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BALUCHISTAN

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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921.

VOLUME IV

BALUCHISTAN

PART I-REPORT PART II-TABLES

BY

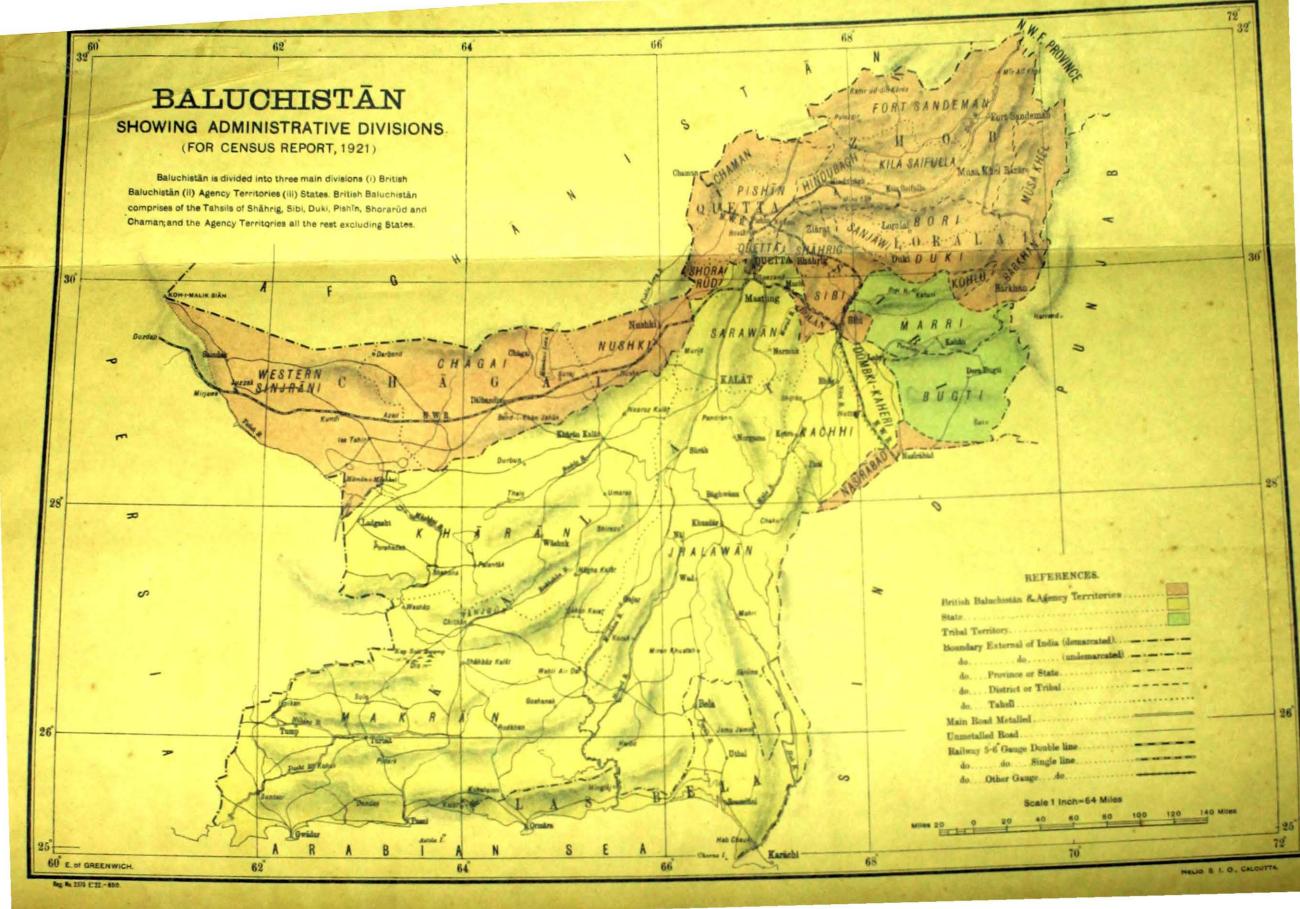
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AND

RAI BAHADUR DIWAN JAMIAT RAI, C.I.E.



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INTRODUCTION,

1. The present Baluchistan Census Report—the fourth of its series—appears Dual Authorship. under the somewhat unusual auspices-for an official report-of a dual authorship, two names-my own and that of Rai Bahadur Diwan Jamiat Rai, C.I.E.,appearing on the title page. Appointed Census Superintendent for Baluchistan in March 1920, Mr. Jamiat Rai carried on the Census operations for two years until March of this year when-his health most unfortunately breaking downhis official mantle was cast on my shoulders. By this date all the Census operations proper had been completed, the material for the Report collected, and most of the tables compiled and passed by the Census Commissioner. Having done so much, having borne the burden and heat of the day, it was only fitting that Mr. Jamiat Rai should figure as one of the co-authors. Much as he had done, however, the Report still remained to be written. And it was this task which fell to my share.

Perhaps-to cover any defects which the critical (or captious) reader may discover in these pages-I may be permitted to indicate some of the difficulties which the writing of a Census Report under these conditions involved-they will be readily apparent to anyone who has ever written one himself. For an officer who has conducted a Census from its beginning the composition of the final Report has few terrors. By the time that the Report comes to be written he has been in close touch with the Census-both in its broad features and in its somewhat intricate details—for a considerable period. It is indeed his creation and he has seen it take shape under his hand. From practical experience, and personal investigation often on the spot, he has a very shrewd idea on the all-important point of trustworthiness of his statistics. In short if one may-without irreverence -compare a Census to a jig-saw puzzle, the Census Superintendent who has made the pieces is in a very good position to put them together. But it is obviously far otherwise with the official unexpectedly called in to fit into the final Report the pieces of the puzzle fashioned by his predecessor. The pieces are evident enough; their name is indeed Legion, and they are overwhelming in their very multitude, but the clue to their rightful places in the puzzle is-at first sight-far to seek. It was therefore fortunate for me, and also for the Report, that though Mr. Jamiat Rai had had to retire from active concern in the Census he still remained in Quetta and most kindly put his extensive knowledge of the Province in general, and of the Census in particular, at my disposal on the many occasions when I had occasion to apply for them.

2. Before concluding my apologia I feel it would be as well to make some Minimum of desreference to one feature in which this Report differs greatly from that of 1911. I refer to the exclusion of descriptive matter. I am afraid that the reader in any case would have searched these pages in vain for anything approaching Mr. Denys Bray's disquisitions, learned and at the same time interesting, (by no means always synonymous terms, unfortunately), on the history, philology and ethnology of the Province. Any attempt, however, on my part to follow in his footsteps was to my distinct relief be it admitted-debarred by instructions in Official Circulars to the effect that in this series of Reports descriptive matter not directly connected with the statistics under review should be reduced to a minimum. Though this is the fourth nominal Baluchistan Census it is only the second that can be said to be a complete one, and this being so I might have ventured to treat the above instructions with some latitude and to introduce descriptive matter of interest, if the whole field—as far as I am capable of judging—had not already been ade-quately dealt with by Mr. Bray, whose Report still remains—and will probably remain for some time-one of the standard works on Baluchistan. As it is I have taken the Circulars more or less literally.¹

¹ It may be pointed out here, perhaps, that the deletion of descriptive matter though it shortened the Report did not necessarily make it any easier to compile. The absence of full statistics from the 1901 Census rendered any detailed comparison between it and that for 1911 impossible. The latter Census, however, produced complete figures for the whole of the Province as did that of 1921. Some sort of detailed comparisons of variations therefore in this Census had to be attempted. Owing to local conditions, however, which will be apparent when the Report is read, comparisons were often by no means easy and involved considerable calculation and analysis, which not infrequently produced quite inadequate results to the labour involved. Mountains of statistics were moved only to produce some ridiculous mouse of a conclusion.

INTRODUCTION.

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Imprace as her of a Census.

3. The reasons for the impracticability of a regular synchronous Census of Regular Baluchistan-outside the few alien settlements-are the same now as they were a decade ago and can indeed be given in the words of the 1911 Report :-

"With but a dozen British officers and a proportionately small number of native officials to rule over this huge and mountainous area, a synchronous Census is clearly a physical impossibility. Yet only half the difficulties have been stated. People the mountains with frontier tribesmen cleaving to the turbulent traditions of their fore fathers, still broken in but imperfectly to the mysterious ways of British rule, suspicious of every symptom of innovation and reform, jealous to the verge of fanaticism of any enquiries touching their womenfolk and an attempt to foist upon them in these early days of our administration a Census framed on the searchingly inquisitive lines of the Indian Schedule would not merely be foredoomed to failure, it would be a political blunder."

The Census of 1891.

The Centus of 1901.

4. Of the first Baluchistan Census-that of 1891-there exist few written records beyond the fact that the operations extended over 20,568 miles and that 171,752 souls were enumerated. Apparently in Quetta, and a few other cantonments, a synchronous Census was carried out, while the tribesmen were estimated in some rough and ready fashion. But the whole of the operations only covered a small proportion of the nominal Census field-Kalat and Las Bela States, equal in area to #ths of the Province, being altogether left alone, doubtless for the same political reasons as-at the present time-induced us to carry out our Census in these and other tribal areas with a good deal less stringency than is in force elsewhere. Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte and probably the best service done by the first enumeration was to break the ice and accustom the unsophisticated inhabitants of Baluchistan to the strange and portentous activities of an Indian Census. To any one with a knowledge of tribes and tribesmen-with their religious prejudices, their racial suspicions and their ingrained aversion to innovations of any sort-it is indeed a matter for some wonder that four Censuses of Baluchistan (essentially a tribal country), each one more searching than its predecessor, should have been carried through harmoniously in the last thirty years. Such success would seem to argue more than ordinary tactful handling of the Census operations themselves, as well as a widespread trust in our methods of administration in general.

5. The Census of 1901, as we can learn from its records which are complete, went far beyond that of its predecessor; 82,950 miles of area were covered, and a population of \$10,746 enumerated. Garrison towns, civil headquarters and railway limits were enumerated on regular lines, tribesmen in the districts non-synchronously by means of a family schedule, while the States were estimated on an approximate tribal basis. But though a considerable advance on its predecessor, the results of this Census were admittedly rough. The population, more especially in the States, was felt to be overestimated and as far as the tribal areas were concerned, such items in the Standard Schedule as age, marriage, subsidiary occupation, means of subsistence of dependants, birthplace, language, literacy, knowledge of English, and infirmities, were omitted altogether. "But" writes Mr. Bray:-

" the Census was a notable achievement for all that, and not the least notable feature of it was Mr. Hughes Buller's masterly report. Without the pioneer work done at the last Census the advance made at the Census now concluded would have been impossible. And if I am able to go beyond Mr. Hughes Buller's conclusions, this is only because, standing on his shoulders, I am able to take a wider view of what before his time was in many ways an unknown land."

The Census of 1911.

6. Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the 1911 Census lay in the fact that for the first time the whole of the Province, which comprises an area of 134,638 square miles, was brought under the Census operations. In this area 834,703 souls were enumerated. The desirability of extending the Standard Schedule, and the method of synchronous system, to the indigenous population of the districts was carefully considered, but it was finally decided that local conditions did not permit of any further extension. The synchronous Census was accordingly -as in 1901-confined to Municipalities, Cantonments, Railway limits and other settlements of aliens, which resulted in the enumeration of 63,007 persons, or 7.6 per cent. of the total population. These operations were conducted on conventional lines and call for no comment.

The Tr bal schedule.

7. The non-synchronous enumeration of the indigenous population, however, i.e., the tribesmen, called for special treatment. In the Districts it was done by

village accountants assisted—where available—by village schoolmasters and levy clerks. Elsewhere, where no permanent staff was available, special men were engaged to carry it out, care being taken that such individuals should be persona grata to the tribes amongst whom they had to work. The chief feature, however, of the tribal enumeration lay in the special Tribal Schedule drawn up by Mr. Bray with the object of extracting as much useful information as possible from the tribesman, while at the same time avoiding any wounding of his very vulnerable susceptibilities—especially with regard to his womankind. This schedule was finally approved by His Highness the Khan of Kalat, the Jam of Las Bela, the leading chiefs, the District Officers of the Province, the Local Government and the Census Commissioner. It aimed at treating the joint family as the unit of enumeration, and not the individual. As Mr. Bray pointed out such a schedule is peculiarly well adapted to tribal life in Baluchistan, where individualism is at a discount and where all the members of a household, father, mother, sons and daughters live under the same roof and work together for the support of the whole family. An examination of this schedule (§ 8) will reveal certain obvious differences be-tween it and the Standard form. Thus in the Tribal Schedule there are no columns corresponding to the following in the Standard one : 6-Civil Condition, 7-Age; 11-Means of subsistence of dependants; 12-District of birth; 14-Literacy; 16-Infirmities. With regard to 6, any queries on the subject of 'married, unmarried or widowed ' as bordering on impertinent curiosity into the tribesman's family life were out of the question. The subject of Age again is so interwoven with that of Civil Condition that the most that could be done in this direction was to have two classes only, adults and non-adults. As for Dependants once particulars about the head of a tribal household were known, a very shrewd guess could be made at the corresponding particulars of his household. Statistics of Birthplace amongst the nomads of Baluchistan have little value. For migration purposes they are unsatisfactory because uncertain, and as the aliens and the indigenous population live to all intents and purposes in different communities they can be sifted one from the other without extraneous assistance. In addition the birthplace of all aliens and of Hindus and others who-on the ground of race-might or might not be natives of Baluchistan, was recorded as a guide for tracing the main streams of immigration to their source. Education had made so little head-way amongst the tribesmen that as far as Literacy and knowledge of English went, it seemed safer to ascertain such particulars on a village basis, as otherwise the enumerators finding the columns blank for household after household, might have left them blank throughout as a matter of course. Figures for Infirmities were collected in the same way, in supplementary schedules. Thus all the information required by the Standard Schedule was in one way or another provided by the Tribal Census with the two unavoidable-but important-exceptions of Civil Condition and Age, and these two omissions could only be filled up by approximation based on a knowledge of tribal manners and customs and whatever could be gleaned from the figures of adults and non-adults. But while in some respects the Tribal Schedule fell short of-in others it went beyond-the Standard one, the most important of these was the elaborate classification of the races into tribes, clans, sections and sub-sections. The collection of these details, and their tabulation, necessitated a considerable amount of labour, but the results which were finally embodied by Mr. Bray in his "Analysis of the Principal Tribes of Baluchistan," published in 1913, have more than justified the extra labour and expense involved as the statistics thus collected for the first time in a convenient form have proved very valuable to the Local Administration.

I have dealt with this schedule at some length first, as being a 'home-made' article peculiar to Baluchistan, and second, because it formed the basis of the present Census. The total population enumerated by it in 1911 was 771,696 against 704,789 in 1921.

8. In the present Census, as in that of 1911, the whole of the provincial area The Census of 1921. of 134,638 square miles was covered, 799,625 souls in all being enumerated. The considerations which led to the adoption of a dual system of enumeration in the Province in 1911 again influenced an adherence to the same system in 1921, and no changes were considered to be either feasible or desirable. It was accordingly decided by the Local Government, with the concurrence of the Census Commissioner, that for the purposes of enumeration the Province should be divided

INTRODUCTION.

into (a) Synchronous and (b) Non-synchronous areas. The same procedure was adopted as before, i.e., the Standard Schedule was applied to the former-which comprised the same areas as in 1911, with the addition of the Coal and Chrome mines, Coolies on roads, and Transport-workers on the Harnai-Loralai-Fort Sandeman line, while Mr. Bray's Tribal Schedule was used for the latter which were identical with those dealt with in his time. The preliminary Census record was prepared in January-February 1921 and finally checked on the Census night, viz., 18th March 1921. The arrangements for the Census of the Military areas were placed under the Military Officers concerned, advised and assisted by Civil Officers. The Census of the Railway lines was placed under the control of the District Traffic Superintendent, N.W.R., Quetta, and the Superintendent of Works, Nushki Extension Railway, who worked in co-operation with the Census Superintendent. The Non-synchronous Census began on 1st June 1920 and was completed in the greater part of the country by the end of September and in the remaining areas by 13th February 1921. The same class of enumerators were used in the districts as before, *i.e.*, village accountants, schoolmasters, levy clerks, etc., supervised by District Officials as far as their other duties permitted. In the States, owing to the extension and improvement in the local administration, special enumerators were unnecessary, the State Officials, Muharrirs, Mustaufis, Thanadars, etc., doing all that was needful, under the direction of Supervisors-one for each State division, Sarawan, Jhalawan, etc., etc. With regard to the Tribal Schedule, a specimen of which is given below, the working of this form and the points in which it differs from the Standard one have already been fully discussed (§ 7) and no further comment is needed, except perhaps to add that under the heading of Religion the sect was also entered, e.g., Muhammadan Sunni, Muhammadan Shiah, etc. The information not directly contained in this Schedule was-as before-collected separately.

Specimen of	of	Tribul	Schedule.	

		Teib l	Religion.	Оссора- тюя.	LANGUAGE.	MEMBERS O	F THE HOU	SEHOLD.	;
	otli.	1-1				FAMILY.	SERVILE D	EPENDANTS.	
reliolder.	the cr				tuage. nguage.	Maics. Females.	Males.	Females	REMARKS.
No.		cion.	å	lary.	<u>B</u> <u>a</u>	Iulta.	dulta.	ı. dulta.	
Serint Name		Clan. Bection. Bubsection	Religion Sect.	Atalu. Bubskilary	Home la	Adulta. Non-ad Adults. Non-ad	Adulta. Non-ad	Adults Yon-A	1

Attitude of the Public.

9. Reference has already been made to the harmonious working of the Tribal Census in the Province. The Census of 1911 was-save for a few minor and unimportant incidents-carried through with remarkable smoothness. As Mr. Bray wrote in the Introduction to his Report :---- " The good humour with which the Tribesmen entered into the census was not the least pleasing feature of our work." The same good reception was given to the present operations, and there are no incidents to record. Nevertheless amongst the more backward of the tribesmen generally such prejudices as exist against a Census do not seem to have diminished -contrary to what one might expect -with the passing of years or the greater familiarity which repetition brings about. One must remember that a prejudice amongst primitive races against a "numbering of the people" is very widespread and at least as ancient as the Old Testament. The account there given, for instance, of King David's Census and its dire results in the shape of a "three days pestilence" bears witness to this ingrained superstition. Thus it was no matter for surprise that some of the old tribal "die-hards" indulged in a little grumbling at our Census. An old village granny for instance would say to the enumerator :---" May God save us from this sort of counting. If the flocks and herds even were numbered in this fashion they would be smitten with sickness. How then can man escape "? Or the oldest inhabitant would mumble forth the dire results of a Census :--- "The adam-shumari (man-counting) of 1901 brought with it the famine and cholera of 1909." (A somewhat belated judgment this.) "While that of 1911 was the cause alone knows the number of his creatures and their abodes. All this numbering of the people is meddling with the work of God, and can come to no good." One

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village gaffer stoutly declared that "He was a man for facts, he was. Suppose he weighed his grain over two or three times when it was brought to his house from the threshing floor, why it would bring him bad luck of course, and all the good would go out of the grain. Well then-how could a man escape the consequences of being counted over several times in his lifetime ? That's what he wanted to know. It was as plain as a pike-staff that there was nothing like an 'adamshumari' for shortening one's life." A very generally held opinion-as in 1911was that the Census portended a mobilization for war, or new taxes, or both. These instances are given not to indicate general opposition to the Census-which, as already stated, did not exist-but merely as throwing some interesting sidelights on tribal points of view.

10. In 1884 the Government of India issued instructions regarding the compila- Consus of Cuttle tion of Agricultural Statistics, including live-stock, and revised them in 1891 but (\$145). these instructions were not communicated to this province which was then at its infancy. Efforts were, however, from time to time made by officers to collect The first attempt in this direction was made in 1881-82 when cattle statistics. Dr. O. T. Duke, then Political Agent of the Harnai and Thal Chotiali Agency, had a rough Census taken of the population, cattle and arms in the Duki district. In 1890-91, when the first Census was taken in parts of the Province, cattle statistics were collected in the Sibi, Shahrig and Duki tahsils and the Mari and Bugti tribal areas. In the course of the settlement of some of the tahsils, it has been the practice to collect statistics for agricultural stock but the figures were confined to permanent villages and inhabitants, while nomads who own larger number of cattle, etc., have been excluded. During the Census of 1910-11 a rough enumeration was made of the number of cattle, etc., in existence in Baluchistan and the results were embodied in table I of Volume B (revised) of the District Gazetteers.

The question of the improvement of cattle statistics was raised by the Central Assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture in-1914, and after making a reference to the various Local Governments, the Government of India decided in March 1916, that, in order, as far as possible, to meet the wishes of the International Institute of Agriculture and to secure uniformity in regard to the time of year at which the Census is held, a Census of Cattle should be taken throughout British India at the end of 1919 or the beginning of 1920 and repeated at intervals of five years thereafter. But considering the special circumstances of the Province, the Government of India approved that a systematic enumeration of live-stock should be carried out in it at the time of the next Census of the population.

Instructions were accordingly issued in May 1920 for the enumeration of live-stock. In Tribal areas the work was done at the same time as the Census of the population between the months of June and December 1920, while in the Regular areas it was carried out along with the preliminary enumeration of the population, in January and February 1921. This was the first time that a Census of the livestock of the settled inhabitants and nomads of the Province including the States was taken. The results are briefly given in Chapter XII of this Report.

11. The special factor of our Census-the Tribal Schedule-has already been General arrangereferred to in some detail (§ 7) and there is little more to say with regard to our Enumeration. general arrangements (full details are given in the Administrative Volume). In the regular Census the house numbering was commenced on 1st January 1921 and completed by the end of that month. The preliminary enumeration was taken in hand at the beginning, and finished, by the 28th February 1921 except in Sibi and Quetta where-for special reasons-extension to the 10th of March was allowed. The more important centres were visited by the Census Superintendent himself in order to explain the conduct of operations to Charge Superintendents, Supervisors, etc. The final Census was taken on the 18th March 1921. Enumeration commenced at 7 P.M. arrangements being made for Supervisors and responsible officials from the Census Office to visit as many enumerators as possible and exercise general supervision over their work. The Tribal Census figures were received in the Head Office by the end of February 1921, and sent to the various District Officers concerned with the request that these should be incorporated with their Synchronous totals, and sent to us in due course. We received these totals by the 24th-and telegraphed them to the Census Commissioner on the 26th March, making a provisional total for Baluchistan of 800,678. The final total was 799,625.

The slip system was carried out on more or less conventional lines. Owing Tabulation of the Results. to the paucity of the staff in Tahsils and Niabats (Tahsils in Native States)

all copying as well as the other branches of the tabulation work had to be done in the Central Census Office which was opened in Quetta on 4th January 1921. For the Regular Areas the same slip was used as in India, for the Tribal Areas modified slips were adopted in which space was left for copying the details *re* Tribes, Clans, Sections, and Sub-sections. The copying and sorting of the tribal slips involved much extra labour but mention has already been made of the utility of such details for purposes of Local Administration. Moreover certain details *re* Tribal Areas—Literacy, etc. (§ 7)—could not be collected on the Tribal Schedule but had to be obtained from separate returns. The sorting and compiling of this information also entailed much extra work on our establishment.

12. In the 1911 Census there were four maps: showing respectively Race, Administrative Divisions, Density and Language. In the present Report, for reasons of economy, only three maps have been inserted, that of Language being omitted since the linguistic, corresponds almost exactly—as far as can be shown cartographically—with the racial, distribution. The only difference between the two worthy of note is that the Barkhan tahsil is racially Baloch but linguistically Jatki. On the other hand, the frontispiece map of the present Report—" Administrative Divisions "—showing all physical features, railway lines including extensions, main roads, etc., etc., is on an elaborate scale and is at the time of writing the best and most up-to-date small scale map of the Province.

The reading of official reports is not usually an exhibiting task and I have endeavoured to assist the reader of this particular one, by introducing in most of the longer chapters cross headings which may serve for him as sign-posts and also indicate the general lines of the discussion, and by epitomising as much of the statistics as was practicable in marginal statements even at the risk of unduly swelling the latter.

Cost of Census.

13. As in 1911 the cost of the Census has been heavy, and indeed has decidedly

COST OF CENSUS.							
Year.				Per thousand Bouls.	Por sq. mile.		
1911	٠	•		Rs. A. P. 57 1 10	Ra. A. P. 0 5 8		
1921	•	•	•	131 10 0	0126		

gone up owing to increase in cost of living, high wages of personnel and a general rise in prices all round. Various local causes also, which are detailed in the Administrative Volume but which need not be touched on here, have contributed to the high cost of our enumeration. The factors mainly for the expensiveness of a Baluchistan Census are thus given by Mr. Bray :—

"Our touring took one or other of us into well nigh every part of the country. For success clearly hung on the amount of personal inspection we could devote to the operations..... Here then is one very obvious reason for the unavoidably high cost of the operations for it goes without saying that one cannot travel in the wilds of the frontier without tents or escorts.... But I cannot accept this conventional measurement of the cost in terms of numbers as in any way appropriate to the peculiar circumstances of Baluchistan. On the contrary, it would not be difficult to make out a case to prove that the very smallness of our scattered population tends unavoidably to heighten the cost of a census, and that an increase in the population would tend to cut the expenses down. To any one who knows the country or takes the trouble to turn to it on the map, a much more appropriate method of reckoning the cost of the census is to look not to the numbers enumerated but to the area over which they are scattered. Judged in this light 0-5-8 (or if the other account system is preferred, 0-10-11) for every square mile is no inglorious record. I doubt whether any other province, however much more favourable its general conditions, could hope to enter the lists against it."

On the same analogy annas 12-6 for every square mile-taking all circumstances into account-cannot be considered excessive.

14. The Census Operations could not of course have been successfully carried out without the energetic co-operation of the Local Administration and the District Officers as well as that of the Tribal Chiefs and local notables. In Kalat and Las Bela States, Khan Bahadur Nawab Sir Mir Shams Shah, K.C.I.E., I.S.O., and Khan Sahib Rana Mohammad Ali Khan rendered valuable assistance. With regard to the enumeration of the Military forces and of the Quetta Cantonment our best thanks are due to Brigadier General H. W. Jackson, D.S.O., and Major O. H. C. Malony, Cantonment Magistrate in Quetta. For help with regard to the Railway enumeration we are indebted to Mr. D. R. Young, District Traffic Superintendent,

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QUETTA;

T.C. FOWLE.

August 30th, 1922.