between these divisions and the distribution of occupations, whilst there often is between revenue divisions and that distribution. The figures for natural divisions will be found in the subsidiary tables.

both landlord and tenant might in 1901 rightly describe his principal occupation as landlord, when his total *zamindari* was reckoned as one for the purposes of the occupation entry, but might not be able to do so in 1911 when it had to be divided into two parts. In Gorakhpur, moreover, though there are actually many landlords, compared with the total of landlords and tenants, the proportion is normal, being only 1 in 7 as against 1 in 3 in Meerut. Elsewhere the proportions are not such as to require comment.

In Kumaun there are more landlords than tenants of both kinds combined. The cause is historical. In Kumaun the landlord (*hissadar*) is a descendant, chiefly, of two sorts of persons. Under Gurkha rule there were apparently no landlords save a certain number of grantees or *thatwans*. When the country was taken over by the British, both these *thatwans*, and also the *khaikars* (tenants much akin to the Agra occupancy tenants) in villages where there were no *thatwans* were recognized as landlords. The present *khaikars* seem to be the descendants of the *khaikars* of those villages only where *thatwans* did exist.

In Oudh the system of large estates is carried to a very great length. But for the presence of *matahatdars* and *pukhtadars*, who were regarded as landlords, the figure would be even smaller still, owing to the prevalence of the *toluqdari* system. Of occupancy tenants there are extremely few; they are nearly all ex-proprietors of various kinds ⁽¹⁾, though a few hold other peculiar favoured tenures.

(b) *Income from land and cultivation*.—As regards the distinction between those who cultivate land themselves and who derive an income from letting it, little need be said. The proportion of the latter is nowhere higher than 6 per cent. of the total of both (Meerut and Agra); it is 4 in Rohilkhand, 3 in Allahabad, Benares and Lucknow, 2 in Kumaun and 1 in Gorakhpur and Fyzabad. The figure of actual cultivators is therefore highest in the east and lowest in the west. If we take landlords alone however matters are somewhat different. The proportion of those who do not cultivate (per cent. of both categories together)

Revenue division.	Percentage.
Meerut	11
Agra	19
Rohilkhand .. .	28
Allahabad .. .	16
Benares	11
Gorakhpur .. .	3
Kumaun	6
Lucknow	33
Fyzabad	11

are as in the margin. Gorakhpur has most cultivating proprietors (apart from Kumaun); Rohilkhand with its large estates and Lucknow with its large estates and comparatively small numbers of under proprietors have fewest. The rest all show figures under 90 and over 80 per cent. These figures show perhaps better than any others the enormous importance of agriculture in the province everywhere. That tenants should cultivate their lands is natural; that landlords should

do so is a different matter. The absentee landlord is a *rara avis*, save in Oudh where estates are huge, and even there the *taluqdar* frequently has a home farm.

(c) *Other occupations*.—Agents, &c. are naturally most common in Oudh and Rohilkhand, where there are large estates. The number of agricultural labourers is largest in Fyzabad, Allahabad and Gorakhpur and practically non-existent in Kumaun where cultivators do their own work and are both too poor to employ labourers, and do not need them owing to the small size of their holdings. Of growers of special products, tea plantations are found in Dehra Dun and to a much less extent in Kumaun: the rest are mainly indigo plantations; market gardeners are more evenly distributed, but are in greatest numbers in Lucknow division.

383. **Pasture**.—Having dealt at some length with agriculture, I proceed to deal with the local distribution of other occupations and to give such information as may serve to explain the figures. I deal only with such cases as seem to me to require explanation. I do not touch on such widespread occupations as carpenter or blacksmith, which present no special points of interest. The figures of cattle breeders are important chiefly in Agra and Allahabad divisions and also in Meerut. Cattle breeding is only carried out to any extent in the submontane tracts and Bundelkhand where pasture is available and the latter case is reflected in the figures of Hamirpur, Jhansi and Jalaun, which are all high. Elsewhere they are high only in Cawnpore, Etah and Farrukhabad but probably these are chiefly keepers of imported cattle. There is however a large cattle fair at Makanpur in Cawnpore and a breeding establishment at Awa in Etah. The best sheep are found across the Jumna, a fact reflected in

⁽¹⁾ See Provincial Gazetteer, vol. 1, paragraph 142, for description of these various kinds.

the figures of Allahabad division, or in the west, which helps to explain the figures of Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand ; but goats and pigs are found and kept everywhere, and it is impossible to disentangle the figures. The breeders of horses, camels, &c. are found chiefly in Agra and Bulandshahr, where a certain amount of attention is given to breeding ; the fair at Batesar in Agra is well known and there are no less than 20 Government stallions in Bulandshahr. It is curious that there should be 234 persons engaged in this occupation in Azamgarh as it possesses no special facilities for it ; but only 22 of these were workers. Herdsmen have enormously increased ; as in 1901, they were most common in Meerut, Allahabad, and the Oudh divisions, though found everywhere.

384. **Textile industries.**—Cotton-ginning is carried out all over the province with rude appliances : the industry has increased in the west, especially in Agra, and decreased from Cawnpore eastwards. Cotton-spinning and weaving has decreased generally all over the province. The reasons for these decreases have

Local distribution of cotton industry per 1,000 of total population.

Revenue division.	Ginning, &c.	Weaving, &c.	Total.
Meerut	4·9	29·3	34·2
Agra	4·2	19·8	23·0
Rohilkhand ..	4·5	35·3	39·8
Allahabad ..	3·6	17·9	21·5
Benares	·7	14·6	15·3
Gorakhpur ..	1·0	8·9	9·9
Kumaun	·5	2·9	3·4
Lucknow	·8	12·6	13·4
Fyzabad	·6	10·6	11·2

already been given. The figures in the margin show that the cotton industry generally prevails chiefly in the west, including Allahabad division, and is much less common in the east. Jute is an industry of any note only in Muzaffarnagar, Rohilkhand, Azamgarh, and Sultanpur ; other fibre textiles (including rope) are made chiefly in Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Agra, Farrukhabad, Bijnor, Budaun, Shahjahanpur, Cawnpore, Fatehpur, Allahabad, and Sultanpur. The wool industry is localized in Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur, Bareilly, Bijnor, Moradabad, Mirzapur, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, and the hills. Silk spinning is confined almost entirely to the district of Benares, where the famous *kinkob* brocade is made : in 1899, 30 lakhs of rupees were said to be sunk in this industry. Embroidery is important chiefly in Lucknow (where it represents the famous *chikan* work of silk or cotton on muslin) and Benares (where it consists of gold or silver work on velvet, silk, crape, and sarsenet) but a certain amount of embroidery is done everywhere. The distribution of dyers naturally follows that of textiles generally ; they are most numerous in the three western divisions and Allahabad.

385. **Leather, &c.**—Little need be said of the distribution of tanners, &c., save that they are much more common in the west (Meerut, Agra, Rohilkhand, Allahabad and Lucknow divisions) than in the east (Benares, Gorakhpur, and Fyzabad). Furriers are found only in Saharanpur and Bara Banki. Ivory and bone-carving is extremely rare ; the industry is found to some extent in Jaunpur and Azamgarh and it is noticeable that it is all but entirely in the hands of women.

386. **Metals.**—Of the total number employed in the forging of metals (2,584) no less than 2,030 are found in Bara Banki. At Bahramghat in this district, there is an important manufactory of iron sugar mills which are in great demand, but such articles as brass pots and pans, locks, nut crackers and tobacco cutters are also made in the district at more than one place, and it is possible that rather more persons have been included in this head than legitimately belong to it. Workers in brass and copper are found chiefly in Farrukhabad, Agra, Moradabad (especially), Cawnpore, Allahabad, Jhansi, Benares, Gorakhpur, Basti, and Gonda. It will be noticed that save the last two all these districts contain large cities and there “is a striking tendency towards the concentration of the manufacture of ordinary articles (brass and copper) in cities.” Benares, Moradabad, Farrukhabad, and Jhansi, with Lucknow, Mirzapur, Hamirpur, Muttra, and Etawah, all of which have also high figures, are the chief centres of brass-work : and the Benares ornamental brass-work and the Moradabad lacquered brass-work are famous, whilst at Lucknow and Farrukhabad (Muhammadan articles), Mirzapur (Hindu articles), Hamirpur and Muttra (idols), Jhansi (toys and brass vessels ornamented with copper) and Etawah (sacrificial accessories and musical instruments) the work is plainer. At Basti there is a brass working centre at Bakhira. Workers in other metals are unimportant save in Benares and Lucknow.

387. **Ceramics.**—Nothing need be said of the distribution of potters, save what has already been said. The growing differentiation between the potter proper and the

brick and tile-maker is very striking : the potter is often both, but the *intpaz* or brick-maker shows signs of breaking off from the Kumhar caste : it was a far from uncommon caste entry. The glass industry is important only in Mainpuri, Etawah, Hamirpur, Benares, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, and Bara Banki. Mainpuri and Etawah are the chief centres of the native glass industry which is made from an efflorescence of impure carbonate of soda. Various places in Agra, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Bara Banki, and Jaunpur are more or less famous for their glass bangles, or small phials and flasks, practically the only glass articles made. In Azamgarh *sajji* (carbonate of soda) used to be an article of export to the glass industries of Patna : it would now seem that Azamgarh has taken to making glass for itself. The manufacture of porcelain occurs practically only in Ghazipur.

388. **Chemical products.**—The makers of explosives are of course chiefly fire-work-makers, who are generally Muhammadans. The large number of makers of aerated waters at Budaun (all women) is curious and I cannot explain it. The makers of dyes probably represent, besides scattered makers of ink and paint, chiefly a few *nilgars* or workers in indigo, thrown out of work with the decay of this industry. Paper-manufacture is found chiefly in Lucknow : it used to be a Muttra industry but has now decreased. Under "other chemical products" some noteworthy heads are the perfume distillation of Farrukhabad, Ghazipur, Budaun, and other places, the saltpetre-refining factories of Farrukhabad and Etah where sulphate of soda (*khari*) and crude carbonate of soda (*rassi*) are also made ; the soap-manufacture of Gorakhpur, the production of catechu in Gonda, various industries incidental to the making of glass in Etawah, and the distillation of sandalwood oil in Shahjahanpur.

389. **Food industries.**—About these there is little to say. It may be noticed that flour-grinding is almost entirely conducted by women ; and that half of the total number of sugar-makers are found in Rohilkhand, a great sugarcane division, and three-fifths of the rest in Muzaffarnagar, Gorakhpur and Azamgarh : in this last district there are over 1,500 sugar refineries. Brewers and distillers, coming as they do under the excise law are, naturally, scattered widely and in small numbers, as are toddy-drawers, though these are of course localized according to the localization of the trees that produce the toddy. It is curious to find scattered workers in opium scattered about the province : they are probably manipulators of made opium into various preparations, who would be better placed in group 66⁽¹⁾ : the Government factory of course is at Ghazipur.

390. **Dress.**—It is not quite clear why Aligarh, Budaun and Gonda should show such unusually large numbers of hatters, or Bijnor, Budaun and Gonda such large numbers of persons engaged in other industries connected with dress. So much may be said however that all these districts are famous for particular kinds of cloth, mostly coloured or in fancy designs (such as *gabrun*, *kanawez*, and *chauthai*) ; and it may well be that this influences the matter. *Gabrun* for instance is used for parti-coloured handkerchiefs. It probably points to a differentiation of function that has occurred amongst the ordinary *darzis*, for the returns of 1901 were not so striking. In Gonda cloth is dyed with catechu. It will be noted that in Gonda the workers under both heads are practically all women.

391. **Various occupations.**—There is nothing to note about building industries or the construction of means of transport save that both are chiefly localized in the cities. Seven thousand six hundred out of a total of 11,000 persons engaged in printing, &c. are found in Allahabad and Lucknow and 1,100 more in Agra and Benares. Very few persons have described themselves as journalists : journalism is chiefly a *parergon* to other pursuits, such as the law. The makers of bangles, rosaries, &c., and the toy, &c. makers of groups 90 and 91 may seem unexpectedly numerous. The truth is that they include many makers of all sorts of odds and ends, and also persons who would have been classed elsewhere if they had happened to mention the material of which they made their articles. For instance, makers of *pan* boxes or *itrdans* would be classed here unless they happened to say that they made, e.g. *pandans* of brass or *itrdans* of silver. Similarly bangle-makers would appear here if they did not specify the material of which the bangle was made. The province is full of makers of all sorts of odds and ends, ornaments and so on. For instance, Hardoi produces decorated pots and vessels of all kinds, and also brass *pan*-boxes. Sitapur is famous for *tazias* and pots painted

(1) Or employes of the Ghazipur Factory on leave. I ascertained the probability of this at the particular time of year in the factory itself just lately.

with flowers. In Gorakhpur articles are made of soft leather (*sabar* or deer skin) ornamented with silk and braid and embroidered with Persian mottoes, such as pillow-cases, table-cloths, chair-covers and praying carpets. The well-known lacquered "Benares" toys are mostly made in Mirzapur. Banda has lapidaries who cut and polish all sorts of stones (agate, jasper, water stone, amethyst), and make of them buttons, brooches, paper-weights and so on. In Fatehpur playing-cards are made. In Moradabad all sorts of more or less ornamental articles of bone are made. In Shahjahanpur metal trays and pen boxes and wooden articles, all ornamented are produced: Budaun produces similar articles of papier-maché, Bareilly ornamental *huqqas*, dishes, ink-pots and so on, Etawah articles of horn and peacock-feather fans. Nearly all these industries would go into other heads if the material were mentioned, but otherwise might well be placed here.

392. **Transport.**—"Persons employed on canals" are of course chiefly found in Meerut, Agra, and Allahabad divisions where the canals chiefly lie. Boatmen though fairly well distributed are naturally most numerous in Allahabad itself, and the Benares and Gorakhpur divisions where the great streams the Ghagra, Ganges and Gandak are navigable. It is noticeable that palki-bearers are most common where there are most Muhammadans—Farrukhabad, Azamgarh, Bareilly, Moradabad, Shahjahanpur, Lucknow, Bara Banki, and it is possible that this is not a merely chance connection. Porters⁽¹⁾ and messengers are numerous chiefly where there are many or large towns, as all over Meerut division and in Muttra, Moradabad, Allahabad, Benares, and Lucknow: but it is curious that Agra and Cawnpore where one would have expected the figures to be largest show comparatively small ones. In the hills of course portage is the commonest form of transport so naturally the figures are high. The railway and postal distribution is what might be expected: the only points that need be mentioned are the high figures of postal employés in Aligarh, due to the presence of the post-office printing establishment, and of Agra, due chiefly to the presence of a very large central telegraph office in addition to other telegraph departmental offices.

393. **Trade.**—There is very little that need be said about trade. As has been pointed out, the maker is almost always the seller too, and the presence of a separate trade (save where the raw material is separated from the ultimate vend of the finished article by many different processes, as in the case of textiles, or where the nature of the article demands that it should be widely distributed and easily obtainable, as in the case of food-stuffs), usually connotes the presence of a large town: or else of wandering middlemen who buy the raw or comparatively raw article and sell it again to manufacturers to work up into articles of commerce. Such, for instance, must be many of the hide merchants shown against the Meerut division and Rohilkhand, where cattle are numerous. The presence of traders of course varies either with the facilities for obtaining the article they deal in, or for selling it in the market. Thus traders in wood are common in Dehra Dun, Saharanpur, Bijnor, Mirzapur and elsewhere because of the forests found there: and also in Bareilly and other parts of Rohilkhand or in big cities because of the demand for wood for such industries as making furniture and wood-carving. Apart from these remarks it is useless to go into any detail.

394. **Public administration.**—The distribution of the army calls for little remark, save that the high figures in Dehra Dun and the hills are due to the presence of several cantonments; elsewhere there is never more than one per district. The workers in districts where there are no cantonments are men on leave or detached duty. The number of dependents in such districts shows that the chief centre of recruitment is Central Oudh. The few persons belonging to States armies scattered about the province are also men on leave, save those at Benares, who doubtless represent the troops of the Benares State, though to describe themselves in this way was at the time premature. It may be mentioned that according to the entries found in the schedules, there is a not inconsiderable number of Amazons in the province: women claimed to be soldiers, policemen, and village chaukidars. The entries of course were due to mistaking the column and were treated as mistakes. There were also considerably more female servants of the State than was at all probable, especially as such as there are would be chiefly school teachers and lady doctors and go in other columns.

395. **Religion.**—There is a most extraordinary decrease in religious mendicants and many districts possess none at all, whilst Lucknow division seems to possess

(1) These it should be mentioned do not include railway porters (group 103).

a great many more than its share and Fyzabad, despite the presence of Ajodhya, has only 7. There are probably several explanations. One is that many may have been wrongly classed in group 169 (non-religious beggars). The entry for both alike would be "*bhik mangna*" or an equivalent, and it would be only possible to discover whether the man was a religious or other beggar by looking at the caste. There would be no *primâ facie* reason for doing this apparent to the sorter (especially as he would not be sorting for caste at the time); and once he had completed his ticket, unless the resultant figures happen to strike the compiler as wrong, they would not be put right. This error seems to occur always and everywhere; there is no doubt that the religious mendicants are more numerous than non-religious beggars, but the figures always point the other way⁽¹⁾. Secondly the faqir caste has undoubtedly diminished, so that a part of the decrease is real. Thirdly all faqirs are not really beggars though they may be so theoretically. Some of them are "gentlemen in their own country" like Kipling's lama, owning land (or rather managing it as representative of a deity), lending money and living generally a mundane life with very little of the odour of sanctity about it. But the first cause is undoubtedly the chief one and I have little doubt that the figures in this column are inaccurate⁽²⁾.

396. **Law, medicine, &c.**—No remark is needed as regards law save that whereas in 1901 there were more lawyers than lawyer's clerks and petition writers, the reverse is now the case. This may mark a real change but more probably points to more careful classification at this census. It is interesting to note that only three districts, Bulandshahr, Muttra and Ballia, have no female member of the medical profession, but I should doubt if all of these medical ladies have any real claim to belong to it. There are however fewer than in 1901. Half the province appears to possess no public scribes: but this head is restricted to non-legal public scribes, to the "bazar letter-writer" so graphically described by Kipling, and with the spread of education the trade would tend to decay.

397. **Domestic service, &c.**—I have lately heard that there is widespread complaint that Kahar servants, the chief serving caste, are very hard to obtain, which may account for the decrease in this head. Coming from an Indian not an English source, it is a point worth noting: it has long been known to Europeans that it is much more difficult to get such men than it used to be. A friend of mine told me that whereas the Kaharin, who corresponds to our charwoman, thought herself well paid with 3 annas and a couple of *chapattis* 15 or 20 years ago, she now demands from 8 annas to a rupee. It is the same with all sorts of labour: my friend, a Government pensioner, told me he often whitewashed his own walls rather than pay the exorbitant rates demanded. He was however an enthusiast for exercise of all varieties, and had no illusions regarding the indignity of manual labour, so that the whitewashing was not caused merely by mercenary considerations.

398. **Combined occupations.**—Most people have usually more occupations than one, from the point of view of the scheme of classification. A farmer, for instance, if he keeps a cow, makes some profit from the cow, either by selling her milk or using it himself and is therefore a cow-keeper, strictly speaking. So is every European official who, as many do, keeps a cow because he prefers that his children should drink pure milk⁽³⁾. In practice such cases of dual occupation are negligible, either as unimportant, or incidental to a major occupation, or because (as in the case of a grocer), one occupational term covers them all. In this province there is only one really important combination of occupations, agriculture and something else. Other combinations exist: some common ones are grain-dealer and money-lender, lawyer and journalist, shepherd and blanket-maker, tanner and shoemaker, &c., &c., but they are of trivial moment compared with the more important combination.

399. **The partially agriculturist.**—In table XV-A persons who have returned themselves as partially agriculturist have been separately shown. "Agriculturist" in this connection has been taken to mean either making an income from land or cultivating land, i.e. has been restricted to groups 1 and 2. It is impossible to

(1) It is not really a matter of great importance for the figure of the faqir caste gives the true figure.

(2) An easy remedy would be to sort faqir for table XVI at next census. Instructions to consult the caste column to see whether the man is a religious mendicant seem useless.

(3) My friend mentioned above was a case in point. He kept a cow and goats because he preferred milk unmixed with water. It is scarcely necessary to add, in view of what I have already said about him, that he milked his animals himself.

include in this category such persons as agents of landed estates and agricultural labourers, for instance: there is not only the practical difficulty that many of them combine one or other of the occupations falling under groups 1 and 2 with their own, but some of them, agents for instance, are only incidentally agriculturists at all. Taking agriculturists in this sense, no less than 58 per cent. of the total working population makes a portion of its income at least from cultivating land or leasing it for cultivation. On the other hand, 17 per cent. of agriculturists of the same kind have other pursuits (including that of agricultural labour). These facts show how dependent the population is on the soil for a living. Presuming that a man who is only partially agriculturist spends half his time and makes half his money from agriculture (some of course spend or make more, some less), then we can measure the dependence of the people on agricultural pursuits by considering any person who is partially agriculturist (whether he is more or less agricultural than not) as half agriculturist: and we shall then find that the resultant figure is approximately 45 per cent. of the total working population, and can fairly say that 45 per cent. of the total work done in the province is put directly into the land ⁽¹⁾.

As regards the combination of particular occupations with agriculture reference may be made to subsidiary tables IV and V. No occupation is so freely united with agriculture as that of *chaukidar*. Not only are 30 per cent. of *chaukidars* partially agriculturists, but 20,898 agriculturists have returned *chaukidar* as a subsidiary occupation: or in other words *chaukidars* returned in either column 45 per cent. also make an income from agriculture. As a *chaukidar's* pay is under Rs. 3 per mensem it is not surprising that he has to eke it out otherwise. At one time when the *chaukidar* was really a village servant he was frequently paid in part by a grant of land and occasionally holds such grants still. Next to him come workers in metals (25 per cent. partially agriculturist), soldiers (24 per cent.), workers in wood and potters (each 19 per cent.), workers in chemical products and at industries of dress, &c. (each 16 per cent.), agents of landed estates, extractors of minerals, priests and other followers of a religious occupation (each 15 per cent.), workers in hides and persons of independent means (each 14 per cent.), fishers and hunters (13 per cent.), lawyers (12 per cent.), workers at industries of luxury (11 per cent.), policemen and educationalists (10 per cent.). Other occupations show smaller figures, the chief being growers of special products and persons working in cotton (9 per cent.), and traders (8 per cent.): but there is not an occupation save prisoners and inmates of asylums who have not a certain number also occupied in agriculture. Of these field labourers (who stand so low simply because they would almost certainly show agriculture as their main occupation if they had it to show), furniture makers, industries connected with physical forces and scavengers stand lowest, with 2 per cent. each. The causes are not difficult to find. The soldier and policeman are chiefly recruited from the sturdy peasantry of Oudh and the western divisions—Rajputs and Jats who are traditionally connected with the land. The industrial workers in the above list show high figures because the village artisans are naturally agriculturists to some extent and are often remunerated by a grant of land in part payment of their dues; this explains the cases of workers in metal (Lohars), workers in wood (Barhais), potters (Kumhars), agents of landed estates, tailors (Darzis), tanners (Chamars), &c. The workers in chemical products who combine agriculture with their other source of income are usually Telis or oil-pressers: the extractors of minerals are chiefly saltpetre-refiners and kankar-diggers: the priests, &c. are village *pandits* and *purohits*. All these live much in rural tracts as do fishers and hunters, so that a connection with agriculture is natural. The figures amongst educationalists are caused by the large number of village schoolmasters who fall in the same category.

As regards the subsidiary occupations of agriculturists, it is unnecessary to add much to the table dealing with the matter. Taking rent receivers first (i.e. persons receiving income from agricultural land, group no. 1), the only subsidiary occupation that shows figures at all striking is rent payer; the cause of course is that under the particular arrangements of the scheme any real agriculturist, i.e. a man who lives on and to some extent works his own land, shov

(1) It would not be fair to say that 45 per cent. of the total income of the province was from land. The question of the respective value of various occupations would then arise: and of the total number of workers no inconsiderable number are unproductive. It is, I should say, probable that a great deal more than half the total wealth of the province accrues directly from agriculture.

two of the six possible agricultural occupations and the non-agricultural occupations were crowded out altogether. In view of the rise of the figures of the agricultural labourer, it is worth noting that 4 per cent. of all rent-receivers are also agricultural labourers which they have shown as a subsidiary occupation. It may be taken as certain that these men are not landlords, but agricultural labourers who have taken up fields and for some reason preferred to sublet them. The only other subsidiary occupation of rent receivers of any importance are grain-dealing, money-lending, and trade: and from the facts of the case, the combination of land leased and another occupation, it is most probable that if they had reversed the order of the two and put their landed property in the second place, they would have been nearer the truth. These are obviously men who have bought a little land from the proceeds of trade and placed their agricultural occupation first because it sounded better. Of the large number of rent payers 51 per mille have shown agricultural labour as a subsidiary occupation—a figure pointing to the tendency frequently mentioned of such labourers to take up land. Eleven per mille are traders: apart from these the occupations with the higher figures are the village artizans already referred to. Fifteen per 1,000 are rent-receivers as well as rent-payers. The possession of a subsidiary occupation save rent-paying is rare amongst agricultural labourers; the general labourer and the tanner are the most common.

400. **Workers and dependents.**—In all some 48 per cent. of the population have been returned as dependents. But it must be remembered that this excludes some of the most hardworked persons in the community, the married women who are too occupied in their domestic duties to have time to increase the family income in any way. If these were included certainly not less than some 70 per cent. of the population and possibly more would be workers. Considering that 36 per cent. of the male and 38 per cent. of the female population are aged under 15, it is obvious that few who can work at all do not do so. The “idle rich” and the “unemployable” are not serious problems in this province.

401. **Orders and groups in which dependents are most numerous.**—The

Occupation.	Percentage of dependents to total.	Occupation.	Percentage of dependents to total.
Law	72	Shoe-makers ..	57
Public administration ..	67	Building industries ..	56
Construction of transport ..	64	Raising of live stock ..	19
Trade in textiles ..	62	Flour-grinders ..	22
Proprietors ..	61	Army ..	31
Workers in the production of physical forces ..	60	Trade in grass, &c. ..	33
Income from land ..	60	Farm servants and field labourers ..	35
Carpenters, &c. ..	60	Grain-parchers ..	35
Tanners, &c. ..	59	Scavengers, &c. ..	35
Metal industries ..	59	Trade in betel, &c. ..	36
Industries connected with luxury ..	59	Woodcutters, &c. ..	37
Village watchmen ..	59	Basket, &c. making ..	39
Furniture industries ..	58	Trade in firewood ..	39
		Indoor servants ..	39
		Milk-sellers ..	41
		Oil-pressers ..	41
		Washermen ..	41

figures in the margin give the occupations in which the number of dependents is highest and lowest. The former run from 72 per cent. (law) to 56 per cent. and the latter from 19 per cent. (raising of live stock) to 41 per cent. Three considerations seem to govern the matter. There is, firstly, in some occupations a real paucity of dependents. The figures of the army, for instance, are certainly low because of the fact that the British troops are chiefly unmarried, and that the dependents of many of our Indian troops are in other provinces. The “raising of live

stock” shows a very low figure indeed because the majority in this category are herdsmen: and, as has been already pointed out, herding is chiefly the work of persons who if they did not follow this occupation would themselves be dependents. Flour-grinding again is the work largely of old women who support themselves in this way and would otherwise be either dependents or beggars, so that there are naturally few dependents. Another cause affecting the figures is the social status of the persons following an occupation. Law, public administration, trade in textiles, proprietors, land-owners, industries connected with luxury (which means, chiefly, goldsmiths) are all occupations followed chiefly by the upper classes, whose women do not work and whose children are at school, so that dependents are numerous. The third cause is the nature of the occupation. The construction of transport, electrical and gas works, carpentry, tanning, metal industries, furniture industries, shoe-making, the building industries are all occupations involving more knowledge or more physical exertion than a woman or child possesses or is capable of: whilst the law, public administration,

and *chaukidari* are also occupations which of their nature are suited to grown men alone. On the other hand, the trade in grass, grain-parching, scavenging, the trade in betel, the collection and sale of firewood, the washing of clothes, the selling of milk, the lighter forms of agricultural labour such as weeding, and much work connected with oil pressing, can be and are followed by both women and children.

402. **Female occupations.**—Over the whole working population, 468 women are workers to 1,000 men. Again, if one included married women, the proportion would be much higher. The occupations in which the proportions are

Occupation.	Women workers per 1,000 men.	Occupation.	Women workers per 1,000 men.
Flour-grinders ..	1,977	Construction of transport ..	22
Rope, twine, string ..	1,880	Transport ..	51
Medicine ..	1,553	Jails and asylums ..	54
Betel-sellers ..	1,364	Carpenters, &c ..	61
Trade in fuel ..	1,353	Metal industries ..	78
Scavengers ..	1,340	Furniture industries ..	140
Milk-sellers ..	1,293	Industries of luxury ..	160
Grain-parchers ..	1,249	Building industries ..	161
Jute industry ..	1,073	Hide industries ..	185
Wool industry ..	877	Herdsmen ..	207
Chemical product industry ..	860	Religion ..	219
Farm servants and field labourers ..	845	Sweetmeat-makers ..	234
Washermen ..	825	Income from land ..	335
Cotton-ginning, &c ..	807	Extraction of minerals ..	338
Indoor servants ..	752	Grocers ..	350
Basket, &c. making ..	691	Proprietors ..	375
Firewood collecting ..	658	Cultivators ..	402
Pottery ..	630	Fishing and hunting ..	428

highest and lowest are given in the margin: and in some measure similar principles to those which govern the distribution of dependents apply. Flour-grinding is essentially a woman's occupation: the *chakki* or flour mill is the most favourite form of hard labour in jails, and though to all men it is really hard labour, and to a European, as an ex-superintendent of Naini Central Jail has told me, nothing less than torture, women prisoners probably prefer it to other forms of labour. The twining and twisting of rope is largely carried out by women; it is a common enough sight to see them at this

work in villages. The figures of medicine may seem surprising at first sight: they are due of course to the large number of midwives: betel-selling, the trade in fuel, scavenging, milk-selling, grain parching and the rest, save jute, are as we have already seen trades or industries much in women's hands: whilst what is true of rope is true of jute. The occupations in which women workers are uncommon need no comment: the names are sufficient explanation. It will be noted that the occupations are of several classes: those independent of the occupations of their male relatives (flour-grinding, midwifery, domestic service, firewood-collecting and selling): those subsidiary to the occupations of their menfolk (the twisting of rope, &c., where the hemp is usually prepared by men, the selling of milk, where the animals are owned and tended by men; whilst in cotton and wool industries, and pottery, the women spin the cotton and wool woven by their husbands, or fetch the mud for making the pots): and finally those carried out by both sexes alike (such as selling betel, scavenging, parching grain, oil-pressing, agricultural labour, washing, and basket-making). Female occupations of course are simple, and save in the case of flour grinding involve little physical exertion. The way in which men who are working with women spare them all exertion is a thing well-known to anyone who has worked through famine. The man digs, the woman carries the earth dug and flings it on the road or embankment that is being built: but the man will fill her basket for her and lift it on to her head, thus saving her even the exertion of bending.

403. **The effect of the work of women on wages.**—It has occasionally been found in England that the effect of women taking part in the work of an industry is to cause the men to accept a lower wage, with the result that husband and wife together earn no more than the husband would by himself. I should doubt if this could ever occur except in the cases where a woman can do the particular kind of work quite as well as a man: in such a case a man must take a woman's wage, because if he does not he will be supplanted by a woman. In India matters are quite different. As has been shown above, the work of women is, if not peculiarly their own, then complementary to and also lighter than the work of their men-folk: it is seldom if ever the *same* as that done by men. If one takes the cases of scavenging, field labour, and domestic service, all occupations remunerated by wages, there is undoubtedly this differentiation between the parts played by the sexes. In scavenging the women do chiefly the work of sweeping: the men remove the night-soil and so on. In field labour the men plough, sow, and

do the heavier part of the work of irrigation, wielding the water basket (*dugla*) for instance, whereby water is lifted to the level where it is wanted; the women, with old men and young boys, weed the fields, and transplant rice, or distribute the water into its temporary channels. In domestic service a woman cannot supplant a man: she and he do totally different kinds of labour, and the woman often gets higher wages than the man. An ayah's wages are normally higher than a khidmatgar's or even a bearer's, and much higher than those of the sweeper, her husband. In such circumstances the wages must be different, because paid for different kinds of labour, and do not affect each other. Most of the other occupations are either peculiarly those of women, or not remunerated by wages at all, but by payment for produce. In the cotton, wool, rope, oil, firewood, and pottery industries, man and woman work together at complementary parts of the industry to produce articles which they subsequently sell: no question of wages arises at all, save that the woman *saves* wages by her work—the wages of a hired assistant. In washing clothes, too, the women are usually the relatives of the male *dhobi* and assist him; no question of wages could arise save as between him and them and, being his relatives, they increase his income by saving him this expense. In a word female labour does not compete with, but supplements the labour of man in any particular industry and consequently cannot affect the wages paid to men. Her *nirakh* (rate) is totally separate from his.

404. **The state of indigenous industries.**—In this decade there has been a movement known under the name of *swadeshi*, which had for its ostensible object the improvement of indigenous industries, and the introduction of foreign industries to be carried out by Indian workmen from Indian materials and with Indian capital. If its ostensible object had always been its true object it was a movement fraught with the greatest and widest-reaching possibilities for good. But this was not always so; and too frequently, even when its supporters were entirely honest in their support, it proceeded on uninformed lines. It was a hopeless task to try and drive Indian-made *dhotis* at Re. 1-8 down the throats, or rather round the waists of cultivators and labourers to whom every anna is a consideration, when they could get a Manchester *dhoti* for Re. 1-4. The obvious method was to work for the cheapening of the Indian *dhoti* till it could be sold at Re. 1-3. It was useless, too, even to dream of making India industrially self-contained and self-supporting; it is improbable that any country ever has been so or ever will be. The obvious method is to use the goods which the gods of other countries provide in the improvement of your own industries (¹). Of this movement little has been heard of late years, presumably because it has served its ulterior purpose. Movements with ulterior purposes do not live long.

Generally speaking, modern conditions have undoubtedly introduced many changes into Indian industries. Firstly, factories and mills have ended in the killing of hand labour: but this is not all nor perhaps the chief result of modern conditions. Foreign markets have been thrown open to many Indian products, causing in some cases a much greater demand; the result has been too often to spoil the quality of the supply, whilst the supplier has got inextricably involved in the intricacies of modern commercial finance to his own detriment. The middlemen of all sorts involved in an enterprise which makes wares in India and sells them in London have done the supplier no good. Taste has changed: not only do foreign customers ask for new patterns, which the Indian artist, incidentally an incomparable imitator, has to supply, but the modern Indian consumer's taste is too often vitiated by his insufficient and undigested knowledge of foreign customs. "With the spread of a *pseudo*-Western culture, the Indian gentleman prefers to live in what he considers to be European style. The votaries of this style ignore the highly artistic industries of India and show a marked weakness for all that would be considered intensely vulgar by the very

(¹) At the height of the *swadeshi* movement, I remember being shown by a brass worker in Benares a very fine piece of work—an inkstand—meant for presentation to a well known politician. He told me proudly that it was entirely *swadeshi*—Indian work, Indian design, Indian everything. I turned it over and on the bottom was a German trademark of the firm who had supplied the brass sheet from which it had been made. He told me that the tools used in making it had come from Sheffield. The inkstand though its ornamentation was Indian, was of European shape with the usual two inkpots and a tray for pens. None the less, this man's support of "*swadeshi*" was much more real than he knew, just because he did not hesitate to annex English tools and German brass to help him in his own Indian industry and, as a matter of fact, he went a great deal further in this direction than most Indian workmen: he not only perfected his own Indian designs, but used to import ornamental glassware from America to supply him with fresh designs and fresh shapes for his brass work. I saw this glassware in his shop and asked him what it was for, when he gave me this explanation.

persons whom they are so anxious to imitate." To paraphrase an ancient tag, "*video meliora : probo deteriora sequorque.*" On the other hand, an industry which is still all but purely Indian, whose market is chiefly in India, is little affected by modern conditions save in so far as functions tend to differentiation and the whole industry to better organization. I take two examples : carpet weaving and brass and copper ware.

405. **Carpet-weaving.**—Carpet-weaving was an industry that certainly existed in Akbar's time, if not before. Abul Fazl describes the carpets of the time as beautiful and various (in design). Whether or not it existed in India before the Moghul era, it is certain that these enlightened rulers greatly encouraged the industry. There was constant demand for expensive carpets, which were frequently given as presents. The industry was not merely an industry but an art. Speaking of their beauty, Abul Fazl writes "the carpets of Persia and Tartary are thought no more of." Tavernier, a competent critic in matters of art, writes "the workmanship is very lovely." But with the decline of the Moghul power the industry they had fostered declined too. The royal factories of that period have given place to a home industry at which the whole family works. There is now no Indian demand for these wares : the demand is almost entirely European ; and Indian designs, which though conventional were artistic, have been replaced by only too faithful imitations of bad and good European designs alike. The carpet weaver is no longer an artist but a hack ; nor can he be blamed, for he has to live. He is very poorly paid. The industry is followed by men of all castes and there is consequently no united action amongst them. Most of them are not absolutely dependent on weaving, but have other, usually agricultural, sources of income, and so take quietly treatment from middlemen which would drive artizans anywhere else to revolt. The weavers are chiefly boys, who are quite as good weavers as men and often better, but can afford to work for low wages, and the result is that the men have to take low wages too—an instance of the principle referred to above in connection with the employment of women. The system of advances prevails : the firm advances money to the chief weaver (*ustad*, or teacher), who hands it on to the workmen. This is a system, which, sympathetically worked, has its good points, establishing a close and even friendly relationship between employer and employed ; the latter goes to the former not only for an advance to start or extend his business but to meet private expenses, such as the inevitable marriage ; but it is seldom so worked (1) and in that case ties the workman hand and foot to his employer by a chain of debt, from which, in the end, so used to it does he become, he makes no attempt to free himself. All this makes for very low wages ; half an anna or an anna per square yard are regarded as the normal profits of the ordinary owner of one or two looms. Nor does the weaver (or, for that matter, the Indian firm) know how to sell his wares. He does not understand that "glory of civilization, advertisement," or realize that trade comes to him who shouts the merits of his goods the loudest. He still "dozes over his goods in an obscure shop in an unknown street." The net result is that the woollen carpet manufacture which Abul Fazl and Tavernier extolled would have perished long ago but for the enterprise of a couple of European firms and a jail—two of whom work the industry as a factory ; whilst the third has got the best out of the Indian methods, with its home industry and advances and all the rest of that obsolete system (2).

406. **Brass and copper wares.**—To this dismal picture the brass and copper industry affords a striking contrast. To Indian society it is an absolute necessity. Since the stage of baked clay the Indian has never yet been bereft of his "*bartans.*" There are certain religious rules which lay down what sort of eating vessels should be used and of what metal they should be made. Hindus must use brass or alloy (though the use of alloy is hedged about by all sorts of minute ceremonial injunctions, and if alloy vessels become "impure" in any way there is nothing for it but to have them re-moulded). Muhammadans may not use brass and copper, but may use tin and get out of this difficulty by having copper vessels tinned. The poorest Hindu has about Rs. 3 worth of vessels, the poorest Muhammadan about Rs. 4 worth. Richer men may have in all as much as Rs. 300 worth, supposing none of them to be of silver or gold ; and

(1) I have tried too many cases against defaulting employés in Benares under an old Act to have any doubts on the subject. The remedy is obviously co-operation : but such attempts as have been made in this respect have only been very partially successful so far. The irresponsibility engendered by this system will not be eradicated in any but a considerable space of time.

(2) This account is taken chiefly from the "Monograph on Carpet-weaving in the United Provinces," by K. Jagdish Prasad, C.S.

many of these may be ornamental⁽¹⁾. In the middle-class castes, the caste panchayat also keeps a supply of spare vessels, bought from fines, which they lend out for big entertainments as required. There are, besides, all the various articles used in Hindu worship⁽²⁾. Then there are also idols, women's ornaments, and many ornamental figures of animals and other objects of all kinds. The trade is clearly not one that is likely to suffer from lack of custom; it flourishes as it always has and will, until glass and porcelain drive out metal,—and that is a stage from which England emerged not more than 70 years ago. It is interesting then to see how more modern industrial conditions have affected it. The market for Indian brass has extended to the West, and European demand for Benares and Moradabad ware has had its usual effect. Luckily, in this case the demand is at all events for Indian designs, but when Indian designs are transferred to paper knives, jardinières, salvers, candlesticks, ashtrays, inkstands, and other articles of European shapes the result is, artistically speaking, vile. In the fullness of time we shall no doubt get photograph frames with "a souvenir from Benares" engraved at the bottom, and the cup of the degradation of Indian art will be full. Worse than this, the original Indian work is scamped to keep pace with the rate of demand. The globe-trotter, who is the unconscious cause of these results, does not know the difference between good and bad Indian art, and so long as he gets a sufficiency of gods and beasts and more or less oriental "floral patterns," is proud and happy. The quality of the work done has fallen, and the best amongst the Benares Thatheras at all events know it and lament it⁽³⁾. But good work can be, and still is turned out, and there is no reason why with better circumstances, it should not be the rule instead of the exception again. Apart from this however modern industrial methods have done much good. It is only in small towns that a family still supplies all the workmen necessary for its small factory. In larger centres, differentiation of labour has taken place, to such an extent that different processes claim the undivided attention of different workmen, who have each their own name, indicative of their special kind of work, and receive pay proportioned to their value to the establishment as a whole. The employer is a rich capitalist who supplies the tools and pays the men: if he be himself by origin a brassworker (Kasera or Thathera) he by no means disdains to assist in the work, supervising it, deciding on and criticizing designs, and giving little final touches to the work himself. The master is still the master craftsman⁽⁴⁾.

407. **Summary.**—Generally then we may say as follows. The opening of Western markets has done much harm to Indian industry on its artistic side. It has sometimes caused European designs to be substituted for Indian ones: but even if the Indian designs are preserved they are applied to articles where they appear incongruous. It has also led to bad work, which is hurried to meet the very much larger demand; and as the purchasing public is ignorant of the difference between good and bad work, this can be done with comparative impunity. On the other hand the adoption of European methods in industries, which are or can become of the nature of small factories has merely resulted in rather better organization and has done good. Home industries have suffered considerably. They are largely carried out under the Indian system of advances which at all

(¹) A list of these may be interesting:—

Hindu (a) Poor.—*Thali* (tray or dish), *batua* (cooking pot), *lota* (water pot).

(b) Middle class.—In addition to above *katora* (saucer), *gilas* (glass), *kalehhal* (spoon), *gagara* (large water-pot).

(c) Rich.—In addition to above *chholni* (sieve), *handa* (large water vessel), *katoridan* (vessel for holding food), *matka* (water vessel), *jharna* (perforated spoon), *gangal* (water vessel), *sansi* (tongs), *dhol* (water bucket).

Muhammadan (a) Poor.—*Lagan* (tray), *degchi* (cooking pot), *badhna* (water pot with spout).

(b) Middle class in addition:—*Seni* (large tray), *katora* (saucer), *kafgir* (spoon), *rikabi* (plate), *abkhora* (glass), *sarposh* (*degchi* lid).

(c) Rich—in addition:—*deg* (large pot), *chamcha* (spoon), *tabaq* (plate), *mahetavas* (spit), *tashtari* (salver), *tashit* (large salver).

Both Hindu and Muhammadan, rich.—*Chilamchi* (wash hand basin), *silapchi* (spittoon), *pandan* (pen box), *fatilsoz* (candlestick), *chiragdan* (lamp stand), *itrdan* (rose water vessel), *gulabpash* (rose-water sprinkler), *kali* (*hugga* stand).

(²) *Ghanta* (bell), *arti* (lamp), *dhupdani* (censer), *katori* (saucer of various kinds), *dipdani* (box for holding the materials for the *arti*), *singhasan* (throne of idol), *panchpatr* (water vessel), *achmani* (sacrificial spoon), *argha* (sacrificial boat-shaped vessel), *thali* (plate), *rikabi* (plate), *dibia* (sacrificial vessel for *hom* sacrifice), *chhatra* (umbrella), *ghanji* (cymbals).

(³) The brass-worker already referred to practically kept two departments, one for globe-trotters. I remember his taking some article out of my hands and saying "Don't look at that: it's for American visitors." Incidentally, being shrewd as well as an artist, he had two prices—one was a globe-trotter's price.

(⁴) This paragraph is based partly on the monograph on this industry by Mr. G. R. Dampier, C.S., and partly on personal knowledge of the industry in Benares.

times makes the labourer thriftless, indifferent and irresponsible, unless the system is very sympathetically worked: and when there is a large foreign demand these evils are accentuated, because such a demand fluctuates, and a period of feverish activity in the industry is succeeded by a slump; whilst an Indian demand is steady, regular, and takes small account of time, for in oriental conditions to-morrow is as good as to-day; the "cult of *kul*," as somebody has called it, is fully developed. Further, modern mills are driving out the home industries and machinery is succeeding men. Lastly, Indian commercial methods are not suited to modern conditions. There is no advertisement, no fixed prices: the big business house still relies on its branches (*arkhats*) for commercial intelligence, and on religious fairs for making its goods better known. The commercial man dozes over his wares till trade comes to him: he does not go in search of trade. The cushion and *dari* are as typical of Indian commercial methods as window-dressing, "great reductions," and the telephone are of Western methods. The result is that an Indian firm finds itself at a disadvantage when it has to compete with European firms in its own industry. Matters are improving: the Indian is learning the tricks of Western trade and with his adaptability and capacity for imitation will ere long be able to take an equal hand in the game of commercial competition: but so far he is a mere beginner at it.

407. **Factories.**—A special return was obtained from all factories with not less

Industry.	Number.	Industry.	Number.
Growing of special products.	28	Food ..	40
Textiles ..	42	Dress ..	5
(a) Cotton ..	26	Furniture ..	5
(b) Others ..	16	Building ..	41
Leather ..	13	Construction of means of transport.	14
Wood ..	4	Production of physical forces.	7
Metal ..	37	Luxury ..	31
Glass and earthenware.	60	Total ..	366
Chemical products.	39		

than 20 hands, showing the number of employés in their concerns on the 10th March 1911, as well as various other information. There are 362 such concerns in British territory and 4 in Rampur, employing 57,150 males and 5,085 females. The figures in the margin give the distribution by industries: it will be seen that textiles, especially cotton, are the most important: the glass and earthenware concerns though more numerous are far less important. Food and building run textiles very close, whilst metals and chemical products are not far behind.

408. **Local distribution.**—The local distribution of the factories is given in

District.	Number of factories.	District.	Number of factories.
Dehra Dun ..	22	Mirzapur ..	22
Saharanpur ..	9	Jaunpur ..	6
Meerut ..	6	Ghazipur ..	3
Aligarh ..	20	Gorakhpur ..	1
Agra ..	46	Basti ..	1
Farrukhabad ..	11	Naini Tal ..	1
Cawnpore ..	71	Almora ..	9
Hamirpur ..	1	Lucknow ..	25
Allahabad ..	48	Unao ..	1
Jhansi ..	2	Rae Bareli ..	9
Bareilly ..	4	Hardoi ..	1
Bijnor ..	1	Fyzabad ..	8
Moradabad ..	11	Gonda ..	3
Shahjahanpur ..	3	Bara Banki ..	1
Pilibhit ..	2	Sultanpur ..	1
Benares ..	12	Rampur ..	4

table XV-E, Part IV, but I attempt to summarize it in the margin. From these figures the great concentration of factories in large centres like Agra, Cawnpore, Allahabad and Lucknow will be noticed. A few words will suffice to describe most of the factories in this list. In Dehra Dun of the 22 concerns, 19 are tea plantations, as are all the 9 in Almora: of the other 3 in Dehra Dun, 2 are breweries and one a glass factory. In Saharanpur are 3 engineering workshops, 3 rice mills, a locomotive workshops, an electric light works, and a photographic works. The locomotive workshops are those of the North-Western Railway, the engineering workshops, the electric light works and the photographic works are all at Rurki and belong either to Government, to the Sappers and Miners, or to the Thomason College. At Meerut 3 factories are connected with cotton, 1 is a soap and candle works, 1 a cement and 1 a lime works. At Aligarh (which includes the large centre of industry, Hathras) 5 factories are connected with cotton, with a machinery works, a factory of *gilat* ornaments, a dairy, a lime works, a postal workshop, a hydro-electric works, a printing press, and eight factories of the famous Aligarh locks. The cotton mills are found in Hathras, Aligarh, and elsewhere. I pass over for the present the four larger towns mentioned above. At Farrukhabad is a dye factory, 4 brick and tile factories, 5 perfumery factories, and a boot and shoe factory. The Hamirpur venture is a cotton ginning mill. At Jhansi are the Great Indian Peninsula Railway locomotive

workshops and an engineering works. At Bareilly is a cotton ginning mill, a machinery workshop, and two furniture factories: Bareilly furniture is of course famous. At Bijnor is a printing press. At Moradabad is a cotton spinning mill, an iron works, 4 brass foundries (Moradabad brass work is well known), and 5 brick and tile factories. Shahjahanpur possesses 2 oil mills and a very large distillery with English patent stills, belonging to Messrs. Carew & Co. at Rosa. Pilibhit boasts an iron foundry and a sugar factory. Benares possesses an iron foundry, an engineering works, two water works (branches of the same concern), a tobacco factory, a lime works, 3 *surkhi* factories, and 3 printing presses. At Mirzapur, besides 15 shellac concerns⁽¹⁾ are two woollen carpet mills, a cotton ginning mill, a sugar factory, and three stone works (Chunar is still one of the chief centres of the somewhat depressing industry in tombstones). Jaunpur has 5 brick and tile factories, and a distillery. Ghazipur, besides the Government opium factory, possesses a distillery and perfume factory. Bara Banki, Gorakhpur, and Unao each possess a sugar factory, Basti an oil mill, Naini Tal a brewery, Hardoi a cotton ginning mill, Sultanpur a distillery: whilst Rae Bareli possesses 9 brick and tile factories, Fyzabad 7 calico printing works (the famous calico prints of Tanda, which were introduced by a Mr. Orr, an ex-paymaster of the army), and a *surkhi* factory, Gonda two oil mills and a locomotive workshops (Bengal and North-Western Railway), and finally Rampur has dairy, sugar factory, distillery, and electric light works.

As regards the four districts containing the four largest cities the facts are

Industry.	Agra.	Allahabad.	Cawnpore.	Lucknow.
Cotton	5	..	8	..
Jute, &c.	..	1	1	..
Wool ..	1	..	..	..
Hair ..	..	..	3	..
Leather	..	..	13	..
Wood ..	..	2	1	1
Metals	4	5	5	1
Glass and earthen-ware.	28	2	5	1
Chemical products	..	4	6	2
Food ..	2	3	11	..
Dress ..	..	2	2	..
Furniture	..	1	2	..
Building	4	15	4	7
Construction, &c., transport.	..	1	3	6
Production, &c. of physical forces.	2	..	1	1
Luxury	..	12	7	6

as in the margin. The very great concentration of industries in large centres is apparent, though as a matter of fact the high figures of Agra are due to its 27 glass factories which are found chiefly in Firozabad, a great centre of the glass bangle trade. Allahabad has a little of almost everything, including an arsenal, but its 15 stone works and 12 printing presses bring it chiefly into prominence. Lucknow possesses both cement, lime and *surkhi* works in numbers, together with very extensive railway workshops, 6 printing presses, and the only motor car works and paper mill in the province. As

regards Cawnpore, a little more detail still may be given to show clearly the variety

Industry.	Number of factories.	Industry.	Number of factories.
Cotton ginning mill ...	1	Chemical works ...	1
.. cleaning ...	1	Flour mill ...	4
.. pressing ...	1	Dairy ..	2
.. spinning ...	4	Sugar factory ...	3
.. carpets ...	1	Distillery ..	1
Fibre making ...	1	Water works ...	1
Brush factory ...	2	Boot and shoe factory ...	2
Felt factory ...	1	Tent factory ...	2
Tannery ...	3	Lime works ...	1
Leather manufactory ...	10	<i>Surkhi</i> works ...	3
Carpentry ...	1	Tramway works ...	1
Iron foundry and works ...	2	Coach-building works ...	2
Engineering works ...	2	Ice factory ...	1
Brick factory ...	5	Printing press ...	4
Salt refinery ...	2	Photo works ...	2
Oil mill! ...	3	Stone sculpture ...	1

of industries in that large centre. The figures are in the margin and show that there is a little bit of everything in Cawnpore. Leather and work in leather is perhaps the chief industry, with cotton and other textiles next: but a would-be immigrant into Cawnpore must be hard to please if he cannot find work to his taste there.

409. **Power.**—Out of the 366 factories, 176 use machinery. This amounts to some 55 per cent. of the

whole number. Of the various powers, 120 factories use steam, 27 oil, 8 electricity (in one case with an oil engine in reserve), 4 gas, 2 water, and 15 less powerful means—in 13 cases this is hand power, in one case bullock power and in the last there is no detail save that the machine is country-made: but as it is used for splitting *arhar* merely and is worked chiefly by women, it is probably some kind of machinery which is scarcely machinery at all. The cotton mills, leather factories, metal foundries, and workshops and most of the factories connected with food, are fully equipped with machinery and as these are also some of the chief indigenous hand industries the fact is of some importance.

⁽¹⁾ I learn that this industry is dying if not dead. The demand has ceased owing, I believe, to the discovery of a chemical substitute. At all events in August 1912 I learnt that in Mirzapur scarcely a single shellac concern was still working.

410. **Distribution of employes by race.**—The figures in the margin show the

Kind of employé.	Number per mille and total—	
	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.
Direction, &c. . .	8	48
Skilled workmen	5	526
Unskilled „	..	..
(a) Over 14 ..	..	346
(b) Under 14	..	67
Total ..	13	987
	1,000	

distribution of 1,000 employés according to race. As regards direction, Europeans and Anglo-Indians are found in any numbers only in Cawnpore. The factories of that place account for 236 out of the total of 512, whilst the railway workshops and the Allahabad printing presses (which include the very large Government and Pioneer presses) account for 130 more. There are a few women employed in direction and supervision: 9 are Europeans or Anglo-Indians (doubtless typists and stenographers) and 11 are Indians, probably Indian Christians in similar posts. The skilled European workmen are found in considerable numbers only in the leather factories of Cawnpore, the Jhansi

and Lucknow railway workshops and the printing presses of Allahabad and Cawnpore. Of the skilled Indian workmen 1,092 are females. It is to be noted that the great majority of these are employed in Cawnpore in all sorts of factories as in the margin: elsewhere they are found in considerable numbers only in the

Industry.	Number of females.
Cotton cleaning ..	20
„ spinning ..	148
Hair, &c. ..	225
Leather factories ..	51
Engineering shops	85
Brick factories ..	108
Total ..	637

spinning mills of Agra and the lac factories of Mirzapur. Their presence in engineering shops is extremely curious and has no parallel: that they should be found in the other factories is perhaps not unintelligible though one would not naturally look for them in brick factories, where however they appear not to be uncommon. Amongst unskilled labourers women are found chiefly in the Dehra Dun tea plantations, the textile industries, especially cotton spinning, the brick factories (again chiefly at Cawnpore), the oil mills (especially at Allah-

abad), the lac factories of Mirzapur, and the stone works of Allahabad. Children are found in considerable numbers in the tea plantations, the cotton spinning and weaving mills (it has already been pointed out incidentally that boys make excellent weavers), the brick factories, the Cawnpore boot and shoe factories, and the stone works of Allahabad, in other words very much where women are found. In all some 8 per cent. of all operatives are women. It is worth while noting that skilled labourers amount to 56 per cent. of the whole number of labourers—the inevitable result of using machinery.

411. **Distribution of employes by industry.**—The figures in the margin

Industry.	Number per mille of total employed.	Number per factory.
Special products ..	58	129
Textiles (a) cotton ..	234	555
„ (b) other ..	47	178
Hair ..	50	238
Wood ..	41	642
Metals ..	63	107
Glass and earthenware	69	71
Chemical products ..	48	77
Food ..	66	109
Dress ..	53	662
Furniture ..	4	50
Building ..	55	83
Construction of means of transport.	129	569
Production of physical forces.	4	42
Luxury ..	79	157

show the proportion per 1,000 of the total factory population, which is supported by each industry. It will be noticed that cotton is the industry of nearly 24 per cent. of the whole, and the railway workshops account for about 13 per cent. more. “Luxury,” thanks to the printing industry, metals and the food industry all show fair figures, whilst save furniture and the production of physical forces, an industry still in its infancy, the rest all lie in the neighbourhood of 4 to 5 per cent. The average number of hands per factory is misleading for several reasons. Very large factories often bring the figures unduly high: whilst in some cases owing to

the seasonal nature of the industry, the figures are too low. The state of trade in the various industries as a whole at the time of census can be taken to be as in the margin on the next page. It will be noted that the slackest trades at the time of census were cotton textiles, leather, and chemical products; then glass and earthenware, metals, and furniture. The rest were normal, save the wood industry which was rather brisker than usual. It is impossible to estimate the effect which the state of trade had on the number of operatives employed. It is improbable that it affected skilled labour, or of course management, to any extent, though it may be that rather fewer unskilled labourers were employed than usual. Nor does it necessarily follow that the slackness complained of by certain trades was due merely to a short demand for goods or to seasonal variations: it might very well be that there

Industry.	State of trade (1).	Average co-efficient of trade.
Growth of special products	Normal ...	3.9
Textiles (a) cotton ...	Somewhat slacker than usual.	5.5
(b) other ...	Ditto ...	4.7
Leather ...	Ditto ...	5.5
Wood ...	Somewhat brisker than usual.	3.2
Metals ...	Somewhat slacker than usual.	4.7
Glass and earthenware ...	Ditto ...	4.8
Chemical products ...	Ditto ...	5.0
Foods ...	Normal ...	4.1
Dress ...	Ditto ...	4.4
Furniture ...	Somewhat slacker than usual.	4.6
Building ...	Normal ...	4.2
Construction of means of transport.	Ditto ...	4.3
Production, &c. of physical forces.	Ditto ...	3.8
Luxury ...	Ditto ...	3.9

(1) Returns were made in one of the 7 following forms—(1) much brisker, (2) brisker, (3) somewhat brisker than usual, (4) normal, (5) somewhat slacker, (6) slacker, (7) much slacker than usual. These were given a numerical value from 1 to 7 and the average of the trade obtained in the usual way. This average is the average co-efficient in column 3.

Factory.	Number.
Leather ..	1
Carpentry works ..	2
Iron foundry ..	1
Arsenal ..	1
Engineering shops ..	4
Brick factory ..	1
Oil mills ..	2
Dairies ..	2
Distilleries ..	3
Opium factory ..	1
Postal workshops ..	1
Locomotive workshops ..	1
Electric light works ..	1
Printing presses ..	3
Photo works ..	1
Water works (a) ..	5
Lime works (a) ..	1
Lime kiln (a) ..	1

(a) Owned by Municipality.

Shaikhs (49), Brahmans (21), Khattris (16), Pathans (9), Kalwars (7), Rajputs and Lunias (5 each), Kurmis, Koiris, and Saiyids (4 each), Kayasthas (3), Jats, Julahas and Telis (2 each), and Ahirs, Aryas, Banjaras, Chamars, Dhunias, Halwais, Lodhas, Moghuls, Sonars, and Udasi Sadhus (1 each). Some of these owners own factories, which have no concern with their traditional occupations. The Kalwars own lac and perfumery factories, the Ahir is a perfumer, the Banjara a tea planter, the Dhunia a brass founder, the Halwai a tobacco maker: whilst the Udasi Sadhu has certainly no business to be

indulging in such a mundane pursuit as tea planting. In the margin are given the occupations of the castes with larger number of owners. The Shaikhs, who print calico are probably Julahas or Chhipis, those who make glass, Churihars or Manihars, and the builders Rajas. The Rajputs who grow tea are of course hill Rajputs.

413. Management by race and caste.—

Of Europeans and Anglo-Indians there are 130 in all who are managers. Of these, 7 are Anglo-Indians, 4 Germans, 3 Americans, 2 each Italians and Portuguese and 1 each, Hungarian, Austrian and Greek. All the rest are British. Two hundred and fifteen managers are Indians; their castes are distributed very similarly to the castes of owners and directors, as is natural, especially in the case of owners, who would give the management of their business to their own castefellows if possible. There are 46 Baniyas, 56 Shaikhs, 30 Brahmans, 15 Khattris 13 Kayasthas; other figures are as in the margin. It is probable that in many cases owner and manager are the same.

Castes.	Number in each.
Pathan ..	8
Kalwar, Parsi ..	7
Rajput, Saiyid ..	6
Ahir ..	5
Koiri, Kurmi, Lunia ..	4
Julaha, Moghul, Teli ..	2
Banjara, Chamar, Dhunia, Gadariya, Halwai, Jain, Jat, Lodha, Sonar. }	1

(1) This does not include certain leather concerns in Cawnpore of whose directors the race was not reported. They are chiefly if not entirely European.

was a short supply of labour, which decreased the output, and compelled refusal of orders. The demand regulates the supply no doubt: but if for any reason such as shortage of labour the supply is decreased, the demand will be driven to go elsewhere or go unsatisfied and the result will be the same—slackness of trade. And as plague was rife it is more than probable that labour was short.

412. The race of directors and owners.—

Eighty-seven concerns are the property of companies whose directors are entirely European or Anglo-Indian: of 43 the directors are entirely Indians: of 71 the directors belong to both races (1). Of these Europeans and Anglo-Indians, 1 is an

Anglo-Indian, 1 Swiss, 7 Americans, 2 Greek, 1 Hungarian, 5 Germans, and 1 Italian: the rest are British (English, Scotch or Irish). Of the Indian directors 10 are Baniyas, 5 Khattris, 4 Parsis, 3 Shaikhs, 2 Kayasthas, 7 Brahmans, 1 Rajput and 1 Arya. Of private owners, Government may be first mentioned: it owns factories as stated in the margin. The only point requiring remark is that there are many more distilleries than 3, but the majority were employing at the time less than 20 men. There are 14 distilleries with country stills and one with English pot stills (besides 3 owned by companies). Besides Government and the municipalities, there are 52 private owners who are Europeans or Anglo-Indians, of whom 4 are Anglo-Indians, 4 Americans, 2 Greek, and 1 each Swiss, German, Italian, and Portuguese. As regards castes the larger owners are of course Baniyas (59): then come

In the State of Rampur, the four concerns are all shown as owned by "Pathans." According to the Gazetteer however the sugar factory and distillery appear to belong to the State, and I am under the impression that the dairy at all events is either the private property of His Highness the Nawab or also belongs to the State. The managers are 2 Pathans and 2 Kayasthas.

414. **Special departmental returns.**—The Post-office, Irrigation department,

Department.	European and Anglo-Indian employés.	Indian employés.	Total	Total according to table XV.
Post-office ..	80	11,714	11,794	..
Telegraphs ..	404	1,463	1,867	..
<i>Total</i> ..	484	13,177	13,661	9,844
Railways—				
(a) Employed directly.	1,874	78,197	80,071	45,265
(b) Employed indirectly.	17	36,640	36,657	9,379
<i>Total</i> ..	1,891	114,837	116,728	54,644
Irrigation—				
(a) Employed directly.	58	7,147	7,205	..
(b) Employed indirectly.	15	42,998	43,013	..
<i>Total</i> ..	73	50,145	50,218	5,613

Telegraph department, and the railways were asked to supply special returns showing the number of persons employed by them on the 10th March 1911. The figures are reproduced in subsidiary tables. The totals are as in the margin, and exhibit striking differences from the figures of table XV-A. Taking the post-office first, the departmental figure exceeds the census figure by some 28 per cent. The causes are firstly that many officials have probably returned themselves as agriculturists, and secondly that a large number of the rural postmasters are so in addition to other occupations, and make very

little out of their postal duties, being shop keepers, village schoolmasters, and so on. As regards railway service, the census figure is lower than the departmental figure by 43 per cent. as regards regular employés and 74 per cent. as regards indirect employés—contractors, their servants and coolies—making a total of 53 per cent. all told. As regards railway employés it is probable that a considerable number of the lower grades are also agriculturists and have preferred to say so: whilst it is not possible to say how the railways in these figures have dealt with their travelling staff—guards, drivers, firemen, and so on. In the census enumeration they were counted as present in their homes. If the railways took as present in the province, those who were actually there on the 10th March 1911 (which is probable, since the rule insisted merely on their returns being drawn up by provinces) this would make a marked difference. Again in the departmental figures, such employés as railway doctors, railway sweepers, possibly also railway police and railway mail service are shown, whilst all of these in the census returns went to other heads. This is also a factor which must certainly explain a part of the variation in indirect employés. The only persons indirectly employed whom the census figures show under "railway" (group 104) are contractors for railway works, and coolies employed on railway construction. It is probable that some of these gave insufficient descriptions, but even if they did not there are numerous other railway contractors; on at least one line to my knowledge the right to sell sweetmeats at railway stations is given out on a contract or contracts, and consequently every platform Halwai would be included in the departmental return though not in the census figures. Doubtless other vendors of edibles and drinkables (milk, hot tea and so on) were treated in the same way, including the refreshment room contractors, and all the vendors of light literature, pedlars of curiosities and toys, the stall-keepers of *chikan* works or brassware which one finds, e.g. at Lucknow and Benares. None of these would be shown in the census figures as having any connection whatever with the railway. The "coolies indirectly employed" probably include all the *palledars*, porters who load and unload goods wagons, and are not, I believe, railway servants as a rule, but private ones, of whose existence the railway must certainly take cognizance in some way, by licensing them or otherwise. As regards the irrigation returns it appears probable that the census figures correspond only to the regular employés; indirect employés would be chiefly labourers at earthwork on embankments, or masons, &c. on the construction of masonry works; of the former probably a majority would be agriculturists or general labourers, who worked on canal embankments as they would on anything else of the same kind—railways and roads for instance; whilst the permanent employés of contractors would probably describe themselves merely as *naukari thekadar* and masons would call themselves masons; neither would state at what particular kind of masonry they happened to be working at the particular time.

415. Occupations by religion.—In the margin are given figures showing the

Industry.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Chris- tians.	Aryas.	Jains.	Sikhs.
Pasture and agriculture	8,972	984	12	25	5	2
Industries (all) ..	3,974	5,990	11	16	7	2
Textile cotton ..	3,670	6,309	13	3	5	..
Transport ..	6,604	3,073	220	63	18	13
Trade ..	7,486	2,170	19	83	233	5
Public force ..	6,380	2,749	709	24	2	135
Public administration ..	6,726	2,896	152	177	32	13
Arts and professions ..	7,252	2,315	282	125	19	5
Domestic service ..	7,021	2,900	61	12	3	2
Unproductive ..	5,632	4,309	41	12	3	2

number of persons in each religion who follow different kinds of occupation per 10,000 of population. The figures are interesting in themselves but disclose nothing unusual or unexpected. One would expect Hindus to largely outnumber all other religions put together in all occupations; that they fail to do so in one

is almost the only matter of importance in this table. Taking industries as a whole there only 3,974 Hindus engaged in the industrial occupations to 5,990 Muhammadans. It has been explained several times that Muhammadans reside far more in towns than Hindus do: and though industries of course are by no means merely oppidan in nature, especially in this country, yet it is safe to say that a very large proportion of the oppidan population is industrial. Moreover several industries are followed chiefly by Muhammadans. The cotton industry of the Julahas is one, the tailoring industry of Darzis is another, whilst they contribute to other less important industries, such as other textiles, wood, metals, and food. Hides, ceramics, and refuse alone can be considered chiefly Hindu industrial occupations, but even they are by no means a Hindu preserve. There is nothing noteworthy in the other figures. The number of Christians is considerable only in "transport," where the large proportion of European and Anglo-Indian railway servants influences the figures: in "arts and professions," due chiefly to the high figures under the heads religion, medicine and instruction: and in the heads "public administration" and public force," especially the latter, under which the British army is included. Aryas are found chiefly in "arts and professions" (especially "instruction"), "public administration," "trade," and "transport;" Jains are in considerable numbers only under "trade," and Sikhs only under "public force." These facts require no explanation.

416. Religions by occupation.—It is much more informing to take each

Industry.	Class, order or group (1).	Hindu.	Muham- madans.	Chris- tians.	Aryas.	Jains.	Sikhs.
Pasture and agriculture	0·1.	7,763	5,008	2,302	6,570	2,196	4,342
Cultivation ..	0·1·A.	7,564	4,910	2,103	6,500	2,186	4,314
Agricultural labourers ..	G·4	1,041	433	626	203	335	80
Pasture ..	0·1·D.	175	88	180	61	71	18
Cotton ..	G·21-22	87	885	70	39	36	18
Other textiles ..	G·23—31	26	112	4	104	66	155
Hides ..	0·7	29	18	45	35	1	6
Wood ..	0·8	99	112	133	85	3	255
Metals ..	0·9	52	103	7	21	36	57
Ceramics ..	0·10	82	43	7	5	1	5
Food ..	0·12	147	269	22	103	341	34
Dress ..	0·13	230	583	191	69	12	98
Other industries ..	0·11 & 14—19	232	383	2,741	2	3	43
Transport ..	S. C. IV.	73	200	549	215	105	402
Trade ..	S. C. V.	393	673	230	1,349	6,583	732
Public force ..	S. C. VI.	53	142	1,329	62	11	2,985
Public administration ..	S. C. VII.	44	113	229	393	114	230
Religion ..	0·46	60	26	388	110	20	31
Medicine ..	0·48	10	27	135	68	27	59
Other arts and profes- sions.	0·47, 49, 50	24	126	317	329	85	74
Domestic service ..	0·52	159	387	311	85	39	59
Unproductive ..	S. C. XII.	73	325	118	46	23	61

(1) O=order, G=group, S.C.=sub-class.

religion and subdivide them according to their occupations. The most interesting figures are given in the margin, showing the number of persons dependent on each occupation per 10,000 of each religion. Amongst Hindus 75·6 per cent. are cultivators, and 10 per cent. agricultural labourers: only 22 per cent. follow occupations which are not agricultural or closely connect-

ed with agriculture. Of these 4 per cent. are engaged in trade and nearly 10 per cent. in various industries. Of these industries "dress" and "food" alone show high figures: dress (which includes the toilet) chiefly because of the large numbers of barbers and washermen, food because of grain-parchers and flour-grinders. The Muhammadan figures are of quite a different nature. Only 50 per cent. of the population follow pastoral or agricultural pursuits and only 4 per cent. of these belong to the poorest of all classes, the agricultural labourer; 25 per cent. of the Muhammadans are engaged in industrial occupations, and nearly 7 per cent. in trade. The cotton industry alone supports nearly 9 per cent., whilst dress

supports nearly 6 per cent. (mostly tailors) and over 2½ per cent. are engaged in industries connected with food. The Hindus, in other words, are far more engaged in occupations of a rural nature than Muhammadans, who are, largely, oppidans. The distribution of Christians is, again, quite different. Only 23 per cent., mostly Indian Christians, are agriculturists: 32 per cent. follow industrial pursuits, of whom over 26 per cent. are engaged in refuse industries—a testimony to the very low caste from which a majority of Indian converts come; 5 per cent. are in “transport,” 13 per cent. in “public force,” the result of the British Army, and 8 per cent. in the various learned professions. Of Aryas nearly 66 per cent. are agriculturists; 13 per cent. are in trade and 5 in the learned professions, with only 6 per cent. in industries. Of the Jains 66 per cent. are in trade and 22 per cent. in agriculture; of the Sikhs 30 per cent. in “public force,” and 43 per cent. in agriculture. The figures in short reflect faithfully enough the well known characteristics of the various communities.

417. Occupations by caste (a) *traditional occupations*.—Table XVI and subsidiary table VIII show in sufficient detail

Kind of industry.	Caste concerned.	Percentage of total of castes following the industry.
Goldsmith and jeweller ...	Sonar ...	87
Cultivation, landholding ...	Bhar, Bhuihar, Jat, Kisan, Koiri, Kurmi, Taga, Lodha.	84
Washerman ...	Dhobi ...	71
Barber ...	Nai ...	70
Grain-parcher ...	Bharbhunja ...	70
Confectioner ...	Halwai ...	69
Trade ...	Bania castes ...	63
Carpenter ...	Barhai ...	60
Oil-presser ...	Teli ...	60
Potter ...	Kumhar ...	59
Scavenger ...	Bhangi, Dom ...	57
Weaver ...	Julaha ...	53
Landholding and public service	Rajput ...	50
Blacksmith ...	Lohar ...	49
Personal service ...	Kahar ...	42
Writer ...	Kayastha ...	34
Betel-growers and sellers	Barai, Tamboli ...	29
Growers of vegetables, fruits and special crops and sellers of such produce.	Kachhi, Mali, Mura, Khatik.	22
Bards ...	Bhat ...	17
Pastoral ...	Ahir, Gujar, Gadariya ...	16
Village service ...	Dhanuk, Dusadh ...	16
Boatmen and fishermen	Kewat, Mallah ...	12
Earthwork ...	Luniya ...	12
Priesthood ...	Brahman ...	11
Toddy-drawing ...	Pasi ...	8
Distiller ...	Kalwar ...	7
Leather-worker ...	Chamar ...	6

the facts regarding the extent to which any particular caste follows its traditional occupation. Traditional has been somewhat freely interpreted to mean the occupation with which a caste is particularly associated whether it can be strictly said to be a “traditional” occupation or not. There is nothing for instance to show that the castes which are most agricultural are traditionally agricultural: and it can be taken as certain that they were never so in the same way as Barhais are “traditionally” carpenters. They were probably never tied down by custom and caste rule to agriculture as Barhais were to wood in work, or Sonars to work in precious metals: the trail of the trade guild is not over them. In some cases the present occupation is an expansion of the former “traditional” occupation. Malis

for instance, were originally makers of flower garlands especially for Hindu religious service: they are now gardeners generally. It is dubious whether Rajputs can be described as having a traditional occupation at all. Manu assigns them the comprehensive duties of rule and protection, but this includes a whole series of occupations: whilst landholding must certainly be added on almost all modern theories. Further “public service” hardly corresponds to rule and protection: it includes the clerk as well as the deputy collector or subahdar-major. In the majority of cases however the occupation assigned in this table as “traditional” represents faithfully enough the really “traditional” occupation of the caste. The figures in the margin show the percentage of the persons belonging to various castes or groups of castes who follow their traditional occupation. The Sonar shows much the highest figure, with the cultivating castes a good second. Enough has been said about the pre-eminence of agriculture as an occupation to explain the second case: the first is a trade which in the settled peace introduced by the British Government, coupled with a rise in the standard of comfort, was certain to prosper. The demand has increased and seeing that the trade is lucrative it is not surprising that the hereditary guild of jewellers has not forsaken it for other pursuits. Next come the washerman and barber, the grain-parcher, and confectioner. The first two are pursuits of a kind which are to a certain extent despised, yet necessary, which others would have little inducement to take up, so that they have naturally stayed in the hands of the castes who have always followed them: the other two are connected with food and in matters of food the Hindu is conservative to a degree; whilst his caste restrictions in the matter would necessarily prevent others of lower caste from taking up such trades, lest pollution ensue to the customer, higher castes would not be attracted to them. The proportions are also high (50 per cent. or over) amongst the Bania castes (traders), carpenters, oil-pressers, potters, scavengers, weavers

and the Rajput caste. Others go down as low as 5 per cent., the proportion of Chamars who are leather-workers. The extent to which a traditional occupation is followed depends on several considerations. There is, firstly, the amount of work which it can supply to the caste: if it is insufficient for all its members, some have to look elsewhere sooner or later. This explains the very low figures of the Kalwar and Pasi: the excise regulations prevent these pursuits from being widely pursued. It also explains the decrease amongst Kayasthas: "writing" is after all a limited pursuit. Oil-pressing, again, is a trade which has been damaged by the advent of kerosine oil, and the Teli has often to take to petty trade as an alternative. Secondly, there is the attraction which an occupation may possess for other castes, which tends to drive into other lines some of those who traditionally pursue it. The Rajput can no longer claim a monopoly of landholding and government service. The Kayastha, with the spread of education, has had to make room for clerks of other castes. Village service is the pursuit of many castes: whilst the higher forms of leather-work (harness-making for instance) have attracted even members of the Kayastha caste. Thirdly, there is the fact that certain occupations have lost their attractions; weaving is on the down grade, thanks to mill competition, the Kahar prefers independence and agriculture to domestic service, whilst betelgrowers, growers of vegetables and fruit, the pastoral trades, the scavenger, the boatman, the worker in earth, the priest, the toddy-drawer, and the leather-worker all, for one reason or another, are largely cultivators.

(b) *Other occupations.*—The figures given above include those who follow their traditional occupation at all whether as a primary or a subsidiary occupation. It now remains to be seen what other occupations are followed by these castes. By far the most common is that series of occupations included under the comprehensive term exploitation of the service of the earth. The figures for this, which includes and is chiefly composed of cultivation and agricultural labour are given in the margin; they do not tally with the figures of traditional occupation given above as the latter refer to both principal and subsidiary, the former only to principal occupations. It is obvious that it is unnecessary to look very much further than agriculture to see what those persons do, who having* a traditional occupation do not follow it. Starting from the bottom of this list, of the Halwais who are not agriculturists, nor follow their traditional occupation 13 per cent. follow other trades: 2 per cent. are in various industries, 1 per cent. are domestic servants, whilst the rest follow various other professions. Of sonars, 3 per cent. are in "industries," 4 per cent. in "transport," and only 1 per cent. in trade. Of Banias 9 per cent. follow industries, and 2 per cent. each are in "transport" and domestic service. Of Julahas 5 per cent. are in other industries, 3 per cent. are general labourers, 2 per cent. each in trade and domestic service, and 1 per cent. in "transport." Of Bharbhunjas 5 per cent. are in trade and 1 per cent. each are general labourers or in industries; and so on. I give in the margin the figures of all those castes whose percentage of persons occupied in other pursuits than the traditional one or agriculture is 1 per cent. or over. Of these figures but

Traditional industry.	Caste.	Percentage "who exploit" earth's surface.
Toddy-drawers ...	Pasi ...	92
Earth-worker ...	Luniya ...	88
Pastoral ...	Ahir, Gujar, Gadarिया.	82
Priesthood ...	Brahman ...	70
Boatmen and fishermen ...	Kewat, Mallah ...	70
Leather workers ...	Chamar ...	78
Special products ...	Bathai, Tamboli, Kachhi, Mali, Muraol, Khatik ...	77
Bards ...	Bhat ...	66
Blacksmiths ...	Lohar ...	61
Village servants ...	Dhanuk, Dusadh... ..	60
Distiller ...	Kalwar ...	56
Carpenter ...	Bathai ...	51
Potter ...	Kumhar ...	40
Oil-presser ...	Teli ...	48
Writer ...	Kayastha ...	47
Landholding and public service.	Rajput ...	46
Personal service ...	Nai, Dhobi, Kahar ...	45
Scavenger ...	Bhangi, Dom ...	38
Grain-parcher ...	Bharbhunja ...	33
Weaver ...	Julaha... ..	33
Trade ...	Bania ...	28
Goldsmith ...	Sonar ...	20
Confectioner ...	Halwai ...	14

Caste.	Percentage of persons following occupations.									
	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	X.	XII.		
Bania castes	9	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...
Pastoral castes	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	3
Growers of special products	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Carpenters	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
Scavengers	3	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	1
Grain-parchers ...	1	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Cultivating castes ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
Bards	2	1	3	1	...	1	2	...	2	2
Priests	1	1	2	...	...	...	2	...	1	1
Leather-workers ...	4	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	9	2
Village servants ...	4	2	1	...	...	7	2	...	8	1
Personal servants ...	3	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	2
Confectioners	2	...	13	...	...	...	1	...	1	3
Weavers	5	1	2	...	...	...	2	...	2	1
Distillers	3	2	20	...	...	...	1	...	1	1
Writers	3	2	3	...	5	2	2	...	1	...
Boatmen and fishermen	5	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	5	2
Potters	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	3
Blacksmiths ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Toddy-drawers ... ..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	...
Landholding and public service.	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
Goldsmiths	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Oil-pressers	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

III.—Industry; IV.—Transport; V.—Trade; VI.—Public force; VII.—Public administration; VIII.—Arts and professions; X.—Domestic service; XII.—General labour. For castes concerned, see table above.

the rest follow various other professions. Of sonars, 3 per cent. are in "industries," 4 per cent. in "transport," and only 1 per cent. in trade. Of Banias 9 per cent. follow industries, and 2 per cent. each are in "transport" and domestic service. Of Julahas 5 per cent. are in other industries, 3 per cent. are general labourers, 2 per cent. each in trade and domestic service, and 1 per cent. in "transport." Of Bharbhunjas 5 per cent. are in trade and 1 per cent. each are general labourers or in industries; and so on. I give in the margin the figures of all those castes whose percentage of persons occupied in other pursuits than the traditional one or agriculture is 1 per cent. or over. Of these figures but

few require comment. It is worth noting the wide range covered by the Bhat caste; they do a little of everything. The large number of leather workers (Chamars) who are general labourers may be noticed: it is curious that their employment as syces has made so little impression on the figures. There are only 9 per 1,000 who are personal servants. The large number (7 per cent.) of the village servant castes under "arts and professions" is due to the fact that so many of the Dhanuk women are midwives and monthly nurses. The number of Kalwars (distillers) who follow other trades is noticeable. Many of them are very wealthy indeed. The number of Pasis under "public force" is due to their employment as village chaukidars in some parts, especially Oudh. It will be noted that the Rajput follows practically no occupation save landholding, public service, and cultivation.

It will be interesting to refer to the number of persons of various castes who are returned as dependent on service either in the forces or the general administration of the State. Amongst Bhats and Pasis we find 10 per mille in the army or police. Bantias and the cultivating castes contribute 2 per 1,000, the pastoral castes, the Chamar and Julaha, 3 per 1,000 each; Bhangis and Doms (chiefly Dom village chaukidars) 4 per 1,000; the Dhanuk, Dusadh, and Kayastha 8 per 1,000, and the Brahman 6 per 1,000; whilst such castes as the Barai, Tamboli, Kachhi, and other growers of special products, the Bharbhunja, the Kahar, and the Kalwar contribute 1 per 1,000. The rest contribute less than 1 per 1,000: the vast majority are of course Rajputs or Muhammadans, Sikhs and Christians. Under public administration, Bantias (8 per 1,000), Bhat (4), Brahmans (5), Dhanuks, Dusadhs, Julahas, Pasis (1), Kayasthas (50), Mallahs and Kewats (3) alone contribute not less than 1 per 1,000, again apart from Rajputs, Muhammadans and Christians; the lower castes are mostly peons of various kinds.

418. The occupations of Europeans and Anglo Indians.—The figures in the margin show the distribution of the actual workers amongst persons of foreign descent by occupation. The Armenian figures are actuals, the others the figures per mille. The high figure of Anglo-Indians under "transport" is explained by the large number who are employed on the railways in various capacities. The Europeans are of course most numerous under the head "public force," owing to the presence of British regiments. There is nothing striking with regard to any of the other figures.

Industry.	Anglo Indians (1).	Europeans (1).	Armenians (2).
Exploitation of surface of earth.	16	4	..
Industry ..	94	5	8
Transport ..	391	90	8
Trade ..	20	10	1
Public force ..	32	797	1
Public administration.	57	24	4
Arts and professions.	189	31	8
Domestic service.	53	13	3

(1) Number per 1,000. (2) Actuals.

as a whole. There is a last important distinction to be drawn—that between urban and rural occupations. The distribution of occupations in urban communities differs radically from the provincial distribution which, of course, reflects chiefly the rural distribution. I place side by side certain figures for two large cities and two small ones, with the corresponding provincial figures. The former are Benares and Cawnpore, which both contain cantonments: one is a religious centre, as well as a manufacturing centre, the other is a purely industrial town. Budaun is a very small place, a growing country town: Sambhal is little more than a country town even to-day. The differences between them and the province as a whole in the matter of the distribution of occupations are apparent at a glance. Benares and Cawnpore possess practically no agriculturists: Budaun and Sambhal possess between 20 and 25 per cent. as against the provinces' 73 per cent. In Benares no less than 38 per cent. of the population depends on industry: in Cawnpore, great industrial centre as it is, only 27 per cent. does. The reason is that the

Occupation.	Proportion per 1,000 of population in—				
	Province.	Benares.	Cawnpore.	Budaun.	Sambhal.
Agriculture, &c. (sub-class I).	735	61	48	200	246
Industry (III).	121	380	270	305	355
Transport (IV).	9	35	61	38	14
Trade (V) ..	44	180	151	150	150
Public, force and administration (VI and VII).	13	33	48	65	26
Professions and liberal arts (VIII).	11	96	39	80	45
Domestic service (X).	19	77	119	90	64
Unproductive (XII).	11	33	19	17	17

less than 38 per cent. of the population depends on industry: in Cawnpore, great industrial centre as it is, only 27 per cent. does. The reason is that the

419. Urban and rural occupations contrasted.—In this sketch of the occupations of the province we have so far been considering the province

industrial population of Benares depends chiefly on hand industries, whilst Cawnpore depends on mill industries : no less than 23 per cent. of its population consists of general labourers and others who fall under sub-class XI, which reflects the presence of a large number of coolies, unskilled hands ready to turn to any job in the mills or out of them. Even Budaun and Sambhal have a larger percentage of the population engaged in industries than Cawnpore: indeed of all the cities, Allahabad (246 per 1,000), Fyzabad (232), Jaunpur (230), Mirzapur (254), and Rampur (255) alone have a lower figure of industrial population than Cawnpore. There could be no more striking proof of the way in which machinery deprives men of the labour which is available where industry is carried out by hand. It is unnecessary to refer to transport save to point out that the figure is high chiefly in large railway centres (Jhansi 138, Lucknow 114, Saharanpur 97, Allahabad 79, Moradabad 71, Bareilly 73). The variations in the matter of trade are not very great. Its figure is between 140 and 150 in the case of 10 cities: it is low in Amroha (123) and Jhansi (115): it is highest in Allahabad (174), Benares (180), Etawah (196), Fyzabad (169), Gorakhpur (181), Jaunpur (171), Mirzapur (175), Muttra (205), Rampur (192), and Saharanpur (180). It will be noted that of these places, Allahabad, Benares, Fyzabad, Muttra, and to some extent Gorakhpur and Mirzapur, are sacred places, where trades naturally flourish owing to the influx of pilgrim visitors, just as shopkeepers flourish in our health resorts at home: whilst the others are distributing centres for the country round. The figures of public force and administration need not detain us. They depend chiefly on the presence or absence of cantonments and to a lesser degree of large offices. The professions and liberal arts have strikingly high figures only in Benares, (96), Muttra (129), Fyzabad (77), Allahabad (61), Mirzapur (74), and Budaun (80); the facts are generally explained by the many followers of religion to be found in these holy places, and the large schools and colleges at Benares and Allahabad. Why Budaun should possess so many persons of this category is not quite clear. The moneyed few who have no need to work are numerous only in Allahabad (21), Benares (19), and Lucknow (32). The unproductive population is numerous in Agra (with a large jail and asylum), Benares, (1) (with jail, asylum, and many religious beggars) and Muttra (many religious beggars). Further details are unnecessary: the figures for cities in table XV-A, the details already given regarding factories and subsidiary table I will show the great differences between urban and rural pursuits.

420. **Village industries.**—It is not possible to give the distribution of occupation in rural tracts as apart from urban communities. Not only is there the difficulty of deciding where the town ends and the truly rural community begins, but there are no occupational figures for towns outside the large cities. The matter however can be considered from another point of view, by taking the occupations generally followed in every village, which taken together meet all the

Occupation.	Groups.	Number per 1,000 of population.
Landlords and tenants ...	1-2	616
Agricultural labourers ...	4	91
General labourers ...	167	34
Pasture and dairy ...	9-12,118	18
Cotton-workers ...	21-22	20
Goldsmiths ...	89	5
Blacksmiths ...	39,41	5
Workers in brass, copper, and bellmetal ...	42	1
Carpenters ...	37	7
Fishers and hunters, boatmen ...	14,15,97	1
Oil-pressers ...	53	8
Barbers ...	73	10
Washermen ...	72	8
Grain-parchers ...	59	5
Leather-workers ...	32-33	3
Scavengers ...	83	7
Basket-makers ...	37	3
Priests ...	148	4
Potters ...	47	7
Village doctors and midwives ...	155	1
Grocers ...	117	2
Confectioners, &c. ...	63-64	2
Grain-dealers ...	121	13
Tailors ...	69	16
Greengrocers ...	120	6
Piece-goods-dealers ...	108	3
Rice-pounders and flour grinders ...	57	7
Village watchmen and servants, ...	143,147	6
		899

requirements of ordinary village life, and seeing what proportion they bear to the total. The figures are given in the margin. No less than 90 per cent. of the total population is supported by these village industries. Nor are the figures complete even so. A large proportion of *palki*-bearers and tankdiggers, firewood collectors, collectors of forest produce should all be included: but most of these occupations are not numerous and it is unnecessary to go in to any further detail to prove the point I have to make. The population is essentially rural, and takes to urban pursuits only when circumstances force it to do so. The successful city man, lawyer, doctor, soldier, government servant, looks forward to going back in his old age to his village and his little *zamindari*: those who possess none invest their savings in land. The village artizan has always followed his occupation: it is hereditary and the barber's son becomes a barber, the potter's a potter.

(1) There is a proverb: "*rand, sand, sirhi, sunyasi, inse bache to sawe Kashi.*" The allusion is to the four curses of Benares—widows who settle there for religious purposes; Brahmini bulls which roam the city; steep staircases, and religious mendicants.

His dues are fixed by custom : he cannot charge more nor less than the sum which his *panchayat* orders. If he would eke out his income from further sources, he takes up a little land : if ambition pushes him to the pursuit of wealth, he has to migrate to the town. Fixed fees for regular service, presents at certain festivals or ceremonial occasions, these are his sources of wealth : this and the produce of his land form the scanty livelihood of the village artizan—*patiens operum exiguoque assueta juvenus*. His prosperity, such as it is, is closely bound up with that of the agriculturists who form his clientèle : if times for them are good, he prospers : if times are bad, he suffers with them. It is no wonder that the villager's conversation, as so many have noticed, is always of the *fasl* (crops), of *roti* (food) and *paisa* (money). His few amusements consist of a *katha* (religious recitation), an occasional itinerant show, a visit to the bazar of the neighbouring town, and of course the inevitable *muqadma* (lawsuit). As for the agriculturists themselves, enough has been said ; nor is it possible to end this report of the numbering of a people of which some 75 per cent. are agriculturists in more fitting fashion than in the words of the husbandman's poet, as true now as they were twenty centuries ago :—

*Agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro :
Hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes
Sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque juvencos,
Nec requies.*

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER XII.

Income-tax payers by castes.—Apart from Government servants who pay income-tax on their salaries there are 31,554 payers in the province. Of these 2,311 belong to learned professions, 2,555 are manufacturers, 17,307 are engaged in trade and commerce, 1,451 are owners of property, and 7,930 follow other occupations. Taking, first, the learned professions, we find that of income-tax payers under this head 443 are Kayasthas, 421 Christians, 334 Brahmans, 299 Muhammadans (unspecified), 241 Banias, and 123 Shaikhs : Bengalis, Parsis, Saiyids, Khattris, and Rajputs are the only other castes which show double figures. Amongst manufacturers no less than 1,002 or 39 per cent. are Banias : Kalwars, Brahmans, Rajputs, Telis, Sonars, Muhammadans (unspecified), Pathans, and Shaikhs also have fairly high figures. Amongst traders 8,706 or 50 per cent. are Banias ; 2,001 are Brahmans, 771 Kalwars, 637 Khattris, 935 Rajputs, 923 Muhammadans (unspecified). The chief figures are given below :—

Castes.	Learned professions.	Manufacturers.	Traders.	Owners of property.	Others.
Bania...	241	1,002	8,706	283	3,775
Brahman	334	123	2,001	266	1,202
Halwai	...	46	144	2	15
Jat ...	4	8	105	4	142
Kalwar	1	223	771	26	187
Kayastha	443	36	104	33	115
Khattri	73	16	637	29	97
Kurmi	6	119	312	60	116
Rajput	38	87	935	193	578
Sonar	5	67	88	11	47
Teli	4	84	320	9	52
Hindus (unspecified)	29	9	342	21	52
Muhammadans (unspecified)	299	135	923	113	322
Pathan	28	79	87	23	17
Saiyid	41	15	31	7	18
Shaikh	123	171	375	45	52
Christian	421	19	73	213	336
Jain	8	...	114	22	29
Bengali	67	5	13	4	18

All other castes have less than 100 persons who pay income-tax.

Subsidiary table I.—General distribution by occupation.

Class, sub-class, and order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.		Percentage in each class, sub-class and order of :—		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.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A.—Production of raw materials	7,347	3,754	51	49	·5	99·5	149	95
I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth ..	7,345	3,753	51	49	·5	99·5	149	99
1. Pasture and agriculture	7,336	3,748	51	49	·5	99·5	149	95
(a) Ordinary cultivation	7,149	3,601	50	50	·5	99·5	156	98
(b) Growers of special products and market gardening.	13	7	59	41	12·7	87·3	91	60
(c) Forestry	12	8	62	38	7·3	92·7	105	58
(d) Raising of farm stock	162	132	81	19	13·4	86·6	7	25
(e) Raising of small animals .. ..	..	..	67	33	2·0	98·0	292	45
2. Fishing and hunting	9	5	51	49	10·0	90·0	127	91
II.—Extraction of minerals	2	1	52	48	4·0	96·0	191	86
3. Mines .. ..	..	..	38	62	5·0	95·0	533	145
4. Quarries of hard rocks	1	1	46	54	13·8	86·2	165	114
5. Salt, &c.	1	..	56	44	·1	99·9	1,850	79
B.—Preparation and supply of material substances.	1,755	896	51	49	11·2	88·8	140	90
III.—Industry	1,213	642	53	47	8·9	91·1	139	84
6. Textiles	243	127	53	47	9·4	90·6	128	86
7. Hides, skins, and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	28	12	44	56	11·6	88·4	198	12
8. Wood	101	46	45	55	7·0	93·0	360	117
9. Metals	60	24	40	60	14·5	85·5	161	146
10. Ceramics	76	42	55	45	5·4	94·6	182	79
11. Chemical products properly so called, and analogous.	89	52	58	42	3·6	96·4	141	70
12. Food industries	164	104	62	38	7·8	92·2	109	56
13. Industries of dress and the toilet	280	146	52	48	10·5	89·5	111	88
14. Furniture industries	1	..	42	58	60·9	39·1	133	150
15. Building industries	29	14	44	56	30·6	69·4	158	174
16. Construction of means of transport .. ..	..	..	36	64	35·8	64·2	262	132
17. Production and transmission of physical forces (heat, light, electricity, motive power, &c.)	..	..	40	60	48·6	51·4	191	110
18. Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences.	66	26	41	59	23·3	76·7	123	153
19. Industries concerned with refuse matter.	76	49	65	35	12·5	87·5	73	52
IV.—Transport	94	42	44	56	27·9	72·1	149	117
20. Transport by water	9	3	41	59	8·3	91·7	101	136
21. Transport by road	54	26	46	54	25·7	74·3	132	109
22. Transport by rail	26	11	42	58	37·7	62·3	160	121
23. Post office, telegraph, and telephone services.	5	2	37	63	33·3	66·7	212	153
V.—Trade	448	212	48	52	13·0	87·0	161	102
24. Banks, establishments of credit, exchange, and insurance.	30	10	35	65	18·0	82·0	185	184
25. Brokerage, commission, and export	7	2	36	64	28·6	71·4	183	175
26. Trade in textiles	28	10	37	63	17·8	82·2	183	164
27. Trade in skins, leather, and furs	2	1	38	62	21·4	78·6	237	146
28. Trade in wood	3	..	52	48	15·2	84·8	162	79
29. Trade in metals	3	1	35	65	20·9	79·1	294	181
30. Trade in pottery .. ..	..	..	50	50	6·0	94·0	465	75
31. Trade in chemical products	5	2	42	58	19·1	80·9	202	122
32. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, &c.	7	3	45	55	20·1	79·9	180	108
33. Other trade in food stuffs	297	149	50	50	10·9	89·1	145	93
34. Trade in clothing and toilet articles	12	5	38	62	24·5	75·5	245	136
35. Trade in furniture	3	1	42	58	25·9	74·1	150	137
36. Trade in building materials .. ..	..	..	38	62	29·3	70·7	237	128
37. Trade in means of transport	10	4	36	64	9·6	90·4	213	170
38. Trade in fuel	19	13	61	39	10·4	89·6	159	53
39. Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	11	6	54	46	14·5	85·5	165	73
40. Trade in refuse matter .. ..	..	..	53	47	41·4	58·6	107	194
41. Trade of other sorts	11	5	42	58	26·0	74·0	173	122
C.—Public administration and liberal arts ..	237	101	43	57	21·7	78·3	138	133
VI.—Public force	70	33	47	53	25·0	75·0	64	126
42. Army	13	9	67	33	54·6	45·4	40	58
43. Navy .. ..	..	..	24	76	25·0	75·0	100	266
44. Police	57	24	43	57	15·0	85·0	94	138
VII.—Public administration	56	18	32	68	22·8	77·2	226	204
45. Public administration	56	18	32	68	22·8	77·2	226	204
VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	111	50	45	55	19·1	80·9	164	112
46. Religion	56	27	46	54	16·6	83·4	142	115
47. Law	8	2	27	73	42·2	57·8	232	246
48. Medicine	12	6	50	50	15·1	84·9	227	79

Subsidiary table I.—*General distribution by occupation—(concluded).*

Class, sub-class, and order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.		Percentage in each class, sub-class and order of:—		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.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
49. Instruction	14	6	42	58	23·7	76·3	172	130
50. Letters and arts and sciences	21	9	49	51	20·5	79·5	126	99
D.—Miscellaneous	661	382	58	42	13·1	86·9	95	70
IX.—Persons living on their income	15	6	39	61	43·4	56·6	153	157
51. Persons living principally on their income.	15	6	39	61	43·4	56·6	153	157
X.—Domestic service	192	115	60	40	21·3	78·7	98	59
52. Domestic service	192	115	60	40	21·3	78·7	98	59
XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	345	196	57	43	10·3	89·7	96	74
53. General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation.	345	196	57	43	10·3	89·7	96	74
XII.—Unproductive	109	65	60	40	9·2	90·8	53	68
54. Inmates of jails, asylums, and hospitals.	5	5	95	5	36·1	63·9	2	7
55. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes	104	60	58	42	7·1	92·9	74	71

Subsidiary table II.—*Distribution by occupation in natural divisions.*

Occupation.	Number per mille of total population supported in.										
	United Provinces (British Territory).	Himalaya, West.	Sub-Himalaya, West.	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.	Central India Plateau.	East Satpuras.	Sub-Himalaya, East.	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	Tehri-Garhwal, Native State (Himalaya, West).	Rampur, Native State (Sub-Himalaya, West).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Agriculture. Order I. Groups 1—6	716	828	611	626	736	647	744	871	740	920	660
Pasture. Order I. Groups 9—12	16	9	20	16	14	30	32	14	15	2	10
Others. Order I. Groups 7, 8 and 13	1	4	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	..
Fishing and hunting. Order 2. Groups 14 and 15.	1	1	3	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	4
<i>Total Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.</i>	734	842	637	644	752	679	778	887	757	923	674
<i>Total Sub-class II.—Extraction of minerals.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Textile industries.—Order 6. Groups 21—31.	24	8	47	33	19	34	17	5	26	3	32
Wood industries.—Order 8. Groups 37 and 38.	10	6	15	14	8	18	9	5	7	5	10
Metal industries.—Order 9. Groups 39—45	6	7	6	7	6	7	8	3	8	1	5
Food industries.—Order 12. Groups 57—67	17	4	25	21	18	10	10	6	20	1	19
Industries of dress and the toilet.—Order 13. Groups 68—74.	28	13	32	40	29	31	21	11	22	11	27
Other industries (rest of Sub-class III)	37	15	46	53	33	40	36	14	37	6	33
<i>Total Sub-class III.—Industry</i>	122	53	171	168	113	140	101	44	120	27	126
<i>Total Sub-class IV.—Transport</i>	10	12	14	11	10	12	13	4	8	1	7
Trade in food-stuffs.—Orders 32 and 33. Groups 114—125.	30	14	33	38	27	34	34	20	33	1	50
Trade in textiles.—Order 26. Group 108	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	1	3
Other trades (rest of Sub-class V)	12	7	15	15	11	11	15	5	11	9	17
<i>Total Sub-class V.—Trade</i>	45	24	51	56	41	48	51	27	47	11	70
<i>Total Sub-class VI.—Public force</i>	7	12	8	7	7	11	7	5	4	1	12
<i>Total Sub-class VII.—Public administration.</i>	5	4	6	6	6	9	4	3	5	1	31
<i>Total Sub-class VIII.—Professions and liberal arts.</i>	11	13	17	14	11	10	7	4	9	22	14
<i>Total Sub-class IX.—Persons living on their income.</i>	1	2	1	1	3	1	..	..	1	..	2
<i>Total Sub-class X.—Domestic service</i>	19	14	23	27	17	22	13	9	19	8	34
<i>Total Sub-class XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.</i>	35	18	59	52	30	58	17	8	22	1	25
<i>Total Sub-class XII.—Unproductive</i>	11	6	13	14	10	10	9	9	8	5	5

Subsidiary table III.—Occupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the subsidiary occupation).

Occupation.	Number per mille of workers who are partially agriculturists.										
	British Territory.	Himalaya, West.	Sub-Himalaya, West.	Indo-Gangetic Plain, West.	Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central.	Central India Plateau.	East Satpuras.	Sub-Himalaya, East.	Indo-Gangetic Plain, East.	Tehri-Garhwal Native State (Himalaya, West).	Rampur Native State (Sub-Himalaya, West).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Order I—Groups 1 to 6 (Agriculture) ..	363	425	243	247	405	401	405	504	404	268	239
Order I—Groups 9—12 (Pasture) ..	13	8	17	12	13	22	24	13	13	2	9
Order I.—Groups 7, 8 and 13 (Others) ..	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	..
Order II.—Groups 14 and 15 (Fishing and hunting) ..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2
Total Sub-class I—(Exploitation of the surface of the earth) ..	377	436	263	260	419	424	430	518	419	270	250
Total Sub-class II—(Extraction of minerals) ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Order 6.—Groups 21—31 (Textile industries) ..	13	5	25	16	10	22	11	3	13	1	16
Order 8.—Groups 37 and 38 (Wood industries) ..	5	4	6	5	4	10	5	3	4	3	4
Order 9.—Groups 39—45 (Metal industries) ..	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	1	3	..	1
Order 12.—Groups 57—67 (Food industries) ..	10	2	16	12	11	6	6	4	12	..	11
Order 13.—Groups 68—74 (Industries of dress and the toilet) ..	15	6	15	19	17	18	11	6	12	4	11
Other industries (rest of Sub-class III) ..	20	8	24	27	19	24	20	8	20	9	15
Total Sub-class III.—(Industry) ..	65	28	88	82	64	83	56	25	64	17	58
Total Sub-class IV.—(Transport) ..	4	7	5	4	4	5	5	2	4	..	3
Orders 32 and 33.—Groups 114 to 125 (Trade in food-stuffs) ..	15	7	16	17	14	21	18	11	18	1	23
Order 26.—Group 108 (Trade in textiles) ..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	2
Other trades (rest of Sub-class V) ..	5	4	6	6	5	5	8	2	6	3	7
Total Sub-class V.—(Trade) ..	21	12	23	24	20	27	27	14	25	4	32
Total Sub-class VI.—(Public force) ..	3	8	4	3	4	5	3	2	2	..	5
Total Sub-class VII.—(Public administration) ..	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	1	2	..	9
Total Sub-class VIII.—(Professions and liberal arts) ..	5	7	7	6	5	6	3	2	4	8	6
Total Sub-class IX.—(Persons living principally on their income) ..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total Sub-class X.—(Domestic service) ..	11	9	13	15	10	14	8	7	13	4	17
Total Sub-class XI.—(Insufficiently described occupations) ..	20	13	31	27	18	38	12	6	14	1	12
Total Sub-class XII.—(Unproductive) ..	7	4	7	7	6	7	6	6	5	3	3

Subsidiary table IV.—Distribution of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional population in natural divisions and districts.

District and natural division.	Agriculture.					Industry (including mines).				Commerce.					Professions.			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
United Provinces	34,383,677	716	50	50	5,843,192	122	53	47	2,590,005	539	47	53	534,027	11	45	55		
Himalaya, West	1,271,053	829	49	51	80,361	62	53	47	55,330	36	54	46	20,271	13	52	48		
Dehra Dun	124,804	609	44	56	19,849	97	60	60	14,492	70	45	55	3,122	15	45	55		
Naini Tal	227,977	705	47	53	32,113	99	54	46	24,701	76	57	43	5,169	16	43	43		
Almora	481,830	918	34	66	10,948	13	61	39	10,130	19	54	46	5,157	10	56	44		
Gairwal	438,442	909	67	33	17,451	36	48	52	6,077	13	62	38	6,828	14	48	52		
Sub-Himalaya, West	2,643,736	617	60	40	743,150	171	51	49	281,073	65	44	56	71,867	16	44	56		
Saharanpur	434,543	441	61	89	219,828	221	64	46	85,957	87	45	55	27,325	28	45	55		
Barcelly	682,729	624	59	41	171,454	157	50	50	76,770	70	44	56	14,447	13	42	58		
Bijnor	451,142	560	61	39	202,716	251	50	50	54,062	67	40	60	16,988	21	40	60		
Pilibhit	338,419	694	63	37	64,505	32	48	52	31,359	62	44	56	4,645	10	46	54		
Kheri	739,903	771	59	41	84,647	88	60	40	32,925	34	50	50	7,962	8	54	46		
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	8,073,519	636	60	40	2,138,071	167	49	51	839,764	67	44	56	182,047	14	43	57		
Muzaffarnagar	392,200	485	63	87	169,452	210	49	51	67,487	83	41	59	17,111	21	40	60		
Meerut	845,671	557	62	38	322,057	210	49	51	99,789	65	41	59	21,725	14	46	54		
Bulandshahr	683,704	610	63	37	197,201	175	49	51	69,268	62	39	61	10,360	9	37	63		
Aligarh	654,210	661	60	40	231,498	198	49	51	94,371	80	42	58	16,840	14	36	64		
Muttra	374,835	571	56	44	105,889	161	51	49	67,863	103	45	55	13,458	30	43	57		
Agra	620,280	607	58	42	185,414	181	48	52	83,064	81	43	57	14,512	14	37	63		
Farrukhabad	616,149	685	60	40	182,208	147	48	52	52,699	58	45	55	19,375	14	48	62		

17.	Mainpuri	..	..	526,245	660	59	41	112,018	140
18.	Etawah	..	..	494,094	650	57	43	102,057	184
19.	Etah	..	..	596,446	684	60	40	124,560	143
20.	Budaun	..	..	804,993	637	62	38	131,600	125
21.	Moradabad	..	..	788,881	624	63	37	227,669	180
22.	Shahjahanpur	..	..	674,310	713	62	38	116,443	123
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central</i>				9,140,691	786	45	55	1,410,736	113
23.	Cawnpore	..	..	678,278	593	48	51	164,395	144
24.	Fatehpur	..	..	464,063	685	42	58	84,340	125
25.	Allahabad	..	..	1,042,834	711	39	61	160,424	109
26.	Lucknow	..	..	407,916	538	41	59	138,798	182
27.	Unao	..	..	688,223	755	50	50	110,289	121
28.	Rae Bareli	..	..	790,194	777	37	63	116,023	114
29.	Sitapur	..	..	821,825	722	52	48	123,983	108
30.	Hardoi	..	..	855,520	763	59	41	120,507	107
31.	Fyzabad	..	..	934,944	210	43	57	100,400	86
32.	Sultanpur	..	..	879,312	839	44	56	84,338	80
33.	Partabgarh	..	..	742,343	825	40	60	81,992	91
34.	Bara Banki	..	..	835,229	771	44	56	125,247	115
<i>Central India Plateau</i>				1,427,465	647	36	62	303,195	140
35.	Banda ..	..	..	491,733	748	38	62	77,086	102
36.	Hamirpur	..	..	319,925	687	35	65	70,982	153
37.	Jhansi ..	..	..	401,114	589	38	62	102,502	156
38.	Jalaun	..	..	214,693	530	42	58	57,615	42
<i>East Satpuras</i>				796,587	744	46	54	107,513	100
39.	Mirzapur	..	..	796,587	744	46	54	107,513	100
<i>Sub-Himalaya, East</i>				6,529,970	872	42	52	330,972	44
40.	Gorakhpur	..	..	2,829,705	884	40	60	128,104	40
41.	Basti	..	..	1,594,101	876	45	55	82,460	45
42.	Gonda	..	..	1,212,014	858	41	59	66,940	47
43.	Bahraich	..	..	894,160	853	44	56	53,468	51
<i>Indo-Gangetic Plain, East</i>				3,870,521	740	46	54	629,014	120
44.	Benares	..	..	523,533	584	47	53	152,725	170
45.	Jaunpur	..	..	943,708	816	44	56	106,798	92
46.	Ghazipur	..	..	633,479	754	44	56	98,549	105
47.	Ballia ..	..	..	591,631	700	47	53	113,466	134
48.	Azamgarh	..	..	1,178,173	789	46	54	157,476	105
<i>Native States</i>				627,142	753	67	33	75,160	90
49.	Tehri-Garhwal(Himalaya, West)			276,801	920	71	29	7,988	27
50.	Rampur (Sub-Himalaya, West)			350,341	659	64	36	67,192	126
	Cities ..	..	..	226,578	105	39	61	671,312	312

52	48	46,499	58	49	51	8,903	11	55	45
52	48	40,264	53	47	53	10,838	14	50	50
49	51	53,438	61	46	54	11,258	13	45	55
47	53	47,047	45	47	53	9,950	9	39	61
49	51	84,241	67	44	56	18,190	14	37	63
49	51	53,814	57	46	54	10,532	11	47	53
56	44	633,456	50	47	53	133,485	11	46	54
53	47	78,465	69	46	54	17,211	15	45	55
58	42	32,059	47	55	45	6,712	10	51	49
55	45	97,253	66	47	53	16,913	12	44	56
54	46	96,857	127	45	55	18,548	24	41	59
54	46	44,038	48	41	59	13,415	105	44	56
59	41	43,601	43	47	53	12,253	12	49	51
59	41	47,473	42	50	50	16,105	14	55	45
54	46	49,645	44	47	53	13,496	12	44	56
58	42	43,165	37	48	52	7,285	6	50	50
61	39	29,882	28	50	50	4,129	4	49	51
60	40	27,604	30	50	50	3,947	4	42	58
58	42	43,414	40	49	51	8,471	8	45	55
60	40	132,852	60	53	47	26,670	12	47	53
61	39	32,927	50	61	39	6,348	10	52	48
62	38	21,131	45	59	41	5,786	13	46	54
58	42	57,743	85	47	53	9,285	14	43	57
60	40	21,051	52	52	48	5,251	13	50	50
57	43	63,186	64	50	50	7,462	7	43	57
57	43	68,186	64	50	50	7,462	7	43	57
57	43	227,022	30	52	48	26,094	3	51	49
60	40	93,300	29	54	46	9,093	3	50	50
55	45	51,086	28	50	50	4,343	2	52	48
55	45	46,349	33	51	49	5,704	4	50	50
57	43	36,287	35	51	49	6,954	7	54	46
54	46	297,624	55	51	49	47,436	9	43	57
48	52	83,658	97	46	54	24,212	27	41	59
57	43	44,194	38	51	49	5,463	5	43	57
56	44	46,837	53	54	46	5,136	6	44	56
60	40	58,040	69	58	42	5,918	7	51	49
52	42	51,895	35	50	48	6,707	4	44	56
45	55	44,698	54	44	56	14,195	17	39	61
37	63	3,617	12	38	62	6,089	22	37	63
46	54	41,081	77	44	56	7,506	14	41	59
44	55	432,893	225	39	61	121,691	57	37	63

Subsidiary table V.—Occupations of females by sub-classes, and selected orders and groups.

Group number.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
Sub-class I.—				
Group No. 1 ..	Income from rent of agriculture	259,685	86,973	335
Do. 2 ..	Ordinary cultivators	9,913,214	3,980,964	402
Do. 4 ..	Farm servants and field labourers	1,606,792	1,357,760	844
Do. 6 ..	Fruit, flower, vegetable, betel, vine, areca nut, &c., growers	20,314	11,174	550
Do. 8 ..	Wood cutters; firewood, lac, catechu, rubber, &c., collectors and charcoal burners	19,242	12,673	659
Do. 9 ..	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	5,817	3,323	571
Do. 10 ..	Sheep, goat and pig breeders	6,276	2,871	456
Do. 12 ..	Herdsmen, shepherds, goat-herds, &c.	508,719	105,234	207
Do. 13 ..	Birds, bees, silkworms, &c.	479	148	309
Do. 14 ..	Fishing	13,581	6,696	493
Sub-class II.—				
Group No. 16 ..	Coal mines and petroleum wells	27	4	148
Do. 20 ..	Extraction of saltpetre, alum, and other substances soluble in water	2,172	995	448
Sub-class III.—				
Group No. 21 ..	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing	32,756	26,484	809
Do. 22 ..	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	283,275	160,680	567
Do. 24 ..	Rope, twine and string	10,353	19,326	1,867
Do. 25 ..	Other fibres (cocoanut, aloes, flax, hemp, straw, &c.)	2,602	2,142	823
Do. 26 ..	Wool carders and spinners, weavers of woolen blankets, carpets, &c.	12,508	10,966	877
Do. 27 ..	Silk spinners and weavers	5,667	1,947	343
Do. 30 ..	Dyeing, bleaching printing, preparation and sponging of textiles	17,307	6,378	368
Do. 31 ..	Other (lace, crape, embroideries, fringes, &c.) and insufficiently described textile industries	9,508	7,470	986
Do. 37 ..	Basket makers and other industries of woody material including leaves	47,731	33,151	695
Do. 38 ..	Forging and rolling of iron and other metals	1,501	139	93
Do. 41 ..	Other workers in iron and makers of implements and tools principally or exclusively of iron	88,833	6,629	75
Do. 42 ..	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal	13,812	1,340	97
Do. 45 ..	Makers of glass and crystal ware	4,389	2,911	663
Do. 47 ..	Potters and earth pipes and bowl makers	111,675	73,125	656
Do. 48 ..	Brick and tile makers	7,465	1,646	220
Do. 53 ..	Manufacture and refining of vegetable and mineral oils	126,004	112,519	893
Do. 55 ..	Others (soap, candles, lac, catechu, perfume and miscellaneous drugs)	3,977	2,172	546
Do. 56 ..	Rice pounders and huskers and floor grinders	11,409	227,568	19,946
Lo. 58 ..	Grain purchasers, &c.	72,751	90,899	1,247
Do. 63 ..	Sweetmeat makers, preparers of jam and condiments, &c.	22,547	5,366	238
Do. 65 ..	Toddy drawers	474	133	281
Do. 67 ..	Hat, cap and turban makers	965	1,421	147
Do. 68 ..	Tailors, milliners, dress makers and darners, embroiderers on linen	100,681	61,318	609
Do. 69 ..	Shoe, boot and sandal makers	61,809	8,936	128
Do. 71 ..	Washing, cleaning and dyeing	121,552	100,286	825
Do. 72 ..	Barbers, hair dressers, and wig makers	176,141	66,722	378
Do. 73 ..	Other industries connected with the toilet, tattooers, shampooers, bath homes, &c.	584	290	497
Do. 78 ..	Stone and marble workers, masons, and brick layers	35,596	3,893	109
Do. 89 ..	Workers in precious stones and metals, enamellers, imitation jewellery makers, gilders, &c.	84,585	3,965	46
Do. 90 ..	Makers of Bangles, rosaries, bead and other necklaces	16,939	9,726	574
Do. 93 ..	Sweepers, scavengers, dust and sweeping contractors	112,892	123,012	1,089
Do. 98 ..	Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges	9,416	1,180	126
Sub-class IV.—				
Group No. 104 ..	Labourers employed on railway construction	8,533	846	99
Sub-class V.—				
Group No. 110 ..	Trade in wood (not fire wood) cork, bark, &c.	2,780	1,493	537
Do. 112 ..	Trade in pottery	1,242	454	365
Do. 113 ..	Trade in chemical products (drugs, dyes, paints, petroleum, explosives, &c.)	6,923	1,646	238
Do. 114 ..	Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters, &c.	8,709	1,614	185
Do. 116 ..	Fish dealers	2,513	4,487	1,785
Do. 117 ..	Grocers and sellers of vegetable, oil, salt and other condiments	35,292	12,341	350
Do. 118 ..	Sellers of milk, butter, ghee, poultry, eggs, &c.	29,288	37,867	1,293
Do. 119 ..	Sellers of sweatmeats, sugar, gur and molasses	27,942	6,060	181
Do. 120 ..	Cardamom, betel leaf, vegetables, fruits, and areca nut sellers	79,681	108,664	1,363

Subsidiary table V.—Occupations of females by sub-classes, and selected orders and groups—(concluded).

Group number.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
<i>Sub-class V.—(concluded).</i>				
Group No. 121 ..	Grain and pulse dealers	243,883	617,635	2,533
Do. 122 ..	Tobacco, opium, <i>ganja</i> , &c., sellers	24,396	8,934	366
Do. 123 ..	Dealers in sheep, goats and pigs	3,775	332	88
Do. 124 ..	Dealers in hay, grass and fodder	15,853	15,042	948
Do. 125 ..	Trade in ready made clothing and other articles of dress and the toilet (hats, umbrellas, socks, ready made shoes, perfumes, &c.)	18,526	3,984	215
Do. 129 ..	Dealers and hirers of elephants, camels, horses, cattle, asses, mules, &c., sellers, (not makers) of carriages, saddlery, &c.	15,546	1,386	89
Do. 130 ..	Dealers in firewood, charcoal, coal, cowdung, &c.	23,982	32,451	1,353
Do. 131 ..	Dealers in precious stones, jewellery (real and imitation), clocks, optical instruments, &c.	921	137	149
Do. 132 ..	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, small articles toys, hunting and fishing tackles, flower, &c.	14,096	11,105	788
Do. 136 ..	Itinerant traders, pedlars, hawkers, &c.	4,900	1,904	389
Do. 138 ..	Other trades (including farmers of pounds) tolls and markets	2,361	308	130
<i>Sub-class VIII.—</i>				
Group No. 143 ..	Priests, ministers &c.	75,035	15,412	205
Do. 149 ..	Religious mendicants, inmates of monasteries, &c.	10,183	5,195	510
Do. 155 ..	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, &c.	3,249	18,215	5,606
Do. 160 ..	Music composers and masters, players on all kinds of musical instruments (not military), singers, actors, and dancers	25,788	16,483	639
<i>Sub-class IX.—</i>				
Group No. 161 ..	Proprietors (other than of agricultural land) fund and scholarship holders and pensioners	19,841	7,443	375
<i>Sub-class X.—</i>				
Group No. 162 ..	Cooks, water carriers, door-keepers, watchmen and other indoor servants	288,455	227,066	787
<i>Sub-class XI.—</i>				
Group No. 167 ..	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	596,625	821,236	538
<i>Sub-class XII.—</i>				
Group No. 169 ..	Beggars, vagrants, procurers, prostitutes, receivers of stolen goods, cattle poisoners	185,501	103,629	559

Subsidiary table VI.—Occupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the principal occupation).

Land Lords (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.
<i>Total</i> ..	<i>3,330</i>		<i>1,878</i>		<i>620</i>
Rent payers ..	1,847	Rent receivers ..	168	Rent receivers ..	30
Agricultural labourers ..	405	Agricultural labourers ..	505	Rent payers ..	374
Pensioners ..	19	General labourers ..	79	General labourers ..	16
Money lenders and grain dealers ..	162	Village watchmen ..	15	Village watchmen ..	2
Other traders of all kinds ..	145	Cattle breeders and milkmen ..	53	Cattle breeders and milkmen ..	12
Priests ..	49	Pensioners ..	6	Mill hands ..	1
Clerks of all kinds (not Government). ..	10	Fishermen and boatmen ..	20	Fishermen and boatmen ..	5
School masters ..	10	Money lenders and grain dealers ..	38	Rice pounders ..	3
Lawyers, Clerks, Petition writers ..	7	Traders of all kind ..	108	Traders of all kind ..	7
Estate agents and managers ..	20	Oil pressors ..	66	Oil pressors ..	3
Medical practitioners ..	9	Weavers ..	24	Weavers ..	5
Artisans ..	49	Potters ..	47	Potters ..	3
Pleaders ..	5	Barbers ..	56	Leather workers ..	13
Others ..	593	Washermen ..	56	Washermen ..	5
		Blacksmiths and carpenters ..	81	Blacksmiths and carpenters ..	2
		Others ..	556	Others ..	139

Subsidiary table VII.—Selected occupations, 1911 and 1901.

Group number.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	<i>Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth</i>	35,267,372	32,309,357	+9.2
	<i>Order I.—Pasture and agriculture</i>	35,222,317	32,260,043	+9.2
	<i>Order No. 1 (a) ordinary cultivation</i>	34,327,199	31,614,865	+8.6
1	Income from rent of agricultural land	866,419	3,447,881	-74.9
2	Ordinary cultivators	28,712,015	23,534,772	+20.0
3	Agents, managers of landed estates (not planters), clerks, rent collectors, &c.	196,722	255,919	-23.1
4	Farm servants and field labourers	4,552,043	4,376,293	+4.0
	<i>Order No. 1 (b) Growers of special products and market gardening</i>	56,478	125,125	-54.9
5	Tea, coffee, cinchona and indigo plantations	2,789	4,770	-41.5
6	Fruit, flower, vegetable, betel, vine, areca nut, &c, growers	53,689	120,355	-55.4
	<i>Order No. 1 (c) Forestry</i>	58,709	48,491	+21.1
8	Wood-cutters, fire-wood, lac, catechu, rubber, &c., collectors and charcoal burners.	50,941	45,814	+11.2
	<i>Order No. 1 (d) raising of farm stock</i>	778,992	471,376	+1.6
9	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	16,075	25,335	-36.6
10	Sheep, goat and pig breeders	16,978	11,906	+42.6
11	Breeders of other animals (horses, mules, camels, asses, &c.)	1,148	8,880	-87.1
12	Herdsmen, shepherds, goatherds, &c.	744,791	425,255	+75.1
	<i>Order No 1 (e) raising of small animals</i>	939	186	+404.8
	<i>Order II.—Fishing and hunting</i>	45,055	49,314	-8.6
14	Fishing	38,831	36,203	+5.9
15	Hunting	6,724	13,111	-48.7
	<i>Sub-class II—Extraction of minerals</i>	8,808	18,098	-51.3
	<i>Order 3.—Mines</i>	154	832	-81.5
	<i>Order 4.—Quarries of hard rocks</i>	2,904	72	+3930.6
	<i>Order 5.—Salt</i>	5,750	17,194	-49.1
	<i>Sub-class III.—Industry</i>	5,834,384	6,241,185	-6.5
	<i>Order 6.—Textiles</i>	1,166,359	1,412,145	-17.4
21	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing	115,865	149,659	-22.6
22	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	853,133	1,120,912	-23.9
23	Jute spinning, pressing and weaving	6,136	73	+8,305.5
24	Rope, twine and string	42,167	19,587	+115.7
26	Wool carders and spinners, weavers of woollen blankets, carpets, &c.	40,338	46,133	-12.6
27	Silk spinners and weavers	16,044	12,666	+26.7
28	Hair, camel and horse hair, bristles work, brush makers, &c.	1,145	1,739	-34.2
29	Persons occupied with feathers	247	250	-1.2
30	Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and sponging of textiles	50,589	39,669	+27.5
	<i>Order 7.—Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom</i>	131,642	201,626	-34.7
32	Tanners, curriers, leather dressers, &c., and leather dyers	122,361	193,786	-36.9
33	Makers of leather articles, such as trunks, water bags, &c.	4,906	4,516	+8.6
34	Furriers	690	900	-23.3
35	Bone, ivory, horn, shell, &c., workers	3,685	2,424	+52.0
	<i>Order 8.—Wood</i>	485,880	534,301	-9.1
36	Sawyers, carpenters, turners and joiners, &c.	351,471	399,800	-12.1
37	Basket makers and other industries of woody material, including leaves.	134,409	134,501	-.1
	<i>Order 9.—Metal</i>	286,922	378,292	-24.2
39	Plough and agricultural implement makers	2,524	17,774	-85.8
41	Other workers in iron and makers of implements and tools, principally or exclusively of iron.	236,688	312,625	-24.3
42	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal	38,785	42,380	-8.5
	<i>Order 10.—Ceramics</i>	366,212	41,706	+77.8
47	Potters and earthen pipe and bowl makers	333,043	1,261	+26,310.9
	<i>Order 11.—Chemical products properly so called, and analogous</i>	428,541	473,304	-9.5
53	Manufacture and refining of vegetable and mineral oils	407,439	411,898	-1.1
	<i>Order 12.—Food industries</i>	790,172	766,250	+3.1
56	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	320,383	209,026	+53.3
57	Bakers and biscuit makers	6,251	6,051	+3.3
58	Grain parchers, &c.	251,129	317,291	-20.9
59	Butchers	113,749	112,849	-.8
60	Fish curers	79	70	+12.9
62	Makers of sugar, molasses and gur	31,036	65,865	-52.9
63	Sweetmeat makers, preparers of jam and condiments, &c.	62,053	24,862	+149.6
64	Brewers and distillers	663	4,279	-84.5
65	Toddy drawers	1,293	2,768	-53.3
	<i>Order 13.—Industries of dress and the toilet</i>	1,344,007	1,550,981	-13.3
68	Tailors, milliners, dress makers and darners, embroiderers on linen	302,490	324,323	-6.7

Subsidiary table VII.—Selected occupations, 1911 and 1901—(continued).

Group number.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
69	Shoe, boot and sandal makers	166,095	124,741	+33·2
71	Washing, cleaning and dyeing	379,213	471,024	-19·5
72	Barber, hairdressers and wig makers	482,183	621,104	-22·4
	<i>Order 14.—Furniture industries</i>	<i>6,324</i>	<i>6,283</i>	<i>+·7</i>
	<i>Order 15.—Building industries</i>	<i>140,566</i>	<i>127,422</i>	<i>+10·3</i>
77	Excavators, plinth builders and well-sinkers	1,005	10,028	-90·0
78	Stone and marble workers, masons and bricklayers	96,714	16,284	+493·9
	<i>Order 16.—Construction of means of transport</i>	<i>3,841</i>	<i>4,814</i>	<i>-20·2</i>
	<i>Order 17.—Production and transmission of physical forces (heat, light, electricity, motive power, &c.)</i>	<i>725</i>	<i>1,037</i>	<i>-30·1</i>
	<i>Order 18.—Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences.</i>	<i>317,787</i>	<i>326,554</i>	<i>-2·7</i>
89	Workers in precious stones and metals, enamellers, imitation jewellery makers, gilders, &c.	285,894	253,095	-5·8
90	Makers of bangles, rosaries, bead and other necklaces, spangles, lingams and sacred threads.	49,472	50,956	-2·9
	<i>Order 19.—Industries concerned with refuse matter</i>	<i>365,406</i>	<i>416,470</i>	<i>-12·3</i>
93	Sweepers, scavengers, dust and sweeping contractors	365,406	416,470	-12·3
	<i>Sub-class IV.—Transport</i>	<i>449,610</i>	<i>505,226</i>	<i>-11·0</i>
	<i>Order 20.—Transport by water</i>	<i>39,453</i>	<i>50,646</i>	<i>-22·1</i>
95	Ship owners and their employes, ship brokers, ships' officers, engineers, mariners and firemen.	710	131	+442·0
96	Persons employed on the maintenance of streams, rivers and canals (including constructions).	13,597	9,109	+49·3
97	Boat owners, boatmen and tow men	24,903	41,219	-39·6
	<i>Order 21.—Transport by road</i>	<i>254,307</i>	<i>359,636</i>	<i>-29·3</i>
98	Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.	20,924	7,581	+176·0
99	Cart owners and drivers, coachmen, stable boys, tramway, mail carriage, &c., managers, and employes (excluding private servants).	134,037	128,457	+4·3
100	Palki, &c., bearers and owners	21,680	52,777	-58·9
101	Pack elephant, camel, mule, ass and bullock owners and drivers	39,201	123,622	-68·3
102	Porters and messengers	38,465	47,199	-18·5
	<i>Order 22.—Transport by rail</i>	<i>128,976</i>	<i>75,573</i>	<i>+70·7</i>
103	Railway employes of all kinds other than construction coolies	113,005	69,961	+61·5
104	Labourers employed on railway construction	15,971	5,612	+184·6
	<i>Order 23.—Post office, Telegraph and Telephone services</i>	<i>26,874</i>	<i>19,371</i>	<i>+38·7</i>
105	Post office, Telegraph and Telephone services	26,874	19,371	+38·7
	<i>Sub-class V.—Trade</i>	<i>2,140,395</i>	<i>2,430,140</i>	<i>-11·9</i>
	<i>Order 24.—Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance</i>	<i>144,283</i>	<i>154,469</i>	<i>-6·6</i>
	<i>Order 25.—Brokerage, commission and export</i>	<i>29,411</i>	<i>85,363</i>	<i>-65·5</i>
	<i>Order 26.—Trade in textiles</i>	<i>133,429</i>	<i>162,912</i>	<i>-18·1</i>
	<i>Order 27.—Trade in skins, leather and furs</i>	<i>10,752</i>	<i>10,942</i>	<i>-1·8</i>
	<i>Order 28.—Trade in wood</i>	<i>8,198</i>	<i>13,296</i>	<i>-38·3</i>
	<i>Order 29.—Trade in metals</i>	<i>9,633</i>	<i>539</i>	<i>+1,534·8</i>
	<i>Order 30.—Trade in pottery</i>	<i>3,382</i>	<i>58,885</i>	<i>-1,641·1</i>
112	Trade in pottery	3,382	58,885	-1,641·1
	<i>Order 31.—Trade in chemical products</i>	<i>20,359</i>	<i>58,532</i>	<i>-65·2</i>
113	Trade in chemical products (drugs, dyes, paints, petroleum, explosives, &c.).	20,359	58,532	-65·2
	<i>Order 32.—Hotels, cafes, restaurants, &c.</i>	<i>28,723</i>	<i>44,561</i>	<i>-35·5</i>
114	Venders of wine, liquors, aerated waters, &c.	22,938	30,308	-24·3
115	Owners and managers of hotels, cookshops, sarais, &c., and their employes.	5,785	14,253	-59·4
	<i>Order 33.—Other trade in food stuffs</i>	<i>1,426,539</i>	<i>1,501,792</i>	<i>-5·0</i>
116	Fish dealers	11,562	18,968	-39·0
117	Grocers and sellers of vegetable, oil, salt and other condiments	102,535	250,135	-59·0
118	Sellers of milk, butter, ghee, poultry, eggs, &c.	114,655	109,873	+4·4
119	Sellers of sweetmeats, sugar, gur and molasses	74,340	105,555	-29·6
120	Cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and areca nut sellers	305,017	234,605	+30·0
121	Grain and pulse dealers	686,905	674,926	+1·8
122	Tobacco, opium, ganja, &c., sellers	73,259	53,282	+37·5
123	Dealers in sheep, goats and pigs	9,046	14,887	-29·2
124	Dealers in hay, grass and fodder	49,219	39,561	+24·4
	<i>Order No. 34.—Trade in clothing and toilet articles</i>	<i>59,091</i>	<i>31,288</i>	<i>+88·8</i>
125	Trade in ready-made clothing and other articles of dress and the toilet (hats, umbrellas, socks, ready-made shoes, perfumes, &c.).	59,091	31,288	+88·8
	<i>Order No. 35.—Trade in furniture</i>	<i>16,146</i>	<i>80,032</i>	<i>-79·8</i>
127	Hardware, cooking utensils, porcelain, crockery, glassware, bottles, articles for gardening, the cellar, &c.	13,459	65,466	-79·4

Subsidiary table VII.—*Selected occupations, 1911 and 1901—(concluded).*

Group number.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
128	<i>Order No. 36.—Trade in building</i>	3,926	5,265	-25·4
	Trade in building materials (stones, bricks, plaster, cement, sand, tiles, thatch, &c.).	3,926	5,265	-25·4
129	<i>Order No. 37.—Trade in means of transport</i>	46,442	60,683	-23·5
	Dealers and hirers of elephants, camels, horses, cattle, asses, mules, &c., sellers (not makers) of carriages, saddlery, &c.	46,442	60,683	-23·5
130	<i>Order No. 38.—Trade in fuel</i>	93,044	5,627	+1,553·5
	Dealers in firewood, charcoal, coal, cowdung, &c.	93,044	5,627	+1,553·5
	<i>Order No. 39.—Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.</i>	52,383	62,466	-16·1
131	Dealers in precious stones, jewellery (real and imitation), clocks, optical instruments, &c.	2,971	5,218	-43·1
132	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackle, flowers, &c.	43,777	53,858	-18·7
	<i>Order No. 40.—Trade in refuse matter</i>	1,030	..	..
	<i>Order No. 41.—Trade of other sorts</i>	53,624	93,408	-42·6
135	Shopkeepers otherwise unspecified	26,124	46,495	-43·8
138	Other trades (including farmers of pounds, tolls and markets)	7,535	8,282	-9·0
	<i>Sub-class VI.—Public force</i>	336,627	329,836	+2·6
	<i>Order No. 42.—Army</i>	61,180	53,757	+13·8
139	Army (Imperial)	55,487	53,309	+4·0
140	Army (Native States)	5,743	448	+1,181·9
	<i>Order No. 43.—Navy</i>	17	27	-37·0
	<i>Order No. 44.—Police</i>	275,430	276,050	-·2
142	Police	85,628	86,050	-·5
143	Village watchmen	189,807	190,000	-·1
	<i>Sub-class VII.—Public administration</i>	269,593	315,089	-14·4
	<i>Order No. 45.—Public administration.</i>	269,593	315,089	-14·4
144	Service of the state	123,022	137,858	-10·8
145	Service of native and foreign states	18,851	11,153	+69·0
146	Municipal and other local (not village) service	20,897	33,785	-38·1
147	Village officials and servants other than watchmen	106,823	132,293	-19·3
	<i>Sub-class VIII.—Professions and liberal arts</i>	534,027	624,856	-14·5
	<i>Order No. 46.—Religion</i>	271,187	369,777	-26·7
148	Priests, ministers, &c.	204,284	230,299	-11·3
149	Religious mendicants, inmates of monasteries, &c.	24,559	87,926	-72·1
150	Catechists, readers, church and mission service	5,062	33,108	-84·7
151	Temple, burial or burning ground service, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers.	37,282	18,444	+102·1
	<i>Order No. 47.—Law</i>	37,516	38,123	-1·6
152	Lawyers of all kinds including, kazis, law agents and mukhtiar.	16,867	20,280	-16·8
153	Lawyers' clerks, petition writers, &c.	20,649	17,843	+15·7
	<i>Order No. 48.—Medicine</i>	62,105	55,008	+17·2
154	Medical practitioners of all kinds, including dentists, oculists and veterinary surgeons.	30,050	29,135	+3·1
155	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, &c.	32,055	23,873	+30·1
	<i>Order No. 49.—Instruction</i>	66,906	58,268	+14·8
156	Professors and teachers of all kinds, (except law, medicine, music, dancing and drawing) and clerks and servants connected with education.	66,906	58,268	+14·8
	<i>Order No. 50.—Letters and arts and sciences</i>	96,313	105,690	-8·9
159	Others (authors, photographers, artists, sculptors, astronomers, meteorologists, botanists, astrologers, &c.)	3,456	11,987	-71·3
160	Music composers and masters, players on all kinds of musical instruments (not military) singers, actors and dancers.	82,558	82,673	-·1
	<i>Sub-class IX.—Persons living principally on their income and order No. 51.</i>	69,839	89,515	-22·0
161	Proprietors (other than of agricultural land) fund and scholarship holders and pensioners.	69,839	89,515	-22·0
	<i>Sub-class X.—Domestic service</i>	921,214	1,213,967	-24·1
	<i>Order No. 52.—Domestic service</i>	921,214	1,213,967	-24·1
162	Cooks, water carriers, doorkeepers, watchmen and other indoor servants.	845,017	1,157,513	-27·0
163	Private grooms, coachmen, dog boys, &c.	76,197	56,454	+35·0
	<i>Sub-class XI.—Insufficiently described occupations</i>	1,661,094	3,268,353	-49·2
	<i>Order No. 53.—General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation.</i>	1,661,094	3,268,353	-49·2
164	Manufacturers, business men and contractors otherwise unspecified ..	16,090	53,574	-70·0
165	Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employes in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops.	39,496	75,511	-47·7
167	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	1,603,727	3,138,349	-48·9
	<i>Sub-class XII.—Unproductive</i>	521,117	660,203	-21·1
	<i>Order No. 54.—Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals</i>	24,599	26,737	-8·0
168	Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals	24,599	26,737	-8·0
	<i>Order No. 55.—Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes</i>	496,518	633,466	-21·6
169	Beggars, vagrants, procurers, prostitutes, receivers of stolen goods, cattle poisoners.	496,518	633,466	-21·6

Subsidiary table VIII.—Occupations of selected castes.

Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
(1) AGARWAL (BANIA).			(8) BARHAL.		
1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	738	6	1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	531	31
(b) Principal	730	6	(b) Principal	415	4
2. Agriculture	118	6	2. Agriculture	509	42
3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	41	73	3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	31	122
4. X Domestic service	29	11	4. Others	45	36
5. Others	82	14	(9) BHANGI.		
(2) AGRAHARI.			(9) BHANGI.		
1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	562	55	1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	758	97
(b) Principal	531	59	(b) Principal	767	101
2. Agriculture	368	49	2. Agriculture	93	14
3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	23	222	3. I.—Raisers of livestock, milkmen and herdsmen.	31	22
4. IV Transport—labourers, boatmen, carters, palki bearers, &c.	22	6	4. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	38	36
5. Others	56	30	5. X Domestic service	23	20
(3) AHIR.			(10) BHAR.		
1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	112	36	1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	624	81
(b) Principal	92	35	(b) Principal	621	81
2. Agriculture	857	64	2. Agriculture	275	123
3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	9	130	3. I.—Raisers of livestock, milkmen and herdsmen.	31	51
4. Transport—labourers, boatmen, carters, palki bearers, &c.	7	23	4. XIII Labourers unspecified	39	189
5. X Domestic service	17	49	5. Others	34	88
6. XII Labourers unspecified	11	54	(11) BHARBHUNJA.		
7. Others .. .. .	..	244	1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	619	82
(4) ANGLO-INDIANS.			(12) BHAT.		
1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	..	..	(b) Principal	570	98
(b) Principal .. .. .	..	..	2. Agriculture	326	35
2. Agriculture	16	52	3. V Trade	52	17
3. III Industries—owners, managers, clerks, &c.	92	4	4. Others	52	24
4. IV Transport—owners, managers, ships officers, &c.	390	4	(13) BHUINHAR.		
5. VIII Arts and professions—lawyers, doctors and teachers.	151	178	1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	897	16
6. Others	351	26	(b) Principal	896	16
(5) ARMENIANS.			(14) BRAHMIN.		
1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	..	..	2. Agriculture	50	9
(b) Principal .. .. .	..	..	3. X Domestic service	9	115
2. Agriculture .. .. .	..	..	4. Others	45	134
3. III Industries—owners, managers, clerks, &c.	174	..	(15) CHAMAR.		
4. IV Transport—owners, managers, ships officers, &c.	174	..	1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	114	166
5. Others	652	1	(b) Principal	79	122
(6) BARAI.			(15) CHAMAR.		
1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	205	53	2. Agriculture	783	16
(b) Principal	143	68	3. I.—Raisers of livestock, milkmen and herdsmen.	14	10
2. Agriculture	815	43	4. X Domestic service	21	22
3. V Trade	6	36	5. Others	103	49
4. X Domestic service	5	109	(15) CHAMAR.		
5. Others	31	39	1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	48	18
(7) BARANWAL (BANIA).			(15) CHAMAR.		
1. <i>Traditional</i> — (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	797	28	(b) Principal	37	20
(b) Principal	786	28	2. Agriculture	755	66
2. Agriculture	189	36	3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	41	250
3. Others	25	40	4. XII Labourers unspecified	96	73
			5. Others	70	43

Subsidiary table VIII.—Occupations of selected castes—(continued).

Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
(16) DHANUK.			(24) HALWAI.		
1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	163	41	1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	683	31
(b) Principal	151	43	(b) Principal	678	31
2. Agriculture	410	18	2. Agriculture	138	28
3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	71	48	3. V Trade	129	47
4. X Domestic service	31	108	4. Others	55	44
5. Others	337	109	(25) JAT.		
(17) DHOBI.			1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	850	6
1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	601	66	(b) Principal	848	6
(b) Principal	527	83	2. Agriculture	61	7
2. Agriculture	428	49	3. IV Transport Labourers, boatmen, carters, palki bearers, &c.	6	2
3. XII.—Labourers unspecified	11	45	4. XII Labourers unspecified	15	10
4. Others	34	28	5. Others	70	22
(18) DOM.			(26) JULAHA.		
1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	242	21	1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	519	52
(b) Principal	144	32	(b) Principal	505	56
2. Agriculture	736	62	2. Agriculture	323	59
3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	20	38	3. III Industries, artisans and other workmen.	50	110
4. XII.—Labourers unspecified	24	69	4. X Domestic service	22	58
5. Others	76	57	5. Others	100	21
(19) DUSADH.			(27) KACHHI.		
1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	135	23	1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	197	110
(b) Principal	126	22	(b) Principal	146	167
2. Agriculture	734	117	2. Agriculture	742	37
3. I.—Raisers of livestock, milkmen and herdsmen.	42	94	3. IV Transport, labourers, boatmen, carters, palki bearers, &c.	10	53
4. Others	98	73	4. XII Labourers unspecified	52	64
(20) EUROPEANS.			5. Others	50	41
1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	..	..	(28) KAHAR.		
(b) Principal .. ..	..	..	1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	393	88
2. Agriculture	4	..	(b) Principal	349	106
3. IV.—Transport owners, managers, ships officers, &c.	90	..	2. Agriculture	477	39
4. VI.—Public force, others	753	..	3. I Fishing and hunting	14	37
5. Others	153	1	4. V Trade	19	85
(21) GADARIYA.			5. XII Labourers unspecified	40	33
1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	288	41	6. Others	101	81
(b) Principal	229	47	(29)		
2. Agriculture	669	48	1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	67	22
3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	21	210	(b) Principal	56	24
4. XII.—Labourers unspecified	30	44	2. Agriculture	550	57
5. Others	31	46	3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	30	125
(22) GAHOI (BANIA).			4. V Trade	298	40
1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	642	45	5. Others	66	27
(b) Principal	605	50	(30) KANDU (BANIA).		
2. Agriculture	277	35	1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	414	46
3. XII Labourers unspecified	72	87	(b) Principal	381	51
4. Others	46	27	2. Agriculture	453	63
(23) GUJAR.			3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	109	81
1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	137	15	4. Others	57	53
(b) Principal	128	16	(31) KASAUNDEAN (BANIA).		
2. Agriculture	821	8	1. <i>Traditional—</i> (a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	779	29
3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen	12	94			
4. Others	39	18			

Subsidiary table VIII.—Occupations of selected castes—(continued).

Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
(31) KASAUNDHAN (BANIA)—(concl'd).			(39) LODHA.		
(b) Principal	769	31	1. <i>Traditional</i> —		
2. Agriculture	167	18	(a) Principal and subsidiary oc-	864	48
3. Others	64	54	cupations.		
(32) KAYASTHA.			(b) Principal	861	48
1. <i>Traditional</i> —			2. Agriculture	28	60
(a) Principal and subsidiary	337	1	3. I.—Raisers of livestock, milkmen	22	18
occupations.			and herdsmen.		
(b) Principal	327	1	4. Others	89	65
2. Agriculture	465	16	(40) LOHAR.		
3. III Industries—artisans and other	27	51	1. <i>Traditional</i> —	418	6
workmen.			(a) Principal and subsidiary	318	8
4. V Trade	28	16	occupations.		
5. Others	153	01	(b) Principal	597	63
(33) KEWAT.			2. I.—Raisers of livestock, milkmen	39	37
1. <i>Traditional</i> —			and herdsmen.		
(a) Principal and subsidiary	13	76	3. Others	46	5
occupations.			(41) LUNIYA.		
(b) Principal	11	114	1. <i>Traditional</i> —		
2. Agriculture	898	92	(a) Principal and subsidiary	111	26
3. III Industries—artisans and other	28	101	occupations.		
workmen.			(b) Principal	58	44
4. Others	63	70	2. Agriculture	859	86
(34) KHATIK.			3. III Industries—artisans and other	16	74
1. <i>Traditional</i> —			workmen.		
(a) Principal and subsidiary	153	34	4. Others	67	63
occupations.			(42) MALI.		
(b) Principal	145	36	1. <i>Traditional</i> —		
2. Agriculture	302	180	(a) Principal and subsidiary	135	76
3. I.—Raisers of livestock, milkmen	151	21	occupations.		
and herdsmen.			(b) Principal	126	88
4. Others	402	39	2. Agriculture	639	7
(35) KISAN.			3. XII.—Labourers unspecified	71	28
1. <i>Traditional</i> —			4. Others	164	42
(a) Principal and subsidiary	845	10	(43) MALLAH.		
occupations.			1. <i>Traditional</i> —		
(b) Principal	843	10	(a) Principal and subsidiary	166	40
2. Agriculture	37	10	occupations.		
3. IV Transport—labourers, boatmen,	36	110	(b) Principal	113	43
carters, paliki bearers, &c.			2. Agriculture	717	95
4. XII.—Labourers unspecified	25	9	3. III Industries—artisans and other	59	195
5. Others	59	29	workmen.		
(36) KOERI.			4. Others	111	117
1. <i>Traditional</i> —			(44) MURAO.		
(a) Principal and subsidiary	880	81	1. <i>Traditional</i> —		
occupations.			(a) Principal and subsidiary	233	81
(b) Principal	879	81	occupations.		
2. Agriculture	71	137	(b) Principal	118	268
3. III Industries—artisans and other			2. Agriculture	848	42
workmen.	11	485	3. XII.—Labourers unspecified	13	26
4. Others	39	64	4. Others	21	26
(37) KUMHAR.			(45) NAI.		
1. <i>Traditional</i> —			1. <i>Traditional</i> —		
(a) Principal and subsidiary	511	54	(a) Principal and subsidiary	598	36
occupations.			occupations.		
(b) Principal	492	65	(b) Principal	532	48
2. Agriculture	80	79	2. Agriculture	379	46
3. V.—Trade	12	37	3. X Domestic service	41	267
4. XII.—Labourers unspecified	18	74	4. Others	48	73
5. Others	458	62	(46) PASI.		
(38) KURMI.			1. <i>Traditional</i> —		
1. <i>Traditional</i> —			(a) Principal and subsidiary	8	42
(a) Principal and subsidiary	845	52	occupations.		
occupations.			(b) Principal	5	56
(b) Principal	843	51	2. Agriculture	879	73
2. Agriculture	92	84	3. III Industries—artisans and other	16	198
3. III Industries—artisans and other	17	127	workmen.		
4. Others	48	31	4. XII.—Labourers unspecified	29	70
(47) PATHAN.			5. Others	71	35
1. <i>Traditional</i> —			(47) PATHAN.		
(a) Principal and subsidiary	16	65	1. <i>Traditional</i> —		
occupations.			(a) Principal and subsidiary	16	65
(b) Principal	15	66	occupations.		
			(b) Principal	15	66

Subsidiary table VIII.—Occupations of selected castes—(concluded).

Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
(47) PATHAN—(concluded).			(51) SONAR—(concluded).		
2. Agriculture	592	24	(b) Principal	740	4
3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	91	47	2. Agriculture	191	46
4. Others	302	16	3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	26	117
(48) RAJPUT.			4. Others	43	55
1. Traditional—			(52) TAGA.		
(a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	492	24	1. Traditional—		
(b) Principal	482	25	(a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	896	5
2. Agriculture	437	10	(b) Principal	896	5
3. V.—Trade	9	18	2. Agriculture	36	6
4. Others	72	30	3. Others	68	30
(49) SAIYID.			(53) TAMBOLI.		
1. Traditional—			1. Traditional—		
(a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	12	358	(a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	467	34
(b) Principal	12	402	(b) Principal	408	42
2. Agriculture	406	17	2. Agriculture	518	34
3. III Industries—artisans and other workmen.	122	38	3. Others	74	43
4. Others	400	14	(54) TELI.		
(50) SHAIKH.			1. Traditional—		
1. Traditional—			(a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	518	75
(a) Principal and subsidiary occupation.	19	40	(b) Principal	436	95
(b) Principal	19	39	2. Agriculture	478	45
2. Agriculture	465	24	3. Others	86	34
3. V.—Trade	89	12	(55) UMAR (BANI).		
4. Others	427	24	1. Traditional—		
(51) SONAR.			(a) Principal and subsidiary occupations	792	32
1. Traditional—			(b) Principal	786	34
(a) Principal and subsidiary occupations.	749	4	2. Agriculture	147	36
			3. Others	67	37

Subsidiary table IX.—Distribution by religion and by occupation of 10,000 persons.

Order and selected groups.	Distribution by religion of 10,000 persons following each occupation.				Distribution by occupation of 10,000 persons of each religion.			
	Hindu.	Muham- madan.	Christian	Others.	Hindu.	Muham- madan.	Christian	Others.
1. Agriculture Order I, groups 1—6	7,577	4,916	2,118	4,888	8,970	987	11	32
2. Pasture. Order I, groups 9—12	175	88	179	40	9,171	777	41	11
3. Others. Order I, groups 7, 8 and 13	11	19	6	4	7,732	2,233	17	15
4. Order 2, groups 14 and 15. Fishing and hunting.	8	20	1	2	6,960	3,025	5	10
5. Total Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	7,771	5,043	2,304	4,934	8,970	987	12	31
6. Total Sub-class II.—Extraction of minerals..	2	1	..	1	9,018	938	12	39
7. Textile industries.—Order 6, groups 21—31 ..	114	1,012	74	131	3,975	5,989	11	25
8. Wood industries.—Order 8, groups 36 and 37..	99	112	133	70	8,325	1,594	47	34
9. Metal industries.—Order 9, groups 38—44 ..	53	103	7	29	7,502	2,471	5	22
10. Food industries.—Order 12, groups 56 to 66A	147	263	22	178	7,592	2,352	5	51
11. Industries of dress and the toilet. Order 13, groups 67—73.	230	533	191	53	6,963	2,996	26	9
12. Other industries (rest of Sub-class III) ..	345	444	2,794	123	7,960	1,739	285	16
13. Total Sub-class III. Industry	988	3,523	3,221	584	6,893	2,985	99	23
14. Total Sub-class IV Transport	72	200	550	205	6,604	3,074	220	103
15. Trade in food stuffs.—Orders 32 and 33, groups 114—125.	287	364	107	1,529	8,026	1,725	13	236
16. Trade in textiles.—Order 26, group 108 ..	23	44	19	345	7,137	2,258	25	580
17. Other trades (rest of Sub-class V)	84	265	104	1,218	6,147	3,323	34	496
18. Total Sub-class V. Trade	394	673	230	3,092	7,487	2,170	19	324
19. Total Sub-class VI. Public force	59	134	1,328	243	6,380	2,749	709	163
20. Total Sub-class VII. Public administration	45	113	228	269	6,727	2,897	152	224
21. Total Sub-class VIII. Professions and liberal arts.	95	179	840	358	7,252	2,314	283	151
22. Total Sub-class IX. Persons living on their income.	9	40	264	46	5,132	4,043	679	147
23. Total Sub-class X. Domestic service	159	387	312	76	7,021	2,900	61	18
24. Total Sub-class XI. Insufficiently described occupations.	340	382	605	149	8,328	1,586	65	21
25. Total Sub-class XII. Unproductive	72	325	118	43	6,632	4,309	41	18

Subsidiary Table X.—*Number of persons employed on the 10th March 1911, on Railways.*

Serial number.	Class of persons employed.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.
	Total persons employed..	1,891	114,831
	<i>Persons directly employed</i>	1,874	78,197
1	Officers	184	14
2	Subordinates drawing more than Rs. 75 per month	1,146	482
3	Subordinates drawing from Rs. 20 to 75 per month	507	9,564
4	Subordinates drawing under Rs. 20 per month	37	68,137
	<i>Persons indirectly employed</i>	17	36,640
1	Contractors	7	1,987
2	Contractors' regular employes	10	10,014
3	Coolies .. .. .	..	24,639

Subsidiary Table XI.—*Persons employed on the 10th March 1911, in the Irrigation department.*

	Total persons employed..	73	50,143
	<i>Persons directly employed</i>	58	7,147
1	Officers	42	36
2	Upper subordinates	14	60
3	Lower " .. .. .	..	805
4	Clerks	2	478
5	Peons and other servants .. .. .	..	6,268
6	Coolies .. .. .	..	..
	<i>Persons indirectly employed</i>	15	42,998
1	Contractors	6	1,744
2	Contractors' regular employes	9	2,957
3	Coolies .. .. .	..	38,297

Subsidiary Table XII.—*Number of persons employed on the 10th March 1911, in the Postal department.*

	Total persons employed	80	11,714
	<i>Total</i>	67	10,413
1	Supervising officers	14	58
2	Post Masters	20	851
3	Miscellaneous agents .. .. .	..	1,425
4	Clerks	25	1,017
5	Postmen, &c. .. .. .	..	4,565
6	Road establishment	8	2,497
	<i>Railway Mail Service</i>	13	956
1	Supervising officers	4	21
2	Clerks and Sorters	8	676
3	Mail guards, &c. .. .. .	..	259
	<i>Combined offices</i>	1	345
1	Signallers	1	113
2	Messengers, &c. .. .. .	..	232

Subsidiary Table XIII.—*Number of persons employed on 10th March 1911, in the Telegraph department.*

	Total	404	1,463
1	Administrative establishment	14	3
2	Signalling	387	70
3	Clerks	2	93
4	Skilled labour	1	309
5	Unskilled labour .. .. .	..	683
6	Messengers, &c. .. .. .	..	305

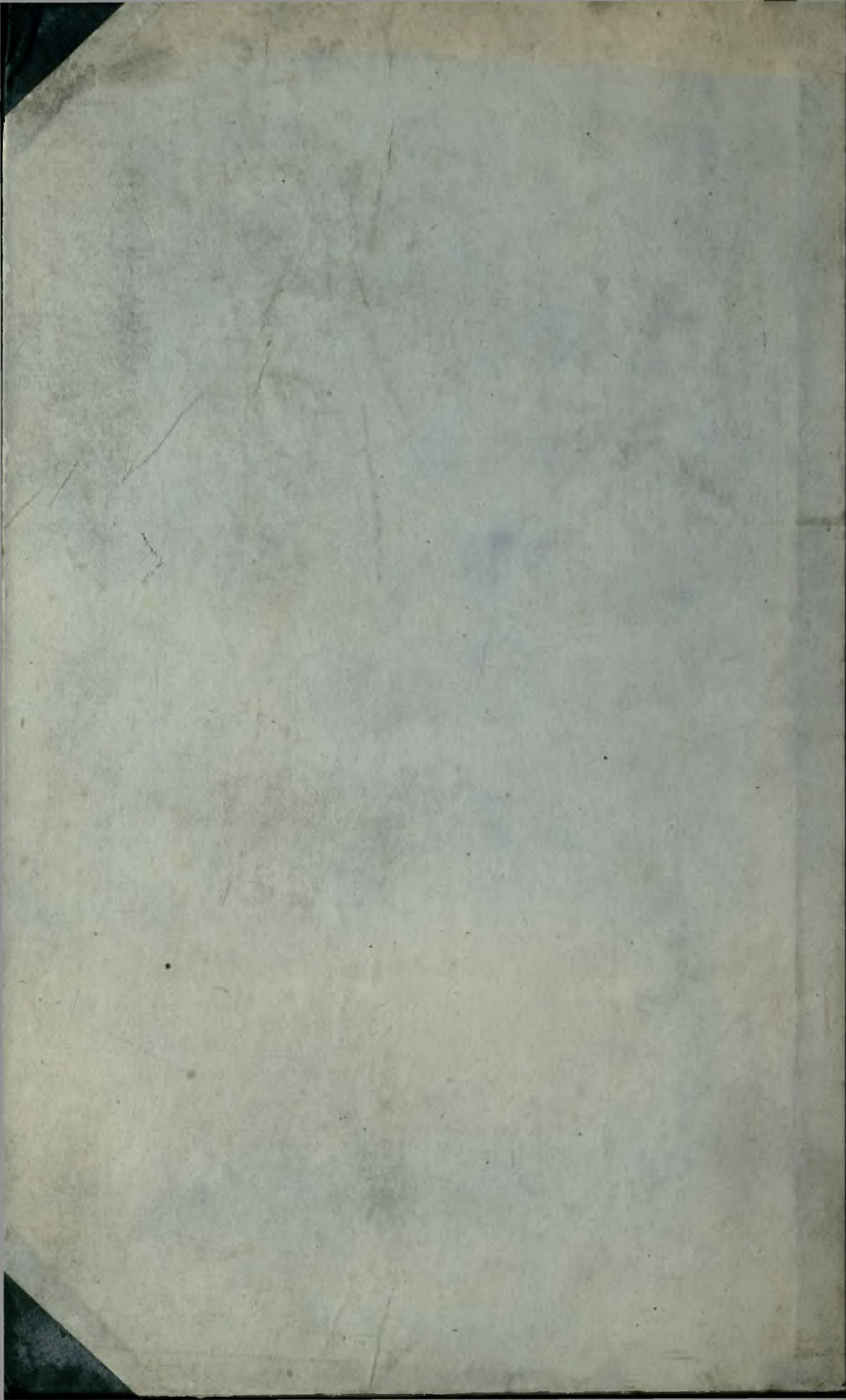
The following information regarding the old-established American Presbyterian Mission reached me when the report was in Press.

The American Presbyterian Mission began work at Allahabad and Saharanpur in 1836; Farrukhabad-Fatehgarh (1838), Mainpuri (1843), Fatehpur and Dehra Dun (1853), Etawah (1862), Etah (1871), Jhansi (1886) and Cawnpore (1905), together with Gwalior (1873), are its other stations. There are also a number of outstations under Indian ministers. It maintains five Anglo-vernacular and 85 vernacular schools, 2 industrial schools, a training school for village preachers and teachers, a theological seminary, 7 high schools, of which 3 are for girls, and 2 colleges at Allahabad and Landour. The Allahabad Christian College was opened in 1902 with 2 students and 2 professors, and has now a staff of 7 American and 8 Indian professors, and an attendance of 300 students of all castes and creeds. It possesses an agricultural department, with 3 American professors, which aims in part at training converts to better agricultural methods. The other college is for women. The day and boarding schools of the mission have 4,001 pupils, and the Sunday schools 5,729. The staff consists of 44 American missionaries, 30 Indian ministers, and over 300 Christian teachers and preachers.

Orphanages are a feature of the work of the mission, which commenced when Dr. Madden, Civil Surgeon of Fatehpur, who was supporting 100 orphans, handed over 50 of them with Rs. 1,000 to the first missionary of this mission, who passed through Fatehpur in 1838 on his way to Farrukhabad. These, with 20 others made over by Captain Wheeler, led to the foundation of the Fatehgarh orphanage. The mission has also published large quantities of Christian literature in the vernacular: the first printing press in the province was set up by it in Allahabad in 1839. A Christian magazine, the *Makhzan-i-Masihi*, in Roman-Urdu (a character which the mission has striven from the first to popularize) has been in existence since 1867. Its chief medical institution is the Sara Seward Hospital for Women and Children, erected in 1890 as a memorial to its first lady doctor, who had a dispensary in Allahabad in 1873. The mission's headquarters are in New York. It is under the control of a board elected by the general assembly of the Presbyterian church in the U. S. A. The missionaries are appointed for life and are admitted to the mission after a year's service and passing an examination in Urdu and Hindi.







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