

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921

VOLUME I

INDIA

PART I.—REPORT

BY

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✓ India	I	2	Usually each report is in two parts, viz., Part I—Report proper bound in dark blue, and Part II—Tables, bound in red. In the case of the smaller units both parts are bound together in a dark blue cover.
✓ Andamans and Nicobars	II	1	
✓ Assam	III	2	
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INTRODUCTION.

1. This Report embodies the results of the 5th regular census of India taken on the 18th of March, 1921. In compiling it I have, for the most part, adhered to the general arrangements of the subject matter adopted by my predecessors. It is essential to preserve some uniformity in the presentation of the statistics in order that it may be possible to measure progress and development by comparison with the past. The main tables in which the figures are presented are the result of careful thought and study in the past and I have not introduced changes except where such changes resulted in a clearer exhibition of the statistical matter without the sacrifice of continuity of method. Similarly in the review of the figures in this volume I have followed in the main the arrangement of the subject matter previously adopted. I have, however, taken a somewhat different view of the scope and design of the Report from that adopted in the past. In the preface to the Report of the Census of 1891 Sir Athelstane Baines wrote :—

“ A good deal has been added, too, in explanation of the statistics that would have been deemed unnecessary had the work been written for efficient readers only, but which becomes advisable as soon as a public is approached that has no experience of what is to us in India a matter of every day observation.”

To this sanguine view of the appeal of the Indian Census Reports may doubtless be ascribed the tradition that they should embody such descriptions of the general conditions of the Indian continent, its geographical, geological, physical, meteorological and ethnical characteristics, as should be necessary to ensure that the analysis of the particular factors which influence the statistical results is interesting and intelligible to the uninformed reader. There must, however, be a limit to this treatment of the subject. India, it is true, develops and progresses and the individual conditions affecting its population in a definite period vary. But the elemental foundations remain. Her ancient and mysterious faiths have not removed the mountains, her rivers flow on, the monsoon blows up with greater or less intensity and the main differences of origin, habit and race persist beneath the development of political and social character which the levelling influences of progressing civilization induce. Even if I had the literary ability to present anew for the fifth time a general description of India and its peoples I should still consider that such an endeavour was unsuitable and unnecessary. The work has been done over and over again by others besides Census Commissioners. It has amused the leisure of abler writers than myself and edified a public which will know nothing of this report. I have taken it for granted, therefore, throughout the report—and this is also the attitude adopted in most of the provincial reports—that the student who is sufficiently attracted to the subject of the growth of the population of India is familiar with the previous history and the general features of the country, its provinces and states and their peoples; and where it is necessary to refer to such matters the reference will take the form of allusion rather than of description. I have also assumed in the reader such knowledge of the economic conditions of the individual provinces and tracts of the country as would be obtained by a perusal of the more elaborate descriptions in the reports of previous censuses, to which I shall where necessary refer for the more detailed discussion of past circumstances. This attitude may deprive the report of some of the interest that attached to its predecessors, but it is impossible that every successive census report should be entirely self-contained and at any rate there

is this advantage that the method described has enabled me to curtail considerably the length of the review.

2. In the Resolution issued by the Government of India in June, 1920, it was observed that—

“ Much interesting and valuable information on the subject of the religious beliefs of the peoples of India, their ethnic divisions, social structure and traditions, customs, folklore and dialects has been collected and presented in previous census reports of India and of the provinces. A good deal of this and similar information collected from various sources has now been collated and presented in a systematic manner in the publications of the ethnographic and linguistic surveys, and except where there are special reasons, *e.g.*, in Burma, for continuing the ethnographic and linguistic researches it is unnecessary that the collection of further information on these subjects which does not bear directly on the census statistics should form a prominent feature of the present census. On the other hand the Government of India desire that special attention should be given on the present occasion to the collection of statistical and general information bearing on the industrial and economic side of the life of the people. The precise nature of these enquiries must, to some extent, differ in different provinces and it is intended that the Provincial Superintendents of Census Operations should work in close co-operation with the local Departments of Industries. The Census Commissioner will indicate to Superintendents of Census Operations the general lines on which these enquiries might proceed and the exact statistical information to be obtained. The Government of India think it advisable that, as in the case of the ethnographic enquiries previously undertaken, an officer in each district should be specifically nominated to undertake the collection of such local information as may with the approval of the local Government be indicated by the Provincial Superintendent of Census Operations. While realizing the difficulties attending this suggestion owing to the increase in work and the depletion of staff the Government of India trust that the practical nature of these enquiries will commend this suggestion to the consideration of local Governments wherever it is feasible.”

In regard to the omission of much of the discussion which formed an interesting feature of previous census reports it will be found that the reports of the present series have conformed to the instructions given. The system adopted on the present occasion was that the letter press of the report itself should usually be confined to a presentation of the statistics collected on the schedule and exhibited in the tables, with such a review of them as should suffice to bring out their true meaning and place them in relation to the factors that have influenced or determined them. Problems of population, taken in its various aspects, enter into almost every circumstance of the life of a people and the track of the figures leads us into country of the widest interest, where there is plenty of scope for the explorer even though he keeps fairly close to the main track and resists the lure of the sidepaths into the attractive but sometimes obscure and ill-lit valleys that fringe the route. At the same time it was important that no new matter that could be used to throw light on the statistics should be lost, while in many cases it was advisable to go further into the origin or nature of the special factors which bear on the figures. The more curious reader will find in the appendices to many of the volumes more elaborate discussions of matters kindred to the main subject which are the result of a deeper or wider research.

With regard to the collection of industrial and economic statistics and information the conditions altered considerably during the course of the census operations. Proposals were made for something of the nature of an extensive economic survey in parts of India, but it was found impracticable to undertake anything of the kind under the conditions obtaining at the time and with the staff available. The rapid development of the Industrial Departments of the Government of India and of the provinces and states resulted in the concentration of effort and action

in regard to industries in the hands of the officers of these departments and of the Labour Bureaus who had special knowledge and facilities for collecting and dealing with industrial information of all kinds, and anything that the census department could achieve in this direction was of little value besides the more systematic and experienced work of experts and specialists. At the same time a considerable amount of interesting information has been collected in the provincial reports along lines which I laid down from head-quarters; but the extent to which attention was diverted to general matters from the census statistics themselves differs considerably in the case of different provinces, and consequently the information obtained is of a somewhat scattered nature which does not always lend itself to compilation and reproduction in a report dealing with the whole of India. In Bombay, for example, under the orders of his Government, Mr. Sedgwick abstained entirely from any general discussion of industrial methods and results. In the United Provinces whatever information of this kind was collected was handed over by Mr. Edye to the head of the local industrial department to be worked up in that department; and, speaking generally, the efforts of the Census Superintendents, where they have been directed outside the immediate scope of the population census, have been to obtain and present statistics which can be dealt with hereafter by trained experts. The statistics obtained through the special industrial schedule, which is described in Chapter XII, should prove interesting and useful to those engaged in studying industrial development in India.

3. The fifth census of the Indian Empire was taken on the night of the 18th of March, 1921. The chief considerations which decide the selecting of the date of the census are (1) that the date should be as nearly the exact decennial anniversary of the previous census as possible, (2) that there should be moonlight between 7 P.M. and midnight when the enumerators make their verification of the schedules and (3) that occasions of large fairs or other gatherings which would disturb the normal distribution of the population should be avoided. On the present occasion the date selected conformed with these various requirements. The Census of 1911 had been held on March 10th of that year so that the decennial interval was only exceeded by eight days. The moon was just after the full and the season was in most parts of India neither too cold nor too hot for the enumerators to make their rounds with reasonable comfort. It is impossible altogether to avoid festivals, fairs and similar assemblies in so wide an area as the Indian Empire, but except for the *Urs* fair in Ajmer, a concourse of pilgrims in Puri, some fairly large fairs in South India and various small gatherings in different parts of the country there was no large disturbing element of this kind. Plague, which had in 1911 caused a serious dislocation of the population in many towns of the Bombay Presidency, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and elsewhere, was luckily nowhere virulent at the time of the 1921 Census, and the distribution of the people was on the whole as normal as it would be possible to find it at any time in any average year.

4. In the introduction to his Census Report for India of 1911 my predecessor, Sir Edward Gait, gave a brief description of the manner in which the Indian census is taken. There has been little change in the main organization and machinery of the enumeration. In each province and large state the census is controlled by a special officer who frames his local orders on the basis of the general instructions contained in the Census Code which is issued from the office of the Census Commissioner and of the various circulars which reinforce and amplify the instructions in the Code. The district, which forms the main unit of census

administration, is divided out into charges, circles and blocks, the block, consisting usually of thirty to forty houses, being the ultimate sphere of the enumerator. The charge and circle officers are, wherever possible, local officials who are called upon to perform duties as census officers in addition to their ordinary official work. The Land Record staff and the village schoolmasters perhaps supply the most efficient portion of the subordinate census staff. Enumerators have to be sought after among the most intelligent and literate portion of the population, and are placed under a statutory obligation to perform their duties as census officers. The staff is carefully instructed some months before the census, and a preliminary enumeration is held during the month or three weeks before the census date, in which all the schedules are written out for the population then found in the blocks, so that the actual census is merely a revision, with reference to the facts on the census night, of these schedules already carefully prepared and checked. The immobile nature of the Indian population secures under this system a very high standard of accuracy in the enumeration of the ordinary population. For population located under abnormal conditions, *e.g.*, in transit by rail, road or water, or collected in places such as cantonments, hospitals, asylums, jails and so forth or temporarily in fairs or camps and for population so dispersed over large tracts of the country as to render impossible enumeration under the ordinary organization, special measures were adopted which were based on the result of previous experience and need not be described here.

5. Once obtained it is important that the figures should be despatched from the local areas to the districts and provincial centres as early as possible, so that there can be no opportunity for tampering with them, and there was as usual keen competition among the Provinces and States to get their provisional totals, based on a summary count of the schedules, into the Census Commissioner's office with the greatest possible speed. The first figures to arrive were those of the Sarangarh State in the Central Provinces, with a population of 118 thousand, and within four days the returns of a population amounting to 123 millions had been received. The publication of the total of India was delayed by the non-receipt of certain totals from the Andaman Islands, which were held back by a temporary break-down of communications, but the provisional figures for all India were published on the 5th of April. The difference between this provisional total and the total obtained after elaborate compilation of the returns in the offices only amounted to .04 per cent. of the whole population of India.

6. The compilation and tabulation of the statistics was carried out under much the same system as was adopted in 1911 and described in the introductory section of Sir Edward Gait's report. The entries in the schedules are transferred by copyists on to slips of a convenient size and shape and these slips are made up into bundles and manipulated by sorters into the various combinations required for the different tables. The possibility of superseding the slip system by the introduction of mechanical sorting by means of electric sorters or tabulators was naturally considered. The general objections to the use of machinery in the Indian census were stated by Sir Edward Gait in his report. The main difficulty perhaps lies in the fact that such machines had not previously been introduced into India or tested by any experience under Indian conditions. It is impossible to make experiments on a large scale on the occasion of the periodic census when work has necessarily to be rushed through and false steps cannot be retraced, and it was necessary that such machines should survive a full trial in a permanent office before they were adopted for census purposes. Now that this sorting

machinery has been introduced into some of the large Railway Offices in India it will be possible, before the Census of 1931, to decide on the basis of actual experience under local conditions whether it is possible to substitute for our present system of compilation the more rapid, accurate and impersonal method of mechanical sorting.

7. There is no direct means of gauging the accuracy of the Indian census, but there are certain considerations which can help us to arrive at some idea of the probable extent to which the figures represent a complete enumeration of the population. In the first place, as will be seen in Chapter III, no less than 90 per cent. of the population were enumerated within the district in which they were born. All but a few of these were probably enumerated in their place of residence; and this settled and immobile characteristic of the people is itself an important ally on the side of accuracy of enumeration, as it means that the schedules, prepared and checked at leisure during the preliminary enumeration by census officers with local knowledge of the people, are very little altered at the final count. Again, the elements in the population in which inaccuracy is most likely are (1) the town areas, especially the large congested towns and cities, (2) the remote and sparsely populated areas in which the standard organization cannot be easily applied and (3) temporary collections of people in camps and fairs away from their ordinary place of residence and the floating population on rail, road and water.

(1) The town population of India is $32\frac{1}{2}$ million persons, but of these $8\frac{1}{2}$ million persons reside in towns of under 10,000 persons which are not large enough to present any difficulty of organization. The remaining town population, *viz.*, 24 million persons represents only 7 per cent. of the total population of India.

(2) The population of areas in which, owing to inaccessibility or administrative difficulties, the standard organization could not be put in force amounts to rather more than $6\frac{1}{2}$ million persons, excluding the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras the figures for which are not available. Even if the total amounts to 8 million persons this only represents 2.5 per cent. of the total population of India. Arrangements differed in these areas but, except in a few tracts where only an estimate of the population could be made, it was usually possible to draw up a fairly complete scheme for the census of the inhabitants; and, as by their very nature the population of such areas was specially immobile and stationary and measures were always devised to preclude a double count of those who moved in or out of the areas, the census was usually as accurate here as elsewhere, the only difference being that the final verification on the census night was omitted.

(3) The date of the census is, as we have seen, chosen so as to ensure a minimum disturbance of the normal distribution on account of fairs and gatherings. On the present occasion there was little serious dislocation on account of plague or other epidemics. In any case the population contained in camps and gatherings as well as the number of persons actually in transit from place to place is an insignificant fraction of the total. Specially careful arrangements are made for these classes and there is no reason to think that omissions are numerous. Apart from these special types, amounting in all to not more than .2 per cent. of the population, we may confidently assert that the standard of accuracy in the enumeration is exceptionally high in India. Over the large part of the country the organization ultimately rests largely on the Land Record staff, an exceedingly trustworthy and capable body of local officials who have an intimate knowledge of the people within their sphere of work. Plenty of time is given

for the various steps in the organization which is now familiar to the people and accepted by them usually without resentment and often with considerable interest.

8. On the present occasion there were in some places special difficulties on account of the non-co-operation movement. The obstacles in this case took the form not so much of direct opposition as of a distinct disinclination on the part of that section of the population on whom the census relies, the lower literate classes of the towns and larger villages, to take up without remuneration work which demanded a certain amount of time and entailed a certain amount of trouble and inconvenience. Our more definite obstacles in the form of strikes and direct refusal to co-operate occurred chiefly in the west of India (the Bombay Presidency), in Calcutta and in some of the cities, towns and larger villages of the Punjab, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces. At a critical time a large section of the village accountants of the Bombay Presidency, who constitute a very important element in the census organization, went on strike for higher pay and refused to take on duties in connexion with the enumeration. Similar strikes on the part of the Land Record staff occurred in other provinces, while the schoolmasters of village schools, another body of men ordinarily available for the enumeration, were in a state of extreme dissatisfaction at their pay and prospects. In many of the larger towns the greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining a sufficient staff of enumerators and supervisors. The Indian press, while advising that information should not be withheld by the general public for filling up the census schedules, declared that all voluntary assistance in the way of acting as enumerators should be refused and, though Mr. Gandhi announced at the last moment that no obstacle should be placed in the way of the census operations it was too late for this pronouncement to have much effect and throughout the Bombay Presidency and elsewhere the spirit of the non-co-operation movement afforded those designated for census work just that excuse which they required for shirking a duty which they had from the first been anxious to avoid. Difficulties of this kind had to be dealt with by a district staff already fully occupied with extra work in connexion with the elections to the legislative assemblies and with the many new political, economic and local problems which the state of the country presented. The manner in which these difficulties were met, and successfully met, is described in the provincial reports. Recourse was had where necessary to the penal provisions of the Census Act and official assistance was called up wherever it was available. The number of paid enumerators was increased and in certain areas blocks were doubled up, while in some cases we dispensed with the final check on the census night and relied on the preliminary enumeration. The Provincial Superintendents are satisfied that in the end the principal difficulties were successfully overcome and we have, I believe, obtained a census which is not less accurate than previous enumerations in respect of the number of persons included, and throughout the Indian States and over a very large rural area of British India which is little affected by the advanced trend of opinion, the schedules are at least as accurate as they were in the previous census. But it must be admitted that in the not inconsiderable areas in which the difficulties of obtaining and training the staff were pronounced a certain proportion of the schedules were carelessly and inaccurately written up. In some cases it has been possible to revise defective schedules after the census but this has not been feasible in all cases. To express the degree of accuracy of the figures by a mathematical measure is however entirely a matter of guesswork. Mr. Lloyd (Assam) speaks of an exceptionally accurate census. Mr. Thompson (Bengal) opines that it is very unlikely that the census total is out by as much as one per mille and it is pro-

table that it is very much more accurate. Mr. Jacob (Punjab) discusses the question of accuracy in some detail and takes a less sanguine view. He thinks that so far as the enumeration by sex and religion is concerned it would be unsafe to assume greater accuracy than one per cent. of error and that in some of the columns the error is almost certainly greater than this. I am inclined to think that this is an outside estimate of the probable extent of error. In any case in a large number of cases errors of omission must be counterbalanced by double enumeration, so that so far as numbers are concerned there is a corresponding reduction of the total deficiency.

9. I may perhaps add some brief information as to the cost of the census in India. The bulk of the cost, which in the case of so large a population is naturally of considerable importance, falls on the Imperial Exchequer, though some of the local charges are met in part by the Municipalities and other local bodies. The cost in 1911 in British India worked out to between Rs 5 and 6 per 1,000 of the population, which was somewhat less than in 1901. In the last decade every item connected with the census has substantially increased in price, including the wages of establishment and the cost of paper and printing. The cost on the present occasion amounts to Rs. 14 per 1,000 but varies considerably in different provinces, being over Rs. 27 in Burma and between Rs. 9 and 11 in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa. The expenditure compares well with that in some of the States, *e.g.*, Baroda over Rs. 54 and Cochin Rs. 23 per 1,000. The cost of the census of England and Wales in 1911 is recorded as working out to £5-8s.-8d., which is equivalent to between 81 and 82 rupees of Indian money.

10. This Report forms one volume of the Census series, the remaining

Province or State.	Name of the Census Superintendent.
Andamans and Nicobars .	R. F. Lewis, Esq.
Assam	G. T. Lloyd, Esq., I.C.S.
Baluchistan	R. B. Dewan Jamiat Rai, C.I.E. Major T. C. Fowle, I.A.
Bengal	W. H. Thompson, Esq., I.C.S.
Bihar and Orissa	P. C. Tallents, Esq., I.C.S.
Bombay	L. J. Sedgwick, Esq., I.C.S.
Aden	E. M. Duggan, Esq.
Burma	S. G. Grantham, Esq., I.C.S.
C. P. and Berar	N. J. Boughton, Esq., I.C.S.
Coorg	K. N. Subbarya, Esq.
Madras	G. T. Boag, Esq., I.C.S.
N.-W. F. Province	Major R. J. Macnabb R. B. Sardar Lehna Singh
Punjab and Delhi	L. Middleton, Esq., I.C.S.
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Cochin State	P. Govinda Menon, Esq.
Gwalior State	Prof. Janki Nath Datta.
Hyderabad State	Mohd. Rahmatullah, Esq.
Kashmir State	K. B. Chowdari Khushi Mohammed.
Mysore State	V. R. Thyagarajayar, Esq., M.A.
Rajputana and Ajmer	R. B. Pandit Brij Jiwan Lal, B.A., I.S.O.
Travancore State	S. Krishnamurthi Ayyar, Esq.

24 volumes dealing each with the census of an individual Province or State. The names of the officers who controlled the census operations in the main provinces and states are given in the margin and I acknowledge with gratitude the ability, energy and devotion which they have shown in the performance of their duties, without which it would have been impossible to have brought to a successful issue by far the largest and most difficult census in the world. The reports will be found well up to the

very high average of the census reports of the past and some of them are of exceptional interest.

Messrs. Thompson, Tallents and Lloyd have written exceedingly interesting reports for the three Eastern Provinces of India, in which the effects of the economic and industrial conditions on the population statistics are well brought out. Mr. Sedgwick successfully overcame special difficulties of organization in the Bombay Presidency, owing to strikes of census officials; and his report, which reached me as early as September, 1922, contains a great deal of interesting statistical discussion illuminated by well designed and well executed diagrams. In the Punjab Mr. Middleton carried through the enumeration and compilation successfully but owing to illness was only able to write one chapter of the report, an interesting

chapter in which he has given a good sketch of the movements of population and the economic conditions of the Province. Mr. Jacob, who succeeded him and finished the report, was able, in spite of the short time at his disposal, to contribute some valuable statistical discussion on lines which are new in Indian Census literature. In his report of the United Provinces Census Mr. Edye, while marshalling his facts and figures with considerable skill, has imported a strain of humour and epigram which makes the volume thoroughly good reading. Messrs. Boag and Roughton have written sound reports of the conditions in Madras and the Central Provinces and the material in the North-West Province and Rajputana has been ably worked up by Rai Bahadur Sardar Lehna Singh and Rai Bahadur Pandit Brij Jiwan Lal. There were disconcerting changes in the Superintendents in the course of the census in Central India and Baluchistan, but Col. Luard's great knowledge of the country and experience of previous enumerations were invaluable for the organization of the Central India census and Major Fowle's report on the Baluchistan census is an excellent contribution to the descriptive history of an interesting tract. Mr. Grantham had, for various reasons, special difficulties to contend with in Burma, which were enhanced by his own continual ill-health. He brought a keenly critical mind to the examination of the statistics and his report contains passages of considerable originality. The reports of the various States are of considerable interest, that of the Baroda State by Mr. Mukerjea being specially well written and containing a great deal of valuable statistical and general discussion. Most of the reports contain appendices in which it has been possible to carry discussion of interesting matter into detail which it would have been inconvenient to include in the text, and a list of some of the more interesting passages of this kind, both in the text and the appendices, will be found in Appendix VIII to this Report. It is unfortunate that owing to unavoidable circumstances it has not been possible to include in this volume the report of Mr. H. G. W. Meikle, Government Actuary, on the age statistics of the census. This report will be published separately and should be found specially interesting, as the material has, on this occasion, been worked up by an actuary who is thoroughly in touch with Indian conditions.

11. The volume of work dealt with by the Government Presses has enormously increased during the last ten years and delay in the completion of this as well as some of the provincial reports is due to the fact that it is not possible to obtain in the presses the same expedition in the outturn of work as it was in the past. I am grateful to Mr. J. J. Meikle, Superintendent of Government Printing, for the assistance he has given by undertaking the printing not only of this report but of some of those of the Provinces and States. Most of the diagrams in this Report have been reproduced at the Thomason College, Roorkee, and the work has been done with accuracy and precision. It was, owing to the necessity of economy, unfortunately not possible to carry through the execution of a somewhat elaborate map of India, showing by colour the distribution of the population, which I had designed in consultation with Colonel Tandy, R.E., of the Government of India Survey Department, and a much more modest map has had to take its place.

Finally I must acknowledge the invaluable services of my Superintendent Pandit Gopal Datta Tewari, B.A., who has controlled my office throughout my tenure of the appointment of Census Commissioner. Besides the examination and check of the detailed statistical matter and the compilation of the tables, a considerable amount of general responsibility has fallen on him during my absence on tour and I am also indebted to him for valuable assistance in connection with this report.

J. T. MARTEN.

MAP OF INDIA

SHOWING THE VARIATION PER CENT. OF THE
POPULATION SINCE 1911 BY NATURAL
DIVISIONS OF PROVINCES AND STATES.



REFERENCES.

Increase (+) 10% to 25%	
" " 5% to 10%	
" " 3% to 5%	
" " up to 3%	
Decrease (-) up to 5%	
" " 5% to 10%	
British Territory	
Indian States	

ANDAMAN
AND
NICOBAR
ISLANDS

Map engraved at Photo-Mechl. and Litho Dept Thomson College, Roorkee.

APPENDICES.

- APPENDIX I—Attitude of the Public and the influence of Non-co-operation.
- „ II—A mathematical aspect of Migration.
- „ III—Present day tendencies in the Religious sphere.
- „ IV—Account of the Terapanthi Sect of Swetambar Jains.
- „ V—Buddhism in Burma.
- „ VI—Female Infanticide.
- „ VII—The size and sex constitution of the average family and the fertility of marriage life.
- „ VIII—Some articles and paragraphs in the Provincial Reports dealing with special subjects.

APPENDIX I.

Extracts from the Provincial Reports on the attitude of the Public and the influence of Non-co-operation.

The public were generally indifferent to the census. Only in a few very remote places the ^{Assam.} idea survived that the numbering of the people was a prelude to some new imposition. The non-co-operation movement caused little trouble. Many educated people gave loyal co-operation, especially in towns. Supervisors and enumerators often objected to appointment—not unnaturally, as the posts were unpaid and expenses had often to be incurred from their own pockets for writing and house-numbering materials. Many (including one tea-planter in Kamrup) had to be warned of the Census Act provisions and some few were brought to trial, but the usual result was acquittal or discharge with a warning. In Kamrup, however, four enumerators were fined Rs. 10 each under the Census Act, one case being for refusal to accept an appointment letter and the other three for neglect of duty. One enumerator, a dismissed tea garden employé, was fined Rs. 5 in Lakhimpur for destroying his papers.

In all administrative measures which concern the indigenous population of the Province, ^{Baluchistan.} the co-operation of the leading men of the tribes is always sought and secured, and the same principle was followed in regard to the present census as it was done on the two previous occasions. The special schedule used in the Tribal areas was the one which had the approval of His Highness the Khan of Kalat, the Jam of Las Bela, the principal chiefs and the District Officers. In the Administrative areas the work was done by paid officials of Government, chiefly *patwaris*, under the supervision of local officers and no difficulties were experienced owing to the hearty co-operation of officers. It was lucky that Baluchistan was not affected by the non-co-operation movement in India and no objections were raised nor any difficulties arose throughout the Operations. Any representations that were made by the local communities were immediately attended to. Special care was taken to meet the wishes of the Sikh Community, the Arya Samajists and the Shia section of Muhammadans, with respect to recording their religion, sect and castes, etc., the lines adopted by the Punjab Census Department being followed in every respect.

The attitude of the general public towards the census was one of indifference except when ^{Bengal.} the records of caste aroused excitement. There was in general no obstruction and little provocation offered to enumerators except by a few Marwaris and others who held the opinions of non-co-operators in Calcutta. Many objected to the record of their castes by the name in common use and a few to the record of their occupations, the Baishnabs of Nabadwip for example refusing to be recorded as beggars and their occupation being ultimately entered as "*Hari nam Kirtan*," singing of the name of Hari. Although followers of the non-co-operation movement did not, even before the pronouncement of Mr. Gandhi in favour of co-operation with the census, go to the extent of refusing to give information regarding themselves and their families, and the movement therefore did not in any way vitiate the proceeding of enumerators, there is no doubt that it prompted many who had been selected as supervisors and enumerators, to discontent at their appointment, specially in towns. In almost every district there were enumerators whose refusal or objection to serve is traceable to non-co-operation. Some said so openly but the large majority took refuge in excuses. A burst of activity in the movement coming after the enumerators had been appointed caused some slight dislocation in the preparations especially in places where it had been intended to employ students, *e.g.*, in Krishnagar and in Calcutta. One District Census Officer reports that amusement expressed the attitude of individuals towards the census in some parts, and they got it in attempting to avoid being counted or to be counted more than once, giving foolish answers to questions, etc. This was in Bankura. Such an attitude is not often found in Bengal and is never likely to cause serious trouble as it might in other countries.

The general standard of accuracy in enumeration is reported to have improved down ^{Bihar and Orissa.} to the year 1891 when it "left but little room for further improvement," and except in the case of some of the Feudatory States it is improbable that any noticeable improvement has taken place since then so far as the exhaustiveness of the enumeration is concerned. On the present occasion a special difficulty was experienced. The census fell at a time of much political excitement when the non-co-operation movement, the avowed object of which was to paralyze the activities of Government, was in full swing. In these circumstances it was inevitable that anxiety should be felt as to the success of the census which is taken under the orders of Government but which depends for its success and accuracy on the voluntary co-operation of a host of unofficial and unpaid workers. A few days before the census Mr. Gandhi published a notice to the effect that it was the duty of Indians to co-operate with Government in the matter of the census, but the notice, while it made it clear, that opposition to the census was not part of the non-co-operation programme, was published too late to produce much effect. Although however the movement was not avowedly hostile to

the census, it created an atmosphere in which it was difficult to make headway with the preliminary arrangements. Persons selected as supervisors and enumerators were only too glad to be able to say that it was against their conscience to accept appointment, and much valuable time was wasted in finally selecting the staff. Moreover, even after appointment, many of the staff still found it difficult to take any interest in their work, and the District Census Officers had a very arduous task in keeping the work up to date. The fear that the public might "go on strike" on the census night and refuse to answer the questions prescribed proved quite unfounded and there was hardly a single case of deliberate obstruction by members of the census staff; one enumerator in Gaya burnt his enumeration book, but it was quickly re-written and the man proved to be mad; in Palamau one supervisor deliberately caused delay in handing over his papers. These were the only cases of obstruction reported. The danger of the non-co-operation movement therefore lay not in active attempts to wreck the census, but in the indifference it encouraged in the staff. In Patna City the difficulty was perhaps greater and the preliminary arrangements more delayed than anywhere else: the gentlemen originally selected (with some honourable exceptions) showed such a lack of interest that it was found necessary at the last moment to transfer the chief responsibility to the police, and this eleventh hour change naturally did not tend to efficiency in enumeration. Yet even here it is doubtful if the omissions exceeded a thousand or two. The town was mercifully free from plague on the present occasion which had been the enemy at previous censuses and, if one difficulty is set against the other, it may be said that the enumeration here, if no better, was at least no worse than on previous occasions. Elsewhere also the difficulties engendered by non-co-operation were generally greater in the towns where people are more politically minded than in the villages. But the proportion of persons who live in towns is very small, being only 37 per mille of the total population.

Bombay.

At previous censuses it had always been possible to secure the services of private persons as supervisor. But at this census the non-co-operation movement and the rise in the cost of living rendered it most difficult and in many cases impossible to obtain them. Moreover even where they did come forward they were in many cases mere puppets, content to be entered on paper as supervisors, but unwilling to do anything at all. In the matter of enumerators the two great obstacles were the non-co-operation movement and the strike of Talatis. The former caused a widespread withdrawal of many who had consented in May and June to have their names put down in the General Village Register. It was not worth while to obtain from districts a complete return of withdrawals. But they must have amounted to thousands. In one Taluka alone 60 withdrew in one week, and the whole process went on gradually throughout the autumn and winter. It commenced with an article in the Kesari in which the Editor, to whom the point seems to have been referred by a correspondent, declared his opinion that, while information legally demandable by law could not be refused, no person ought voluntarily to assist Government by undertaking census duties. On the other hand it afterwards became known that Mr. Gandhi in Gujrat had privately expressed his opinion that the census was an important national work and should be assisted. This wise dictum presumably became known earlier in Gujrat than in the Deccan and Konkan, since the difficulty of securing staff was less keenly felt in the North than in the South. The Talati's strike was really more serious than the political movement. It took place in the autumn just when house-numbering work was to be done, and in some of the Konkan districts rendered it necessary to effect the numbering and write up the House and Block Lists by paid agency. Fortunately the strike was over before the really critical enumeration time. Otherwise there might have been no census at all.

Central Provinces
and Berar.

From the preliminary stages of the census up to the taking of the final census the non-co-operation movement gave rise to considerable anxiety. As at the preceding census, enumerators were asked to do their work out of public spirit and without any monetary reward. It was, therefore, not difficult to persuade a number of them that a ready occasion for embarrassing Government had presented itself. It was only towards the close of the operations that the leader of the movement announced that non-co-operation should not interfere with the movement, and as Mr. Gandhi actually held a political meeting in Nagpur at the unusual hour of 11 p.m. on the census night, when it was important for the accuracy of the census that the bulk of the population should remain in their houses, it can be imagined that the rank and file of his followers were passively if not actively hostile. Arrangements were made beforehand for approximate figures to be obtained in the event of any organised refusal to give information, but such refusals were little in evidence. The inhabitants of one village in the Bhandara district insisted on describing themselves as non-co-operators in the occupational columns, and a few of the Nagpur Kistis or weavers, who, only a few days after the final day of the census broke out into open riot, declined to give particulars of themselves and their families. In Kamptee the inhabitants of one *mohalla* during the preliminary enumeration declined to answer questions, but they were ultimately won round by the district officials. The *patwaris* of the Chhindwara and Chanda districts went on strike shortly before the census day, but completed their census work under threat of the penalties of the Census Act. In general, the attitude of the public, in those places where political propaganda hostile to Government were most

powerful, was more one of apathy than of actual hostility, and the constant efforts of the district officials were necessary to keep the census staff up to the mark. As the work was voluntary, prosecutions under the Census Act were kept as low as possible and only numbered 31, but the number of people who either declined to act as enumerators, or after agreeing to act gave somewhat transparent excuses for ceasing to do so, was considerable, and it was only by providing a liberal reserve of enumerators that the final enumeration was ultimately carried out successfully. It may, however, be doubted whether this would have been possible if the census had been taken a few months later.

The attitude of the public was generally friendly; "non-co-operation" affected the work to a surprisingly small extent, though from several districts I had reports that enumerators were reluctant to do gratuitous work. Except, however, in one or two districts, *e.g.*, Guntūr and Coimbatore, it was expressly stated that this was not due to non-co-operation but was merely disinclination to undertake work for which no remuneration was offered. The public, however, made no difficulty about supplying the information required of them; and though Collectors found it necessary to sanction 39 prosecutions under the Census Act the offence, in almost every case was that of refusing to do the work of an enumerator. There is no doubt that it has been on this occasion more difficult than ever before to get the work done gratuitously. The offer of a certificate for good work no longer proves an attraction strong enough to induce men to sacrifice their leisure, and in some cases their cash. Madras.

The masses are now familiar with the institution of census, which recurs every ten years, without any harm resulting to any body. On the whole the attitude of the public towards the operations was all that could be desired. It was apprehended that non-co-operation movement, which was in full swing at the time of the census, might give trouble in connection with it, but the fears proved groundless, and the attitude of the people was as friendly as is possible under the circumstances, in an educationally backward province like the North-West Frontier Province. North-West Frontier Province.

The Indian Census Act of 1920 provided the necessary authority for making all enquiries necessary to the census and for appointing census officers; similar enactments were passed in all the Punjab States. Throughout the operations no punitive actions under the Act were found to be necessary, and mere threats of putting it into operation in the few cases where census officers or others appeared to be obstructing the census proved sufficient to convince them of the futility of their attitude. The general public are apathetic as regards the census and its objects but are quite accustomed to its decennial repetition and answer the questions readily without any absurd suspicions as to ulterior motives; such opposition as there was to the 1921 census arose, not from ignorance and suspicion, but from mere slackness and, in a few cases, from a desire to hinder any Government activity whatever its nature. At former censuses it was thought an honour to be employed and there was no lack of assistance, but now the work of an enumerator is regarded as irksome and appointment is avoided rather than sought; once they had been appointed, however, the enumerators of 1921 carried out their duties without contumacy if without enthusiasm. Active opposition to the census was at one time thought to be possible on account of the large numbers of persons who professed allegiance to the political discontents who termed themselves non-co-operators, but the non-co-operators never turned their organised attention to obstructing the census, and one of their most prominent leaders of the time pronounced in favour of assisting it a few days before it took place, that announcement may have affected the attitude of the general public on the actual date but came too late to affect the census administration as all census officers had been appointed and trained long before. The most serious obstacles were encountered in urban areas where the spirit of slackness was most marked; some leading men in Delhi city showed an extremely bad example in declining to undertake census duties but their services were dispensed with and they were doubtless disappointed to find that their example was not followed by any considerable section of the community; in Lahore city the enumerating staff at first selected showed such indifference to their duties that it was thought wise to replace many of them by more public-spirited substitutes, unfortunately some of the substitutes were appointed so late that they had not gained a full insight into their duties by the time of the final enumeration. At one time the revenue staff was slightly affected by a ripple of agitation, and attempts were made by outsiders and discontented spirits amongst them to use the census as an opportunity for pressing their claims to higher remuneration; fortunately the majority recognised that Government was doing its best for them in the time of scarcity and high prices which followed as an aftermath of war, good sense prevailed, and in the end the loyal co-operation of the whole revenue staff was such as to deserve the same praise as had been meritoriously earned on previous occasions. Though concerted opposition never appeared and isolated attempts at opposition failed ingloriously, yet there is every indication that in future censuses less and less support can be expected from honorary workers; in the stress and striving of competitive life, which must accompany all political and economic progress such a tendency cannot be deplored but it must eventually lead either to a narrowing of the scope of census enquiries or to a great increase in the cost of operations. Punjab.

The attitude of the public towards the census was less satisfactory—in the British districts, not in States—than in 1911. Much trouble was caused in cities and towns but not United Provinces.

in villages by the "non-co-operation" movement. Non-co-operators endeavoured to obstruct in two ways:—

- (1) by refusing to act as census officials ;
- (2) by refusing as heads of families to give the information necessary to enable the schedules to be filled up.

As to the first form of obstruction, recusants were replaced by officials and the well-disposed, or were themselves brought to reason by prosecution or the threat of prosecution, according to the administrative methods followed in each district. As to the second form, the information needed can always be obtained in other ways ; but where prosecution was undertaken promptly it was unnecessary to resort to these. The movement gave much extra work and anxiety to District Census Officers, but I am convinced that it has not affected the accuracy of the figures. As soon as it was apparent that trouble of this kind was impending, Government at my instance instructed District Officers to prosecute for obstruction under the Census Act directly it occurred and as a matter of course.

APPENDIX II.

*Extract from Chapter III of the Punjab Census Report by Mr. S. M. Jacob, I.C.S.,
on a mathematical aspect of Migration.*

It is, so far as the speedy completion of their work is concerned, a great advantage which some writers enjoy, that they are prepared to disregard the existence of logical fallacies so long as the facts advanced are supported by figures. To a writer of this type the fact that 11·5 per cent. of the population is recorded as having been born outside the district in the case of Multan, 14·6 per cent. in the case of Rawalpindi, and 32·8 per cent. in the case of the Kalsia State, is proof that there is a relatively larger number of immigrants into Rawalpindi than into Multan, and into Kalsia than into either of the other places. One possible fallacy, arising from the necessary inclusion of movements which I have classed under the term "circulation," has been dealt with in paragraphs 68 and 69, but it seems possible that an even subtler fallacy may lurk behind the apparent simplicity of the data. It might take months, or even years, to analyse down to its elements the concept which I shall attempt to expound, and only a preliminary examination of the principle will be set forth. In its extreme forms the principle is simple and indeed obvious, and we may start by examining the figures shown in the margin. The entries in rows 1 to 4 will doubtless be

Table showing the percentage of persons born in a given area who were (or would be) enumerated in that area.

Area.	Approximate land area in square miles.	Percentage of natives.
1. The world	55,000,000	100
2. India (1911)	1,903,000	93·7
3. The Punjab (1921)	137,000	97·5
4. Average British District or State in the Punjab (1921)	3,400	86·1
5. A point on the earth's surface	0	0

accepted as indicating that with the diminution of extension, the percentage of natives must decrease, or the percentage of foreign-born must increase. The entry in row 5 is an obvious deduction from the assumption of *ab initio* mobility of the organism.*

Actually the percentage of foreign-born in every area will never be a single valued function of the area itself or of the population; but for our present purpose we may say that, in general, the percentage of foreign-born in any region

increases as the area or population of the region diminishes. This is *not* a humano-sociological or economic law, but a law of animal movement in relation to the properties of space. Now, just as there is an increase in the percentage of foreign-born down from the world (0) to the average of a Punjab district or State (13·9), so it seems indisputable that the percentage of foreign-born must increase continuously (though as a multiple-valued† function of the area) as the districts or States considered diminish in area or population. Though it is clear that the law is true as a generalisation covering wide variations of area, it is important to see to what extent it holds for the variations in size which occur in the different districts and States of the Punjab. If it does hold we can predict that there will probably be a negative correlation between the population of a district and the percentage of foreign-born. Actually we find a correlation of $-24 \pm \cdot 098$ subsisting between the two variables, and the law therefore is applicable even within a comparatively limited range of variation of area.‡

The equation expressing the percentage of foreign-born (F) in a District or State in terms of the population (P) of the District or State, is

$$F = 15\cdot9 - 5\cdot57 \times 10^{-6P}$$

We have thus reached the important conclusion that it is idle to make deductions from the percentage of immigrants into a District or State till the crude percentage has been corrected for the size or population of the District or State concerned. An approximate correction would be to subtract from the crude percentage of foreign-born the number deduced from the above regression equation. What the full correction would be, were an exact investigation of this point carried out, must be left to future discovery.§

In closing this section I will merely put before the reader a question, which will pointedly show the importance of the foregoing discussion, in preventing the formation of hasty and fallacious judgments on the problem of migration.

* It would not be true of the motionless vegetable kingdom, where the percentage of natives will always be cent. per cent.

† I make no apology for borrowing an occasional phrase from the technique of that reservoir of accurate expression, to wit mathematics, though I am well aware that there is a tendency for the classical man to regard any idea he cannot grasp instantaneously as either erroneous or futile. It is time he became more Socratic in his outlook.

‡ This correlation co-efficient, as well as the regression equation which follows, is found after exclusion of the Colony districts of Lyallpur, Montgomery, Shahpur and Sheikhpura.

§ Unless my very limited knowledge of the literature of Census enquiries is in error, the point has not been elucidated so far. G. H. Knibbs in a most detailed and illuminating treatise on "The Mathematical Theory of Population" printed as Appendix A, volume I of the Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1917, does not deal with the matter in his chapter on migration.

The following percentages of persons foreign-born to the areas named and enumerated in the self-same areas are recorded for the 1921 Census :—

Area.	Population.	Percentage of foreign-born.
Rohtak District	772,272	12.3
Dujana State	25,833	26.3
Jullundur District	822,544	10.9
Kapurthala State	284,275	17.1

Dujana State is in the Rohtak District. Kapurthala State and the Jullundur District adjoin. Is the percentage excess of foreign-born in the two Punjab States to be attributed to political, sociological and economic causes ? I leave the reader to ponder the question for himself in the light of the arguments adduced in this paragraph, and to admit that but for these arguments his answer would have been an immediate, but unjustified affirmative.

Should the reader desire, in spite of all that has been said, to compare the percentage of foreign-born persons in one district with that of another which differs widely from it in population, he may, provisionally, apply the corrections in the following table, which will reduce all districts to a standard population of 500,000.

Table giving the correction to be applied to the observed percentage of foreign-born in any district, to reduce it to the common basis of a district of a population of 500,000.

The correction must be subtracted from the observed percentage when it is negative, and added when it is positive.

Population of District.	Correction to percentage of foreign-born (i.e., persons not born in District).	
50,000	-2.5	per cent.
100,000	-2.2	"
200,000	-1.7	"
300,000	-1.1	"
400,000	-0.6	"
500,000	0	"
600,000	+0.6	"
700,000	+1.1	"
800,000	+1.7	"
900,000	+2.2	"
1,000,000	+2.8	"
1,100,000	+3.3	"
1,200,000	+3.9	"

APPENDIX III.

Extract from Chapter IV of the Baroda Census Report by Mr. S. Mukerjea on the Present-day tendencies in the Religious sphere.

In his chapter on the religious distribution of the population of Baroda Mr. Mukerjea, the Census Superintendent, has some interesting remarks on modern tendencies in religion. He writes :—“ Everywhere the tendencies of religious unsettlement are apparent. Hinduism perhaps, more than the other faiths, shows in its social side and in its religious practices increasing signs of disintegration. Temples are mostly in disrepair. *Bhajans, Kirtans, and puran kathas* loom much less largely in the life of the present-day Hindu than did formerly. Perhaps the very individualised character of Hindu worship has helped this process. Also the too rigorous insistence on forms and rituals, the significance of which has come to be lost on the modern Hindu brought up without a knowledge of his ancient Sanskrit, has led to the serious depletion of true religious emotion. The present-day religion of the Parsis whose lives are becoming more and more of ‘ an eclectic ensemble ’ half European and half Asiatic, also partakes of this tendency, although Navsari, where the bulk of our Parsis reside, is still the stronghold of orthodox *mohed*-ridden Zoroastrianism. Islam is more alive than either, and there are distinct signs that the immediate future will witness the inauguration of a great Jain revival. But the bulk of Gujarat Musalmans and Jains are still in the grip of Hindu influences. The average Jain is a believer in caste system and even Hindu gods claim a place—though subordinate to their Tirthankaras—in their worship. In regard to their attitude to the unclean castes, the Jains share to the full—and even certain sections of Musalmans and orthodox Parsis as well—the prejudices of the unredeemed Hindu.

(a) *Religious Nationalism.*—But if the general evidences indicate that great ignorance of their religion at present exists among Indians, there is on the other hand a very strong and growing ‘ sentiment ’ for the old faiths, which has been now reinforced by the political nationalism of the present times. Dr. J. N. Farquhar very aptly calls this feeling ‘ Religious Nationalism.’ It is expressed generally in educated discussions in undisguised hostility towards what it calls the materialism of Western Civilisation. This spirit of antagonism is not entirely of recent origin. It perhaps began with Dayanand’s violent disputations with Christian Missionaries and Muslim Moulvis, brought on as much by religious patriotism, as by the ignorant attacks of the latter on the cherished ideals of the Hindus. Since his time, Aryas,* Theosophists and Dharma Mahamandal propagandists have fanned the flame. Much of this feeling is ignorant and even insensate. For out of a hundred that come to religious gatherings and applaud the perfervid patriot, only one makes a sincere effort to study his own religion. The Brahmo-Samaj has however consistently set its face against this extravagant *laudatio temporis acti*. As a result it has been reviled as pro-Christian, denationalised. Its success has been also seriously hampered by its tolerant and receptive attitude towards all religions. Formerly this violent religious chauvinism of the general body of educated Hindus was directed not only against Christianity but also Islam. Now the new orientation in politics has brought about a *rapprochement* with Islam. As a result, the Jain and Muslim are at present accepted with much good will, the Parsi also but perhaps a little more doubtfully. The Christian however is still barred as the victim of alien ideals. As the Revd. C. F. Andrews points out in his *Renaissance in India*, this uprising of feeling in behalf of the traditional faith set itself in link with a general awakening of the East when the Russo-Japanese War resulted in the victory of an Asiatic race.”

Speaking of the influence of Mr. Gandhi on religious thought he proceeds :—“ In British India, his political programme has been the cause of profound disagreement amongst the *intelligentsia*. In this State we are chiefly concerned with the religious and social implications of his movement, and in these respects, it is idle to ignore the fact that most of the people here have been immensely moved at least by his personal influence. With the vast majority of Gujaratis, he is regarded as a saint. Not the least tribute to the purity of his motive and the lofty sincerity of his character was contained in the recent judgment which has sent him for a political offence to incarceration. The special turn which his movement has given to the religious life of the people was to rescue it from antagonism towards Islam, and secondly to set men’s minds towards the removal of the taint of untouchability and the uplift of the depressed classes. In its special attitude towards Christianity and its Founder, the Gandhi movement provides also a refreshing contrast to that spirit of bigoted intolerance which characterised the early stages of Hindu revivalism. His own genuine reverence for the Personality of Christ and the teachings of the Bible has done much towards softening the old bitterness. How far these consequences will be permanent, time alone can show. One wishes that the *entente* with

* There is no suggestion in this statement that Aryaism is an anti-British movement. That charge has been effectively refuted by Mr. Blunt, *vide U. P. Report, 1911, pp. 133-136.*

Islam were founded less on the angry politics of the moment and more on the sincere recognition of the cultural affinities of the two great systems of Asiatic religion. Reports vary as to the results of the special campaign against untouchability. It is stated that in South Gujarat, where this part of the programme was seriously pursued, even the Dublas refused to have anything to do with Kanbis, after the latter decided to let in the Dheds to their houses. Within Baroda State, the movement is of much older date and has always had the active sympathy of the authorities. The Dheds are admitted into public offices and courts and taken into the subordinate ranks of the services. But the bar against them in schools and libraries still continues. As pointed out above, even the Parsis are at one with the orthodox Hindus in this matter. It is one of the ironies of the religious situation in Gujarat that Vaishnavism, which in other parts of India has concerned itself with the uplift of the depressed and the lowly, has here become the stronghold of obscurantism. Coming to the third point, its attitude towards Christianity, it is believed that the reaction of this new national consciousness will result in the development of an Indian Christianity. The endeavours made in South India and in Bengal towards this end have had only faint echoes amongst Gujarat Christians. Perhaps when a higher type of education has developed indigenous leadership amongst them and enabled them to do without the leading strings of missionaries, then will be the time for work in this direction." "The Christianity of India," says Revd. E. J. Thompson, one of the acutest Christian minds that have been engaged on the modern Indian problem, "when it has sloughed its present apathy and mendicancy and poverty of manliness will help Western Christianity which has made so many mistakes to know God and Christ better. The Gospels teach a simplicity of life and of access to God which Western Christianity has overlaid We can see and, seeing, rejoice that Indian Christianity will have at least a Vedantist tinge."* It is to that simplicity and along with it to that spirituality which Mr. Gandhi conceives to be the special heritage of India, to which he has exhorted his disciples to turn. But in his teachings there is also an unlovely austerity of mood which would rule out all secular cultural effort and all modern influences. This is sought to be justified by his followers on the ground that the urgency of moral reformation is so great that there is no time for ornamental activity.

(c) *Islamic and Jaina reforms.*†—As in Hinduism, so also in other religions, "this mounting spirit of nationalism and community spirit" has allied itself with a general movement back to the origins, the spirit which underlies the overlaying tradition, the present practices and evils of the old religions. There is talk of the "Spirit" of Islam, the "Spirit" of Jainism. Islamic reform has generally concerned itself with the task of freeing the religion of Muhammad from the excrescences that have clung to it through contact with Hinduism. The reforming activity has therefore concerned itself mainly with the removal of the taint of man-worship, caste-system and idolatrous tendencies. In Gujarat these tendencies are seen in the orthodox hostility towards Pirāna sectaries, the growing desire for knowledge of Urdu, and the anxiety to provide through its means religious instruction for Musalman children. Jain reform has taken mainly the shape of a powerful literary movement in which it has been able to secure the co-operation of learned Jain *Munis* like Vijaya Dharmasuri and Nyaya Vijayaji. Kavi Rājchandra Rāvjiḥai of Kathiawad was the first modern reformer to wake up his community to the need of serious reform. As a result, the last ten years have seen much literary and propagandist activity. The chief methods employed are sectarian conferences, institutions for training of *Sadhus* and priests, hostels for students, newspapers in the vernaculars and in English, the publication of literature and particularly of ancient sacred texts, the establishment of associations like the Bharat Jain Mahamandal with headquarters at Lucknow and the International Jain Literature Society and the Mahavir Brotherhood in London to engage the sympathy and collaboration of European *savants*; and lastly religious reform evidenced in the desire to cleanse temple management of the evils that have crept into it, and also to return to the pristine form of Jainism. Through the Syādmahāvīdyalaya and Yasovijaya Jain pathsala both at Benares, they have tried to establish a "Jain Aligarh." The Central Jain Publishing House at Arrah (established ten years ago) and the Jain Mitra Mandal at Delhi are the chief literary agencies. The religious reform is primarily aimed to free Jainism from the incubus of Hindu doctrines such as Sankara's *moksha*. It also aims at the destruction of the power of ignorant *Sadhus*. The consecration of the Jain temple at Simla in 1919 was a remarkable triumph for the reformers. "The unprecedented success of the occasion was due to the absence of *sadhus* and professional *pandits*."

(d) *Credal Unity.*—One of the most important consequences of these new stirrings is the desire, more prominently expressed in Hinduism, than in the other religions, for a credal unity or at least for harmony between the sects. In its fight with the clear-cut, positive theisms of Christianity, Islam and the Arya Sāmaj, orthodox Hinduism finds its weakest point in its vagueness and lack of definition. As a result, it is slowly but surely giving way.‡ Thinking

* Vide his *Rabindranath Tagore*, p. 101.

† I am much indebted for this section to Prof. A. G. Widgery for letting me take notes from his forthcoming book, *Religions and their Modern Tendencies*.

‡ The Imperial Table VI for all India now available proves that Brahmanic Hinduism has declined, while Islam, Christianity and the Arya Sāmaj have all increased largely at the expense of their disorganised and amorphous rival.

Hindus have realised the truth of this statement. The establishment of the Bhārat Dharma Mahāmandal as a central organisation in defence of orthodox Hinduism in 1902 was a bold step to "gather together the whole of the Hindu people in a single organisation, partly in self-defence, partly for further instruction in religion."* The publication of two excellent text-books—one advanced and the other elementary—on Hindu religion and ethics by the Board of Trustees of the Benares Central Hindu College in 1916 registered a considerable advance towards the formulation of an unsectarian Hinduism on the basis of which religious instruction could be given to all Hindus. These books have been translated into Gujarati and have attracted much attention. In regard to the sect divisions and conflict of doctrines much has been done in the direction of harmonising. Two problems confront Hinduism—the problem of reconciling the three ways of attaining salvation—*Jnana*, *Bhakti* and *Karma*—over which sects have wrangled for centuries, and secondly the problem of co-ordinating an intimate personal theism, which is the religion of the common man, with the intellectualist monistic position. With regard to the latter question as Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhushan, one of the greatest living Vedantists, says, "Rational religion seems possible only on the acceptance of the doctrine of unity in difference. Dualism by separating the subject and object of worship makes communion impossible. Monism, by denying their distinction, makes worship unmeaning. Not only *bhakti* and *seva*, but even *jnana* is impossible under the monistic theory: for *knowledge* also is based on the distinction of the knower and the known." A great deal of the religious thought of the decade has been devoted to these problems. Two remarkable books—the *Gīta Rahasya* of the late Bāl Gangādhār Tilak and the *Gitanjali* of Rabindranāth Tagore—both of which in Gujarati translations have influenced Gujarati thought profoundly—are contributions towards this synthesis. Liberal Hinduism seems also to have come into a closer understanding. A Theistic Conference held generally every year in connection with the Indian Congress brings together Brahma and other theistic workers. Enlightened Aryas also recognise the need for common organisation with other reforming sects. On points of difference with the Brahmos, they seem at present to emphasise that Dayanand's insistence on the authority of the Vedas was based also on that other doctrine that although they were repositories of true and eternal knowledge, the interpretations of them (including Dayanand's own) were not authoritative nor binding.† In regard to such practices as *homa*, the Aryas insist that they are merely of hygienic significance. It will be remembered that Keshavchandra Sen in his Nababidhan section of the Brahma-Samaj also introduced the symbolising of *homa*, the waving of lights (*arati*), *bhajan*, *kirtan* and other Vaishnavic details into the Brahma worship.

(e) *Demand for an educated priesthood.*—One last point has to be mentioned before this chapter is concluded. Along with the growth of religious patriotism, there has also developed the desire for religious instruction and an educated priesthood. In para. 171, we have seen in the religious organisation of the City how the Jains and the Muslims are more alive than the Hindu in the matter of religious instruction of their young. With the latter, the cry for religious instruction is little more than mere moral text-books. Unless the Hindus are agreed on what minimum basis the religious instruction can be given, nothing further can be done. In this respect the Arya Samaj must be given the credit for showing the lead. Their *gurukul* system of education with the intimate personal influence of their teachers on the taught is an admirable adjunct to their religious propaganda. As to religious ministrations, with the progress of education it is obvious that the educated classes among the non-Brahmans have begun to resent the usurpation by one class, and that not the most deserving, of priestly privileges. In certain parts of India, notably in Mahārāshtra, a movement has been initiated from among these classes to do without the Brahman in religious ceremonies. In Madras, the relations between the Brahman and the non-Brahman have now become so embittered as to attain the dimensions of a social problem of the first magnitude. In Gujarat we hear only faint echoes of this controversy, partly because the average Gujarati Hindu does not bother much about the kind of person for his religious ministrations, and partly also on account of the fact that here the social habits of the two sections—Brahman and non-Brahman, or at least the dominant classes amongst the latter—do not show so sharp a cleavage as in the Deccan or South India. But still the cry for a trained priesthood is real and finds much utterance in educated circles in Gujarat. In pursuance to this desire, this State, always to the fore in social legislation, has responded by enacting the Hindu Purohit Act. The Bill was first published for public criticism in 1913, and after two revisions in the light of public opinion was finally passed into law on the 30th December 1915. The Act evoked a storm of opposition amongst the Brahmans, for one of its most important provisions was that any Hindu irrespective of his caste could become a qualified Hindu *purohit*. Amongst the non-Brahman Gujaratis, the Act did not also evoke much enthusiasm at first, but it is now being gradually appreciated. Its many safeguards as shewn below prove that although bold, it is a very statesmanlike piece of legislation. In a Hindu State, where the rulers and the ruled are of one religion, the question of government interference in the people's religious

* Vide p. 316, Farquhar's Modern Religious Movements in India.

† In this attitude, they deny that belief in the Vedas is merely Book Revelation. The interpretation being progressive, the Vedas come to be regarded not as books written at any one time but as eternal knowledge.

affairs can be discussed "from a platform to which there can be no parallel in British India." The Act is so important that I feel no hesitation in giving the following extract from the State Administration Report of 1915-16, which explains its main provisions:—

"As the preamble states, the object of this Act is to have properly qualified Purohitas for the performance of religious rites and able to expound their true significance, so that the Yajamanas may feel satisfied that their spiritual interest is safeguarded. In order to carry out this object, the Act provides for the grant of letters of authority to act as duly qualified Purohitas to persons who may have passed the Hindu Purohit's examination, who may have passed in Yajnik subjects or in any standard of the Dharmashastra of the Shrāvan Mās Dakshinā examination, or who may be specially considered fit by Government. Any Purohit, not so authorized, officiating at any religious rite as defined in the Act, is liable to be prosecuted and tried before a Magistrate specially empowered by Government, and sentenced to a fine not exceeding twenty-five rupees. Several important exceptions have been provided for in order to facilitate the working of the Act. The first exception is in favour of unqualified Purohitas over twelve years of age at the date of the commencement of the Act. The second allows unqualified Purohitas who are not residents of the State and who may be accompanying outsiders, to officiate for them provided that their stay does not exceed one month. The third permits an unqualified Purohit to officiate in a place where no qualified Purohit, who can by custom officiate for a particular community, is available in the locality or within a certain radius, or where owing to the simultaneous performance of a number of ceremonies there is not a sufficient number of qualified Purohitas. The fourth relates to the performance of funeral obsequies or any other religious rite that may be specially excepted by Government. The last is in favour of a person who for any special reason may be specially exempted from the provisions of this Act by Government. The period allowed by the Act to persons who are desirous of carrying on the profession of the Purohit, for qualifying themselves, is 6 years from the date of its publication. This provision is expected to give sufficient time to the younger generation to acquire the necessary qualifications. Another important feature of the Act is that any Hindu may qualify himself as a Purohit irrespective of his caste. But it does not follow that Yajamanas will have to employ Purohitas of any other caste than the one which ordinarily provides Purohitas to them. The Act ends with an important safeguard that the legality of any ceremony will not be affected because of its having been performed by an unauthorized Purohit. The Act will apply only to that part of the State to which Government may declare it to apply by a notification in the Adnya Patrika or to a particular community. The result of this measure will be watched with interest."

APPENDIX IV.

Account of the Terapanthi Sect of Svetembar Jains from a note supplied by Seth Kesree Chand Keshory of Calcutta, who is the Secretary of the Terapanthi Sabha and has given considerable assistance in the course of the census operations.

The founder of the Terapanthi sect of Svetembar Jains was one Bhikanji who was born on Ashar Sudi 18 of Sambat 1783 (about June 1726 A.D.) in the village of Kantalia in the Marwar State of Rajputana. His father's name was Baluji Shukhlecha, an Oswal by caste, and his mother's name Dipa Bai. For some years, owing to instability of Government, persecution and the difficulties of life, the Jain community had been going through a period of depression and deterioration and various reformers had attempted to restore the ancient and orthodox faith. Bhikanji was an intelligent and thoughtful boy and on the death of his wife he was persuaded to take holy orders by Raghunathji, an Acharya of the Dhundhiya sect of Svetembar Jains, which had been founded one hundred years previously by one Labji Bhikanji and was initiated in Sambat 1808 (A.D.1751) by Raghunath. But in the course of time he found it necessary to break away from the doctrines of his Guru and in Sambat 1817 (1760 A.D.) he definitely separated and reinitiated himself. He took the five great vows of a Sadhu and made up his mind to follow those vows himself and cause others to follow them in deed, thought and speech.

There were thirteen Sadhus when he first began his new career of promulgating and preaching the true religion, and on this account people called the sect founded by Bhikanji Swami the "Terapanthi sect". Swami Bhikanji on hearing of this epithet, accepted it but put a different meaning on it, viz., a sect of Sadhus who were to follow thirteen vows or rules of conduct (Tera=13) or a sect of the Lord (Tera=Thine). The main principles of this sect which distinguish it from the other sects of the Svetembar Jains are :—

- (1) Terapanthis do not worship idols or images nor consider such worship as leading to salvation.
- (2) They reverence only those who lead ascetic lives, absolutely refrain from hurting any sentient being and own no property.
- (3) They lay special stress on the necessity of refraining from hurting any sentient being, and they distinguish between worldly benefits which pertain to the transitory things of this life and spiritual benefits which consist in following and leading others to follow the true way of life.

The Terapanthi Sadhus preach and instruct people for their spiritual benefit only ; having given up the world they have nothing to do with any worldly advantage. The following are some of the rules of conduct which a Terapanthi Sadhu follows at the present time and which are strictly in accordance with the commandments of Lord Mahavira as contained in the Sutras—

- (1) Terapanthi Sadhus do not take help from any lay-man in their work.
- (2) They beg their food, water and clothing from lay-men but will not take anything which a lay-man prepares or is even suspected to have prepared specially for a Sadhu.
- (3) They do not eat or drink after sun-set nor before sun-rise and do not keep with them articles of food or drink during the night.
- (4) They do not travel in any conveyance nor allow their books, etc., to be carried by any one but a Sadhu.
- (5) They may stay in one place for one month only or, during the rainy season, for four months, except in the case of physical inability to travel. After one month or one rainy season of four months they may not return to that place for the next two months or two seasons respectively. They carry all their books and articles with them and do not leave anything behind with any lay-man.
- (6) They do not keep any metal articles ; they keep only three wooden receptacles for their food and water. They wear white clothes and each Sadhu is not allowed the use of more than about 26 yards of cloth. They do not use costly cloth and may not take it even if offered. They do not shave or cut their hair with any metal instrument, such as scissors or razors but twice every year they are to pluck off the hairs of their head and beards ; they do not wear any shoes nor use an umbrella in the summer or a cloth to cover the head in the winter. They must sleep at night inside a covered place even in summer and keep the doors open even in winter. In case of serious illness necessitating an operation, they do not take help from any physician and it is the Sadhus only who can operate in such

- cases. They do not take medicine from any charitable dispensary or free institution. If medicine is required they must beg it from a private person only.
- (7) They have no *maths* or residential quarters dedicated to them but they may remain in the house of a lay-man with his permission.
 - (8) They do not take part in the social, political or legal affairs of the world but pass their time in religious discourses.
 - (9) All the Terapanthi Sadhus and Sadhvis follow the commandments of the *Acharya*. No one is initiated as a Sadhu without the written permission of his parents or guardians and the initiation as a public ceremony.
 - (10) Any deviation from these and other rules of conduct enjoined in the *Sutras* is strictly scrutinised and any Sadhu who fails to keep up the standard loses his position as such.

Such are the teachings and rules which a Jain Swetambar Terapanthi Sadhu has to follow.

Swami Bhikanji passed away on Bhadra Sudi 13, 1860 Sambat (September 1803 A.D.). He had initiated 48 Sadhus and 56 Sadhvis. He was succeeded by Swami Bharimalji as Acharya, who initiated 38 Sadhus and 44 Sadhvis. He breathed his last in Sambat 1878 (1822 A.D.). Swami Raichandji was the next Acharya and during his time 77 Sadhus and 167 Sadhvis were initiated. He passed away in the Sambat year 1908 (1852 A.D.) at the age of 62. The next Acharya was Swami Jitmalji who was a great scholar and translated into the vernacular many sutras including the Bhagwati. 105 Sadhus and 225 Sadhvis were initiated by him. At the ripe age of 78 he passed away at Jaipur on Bhadra Badi, 12, 1938 (1881 A.D.). He was succeeded by Swami Maghrajji as Acharya who initiated 36 Sadhus and 81 Sadhvis. He left this world at the age of 53 on Chait Badi 5, 1948 (1892 A.D.) at Sardarshar. Maneklalji Swami was the next Acharya. He died at the comparatively early age of 42 years on Kartik Badi 3, 1954 (1897 A.D.) at Sujangarh. Swami Dalchandji was unanimously elected Acharya after him. Swami Dalchandji initiated 37 Sadhus and 126 Sadhvis and passed away on Bhadra Sudi 12, 1966 (1909 A.D.) at the age of 56 and was succeeded by the present Acharya Swami Kaluramji, who was born on Phalgun Sudi 2, 1933 (1877 A.D.) and took holy order in the year 1944 on Asoj Sudi (1888 A.D.), being initiated by Swami Maghrajji. He is a profound scholar, of gentle and unostentatious habits and up till now has initiated 74 Sadhus and 106 Sadhvis. The present number of Sadhus under his control professing the Terapanthi faith is 100 and the Sadhvis number 243. The number of his lay-men followers would be about two lacs and they are to be found in almost all the provinces of India especially in Rajputana, Bengal, Assam, the Punjab and the Bombay Presidency.

APPENDIX V.

Extract from Chapter IV of the Burma Census Report by Mr. S. G. Grantham, I.C.S., on Buddhism in Burma.

Since for the purposes of the census the religion of each person is the label which he claimed at his enumeration, the class tabulated as Buddhist is logically correctly described as such. But it would not follow that the people of this class are Buddhists according to the ordinary meaning of that term; and accordingly, having regard to the large part of the population concerned, it is desirable to give some consideration to the right of those people to claim that label. The opinion expressed by Mr. Eales in the census report of 1891 was that there was really very little Buddhism amongst the Burmese; he was "struck with the very vague notion which the ordinary lay Burman has about the religion he professes," and in each subsequent census report there has been quoted his description of Burmese Buddhism as "a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of Shamanistic belief" or devil-worship. To this Mr. Lewis added in the census report of 1901: "Let but the veneer be scratched, the crude animism that lurks below must out. . . . To the end of time the Buddhism of the Burmese will never be anything more than a polish." These opinions were accepted also by Mr. Morgan Webb in the census report of 1911, and they have hitherto passed unquestioned in official publications. But there is something more to be said.

It is interesting first to consider a curiously similar opinion, in which the similarity was implied even more than stated, in the reports on Christianity in England as it was revealed in the war of 1914-18. There are numerous passages in the literature of the time which give the same views; two written from different standpoints are quoted here:—

"Before the war it may well be doubted if outside certain limited circles there was any real and deep knowledge of the sacred writings among the vast majority of our countrymen. Inquiries made from various quarters into the mind of the youth of our nation in the armies have revealed a startling ignorance as to religious truth, which makes it very difficult to believe that their minds have ever been brought into intelligent contact with the truths of revelation. . . . None who have any real first-hand knowledge of the mind of the younger generation will maintain that most of them have had anything but the dimmest knowledge of the deeper meaning of the literature of Revelation. It may well be questioned if this was not also true even of that fraction brought up within the churches."*

"Europe is still considered in common parlance, as a Christian continent. . . . It may be doubted, however, whether in any real or deep sense, European society, or any considerable proportion of European men and women, in any one of the seventy generations which have elapsed since Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, has ever accepted, or even endeavoured to understand and apply, the teaching and outlook of its Founder. There has indeed never been a generation without Christians, but their influence upon public affairs has been limited and intermittent. . . . The ex-Church-school scholars who fought in France were found by the chaplains to be as ignorant of the faith and as indifferent to their ministrations as their more reputedly Godless comrades. . . . The war has often been described as proof of the impotence of the Christian churches. It would be truer to say that modern life as a whole is a demonstration that neither the world nor the churches have even attempted to be Christian."†

These seem to put in a different light the "vague notion which the ordinary lay Burman has about the religion he professes," particularly when regard is had to the compactness of England, the wide extension there not only of literacy but of the practice of reading, and the activity of the various Christian churches. For my own part I have often been struck with the fullness of knowledge of quite slightly educated Burmans and even of some ordinary uneducated cultivators about their religion. Regard must be paid to variations in different localities. All over the well-cultivated parts where the bulk of the people live there are numerous Buddhist monasteries and pagodas which keep their religion continuously before the eyes and in the minds of the people; the children go to school in the monastery; the monks preach and at least the older folk listen to them; the same older folk spend frequent days in meditation. The younger adults may seem to be careless and to give only a passing thought to their religion on special occasions, but they have in their hearts the firm intention of copying their elders when their own time comes; possibly some critics of Burmese Buddhism have known other countries in which other religions prevailed but the younger men behaved in the same way. As one goes out to the less populated parts one finds the influence of the monks in spreading a knowledge of Buddhism grows less. Monasteries are fewer and more widely scattered; people have less intercourse not only with monks but with each other; their minds have less development altogether, and with this there is less knowledge and realisation of Buddhism. These also are the people who in a superficial way see more of the working of physical nature, for which they are inexorably compelled to furnish some explanation; and if they devise or support explanations which seem to some to be not strictly in accord with their religion, they are not the only people who have done so. They represent a stage through which the more advanced part of the people have passed; but they are not typical of the population and they are on their way to the stage which the

* Dr. Cairns: *The reasonableness of the Christian Faith*, 1918.

† A. E. Zimmern: *Europe in Convalescence*, 1922.

typical part has reached. Of some of these it may be said with some truth that animism is their religion and Buddhism a veneer, but there is not the same truth in applying that to the typical Burmese villager. Not that he is free from all that is not Buddhist. An advanced religion when first given to a people never finds in their minds a clean slate to write upon. The heritage of many generations is not completely blotted out even in its leaders by an intellectual assent to new ideas; and the masses of the people only follow far behind their leaders, combining a little and a little more of the new religion with the old. Thus no advanced religion is quite the same as it is expounded by its teachers and as it is regarded by the masses of their followers; and the existence of many non-Buddhist beliefs and practices amongst the Burmese Buddhists would not be a denial of their claim to be Buddhists.

What moreover is Buddhism? Gautama's doctrines were the outcome of a development of thought amongst Hindus which began long before his day, and Buddhism as he taught it involved many ideas which had come down from earlier stages of culture. His teaching was naturally directed to his new and specific doctrines, and the current culture of the time was a background which his teaching generally took for granted except in so far as he proposed to change it. After Gautama's day, and especially after the great promulgation of his religion by Asoka, there was in India a continual decline from his standpoint and a continual approximation of the Buddhist views to those of the other philosophies and religions of India. The belief in a soul was revived and gradually gained the upper hand, and presently the popular gods and superstitions were once more favoured by Buddhists themselves. Buddhism at last faded away and gave place to a re-instatement of the old popular Hindu pantheon transformed and enlarged. It may be said that Asoka's mission came to Burma before this decline took place. But although so much mystery conceals the true account of the origin of Buddhism in Burma, it is certain that Burma was not converted in a day or in a year; and even if the origin of Burmese Buddhism is assigned to Asoka's mission, it is clear that a stream of other teachers must have come and that their views would be coloured by the changes going on in India. In any case Buddhism, even in its heyday in India, included much of the old religion and culture which had preceded it; and this must be true of the Buddhism which was brought to Burma and there came into contact with the previous culture of the Burmese and Talaiings, or their forbears. Thus Thakya Min, the King of the *Nats*, or spirits, whatever he may have been before, became the Burmese interpretation of the old Hindu god Indra; and his *nats* are the beings that inhabit his sphere. There has been a confusion of thought between the *nats* who are the *devas* of the six abodes (in Burmese, *nat-pyi chauk tap*) and the local animistic *nats*, and often a Burman speaking of the former is wrongly supposed to be speaking of the latter or is himself confusing the two. Originally no doubt the *nats* were the spirits of the primitive pre-Buddhist religion, and there are still *nats* everywhere in every village, forest or field. But generally the Burmese attitude to the *nats*, although it was not learned from him, is that of Confucius, who gave the advice: "Pay all respect to spiritual beings, but keep them at a distance." The Burmese Buddhist in the ordinary populated parts of the province makes offerings to the *nats* because that is the way of defending himself against them; this is not a contradiction of his Buddhism, but, like the fence he builds around a lonely new settlement in the jungle to keep out tigers at night, it is to ensure a continuance of the life and conditions in which Buddhism may be practised. Even the so-called *nat-worship* has been modified by Buddhism; and it is difficult to accept the description of it as Shamanism with all the connotations of frenzy and priestcraft which go with that name. There are no priests of the *nat-worship*; the *nats* are simply essential facts of the universe of which each person must take account just as he does of gravity, friction, inertia and fire. There are still a few *nat-festivals* held, such as that at Taungbyon near Mandalay where certain women dance after *nats* have taken possession of them; but these are about as representative of Burmese thought as Jack-in-the-Green is of English. Much of the *nat-culture* is on the same footing as the fairy-tales in the folklore of Europe; the rest is simply Burmese science.

Actually the Burman thinks and speaks as a rule of his whole national culture as Buddhism. Instead of postulating the Mahayana and Hinayana schools of Buddhism and rejecting as non-Buddhism all that will not fit these moulds, we should rather define Buddhism in Burma as the religion of the Burman with its modifications amongst the Shans and other indigenous races. In recent years the opinion has grown, particularly through study of inscriptions and frescoes in Pagan, that the Mahayanist influence upon Burmese Buddhism, though less than the Hinayanist, has been considerably greater than was formerly supposed. Burmese Buddhism, however, is not simply the result of a clash between the Mahayana and Hinayana schools; with each of those came a whole culture which was partially absorbed by the Burmese and Talaiings and combined with their own native cultures and modified by their outlooks; and there have since been centuries of development in which, although fresh inspiration has frequently been sought from India and particularly from Ceylon, the national mind has still selected and sifted and interpreted all that has been received. Thus Burmese Buddhism is a national product which cannot be adequately described in terms invented to describe Buddhism in India, Tibet and Ceylon. But its essential doctrines are those propounded by Gautama, e.g., the Four Noble Truths, the Eightfold Middle Path, the Law of Causation, the Doctrines of Non-self (*Anatta*) and Nirvana; and its claim to be regarded as Buddhism cannot therefore be denied.

APPENDIX VI.

Female Infanticide.

Female Infanticide has been dealt with at some length in previous census reports and notes on the practice will be found on pages 243 to 260 of the Punjab Census Report of 1911 and on pages 215 to 217 of the India Report of that census. I do not propose to treat the subject in any detail but merely to give certain relevant figures and to preface them with a few general suggestions as to the way in which they should in my opinion be approached. We are apt to deal with the subject in an attitude of mind which is peculiar to our particular form of culture and civilization and is entirely inapplicable to the actual conditions; and this attitude of mind leads us, in our attempt to explain figures which indicate a suspicious shortage of female children in any community, to look for any other possible cause than to a practice which seems to us cruel, barbarous and repulsive.

2. What are the facts apart from this sentiment? Infanticide is a custom which has been common among almost every nation and people in the world's history, except those who have been brought under the influence of Christian or Muhammadan culture.* It is prevalent among practically all primitive races as a means of limiting the family; but the practice is by no means confined to barbarous races nor is it a sign of a backward state of culture. It was common among the historic races and the advanced civilizations of the past. There is reason to believe that it was prevalent among the Egyptians at the time of Moses and that the Jews themselves practised it. It was certainly common among the surrounding nations, the Phœnicians, Aramaeans, Syrians, Babylonians and Carthaginians. It was an acknowledged practice among the Greeks at the height of their civilization, the head of the family deciding whether a child born was to live or die. "It was enjoined by the ideal legislation of Plato and Aristotle and by the actual legislation of Lycurgus and Solon." It was general in the earlier times of Roman history and was later allowed subject to definite legal restrictions. Pliny speaks of it as necessary, Seneca saw nothing wrong in it and Suetonius alludes to the practice. It was prevalent among the Arabs till Muhammad forbade it. But it is doubtful how far the precepts of the Prophet (who himself condoned abortion) were followed. They are certainly *not* followed by some of the nomadic races, and we know that the infant daughter of a cultured and well educated Persian family, who was afterwards Nur Mahal, Jehangir's queen, was exposed soon after her birth and rescued from death only by a lucky chance. The practice is common throughout China at the present day. It is in fact a practice which excites no feeling of repulsion or aversion among non-Muhammadan and non-Christian peoples and is, on the other hand, deemed to be a necessary and natural means, along with abortion, of restricting the family within economic limits. However strongly may be held the sentiment against the taking of life when life has fairly started, it does not seem to apply to the arresting of the incipient life of a new-born infant, just as we drown without hesitation surplus puppies when we should hesitate to dispose of full-grown dogs in the same way.

3. With the consciousness in our mind of this attitude towards the practice among the non-Christian peoples let us now consider the case of India. Infanticide was probably at one time common over a large part of India. It was certainly common in recent times in Central India, Rajputana, Gujarat, Oudh and among certain primitive tribes such as the Khonds of Madras, the Nagas of Assam and was specially practised in Northern India among the Sikhs, Jats, Khatrias, Rajputs and Gujars. An account of the special legislation which was instituted to deal with the practice among these people is given in the pages already cited in the Punjab Report. We have to remember (a) the fact that among these groups of people the custom is an ancient and recognized tradition and that the Indian is notoriously conservative of his traditions, (b) the ease with which, under the conditions of childbirth in an Indian family, the practice can be carried out without the possibility of any definite suspicion in any individual case such as would justify official interference, and (c) the fact that the registers of births are not kept by caste and that the suppression of female births is a well-known fact in parts of the Punjab.† The Table below shows the number of females per 1,000 males in certain castes which have the tradition of female infanticide and, for comparison, in others of the same region which have *not* got this tradition. The latter castes in this Table have been selected to show different representative strata of people. Many other castes will be found tabulated in Table IV of Chapter VI of the Provincial Reports and it will be seen that there is no question of selecting those in which the sex-ratio is particularly high.

* The subject is discussed in detail by Carr Saunders in his book "*The Population Problem*," from which I have borrowed a good deal of the information set out in this paragraph.

† Actually observed by Mr. Jacob when he was Deputy Commissioner of the Jullundur District (*vide* page 227 of the Punjab Census Report of 1921).

4. I leave the figures to speak for themselves without further comment except that (1) in these particular communities it seems to be quite useless and quite unnecessary to insist upon reasons for the low sex-ratio other than that which these figures suggest, viz., the continued deliberate destruction of female infant life either by active or by passive means, and (2) the existence of a practice of this sort in certain large sections of the people must be generally known and must necessarily influence the sentiments of others towards the value and sacredness of infant life. We should expect, therefore, and we actually find that the sex-ratio is generally low in tracts where infanticide may be presumed among certain sections.

Table showing figures of sex-ratio "A" of groups in which there is a tradition of female infanticide and "B" in which there is no such tradition.

CASTE.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.						
	1921.		1911.		1901.		
	All ages.	0-5.	All ages.	0-5.	All ages.	0-5.	
PUNJAB.							
(A)	Jat (Hindu)	780	922	774	904	795	839
	Khatri	811	1,041	802	1,022	808	914
	Rajput (Hindu)	796	938	756	836	822	860
	Gujar	778	902	763	892	799	868
(B)	Jat (Musalman)	820	942	807	936	859	940
	Rajput (Musalman)	864	957	841	976	883	951
	Brahman	821	977	811	962	841	*
	Chamar	845	978	846	964	871	*
	Kanot	936	1,038	947	1,037	924	*
	Arain	830	948	807	963	877	*
UNITED PROVINCES.							
(A)	Jat (Hindu)	763	848	769	852	852	*
	Rajput (Hindu)	877	940	873	948	887	*
	Gujar	785	878	755	844	802	*
(B)	Brahman	895	947	899	960	923	*
	Chamar	960	1,039	958	1,036	986	*
	Kumhar	931	1,046	941	1,000	931	*
	Kurmi	909	1,051	929	988	970	*
RAJPUTANA.							
(A)	Rajput (Hindu)	772	863	778	832	794	829
	Jat	940	969	851	955	830	1,276
	Gujar	837	966	846	988	834	1,404
(B)	Brahman	920	1,033	937	1,018	926	1,078
	Dhobi	922	971	962	1,009	916	1,325
	Teli	941	1,087	930	1,006	908	*
	Lodha	895	952	916	987	911	*

* Not available.

APPENDIX VII.

The size and sex constitution of the average family and the fertility of marriage life.

1. In connection with the Census of 1911 I attempted to obtain some statistics in the Central Provinces bearing on the size and sex constitution of the average family and the fertility of marriage life. By means of an enquiry made through an intelligent agency on a special questionnaire I obtained some returns which constituted, subject to certain defects, a fairly satisfactory random sample. These returns were tabulated in the census office and the results were recorded in a note appended to Chapter VI of the Central Provinces Report of that census. On the present occasion I suggested that enquiries of a similar nature might be taken up in provinces where it seemed possible to obtain through a competent agency sufficiently trustworthy material. Investigation on these lines was made in the following provinces, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab and in the Baroda and Travancore States, and the results, which are of considerable interest, are recorded in detail as appendices to the Provincial Reports. It will only be possible to take note here of the main conclusions reached, and the student is referred to the account of the individual enquiries for further details.

2. It will be readily understood that in the special conditions of Indian social and family life such enquiries are not conducted without considerable difficulty. The habitual reticence of the Indian regarding the female portion of his household, even where he does not entirely seclude them, makes any investigation into the more intimate aspects of family life full of obstacles. The return required in the English questionnaire from married women regarding the number of children borne by them would in a general population schedule be impossible in India, and even in these limited samples it has usually only been possible to obtain the information through the husband or father of the family. The actual method adopted varied in different Provinces. In Baroda and Travancore States the information was obtained by a special staff direct from the women themselves. In the other Provinces various devices were used for ensuring that the family was that of a single married couple and for calculating the duration of married life. For the former condition clear instructions were issued that the return was only to be filed up in the case of married couples both of whom were married once only and were still alive. The calculation of the duration of marriage offers considerable difficulty. Where knowledge of age and of the passage of years is so vague it is hopeless to expect to obtain any direct information on such a point. It can be assumed for all practical purposes that every woman is in the married state at or immediately after puberty and that cohabitation, therefore, begins in every case with puberty. If therefore her present age is recorded by enquiry or guess a rough inference can be made as to the duration of her effective married life with her husband. For the assumption of completed reproductive life a definite age has to be taken, say 40 to 45; or according to the method adopted in Bengal it was assumed that where the youngest child was five years or over the family was complete.

3. In Bengal the investigation was made by intelligent persons who were interested in the subject and the number of returns tabulated were 34,686, the schedules relating chiefly to the middle class section of the population. Usually the family has between five and six children born, the intermediate fraction being rather higher in the case of Muhammadans than with Hindus, the ratio of still-born children was 8.3 per 1,000 for boys and 7.1 for girls per 1,000 which is about twice the proportion in England. It was found that a larger proportion of children died under the age of five years in families where the marriage was of long duration and that more girls died than boys.

4. In Bihar and Orissa the enquiry was made exclusively by medical officers and 12,593 slips were tabulated. In the families investigated it was found that the most usual number was five children born, that there were always more boys than girls, especially in one child families, and that 37.3 per cent. of those born had died, the female death-rate having risen during the last ten years. In these families 114 male children were born per 100 females and in the case of the first-born the proportion was 131 males.

5. In the Central Provinces enquiry 157,181 slips were obtained. The average number of children born varied between 6 and 7, but about 40 per cent. of the children who were born had died. The statistics indicated that the beginning of married life by males before they had reached full maturity was likely to result in small families but otherwise the age of the husband has very little effect on the number of children.

6. In the Punjab data were obtained for 166,419 families. They were divided into the following professional groups, clerics, agriculturists, traders, artisans, menials and criminals. While the proportion of female to male births is about 9 to 10, the proportion of females to males among first-born children is only 8 to 10. In the majority of marriages the first child is born in the third year of effective marriage and there is an indisposition that the first child, when

it is born in the early and late years of marriage, is more likely to be boy than in the middle (5-10) years of married life. The most fertile households are those in which the woman is between 15 and 30 years old on marriage. For completed marriages (of 30 years' duration) the number of sterile cases is low (6 per cent.), the highest number (7·7 per cent.) being found among menials and the lowest (4·7 per cent.) among traders. The most usual size of the family in completed marriages is from 3 to 5 children, except among "clerics" for whom a family of 2 is more common than any other. Artisans have the highest gross fertility (6·2) and clerics the lowest fertility, both gross (5·2) and net (3·7) (*i.e.*, deducting children who died). During the first few years of married life one child is born roughly in every three years. The rate of child-bearing diminishes with duration of marriage and practically vanishes, for ordinary Punjab conditions, after thirty-six years of married life. Cousin marriages are very common (specially at first marriage) among Musalmans.

7. In Baroda, the enquiry was specially carefully conducted through an intelligent class of both men and women and 131,235 slips were tabulated, 21 per cent. of which were for completed marriages and the rest for continuing marriages. The normal household averages in the State at 4·1 persons. The size of the complete family most favoured five children. General labourers (5·8) and traders (5·5) had a higher average while cultivators of all kinds (5·2) and field labourers (4·8), a lower average than the mean of the State (5·3). The size of family in different social divisions varies from 6·1 in the case of the forest tribes to 4·9 among the Kolis. The number of females born is always less than the number of males born, the ratio varying from a high masculinity of first births (1,392 males per 1,000 females) to a lower average proportion of 1,099 male births per 1,000 female births in subsequent births. The ratio of masculinity (1,522 males per 1,000 females) in one child families is even higher than that of first births in multiple families. The vast majority of effective unions in the State take place when the girl is 13 or even younger and it was found that, where the marriage is postponed from the thirteenth year by about four years, not only does the rate of fertility rise by about one child in three families, but the size of the married family also increases from 3·1 to 3·3.

8. In Travancore 37,641 returns were obtained through the conservancy staff. The size of the family (where the wife has completed twenty years of married life) among Brahmans to whom marriage is compulsory was five children, among non-Brahmans and Muhammadans between five and six and among Christians 6·3. The proportion of males among first-born per 1,000 females was 1,205 and among those who came under skilled midwifery 1,253. The figures show some presumption in favour of female children as the family gets larger and the age of the parents increases.

9. The conclusions which are most strongly suggested by this enquiry are the following :—

- (1) The rate of masculinity is higher for the first-born than for subsequent children.
- (2) The usual number of children born is from five to seven—the number being higher in the south than the north and in the lower classes than the higher classes.
- (3) Between $\frac{1}{3}$ rd and $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the children born die.

APPENDIX VIII.

Some articles and paragraphs in the Provincial Reports dealing with special subjects.

[The references throughout are to the Provincial Reports.]

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