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VOLUME V

BENGAL & SIKKIM

PART I

REPORT

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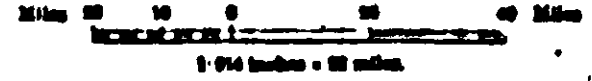
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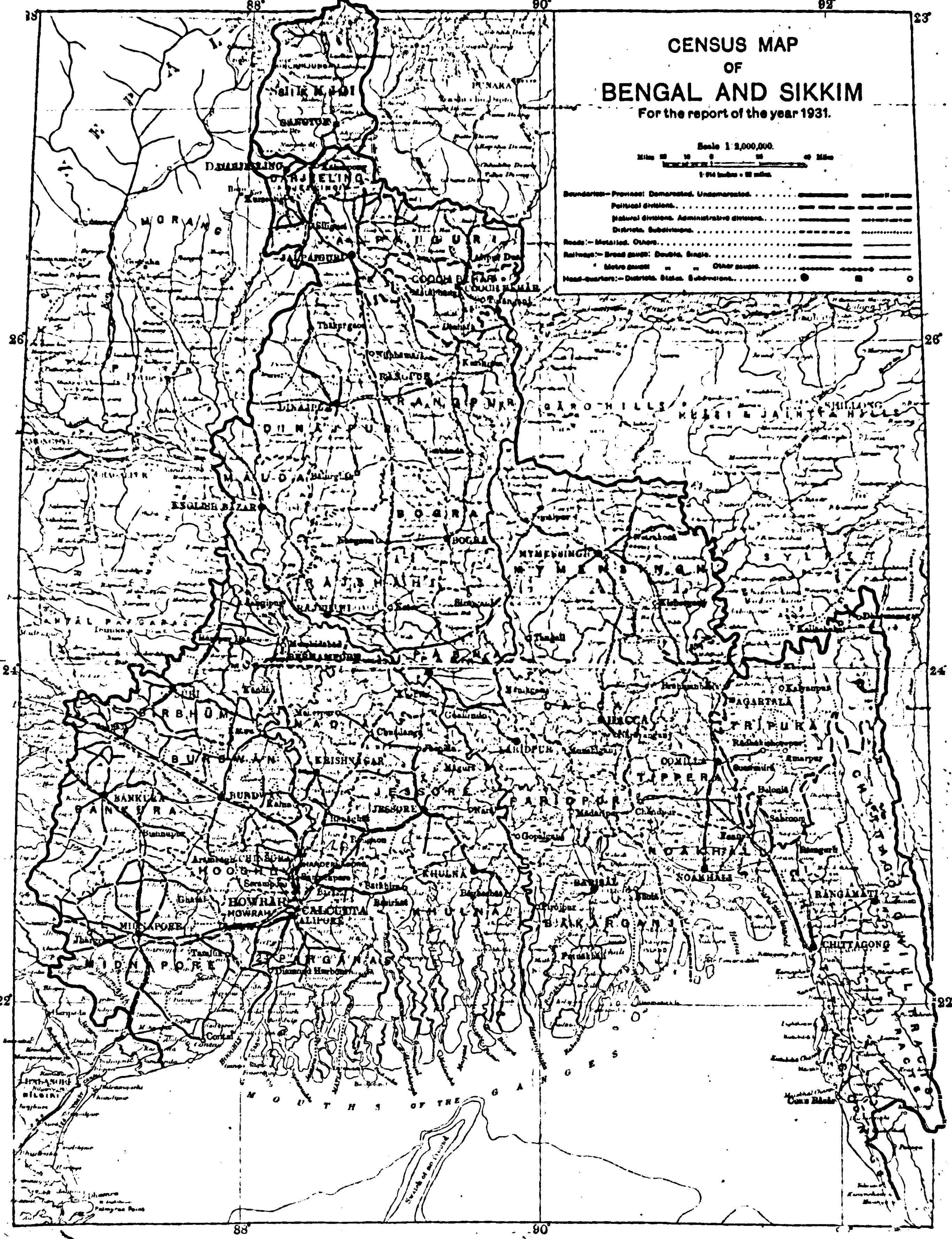
CENSUS MAP OF BENGAL AND SIKKIM

For the report of the year 1931.

Scale 1:2,000,000.



- Boundaries—Provinces: Demarcated, Undemarcated.
- Political divisions.
- Natural divisions, Administrative divisions.
- Districts, Subdivisions.
- Roads:—Metalled, Others.
- Railways:—Broad gauge: Double, Single.
- Metre gauge.
- Other gauge.
- Head-quarters:—Districts, States, Subdivisions.



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ERRATA

- Page 62.—In paragraph 86, seven lines from the end, for "comparisons" read "comparison".
- Page 65.—Substitute the following for the last 12 lines :—
 "in the death rate is invariably followed at some period by a corresponding decrease in the birth rate. It is clear also that fertility in western countries decreases with the increase of wealth and intellectual interests. There is therefore reason to hold that in Bengal also a reduction in the death rate will not in the long run result in a persistent acceleration of the rate of population increase, but that improved measures of public health intended to decrease the death rate, if accompanied by an improvement in the standard of living, the wider diffusion of education and an enlargement of interests in all sections of society will result in at least such a reduction of the birth rate as will be commensurate with any improvement effected in the death rate. In securing this end perhaps the greatest contribution will be made by the further enlightenment and emancipation of women and their introduction to spheres of interest, activity and usefulness from which they are now in Bengal generally debarred by social custom, tradition and the institution of purdah."
- Page 71.—In line 8 for "Town" and that those" read "Town" and those".
- Page 107.—In column 1 for "Barisal—Barisal" read "Barisal—Bakarganj".
- Page 108.—In the heading to columns 14, 15 and 16 for "Gibraltar" read "Gibraltar".
- Page 121.—In the note below the heading of statement No. IV-5 for "in tables 20 and 21" read "in pages 20 and 21".
- Page 122.—In line 3 from the top for "0 to 5" read "0, 5".
- Page 127.—In line 28 from the top for "births" read "deaths", and in the following line for "from" read "using", and for "deaths", read "births".
- Page 129.—In lines 27, 28 and 29—

for	1921	..	..	E31	..	..	E	21
	1931	..	..	E	31	..	..	E
	C. H. Tracts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

 read { 1921 E
 1931 E
 C. H. Tracts
- Page 129.—In line 9 from bottom for the second word instead of "than" read "that".
- Page 129.—In the second line of paragraph 152 for "very much" read "rather".
- Page 143.—In line 19 from bottom, last word, for "Expectations" read "Expectation".
- Page 146.—In line 7 from the top, first word, for "earlier" read "later"; and for "much the same tendencies as that" read "tendencies similar but opposite to those".
- Page 149.—In paragraph 169, line 32 from the top of page, for "33" read "30".
- Page 149.—In line 3 from the bottom for "death" read "birth", and add after end of paragraph :—"The observed decline of population in areas where malaria is endemic is presumably due to the combined effects of an increased death rate and the natural emigration of population rather than to a decrease in the birth rate".
- Page 162.—In line 8 from the end of page for "13 years of age" read "13 years ago".
- Page 178.—In the note below the heading of table I—
 for "then the standard deviation (S.D.)= $\frac{\sqrt{S(x-M)^2}}{S(f)}$ "
 read "then the standard deviation (S.D.)= $\sqrt{\frac{S(x-M)^2}{S(f)}}$ "
- Page 254.—In line 29 from the bottom for "felt that that it" read "felt that it".
- Page 317.—In line 14 from the top for "variation to" read "variation of".
- Page 318.—In line 10 from the bottom for "prepage" read "page 317".
- Page 336.—In line 5 from the top for "education of" read "education in"; and in line 6 from the bottom for "begun" read "began".
- Page 358.—In line 3 from the bottom for "Nepali" read "Naipali".
- Page 397.—In line 15 from the top for "form" read "provide".
- Page 398.—In line 22 from the top for "no Hindu" read "no practising Hindu".
- Page 399.—In line 1 for "every" read "very".
- Page 400.—Delete in paragraph 420 the whole of the second sentence which runs as follows: "The extent to which they are actually doing this has been noted elsewhere".
- Page 400.—In the first line of paragraph 419 for "of Hindu" read "of the Hindu"; and in the same paragraph two lines after the extract quoted for "enthusiasm in" read "enthusiasm for".
- Page 401.—In line 3 from top for "teaching medicine" read "teaching, medicine"; and in line 11 from the bottom for "type of widow" read "type of Hindu widow".
- Page 422.—In the last line before the Persian couplet for "ridicule popular" read "popular ridicule".
- Page 430.—In line 33 from top for "the Doms" read "Doms".
- Page 431.—In line 13 from top for "possible that" read "possible, that".
- Page 437.—Footnote No. 16 for "un" read "Un"; and in footnote 14 for "danel" read "dane l", also for "Pré-Aryan" read "Pré-aryan".
- Page 439.—In line 16 from the top for "the royal" read "the local royal"; and in line 21 for "continuity or conquest" read "continuity on conquest".
- Page 461.—In line 16 from the bottom of the page for "some castes included in Bengal" read "castes not included in Bengal".
- Page 473.—In line 3 from the bottom for "the south-west" read "south-west".
- Page 481.—In line 21 from the bottom for "me that it is in any case ridiculous" read "me and it is in any case ridiculous".
- Page 485.—In line 35 from top for "In High Court" read "In a High Court" and two lines above the statement for "of Purbba-Banga" read "of the Purbba-Banga".
- Page 496.—For the last word but four in paragraph 8 for "jalavyahariya" read "jalavyavahariya".
- Page 498.—In line 23 for "Marches" read "marches".
- Page 499.—In line 6 from the end of paragraph 15 for "initate" read "initiate"; and three lines from the bottom of the page for "barbars" read "barbers".
- Page 500.—In line 4 of paragraph 17 for "who have been overlooked previously owing to the small" read "which have been overlooked previously owing to their small".
- Page 501.—In line 2 from the top for "barna" read "varna".
- Page 501.—In line 22 from the top—the words "and the totals including them" are not now correct. It was intended that statement No. XII-g, columns 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24 and 25 on page 503 would be in italics. As these columns are in doric or roman the words mentioned should be deleted.
- Page 501.—In lines 24 and 25 from the top for "the accompanying diagram No. XII-11" read "diagram No. XII-11 on page 488".

INTRODUCTION

The census forming the subject of this report was the seventh taken in Bengal and was conducted on the night of the 26th February 1931.

There was no important innovation in the census procedure which has been fully described in previous reports and will consequently be given here only a brief notice. The Indian Census Act (X of 1929) passed by the Indian legislature received the assent of the Governor-General on the 1st October and provided the legal basis for the census. Preliminary arrangements were initiated by the Government of Bengal as early as the 22nd February 1930 by orders under which a "census mauza register" was prepared to account for the whole area in each district and a preliminary estimate was made of the number of houses in each mauza with names of the individuals likely to constitute a satisfactory census agency. Upon the basis of this register the whole province was parcelled out into census divisions. Within the district the largest of these was the "charge", ordinarily formed by a municipality or rural police-station and containing an average of 9,864 inhabited houses under a "charge superintendent". The charge was again divided into some 20 to 22 "circles" each comprising on an average 400 to 450 houses in charge of a "supervisor". Circles were again divided into compact "blocks" numbering between 10 and 12 and containing about 40 houses each for which an "enumerator" was responsible. During October and November each house in a block was given a serial number to ensure its being accounted for in the enumeration and in the succeeding months the enumerating agency was trained and a preliminary enumeration made and checked. In some few areas mentioned in chapter I, the details thus recorded and checked formed the final record owing to the impossibility of conducting a synchronous check on the final census night. Elsewhere however they were checked between 7 p. m. and midnight of the 26th February 1931. During this time each enumerator went round his block, checked the entries in his preliminary record, struck out those for persons no longer present and added details of those who had subsequently arrived. Preliminary totals were at once prepared for each district and were telegraphed from Bogra and Bankura districts as early as 12-35 p. m. and 4 p. m. on the 28th February. Figures for the whole province were published within 9 days of the census and the difference between these totals (50,969,667) and the figures on final counting (51,087,338) amounted for the whole province to 117,671 or 2·3 per thousand of population. This does not approach the accuracy of the provisional figures for the census of England and Wales in 1921 which differed only by ·0038 per thousand of population from the final figures, and it compares unfavourably with the corresponding discrepancy in Bengal in 1921 which was ·9 per thousand. In some districts however the approach to the final figures was very close. In Rajshahi for instance figures for which were telegraphed by Babu Anathbandhu Ray within 4 days of the final census the discrepancy was only ·07 per thousand.

The procedure subsequent to the enumeration consisted of three stages. A copy of the form of schedule on which the information required was collected is included in the pocket inside the back cover of this volume. From this the information recorded for each individual (with the exception of the name) was first copied out on to a separate slip. The slips were next given to sorters who dealt them successively into heaps according to the particulars to be shown in each of the tables: the heaps were counted and the numbers entered on "sorters' tickets" for each table. The figures in these tickets were then compiled to give statistics for each police-station, census town and district and were finally tabulated for the whole province. Slip-copying was ordinarily done at district headquarters under the district census officer. Sorting and compilation were conducted at five central offices under deputy superintendents of census at Konnagar in the district of

Hooghly, at Berhampore, at Rajshahi, at Dacca and at Barisal. At these offices was also done the slip-copying for the districts of Burdwan, 24-Parganas, Khulna, Rangpur, the Siliguri subdivision of Darjeeling, Faridpur, Noakhali, Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts and for the city of Calcutta where no local arrangements could be made. The final tabulation was effected by my personal assistant in Calcutta, and the tables before publication were submitted for check and correction to the Census Commissioner.

The necessity for stringent economy has led to a restriction of the scope of the report and has made it impossible to make use of some part of the information recorded in the schedules. No tables have been prepared to show Infirmities by Selected Castes (No. XII-A of 1921), Occupations subsidiary to Agriculture (No. XVIII of 1921), Combined Occupations (No. XIX of 1921), Occupation by Religion (No. XX of 1921) or Christians by Race and Sect (No. XV of 1921). Moreover the table showing industries (No. XXII of 1921, prepared from a special industrial return) has been abandoned although a fresh column (No. 12) was introduced into the schedule for the collection of material from a wider range than in previous years. On the other hand the tables showing Bi- and Multi-lingualism (No. XV, part ii) and Comparative Figures for Selected Tribes (No. XVIII) are new, and the report contains in chapter VIII a summary of the details obtained from a voluntary return of educated unemployment.

It is not easy to make with confidence an estimate of the accuracy of the results thus obtained. At every stage errors can be introduced by malice or inadvertence or ignorance. Comment on the figures of Calcutta city will be found in the volume in which they are analysed and what follows refers to the figures for the rest of the province. The supervisors and enumerators, numbering 298,522 in all, were a voluntary agency: there was therefore very little choice and whatever material was available had to be employed. It will appear from the account given in subsequent chapters that the instructions for filling in some columns of the schedule were necessarily somewhat complicated, and particularly in the remoter parts district census officers found it sometimes difficult to make enumerators understand them. This difficulty was felt especially in respect of details not elicited at a previous census such as the return of industry and of subsidiary languages, and of particulars where a difference was introduced as in the return of "earners" and "working dependents" in place of the simple classification "workers" previously adopted. For many years previously Government had been subjected to a campaign of misrepresentation the object of which was to bring Government under contempt and suspicion, and there is no doubt that the prestige of Government officers had suffered thereby. Moreover the census operations took place at a time of "civil disobedience" and obstruction to the census was a plank in the Congress platform. Civil disobedience and the diminished prestige of Government, however, are not likely to have effected the results to any considerable extent. Seriously organised opposition was encountered only in one union in Baraset (24-Parganas) and in the Bishnupur subdivision of Bankura district and was overcome. In Bengal as a whole the question of communal representation in the revised constitution was too important for either of the main communities to allow its numerical strength to be reduced by the omission of its members from the census figures. On the other hand allegations were made by both Hindus and Muslims that enumerators of the other community had swelled the numbers of their own co-religionists by fictitious entries and had wilfully suppressed details of those professing the other faith. Most of these statements were indefinite and incapable of investigation: those which were specific were examined and proved to be without foundation. The claim that aborigines are "fundamentally" Hindus has quite probably resulted to some extent in their being returned as Hindus by Hindu enumerators with very little justification in their actual beliefs and practices, but even so there is no reason to believe that the errors of enumeration in the schedules were considerable. During slip-copying and sorting the rules provided for very careful supervision and check. Midnapore and Mymensingh are the

only districts in which there is reason to think that there was some relaxation in the strictness of check and doubtful slips of these districts were checked and corrected during sorting. The later processes of sorting and compilation gave comparatively little scope for mistakes to remain undetected and it may be confidently said that no appreciable errors are likely to have been introduced at these stages. The figures for 1921 were estimated to be correct to within one per thousand and there is no reason to believe that the general figures of the population and its distribution by sex and religion are less accurate than this on the present occasion. As regards the other details tabulated the probable error naturally differs from one particular to another and comment upon the estimated accuracy of individual tables will be found in the chapters in which they are discussed.

Up to the date of printing this report the total cost debited to the census budget was Rs. 5,44,017-0-5. This sum excludes the cost of the volumes of the report which are for sale. Against this is to be set off the amount of Rs. 48,142-1-3 recovered or recoverable by the sale of equipment or from municipalities or other administrations. Some of this has been recovered or is recoverable from municipalities, the state of Sikkim and the Tripura state. The net cost debited is therefore Rs. 4,95,874-15-2 which averages Rs. 9-11-2 per thousand of the population. The total net cost is less than that incurred in 1921-23, which was shown as being Rs. 4,97,370-10-11 or Rs. 10 per thousand of population. It also compares very favourably with the rate per thousand (£9 5s. 6d. or Rs. 120-4) for the census of England and Wales in 1921. The English figure excludes the cost of printing, stationery, maps, cards and hire of machines. The charge for Bengal corresponding to the first four of these items was Rs. 64,494-0-7; and even excluding for the English estimate the hire of machines, which probably corresponds to a considerable portion of the charges in Bengal for slip-copying, sorting and compilation, the figure for Bengal, which is comparable to that for the English census, is only Rs. 8-7 per thousand of population.

It is impossible to acknowledge adequately the services of all those who contributed to the success of the census. District officers were preoccupied with the political situation and an effort was made by dealing direct with the district census officers to worry them as little as possible with routine details. The Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, however, himself conducted the census of his district and in no district would it have been possible to conduct a census at all without the assistance of the district officers. Nearly all branches of the public services were laid under contribution for voluntary work in addition to their duties. The names of those specially commended for good service have been brought to the notice of the departments with whom their advancement lies. A general expression of appreciation is also owing to the members of the Bengal Junior Civil Service who as circle officers in almost all districts rendered indispensable service. During the period before the final enumeration extended touring was necessary and it was owing to the special facilities accorded to me by the Assam Bengal and Eastern Bengal Railways that I was able to visit each district headquarters twice and some of the subdivisions also in addition without considerable waste of time: I have to express my indebtedness for these facilities to the Agents of the railways. But perhaps the most astonishing feature of the census is the fact that under the direction of a very few officials almost the whole enumeration was carried out by a voluntary agency. More than 302,600 voluntary workers not only received no remuneration but in almost all cases were put to some personal expense in the conduct of the enumeration. Some expression of appreciation is due to these workers for their public spirit and to the officers of the Bengal Civil Service and other services who were able by their tact and personal influence to keep up to scratch over so long a period as 5 months or more a body of men held together by no self-interest or hope of reward. Finally, my special thanks are due to Messrs. Durga Pada Banarji, Saiyid Abdul Majid, Sudhir Kumar Sen, Mizanur Rahman and Sailendra Nath Mitra, the five officers in charge of the central offices at Konnagar, Rajshahi, Berhampore, Dacca and Barisal, and

to my personal assistant, Babu Bhupendrakrishna Sinha, B.C.S. All these officers co-operated in bringing the post enumeration proceedings and the tabulation of the results to a conclusion somewhat earlier than before and a tribute is due to their energy and to the tact with which they handled large establishments of casual employees most of whom were unaccustomed to discipline and continuous hard work. In the preparation of the report I have been indebted to almost every department of Government for either information and material or more specific assistance. Dr. C. A. Bentley, C.I.E., D.P.H., lent me a number of statistical books and computing machines, and his successor Dr. Khambata permitted my access to unpublished public health statistics. At the request of the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal the Director of the Tropical School of Medicine placed an excellent biostatistical library at my disposal, and to Dr. D. B. Meek, O.B.E., Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, I am indebted for constant help with books of reference and with advice on statistical questions. In particular instances I have endeavoured to make my indebtedness clear by acknowledgments in the text but I cannot hope to have acknowledged all my obligations.

The report contains some features which are new. Many of the diagrams are plotted upon a "logarithmic" section, in which the vertical intervals are proportionate not to the differences between the figures represented by them but to the differences between the logarithms of these figures. In these diagrams an equal proportionate change is represented by an equal vertical interval; e.g., the distance between 2 and 4, 3 and 6, 4 and 8, 20 and 40, etc., is exactly the same. This type of diagram has consequently been used wherever rates of change may be of interest. The practical advantage is that not only the numerical but also the proportionate change can thus be estimated from the same diagram. It is the figures which are indicated but in reading them it must be remembered that the intervals are not regularly proportionate to the figures. In each case a guide to the rate of change has been given and with a little practice it should not be difficult to recognise by eye equal angles of slope which indicate equal rates of change. The diagrams are not offered to replace the figures which they illustrate. They are a short cut to investigating the salient features of the statistics but no deductions should be based on them which are not verified by reference to the tables. This is a general limitation in the use of graphic presentations of fact, and it is particularly important when, as in the following pages there is a possibility that errors in drafting have escaped detection. Such as have been discovered have in most cases been indicated in the text.

In some few instances also statistical expressions have been used which will not be familiar to the general reader. These are mainly the "standard deviation" and the "probable error". If in a series the difference of the observed figure from the mean or arithmetical average be computed and squared, and the squares totalled and divided by the number of instances in the series the result is known as the "variance" of the series. The standard deviation is the square root of the variance. From it the "probable error" is calculated. For comprehension of the few instances in which these constants have been employed it is unnecessary to consider their mathematical basis and sufficient to state that they give an indication of the normal distribution of the observations forming the series. The standard deviation provides a universal scale by which to measure differences between the mean and the observed quantities since it is so calculated that an equal proportion of the observations in any two series may be expected to fall within a difference from the mean which is the same when expressed in terms of the appropriate standard deviation. If any series be treated as a sample from a larger universe of similar items, the probable error provides a means of estimating within what limits the average of the series is likely to differ from the true average which would be obtained if all the items in the universe had been included in its calculation, and statisticians consider that the chances are exactly equal that the real mean of the whole universe will be within a range running from once the probable error less to once the probable error greater than the calculated average. The probable error is also used as a test whether differences in the averages of two series are due to chance sampling from the

same universe. In this case the difference is considered to be "significant", (i.e., probably not the result of random sampling) if it is three or more times its own probable error, since the odds against the entirely fortuitous occurrence of a difference so great as three times the probable error are 22 to 1: in other words a difference as great as or greater than this might be expected from chance only in 43 out of 1,000 instances. The odds against the chance occurrence of a difference as great as four times the probable error are as many as 142 to 1. Such use as has been made of these concepts is infrequent in the report and they have been resorted to with diffidence. Calculations have been worked out against time and under the limitations of a crippling economy. It is unlikely that no error of calculation or deduction has escaped elimination, and certain that the possibilities of significant analysis have in no case been exhausted. But it has been the object to give the data from which results are deduced in such detail that the reader may have before him all the materials necessary for the detection of mistakes, miscalculations and statistical fallacies and for pursuing scientific analysis further than my own ignorance of mathematics has permitted me to follow it.

CHAPTER I

Distribution and movement of population

Part I—Introductory

1. **The area dealt with.**—The area dealt with in this report is that of the province of Bengal with Bengal States and Sikkim. The territory covered is an area of 85,773 square miles. It is composed of British Territory, 77,521 square miles; the states of Cooch Behar and Tripura, 5,434 square miles, and Sikkim, 2,818 square miles. These figures exclude the surface area covered by large rivers and arms of the sea the inclusion of which would have affected the calculation of the density of population: such areas as are thus excluded fall entirely within British Territory. The areas given for Sikkim and Bengal States are the same as in 1921, but for British Territory the figures are 678 square miles greater than those given in 1921. Such explanations as are available for this change in area are given in the title pages to imperial table I and provincial table I in volume V, part II. During the decade only 30 square miles were added to the area of Bengal from the neighbouring province of Bihar and Orissa and the difference between the figures of 1921 and 1931 is principally accounted for by changes in the calculated area of police-stations. Revised calculations of these areas have resulted in very little change in the figures of Dacca and Chittagong Divisions and are mainly confined to the Rajshahi and to a greater extent to the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions.

2. **The population enumerated.**—The population dealt with in the report and shown in detail in the tables forming part II of this volume is in general the *de facto* population of Bengal on the night of the 26th February 1931. In some parts of the province, however, owing to difficulties of communication or to the absence of a literate enumerating agency or for other reasons it was not possible to conduct on the night of the 26th February* the simultaneous check of the preliminary enumeration which elsewhere constituted the final census. The areas and population thus affected are shown in statement No. I-1 below:—

STATEMENT No. I-1.

District.	Locality.	Area (sq. miles).	Population.	Date of final check.
Bankura	Raibandh p.-s.	84.0	15,638	27th February 1931.
Midnapore	Jhargram subdivision	90.0	19,396	27th February 1931. 6 a.m.—12 noon.
	Binpur	89.0	19,360	
Calcutta	Nayagram	1.0	36	Nil.
	Ward 7, 132 blocks	..	..	..
	Ward 5, 85 blocks	..	..	..
	Ward 29, 22 blocks	..	..	..
Bakarganj	Ward 6, 32 blocks	1.5	49,795	Subsequently.
		73.4	12,882	
Noakhali	Patuakhali	37.6	4,563	27th February 1931. Morning.
	Bhola	35.8	8,320	
Cittagong Hill Tracts	Sandwip	6.0	140	27th February 1931. Morning.
	Do.	10.0	1,370	
	Chhagalnaya	1.5	2,082	
Tripura State	Total area	5,007.0	212,922	Nil.
	Hill portions	1,838.0	73,037	2-3 days after 26th February 1931.
Sikkim State	Total area	2,818	109,808	Nil.

Except in the Chitagong Hill Tracts and Sikkim where inaccessibility and the lack of literate census agents prevented any final check, and in part of Calcutta where the failure to make a simultaneous check on the census night was due to obstruction by the inhabitants, it will be seen that in every case a check of the figures recorded was actually conducted during the morning of the following day except in Tripura State where it was conducted some days later. Such a check conducted with reference to the conditions on the night of the 26th-27th constituted in effect a simultaneous check. It is at least certain that outside Calcutta, the conditions which rendered a simultaneous check impossible also prevented any considerable movement into or out of

*In Sikkim State the census was not completed until 15th March 1931.

non-synchronous areas, and if such movement actually occurred the amount each way cancelled out so that the results obtained represent the actual population on the census night with every little inaccuracy. The figures also include a number of persons who were at sea on the 26th February and did not reach Bengal till later. Such persons as fishermen who spent the night at work in the Bay of Bengal are amongst these. So also are persons on board sea-going vessels who were in Indian territorial waters on the census night: these include persons on vessels which reached the Sandheads from a port outside India before midnight on the 26th February or had left a port in India before the census was taken there but did not arrive at Calcutta until some date up to the 15th of March. The persons accounted for in the enumeration of Indians on the high seas have not been included in the general population but are shown separately in chapter III.

3. Measures due to the different date of the census in Burma.—The census was taken in Burma two nights before the date fixed for Bengal and the rest of India and special measures were therefore taken to prevent double enumeration of persons coming from Burma after being enumerated there and the omission from both provinces of persons who had left Bengal for Burma after the 24th but before the 26th February. At the time of the final check it was ascertained whether persons present during the preliminary enumeration who were then absent had left for Burma after the 24th February and if so their names were retained, whilst persons who had newly arrived were asked whether they had come from Burma and, if they had left there after the 24th February, particulars for them were not added in the schedules.

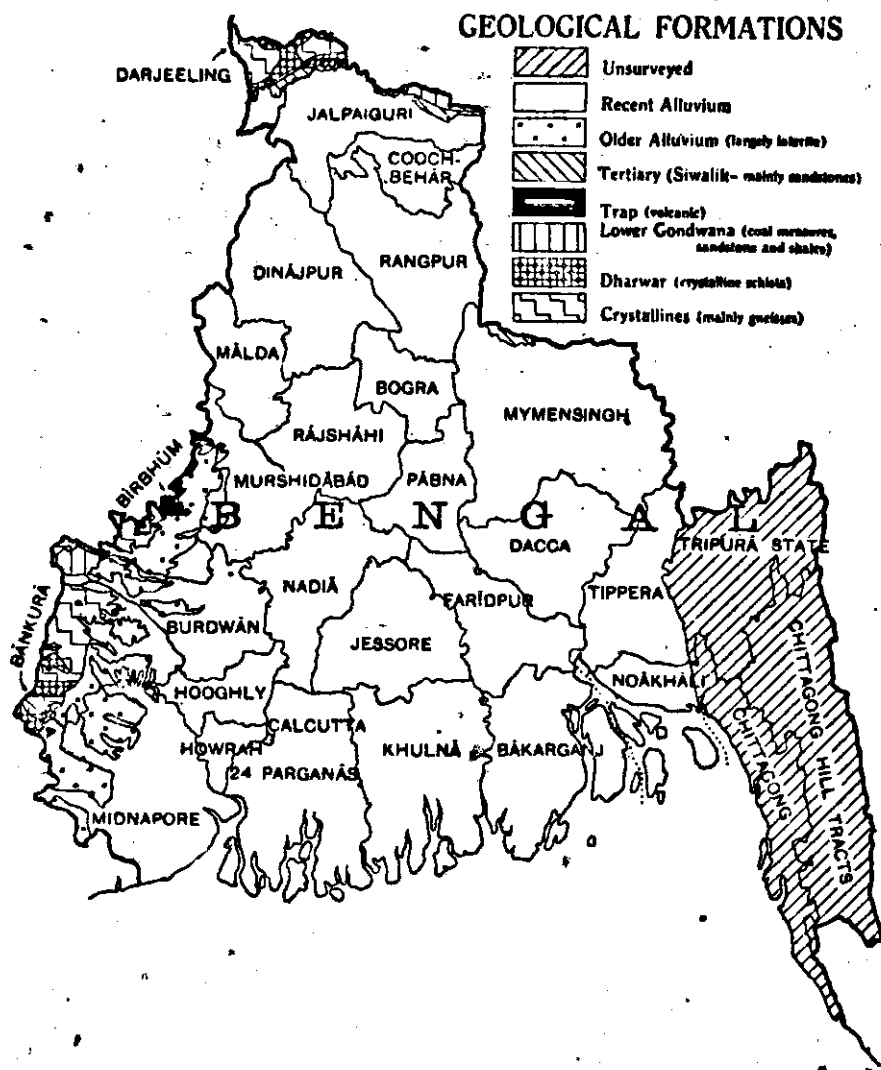
4. Accuracy of the figures.—The population treated in this report therefore fairly represents within narrow limits the actual resident population of the province. There were no considerable movements of population when the census was taken and precautions which may have erred on the side of excessive elaboration were taken to ensure the enumeration and to prevent the double enumeration of those who spent the census night travelling in trains or boats. For the enumeration of the rural areas it is not unreasonable to claim a fairly high degree of accuracy. In 1921 the census superintendent estimated that the figures returned were not likely to be wrong by more than one per mille of the whole population and that the accuracy was considerably greater for rural areas. A similar claim can confidently be made also on the present occasion. The total population of Bengal recorded in the tables as being 50,114,002 for British Territory may be confidently taken as being not less than 50,064,000 or more than 50,164,000 and it probably lies within a much narrower range. A similar calculation would place the aggregate population of British districts and Bengal States within 51,036,000 and 51,138,000 as the outside limits.

5. Method of presentation.—The information extracted from the census of Bengal is presented in two volumes. Volume V of the imperial series is divided into two parts and contains first a general report (part I) and secondly the imperial and provincial tables (part II). Volume VI, also containing two parts which however are bound together, comprises similarly a report and tables for Calcutta City. In part II of the present volume the imperial tables ordinarily present separately absolute figures for each administrative division, district, city and state and figures for police-stations and towns are shown in the provincial tables. Throughout this volume the tables appended to each chapter are ordinarily presented by natural divisions and the information given comprises either comparative figures for a number of decades or percentage or other ratios.

6. Administrative and natural or geographical divisions.—For the boundaries of the five administrative divisions, 28 districts and two states of Bengal as well as for the boundary of Sikkim the reader is referred to the map forming the frontispiece of this volume. The natural or geographical divisions adopted in 1921 have again been employed in the present volume for the subsidiary tables. The considerations justifying their choice have been given in detail in the report of 1921 and it is not proposed to repeat them.

Diagram No. I-1 shows the geological homogeneity of the province as a whole. Only on the fringe of the province in the extreme north and west and also in the Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts, which have not been geologically surveyed, is there to be found any change from an alluvial formation generally of recent date. Geographically the difference between the different parts of the province depends upon the degree and nature of their rivers' activity. In Western Bengal corresponding to the Burdwan Division the formative influence of the rivers would in the natural course have been long ago ended and their significance is derived largely from ill-advised interference with the natural action of river and sea by the creation of embankments and sea-walls.

DIAGRAM No. I-1.



This has prevented the completion of the process of land formation which it is the work of the rivers and sea between them to accomplish when they are unobstructed; and inhabitants of Western Bengal have received a legacy of extensive and intricate embankments carrying with them the danger of floods in such districts as Burdwan and Midnapore. In Central Bengal corresponding to the Presidency Division which somewhat inconsistently appears in some of the diagrams as South Bengal the conditions are regulated by the recession eastwards of the Ganges as a delta forming stream. It is the region of dead or dying rivers and the problem is to secure in the old beds of the Ganges and its effluents a continued and adequate flow of water. In the greater part of East Bengal comprising the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions the Ganges and Brahmaputra are still vigorously active in land formation. This last geographical division includes also the Tripura State which with the Chittagong Hill Tracts probably have geographically more affinities with the contiguous parts of Assam. North Bengal comprises the part of the province north of the Ganges and west of the Brahmaputra and includes the Rajshahi Division and the State of Cooch Behar. Here also the hill portions as a natural formation would normally fall geographically rather into the area comprised by the Terai, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and the northern portions of Assam.

Part II—General features of the population figures

7. **Figures discussed in this chapter.**—The statistics principally discussed in this chapter are presented in imperial tables showing for districts and larger units the area, houses and population (table I), the variation in population since 1872 (table II) and towns and villages classified by population (table III). In provincial table I matter similar to that in these three tables is presented for police-stations.* In addition subsidiary tables printed at the end of the chapter show—

- I—the mean density (persons per square mile) cultivable and cultivated areas, irrigation, rainfall and distribution of crops by districts ;
- II—the population density with variations per cent. by districts at each census, 1872 to 1931 ;
- III—the aggregate area and population of police-stations classified by districts according to the density of population ;
- IV—a comparison of the variation in population according to the returns of vital statistics and as reviewed in the census figures ;
- V—the variation by natural divisions in the aggregate population in the police-stations grouped according to their population density with the percentage variations 1911 to 1921 and 1921 to 1931 ;
- VI—persons per inhabited house and inhabited house per square mile, 1881 to 1931 ; and
- VII—the numbers of boats and steamers.

8. **General comparison with other areas.**—The population of Bengal was 46,702,307 in 1921 and has now increased by 3,411,695 or 7·3 per cent. to 50,114,002. Including Bengal States the population was 47,599,233 in 1921

STATEMENT No. I-2.

Population, area and density of the principal provinces of India and of England and Wales, 1931.

	Population.	Area.	Density.
Bengal ..	51,087,338	82,955	616
United Provinces ..	49,614,833	112,191	442
Madras ..	47,193,602	143,870	328
Bihar and Orissa ..	42,329,583	111,784	379
England and Wales	39,947,931	58,343	685
Punjab (excluding States	24,018,639	103,089	233
Punjab Agency).*			
Bombay ..	26,271,784	151,593	178

*But including Punjab States (vide page 17 of statements A to D).

and has now increased by 7·3 per cent. to 51,087,338. A statement numbered I-2 shows in the margin the area, density and population of the principal provinces of India and of England and Wales and is illustrated by diagram No. I-2. Bombay (151,593), Madras (143,870), the United Provinces (112,191), Bihar and Orissa (111,784) and the Punjab (103,089) have all a larger area than Bengal (British districts and states) which covers 82,955 square miles. Bengal, however, contributes more than one-sixth of the total population of the provinces of British India. Its population is more than twice that of the Bombay Presidency (21,854,866) and the Punjab (23,580,852) and more than three times that of the Central Provinces and Berar (15,507,723) or Burma (14,647,497). On the other hand every one of the major provinces in India except the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh has recorded a greater percentage increase during the decade 1921-1930 than Bengal. The percentage increase however is more than 2½ times higher than it was between 1911- and 1921. Bengal has an area more than two-fifths as large again as that of England and Wales together, but its population is little more than a quarter as large again.

9. **Comparison of administrative divisions.**—British Territory in Bengal is divided into five administrative divisions and the marginal statement No. I-3 shows the area, population and density of each. In area Rajshahi Division is the largest and Presidency Division second followed by Dacca, Burdwan

STATEMENT No. I-3.

Area, population and density (persons per square mile) divisions in Bengal, 1931.

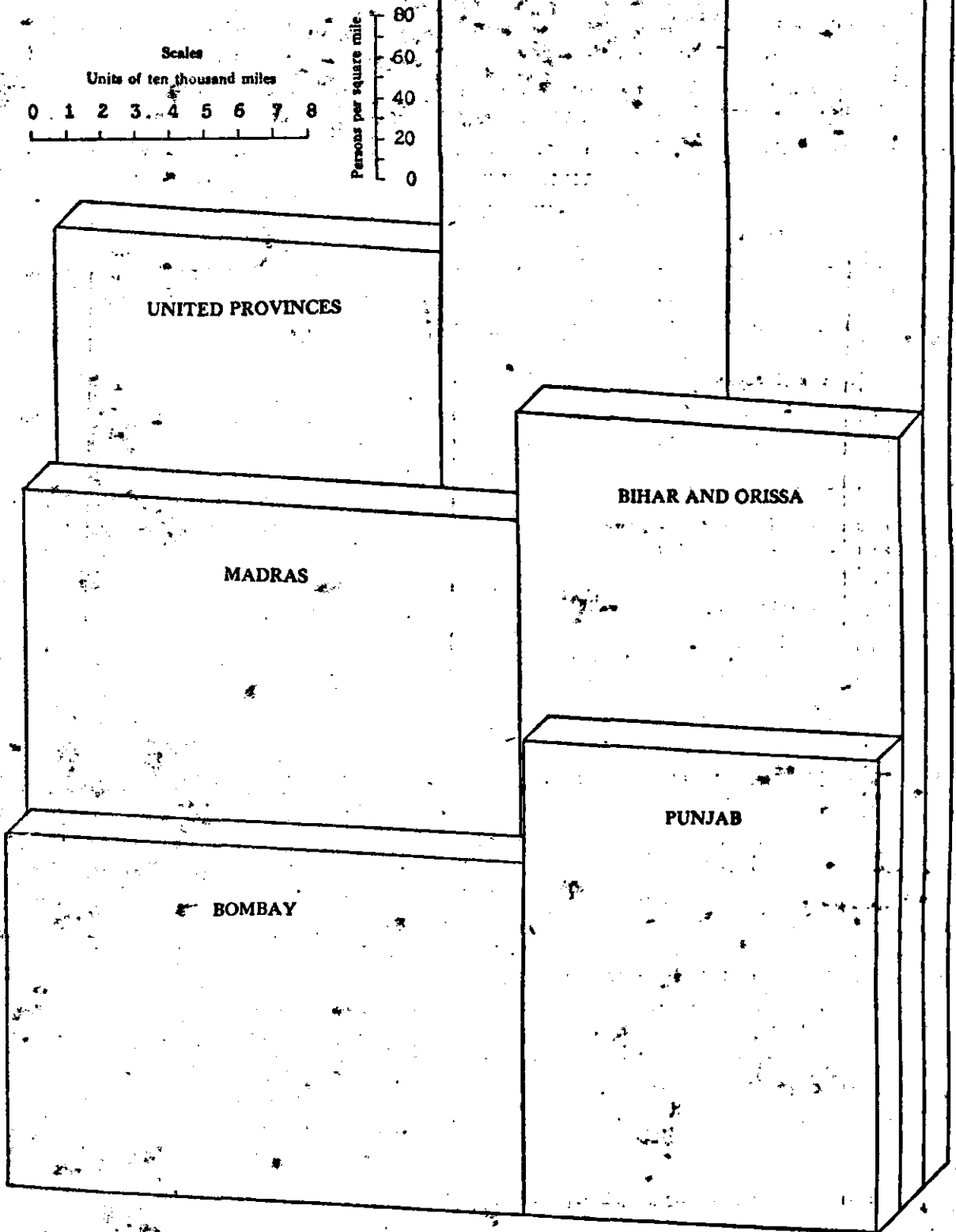
Division.	Area.	Population.	Density.
Burdwan ..	13,984	8,647,189	618
Presidency ..	17,853	10,108,229	566
Rajshahi ..	19,163	10,668,066	557
Dacca ..	14,829	13,864,104	935
Chittagong ..	11,692	6,826,414	584

and Chittagong Divisions. In population, however, Dacca Division is the largest with 13,864,104 inhabitants. Rajshahi Division with 10,668,066 and the Presidency Division with 10,108,229 come next. Burdwan Division

DIAGRAM No. 1-2.

AREA, DENSITY AND POPULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL PROVINCES OF INDIA AND OF ENGLAND AND WALES, CENSUS OF 1931.

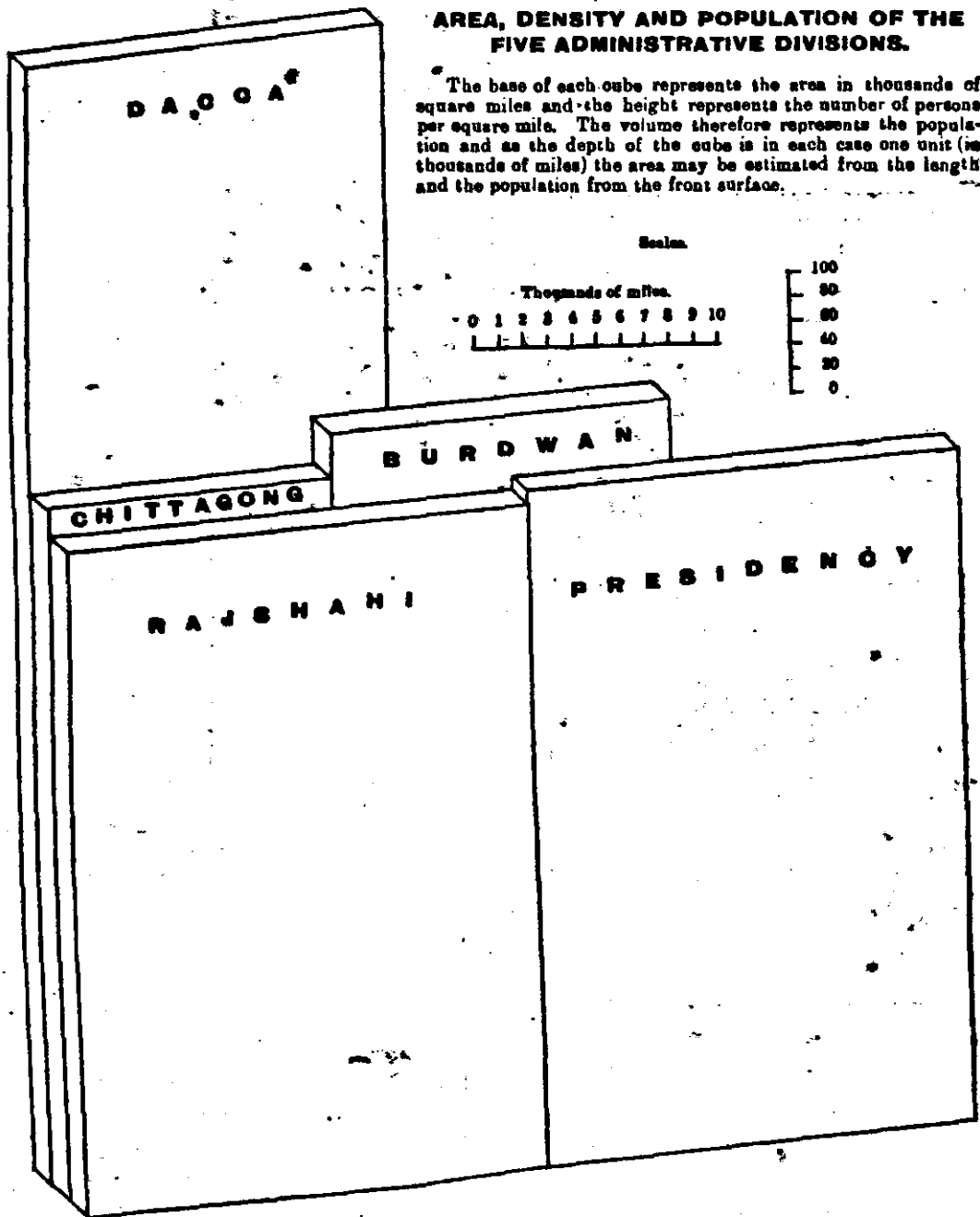
The base of each cube represents the area in units of ten thousand square miles and the height represents the number of persons per square mile. The volume therefore represents the population and as the depth of the cube is in each case one unit (in tens of thousands of miles) the areas may be compared by the length and the populations by the front surface.



has 8,647,189 and the population of Chittagong Division is less than one half of Dacca Division being only 6,826,414. There are on an average 935 persons per square mile in the Dacca Division, 618 in the Burdwan Division, 566 in the Presidency Division, 584 in the Chittagong Division and 557 in the Rajshahi

Division. These figures are illustrated in diagram No. I-3 where the righthand scale indicates the number of persons per square mile and the remaining

DIAGRAM No. I-3.



references are given in the heading of the diagram itself. Each division shows an increase over the population in 1921 which is as much as 13.7 per cent.

STATEMENT No. I-4.
Distance of the median and centre of population in miles North (N) or South (S) and East (E) or West (W) from the trijunction of Jessore, Nadia and Faridpur districts.

NOTE.—The median of area is S—18.9; W—0.9 (lat. 23° 82' 12"; long. 89° 17' 12").
The centre of area is S—1.0; E—11.0 (lat. 23° 43' 24"; long. 89° 28' 30").

Year.	Median of population:	Centre of population.		
		Total.	Rural.	Urban.
1872	S—14.0	S—2.0	N—0.3	S—42.8
	W—13.4	W—7.2	W—5.1	W—45.2
1881	S—10.7	N—0.3	N—2.9	S—43.9
	W—9.9	W—4.4	W—2.2	W—41.6
1891	S—11.7	S—0.5	N—2.0	S—43.8
	W—6.5	W—1.6	E—0.7	W—40.8
1901	S—11.5	S—0.5	N—2.3	S—44.1
	W—5.1	W—0.6	E—2.0	W—39.2
1911	S—10.8	N—0.4	N—3.5	S—44.0
	W—2.0	E—1.9	E—4.7	W—39.0
1921	S—11.5	N—0.4	N—3.6	S—43.2
	E—3.0	E—5.6	E—8.8	W—38.6
1931	S—13.4	S—1.2	N—2.0	S—42.8
	E—5.0	E—7.0	E—10.5	W—38.8

in the Chittagong Division and 8.2 per cent. in the Dacca Division. It is 7.4 per cent. in the Burdwan Division, 7 per cent. in the Presidency Division and no more than 2.7 per cent. in the Rajshahi Division.

10. Median of area and population.

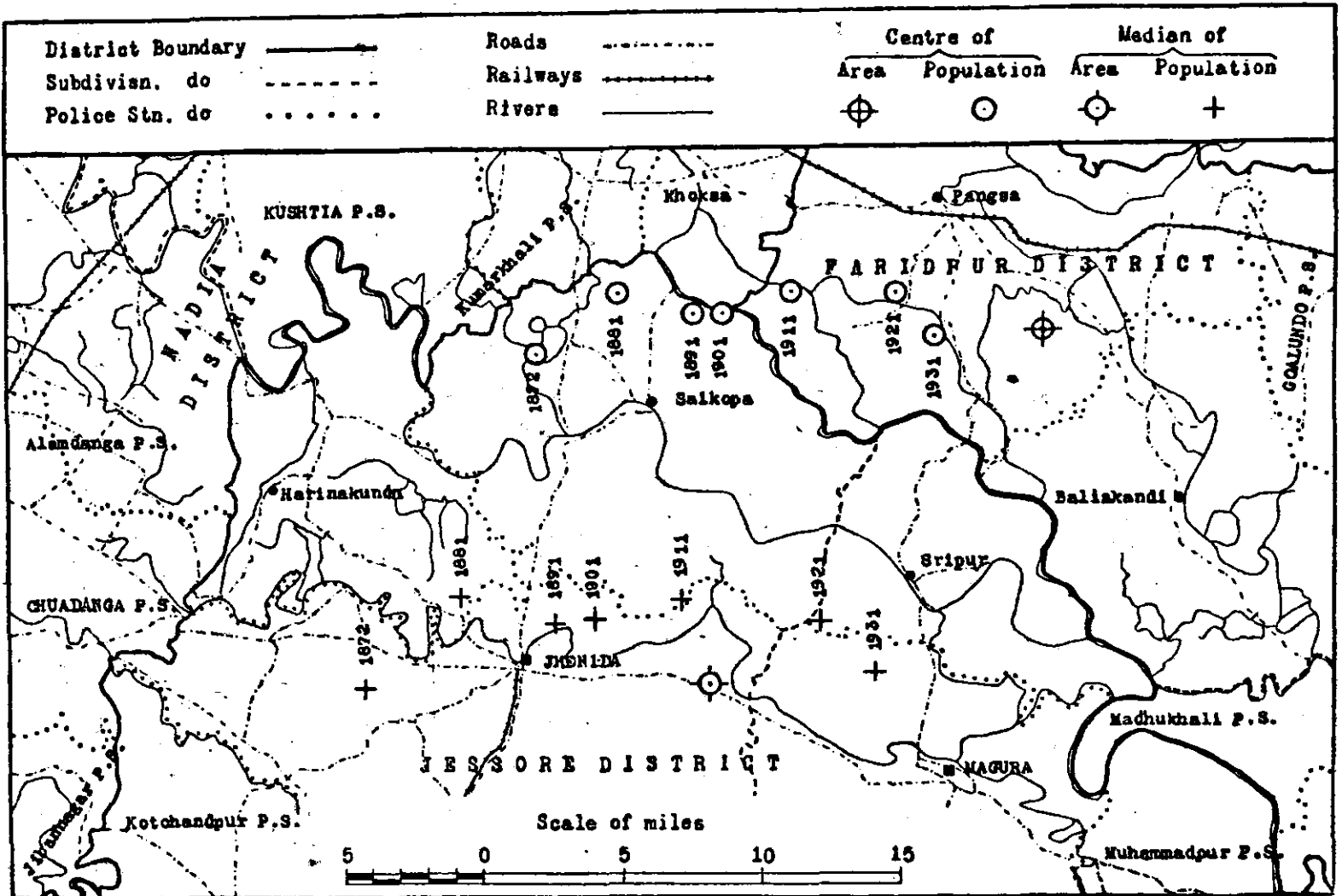
Statement No. I-4 shows for the province as now constituted the median and centre of area and of population at every census since 1872. These figures are illustrated by diagram No. I-4. * The median of area is the point through which a line drawn north and south and a line drawn east and west each divides the area of the province into equal parts, and the median of population is the point at which similar lines in each direction similarly divide the population. In calculating each an arbitrary point of origin was taken, viz., the point calculated by

lines in each direction similarly divide the population. In calculating each an arbitrary point of origin was taken, viz., the point calculated by

Mr. Thompson in 1921 as being the median of area. It was proposed to accept this as the median of area on the present occasion also but it proved

DIAGRAM No. 1-4.

Centre and median of area and population, 1872 to 1931.



necessary to revise it in view of the changes in the area of the province caused by transfers of jurisdiction between it and Bihar and Orissa and particularly by fresh estimates of the area of each police-station. The area on both sides of each line thus drawn through this point was calculated and the lines so shifted that the difference was evenly distributed on each side. Similarly the population on both sides of each line was estimated for each census year and a correction was made in order to distribute the difference between them equally. It was assumed that for an area not more than 10 to 15 miles on either side of the lines through the point chosen the rural population in each subdivision through which each line passed might be taken to be distributed at the average density of the subdivision. Upon this assumption a calculation was made showing the total number of persons who would be transferred by shifting the line one mile in either direction. Half the difference between the populations estimated on each side of the line represented the amount which would have to be taken from the larger and added to the smaller population estimated, and the population to be added divided by the population involved in a shift of one mile was taken to give the number of miles by which the line should be shifted north or south and east or west. In making this calculation the rural population only was taken into consideration and in order to avoid the evident error resulting from the concentration of population in towns which obviously vitiates the assumption of an even distribution of district population at the average density, the population was calculated for all towns within the area through which the line had been moved and a further calculation was made to ascertain the number of miles through which it should be moved back again in order to dispose of a rural population equal to one half that of all the towns included in the area thus added to the smaller population, and accordingly bringing the population

in excess of that remaining to the other part. Further corrections were made on the same lines in the event of any town falling within the area involved in this second or any subsequent adjustment.

11. Centre of area and population.—The centre of area and the centre of population represent a slightly different conception, viz., the point at which Bengal would balance horizontally upon certain assumptions. As regards the centre of area the only assumption is that Bengal be considered to be a plane surface, but in the case of the centre of population in addition to this two further assumptions are made. The first is that each unit of population is of the same weight. The second is that in general there is an even distribution of the rural population in each district about the geographical centre of the district and of the urban population about the centre of each town. On these assumptions the centre of area was worked out upon the ordinary formula for calculating the centre of gravity of an irregular surface. In the Sundarbans area of the 24-Parganas, Khulna and Bakarganj, in order to allow for the markedly lower density in these extended areas, for each of these three districts a centre of population was calculated separately from the geographical centre. The area of each district on each side of the line was multiplied by the projection from the geographical centre of the district at right angles to the meridian and parallel dividing the province into two parts and passing through the same arbitrary point of origin as was chosen for the median of area and the factors thus obtained for all districts on either side of the line were added together. The difference between them was then divided by the total area of the province and the result gave a correction by which the centre of area was shifted north or south and east or west of the point of origin. An analogous procedure was carried out in estimating the centre of population. In this case, however, in addition to substituting population for area in the calculation and using for the 24-Parganas, Khulna and Bakarganj a point calculated as shown above in place of the geographical centre of the district a further modification was made in order to prevent the distortion which would be introduced by assuming that the population concentrated in towns was evenly distributed throughout the whole of the district. Each town was taken as a separate unit and the population taken for each district was confined to the rural population. In this way centres of population in each census year were obtained for both rural and urban population and the centre of the total population, urban and rural, was so determined upon the line joining the two points thus found that its distance from the point forming the centre of the rural population multiplied by the rural population itself was equal to its distance from the centre of urban population multiplied by the urban population.

12. Movements of the median and centre of population.—Neither the median nor the centre of population offers any explanation of population changes, but they serve to illustrate in a convenient form some features of population change which are briefly sketched below. If the population were evenly distributed over the province the median and centre of population would coincide with the median and centre of area, and their variations illustrate the extent and direction in which population is unevenly distributed. During the last seven decades the relative distribution of population between north and south has altered comparatively little and both the median and the centre of population roughly coincide with the median and centre of area, respectively. The greatest changes of population distribution have been between east and west. The uninterrupted recession eastwards of the median point conveniently illustrates the proportionately larger growth of population in eastern than in western Bengal. Compared with the median of population the centre falls north and east owing to the projection into the province on the north-east of a large portion of Assam. This gives to areas and populations on the north and east a disproportionate weight since a unit at different distances from the centre of population will exercise an influence in drawing the centre towards them proportionate to their distance from the centre, whereas distance does not enter to effect the influence of such units in effecting the median of population. The difference is illustrated by the following

examples. By an equal change in the population of Darjeeling and Nadia districts the median of population would be moved an equal distance, but the centre of population would be moved by Darjeeling more than one hundred times as far north as the change in the population of Nadia would move it south. Similarly a change of less than 440 persons in the population of Darjeeling municipality would require to be balanced by a change of one-third of a million persons in Dacca city in order to preserve the centre of population at its present latitude. Like the median of population the centre of population also has moved comparatively little north or south since 1872 and its main movement has been eastwards for the same causes. In 1931 the median of population is six miles east of the median of area whereas the centre of population is four miles west of the centre of area. This is due to the fact that, although the population is greater in the east its concentration is relatively nearer the centre than in the west. The Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura, for instance, are relatively so sparsely populated that their greater distance from the centre does not give them the same weight as the concentration of population in towns in the west of the province. The presence of Calcutta and the concentration of towns in the 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly pull the centre of urban population considerably south and west both of the rural and of the total population, but in recent years the growth of Dacca and Narayanganj, Tippera, Bakarganj and Chittagong have drawn the centre of urban population eastwards whilst the first two towns have helped to draw it northwards.

13. **Comparison with vital statistics.**—In subsidiary table IV a comparison is made between the variation in population disclosed by the present census returns and that calculated upon the records of births and deaths maintained by the Public Health Department. The Public Health Department maintain records only for British Territory excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It has been customary in these reports to show the calculated variation according to the returns from the first of January in the year in which the last census was taken to the end of December immediately preceding the one being dealt with in the report; and this method of calculation has been shown in columns 2 to 7 of the subsidiary table IV. An evidently somewhat more accurate comparison can be obtained by estimating the change of population according to the returns between the actual dates on which successive census enumerations were held. This has been done in columns 8 to 13 of subsidiary table IV. In these columns the monthly figures of births and deaths have been added together from March 1921 to February 1931 and from the sum a number has been deducted corresponding to seventeen thirty-firsts of the figures for March 1921. In each case the birth rates and death rates as well as what may be called the survival or increment rate has been calculated for the whole decade on the population enumerated in 1921. As might be expected the second method of calculation gives figures somewhat less discrepant with the census returns than the first and shows on the average for the whole area dealt with an increase of 33 per mille over the census figures of 1921 compared with 72 per mille shown by the census figures on the present occasion. The discrepancy between these estimates and the figure shown by the census is considerable. Less than one half of the actual variation in population is accounted for by the recorded figures maintained by the Public Health Department. No part of the remainder can be accounted for by an excess of immigration over emigration, since the figures discussed in chapter III show that there are now fewer persons in Bengal born outside the province than there were in 1921 and more persons born in Bengal living outside the province than in that year. The returns would appear to be particularly inaccurate in Calcutta where they suggest a decrease of 13·5 per cent. compared with an actual increase revealed at the census amounting to 11·1 per cent. and in Pabna where, against an actual increase of 3·7 per cent. the returns suggest a decrease of 0·6 per cent. of the population. The actual increase is less than twice that estimated from the returns of vital occurrences in the Dacca Division and rather more than twice as large in all the remaining divisions except the Presidency Division where less than one-eighth of the actual increase is accounted for by the vital statistics. The discrepancy is

fairly evenly distributed amongst the districts of Dacca and Chittagong Divisions. Wide variations are shown, however, for Rajshahi Division where the actual increase is less than was expected in the vital statistics in one district, namely, Malda, but it is as much as nearly 22 times as great for Darjeeling as would have been expected from the returns. During the previous decade the actual difference between the increase calculated from the returns of vital occurrences and the increase actually returned was less than 530 thousand compared on the present occasion with a discrepancy of almost 1,830,000. The under-estimate on the present occasion is consequently considerably greater than on the last. In the decade ending in 1921 the vital statistics failed to account for 41 per cent. of the actual increase recorded. On the present occasion they fail to account for 54 per cent. of the actual increase. The result is clearly due to incomplete returns of births whether or not accompanied also by incomplete returns of deaths. Some estimate of the extent to which the vital statistics are defective is given in chapter IV.

Part III—Material and economic conditions during 1921 to 1931

14. Natural conditions, 1921-1930.—During the decade 1921-1931 Bengal happily suffered from no major natural calamity. Scarcely a year passed, however, without some anxiety from natural causes. Bengal relies upon its great rivers for a deposit of fertilising silt over its cultivated area. But the policy in Western Bengal of embanking them, so that in course of time the river bed within the embankment rises above the level of the surrounding country, has left the cultivator in districts like Midnapore a very serious legacy of anxiety during the period when the rivers are full. In Eastern Bengal also the Brahmaputra is liable to floods and the rivers of North Bengal debouch with such force from the hills that their course is by no means a matter of certainty from year to year and measures to restrain them within definite bounds, if possible at all, would involve prohibitive cost. During the decade under review Western Bengal suffered most heavily from floods. They occurred in more than one district in the Burdwan Division in 1922-1923, but it was in Midnapore where they were most persistently recurrent. Here, after occurring in 1921-1922 they were also encountered in Tamluk and Ghatal subdivisions in 1923-1924; they were particularly severe in 1926-1927; Contai suffered in 1927-1928; and the breach of an embankment at Dokanda in 1929 followed in the next year by inundation of 240 square miles in the district left only two years in the whole decade in which Midnapore had not suffered in some part from floods of greater or less severity. There were floods also in Pabna during 1925-1926 and in Hatiya and Noakhali in 1929-1930. In 1930-1931 the Gumti river in Tippera district breached its embankment and flooded a considerable area, and in the same year parts of Rangpur, Bogra and Pabna were also affected by floods. Dacca and the Presidency Divisions suffered during 1922-1923 from drought and in Tippera a drought in April 1929 was followed by deluges in May and June which caused the inundation of a large portion of Brahmanbaria subdivision. It is not only the amount but also the seasonable distribution of rain upon which the cultivators' crops depend. The distribution of rain was either uneven or defective in Burdwan, Presidency and Dacca Divisions in 1921-1922 and in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Murshidabad, Nadia, Malda and Dinajpur in 1927-1928. Cyclones swept over Cox's Bazar subdivision in Chittagong districts in 1922-1923, 1923-1924 and 1926-1927 and in the next year also Feni, Madaripur and Pirojpur in the districts of Noakhali, Faridpur and Bakarganj, respectively, were also visited by cyclones or tornadoes and there were storms in Noakhali and Chittagong. During the actual progress of the census operations in the year 1930-1931 a cyclone also visited Gaibandha subdivision in Rangpur district and an earthquake caused some damage to property in Cooch Behar and Rangpur district.

15. Crops in 1921-1930.—During 1920-1921 crops were good in Dacca but defective in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions. In 1921-1922 the

general outturn of food crops was reported to be not so bad as in the previous year and the winter rice crop surpassed in quantity the fine crop of 1917-1918 though it was affected in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions by the cessation of rains in October. In the following year the disastrous floods already mentioned led to a failure of 75 per cent. of the crop in parts of Rajshahi Division : but the rice crop was generally good and the jute crop, though small, sold at a high price and to some extent compensated the jute cultivators for the effect which the depression in the jute trade had had upon them in the previous year. In 1923-1924 the cultivator did not on the whole fare badly though the lack of rains before sowing the main rice crop resulted in a small outturn in Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions. In the next three years also the cultivators prospered : crops on the whole were fair to good and they fetched high prices. During 1927-1928 there was a fall in the outturn especially of winter paddy in districts of Western and Northern Bengal where the cultivating classes suffered considerable distress, and the results of this distress were felt also in the following year, 1928-1929, when however the crops were excellent although considerable hardship was caused to the inhabitants of the southern parts of the Dacca district by the rapid erosion of the river Padma. In 1929-1930 the outturn of crops was good although in some areas winter paddy was poor and the prices fetched by the large jute crop as well as food crops generally fell. The decade closed with a year in which generally good harvests were deprived of their benefit for the cultivators by the fall in prices due to world-wide depression which resulted in crops like tobacco and jute in some cases being unsaleable except at a rate below the cost of production.

16. **Prices, 1921-1930.**—During the whole of the decade high prices for the necessaries of life continued with the exception of some small alleviation in the price of cloth and in 1924-1925 it was reported that in certain parts of Eastern Bengal almost famine prices had been reached. By 1929-1930, however, the cost of agricultural products had fallen and in 1930-1931 it has already been stated that the low prices fetched prevented the cultivator from reaping the full advantage of an exceptionally good crop. The price of jute in 1920-1921 had fallen compared with the very high prices in the previous decade but was still high in the next year and in 1924-1925. In 1925-1926 also although the crop was small the prices were again abnormally high and it was not until 1927-1928 that a really marked fall in prices occurred. Even after three years of low prices, the last of which made the crop economically unprofitable, the jute cultivator is still disinclined to realise that the abnormal conditions encouraged during the War by the virtual monopoly in jute enjoyed by Bengal have gone forever : and no extensive indications are to be observed that the cultivator is now prepared to restrict the area under jute cultivation and grow other crops instead.

17. **Wages.**—During the whole decade wages were high except towards the end of the period when a big fall was recorded in 1930-1931 : but it is inevitable that a rise in the rate of wages should lag behind an increase in the cost of necessary commodities and although high wages on the whole benefit the agricultural and artisan classes they offer no advantage whatever to middle-class persons of fixed incomes. During the last decade although upon the whole the position of the agricultural and labouring classes was fair to satisfactory a large class of people depending on fixed incomes suffered both from the high prices and from the conditions in which high wages were necessary.

18. **Agricultural wages.**—Statistics of agricultural wages have been compiled at intervals since 1908 when a wage census was taken in the divisions of Western Bengal. The figures compiled at each successive wage census for agricultural labourers, blacksmiths and carpenters are shown in statement No. I-5 overleaf. A word of explanation is necessary regarding the method by which these figures are obtained. In 1916 and 1925 the same method was adopted. The subdivision was taken as the unit and within it the local

officer selected twenty typical villages. The returns from these villages in each subdivision were examined and the median rate (that is to say the rate than which there are equal numbers less and greater) was calculated for each subdivision. From these subdivisional medians, weighted according to the

STATEMENT No. I-5.

Average rate of daily wages in annas, 1908, 1911, 1916 and 1925.

Division or district.	Agricultural labourers.				Blacksmiths.				Carpenters.				
	1908	1911	1916	1925	1908	1911	1916	1925	1908	1911	1916	1925	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9*	10	11	12	13	
BRITISH TERRITORY	..	8.83	9.84	10.38	..	8.59	11.06	16.84	3.21	10.08	11.3	17.3	
Burdwan Division	..	5.14	4.41	5.84	9.48	..	8.09	10.825	16.47	8.37	8.41	9.9	17.3
Burdwan	..	5.25	5.25	7.25	11	..	8	11.25	18	8.5	9.25	11.25	20
Birbhum	..	4.5	3.375	5	7	..	8	9	13	7	8	9	12
Bankura	..	4.875	3.75	4.75	9	..	8.25	8.25	13	8.5	7.75	8.25	15
Midnapore	..	5.375	4.25	5.25	8	..	7.25	8	16	8.5	7.875	8.5	14
Hooghly	..	5.375	5.25	7.25	12	..	9.25	12	23	9	9.25	11.25	18
Howrah	..	5.5	5.375	6.75	12	..	8.5	16	16	8.5	8.375	10.5	20
Presidency Division	..	4.90	4.85	6.9	8.75	7.57	8.1	10.61	17.87	8.82	8.8	11.07	16.8
24-Parganas	..	5.75	6.75	7	10	10	9.25	12	21	10.25	9.25	11.75	18
Calcutta
Nadia	..	4.875	4.875	4.75	9	6	7.25	8	17	9	8.25	10.75	16
Murshidabad	..	3.875	3.625	4.5	8	6	8.25	13	15	7	8.25	9	14
Jessore	..	5	4.875	8	12	6.25	12	8.5	16	9	9.25	12	18
Khulna	..	5	5.25	8.5	13	7	8.25	12.25	16	8.5	9.75	13	16
Rajshahi Division	..	8.1	7.29	10.89	..	5.38	12.9	17.22	..	9.1	12.18	18.8	
Rajshahi	7	8.25	15	..	..	12	18	..	10	13.25	17
Dinajpur	10	7.5	11	..	..	11.75	17	..	..	12.75	21
Jalpaiguri	10	8.25	12	..	..	10.25	21	..	12	12	23
Darjeeling	5	5.75	10	..	8.5	9	16	..	11.5	12.5	19
Rangpur	8	7.75	10	..	8	13.25	18	..	10	11.5	16
Bogra	7	7.75	11	..	..	12	18	..	10	12	16
Pabna	7	6.75	13	..	12	14	16	..	12	12	20
Malda	5	5	6	..	8	15	16	..	..	12	18
Dacca Division	7.21	7.59	12.51	..	10.68	12.34	16.21	..	11.5	12.01	16.8
Dacca	6	7.5	12	..	10	10.25	17	..	11	11.5	17
Mymensingh	8	7.5	13	..	13	16	19	..	12	13	18
Faridpur	6	9	13	..	8	20	16	..	11	14.5	16
Bakarganj	7	7.5	12	..	10	..	12	..	12	8	15
Chittagong Division	8.15	7.32	10.68	..	10.46	8.61	15.13	..	12.3	10.9	17.1
Tippera	7	5.75	11	..	12	6	15	..	13	10	16
Noakhali	7	6.5	8	..	9	12	14	..	10	11.5	16
Chittagong	11	8.5	13	..	10	10.75	16	..	12	12.5	16
Chittagong Hill Tracts.	11	8	16	..	..	12	38	..	..	16	30

relative population of each subdivision and in some cases modified upon local enquiry if they appeared to be inherently unlikely, arithmetical averages were obtained for districts. In West Bengal in 1908 and 1911 the district rates were selected by the Director of Agriculture from subdivisional returns. In East Bengal in 1911 the mode (*i.e.*, the rate most generally paid) was taken for villages and from the village modes the median was calculated for large areas. The rates include the estimated cash value of such allowances as are made in kind and the census is now taken in December. In Western Bengal the census was taken in August in 1908 and in April in 1911 and it was taken in Eastern Bengal in 1911 in the month of August. But the month of August is not suitable as there is little agricultural employment and December is considered to be the month in which the rates are least affected by temporary conditions. The averages for divisions and British Territory given in the statement have been worked out upon the same principle as those for the districts. The district figures were taken and weighted by the number of agricultural labourers and farm servants, blacksmiths or carpenters shown in the population census report of the year nearest to the year in which the wage census was taken: and the average given is therefore a weighted average for all the districts within the larger area concerned. It is actually only the figures of the last two wage census returns which can be confidently compared together because they only were prepared

in the same month and by the same method ; but in all districts there has been a very marked increase amounting in some cases to as much as almost 100 per cent. in agricultural wages and similar increases are displayed (except for blacksmiths in Howrah district) in all districts also for blacksmiths and

STATEMENT No. I-6.

Wages in selected industrial areas, 1908, 1911 and 1916.

Daily wages in annas are shown in ordinary type.
Monthly wages in rupees are shown in *italic* type.

Town.	Unskilled labourers.			Blacksmiths.			Firemen.			Fitters.			Carpenters.			Masons.		
	1908	1911	1916	1908	1911	1916	1908	1911	1916	1908	1911	1916	1908	1911	1916	1908	1911	1916
Calcutta	5-7	4½-6	6-8	15-30	15-30	15-30	10-15	10-15	15-18	15-40	15-40	20-40	15-25	15-30	18-30	8-12	8-11	8-11
Raniganj	3-5	4-4½	3-5	10-20	12-30	7-15	7-15	10-17	10-20	10-30	15-30	15-30	10-25	15	10-25	6-9	6-8	5-7½
Asansol	3½-5	2½-5	5½	15-19	14-20	15-20	8-14	8-14	9-15	10-40	8-40	12-40	13-18	15-20	15-20	..	..	4½-8
Dacca	..	7 (10)	5	..	13	11-25	..	..	14	..	..	12-32	..	8 (16)	12-25	..	..	9
Narayanganj	..	8 (13)	6-8	..	25	20-30	..	..	14-16	..	..	20-30	..	23	18-30	..	..	9½-10½
Chandpur	..	6 (11)	7-8	..	13	30	..	..	14-18	..	..	20-35	..	..	25	..	..	13½-16
Sirajganj	..	5 (6)	5½-6	..	5 (15)	18-30	..	..	14-16	..	..	22	..	12 (16)	18-22	..	..	9½-10½
Chittagong	..	8 (13½)	6½-8	..	8 (25)	20-30	..	..	13-16	..	..	30-35	..	24 (32)	20-35	..	..	12

carpenters. On the whole the skilled labourer has managed to secure a larger increase of wages than the agricultural labourer. A statement of the wages in certain industrial areas in 1908, 1911 and 1916 is also included in statement No. I-6. They show rather less variation and comparison between them is more difficult owing to the different methods by which they were calculated.

19. **Cost and standard of living.**—No statistics are available to show the actual increase in the cost of living within recent years which has been commented upon by more than one committee in the last decade. Figures for the cost of staple foodcrops are maintained and published regularly because these are necessary as a guide to the courts in applying the provisions of the law restricting the increase of tenants' rates of rent, but as an index of the cost of living these figures are not very helpful. It was hoped to compile a figure which might be used in connection with the particulars already given of the rates of wages. The Bengal Jails Code provides a dietary for prisoners which is certainly better balanced than that of the ordinary cultivator, who generally leaves prison if he has the misfortune to be sent there heavier and in a better condition than when he entered it. It was proposed to take the rations laid down and selecting from them the most manageable items such as rice, pulse, salt, *gurh* or sugar and oil to obtain from all districts for all years from 1901 the average rate paid for these items or obtained by their sale where they were manufactured in the jail and sold. The district jails were accordingly asked to supply these figures and from them it was intended to calculate the average cost in each year of providing this portion of the jail diet for a given number of persons. The results would have given a kind of "cost of subsistence" index which could have been made the basis of future comparisons also. Unfortunately very few of the district jails supplied the figures for which they were asked and amongst those which did supply them some had no details for more than a few years. No results of this attempt can therefore be presented, but it is a method some modification of which could be very easily adopted and would give interesting and useful results. Where the cultivator and the industrial worker have invested their increased earnings however is not in an improved or more expensive diet but in other amenities of life. Shoes, shirts and coats are now worn by thousands who would never have dreamt of wearing them ten years ago, and the umbrella has become almost universal. Until vigorous agitation in recent years was directed against it the taste for cigarettes of the European type was spreading. The hurricane lantern is almost universally displacing the indigenous *kupi* even in the remotest parts. In some areas union boards are taking advantage of the power to tax their unions for schemes of village

improvement—the clearing of jungle, maintenance of roads and excavation of tanks or wells. All these indications show that the standard of living is being raised in some directions.

20. **Indebtedness**—At the same time increased earnings have not led to a reduction of the indebtedness of the raiyat and labourer. Estimates of the average indebtedness of the population in Bengal have been made in various ways from time to time. In 1906-1910 data collected by the Settlement Officer, Faridpur, yielded the figure Rs. 121 as the average debt per family in that district. Figures for Dacca shown in the settlement report on that district published in 1917 come to the same average figure for each family. The settlement offices of Mymensingh and Jessore also estimated figures of debt, but they took the average registered debt per head of population. The latest estimates are those made by the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee during 1929-1930. The committee approached the problem from two directions. Taking each individual member of rural co-operative societies to represent a family they estimated the total amount of debts due from members on the 30th June 1929 to the co-operative societies and to mahajans and other financiers. They found that 376,698 members owed Rs. 3,23,34,463 to their societies and Rs. 2,30,86,469 to other sources. These two classes of debts therefore amounted on the average to Rs. 86 and Rs. 61, respectively, a total of Rs. 147. Their figures for membership of and debts due to co-operative societies omitted certain societies for which details were not then obtainable. The details for these societies have been supplied by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. On the average members of these societies were less heavily indebted than others. Including them the membership numbers are 309,901 and their debts to their societies Rs. 3,42,24,083, and average of Rs. 83, giving a total debt of Rs. 144 on the assumption that their outside debts were the same on the average as in other societies. The Banking Enquiry Committee also estimated the average debt by consideration of the registered mortgage debts on record. They assumed that the total debt outstanding at any period is equal to the total of debts registered during the previous six years and on this assumption they calculated the total registered debt to amount to about Rs. 16 per head of population. They estimated the unregistered debt at approximately the same ratio as is borne amongst members of co-operative societies by debts to the societies compared with those owing to mahajans, etc. They thus deduced an average total debt, registered and unregistered, of Rs. 34 per head of population. On this calculation the average debt per family was estimated to be about Rs. 175, upon the assumption that the number of persons per family was 5·1. This is the figure given as the average number of persons per inhabited house in the census figures of 1921 and agrees both with the average figure of families given by the settlement officers of Faridpur (5) and Bankura (5·2) and also with the corresponding figure in the census of 1931 (5·1). The census figures may reasonably be taken for this purpose as they represent the average commensal family. The committee considered that the figures which they obtained show a fairly close correspondence since even if members of co-operative societies are not more provident than others, it is likely that debts which they owe outside the society are underestimated. Comparing the figures obtained from these calculations with the results of intensive enquiries in certain areas, the Banking Enquiry Committee came to the conclusion that the average debt per family was for agriculturists about Rs. 160 and for non-agriculturists rather higher. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies has furnished figures showing the membership and registered debt of co-operative societies in Bengal on the 30th June 1930. The figures are 456,139 members and a registered debt of Rs. 4,01,80,256, *i.e.*, an average debt owing to the society of Rs. 88. If we assume that the debt of members owing outside the society remained on the average the same, the total average debt of co-operators has increased from Rs. 144 in 1929 to Rs. 149 in 1930. The increase is 3·5 per cent. A large contributing factor was the reckless borrowing in connection with the early marriages undertaken to forestall the operation of the Child Marriages Restraint Act and it would probably be safe to assume a similar increase though not perhaps so large in

the average debt outside the societies. The increase may at least be taken as a minimum estimate, and it is reasonable to assume at least a similar enhancement of debt all round. If we accept the Banking Enquiry Committee's figure for average debt and enhance it by this same proportion the average debt of the total population works out at Rs. 181 and of agricultural population at Rs. 166. Without considering the causes resulting in this indebtedness it is sufficient to draw attention to the fact that the population of Bengal begins the next decade with probably a larger average debt than at previous periods.

21. Industries, 1921-1930.—During 1920-1921 the tea industry had suffered from very low prices but in the next year the position looked better and by 1922-1923 very high prices were being obtained. These conditions prevailed till 1926-1927 and during this period the industry was prosperous. But in 1927-1928 prices began to fall and by 1929-1930 although very large crops were being produced the prices were low and they continued low in 1930-1931. Coal had begun the decade in prosperity but a set-back occurred in 1921-1922 when serious inconvenience was experienced from the shortage of waggons. The high cost of freight and the delays in transport persisted till the next year. By this time a depression had set in, which had shown no signs of amelioration by the time the decade ended. During the early part of the decade the jute industry was prosperous although there had been a fall in hessians in 1921-1922. This prosperity continued until the end of 1928-1929 in spite of the high price of raw jute having led in 1925-1926 towards the end of the year to reduction in the activities of the mills. In 1929-1930, however, stocks accumulated and the industry was crippled by frequent strikes; and in the next year the mills found it necessary to reduce their working hours and discharge part of their labour force. Cotton mills throughout the whole of the decade were prosperous and in spite of the depression in the coal trade iron has on the whole throughout the decade enjoyed a period of prosperity also.

22. Material conditions, 1921-1930, summary.—On the whole therefore material conditions during the decade have not been entirely unsatisfactory. Such distress as was caused by natural conditions was without difficulty

STATEMENT No. I-7.

**Calculated cultivator's annual income from
jute, 1905-1930.**

Year.	Number of thousand bales (each of 5 maunds) delivered in Calcutta and Chittagong.	Overhead price of jute per maund in rupees paid at mufassal agencies.	Calculated income derived by the cultivator from jute (lakhs of rupees).
1905	76.41	7	23,87.81
1906	82.91	9½	35,23.88
1907	83.51	7½	26,61.88
1908	82.79	5½	20,00.75
1909	84.11	5½	18,39.91
1910	74.54	5½	18,63.50
1911	90.97	7½	29,56.62
1912	96.94	8½	37,56.42
1913	92.43	12	51,99.19
1914	83.11	5½	20,77.75
1915	83.51	7½	27,14.08
1916	82.11	9	33,87.04
1917	85.11	6	22,94.14
1918	75.98	8½	29,44.22
1919	89.63	10½	43,64.59
1920	75.92	7½	26,57.20
1921	72.12	8½	26,59.43
1922	60.00	10½	28,50.00
1923	92.00	7½	31,05.00
1924	89.37	13	54,73.91
1925	91.70	19	83,87.02
1926	121.99	9½	54,59.55
1927	113.98	9½	51,29.10
1928	107.25	10½	50,27.34
1929	102.16	9½	44,69.50
1930	96.53	5½	24,13.25

alleviated by the grant of agricultural and house-building loans and advances of seed. Gratuitous relief was also necessary in some of the areas which had most severely suffered from flood, for instance in Midnapore in 1920-1921, in the Rajshahi and Burdwan Divisions in 1922 1923, and in other affected areas also as well as in Khulna where at the beginning of the decade salt water had penetrated into a considerable area and sterilized the land. The prosperity of the agriculturist in the jute-growing districts is illustrated by such calculation as can be made of the sums paid for raw jute. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce maintains figures of the jute received into Calcutta and Chittagong annually between the 1st July and the 30th June next. The figures for 1905-1930 are given in thousands of 5-maund bales in statement No. I-7. These figures do not exactly represent the amount of jute produced or bought in each year because some portion is included which had been carried over from the jute produced by or bought from the cultivator in the previous year. The year 1930 was abnormal because the cultivators refused to sell at the price offered: but for normal years the

figures approximate closely to the actual production and also to the amount for which the cultivator received payment and the quinquennial average is probably very close. The figures shown in the middle column of the statement is the overhead prices in rupees paid by Messrs. Landale Clark for jute at their mufassal agencies. These figures do not represent the payments actually made to the cultivators and the formation of an estimate of the amount which this obtained is not altogether easy. The figures represent payments by one only of a number of competitors and it is not all cultivators who sell to big firms for many deal with small middlemen. It may be taken, however, that the cultivator received on the average about 12 annas less than these figures. On this calculation the amount paid annually to jute cultivators is shown in the last column of the statement. Averages of the sum paid are—

				Lakhs of rupees.
5 years ending 1909	..	...	...	24,96.61
5 years ending 1914	..	..	..	31,70.68
5 years ending 1919	..	..	..	31,28.81
5 years ending 1924	..	..	..	33,49.11
5 years ending 1929	..	..	..	56,96.62
10 years ending 1929	..	..	..	45,22.87

On the average, therefore, during the years ending in 1929 the cultivator almost and during the five years ending in 1929 he had more than doubled his annual income from jute in the 5 years ending 1909. The majority of the sums paid went to East Bengal and particularly to the Dacca Division, Tippera and Noakhali, but a considerable part went also to North Bengal and some to Jessore, the 24-Parganas and Hooghly in which subsidiary table I shows that a considerable percentage of the cultivated area is under jute.

23. Economic conditions and crime.—The correlation of economic conditions with crime is extremely difficult for several reasons. A statement No. I-8 opposite shows the extent of crime during the decade both in Calcutta and in rural Bengal, that is to say Bengal outside Calcutta. Offences are classified into serious and minor crimes and within each group cognisable and non-cognisable cases are distinguished. Serious crime showed a steady decrease from 1921 until 1926; but since 1927 it has been progressively increasing although it had fortunately not reached in 1930 a total as high as that of 1927. On the other hand minor crimes have shown an uninterrupted increase with the exception of a break in 1924-1925 and in 1930 the number recorded was a quarter as many again as in 1921. It is impossible to account for the fall or rise in the criminal statistics entirely by economic conditions. The extent to which crimes are prevented depends to some extent upon the freedom of the police from other duties as for instance against civil disobedience campaigns and the excitation of dissatisfaction throughout the district. Moreover criminal litigation, often upon the most trivial grounds, is looked upon in many parts of Bengal almost as a legitimate form of amusement, and its extent depends to some degree on the funds available. Economic distress might indeed be expected to lead to an increase in serious crimes but other factors also enter in with this consideration and it is not by any means the sole condition mitigating the commission of minor crimes. Recent years have been characterised in Bengal by an increasing number of crimes to which a political colour is given by the fact that they have been committed by young men of the middle classes and that they can be represented as having been inspired by political rather than economic motives. By far the greater part of the increase of serious crime is in offences against the state which are very largely of this nature, and against person and property, which also are due partly to "political" motives and partly to the growing disregard

for law encouraged by political activities. On the other hand the prosecution of minor criminal cases requires a certain amount of surplus funds not easily

STATEMENT No. I-8.

Criminal cases, 1921 to 1930.

Year.	Serious crimes.							Total cognisable and non-cognisable classes Cols. 2-7.	Minor crimes.						Total cognisable and non-cognisable classes Cols. 9-14.
	Cognisable class.			Non-cognisable class.					Cognisable class.			Non-cognisable class.			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	IV		V	VI	IV	V	VI		
1921	Total	1,816	4,548	42,474	5,364	13	521	54,536	1,347	44,534	97,147	44,557	17,603	47,504	252,892
	Rural	1,477	3,995	40,926	5,195	13	476	52,082	1,174	36,515	20,513	41,868	17,261	12,859	130,100
	Calcutta	139	553	1,548	169	..	45	2,454	173	8,019	76,634	2,689	342	34,645	122,502
1922	Total	1,975	4,925	40,826	5,860	15	507	53,908	1,359	44,271	117,499	45,352	18,053	51,436	277,970
	Rural	1,828	4,444	38,992	5,733	15	481	51,493	1,238	36,637	21,762	42,893	17,831	13,890	134,051
	Calcutta	147	481	1,634	127	..	26	2,415	121	7,634	95,737	2,459	222	37,746	143,919
1923	Total	1,777	4,864	38,135	5,088	19	521	50,404	1,428	43,521	111,809	47,932	19,113	45,066	268,863
	Rural	1,601	4,316	36,460	4,985	19	485	47,875	1,251	36,396	23,193	45,301	18,903	14,159	139,203
	Calcutta	176	548	1,666	103	..	36	2,529	177	7,125	88,616	2,631	210	30,901	129,660
1924	Total	1,538	5,151	35,863	5,447	25	478	48,500	1,828	43,998	121,098	46,706	19,840	41,545	276,911
	Rural	1,401	4,591	34,595	5,274	25	442	46,328	1,465	37,492	24,665	46,181	19,434	14,315	143,552
	Calcutta	137	560	1,268	173	..	34	2,172	163	6,506	96,430	2,524	206	27,230	133,059
1925	Total	1,685	5,412	33,102	5,925	27	506	46,657	1,705	41,698	132,431	51,392	21,900	44,798	293,922
	Rural	1,549	4,917	32,320	5,761	27	452	45,026	1,511	35,419	22,867	48,665	21,591	15,152	145,205
	Calcutta	136	495	782	164	..	54	1,631	194	6,279	109,564	2,727	309	29,644	148,717
1926	Total	1,785	6,084	25,831	6,151	22	425	40,298	1,734	38,641	132,982	51,698	20,081	46,889	292,025
	Rural	1,571	5,516	25,142	5,994	22	411	38,856	1,574	33,490	24,814	49,097	19,786	14,724	143,485
	Calcutta	214	568	689	157	..	14	1,442	160	5,151	108,168	2,601	295	32,165	148,540
1927	Total	1,752	6,058	27,574	5,604	25	526	41,539	1,708	39,663	147,568	51,467	20,600	53,058	314,292
	Rural	1,616	5,562	26,898	5,470	25	498	40,069	1,561	34,073	23,970	48,609	20,497	14,458	143,168
	Calcutta	136	496	676	134	..	28	1,470	145	5,590	123,538	2,858	303	38,600	171,034
1928	Total	1,872	6,322	28,239	5,902	17	487	42,599	1,829	40,734	169,247	51,404	20,600	55,398	339,212
	Rural	1,769	5,802	27,288	5,543	17	452	40,871	1,697	34,107	22,291	48,857	20,320	15,449	142,221
	Calcutta	103	520	951	119	..	35	1,728	132	6,627	146,956	3,047	280	39,949	196,991
1929	Total	1,984	6,810	28,803	5,520	38	524	43,679	1,967	39,980	193,740	49,796	19,871	74,590	379,954
	Rural	1,858	6,220	28,130	5,419	38	479	42,144	1,845	33,548	25,017	46,834	19,618	15,766	142,628
	Calcutta	126	590	673	101	..	45	1,535	122	6,442	168,723	2,962	253	58,824	237,326
1930	Total	2,768	6,707	31,097	5,916	18	520	47,924	1,806	37,332	155,826	42,006	15,860	63,137	315,967
	Rural	2,545	6,149	30,473	5,790	18	480	45,455	1,699	31,249	23,821	39,635	15,679	13,867	125,950
	Calcutta	221	558	624	126	..	40	1,569	107	6,083	132,005	2,371	181	49,270	190,017

NOTE.—The classes of cases are as follows :—

- I.—Offences against the State and public tranquillity, safety and justice.
- II.—Serious offences against the persons.
- III.—Serious offences against person and property or against property only.
- IV.—Minor offences against the person.
- V.—Minor offences against property.
- VI.—Other offences not specified above.

come by either in cash or as a loan from the village money-lender during periods of economic distress.

24. **Civil litigation and economic conditions.**—A closer agreement between economic conditions and litigations might be expected from records of civil cases, and figures of suits instituted are given in the margin in statement No. I-9. Here also, however, an interpretation of the figures is complicated

STATEMENT No. I-9.
Civil cases, 1921 to 1930.

Year.	Number of suits instituted in Bengal.			
	Money suits.	Rent suits.		Title and other suits.
		Total.	For enhancement of rent.	
1921	264,847	340,000	10,363	67,251
1922	236,809	329,446	12,077	64,747
1923	219,546	323,407	12,875	64,525
1924	216,363	351,310	14,701	63,704
1925	216,339	331,169	16,718	64,846
1926	206,606	326,183	16,864	65,047
1927	251,894	331,467	16,273	62,829
1928	285,822	339,888	19,232	65,118
1929	326,507	339,388	35,587	63,248
1930	327,177	350,737	45,414	50,533

by the influence of the statute of limitation upon the date at which a suit shall be filed. The figures for money suits, like those for serious crimes, successively decreased at the beginning of the decade but since 1927 have shown an increase similar to but greater than that of serious crime and it would be natural to associate the institution of these suits with conditions in which the money-lender is either unable to realise his dues or unwilling to extend further credit upon any terms. The uninterrupted increase in suits for enhancement of rent, broken only in the year 1927, can almost certainly be taken as an index of the extent to which the middle-classes depending upon a fixed income feel the pinch of high prices. Deductions from the increase or decrease of other rent suits, however, are complicated by the fact that such suits are not ordinarily instituted until the rent for four years is in arrear.

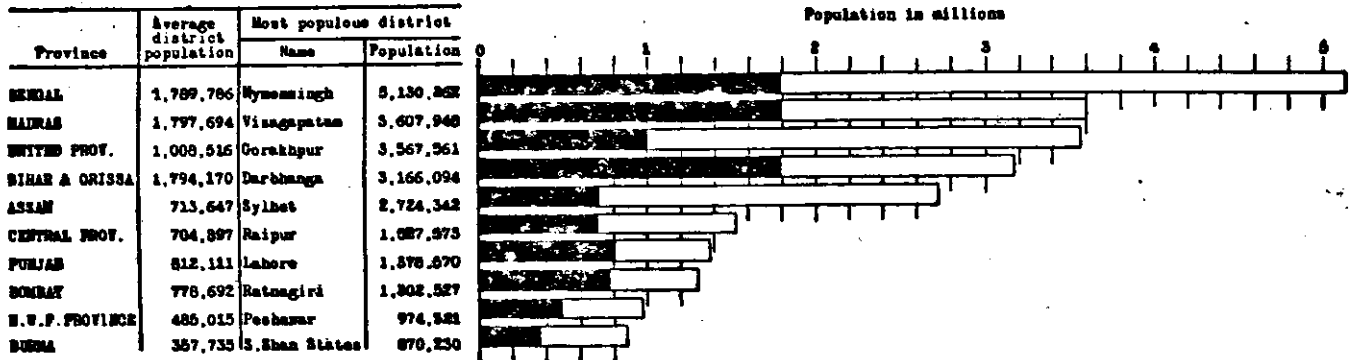
Part IV—The population of divisions and districts

25. **Size of districts in Bengal and other provinces.**—Diagram No. I-5 with the table incorporated in it shows the largest and the average district in each of the main provinces of India. No other province has a district as

DIAGRAM No. I-5.

Most populous district (total column) and average district population (shaded portion of column) in each of the principal provinces of India.

(NOTE.—Districts which themselves constitute cities are not given but are taken into account in estimating the average district population.)



large as Mymensingh (5,130,262) though the districts of Vizagapatam in Madras and Gorakhpur in the United Provinces each have a population of more than 3½ millions. The average population of a district in Madras (1,797,294) and in Bihar and Orissa (1,794,170) is greater than in Bengal (1,789,786) which however comes third in the list of British provinces.

26. **Bengal districts and states of the American Union.**—A comparison of Bengal districts with the United States of America is interesting. The census of the United States from which figures are cited was taken in 1930. Of the 49 sovereign states only six are more populous than Mymensingh (New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Texas and California). An additional six are more populous than Tippera, the third most populous district in Bengal (Massachusetts, New Jersey, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri and North Carolina). No fewer than sixteen have a smaller population than any Bengal district except Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, North Dakota, South Dakota, Delaware, Columbia, Onega and all the states of the mountain division except Colorado). On the other hand the average land area of each state is 60,689 square miles, or almost four-fifths that of the whole of British Bengal; and the average population density (41.3 to the square mile) is less than anywhere in Bengal except four of the most sparsely populated police-stations in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

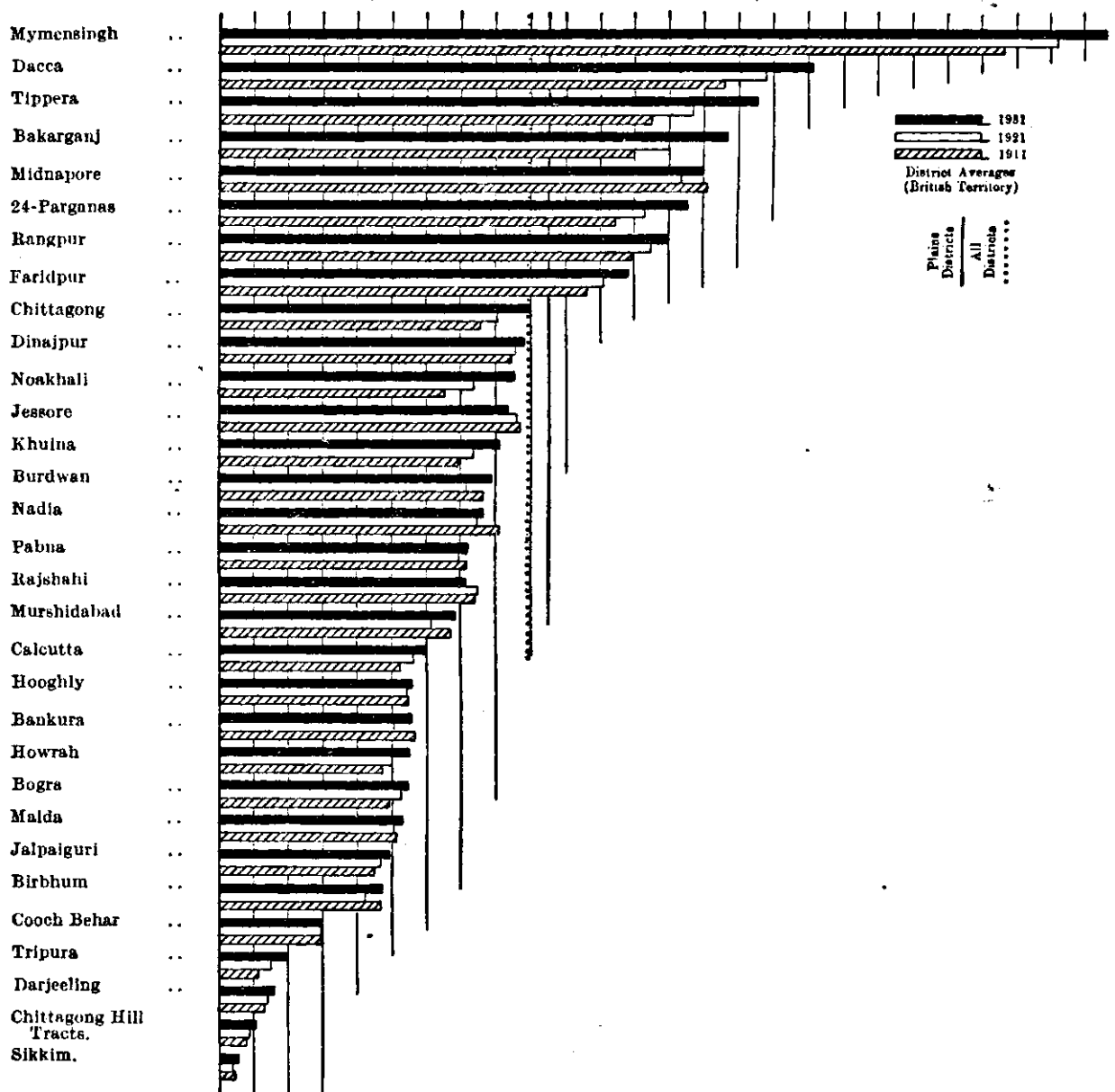
27. **Districts in order of population.**—The districts and states of Bengal are plotted from imperial table II in diagram No. I-6 in the order of their population at the present census and show a comparison with that also of their population in 1921 and 1911. As is noted above the average population of the districts in Bengal is 1,789,786. The average of plains districts, that is to say excluding Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, is higher and amounts to 1,945,440. These figures have also been shown on the diagram. Only one district has a population of more than five millions but Dacca and Tippera have each more than three millions and Bakarganj has nearly 2,940,000. Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Rangpur and Faridpur each have more than two million inhabitants and all other districts with the exception of Jalpaiguri, Birbhum, Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts have more than a million. Cooch Behar and the Tripura State have a larger population only than Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal, whilst Sikkim with a population of no more than 109,808 is less populous even than the smallest district, the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Bakarganj

which now takes the fourth place was sixth in 1921 and has now outgrown Midnapore and the 24-Parganas which remained in their respective positions but below instead of above it. Chittagong which was 11th in point of size in 1921 has now taken the 9th place, whilst Jessore from 9th has lost ground and is now 12th in order. Noakhali from 14th has moved up to 11th and Burdwan from 16th to 14th, Rajshahi from 12th in 1921 has moved down

DIAGRAM No. I-6.

Population of districts and states, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

(The horizontal scale is numbered in millions.)



to 17th in 1931 and Calcutta from 25th now takes the 19th place and has outgrown Hooghly, Bankura, Howrah, Bogra, Malda and Jalpaiguri which were more populous in 1921. The districts which it has outgrown remain in the same relative position with the exception of Bogra which was larger than Bankura and Howrah in 1921 but is now outdistanced and is below them. Nadia and Pabna are now both more populous than Rajshahi which was above them in 1921.

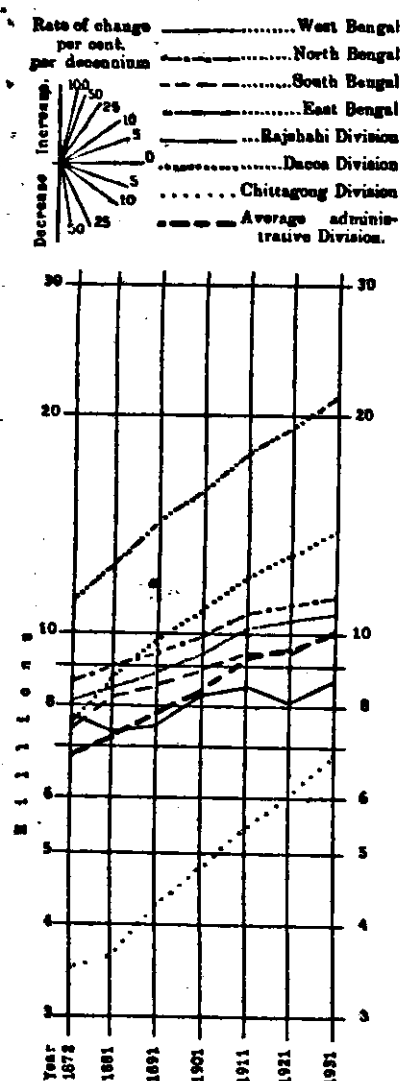
28. **Changes of population in divisions, 1872-1931.**—Changes in the population of natural and administrative divisions at every census enumeration taken from imperial table II are illustrated in diagram No. I-7 from which it is also possible to estimate by eye the change in the rate of growth from census to census. The average population of any administrative division has increased without interruption from 6,824,794 in 1872 to 10,022,800 for 1931. In Western Bengal the increase from 7,604,834 in 1872 to 8,647,189 in 1931 has been interrupted by two decades in which a decrease was recorded, viz., 1872-1881 and 1911-1921; but in every other division an increase in population has been recorded at every census since

the first enumeration was made. Eastern Bengal and the two divisions constituting it, namely, Dacca and Chittagong, show the steepest curves.

DIAGRAM No. 1-7.

Changes of Population
(Natural and administrative divisions)
1872 to 1931

Numbers are shown by figures, rate
by slope.



29. Changes of population in districts, 1872-

1931.—Similar figures are shown in the coloured diagram A for each district of Bengal. During the past decade the largest increase has been in the Tippera district (364,875) representing a percentage increase of 13.3. Even higher percentages, however, have been recorded for the Chittagong Hill Tracts (22.9) and Noakhali (15.9). With the exception of the Chittagong Hill Tracts every district in Eastern Bengal has shown an increase of over 100,000 during the last decade. Bakarganj with 336,271 shows the next largest absolute increase to Tippera, the percentage increase being 12.9. The increase in Mymensingh had been 293,043 but the percentage is only 6.1 owing to the large population in the district. Dacca with an addition of 275,641 has increased by 8.7 per cent. and Noakhali has also increased more than 200,000 (233,933). Outside Eastern Bengal only the 24-Parganas with an increase of 255,082 or 10.4 per cent. shows an increase of more than 200,000; but Burdwan, Midnapore, Howrah, Calcutta, Murshidabad and Khulna have all increased more than 100,000 and the increase has been as much as 12 per cent. in Murshidabad and 11.1 per cent. in Calcutta. In the Burdwan Division the decreases recorded between 1911-1921 which were due to the influenza epidemic of 1918 have been converted in Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore and

Hooghly into increases; and the district of Nadia which on three out of the last six decades had returned a decrease, has also shown an increase of 34,934 or 2.3 per cent. The decrease of 9 per cent. in Murshidabad during 1911-1921 has been converted into a 12 per cent. increase (146,496). Pabna and Malda which had decreased also when the last census was taken have now recovered and are continuing the previously

STATEMENT No. 1-10.

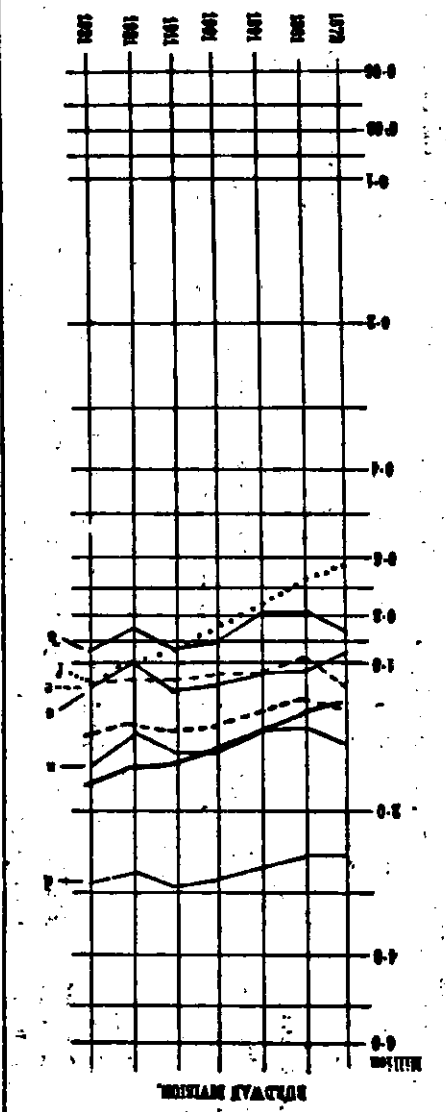
Average district population in Bengal and each division, 1872-1931.

	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
ALL BENGAL	1,156,393	1,234,019	1,327,072	1,429,606	1,543,742	1,586,641	1,702,911
Burdwan Division	1,267,472	1,232,352	1,281,559	1,378,377	1,411,251	1,341,774	1,441,198
Presidency Division	1,235,306	1,365,306	1,419,261	1,495,606	1,570,116	1,574,354	1,684,705
Rajshahi Division	1,000,919	1,055,330	1,104,924	1,173,365	1,271,068	1,298,381	1,383,508
Dacca Division	1,891,130	2,168,190	2,450,490	2,685,610	2,991,168	3,204,046	3,466,026
Chittagong Division	871,740	905,238	1,062,395	1,200,908	1,367,070	1,500,578	1,706,608

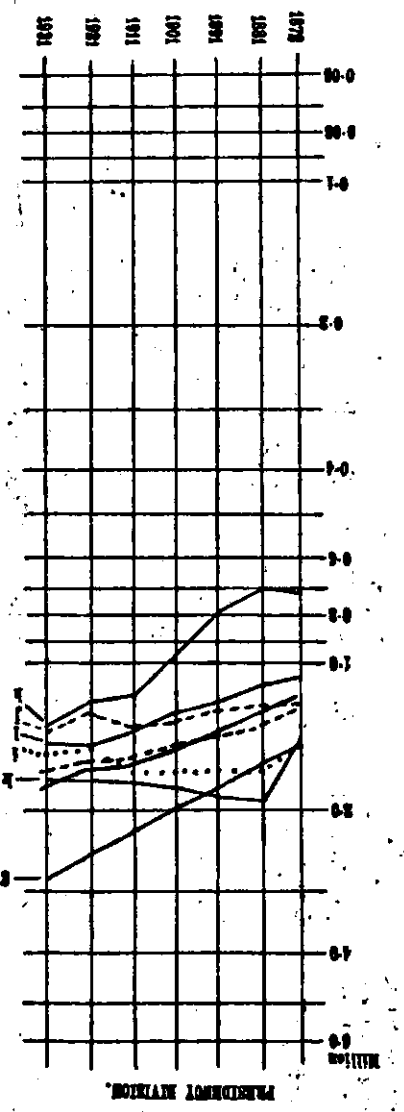
uninterrupted increase recorded since 1872. The only other districts in which decreases have been recorded on the present occasion are Jessore which has shown a decrease at every enumeration since 1881 and Rajshahi which has now 15,333 persons less than it had in 1881 in spite of increases in each of the decades between 1891-1921. The figures plotted in diagram A for the average district in Bengal and in each division in 1931 are given above in statement No. 1-10.

Chapter I, Diagram A: Population of districts 1872-1931 (the numbers are shown by figures, rate of change by slope)

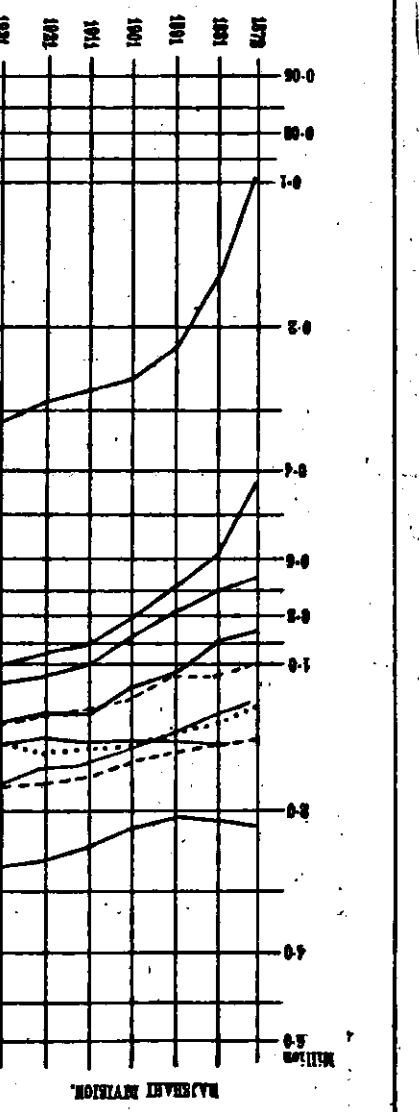
- a - Baroda
- b - Bikaner
- c - Bhamra
- d - Kutch
- e - Kathi
- f - Bhavnagar
- g - Rajkot
- h - Kaira



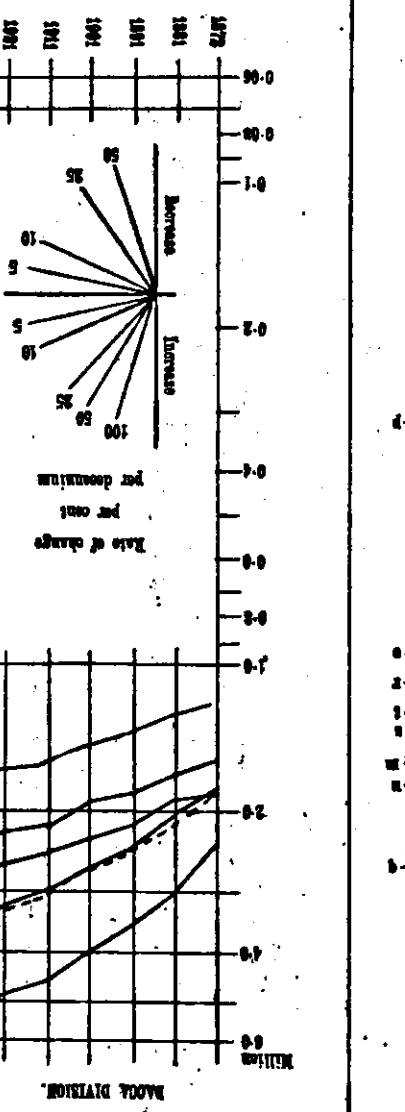
- i - Rajput
- j - Rajkot
- k - Bhavnagar
- l - Kutch
- m - Bhavnagar
- n - Bhavnagar
- o - Bhavnagar
- p - Bhavnagar



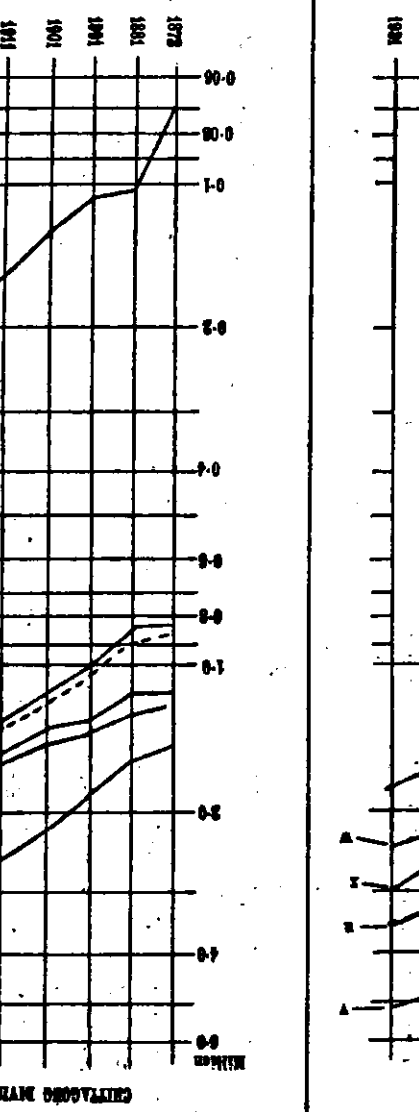
- q - Baroda
- r - Baroda
- s - Baroda
- t - Baroda
- u - Baroda
- v - Baroda
- w - Baroda
- x - Baroda
- y - Baroda



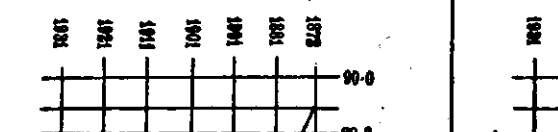
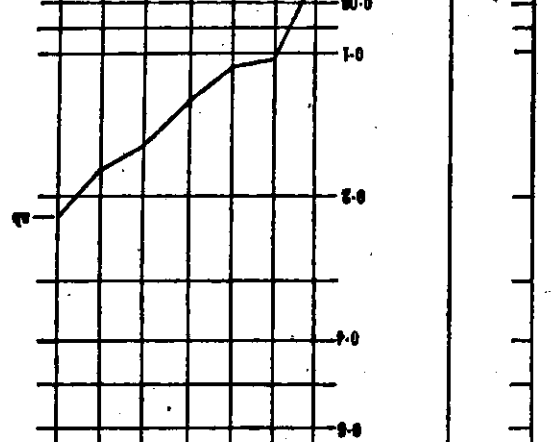
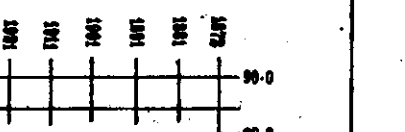
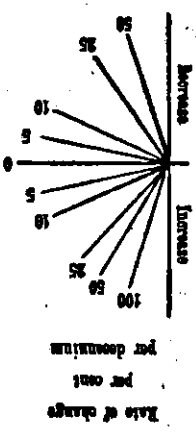
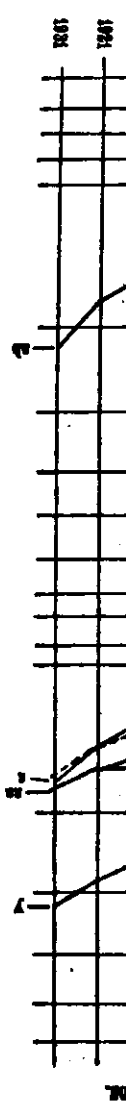
- z - Baroda
- aa - Baroda
- ab - Baroda
- ac - Baroda
- ad - Baroda
- ae - Baroda
- af - Baroda
- ag - Baroda
- ah - Baroda
- ai - Baroda



- aj - Baroda
- ak - Baroda
- al - Baroda
- am - Baroda
- an - Baroda
- ao - Baroda
- ap - Baroda
- aq - Baroda
- ar - Baroda
- as - Baroda

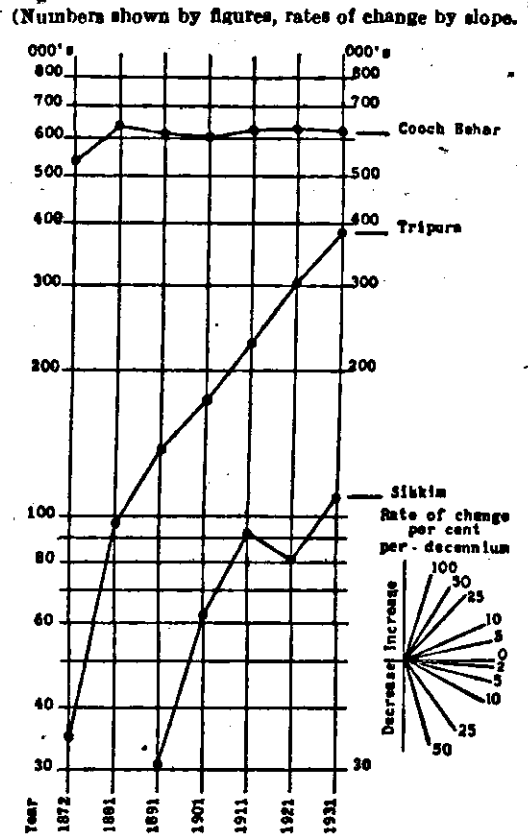


- at - Baroda
- au - Baroda
- av - Baroda
- aw - Baroda
- ax - Baroda
- ay - Baroda
- az - Baroda
- ba - Baroda
- bb - Baroda
- bc - Baroda



30. Changes of population in Bengal States and Sikkim, 1872-1921.—The accompanying diagram No. I-8 shows for Bengal States and Sikkim similar details to those given for districts in diagram A. Cooch Behar during the last 60 years has shown an increase only in the decades 1872-1881 and 1901-1911. Tripura on the other hand has increased at a very rapid rate: its population is now nearly 11 times as great as it was in 1872 and has increased by as much as 25.6 per cent. since 1921 when also it recorded an even higher increase of 32.6 per cent. Since 1891 Sikkim also has shown a rapid increase broken only by the figures of 1921. It is now more than three times as populous as it was in 1891 and its increase during the last decade was 34.4 per cent.

DIAGRAM No. I-8.
Population of Bengal States and Sikkim, 1872-1931.



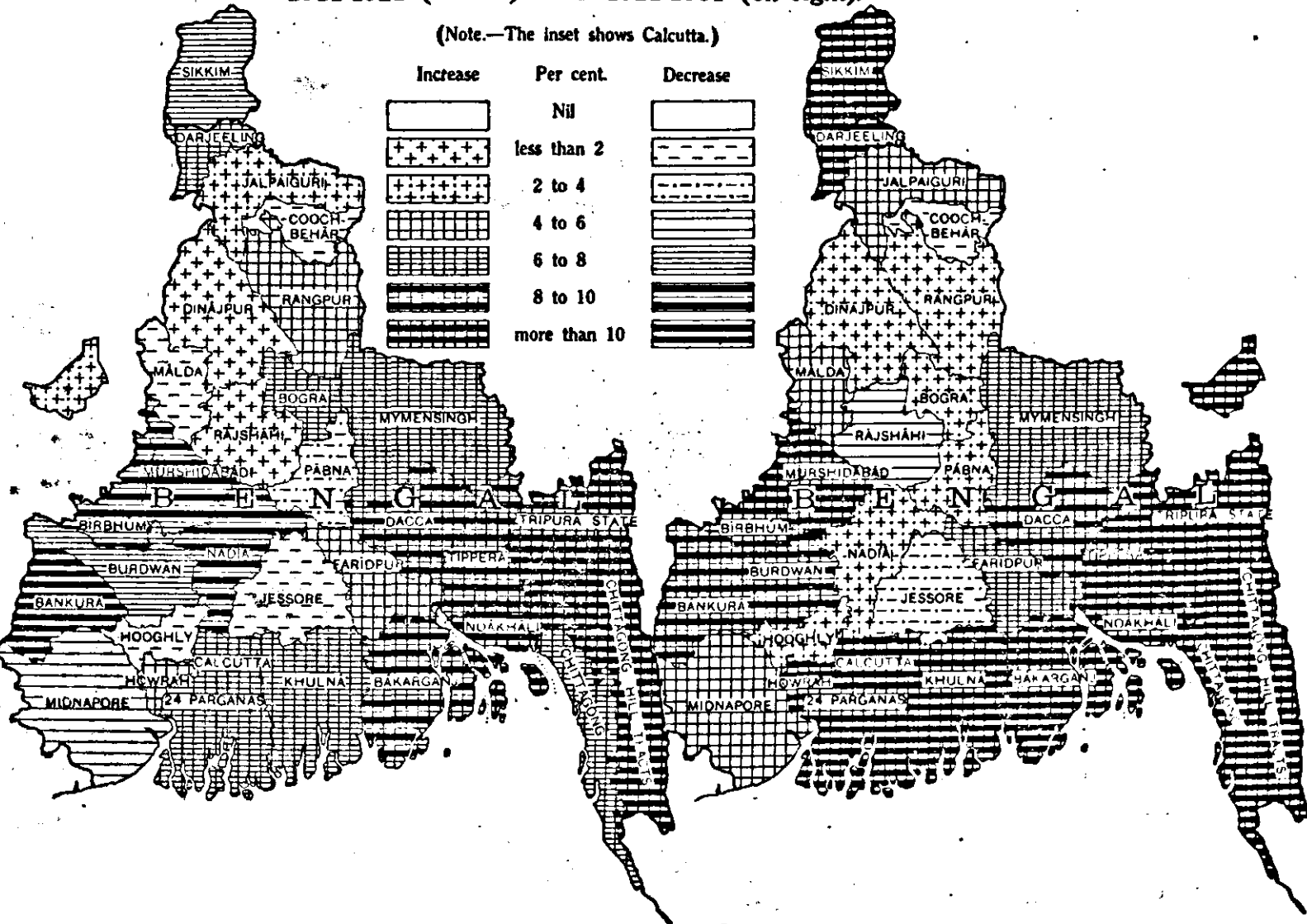
31. District variations of population, 1911-1921 and 1921-1931.—Diagram No. I-9, illustrating for districts the figures given in columns 7 and 8 of imperial table XX, shows graphically the percentage variations of district population between 1911-1921 and 1921-1931. During both the decades the segment formed by the districts of Mymensingh, Dacca, Tippera, Noakhali, Bakarganj,

DIAGRAM No. I-9.

**VARIATIONS IN DISTRICT POPULATION:
1911-1921 (on left) AND 1921-1931 (on right).**

(Note.—The inset shows Calcutta.)

Increase	Per cent.	Decrease
[Blank box]	Nil	[Blank box]
[Box with 4 '+' symbols]	less than 2	[Box with 4 '-' symbols]
[Box with 8 '+' symbols]	2 to 4	[Box with 8 '-' symbols]
[Box with 16 '+' symbols]	4 to 6	[Box with 16 '-' symbols]
[Box with 24 '+' symbols]	6 to 8	[Box with 24 '-' symbols]
[Box with 32 '+' symbols]	8 to 10	[Box with 32 '-' symbols]
[Box with 40 '+' symbols]	more than 10	[Box with 40 '-' symbols]

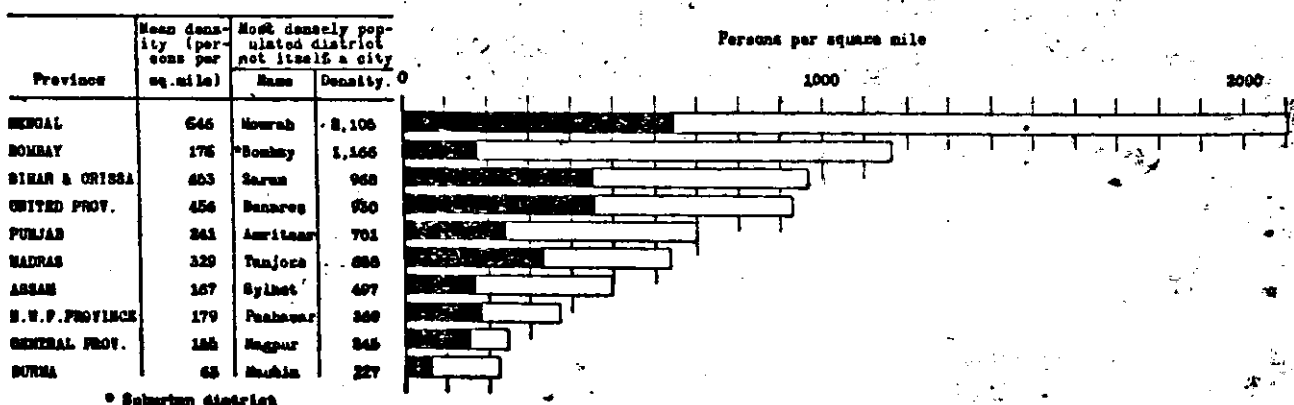


Khulna and 24-Parganas with Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the state of Tripura have shown a considerable increase in population. In Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts the increase was more than 10 per cent. in each decade, a rate not achieved in any other district in Bengal except Noakhali between 1911-1921 but recorded on the present occasion for Tippera, Noakhali, Chittagong, Barkarganj, Khulna, 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Howrah and Darjeeling and for the state of Sikkim. In the case of Dacca, Tippera and Bakarganj the increase in 1911-1921 was between 8 and 10 per cent. and in Chittagong, Mymensingh, Bogra, Khulna, 24-Parganas and Darjeeling it was between 6 and 8 per cent. during the same decade. The rate of increase in the area now forming Calcutta has been accelerated from 3·3 per cent. in 1911-1921 to 11·1 per cent. in 1921-1931, but it is in the districts of Murshidabad and Birbhum that the greatest variation in the rate of change is seen. In Birbhum a decrease of 9·4 per cent. in the previous decade has changed into an increase of 11·3 whilst in Murshidabad, as has been already noted, a decrease of 9 per cent. has been transformed into an increase of 12 per cent. In Mymensingh the increase has remained almost steady, being 6·1 per cent. in the last decade and 6·9 in that previous to it. Where decreases had been recorded in 1921 in Malda (1·3 per cent.), Bankura (10·4 per cent.) Nadia (8 per cent.), Burdwan (6·5 per cent.), Midnapore (5·5 per cent.), Pabna (2·7 per cent.) and Hooghly 0·9 per cent.), increases have been recorded on the present occasion as well as that already noted in Birbhum and Murshidabad. Amongst these districts the most considerable differences are in Bankura where the increase during the last decade was 9 per cent. and Burdwan where the increase was 9·8 per cent. For the other districts where a decrease at the last census has been changed into an increase on the present occasion the increase is 5 per cent. in Midnapore, 3·7 per cent. in Pabna, 4·1 per cent. in Malda and 3·2 per cent. in Hooghly. The decrease of 8 per cent. in Nadia has been changed into an increase of 2·3 per cent. In Rangpur and Bogra the rate of increase has been retarded from 5·1 to 3·7 and from 6·6 to 3·5 per cent., respectively, but with the exception of Rajshahi, where an increase of one per cent. has been changed into a decrease of 4·6 and of Jessore where the rate of decrease has been accelerated from 1·2 to 3 per cent. every other district has shown an acceleration in the rate of increase. The state of Cooch Behar shows a decrease which remains the same or rather has been slightly enhanced. The rates of increase in Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur and Faridpur have been comparatively little accelerated but sufficient to bring them into a fresh class on the scale shown in the diagram.

32. Mean density, Bengal and other provinces, 1931.—Diagram No. I-10 illustrates the mean density in the main provinces of India and the density

DIAGRAM No. I-10.

Density (persons per square mile) in the more thickly populated district (whole column) and average density (shaded portion) in each of the main provinces of India.



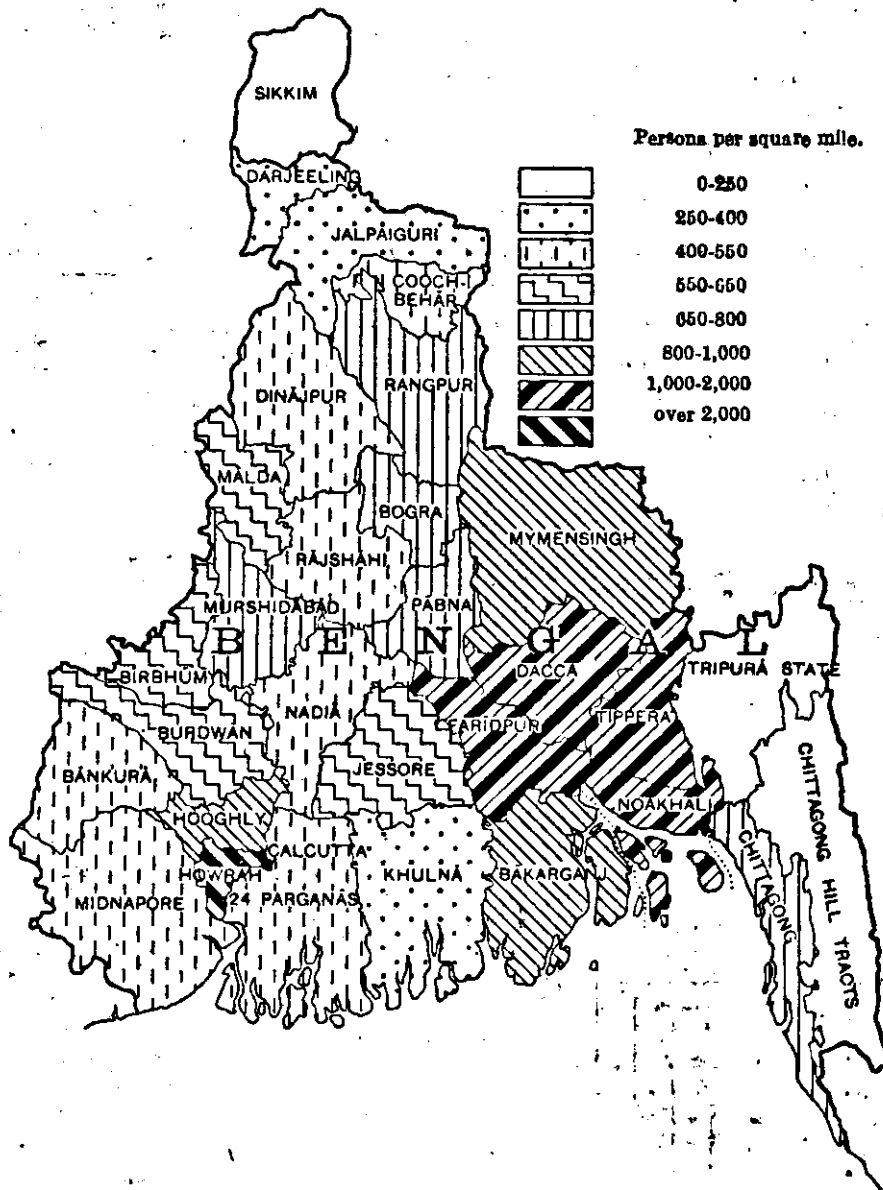
of their most densely populated district. The average number of persons per square mile in Bengal is 646. On an equal area, therefore, there are in

Bengal almost two persons for every one in Madras and more than ten for every one in Burma where the density of population is respectively 329 and 63 per square mile. The United Provinces with a density of 456 and Bihar and Orissa with 453 come next after Bengal. Madras follows and then the Punjab with 241. No other province has as many as 200 persons per square mile. Leaving out of consideration cities like Calcutta which themselves constitute a district, Howrah with a density of 2,105 per square mile is the most densely populated district in India. Bombay suburban district is the next with 1,166 and is strictly comparable with it as both contain a large "suburban" population, but even if Howrah be excluded owing to its small size and the large proportion contributed by Howrah city, even the district of Dacca with only two towns and a mean density of 1,265 persons per square mile is more densely populated than Bombay suburban district and so also is the district of Tippera with a mean density of 1,197. Only the Chittagong Hill Tracts has a population density as low as that of Maubin the most densely populated district in Burma, where there are only 227 persons per square mile.

33. **Density of population in districts.**—Diagram No. I-11 shows the density of the district population at the present census. Sikkim, Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts have less than 250 persons per square

DIAGRAM No. I-11.

Density of district population, 1931.



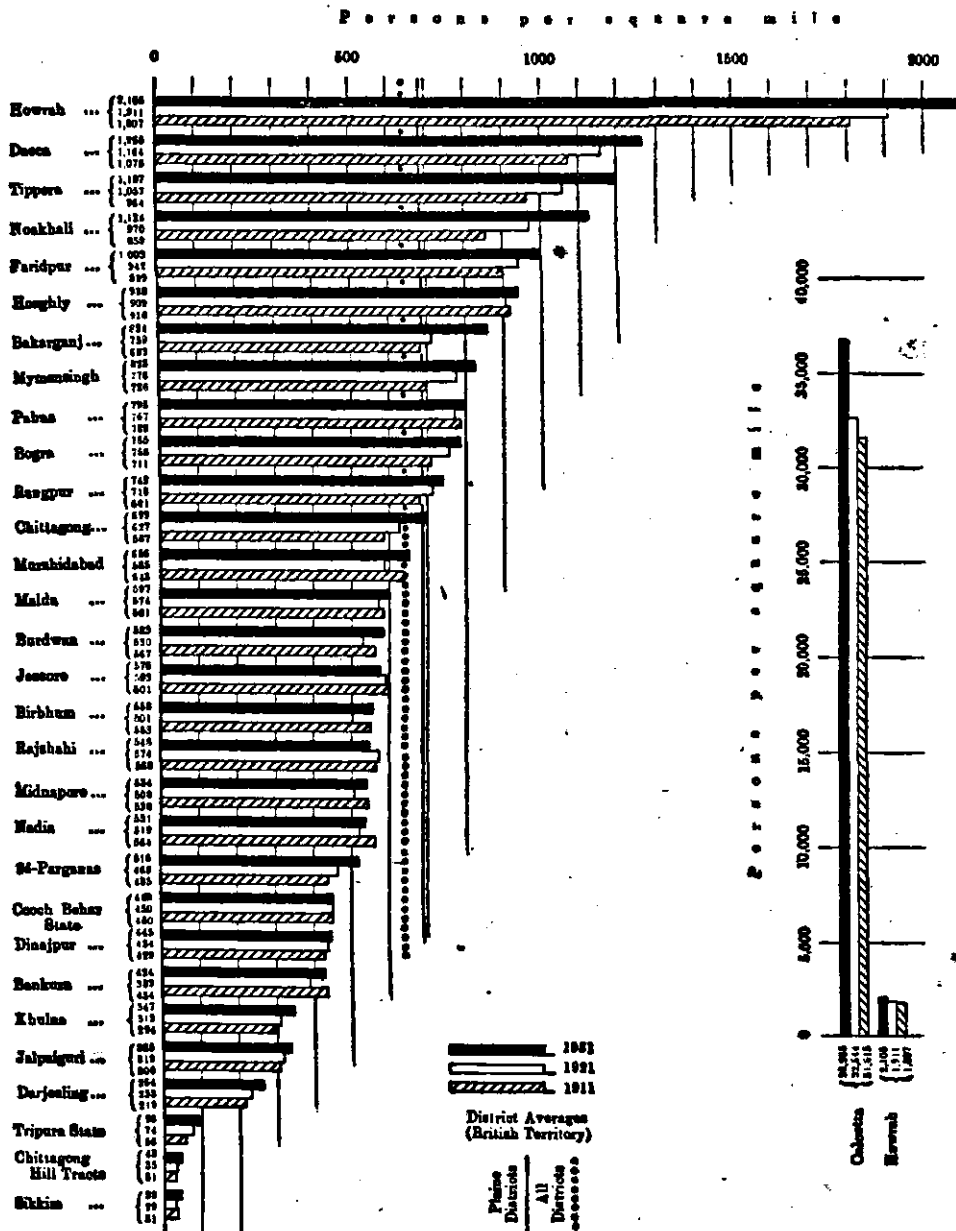
mile. After Howrah, with 2,105, Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera and Noakhali form a solid block with a density between 1,000 and 2,000 per square mile. Mymensingh on the north of this block and Bakarganj on the south and

Hooghly on the north of Howrah are the only three districts approaching this density of population and each has a density of between 800 and 1,000 persons per square mile. The next most densely populated districts also attach themselves to these two formations. Rangpur, Bogra and Pabna on the one hand and Chittagong on the other adjoining the block formed by Mymensingh, Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera, Noakhali and Bakarganj have a population of 650 to 800 persons per square mile and Murshidabad with 656 and Burdwan, Birbhum and Malda with between 550 and 650 continue the line of Howrah and Hooghly northwards. Jessore also has a density similar to this last, namely, 576. A narrow strip running down the centre of the province and comprising Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Nadia and the 24-Parganas has a density of between 400 to 550 per square mile, the large areas in the Sundarbans of 24-Parganas reducing the average density in this district to a comparatively low figure. A similar range of density is displayed by Bankura and Midnapore whilst a density of between 250 and 400 per square mile only is shown by Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and also in Khulna where the average density is reduced by the same factors as operate in the 24-Parganas.

34. Districts in order of density with comparison with 1921 and 1911.— The districts are arranged in order of their density in diagram No. I-12,

DIAGRAM No. I-12.

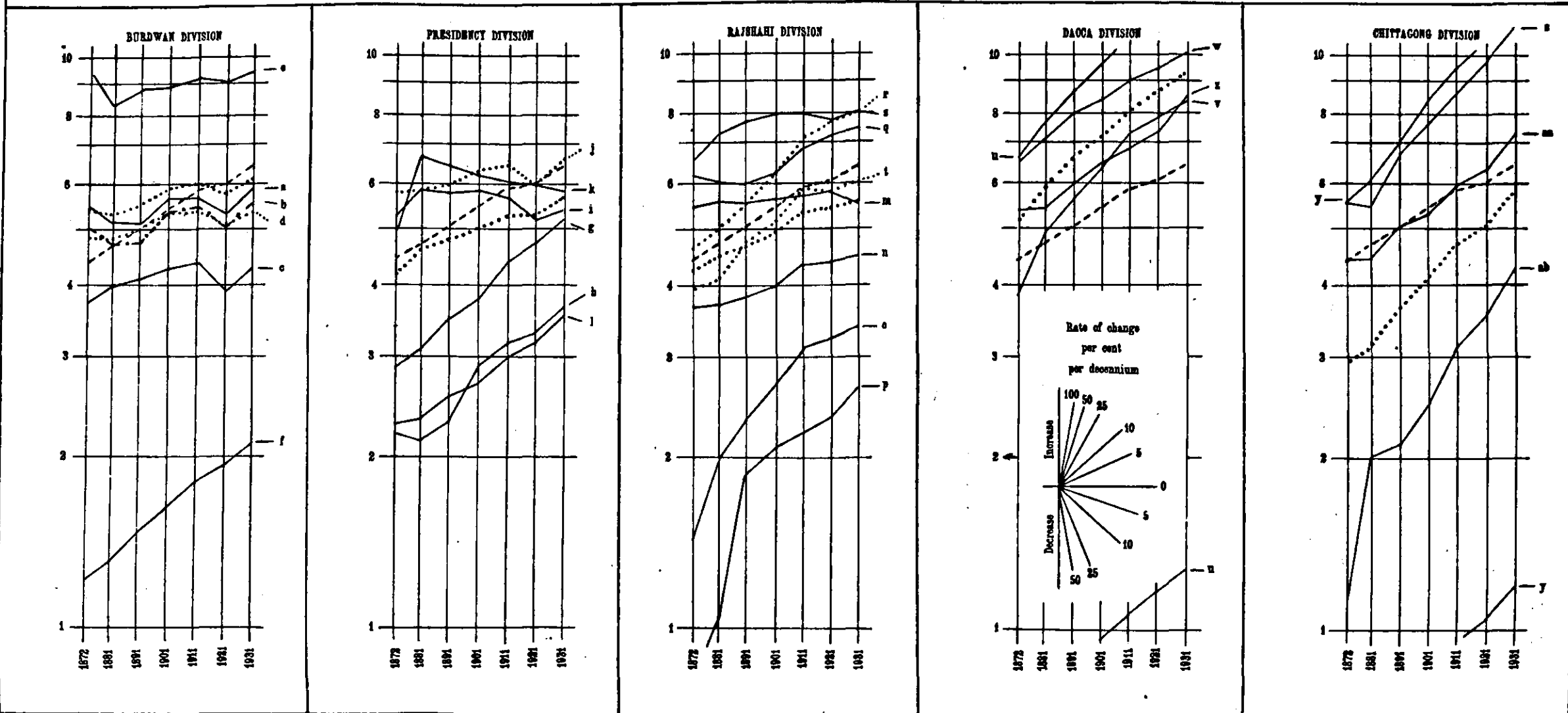
Density of district populations, 1911, 1921 and 1931.



Howrah, Dacca, Tippera, Noakhali and Faridpur come first with a density of more than a thousand to the square mile and only Dinajpur, Bankura,

Chapter I, Diagram B:- Density of population (persons per square mile) at each enumeration 1872 - 1931 (numbers are shown by figures, rate of change by slope: Scale shows ten thousands for Calcutta, thousands for Howrah and for Dacca in 1911, 1921, 1931, tens for Chittagong Hill Tracts and hundreds for other entries.)

- | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| a - Burdwan | e - Hooghli | i - Nadia | m - Rajshahi | q - Raugpur | u - Dacca | y - Tippera | District averages |
| b - Birbham | f - Howrah | j - Murshidabad | n - Dinajpur | r - Bogra | v - Nymensing | z - Noakhali | (British territory) |
| c - Bankura | g - 24 Parganas | k - Jessore | o - Jalpaiguri | s - Pabna | w - Faridpur | aa - Chittagong | ----- provincial |
| d - Midnapore | h - Calcutta | l - Khulna | p - Darjeeling | t - Malda | x - Bakarganj | ab - Chittagong Hill Tracts | divisional |



Khulna, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Cooch Behar and Tripura State and Sikkim have a density of less than 500. The average for plains districts is 1,945,440 and this together with mean density for the whole of the province had been indicated in the diagram. The position of the first 15 districts is the same now as it was in 1921 with the exception that Bakarganj has moved from tenth to seventh. Jessore has moved down three places owing to its decrease in population and Rajshahi has similarly moved down an equal number of places. Nadia and Midnapore occupied the reverse position in 1921 as 19th and 20th, respectively, but the remaining districts were then also in the same order as on the present occasion. Calcutta has a density $17\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as that of Howrah, and in its area of 33 square miles accommodates nearly 11 times the population of Sikkim with an area of 2,818 square miles.

STATEMENT No. I-11.

Mean density (persons per square mile) in natural and administrative divisions, 1872-1931.

Division.	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
ALL BENGAL	420	446	480	517	558	574	618
West Bengal (Burdwan Division)	544	529	559	590	606	576	618
Central Bengal (Presidency Division)	415	459	477	503	528	529	566
*North Bengal	420	442	460	486	525	536	549
Rajshahi Division	420	441	461	490	581	542	557
†East Bengal	362	404	468	516	577	624	688
Dacca Division	510	585	661	724	807	864	935
Chittagong Division	298	310	368	411	467	513	584

*Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar State.
 †Dacca and Chittagong Divisions with Tripura State.

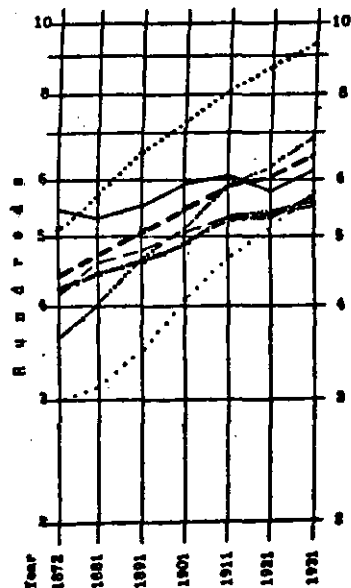
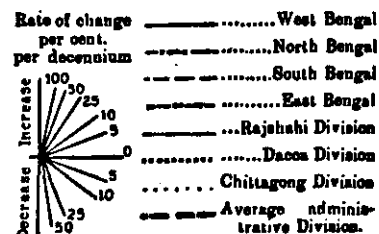
35. Variations in density of population, 1872-1931.—The variations in density of population at every census since 1872 are illustrated for each district by divisions in diagram B which is plotted from subsidiary table II. The divisional averages which are also plotted on the diagram are given in statement No. I-11 above for comparison, and are separately plotted in diagram No. I-13 in the margin. The average for administrative divisions for each district naturally shows the same rate of change as the average population and the curves given in diagram No. I-7 are very closely reproduced in this diagram with some variation in their position upon the map. This of course is due to the fact that in computing the number of persons per square mile it is only the population which changes and the area remains the same. The most densely populated division is Dacca with an average of 935 persons to the square mile and it has been far more densely populated than any other division at every census except 1872 when only West Bengal (Burdwan Division) had a greater density. The population of this division and consequently its density are so much greater than that of all other divisions that it pulls the average density of all five divisions up into the second place in the order of administrative divisions with all the other divisions below. The Burdwan Division, although it has not maintained a regular increase in its population density which has shown the same variations as the population itself, yet retains the second place amongst the administrative divisions with 618 persons to the square mile. The density of the Dacca Division has increased since 1872 by 83 per cent. and an even greater increase has been displayed by the Chittagong Division from 298

DIAGRAM No. I-13.

Changes in Density of Population

(Natural and administrative divisions) 1872 to 1931

Numbers are shown by figures, rate by slope.



in 1872 to 584 at the present census. Its density is now greater than that of Rajshahi and the Presidency Divisions which respectively have a density of 557 and 566 persons per square mile. Like the density of divisions the density of each district also shows the same variations from year to year as the population since all are calculated on the same area.

Part V—The population of police-stations

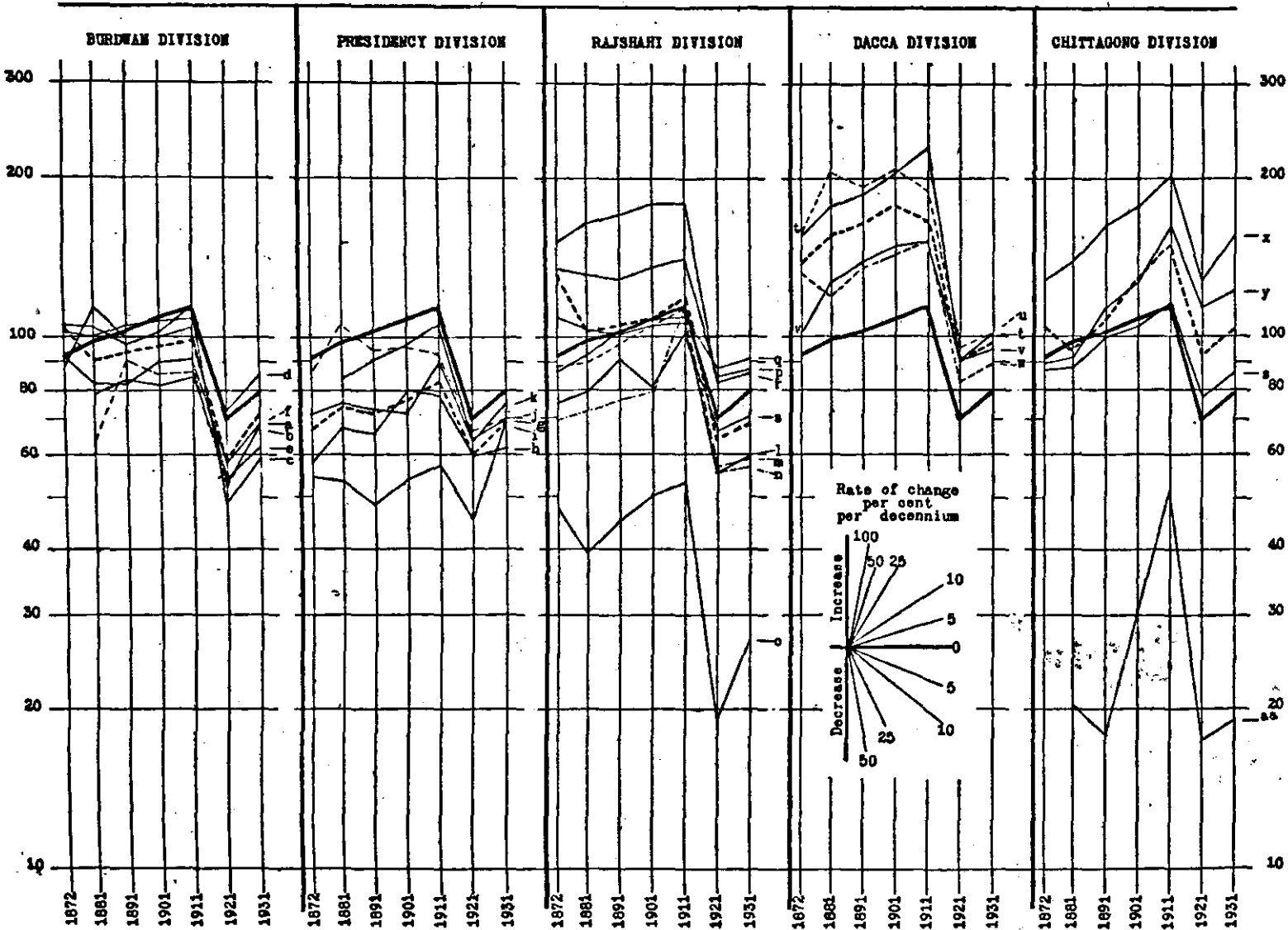
36. Average population of police-stations, 1872-1931.—The average population of each police-station throughout the whole of British Territory is 79,349. The divisional averages as well as the district averages are plotted in diagram No. I-14 below. In Eastern Bengal each police-station has on the

DIAGRAM No. I-14.

Changes in the average population of police-stations, 1872-1931.

[NOTE.—Numbers (in thousands) are shown by figures, rates of change by slope. In the averages for the whole province and for the Presidency Division the population of Calcutta and the police-stations into which it is divided have been disregarded.]

- | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|--|
| a - Burdwan | e - Hooghly | i - Murshidabad | m - Dinajpur | p - Rangpur | t - Dacca | x - Tippera | District averages
(British Territory)
— provincial
- - - - - divisional |
| b - Birbhum | f - Howrah | j - Jessore | n - Jalpaiguri | q - Bogra | u - Mymensingh | y - Noakhali | |
| c - Bankura | g - 24-Parganas | k - Khulna | o - Darjeeling | r - Pabna | v - Faridpur | z - Chittagong | |
| d - Midnapur | h - Nadia | l - Rajshahi | s - Malda | w - Bakarganj | aa - Ch. & Tracts | | |



average a population one-half to two-thirds as large again as the average in Burdwan, Rajshahi and Presidency Divisions. In Tippera district there are as many as 155,487 persons on the average in each police-station and there are more than 100,000 also in Dacca, Mymensingh, and Noakhali. The figures, however, are in no districts so high as they were in 1911 for there was a considerable increase amounting in some cases to as much as almost 100 per cent. in a number of police-stations between the years 1911 and 1921. Decreases in the average population of police-stations

at the end of a census decade may be taken as generally indicating the creation within the decade of additional police-stations in the district concerned. The number of police-stations with their average population is shown in the following statement No. I-12.

STATEMENT No. I-12.

Number of police-stations in each district with their average population, 1872-1931.

Division or district.	Number of police-stations.							Average population of police-stations.						
	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
*BENGAL, British Territory	347	365	375	378	385	652	619	97,492	98,315	102,429	109,249	115,810	70,227	79,349
Burdwan Division	70	82	82	86	86	138	123	104,099	90,170	93,766	95,815	95,457	55,338	70,302
Burdwan	22	17	17	17	17	25	23	92,488	81,872	81,875	90,146	90,492	57,557	68,509
Birbhum	8	7	8	9	9	16	14	86,990	113,490	99,720	100,253	103,941	52,973	67,682
Bankura	5	10	11	11	10	21	19	105,354	104,176	97,243	101,492	113,867	48,569	58,512
Midnapore	25	25	25	26	26	37	33	101,639	100,714	105,261	107,274	108,503	72,072	84,821
Hooghly	10	13	13	13	13	20	18	..	77,905	82,824	80,714	83,854	54,007	61,903
Howrah	..	10	8	10	11	19	16	..	63,538	90,151	85,051	85,773	52,495	68,079
*Presidency Division	111	106	110	107	104	143	130	67,130	73,318	71,396	76,124	82,204	59,816	68,550
24-Parganas	31	25	26	29	27	41	39	71,292	74,794	72,771	71,668	90,152	64,103	69,587
Nadia	31	30	25	21	21	25	25	58,477	67,262	65,764	79,404	77,040	59,503	61,185
Murshidabad	25	23	26	25	24	28	20	54,145	53,339	48,113	53,327	57,178	45,090	68,534
Jessore	24	15	20	19	19	26	24	86,459	105,150	94,441	95,429	92,540	66,239	69,632
Khulna	..	13	13	13	13	23	22	..	83,073	90,589	96,388	105,136	63,175	73,926
Rajshahi Division	78	83	84	87	88	163	157	103,250	101,738	105,168	107,807	117,887	63,467	67,949
Rajshahi	12	13	13	14	14	27	24	109,227	102,972	101,026	104,458	105,756	55,155	59,542
Dinaipur	17	17	16	15	15	30	30	88,337	89,079	97,240	104,472	112,524	56,845	58,514
Jalpaiguri	6	8	9	10	8	17	17	69,778	72,695	75,706	78,738	112,833	55,075	57,845
Darjeeling	2	4	5	5	5	15	12	47,356	38,795	44,663	49,823	53,110	18,850	26,636
Rangpur	16	16	16	16	17	30	30	134,373	131,123	129,092	134,636	140,314	83,595	86,493
Bogra	8	8	8	8	9	12	12	86,183	91,795	102,187	106,817	109,285	87,384	90,535
Pabna	8	8	8	8	8	17	17	151,449	163,966	170,299	177,558	178,573	81,735	85,038
Malda	9	9	9	11	10	15	15	75,158	78,939	90,547	80,366	100,416	65,711	70,251
Dacca Division	55	56	60	61	73	143	143	138,053	155,374	164,069	176,951	164,899	89,771	96,952
Dacca	12	12	13	13	13	35	34	154,416	176,363	186,204	203,809	227,723	89,313	100,958
Mymensingh	15	15	18	19	30	51	51	156,661	203,464	192,899	206,056	150,881	94,857	100,594
Faridpur	10	13	13	13	14	25	25	101,259	125,518	138,255	149,049	151,565	89,994	94,489
Bakarganj	18	16	16	16	16	32	33	132,080	118,806	134,623	143,235	151,907	81,992	89,062
Chittagong Division	33	38	39	37	36	65	66	104,390	94,054	107,438	128,047	149,847	92,316	103,431
Tippera	12	11	11	12	12	21	20	127,828	138,122	162,085	176,499	202,512	130,623	155,487
Noakhali	8	9	9	9	8	13	14	89,242	91,197	112,188	126,859	162,761	113,291	121,909
Chittagong	13	13	13	13	13	21	21	86,723	87,103	99,244	104,096	116,033	76,734	85,573
Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	5	6	3	3	10	11	..	20,319	17,881	41,587	51,277	17,324	10,357
BENGAL STATES	6†	9	9	12	14	19	17	†	77,585	79,590	81,692	58,755	47,207	57,255
Cooch Behar	6	6	6	6	6	7	8	88,760	100,437	96,478	94,406	98,825	84,641	78,860
Tripura	†	3	3†	6	8	12	9	†	31,879	45,814	28,887	28,702	25,370	42,494

*Excluding Calcutta.

†Figures of the divisions of Tripura State are not available for 1872.

‡Excluding the three Khas Mahals.

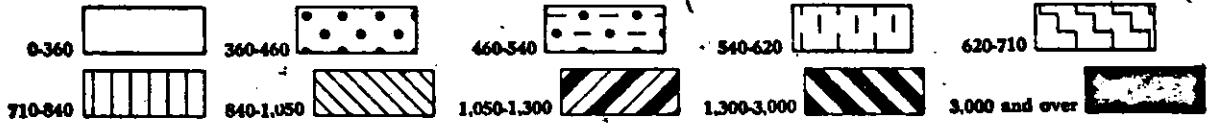
37. Density of population in police-stations, Burdwan Division.—

Diagram No. I-15 overleaf shows the population density in police-stations of the Burdwan Division. The figures for this and similar diagrams are given in provincial table I. Bowria police-station with a density of 5,124 to a square mile in the Howrah district is the most densely populated in the division and indeed is the most densely populated rural police-station in the whole province. Speaking generally population density throughout this division thins off as one proceeds westwards from the banks of the Hooghly river. In police-stations bordering upon the river both in Howrah and in Hooghly the density is very high and it is high also in the whole of Howrah district. But a population density as much as 1,050 to the square mile is found outside Howrah and Hooghly districts only in the Moyna police-station of Midnapore (1,229) and in the Asansol, Kulti and Raniganj police-stations of Burdwan where there are coal and iron industries. Kaksa and Ausgram police-stations of Burdwan district, Taldangra, Simlapal and Ranibandh police-stations in Bankura district and Garhbeta, Binpur, Salbani, Jhargram, Nayagram and Jamboni police-stations in Midnapore district are the most thinly populated in this division and in none of these is

the population density as much as 360 per square mile, a figure less than 60 per cent. than that of the average population density in the whole division.

DIAGRAM No. I-15.

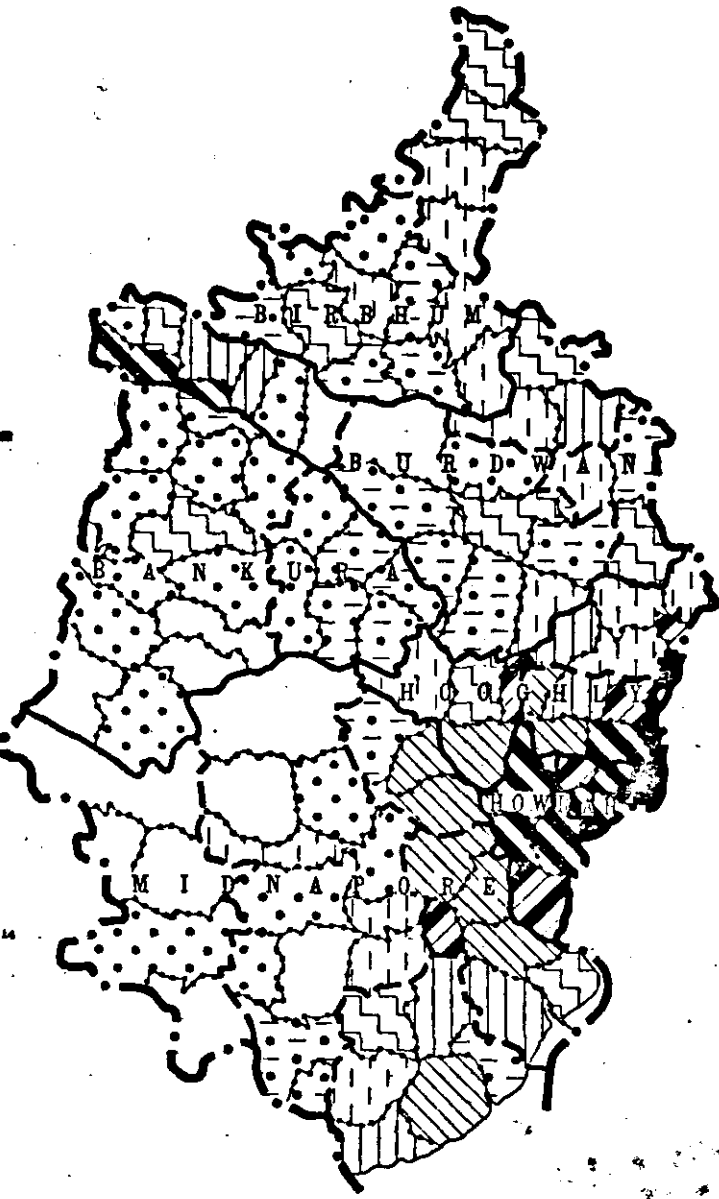
PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE BY POLICE-STATIONS, BURDWAN DIVISION, 1931



KEY TO POLICE STATIONS - BURDWAN DIVISION

1: BURDWAN	29: RAIPURIA	57: PATMASAR	75: DASPUR	93: BALLABAN
2: BHAYAP	30: BOLDPUR	58: KOTALPUR	76: GHANDARMA	94: CHETURA
3: BHARAI	31: ILANDARAI	59: TIKAS	77: YAKUM	95: NAGDI
4: BONDARAI	32: LADPUR	60: NIDHAPUR	78: BOYTA	96: NARIPAL
5: JANGRAH	33: BANPUR	61: KHARAPUR	79: SITAPATA	97: YAKASHWAR
6: JALAPUR (ROYAL)	34: BANPURAI	62: SALBARI	80: PANDHARA	98: JANGIPARA
7: GALSIA	35: MATYASWAR	63: KESAPUR	81: BANSTONAM	99: KHANPUR
8: BATA	36: BALNATI	64: BIRWA	82: KALIRADAL	100: UTTARPADA
9: KATVA	37: KURANAI	65: SARAI	83: KILKRI	101: BHAKHESWAR
10: KETUGRAH	38: BARKHA	66: PINGLA	84: BHAGANPUR	102: SIKPUR
11: SONOLKOTE	39: CHATRA	67: BARAYAKHAR	85: GONTAI	103: GHADITALA
12: KALHA	40: ODA	68: KESHARI	86: KORA	104: ARABHAGE
13: PONDASTHALI	41: YALDASRA	69: KANKOTA	87: BAKHAR	105: PUNDHORA
14: SONWESWAR	42: BALJAL-DHATI	70: DAPPAN	88: PATAKPUR	106: GOORAY
15: ARANSOL	43: BODIPUR	71: MOHAPUR	89: PANDUA	107: KHARAKI
16: EWLETI	44: BALSORA	72: GOPITALAPUR	90: DEAN LAKHALI	108: SONARPO
17: BHARAI	45: BELKHA	73: MATYASAR	91: POLA	109: SIKPUR
18: BALAPUR	46: KHATRA	74: BANPUR		110: SONPUR
19: NARIGRAM	47: INDPUR	75: JANGRAH		111: JAGADHALLI
20: JAMPUR	48: RAJIBARAI	76: SIKPUR		112: BANURAI
21: OUDAS	49: MATPUR	77: GHATA		113: JAGTALLAPUR
22: PARIPUR	50: SIMLAPAL			114: PRAGHOLA
23: KAKSA	51: BIRAPUR			115: BALLY
24: PURI	52: JUTPUR			116: ANTA
25: SONAPUR	53: SONARAI			117: BAGHAN
26: WYRANAD				118: ULKURIA
27: RAJKAGAN				119: BOYTA
28: KHOTASOLE				120: SHANPUR

*Including KHARAPUR
TONE police station
**Including police
stations BUDWAN, BASTRA,
GOLABARI, BALIPANCHOKRA and SIKPUR

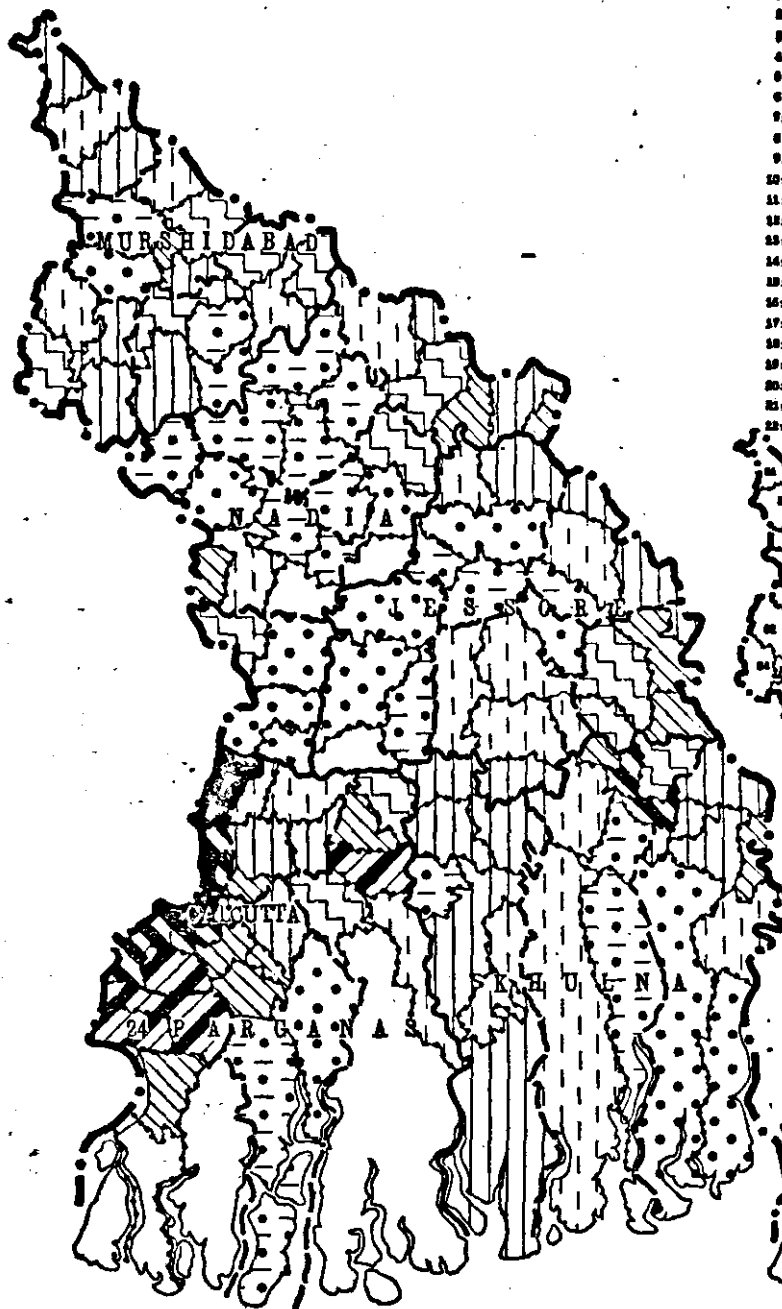
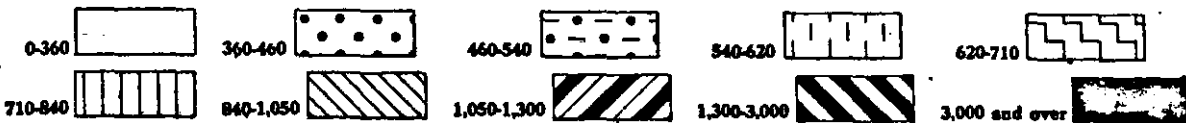


38. Density of population in police-stations, Presidency Division.— Similar details for the Presidency Division are illustrated in diagram No. I-16. Here also the greatest concentration is around Calcutta along the banks of the Hooghly. Elsewhere a density of over 1,050 per square mile is reached only in Basirhat police-station in the 24-Parganas and Khulna and Daulatpur police-stations in Khulna district. In the 24-Parganas the Sundarbans area comprising Sagar, Kakdwip, Mathurapur and Sandeskhali in the 24-Parganas is very sparsely populated and the density does not in any of these four police-stations reach higher than 327 to the square mile compared with an average for the whole district of 516. Sagar is indeed the most thinly populated police-station in the plains of Bengal. In Khulna, speaking generally, except in the north-east of the district about Khulna itself the population density gradually increases from east to west though there is a comparatively low density in Debhata police-station (533 per square mile) adjoining the thickly populated subdivision Basirhat of 24-Parganas. In Jessore district in spite of a decline in population, only one police-station, Gaighata (357), has a density of less than 360 per square mile. The average

for the district is 576 and the density is highest in Narail subdivision where Narail and Abhayaganar police-stations have densities of 662 and 666. All

DIAGRAM No. 1-16.

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE BY POLICE-STATIONS, PRESIDENCY DIVISION, 1931



SEE 20 PAGES STATIONS - PRESIDENCY DIVISION

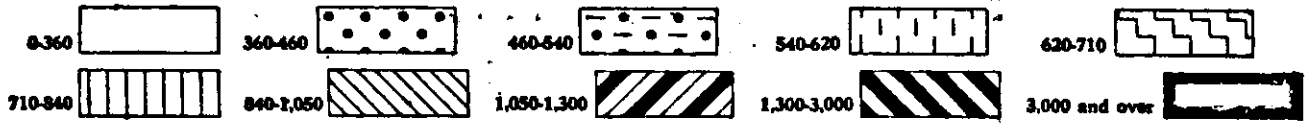
1: BHALUPUR	25: BHARUA	46: CHAPRA	71: BAKHARPUR	99: BALTARA
2: BOPANPUR	26: BARABALI	47: NADIA	72: BUNDIRABAD	100: BHARUAPUR
3: BIKLA	27: ARDANGA	48: BARTIPUR	73: BHARUAGAR	101: BOHAGRA
4: BHETANUR	28: RAJAGHAT	49: BHARUAGHAT	74: BHARUAMHOLA	102: ALPABARA
5: BHARUAMHOLA	29: BHARUAGHAR	50: CHAKRA	75: SALKOPA	103: NARAIL
6: BARIHAT	30: BAHUBHA	51: BARIHAT	76: STANLEY	104: ABHAYAGAR
7: JAYEGAR	31: BAHIMAT	52: KUSTIA	77: BHARUAGAR	105: BHARUAGHAT
8: BHARUAGHAT	32: BHARUAGHAT	53: BIPUR	78: BHARUAGHAT	106: BAHUA
9: BHARUAGHAR	33: BARGA	54: BHARUAGHAR	79: BHARUAGHAT	107: BHARUAGHAT
10: BHARUAGHAR	34: BHARUAGHAT	55: BHARUAGHAT	80: BIPUR	108: GAIKATA
11: BODOL-BODOL	35: BHARUAGHAT	56: KHOKSA	81: BAHUBHA	109: MAHESHPUR
12: BHARUAGHAT	36: BHARUAGHAT	57: BHARUAGHAT	82: BHARUAGHAT	110: BHARUAGHAT
13: BHARUAGHAT	37: BHARUAGHAT	58: BHARUAGHAT	83: KANDI	111: PARANANDA
14: BHARUAGHAT	38: BHARUAGHAT	59: BHARUAGHAT	84: BHARUAGHAT	112: BHARUAGHAT
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	64: BHARUAGHAT		110: BHARUAGHAT	138: BHARUAGHAT
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	68: BHARUAGHAT		114: BHARUAGHAT	142: BHARUAGHAT
	69: BHARUAGHAT		115: BHARUAGHAT	143: BHARUAGHAT
	70: BHARUAGHAT		116: BHARUAGHAT	144: BHARUAGHAT

the remaining three have each more than 800 persons to the square mile. The most sparsely populated part of the district is Bongaon subdivision in which Gaighata police-station falls, and it is this subdivision which has suffered the greatest decline in population in the district during the decade. The average of this subdivision is 395 and both Bongaon and Maheshpur police-stations have less than 400 persons per square mile while Sarsa has only 465. Outside Narail subdivision the only police-station in the district with a density of more than 800 is Sripur in Magura subdivision with 803; but only two others have a density of more than 700, namely Salkopa police-station in Jhenida subdivision and Keshabpur police-station in Sadar subdivision. The average for Nadia is even less than for Jessore and amounts to 531 persons per square mile. Kushtia subdivision has an average of 699 persons to the square mile and Khoksa and Kushtia police-stations with 888 and 866 persons to the square mile, respectively, have the greatest

density outside the sadar subdivision where the Nadia police-station also has a density of 888 persons to the square mile. In the Hanskhali police-station the density is as low as 354 but it is the Ranaghat subdivision which on the average is the most sparsely populated and has an average density of only 454 in spite of the presence within it of four municipal towns. The average density of population in the Murshidabad district is 656 persons per square mile and the Kandi subdivision is the most densely populated with an average of 715. The greatest density in any individual police-station is not, however, in the Kandi subdivision but in the Samserganj police-station of Jangipur subdivision with 1,002 persons per square mile. The most sparsely populated police-station in this district is Nabagram in the Sadar subdivision with 443 persons to the square mile.

DIAGRAM No. I-17.

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE BY POLICE-STATIONS, RAJSHAHI DIVISION, 1931



KEY TO POLICE STATIONS
RAJSHAHI DIVISION & GOUGH BERAH.

1: BANGORA	25: BANGORA	45: PANDURIPUR	65: MITYALA	85: BANPARA	105: SUNDARAB
2: BANGORA	26: BANGORA	46: BANGORA	66: PANDURIPUR	86: BANPARA	106: BANGORA
3: BANGORA	27: BANGORA	47: BANGORA	67: BANGORA	87: BANGORA	107: BANGORA
4: BANGORA	28: BANGORA	48: BANGORA	68: BANGORA	88: BANGORA	108: BANGORA
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135: BANGORA	159: BANGORA	179: BANGORA	199: BANGORA	219: BANGORA	239: BANGORA
136: BANGORA	160: BANGORA	180: BANGORA	200: BANGORA	220: BANGORA	240: BANGORA
137: BANGORA	161: BANGORA	181: BANGORA	201: BANGORA	221: BANGORA	241: BANGORA
138: BANGORA	162: BANGORA	182: BANGORA	202: BANGORA	222: BANGORA	242: BANGORA
139: BANGORA	163: BANGORA	183: BANGORA	203: BANGORA	223: BANGORA	243: BANGORA
140: BANGORA	164: BANGORA	184: BANGORA	204: BANGORA	224: BANGORA	244: BANGORA
141: BANGORA	165: BANGORA	185: BANGORA	205: BANGORA		

south-east of Bogra and the east of Pabna districts. Sirajganj police-station has a density of 1,336 persons to the square mile and in the same subdivision (which has an average density of 923) Shazadpur, Chauhali, Kamarkhanda and Belkuchi each have a density of more than 1,000, a figure reached only in one other police-station outside the subdivision, namely, Bera with 1,051. The average density for Pabna district is 795. Bogra and Gabtali police-stations of Bogra district with a density of 1,091 and 1,050, respectively, are the most densely populated in the Bogra district which has a mean density of 785. A population density of more than 1,050 to the square mile is found in Rajshahi Division outside Bogra and Pabna only in the Boalia police-station of Rajshahi and the Saidpur police-station of Rangpur with a density respectively of 2,283 and 1,150 persons per square mile accounted for by the existence in the first of the headquarters of the district and in the second of an important railway colony at Saidpur. Speaking generally the population tends to congregate in greatest density in Malda, Rajshahi, Pabna and Bogra along the banks of the Padma and Jamuna rivers. In Malda, for instance, the most populous police-stations are Kaliachak, Sibganj and Nawabganj with densities of 844, 953 and 911 per square mile, respectively, compared with an average in the district of 597, whilst in Pabna district the remaining riparian police-stations Sara, Pabna and Sujanagar have densities of 642, 776 and 624 per square mile, respectively. In Rajshahi Badalgachi, Naogaon, Nandanali and Bagmara police-stations form a tongue of relatively high density extending into the district from the north, but generally speaking as one proceeds west from the eastern boundary of Bogra and Rangpur and east from the western boundary of Malda the population density grows sparser and it reaches a figure less than 360 per square mile in the Habibpur police-station of Malda and the Porsha, Bansihari and Gangarampur police-stations of Dinajpur as well as in the Ghoraghat police-station of the same district. Dinajpur with an average density of 445 is less thickly populated than any other part of the Rajshahi Division except Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts and has actually fewer people to the square mile even than the states of Cooch Behar where the number is 448. In Jalpaiguri district no police-station in the Alipur subdivision has a density as much as 360 to the square mile and in six out of twelve police-stations in the Sadar subdivision of the same district the density is no greater. The remaining police-stations Dhubguri, Mal, Jalpaiguri, Boda, Debiganj and Pathgram have 430, 370, 467, 492, 494 and 586 persons to the square mile, respectively. In Darjeeling district, apart from the police-station including Darjeeling itself which has a density of 1,102 to the square mile, only the police-stations of Jore Bungalow and Mirik each with a density of 377 have a population greater than 340 to the square mile. The average population density for the whole district is no more than 264, scarcely half the average for the whole division. The state of Cooch Behar with an average of 448 persons to the square mile has no police-station with a density greater than Dinhata (583). Two small parcels of land forming the Haldibari police-station of the state islanded in the district of Jalpaiguri have a population density of 540 to the square mile, but the Cooch Behar police-station containing the headquarters of the State has a density no greater than 475.

40. **Density of population in police-stations, Dacca Division.**—Dacca Division with a mean density of 935 per square mile is the most thickly populated division in Bengal. Figures for this division are illustrated in diagram No. I-18 overleaf. In Tangibari (3,044) and Lohajang (3,228) the density rises to over 3,000 to the square mile but in Munshiganj subdivision where they are situated with a mean density of 2,413 there is only one police-station, Srinagar, with a density less than 2,000 to the square mile and even here the figure is 1,895. Narayanganj in the subdivision of that name also has a population of over 3,000 in the square mile and the average of this subdivision is 1,444, whilst no single police-station within it has a population less dense than 1,000 to the square mile. Manikganj with an average density of 1,048 is the next most thickly populated subdivision in Dacca and only three of its police-stations, Sibalay, Daulatpur and Ghior with 796, 853 and 947 inhabitants per square mile, respectively, have densities less than 1,000 to the

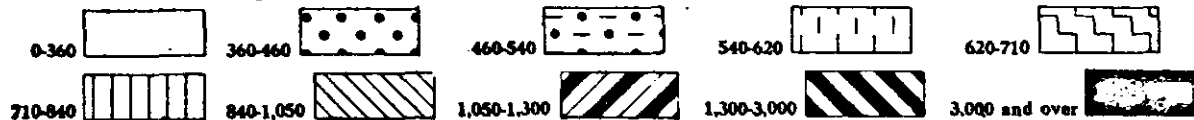
Bazar, Kuliarchar, Kathiadi, Hossainpur, Kishoreganj and Karimganj have all populations between 1,300 and 1,600 per square mile. The average density in the whole district is 823 persons to the square mile and the least densely populated part of the district lies in a strip along the northern boundary comprising Nalitabari, Haluaghat, Durgapur and Kalmakanda police-stations, in another area formed by Khaliajuri, Itna, Mitamain and Astagram and in yet a third strip between the most densely populated portions formed by Madhupur and Bhaluka which is continued into the Dacca district by Sripur, Kaliakoira and Jaydebpur where, however, the population is in no case less than 360 to the square mile and lies between this figure and 540. The area of maximum density formed by the two strips of country already mentioned in Mymensingh and joining together in the south-western part of Dacca is continued in a southerly direction through Faridpur and Bakarganj. Sadarpur, Matbarerchar, Bhanga, Sibchar, Rajair, Madaripur, Palong, Naria, Bhdarganj, Gosairhat and Kalkini in Faridpur with Muladi, Gournadi, Uzirpur, Babuganj, Barisal, Bakarganj, Nalchiti, Rajapur, Jhalakati, Banaripara, Swarupkati, Pirojpur, Bhandaria and Kowkhali in Bakarganj constitute a block in which the population is in no area less than 1,050 to the square mile and reaches as much as 2,206 in Naria. In Faridpur district the most sparsely populated police-station, Goalundo, contains 642 persons to the square mile or only 4 less than the mean density for the whole province, and the average density for the whole district is 1,003, a figure exceeded only by Noakhali, Tippera and Dacca in East Bengal and by Howrah elsewhere. In Bakarganj, with an average density of 834, only two police-stations in the Sadar subdivision, Mehendiganj and Hizla have a density of less than 1,000 to the square mile, and even in the Patuakhali subdivision, where the average density (577) is less than elsewhere, the most sparsely populated police-stations in the recently formed sea coast area, namely, Amtoli and Galachipa, have a density of 370 and 403, respectively. Even the Bhola subdivision with an average of 633 has no density lower than that of Tazumaddin where there are 482 persons to the square mile.

41. Density of population in police-stations, Chittagong Division.—Diagram No. I-19 illustrates the density in each police-station in the Chittagong Division. The average density here is only 584 but the low average is accounted for by the fact that the Chittagong Hill Tracts, with a density of only 43 to the square mile, constitutes nearly half the whole area, it is larger than either Tippera or Chittagong district combined with Noakhali and is nearly as great as these two districts put together. These two districts in fact stand third and fourth in average density in the whole province. In Tippera only two police-stations have a density less than 1,000 to the square mile. These are Nasirnagar with 807 and Laksham with 956 and the least thickly populated of these has in a corresponding area 5 persons for every 4 on the average in the whole of Bengal. The greatest concentration of density in the Chandpur subdivision is in Faridganj and is continued along the river Meghna in Daudkandi and Homna with the adjacent Muradnagar in the sadar subdivision and in Bancharampur in Brahmanbaria subdivision. These police-stations have from 1,300 to over 1,600 persons to the square mile. In Noakhali the population is mainly concentrated along the north and west of the district and is least dense in the islands of Hatya and Ramgati. The district mean density is 1,124 persons to the square mile but with the exception of the two police-stations mentioned, in no other police-station is the population less than 1,000 to the square mile except in Sudharam where, however, it is as much as 943. In Chittagong the average density is 699 to the square mile and population is concentrated beside the banks of the Karnaphuli river in police-stations Double Moorings, Chittagong, Pachalais and Boakhali. The Chittagong police-station is actually a part of the Chittagong Municipality and has a density of 9,239 persons to the square mile but in the other three police-stations also the population is between 1,400 and 2,425 persons to the square mile. On the north and south of the area formed by these four police-stations are two other blocks each composed of two police-stations where population is between 1,050 and 1,300 to the square mile. They are Raojan and Hathazari on the north and Anwara

and Patiya on the south. Teknaf, Ukhia and Ramu police-stations on the extreme south of the district are the most sparsely populated and in neither

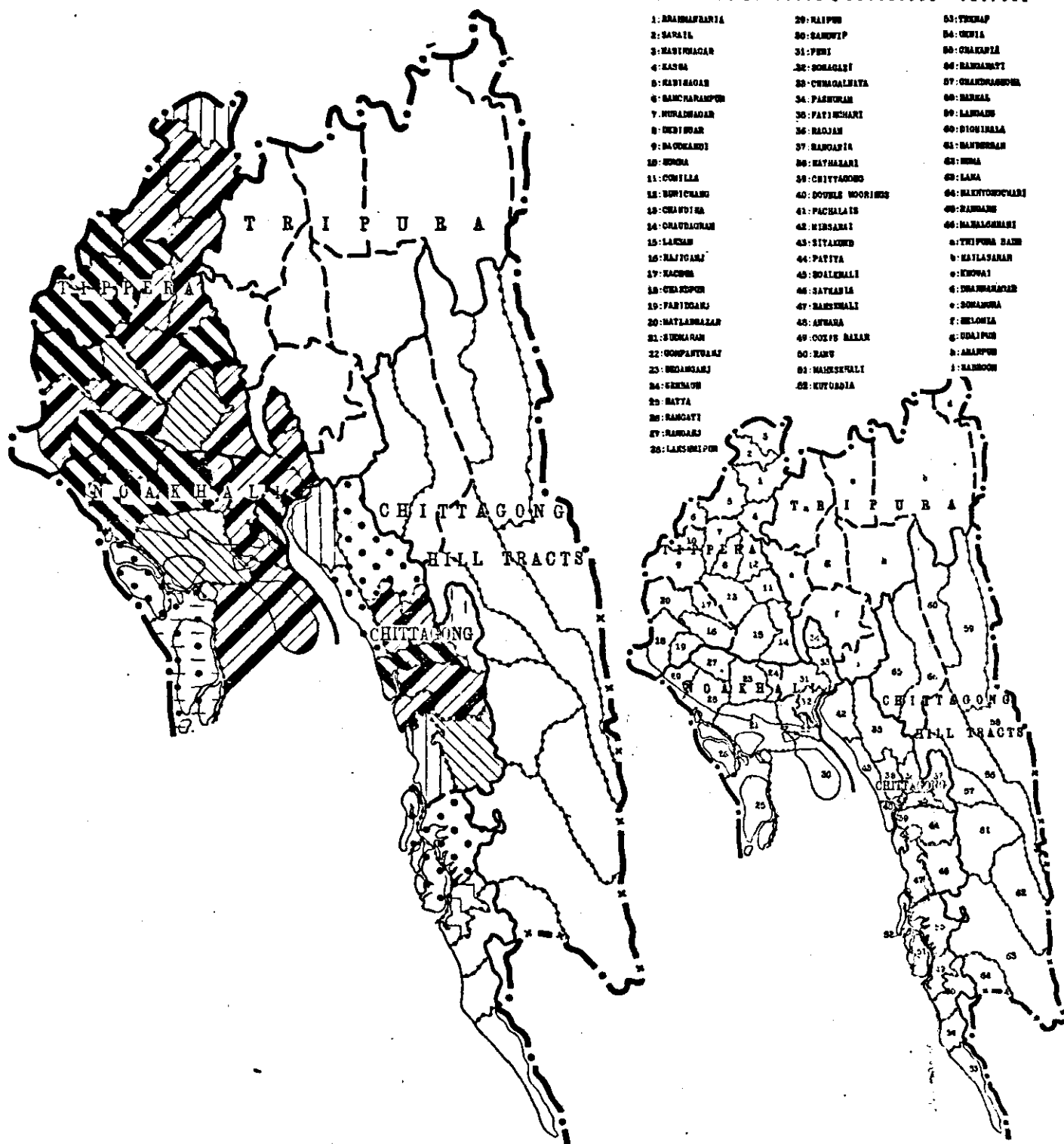
DIAGRAM No. I-19.

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE BY POLICE-STATIONS, CHITTAGONG DIVISION, 1931



KEY TO POLICE STATIONS - CHITTAGONG DIVISION & DIVISIONS - TRIPURA

- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1: BRAHMANPARIA | 20: RAJPUH | 33: TEKNAP |
| 2: SARAIL | 21: SANDIP | 34: UKHIA |
| 3: RASTHAGAR | 22: PIRI | 35: CHAKARIA |
| 4: KASBA | 23: SONAGATI | 36: RAMMANATI |
| 5: RASTHAGAR | 24: CHANDRALATA | 37: CHANDRAGHONA |
| 6: BANCHARANPUR | 25: PASURAM | 38: BERAL |
| 7: MURALNAGAR | 26: PATI NICHARI | 39: LANGADU |
| 8: DEBIDWAR | 27: RAJAM | 40: BISHUMBA |
| 9: BACHARATI | 28: BANGLAIA | 41: BATHURAN |
| 10: SONDA | 29: KATKALIA | 42: HINA |
| 11: CHITLA | 30: CHITTAGONG | 43: LAMA |
| 12: BORTCHANG | 31: SOHLE MOORINES | 44: BALEYCHOWARI |
| 13: CHAUDHRA | 32: PACHALIS | 45: RAMDAM |
| 14: CHAUDHAGAN | 33: HIRHARI | 46: BANALGHARI |
| 15: LAKSHAN | 34: SIVAKH | 47: TRIPURA BARI |
| 16: RAJGANG | 35: PATYA | 48: KAILASAHAR |
| 17: KACHHA | 36: SAKHALI | 49: KHOWAI |
| 18: CHAKHAR | 37: SAKHALI | 50: DHARMANAGAR |
| 19: PARIDAKI | 38: BANSHALI | 51: SONAMURA |
| 20: NATLAMBALAP | 39: AFHANA | 52: MELONIA |
| 21: SUDHARAN | 40: COXS BAZAR | 53: UDAIPUR |
| 22: GONPARTHAK | 41: RABU | 54: AMARPUR |
| 23: BODHAKAL | 42: MAHESWALI | 55: SABROOM |
| 24: KENAHAN | 43: KUTUADIA | |
| 25: BATA | | |
| 26: BANCAT | | |
| 27: BANGLA | | |
| 28: LAKSHMIPUR | | |



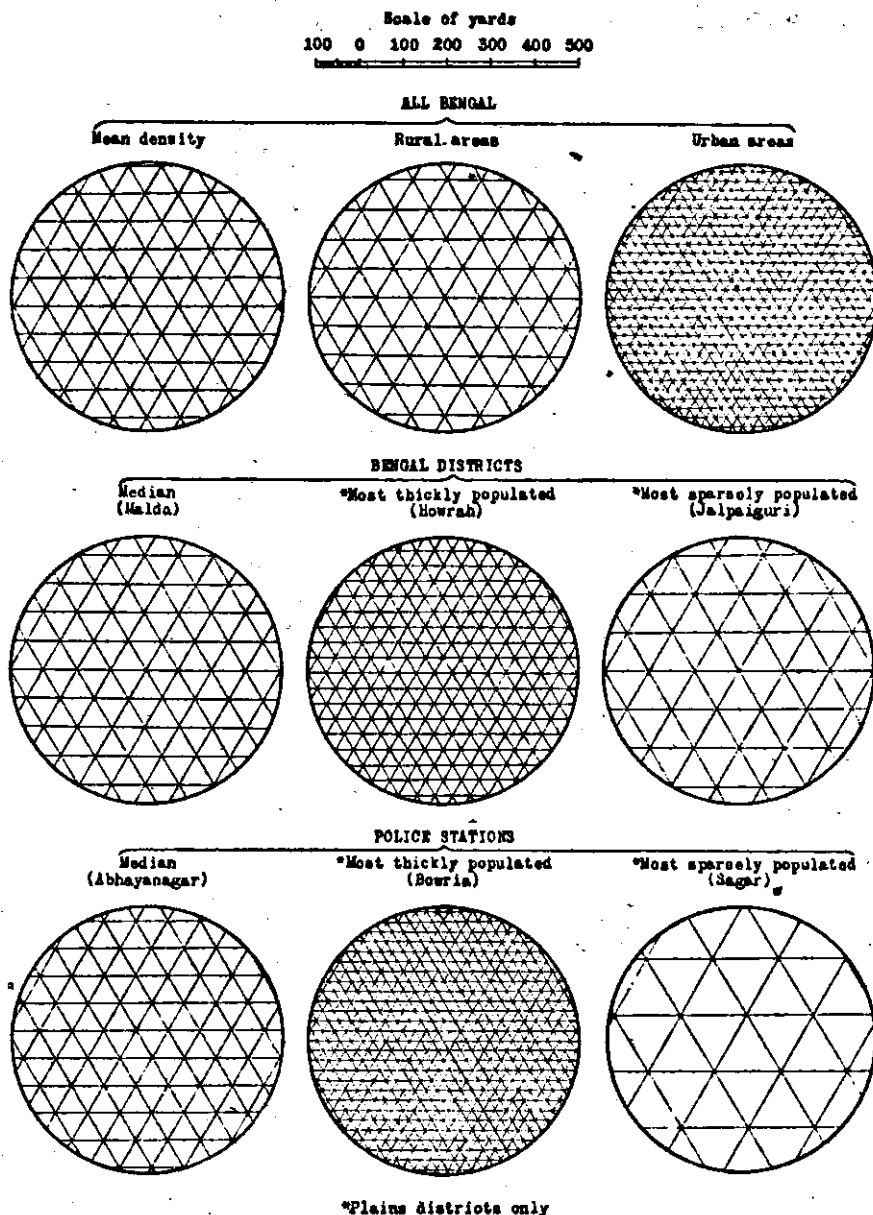
does the population reach as much as 350 to the square mile, whilst in the whole of Cox's Bazar subdivision the average density is only 381 compared with an average in the sadar subdivision of 864. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts the population is as little as 16 to the square mile in Langadu and is no where denser than 85 per square mile in Chandraghona. In the Tripura State the average is 93 to the square mile and is as many as 215 in the Sadar subdivision, but it is as many as 100 only in Khowai, Dharmanagar, Sonamura and Udaipur divisions and is as little as 49, 53 and 54, respectively, in Amarpur, Sabroom and Kailasahar divisions.

42. **Average proximity and acres per person.**—The figures for density of population analysed in detail in the preceding paragraphs are also illustrated

DIAGRAM No. I-20.

Average proximity.

(NOTE.—Each circle represents one-tenth of a square mile. The inter-sections of the mesh within each circle represent persons. The number of inter-sections shows the number of persons in one-tenth of a square mile or 64 acres and the distance between each and its nearest neighbour their average proximity.)



by presentation in a slightly different way. If the population of Bengal were spaced evenly so that each person was at an equal distance from his nearest neighbour there would be one person in every 76·2 yards in the whole of

STATEMENT No. I-13.

Average proximity in yards and acres per person.

	Average proximity in yards.	Average acres per person.
All Bengal (British Territory and States)	76·2	1·039
All Bengal urban area	24·2	·105
All Bengal non-urban area	78·9	1·113
Median district (Malda)	77·4	1·072
Most thickly populated *district (Howrah)	41·2	·304
Most sparsely populated *district (Jaipauri)	103·3	1·910
Median police-station (Abhaynagar—Jessore)	73·3	·961
Most thickly populated *rural police-station (Bowria—Howrah)	26·4	·125
Most sparsely populated *rural police-station (Sagar—24-Parganae)	152·4	4·156

*Plains districts only.

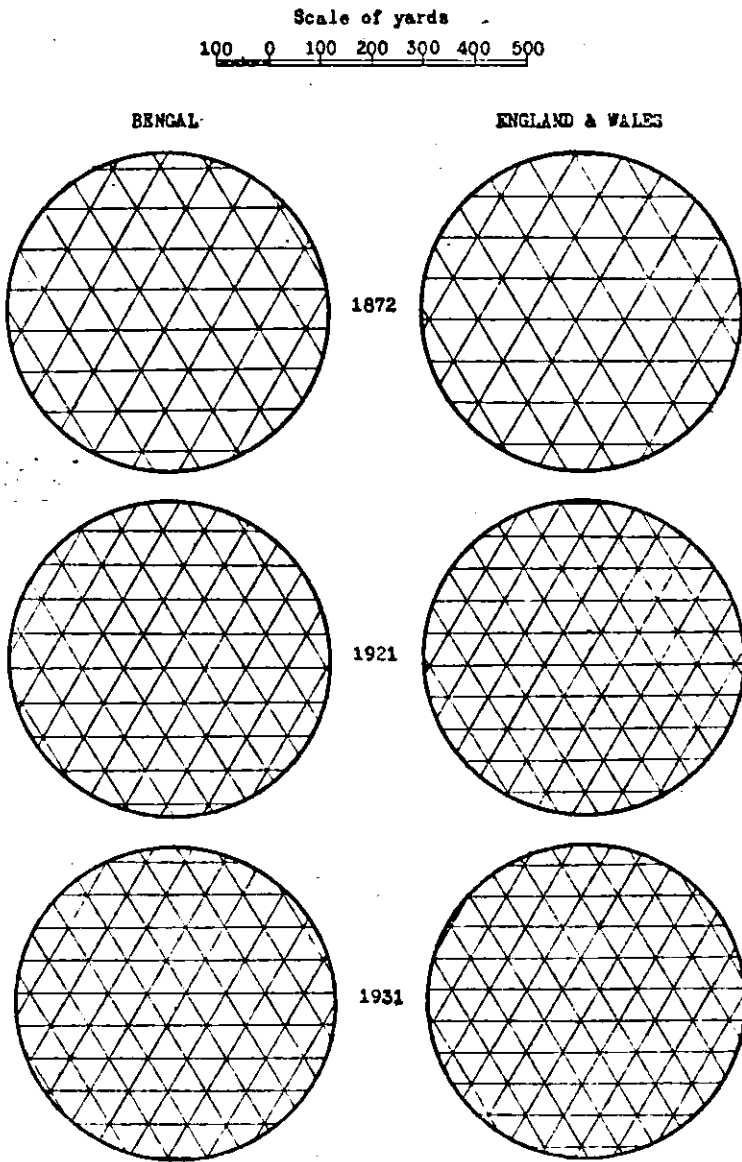
British Territory and States. In the rural areas the distance apart would be 78·9 yards and in urban areas their average would approximately be 24·2 yards. In Malda, which is the middle district if all are arranged in order of density, the average proximity would be 77·4 yards. These figures are given in statement No. I-13, and illustrated in diagram No. I-20, where figures are

also given and illustrated for the most thickly and the most sparsely populated district, the median police-station and the most thickly and the most sparsely populated police-station. The most thickly populated district is Howrah with an average proximity of 41·2 yards between each inhabitant, and excluding the hill districts of Darjeeling and Chittagong Hill Tracts the most sparsely populated district is Jalpaiguri where one person would be encountered in every 103·3 yards. Abhayanagar in Jessore district, the

DIAGRAM No. I-21.

Average proximity.

(NOTE.—For explanation see note to diagram No. I-20.)



median police-station, corresponds to Malda amongst the districts and the average proximity of its inhabitants is 73·3 yards. Excluding police-stations which are themselves towns, the most thickly populated is Bowria in Uluberia subdivision where the inhabitants on the average are as close together as 26·4 yards. There are nearly six times as far apart on the average in the most sparsely populated police-station which is Sagar, in the 24-Parganas. The average number of acres per person works out to no more than 4·156 even in Sagar police-station and in Bowria police-station (technically a rural area) it is as low as ·125 acres, a figure scarcely one-fourth as great again as the average for all towns in Bengal in which there is ·105 of an acre to each person. The average number of acres per person in the whole of Bengal is 1·039 and in rural areas the figure is 1·113. A comparison with the figures of England and Wales for 1872, 1921 and 1931 is

afforded by statement No. I-14 illustrated in diagram No. I-21. In 1872 the density of population in Bengal was greater than in England and Wales at the census of 1871. The average proximity was then 92 yards per person whereas it was 96 in England and Wales and the number of acres per person was 1·52 compared with 1·64. By 1921, however, England and Wales had developed a density greater than that of Bengal. In that year the density for England and Wales was 649 persons per square mile against a density of 578 in Bengal corresponding to an average proximity in yards of 74 in England and Wales compared with 79 in Bengal, each person in England and Wales then having on the average a space of less than one acre and each in Bengal a space of rather more than one acre. Since 1921 the density has increased in both countries but at a rather more rapid rate in Bengal, for there are now 616 persons per square mile in Bengal with an average of 1·04 acres as compared with 685 in England and Wales with an average of ·93 acres each.

STATEMENT No. I-14.

Average proximity in yards and acres per person.

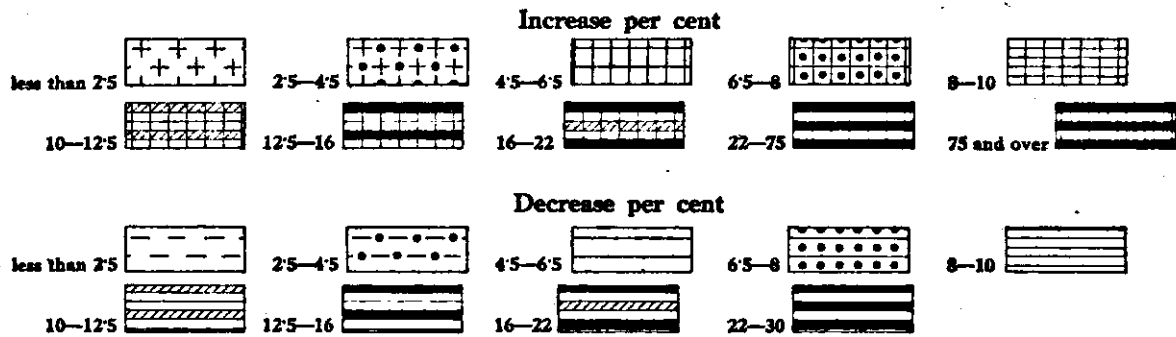
Locality and year.	Average proximity in yards.	Acres per person.
All Bengal 1872 ..	92·1	1·517
1921 ..	78·7	1·107
1931 ..	76·2	1·039
England and Wales—		
1871 ..	95·9	1·646
1921 ..	74·2	·986
1931 ..	72·3	·934

43. Increase or decrease of population in police-stations.—In the immediately succeeding paragraphs the increase or decrease of population in police-stations is accounted for in detail and illustrated by diagrams. All the diagrams have been designed on the same scale with the result that although within each division the scale of hatchings chosen may not represent the differences in the change of population as minutely as by choosing a separate scale for each division it is possible at a glance to estimate the relative increase or decrease in the population of each police-station of every division.

DIAGRAM No. I-22.

INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION BY POLICE-STATIONS, BURDWAN DIVISION, 1921-31

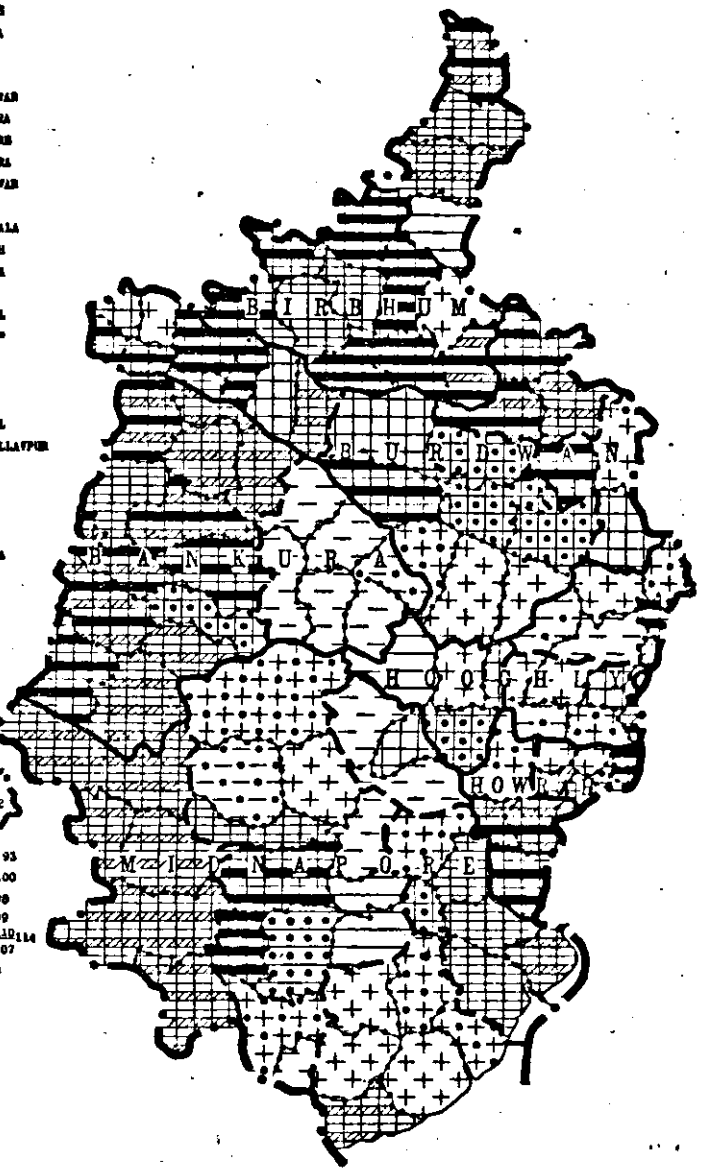
(Changes of less than five in ten thousand are shown by blank hatchings)



KEY TO POLICE STATIONS - BURDWAN DIVISION.

1: BUDHWAN	29: SAHIBPURA	54: PATRASALA	75: BASTOPUR	98: BALASARA
2: BHATAS	30: BOLDIPUR	55: KOTALPUR	76: CHANDRANOKA	99: GHINSHURA
3: BHIMARI	31: ILLAMBARAN	56: TINDAS	77: PANLON	100: MAORA
4: KHONDACHANDER	32: LAMPUR	57: NIDMAPUR	78: BOYLA	101: KANIPAL
5: AURORAM	33: HANOUR	58: KHARAPUR*	79: SUYARAYA	102: FARAKESWAR
6: JAMALPUR (MOTLA)	34: RAMPOURHAT	59: SALBANI	80: PARSHEMA	103: JANDIPARA
7: GALSIA	35: NATUNESWAR	60: KESHIPUR	81: HANDEIGRAM	104: KHARAPUR
8: HAIRA	36: KALHATI	61: DEBRA	82: MANIRADAL	105: UTTARPARA
9: KATVA	37: MURANOI	62: SARANG	83: NURJHI	106: DHANESWAR
10: KETUGRAM	38: BAKHURA	63: PINDLA	84: BAGRAMPUR	107: SINDUR
11: MONGOLSOTE	39: CHATRA	64: NARAYANGARH	85: GOYAI	108: CHANDITYALA
12: KALKA	40: ONDA	65: KESHIARI	86: KONA	109: ARAMBAGH
13: PURASTHALI	41: TALDANGRA	66: GARENSYA	87: HANRAGAN	110: PURSOORA
14: MONTESWAR	42: GANAJAL-CHATTI	67: DANTAN	88: PATANPUR	111: GOOMAY
15: ASANSOL	43: BORDURA	68: MOHANPUR	89: PANDUA	112: KHARAKUL
16: KULTI	44: SALTORA	69: GOPIBALLAVPUR*	90: DHANIKHALI	113: BOWRAM**
17: BARABATI	45: MELHIA	70: NATAGRAM	91: POLRA	114: SIDPUR
18: BALAPUR	46: KHATRA	71: JHANGRAM		115: DOMPUR
19: RAMTOLAJ	47: INDUR	72: JAMBONI		116: JARAGHA
20: JAMURIA	48: RANIMANDI	73: BIRPUR		117: RAMNAIL
21: ONDAL	49: RAIPUR	74: GHATAL		118: JAGATBALLAVPUR
22: PARIDPUR	50: SINGAPAL			119: PANCHLA
23: KALSA	51: BIRNUPUR			120: BALLY
24: SUNI	52: JOYPUR			121: ANEA
25: DUBRALPUR	53: SONAMUKHI			122: BAGHAN
26: MURAMHAD				123: UKURHIA
27: KALTAGAN				124: BOWRIA
28: KHOTRASOLA				125: SHAMPUR

*Including KHARAPUR TOWN police station
 **Including police stations BOWRAM, BASTRA, GOLAMANI, MALIPANCHURHA and SIBPUR



44. Burdwan Division.—Diagram No. I-22 illustrates the figures for the Burdwan Division. With the exception of Keshiari police-station in

Midnapore district the greatest rate of increase has been recorded in a group of police-stations running down the centre of Birbhum district and another group comprising Khoyrasole police-station in Birbhum with the adjacent police-stations in Burdwan of Jamuria and Raniganj. A decrease has been recorded most notably in the section of country running from north to south beginning in the eastern subdivision of Bankura district and including all the police-stations within it and continued southward in Hooghly by the Goghat police-station in Midnapore by police-stations Chandrakona, Daspur, Debra, Pingla, Salbani, Sabang, Narayangarh and Mohanpur and in Hooghly by Dhaniakhali, Polba, Jangipara and Serampore. Elsewhere there has in general been an increase in population.

45. *Burdwan district.*—In Burdwan district the construction of the Damodar Canal and of an irrigation canal passing through Galsi, Bhatar and Ausgram police-stations had attracted a number of labourers who were recorded during the census enumeration many of whom, however, will presumably leave these areas when the work is finished. This immigration together with the natural increase due to excess of births over deaths is given as an explanation for the increase of population in Burdwan, Raina, Khondaghosh, Galsi, Bhatar and Ausgram police-stations. In all the police-stations of Asansol subdivision the increase is attributed by the local officers to the collieries and other industrial concerns which attract an increasingly larger number of immigrants. It is only the iron industry in this district which had an uninterrupted period of prosperity during the decade and the collieries suffered from a depression. The increase is therefore accounted for by the fact that the emigrants, many of whom supplement their earnings in the collieries by agriculture, have not been immediately driven away by unfavourable economic conditions in the collieries, but have been able to remain in anticipation of an improvement. In the police-stations in the Katwa subdivision where an average increase of 14·3 per cent. has been recorded it has been attributed to a general improvement in the health of the people and in the economic condition of the agriculturists. In Kalna subdivision an increase of 12·9 per cent. in Monteswar police-station is attributed to the healthiness of the area situated in the *rarh* tract and to the fertility of the soil, and the increase is probably genuine because although there were two *melas* held on the census night, one at Kulia and the other at Raigram, those attending the *melas* were almost entirely local residents. In the Kalna police-station itself the increase of 5·1 per cent. is attributed to public health measures, particularly anti-malarial in some of the worst villages, improvement in the supply of pure drinking water, the opening of mufassal dispensaries, free distribution of quinine, vaccination and inoculation and the prompt prophylactic measures taken by the district board in the case of epidemics. Purbasthali with an increase of only 1·9 per cent. contains a large area of jungle and decaying villages and is the most affected by malaria in the subdivision. During the decade a new rice mill was opened but the influx of labourers on that account is negligible and the increase in population must be put down to natural causes owing to the excess of births over deaths.

46. *Birbhum district.*—In the Birbhum district some part of the increase in police-stations Suri, Dubrajpur, Muhammad Bazar, Khoyrasole, Sainthia, Bolpur, Illambazar and Labpur is due to transfers of area which they have gained at the expense of Nanoor and Mayureswar, the only two police-stations in which a decrease has been recorded. Immigration of Santhals, Koras and other aboriginal labourers from the neighbouring province of Bihar and Orissa is given as an explanation of the increase in Rajnagar, and the healthiness of Rampurhat and Nalhati is said to have encouraged immigration into these two thanas which has also received a stimulus from industrial developments and in the case of Rampurhat the establishment of a railway settlement. Sainthia police-station which was combined with Bolpur and Illambazar before the present census has also been enlarged by immigration due to the development of Sainthia and Ahmadpur as trading centres and

to the opening of several rice mills. In the remaining police-station Muraroi, natural causes and a healthy climate are given as the cause of the increase.

47. *Bankura district.*—In the Bankura district the decrease in all the police-stations of Bishnupur subdivision is reported to be due to a steady falling off of the birth rate owing to the prevalence of endemic diseases like malarial fever though the local officers also mention the prevalence of a venereal disease as one cause of the decrease. In the sadar subdivision every police-station has shown an increase which is as much as 18·9 per cent. in Saltora and 18·7 per cent. in Bankura police-stations and is over 17 per cent. in Khatra and Indpur. In the sadar police-station, although economic distress is reported to have led to some emigration in search of labour in other districts, the establishment of mills and factories has attracted very many more labourers from elsewhere than were compelled to leave the police-station. In Onda and Chatna police-stations mills have been opened and the manufacture of bell metal has been encouraged. These industries have attracted labour to Chatna police-station which is free from malaria, whilst the fertile soil of Onda retains the population in spite of the prevalence of fever. In Gangajalghati, Borjora, Saltora and Mejhia police-stations, where the increase has been not less than 11 per cent. in any case, the increases are alleged to be due to successful preventive work against malaria, small-pox and other epidemic diseases owing to the opening of health centres and the improvement of village sanitation whilst the soil is reported to be improving together with the climate and some immigration is thereby encouraged from neighbouring districts. In Ranibandh, Raipur and Simlapal the increase is ascribed to freedom from epidemic diseases, a succession of good seasons and improvement of village sanitation; whilst in Khatra, Indpur and Taldangra the increase is due to natural causes. Bankura suffered severely from the influenza epidemic which resulted in a considerable decrease in population between 1911-1921 and the increase on the present occasion is clearly an illustration of the recuperative powers of nature by which serious losses are in ordinary circumstances made good.

48. *Midnapore district.*—In Midnapore the Ghatal and Sadar subdivisions show the smallest increase and Jhargram the largest. The last subdivision has been newly created since the last census and separate figures are therefore not available for the increase of each of the police-stations now forming it. The town is growing owing to its constitution as a subdivisional headquarters, the climate is good and as the Bengal Nagpur Railway main line passes through it a number of immigrants are being encouraged to settle there. In the south and west the subdivision is comparatively sparsely populated and contains a good deal of jungle and waste land into which Santhals and other aboriginal tribes are migrating. In the Tamruk subdivision which shows an increase of 7·9 per cent., Sutamata police-station, which shows an increase of 10·6 per cent. is said to enjoy together with Nandigram, where the increase is also high, a healthy climate whilst in Panskura where the increase is only 4·4 per cent. malaria is said to be endemic; but in general in the remaining police-stations of this subdivision natural causes only appear to be the reason for the increase since there has been practically no immigration and there has been no considerable increase of industrial enterprise. In the Contai subdivision Ramnagar, with an increase of 11·5 per cent., shows the only considerable increase for which no particular reason is assigned by the local officers. In the sadar subdivision a transfer of jurisdiction principally explains the decrease in Narayangarh and the increase in Keshiari. In Debra, Sabang, Pingla and Mohanpur the decrease is ascribed to the prevalence of malaria whilst in Salbani, the only other police-station in which a decrease was recorded, it is said to be due to the emigration of a number of Santhals and Kurmis who left the police-station when they found that they could not obtain a livelihood from the land. The increase in Kharagpur police-station is due to the expansion of the railway settlement, an increase in the number of employees in the railway workshops and an influx of unemployed relatives of employees from other parts of India. Ghatal subdivision with an increase of only 1·3 per cent. and a

decrease recorded in two out of its three police-stations is said to owe its falling off in population to the prevalence of malaria. The increase in Ghatal police-station is ascribed to the sinking of a large number of tube-wells and to the immigration of Santhals for employment as agricultural labourers.

49. *Hooghly district.*—In the Hooghly district the increase is 3·2 per cent. and in spite of the decrease in some police-stations to which reference has already been made every subdivision has also recorded an increase. In the Sadar subdivision Pandua, Balagarh, Chinsura and Magra have increased, the last two police-stations having shown an increase of 10·2 and 31·5 per cent. In all these areas improved measures of public health are given as a cause of the increase by checking the spread of epidemic diseases and by the provision of pure drinking water. In Magra and Pandua there has been an increase in the number of rice mills leading to an increased immigration of Santhals, Bauris and other aboriginals who are also bringing waste land under cultivation. No other explanation for the decrease in Dhaniakhali and Polba is forthcoming except an increase in the prevalence of malaria. In the Serampore subdivision the largest increase is in the Uttarpara police-station. There has been some improvement in the sanitary condition of this police-station but the main cause for the increase on the present occasion is the establishment of a large number of brick fields, its increasing popularity as a residence for workers in Howrah and Calcutta city and particularly the construction of the Willingdon Bridge and the Calcutta Chord Line which were in process at the time of the census. In Haripal police-station the population is practically stationary: the local officers consider that there must have been a decrease owing to the prevalence of malaria had not the temporary influx of harvesters from Bankura increased the numbers recorded, whilst it is possible that the settlement operations which were in progress led to the return to their native villages of a number of persons ordinarily resident elsewhere. In Tarakeswar also the rate of increase is small. In the interior of the police-station malaria is prevalent and is said to be leading to a decrease in population. Immigration of Santhal labourers from Bankura and the progress of the settlement operations referred to in the case of Haripal police-station also have helped to counteract this tendency whilst Tarakeswar proper is reported to be a growing commercial centre where conditions of health are improving. In Jangipara the same conditions were generally operative as in Haripal and Tarakeswar but the influx of Santhal labourers for the harvest was not sufficient to convert a decrease into an increase. Serampore police-station is now practically an urban area and is becoming increasingly popular as a place of residence for clerical workers in Calcutta; and the decrease of 18·6 per cent. is ascribed entirely to the discharge of a number of mill workers just before the census was taken. A similar consideration might have been expected to result in a decrease in Bhadreswar police-station also but although some of the operatives of the mills were discharged this police-station also is becoming increasingly popular as a place of residence like Uttarpara and Serampore, and these immigrants together with the increase owing to improvement in the sanitary conditions of the area have more than counterbalanced the loss due to the discharge of mill workers. In Singur and Chanditala also the increasing popularity of localities outside Calcutta and Howrah as a residence for workers in these cities together with the advent of temporary Santhal labourers has resulted in an increase of population although these police-stations are reported to be malarial. In the Arambagh subdivision the two police-stations which show the greatest increase are Pursoora and Khanakul. These together with the eastern portion of the Arambagh subdivision lie in the spill area of the Damodar river and are comparatively free from epidemic or endemic diseases. In some places the fertility of the soil has actually increased, and there is said to be some movement of population within each police-station according as the lands of the different mauzas improve or deteriorate. Unlike Pursoora and Khanakul, Goghat police-station in which a decrease of 5·8 per cent. was recorded is partly outside the reach of the Damodar floods and in the south is waterlogged owing to the defective outlet for the streams, Amodar and Tarajuli, whilst malaria is said to be prevalent throughout the whole police-station.

50. *Howrah district.*—In the Howrah district there has been an increase of 10·2 per cent. evenly distributed between the two subdivisions, Sadar and Uluberia. Increases have been shown of as much as 24·4 per cent. in Bally, 17·1 per cent. in Uluberia, 16·6 per cent. in Bagnan, 14·7 per cent. in Shampur and 10·9 per cent. in Panchla and there has been a decrease only in that part of Sibpur lying outside the Howrah city and in the Bowria police-station which, however, still remains the most thickly populated police-station in Bengal. The decreases are ascribed to the closing down of mills and factories and the retrenchment of staff: increases recorded are explained in addition to the natural growth of population by excess of births over deaths principally by the immigration of labour in connection with railway constructions in progress at the time of the census.

51. **Presidency Division.**—The figures for the Presidency Division are illustrated in diagram No. I-23 overleaf. The greatest percentage of increase has been in the Barrackpore subdivision running northwards from Calcutta city along the side of the Hooghly river, in the Sundarbans areas in the 24-Parganas and the central part of Khulna. There has also been considerable increase in Sripur and Naraganti police-stations in Jessore and in Raninagar police-station in Murshidabad. The areas in which decreases have been recorded run principally in a strip north to south from police-stations Mirpur, Kushtia, Kumarkhali, Hanskhali, Ranaghat, Chakdah and Haringhata in Nadia district through the whole of Jhenida subdivision, the Magura and Salikha police-stations of Magura subdivision, the Narail and Abhaynagar police-stations of the Narail subdivision, all the police-stations of the Sadar subdivision of Jessore with the exception of Naopara and Keshabpur, all the police-stations of Bongaon subdivision, all the police-stations of Barasat subdivision except Rajarhat, the Sarupnagar and Baduria police-stations of Basirhat subdivision in the 24-Parganas and the police-stations of Kalara, Satkhira and Kaliganj in Khulna. There has been an increase in the population in each police-station elsewhere.

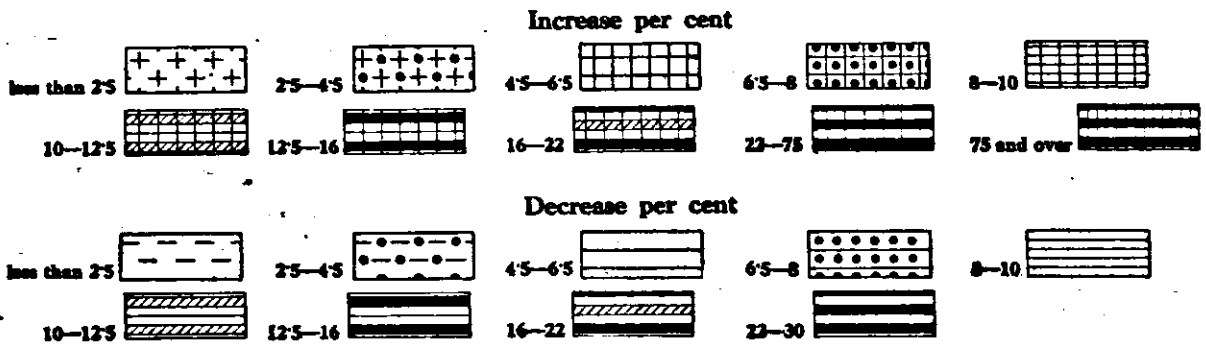
52. *24-Parganas district.*—In the 24-Parganas the subdivisions of Barrackpore with 18·1 per cent. and Diamond Harbour with 16 per cent. have shown the largest increase. In the Barrackpore subdivision decreases in Barrackpore and Tittagarh police-stations were due to the discharge of labourers in the mills immediately before the census operations, but in every other police-station in the subdivision increases ranging from 6·1 per cent. in Bijpur, to as much as 53·4 per cent. in Noapara and even 62·6 per cent. in Naihati were due to natural causes and to the expansion of industrial concerns which attracted a number of labourers. In the Diamond Harbour subdivision no police-station returned a decrease and in the Sagar police-station the increase was as much as 62 per cent., which, however, does not raise it above being the most thinly populated police-station in the plains of Bengal. Increased facility of communications and expansion of business are given as the causes of the increase in this subdivision, but there has been considerable immigration also in connection with the development of the Sundarbans and during the decade in areas like the police-stations of Kakdwip, Sagar and Mathurapur land previously uncultivated has been brought under cultivation. In the Sadar subdivision Bhangar and Metiabruz are the only police-stations which have recorded a decrease: the decrease in Bhangar (0·7 per cent.) is very small and that in Metiabruz police-station is due to the transfer of portions to the Calcutta area. Tollygunge and Behala police-stations border on the city of Calcutta and their expansion is due partly to the natural increase of population by excess of births over deaths and partly to the increase in the suburban population of the city. In Canning and Jayanagar besides the natural increase an influx of immigrants has been recorded during the decade and a similar cause together with the expansion of cultivation in the Sundarbans is responsible for the increase in the adjacent police-stations, Baruipur and Pratapnagar. The expansion of industrial concerns in Budge Budge accounts for an increase of 11·5 per cent. In Sonarpore, Maheshtola and Bishnupur the cause for the increase can be traced to no specific cause and is due to the normal excess of births.

over deaths. In Barasat subdivision an increase is recorded only by the police-station of Rajarhat. The decrease of 9·4 per cent. in Habra is partly due to a falling off in the birth rate without a corresponding fall in the death

DIAGRAM No. I-23.

INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION BY POLICE-STATIONS, PRESIDENCY DIVISION, 1921-31

(Changes of less than five in ten thousand are shown by blank hatching)



KEY TO POLICE STATIONS - PRESIDENCY DIVISION

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1: POLTOWNE | 23: HIRABHA | 46: CHAPRA | 71: BARBARPOUR | 94: BALTIGA |
| 2: SONARPORE | 24: BARASAT | 47: RADIA | 72: HEMBRIDABAD | 100: BHADRAMPOUR |
| 3: HIRALA | 25: AMBARA | 48: BARTIPUR | 73: BANHAGOLA | 101: LONAGARA |
| 4: HETIANDU | 26: RAJARHAT | 49: BARAGHAT | 74: BHADRAMHOLA | 102: ALPABARA |
| 5: HANSHYOLA | 27: SARUPNAGAR | 50: GULKAN | 75: LALGOLA | 103: HANAIL |
| 6: GANESH | 28: BADURIA | 51: HAVISHRATA | 76: JIABARI | 104: ANSATRAMAN |
| 7: JATNAGAR | 29: BASIRHAT | 52: TURTIA | 77: BARABHAN | 105: BARAJATI |
| 8: BANUPUR | 30: RASTAGAN | 53: HIRPUR | 78: KALAKTONGI | 106: BANNA |
| 9: PUSTAPALAN | 31: HANNA | 54: BHATRAMANA | 79: BANSHYUBALAGAT | 107: BOBAGAN |
| 10: KISHINPUR | 32: KALIKHALLI | 55: TUNAKHALLI | 80: SUTI | 108: GAIGATA |
| 11: PUNOB-BHUBA | 33: RAGANAY | 56: KHONA | 81: KANSHOLAR | 109: KANSHOLAR |
| 12: BHARAT | 34: FAIZA | 57: BARLAPPUR | 82: KHANBAR | 110: KURUM |
| 13: BARANAGAR | 35: BANGOR | 58: KALIPUR | 83: KANAI | 111: TARANANDA |
| 14: BARAKRUPUR | 36: KULPI | 59: GARGAL | 84: BUDHAI | 112: BULLETPUR |
| 15: SITAGAN | 37: KANUPUR | 60: HEMPUR | 85: BHADRAPUR | 113: FULTOLA |
| 16: SHAPRA | 38: SARAN | 61: VERAYTA | 86: BANSHYUPUR | 114: BHATRAMANA |
| 17: KHARBAR | 39: HATSHARBAR | 62: CHUDHAMA | 87: BHATRAMANA | 115: BHUTIA |
| 18: DUB-DUB | 40: GARGUTTA | 63: ALANDARA | 88: NAOPARA | 116: PATIACHA |
| 19: RAJHATI | 41: KALITRAI | 64: BANSHYUPUR | 89: KESHAIPUR | 117: BACOPA |
| 20: JANTOL | 42: BANSHYUPUR | 65: JIABHAGAL | 90: JESSORE | 118: KALANGA |
| 21: BILJPUR | 43: KHISHORABARI | 66: BADA | 91: JIABHAGAL | 119: TALA |
| 22: BANNA | 44: KALIKHALLI | 67: BANSHYUPUR | 92: KALITRAI | 120: BASTARA |
| | 45: KRISHNAGAN | 68: BONGOL | 93: KOTKALIPUR | 121: KALITRAI |
| | | 69: JALANDI | 94: KALITRAI | 122: BHATRAMANA |
| | | 70: BHADRA | 95: BANSHYUPUR | 123: BHATRAMANA |
| | | | 96: BANSHYUPUR | 124: BANSHYUPUR |
| | | | 97: MAURA | 125: MOLLANAT |
| | | | 98: SHIPUR | 126: BACHHAT |
| | | | | 127: PAKINGAY |
| | | | | 128: KACHUA |
| | | | | 129: BANPAL |
| | | | | 130: BONGOLAR |
| | | | | 131: BANSHYUPUR |



rate as well as to unfavourable climatic conditions and emigration to neighbouring industrial areas. In the Basirhat subdivision, except the police-stations of Sarupnagar and Baduria already mentioned, where the decrease is ascribed to a deficiency of births and the general unhealthiness of the country, every police-station has recorded an increase. Natural causes are ascribed for the increase in all the remaining four police-stations, Basirhat,

Sandeskhali, Hasnabad and Haroa and in addition Basirhat and Sandeskhali have received an accession of immigrants, whilst the Sundarbans area of Sandeskhali, in which as large an increase as 43·4 per cent. has been recorded, has recently been brought under cultivation.

53. *Nadia district.*—The Nadia district recorded a decrease of 8 per cent. between 1911 and 1921 but has increased by 2·3 per cent. in the last decade. In the Ranaghat and Chuadanga subdivisions there has been a decrease. Ranaghat is described as an unhealthy subdivision and the decrease in Ranaghat, Chakdah and Haringhata police-stations is accounted for by this fact and by the resulting emigration of middle-class people in search of employment and for the education of their children. Santipur police-station, which alone in this subdivision shows an increase, is comparatively healthy but the increase of 2·8 per cent. is ascribed mainly to immigration of Muslim labourers into the char lands. In the Chuadanga subdivision the increase in Chuadanga police-station amounts only to 0·5 per cent. and is due to the growth of the subdivisional headquarters. The increase of 4·5 per cent. in the Alamdanga police-station is due to the influx of population in the Alamdanga Bazar and its neighbourhood for business purposes and to the existence of Boalia and Gokulkhali, which are trade centres attracting business men. In the remaining two police-stations, Damurhuda and Jibannagar, the latter of which has declined by 12 per cent., the decrease is ascribed to general unhealthiness attributed in Jibannagar mainly to the decay of effluents of the Ganges passing through these police-stations. In the Sadar subdivision, which shows the largest percentage of increase (6·1), only one police-station, Hanskhali, has recorded a decrease and in this area, which is reported to be notoriously malarious, many people have left their homes. Amongst the remaining police-stations Kaliganj has shown the greatest percentage increase (12·3). Kaliganj police-station on the Ganges and Chapra on the Kharia river are reported to be healthy whilst there is a good market in Chapra police-station and a considerable Christian settlement with a standard of living somewhat higher than that of the average cultivator. Krishnagar and Nadia police-stations both owe their increased population largely to the existence of towns within them. During the decade a filtered water-supply was installed by the municipality of Krishnagar which has had the influence of increasing the health of the town and attracting middle-class residents from rural areas to settle there particularly for the education of their children. In the Nadia police-station the town of Nabadwip is a sacred place of the Hindus and is attracting an increasing number of settlers, whilst the village of Mayapur on the other side of the Ganges claimed by one section of Vaishnavas as the birth-place of Sri Gauranga is also receiving inhabitants and developing into a town. The increase in the remaining police-stations in this subdivision, Nakasipara and Krishnagar, can be accounted for only by the healthiness of the place and by natural increase. In the Meherpur subdivision an increase of 4·5 per cent. has been recorded to which Meherpur police-station, with an increase of 14·4 per cent., makes the largest contribution. Meherpur, however, has gained some area by transfer from Tehatta police-station, the decrease in which is thus explained, but communications have improved during the decade and business facilities have increased particularly in Meherpur town the population of which has increased by 15 per cent. In the Karimpur police-station Kechuadanga Bazar is growing in importance and has attracted settlers from Murshidabad district, whilst at the time of the census it was observed that a number of people had crossed the river from Murshidabad and temporarily settled there to enjoy the excellent facilities for cattle grazing. In the Gangani police-station no explanation of the increase is forthcoming except by the natural excess of births over deaths. In the Kushtia subdivision the rate of increase is 3·3 per cent., but a decrease has been recorded in three out of six police-stations. The decrease in the Kushtia police-station itself is due, however, to transfer of a number of mauzas to Pabna district and similarly transfer of a mauza from Mirpur to Bhairamara together with the emigration of a number of people from villages lying in the old Goral river to the char areas of the Bhairamara police-station is

responsible for the decrease in Mirpur and for part of the increase in Bhairamara which also is a comparatively healthy area. In the Kumarkhali police-station also the decrease of population is apparent rather than real. The decrease is no more than 1,881 whereas areas with a population of 5,097 and 2,730, respectively, in 1921 have been transferred to Khoksa police-station. The increase in Khoksa is thus more than accounted for by changes in its jurisdiction whilst the increase in Daulatpur police-station is due to transfers from the Rajshahi district as well as from the neighbouring subdivision of Meherpur.

54. *Murshidabad district.*—In the Murshidabad district the only police stations showing a decrease are Hariharpara which is described as a malarial area and Jiaganj where a decrease of 3·5 per cent. is explained by the decay of the silk industry which has led to a number of silk workers leaving the locality in which some areas have subsequently run to jungle. The rate of increase in the whole district is 12 per cent. It is greatest in the Jangipur subdivision where it amounts to 16·9 per cent. though the police-station of Raninagar in Lalbagh subdivision with 36·4 per cent. increase shows the largest proportion of increase in any police-station of the district. The district suffered heavily from the depopulation caused by the influenza epidemic during the preceding years and the increase is very largely due to the ordinary recuperation generally noticed when a calamity has reduced the population. Specific explanations are offered only for Domkol and Jalangi police-stations which owe their increase to a healthy climate and the settlement of immigrants in Jalangi police-station as a result of erosions in the river Padma elsewhere. In Beldanga the increase is partly due to immigration of labourers on the railway and in the brick-fields, but the increase in Berhampore, if any has occurred, is difficult to assess owing to the fact that Beldanga, Berhampore town and Murshidabad were differently distributed at the census of 1921.

55. *Jessore district.*—In Jessore there has been a decrease of 3 per cent. The police-stations in which it occurs have been already mentioned. The decrease is particularly marked in Bongaon, Jhenida and Sadar subdivisions. Such emigration and immigration as takes place in this district is temporary. Labourers from the western provinces visit the district but return to their homes after completing their work and those persons from the district who go to Calcutta also return to their home districts as soon as their work is finished. The Jessore district has for some time been an area in which the population has been decreasing and in every instance the cause is ascribed to the action of the rivers. Where they flow strongly they provide not only irrigation for the fields but also communication for farmers and trade. In the west and central parts of the district, however, the offshoots from the Ganges have decayed and no longer flow freely, with the result that local trade and commerce have been hampered and land tends to go out of cultivation and to be covered with jungle. Upon a country deprived of the services of its rivers in this way the mosquito descends and takes possession with the result that malaria prevails and the effect of continued attacks of this disease leaves the people weak and listless. Such returns as are maintained of vital statistics show that deaths during the period 18th March 1921 to February 1931 as shown in subsidiary table IV had exceeded births by more than 70,000. A special cause for the decrease in Kotchandpur police-station is the decay of the sugar industry which received relief after the Great War but again declined between 1921 and 1931.

56. *Khulna district.*—In the Khulna district also the decline in the Kalaroa and Satkhira police-stations is ascribed to the silting up and deterioration of the rivers and khals once forming the natural drainage of these areas. Kaliganj police-station has been reduced by transfer of some mauzas to police-stations Shyamnagar and Assasuni and these transfers partly account for the enormous increase of 87·2 per cent. in the population of Shyamnagar though in both these police-stations there has been some reclamation of land leading to immigration from outside and the climatic conditions are good. The population of Debhatta police-station has remained

practically stationary and the increase of 5·9 per cent. in Tala police-station is ascribed to natural causes and a good climate. In the Sadar subdivision the increase has been 12·3 compared with 8·4 per cent. in the Satkhira subdivision. The small decrease in Fultola is ascribed to cholera and other epidemic diseases. The Paikgacha and Dacope police-stations including reserve forest areas contain stretches which have been brought under cultivation since the last census. Similar causes account for an increase in Daulatpur, Batiaghata and Damuria police-stations, whilst Khulna and Tarakhada police-stations have enjoyed freedom from epidemic diseases and are healthy regions. In the Bagerhat subdivision the increase is 12·1, being most marked in Sarankhola which has shown an increase of 18·2 per cent. This police-station with Morelganj and Rampal contain reserve forests and areas which were not under cultivation in 1921 and have since attracted agriculturists from other districts. In the Mollahat police-station the increase is due to transfer from Bakarganj district of two union areas and in the remaining police-stations the increase is due to natural causes, viz., the excess of births over deaths. In parts of the district the cyclone which occurred before the last census not only drove away from their homes a number of people who have since returned but also led to breaches in the embankments and to the consequent infiltration of salt water into parts of Shyamnagar, Assasuni, Kaliganj and Morelganj police-stations. During the past ten years fresh water from the Kalindi river has entered these areas and is gradually clearing away the brackish water and leading to the recultivation of the parts affected.

57. **Rajshahi Division.**—The most significant decrease in the Rajshahi Division, figures for which are illustrated in diagram No. I-24 overleaf, has occurred in the area comprising the Thakurgaon subdivision of Dinajpur and extending thence into the Moynaguri police-station in Sadar subdivision of Jalpaiguri and into the western half of the Cooch Behar State. In the Thakurgaon subdivision only one police-station, Khansama, has shown an increase and the increase in that case is comparatively small. The two police-stations of Raiganj and Biral in the Sadar subdivision of Dinajpur and Phulbari in the Balurghat subdivision have also shown decreases. In the south-west of the division also there is an area in which there has been a decrease. It comprises all police-stations of the Nator subdivision in Rajshahi with the exception of Nandigram together with those of Sadar subdivision adjoining except Tanor and Godagari and extends also to police-stations Nandanali, Raninagar, Manda and Mahadebpur in Naogaon and it is continued to the north-east by Rayganj police-station in Pabna whilst three police-stations, Chatmohar, Atgharia and Pabna, continue it to the south-west. This area of decrease in the south-west of the division therefore continues the strip in which a decrease has been recorded in Khulna, Jessore and Nadia.

58. *Rajshahi district.*—In Rajshahi district the decrease has been 4·6 per cent. In the Sadar subdivision, of the two police-stations which have shown an increase, Tanor has a practically stationary population the increase being only 0·7 per cent. whilst Godagari is largely inhabited by Santhals and other aborigines who appear to multiply more quickly than the local inhabitants. In Boalia police-station there has been a certain amount of diluvian in the char area which has led to the emigration of some of the inhabitants. In Bagmara, Mohanpur, Puthia, Paba and Charghat police-stations the prevalence of malaria, small-pox and cholera together with the water-hyacinth which chokes the water channels is the cause ascribed for decreases amounting to as much as 15·1 per cent. in Boalia and 13·1 per cent. in Mohanpur, whilst in Puthia and Paba police-stations it is reported that the silk industry is dying out and that here and also in Charghat the substitution of jute for paddy crops has made the locality unhealthy. In the Nandigram police-station of Nator there has been some immigration from Bogra and the area itself is reported to be healthy but elsewhere in the Nator subdivision the decrease is ascribed to unhealthy conditions and to the fact that the measures for preventing and dealing with ill-health are extremely unsatisfactory. In the Naugaon subdivision, which shows a decrease of 2·4 per cent., the increase of Badalgachhi and Naugaon is partly due to transfer

by aboriginal tribes such as the Santhals who are coming to reside there permanently. The decrease in police-stations Nandanali and Raninagar as well as in Manda, in spite of transfer of area from Mahadebpur, is ascribed to malaria and epidemics.

59. *Dinajpur district.*—The district of Dinajpur has the reputation of being unhealthy but it contains large stretches of waste and jungle land which invite aboriginals such as the Santhals and Oraons to settle and bring them under cultivation. In the Sadar subdivision there has been a decrease, and that small only, in two police-stations, Biral and Raiganj, which is ascribed in the latter police-station to the migration of foreign labourers who were attracted to the place by the prosperity of the jute industry up to 1929 but had left before the census was taken. The extension of the broad-gauge railway beyond Parbatipur and an increase of trade and of the mills in operation account for the 9·9 per cent. increase in Parbatipur police-station. The immigration of Santhals, Shershabadia Muslims and other colonists accounts for the increase in Bansihari, Kaliaganj, Itahar, and Hemtabad, police-stations, whilst in Ghoraghat and Nawabganj there have been new settlements in waste and jungle lands and an improvement in the incidence of epidemic diseases. Natural causes, an improvement in public health and a change of climate are ascribed as the reasons for increases in Dinajpur, Kushmundi and Chiribander police-stations. In the Thakurgaon subdivision the only police-station which has increased is Khansama, which owes its small increase to immigration from elsewhere; but in the other police-stations of this subdivision the unhealthy climate and the prevalence of malaria are ascribed as the causes of a decrease whilst from Baliadangi and Atwari emigrants are said to have gone to Purnea and Jalpaiguri in search of cultivable land. In the Balurghat subdivision a decrease was recorded only in Phulbari and is ascribed to a curtailment of area by transfer of two unions from Phulbari and the emigration of Santhals to other places, whilst the increase in all other police-stations of this subdivision is ascribed to natural causes and also to the settlement of Santhals, Kols and other aborigines and in Gangarampur, of Shershabadia Muslims from Malda and Murshidabad.

60. *Jalpaiguri district.*—The Jalpaiguri district shows an increase of 5 per cent. Some part of this increase is ascribed to the more comprehensive arrangements made on the present occasion for the census of new recruits to the tea gardens who had come after the preliminary census was made and are thought previously to have escaped enumeration. In the Sadar subdivision Rajganj, Boda, Debiganj, Maynaguri and Pathgram returned decreases which were as many as 10·4 per cent. in Rajganj and 5·8 per cent. in Boda. The decrease in Rajganj is more than accounted for by the transfer of over half the taluk Sanyasikata to the Tetulia police-station. The area transferred had a population of almost 6,500 in 1931 which practically accounts for the whole increase of Tetulia thana. In addition to this transfer from Rajganj there was a decrease in the number of coolies on two tea gardens whilst the bad conditions of the Shikarpur forests where some 3,000 coolies used to work cutting fuel and wood led to their numbers on the present occasion being only about 1,500. Boda had suffered in 1922-1924 from cholera and small-pox which again visited it in 1925 and these unfavourable conditions were also reinforced by the emigration of a number of people from this police-station to Purnea or Assam or to the Alipur subdivision. Debiganj, for which also a decrease was reported, also suffered during 1925 from a small-pox epidemic. The decrease in Maynaguri is apparent only, for the census of 1921 was taken when the Jalpesh fair was in full swing and a number of pilgrims estimated at 52,000 were present on the occasion of the Sivaratri festival whereas in 1931 the visitors to the fair were reckoned to be 20,000 only and this falling off of some 20,000 or 30,000 visitors more than accounts for the decrease of about 3,200 recorded on the present occasion. In Pathgram the small decrease of one per cent. is due to an epidemic of small-pox in 1924 and to distress caused by the very low price of tobacco. Pachagar owes its increase to the transfer of a part of the sadar police-station whilst the increase of tea cultivation with the employment of a larger number of labourers accounts for the increase in Dhubguri, Mitiali, Mal and Falakata.

and in Nagrakata also though no new gardens appear to be opened during the decade there was an extension of tea cultivation with a consequent increase in the labour force employed. In the Alipur Duar subdivision some part of the increase is attributable to the improved arrangements made for the census of coolies engaged in collecting and breaking stones in the river beds. Both in Sadar and Kumargram police-stations as well as in Madarihat and Kalchini the opening of new tea plantations or the extension of tea cultivation is responsible for the greater part of the increase. In the whole of the district there has been considerable improvement in road communications which has facilitated immigration. There has been an extension of public health services which has also contributed to the improvement of conditions and it is reported that the birth rate is steadily increasing whilst the death rate is very much lower than the birth rate.

61. *Darjeeling district.*—In Darjeeling district also similar causes have resulted in the increase of 13 per cent. recorded on the present occasion. Rangli-Rangliot is the only police-station which has returned a decrease and this is comparatively small. In the Sadar subdivision the opening of new tea gardens and the natural increase by excess of births over deaths have accounted for the increases. Immigrants from Nepal are in the whole district actually 10 less than were recorded in 1921. In the Siliguri police-station the increase in the population of Siliguri town itself consequent upon the extension of the broad-gauge railway to this place probably accounts for the greatest part of the increase, but an accurate estimate cannot be made owing to the fact that Khoribari police-station, which is now shown separately, was not separately shown in 1921 and it is reported that the bulk of the increase of population almost certainly comes from outside from such places as Muzaffarpur, Patna and Darbhanga in Bihar and from the hills. In the hill station of Kalimpong the increase is ascribed to natural causes. It is unlikely that there has been any increase in immigration since the numbers of immigrants from Bhutan and Tibet was less at the present census than in 1921, though the immigrants from Sikkim were over 1,700 more in the whole district than in that year. In the Kurseong subdivision apart from the natural increase the causes alleged are the settlement of ex-officers in Kurseong police-station and the extension of tea cultivation during the time when tea was fetching a high price leading to the establishment of a larger number of coolies in the tea gardens who have permanently settled down.

62. *Rangpur district.*—In the Rangpur district a decrease was recorded only in the Nilphamari, Ulipur, Fulchuri and Domar police-stations. In Nilphamari it is accounted for by the reduction of the area on a redistribution of jurisdiction in 1926. In Domar it is accounted for by the depression in the jute trade which threw a large number of labourers out of work and compelled them to return to their own homes as well as leading to a reduction in the staff of the firms engaged in this trade. In Fulchuri police-station the decrease is accounted for by the emigration of the inhabitants of the chars to Assam and other places. The total increase in the whole district was 3·7 per cent. and it was greatest in the Nilphamari subdivision which increased by 5 per cent. In the Sadar subdivision transfers of jurisdiction account for some of the increase in Kaunia and Hatibandha police-stations, whilst the increase in other police-stations is comparatively small and is due to natural excess of births over deaths. Changes in area are responsible for a decrease in Kishoreganj and Saidpur, although some part of the increase in Saidpur is also attributable to the expansion of the railway settlement in Saidpur town. No other cause is ascribed for the great increase, 33·3 per cent., at Dimla than the excess of births over deaths and to the same cause is ascribed the increase in Jaldhaka police-station which has actually lost a part of its area by transfer to Hatibandha police-station in the Sadar subdivision. In the Kurigaon subdivision Ulipur police-station has lost by transfer as has already been stated and also suffered from erosion from the river Teesta. In Kurigaon subdivision, Nageswari and Bhurangamari police-stations contain char areas and they together with Rahumari have received from the districts of Mymensingh, Pabna and Bogra, immigrants commonly known as Bhatiyas who have colonised the chars. Lalmonirhat police-station owes its increase

largely to the growth and increasing importance of the railway colony and town of that name and to the establishment of railway workshops there. In the Gaibandha subdivision the increase is accounted for mainly by the excess of births over deaths, though there is a tendency in the Gaibandha police-station for immigrants to move into the subdivisional town of Gaibandha from other places.

63. *Bogra district.*—In Bogra a decrease of population was recorded in Shariakandi and Sherpur police-stations during the last decade. In Shariakandi between 1921 and 1931 a number of villages were washed away and the inhabitants went to Mymensingh and Assam as well as to the Panchbibi, Khetlal and Joypurhat police-stations of Bogra district. In Sherpur there has been some cholera during the decade and many parts of the police-station are unhealthy and full of jungle. In Dhunot, Adamdighi and Bogra a small increase has been recorded which is less than it would otherwise have been if health conditions had been better, whilst there is also an annual migration from Dhunot to Assam owing to the liability of this area to heavy floods damaging crops and driving the inhabitants away: Panchbibi, Joypurhat and Khetlal owe their increase not only to the immigration of people from Shariakandi and Dhunot police-stations but also to the influx of aboriginals. Hili and Joypurhat are also attracting a number of merchants and labourers: there are for instance thirteen rice mills at Hili employing a considerable labour force. Joypurhat has also received an accession of territory by the transfer of five mauzas from Dinajpur in 1924. In Gabtali, Kahalu, Sibganj and Dhupchanchia the increase is attributed to more vigorous public health measures and to the prosperous condition of a rice mill in Dupchanchia police-station.

64. *Pabna district.*—The Pabna district has shown an increase of 3·7 per cent. principally contributed by the Sirajganj subdivision which has increased by 4·6 per cent. Decreases recorded at Atgharia and Pabna are attributed to the general insanitary condition of the police-stations resulting from the drying up of a number of small rivers which become stagnant pools and centres for the dissemination of malaria. In the case of Pabna police-station the decrease in the whole area of 0·3 per cent. is all the more notable owing to the 13·4 per cent. increase in Pabna town which has attracted labourers from outside by the development of its hosiery manufactures and the establishment of a regular motor service from Ishurdi. A decrease has also been recorded in Chatmohar police-station also attributed to the silting up of the Boral river and the falling out of cultivation of certain tracts of lands. The largest percentage increase in any rural part of the district is shown by police-station Bera, which is flanked by the two great rivers of the district, Jamuna and Padma, has a healthy climate and has attracted immigrants from the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh and Faridpur to settle on the chars formed in the beds of the rivers. The Sara police-station contains the big railway colonies of Paksey and Ishurdi and these together with the development of business around them and the formation of chars in the river Padma have led to immigration and an increase of 2·4 per cent. in the population. Immigrants have also been attracted to the chars in the Sujaganagar police-station and here as well as in Faridpur and Sainthia immunity from epidemics and a healthy climate have resulted in an excess of births over deaths. In the Sirajganj subdivision the police-station of Shazadpur shows the greatest rate of increase, viz., a percentage of 9·9 due to the absence of any serious epidemic during the decade and also due to the prosperity of the jute trade up to the year 1929. Kazipur and Belkuchi with 7·6 and 7·2 per cent. increase, respectively, are healthy regions in which there has been an absence of malaria or other epidemics. Taras police-station, formerly notorious for malaria and in a backward and inaccessible part of the district, owes its increase to the settlement of immigrants largely from Rayganj police-station who are reclaiming waste lands and bringing them under cultivation. The increase in Sirajganj police-station is very largely due to the increase in the Sirajganj town caused by the prosperity of the jute trade during the decade, in spite of serious erosions by the river which has engulfed almost the whole of the original town and is still threatening. Freedom from

epidemics is responsible for the increase in Kamarkhanda which has increased by 3·8 per cent. and in Ullapara where the population is almost stationary. The 1·9 per cent. decrease in Chauhali is due to the erosion of Jamuna compelling emigration to other districts and even to Assam and the emigration from Rayganj, to which reference has also been made, is due to the liability of the area to heavy floods.

65. *Malda district.*—The increase in the Malda district is 4·1 per cent. During the decade a new railway—Amnura to Nawabganj—has been opened which, however, has not yet affected the population of the area through which it passes. There have been considerable changes of jurisdiction between police-stations within the district and these are reported to have concealed the decline which might have been expected in English Bazar, Kaliachak and Bholahat owing to the decline of the silk industry which is ascribed as the reason for a decline in Sibganj police-station. A similar cause, namely, the decline of the lac industry, might have been expected to result in decreases in Manikchak and Kaliachak and to have contributed to the decrease in Sibganj police-station, but in the first two police-stations changes of jurisdiction have concealed this, whilst the Ganges now moving over to the Santhal Parganas is throwing up chars which are attracting some immigration of Shershabadi Muslims from Murshidabad. The whole of the *barind* area, namely, the police-stations of Gomastapur and Nachole with that part of Nawabganj east of the Mahananda and Malda, Bamangola and Gajole, is said to be decreasing in fertility, but it is only in Gomastapur, Malda and Bamangola that an actual decrease of population has been recorded, although the immigration begun 30 years ago from the Santhal Parganas is now said to have ceased and the tide is said to have turned backward since a time of scarcity in 1926. In the Harischandrapur police-station land is still being brought under cultivation and the population has increased. In the central part of the country, the district officer comments on a large growth of mango gardens which is either cause or result and at any rate a concomitant of the decrease in population.

66. *Cooch Behar State.*—In the Cooch Behar State there has been a small decrease of less than 2,000 persons during the decade. The figures maintained by the state for births and deaths during the period from 1920-1921 to 1929-1930 shown in statement No. I-15 in the margin result in a

STATEMENT No. I-15.

Births and deaths in Cooch Behar State.

Year.	Births.	Deaths.
1920-21	9,579	8,140
1921-22	7,768	8,219
1922-23	6,712	6,008
1923-24	7,712	6,008
1924-25	8,948	9,053
1925-26	8,104	8,578
1926-27	8,191	8,447
1927-28	7,649	6,893
1928-29	8,891	10,378
1929-30	9,369	9,593
Total	82,923	81,317

net increase of 1,607 births over deaths during that period, but little reliance can be placed upon these vital statistics since the returns are apparently not strictly enforced. The figures of birth-place do not suggest that the depopulation of the state is due to an excessive emigration elsewhere. Imperial table VI shows that of the population of Cooch Behar only 76,712 were born outside the state of whom 61,731 were born in British districts of Bengal, 10,801 in Bihar and Orissa and Assam and over 2,000 in the United Provinces. Subsidiary table III to chapter III shows, however, that the total number of emigrants from

Bengal states to all parts of India including Bengal amounted to no more than 31,396 and this figure includes those for Tripura State. The number of emigrants from the state to British districts was only 22,219 at the census of 1931. The figures of birth-place, therefore, appear to suggest on the balance an increase in the population of the state as a result of migration. The decrease in the state is entirely contributed by the Hindus who are nearly 18,000 less in 1931 than they were in 1921. The state suffered heavily from cholera and small-pox epidemics in 1928-1929, which accounted for over 4,000 known deaths alone, whilst it is probable that a very great number of deaths were unreported; but although this epidemic no doubt contributed to the decline it does not exclusively explain the very considerable decrease in the number of Hindus. The Hindus of the state are principally of the Rajbangshi, Poliya, Koch and Mechh tribes. The last named are throughout

Bengal being driven away into the foot hills and also into Assam by the advance of settled cultivation whilst there is a strong movement amongst the three other groups for an enhancement of their position and a change of traditional custom such as the abandonment of widow remarriage, which is now being discountenanced amongst those members of the caste who aspire to Kshattriya status. It is possible that the prohibition of widow remarriage has contributed to the falling-off in the numbers of Hindus, but it is also a speculation that these groups are finding that the change in traditional customs is indirectly responsible for their decrease in numbers by the same process which is contributing to the depopulation of Melancasia, where the decay of ancient customs appears to induce a lethargy or indifference affecting the vitality of the people.

67. **Dacca Division**—*Dacca district*.—The figures for the increase or decrease of population in each police-station of the Dacca Division are illustrated by diagram No. I-25. In the Dacca district the increase of 8·7 per cent. was mainly contributed by the Narayanganj subdivision where an increase of 12·9 per cent. has been recorded. Throughout the district there has been little further development of industrial concerns or communication and immigration has contributed no part of the increase. It must consequently be looked upon as due entirely to the natural increase owing to the excess of births over deaths. In Sivalay and Daulatpur police-stations in Manikganj subdivision the increase is partly ascribed to the accretion of several chars in the Padma and Jamuna rivers and to the transfer of several chars which were previously in the district of Pabna. The decrease in the combined population of Munshiganj and Tangibari police-stations in the Munshiganj subdivision is mainly due to the transfer of char areas from this police-station to Madaripur and Chandpur subdivisions, whilst Tangibari has also suffered from erosion both on the north by the Dhaleswari river and on the south by the Padma. Srinagar and Lohajang police-stations have also suffered from erosions but the population shows an increase and apparently those persons affected by the erosions have migrated merely to the interior of the police-station whereas persons similarly affected in Tangibari have left the police-station altogether. The district has been free from serious epidemics and although malaria was prevalent in the Manikganj subdivision the death rate is not reported to have been much higher than normal whilst here as elsewhere also there has been during the decade a very considerable improvement in sanitary conditions and in the measures adopted for the improvement of public health and sanitation. The increase is fairly well distributed over the whole of the district but it is largest in the police-stations of Narayanganj subdivision bordering the river Meghna, the average increase of the whole subdivision being 12·9 per cent. The Sadar subdivision with an increase of 11·4 per cent. comes next and shows the greatest percentage increase in those police-stations bordering on the Narayanganj subdivision in the eastern part of the subdivision.

68. *Mymensingh district*.—In the Mymensingh district out of 51 police-stations only 9 have returned a decrease and the increase in the whole district is 6·1 per cent. In the Jamalpur subdivision decreases in Jamalpur, Melandaha and Sarishabari are due to emigration to Assam where till recently virgin land was available and by migration the cultivator was tempted to try to escape debts incurred in his old home. Similar causes explain decreases in Barhatta, Atpara, Mohanganj and Durgapur in the Netrakona subdivision and also in the Itna and Astagram police-stations of Kishoreganj subdivision which are in a low-lying backward area and in which water-hyacinth and early floods have reduced by 75 per cent. the winter paddy locally grown about two decades ago and then forming the principal crop. Purbadhala, Khaliajuri and Kalmakanda police-stations in the Netrokona subdivision contain large areas not yet brought into cultivation which are attracting immigrants, and the colonisation of uninhabited char lands in Nagarpur police-station of Tangail is also attributed as a reason for the increase. In this last police-station there has been an increase of area by transfer from the Sirajganj police-station and some part of the increase in Nikli police-station.

district is largely Muslim the rate of increase in which is higher than amongst the Hindus. The whole district is comparatively healthy and has enjoyed freedom from epidemics during the last decade and it has benefited from the prosperity of the jute industry during the major part of the ten years under review. In most cases, therefore, where no specific cause is given, the increase is due to the natural fecundity of the people and the healthiness of the climate.

69. *Faridpur district.*—In the Faridpur district all the subdivisions with the exception of Goalundo, where a decrease of 2·9 per cent. has been recorded, have shown an increased population. In the Goalundo subdivision only the police-station of Baliakandi has shown an increase due to a lesser incidence of malaria than elsewhere and to the influx of labourers from other districts in connection with the construction of Kalukhali-Bhatiapara Railway. In the other three police-stations of this subdivision erosions of the river Padma have resulted in an emigration to other districts particularly to Pabna whilst Goalundo, Rajbari and Pangsa have also suffered from malaria and other epidemic diseases and Goalundo (Rajbari) has been further depleted by the removal of the office of the Assistant Traffic Superintendent of the Eastern Bengal Railway and allied offices to Paksey in the Pabna district. The falling off in the jute trade during 1930 also led to there being present when the census was taken a smaller number of labourers at Goalundo steamer ghat than previously. In the Sadar subdivision there has been a decrease only in one police-station, Bhusna, which is reported to be exceedingly malarious and full of jungle land and to have suffered considerable emigration on this account which would have resulted in a larger decrease except for the presence of a number of labourers employed in connection with the construction of the Kalukhali-Bhatiapara Railway. A similar cause to the last accounts for an increase in Madhukali police-station which is also malarious and full of jungle land and where a decrease would probably have been recorded had it not been for a large temporary settlement of railway labourers at Madhukhali and Kamarkhali. There has been accretion of land to the district in police-stations Faridpur, Char Bhadrasan and Sadarpur and this has led to considerable immigration and would have resulted in an even larger increase than 7·3 per cent. in the Faridpur police-station, had not the southern part of the area been unhealthy. In Nagarkandā and Bhanga police-stations no explanation of the increase is forthcoming except the natural increase of population, although the trade centre at Bhanga and a new and thriving bazar at Baliati seemed to have contributed also in the case of Bhanga police-station. In the Gopalganj subdivision increases have been recorded in all police-stations and they are mainly attributed to immigration from the districts of Jessore and Khulna, improvement of public health and freedom from epidemic diseases and to the labour attracted by the construction of the new railway line. In the Madaripur subdivision decreases were recorded only from Gosairhat and Sibchar police-stations and are accounted for by erosion by the river and by transfer of certain areas to Dacca and Tippera district. Bhedarganj and Janjira with 35·6 and 13·3 per cent. increase, respectively, have received an accession of territory by the transfer of large mauzas of the Dacca district to these police-stations and also by the re-formation of chars which have attracted immigrants. In the rest of the subdivision increases ranging from 3·8 in Rajair police-station to 6·3 per cent. in Naria are due to the general healthiness of the locality, its freedom from epidemic diseases and the general prosperity of the jute trade during the last decade which has attracted settlers for employment.

70. *Bakarganj district.*—In the Bakarganj district there has been a decrease in no police-station. In the Sadar subdivision comparative freedom from malaria and other epidemics and the formation of new lands in Mehendiganj, Hizla and Muladi together with an improvement of the soil due to the excavation of new khals in Gaurnadi, Uzirpur and Babuganj have resulted in increases ranging from 9·9 per cent. in Babuganj to 16·4 per cent. in Nalchiti. In Patuakhali subdivision the most important cause of increase is immigration from Noakhali, Faridpur and Tippera due to the extreme

fertility of the soil which has steadily improved since 1921 and to the increasing colonisation of the Sundarbans area particularly in Amtoli police-station, which has shown an increase of 24·2 per cent. in this decade. In Galachipa and Baufal new char areas have become available and in Mirzaganj and Barguna, as in Amtoli, what was formerly Sundarbans land has been reclaimed and colonised during the decade. In the Pirojpur subdivision also a healthy climate, freedom from epidemic diseases and increasing cultivation of jungle areas and marsh lands have resulted in increases of population ranging from 9·6 in Banaripara to 21·3 per cent. in Patharghata. The whole of the Bhola subdivision compared with the rest of the district is fairly sparsely populated and its area is increasing owing to the recession of the bay in the south. It therefore offers land for an increasing number of immigrants and it is to the immigration from neighbouring districts that the increase of 16·9 per cent. in the whole subdivision is due. The population of the whole district is predominantly Muslim and their superior fecundity helps to account for the high rate of natural increase whilst even amongst the Hindus of this locality also widow remarriage is in vogue and is ascribed as a cause of a more rapid rate of increase.

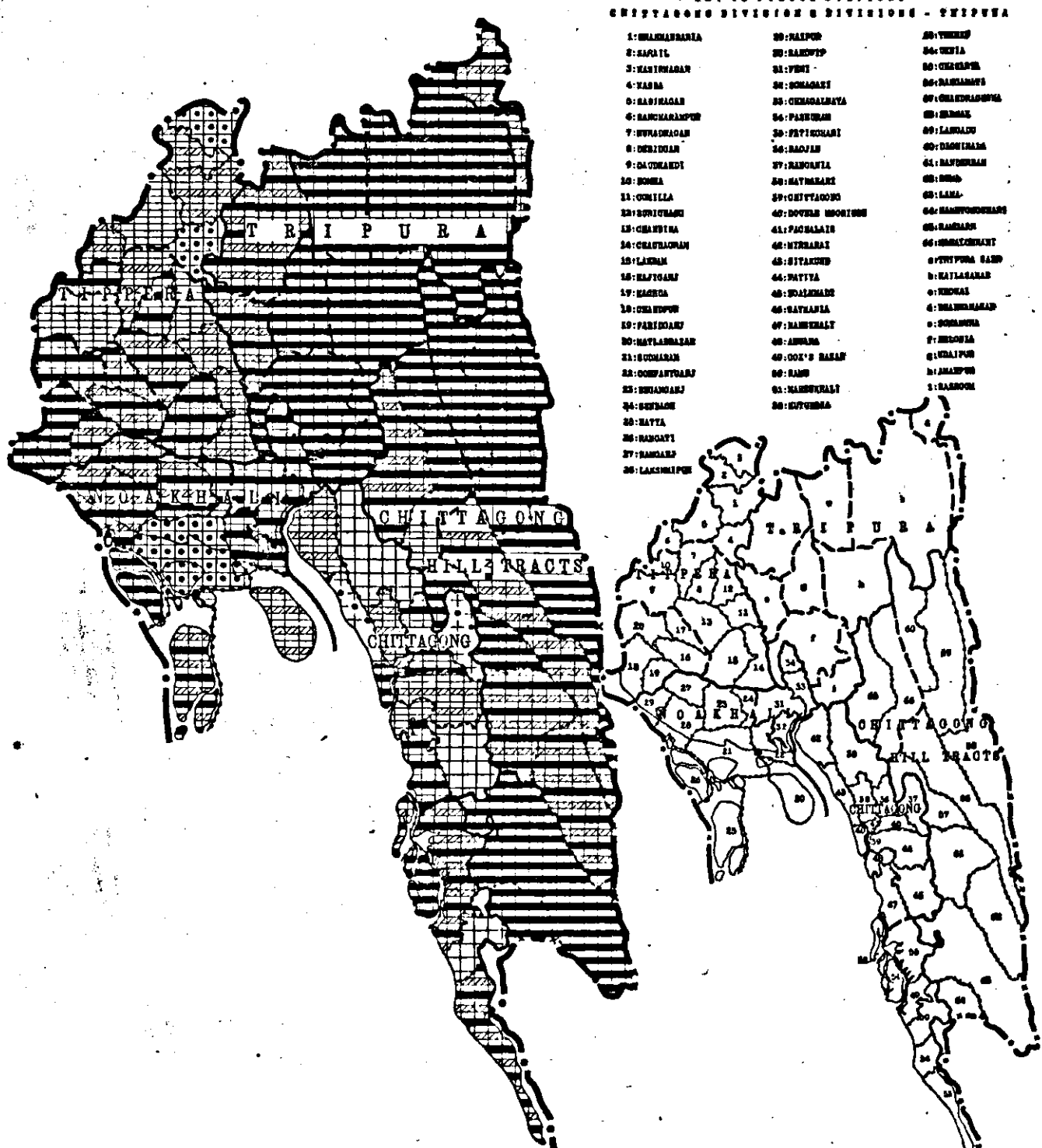
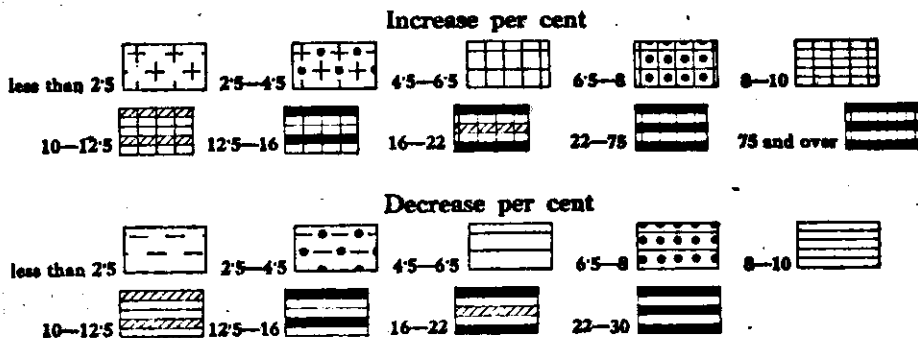
71. Chittagong Division.—In the Chittagong Division and Tripura State the changes in the population during the decade are illustrated in diagram No. I-26. With the exception of the Banderban police-station of Chittagong Hill Tracts no area within this division has shown a decrease of population. The average increase, 13·7 per cent. is very high, and even in Banderban police-station the decrease is due to transfers of jurisdiction. The increase is greatest in Tripura State (25·6 per cent.) and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (22·9 per cent.) but is as much as 15·9 per cent. in Noakhali and 13·3 per cent. in Tippera districts.

72. Tippera district.—In no police-station in the Tippera district has a rate of increase been recorded less than 7·6 per cent. which itself is greater than the average increase for the whole province. The increase has been most marked in the Chandpur subdivision and in the central and southern parts of the Sadar subdivision. Throughout the Chandpur subdivision the prosperity of the jute industry encouraged the influx of a large number of skilled and unskilled labourers all of whom had not returned home upon the depression which set in in the trade in 1929; but there were also accessions of land on the banks of the Meghna and the increase in Chandpur police-station is partly due to the transfer of some large char areas from neighbouring districts. In the Sadar subdivision the smallest rate of increase is shown by Daudkandi (8·7 per cent.) and Burichang (8·9 per cent.) From the first it is reported that there has been some emigration to char lands in the districts of Dacca and elsewhere and its very high density of population (1,414 to the square mile) would suggest that the territory is approaching saturation point although Homna with a density of 1,547 persons per square mile has increased by no less than 14·7 per cent. Burichang is reported to suffer almost annually from floods which destroy the crops, and this is put forward as an explanation of the comparatively small increase in this police-station. In other police-stations the increase is ascribed to natural causes assisted by better sanitary arrangements, improvement in the drinking water supply, absence of epidemics and general prosperity due to the high prices of jute during the decade. In the Brahmanbaria subdivision the comparatively small rate of increase is ascribed to a succession of bad harvests compelling population to migrate to Assam, Mymensingh, etc. Kasba police-station is malarial and the growing population has not shared in the general prosperity of the jute trade whilst in Nabinagar with an increase of 9·7 per cent. the density of population (1,240 to the square mile) appears to be resulting in some pressure on the land, and it is reported that there was emigration during the decade in search of land on the other side of the Meghna river in the district of Dacca. In the Brahmanbaria police-station there has been immigration both in the Brahmanbaria town owing to the expansion of business and also to waste and marshy lands on the border of Tripura State being brought under cultivation.

73. *Noakhali district.*—In the Noakhali district in spite of considerable erosions by the sea in the south of the district the population has shown a very high rate of increase, namely, 16·7 per cent. in the Sadar subdivision

DIAGRAM No. 1-26.
INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION BY POLICE-STATIONS.
CHITTAGONG DIVISION, 1921-31

(Changes of less than five in ten thousand are shown by blank hatching)



- KEY TO POLICE STATIONS - TRIPURA
- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1: BHAKHARBARIA | 39: RAIPUR | 59: THAKUR |
| 2: KAPAIL | 40: RAJSHY | 60: CHITRA |
| 3: KANTHABAR | 41: FENI | 61: CHANDRA |
| 4: KAMA | 42: SONAGATI | 62: BANARATI |
| 5: KANTHABAR | 43: CHANDRAMA | 63: CHANDRAMA |
| 6: KANTHABAR | 44: PANCHAM | 64: BANAL |
| 7: KANTHABAR | 45: PANCHAM | 65: LAKHAI |
| 8: KANTHABAR | 46: PANCHAM | 66: DASHINARA |
| 9: KANTHABAR | 47: PANCHAM | 67: BANPURAN |
| 10: KANTHABAR | 48: PANCHAM | 68: BANAL |
| 11: KANTHABAR | 49: PANCHAM | 69: BANAL |
| 12: KANTHABAR | 50: PANCHAM | 70: BANPURAN |
| 13: KANTHABAR | 51: PANCHAM | 71: BANPURAN |
| 14: KANTHABAR | 52: PANCHAM | 72: BANPURAN |
| 15: KANTHABAR | 53: PANCHAM | 73: BANPURAN |
| 16: KANTHABAR | 54: PANCHAM | 74: BANPURAN |
| 17: KANTHABAR | 55: PANCHAM | 75: BANPURAN |
| 18: KANTHABAR | 56: PANCHAM | 76: BANPURAN |
| 19: KANTHABAR | 57: PANCHAM | 77: BANPURAN |
| 20: KANTHABAR | 58: PANCHAM | 78: BANPURAN |
| 21: KANTHABAR | 59: PANCHAM | 79: BANPURAN |
| 22: KANTHABAR | 60: PANCHAM | 80: BANPURAN |
| 23: KANTHABAR | 61: PANCHAM | 81: BANPURAN |
| 24: KANTHABAR | 62: PANCHAM | 82: BANPURAN |
| 25: KANTHABAR | 63: PANCHAM | 83: BANPURAN |
| 26: KANTHABAR | 64: PANCHAM | 84: BANPURAN |
| 27: KANTHABAR | 65: PANCHAM | 85: BANPURAN |
| 28: KANTHABAR | 66: PANCHAM | 86: BANPURAN |
| 29: KANTHABAR | 67: PANCHAM | 87: BANPURAN |
| 30: KANTHABAR | 68: PANCHAM | 88: BANPURAN |
| 31: KANTHABAR | 69: PANCHAM | 89: BANPURAN |
| 32: KANTHABAR | 70: PANCHAM | 90: BANPURAN |

and 13·5 per cent. in the Feni subdivision. Rangati police-station in the Sadar subdivision has increased by 58·3 per cent. owing to immigration from

Bakarganj to the char lands and also to migrations from Sandwip and Sudharam police-stations of persons whose lands had been eroded, although this migration is not sufficient to result in a decrease in the population of these last two police-stations where there has been an increase respectively of 11·6 and 6·7 per cent. Immigration from other districts to char lands is also ascribed as a cause of the 21·2 per cent. increase in Raipur police-station and in the island of Hatya also there is said to have been some migration from Sandwip and Sudharam of those whose lands have been eroded. In the Feni subdivision generally and in the rest of the district also the principal cause, however, must be ascribed to the great fecundity of the population.

74. *Chittagong district.*—In the Chittagong district similar causes also explain the increase of 11·5 per cent. The district is healthy and has suffered neither from epidemics nor from scarcity of food stuffs during the decade, whilst there has been a steady improvement in public health measures. Anti-Chittagonian demonstrations in Burma have led to a decrease of emigration to that province and in some parts of the district the influx of workmen employed on the construction of the Chittagong-Dohazari and Chittagong-Nasirhat Railway lines has led to an increase in the population. The police-stations of Double Moorings with Pachalais together with the police-station Chittagong contributing to the area covered by Chittagong town show respectively 47·8 per cent. and 16·2 per cent. increase, which are due to the development of industries in the port of Chittagong together with improved communications.

75. *Chittagong Hill Tracts.*—In the Chittagong Hill Tracts the decrease in Banderban police-station was due to the transfer to Chandraghona police-station of a number of mauzas in 1924 and this transfer together with immigration due to the fertility of *jhum* soils accounts for a very large increase of 75·6 per cent. in the population of Chandraghona. Immigration from Tripura, Noakhali and Chittagong is ascribed as a cause of a part at least of the increase in Rangarh police-station. The figures for birth-places show, however, only 15 persons born in Tripura and enumerated in the district, and only 920 in all were born in India outside Bengal, of whom 432 came from Burma and 314 from Assam. Increase of immigration facilitated by the improved communication between Chittagong and Rangamati and the prosperity of trade in cotton, paddy and forest produce go to explain the increase in the Rangamati police-station.

76. *Tripura State.*—In the Tripura State the increases are very high and range from 17 per cent. in the Sadar to 40·2 per cent. in Khowai divisions. The state is still very sparsely populated having only an average of 93 persons to the square mile and no greater incidence of population than in Sadar with a population of 215 per square mile. The climate of the state is comparatively healthy and there is a good deal of waste land available for settlement which attracts settlers from Bengal who feel the pressure of population or whose lands are washed away or rendered unproductive by water-hyacinth. In addition there has been an influx of labourers for the tea gardens from other provinces as well as forest and other daily labourers from adjacent districts of Bengal. There has been an increase of nearly 22,000 in the numbers recorded in Tripura who were born in British Bengal but the numbers born in Assam and Assam States are more than 3,500 less on the present occasion than in 1921 and those born in British Territory outside Bengal are almost 5,500 less than in 1921. The increase in the state, therefore, appears to be due actually less to immigration than to increase of the native born population and possibly also to increased accuracy of the enumeration on the present occasion.

Part VI—Miscellaneous, inhabited houses, steamers, etc.

77. **Census definition of a house.**—The definition of “house” adopted is given below :

“A ‘house’ is defined for census purposes as consisting of the buildings, one or many, inhabited by one family ; that is by a number of persons living and eating together in one mess with their resident dependents, such as mother, widowed sisters, younger brothers, etc., and

their servants who reside in the house. In other words the unit is the commensal family, and not the homestead or enclosure. Houses, however, at a distance from each other and entirely separate though belonging to the same commensal family, should be treated as separate. Ordinarily the unit will correspond to the unit commonly adopted for the chaukidari tax."

The definition clearly must be modified in some cases, *e.g.*, principally in dealing with institutions, cooly lines, hotels and thickly populated city *bastis*. For these the directions were as follows:—

"In police lines, jails, hospitals, lunatic asylums, etc., which are comprised in separate blocks, each barrack-room, guard-room, officers' quarters, apartment, cell or ward within their precincts will be treated as a house and separately numbered.

In cooly lines similarly formed into separate blocks each room will be numbered as a separate house.

In hotels and *sarais* each room or suite of rooms allotted to a different traveller or family should be treated as a separate house.

In city *bastis*, such as those found in Howrah, each hut should be treated as a separate house and numbered accordingly."

The definition covers and the numbers of inhabited houses include boats in which the crew were living on the night of the census. The number of houses in each district and larger areas is shown in imperial table I and similar figures for the police-stations are given in provincial table I. Substantially the same definition of a house has been used at each successive census.

STATEMENT No. I-16.
Number of inhabited houses per square mile, 1931.

BENGAL—		
Rural areas	116	
Howrah district	340	
Khulna district	57	
TOWNS AND CITIES aggregate..	1,304	
CITIES aggregate	4,503	
Tittagarh	14,105	
Serampore	7,656	
Howrah	5,797	
Nalhati	5,639	
Bhatpara	4,920	
Rishra-Konnagar	3,964	
Champdani	3,468	
Bogra	3,440	
Dacca	3,426	
Garulia	3,173	
Bhadreswar	3,166	
Baranagar	3,119	
Bally	2,920	
Uttarpara	2,797	
Mymensingh	2,737	
Budge-Budge	2,531	
Rampurhat	2,501	
Kharagpur Railway Settlement	2,214	
Feni	2,166	
English Bazar	2,144	
Kamarhati	2,020	
Raniganj	2,019	
Asansol	1,962	
Barrackpore	1,832	
Hurnpur	1,805	
Kulti	1,776	
Narayanganj	1,774	
Katwa	1,771	
Chittagong	1,752	
Midnapore	1,652	
Bhola	1,582	
Jhalkati	1,563	
Kurigaon	1,540	
Lalmoharhat	1,534	
Saidpur	1,466	
Kustia	1,420	
Kurseong	1,352	
Burdwan	1,337	
Kalna	1,306	
Darjeeling	1,303	
Kanchrapara	1,271	
Comilla	1,265	
Agartala	1,240	
Bansberia	1,232	
Bajitpur	1,185	
Madaripur	1,184	
Chandpur	1,181	
Dinhat	1,160	
Cooch Behar	1,156	
Rajshahi	1,156	
Hooghly	1,133	
Matlabhanga	1,130	
Muktagacha	1,114	
Baidyabati	1,113	
Cox's Bazar	1,066	
Nabadwip	1,047	
Noakhali	1,038	
Dum-Dum	1,027	
Nawabganj	1,024	
Brahmanbaria	1,015	
North Dum-Dum	169	

areas. Some figures for selected areas and towns are given in statement No. I-16 in the margin. Between 1921 and 1931 the increase in the

78. Houses per square mile.—On an average there are now in each square mile 120 inhabited houses in the census sense of the word. The number of houses per square mile is greatest in the Burdwan Division, where it is 139 on the average and is least in the Rajshahi Division where it is 105 on the average. In Bengal as a whole the average number of houses per square mile has increased regularly at every census since 1881 and there has been a corresponding increase in each division at every year, with the exception of the Presidency Division where there has been a decrease in every district except Khulna. There are now on an average 6 more inhabited houses in every square mile than there were in 1921 and 28 more than there were in 1891. Outside Calcutta the largest number of inhabited houses per square mile is found in the Howrah district and (in the plains) the lowest number in Khulna district, the figures for which respectively are 460 and 58. The figures for Calcutta show a considerable decrease from those at the previous census, a result due partly to the inclusion of considerable areas previously recorded in the 24-Parganas and having fewer houses to the square mile than in the average in Calcutta in 1921, but also partly to the operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust which has cleared certain areas during the decade upon which fresh houses have not yet been built to replace those demolished. Taking the aggregate of the Calcutta Municipality with suburbs in the 24-Parganas the decrease in the number of houses per square mile is less than 200 compared with almost 1,400 in the municipal area. On the whole, however, there is a greater increase in the number of houses per square mile in urban than in rural

number of houses per square mile has been 5 in rural areas, 18 (from 322 to 340) in the rural part of Howrah which has the largest number of houses to the square mile and 7 (from 50 to 57) in the rural part of Khulna which includes a large and sparsely populated area in the Sundarbans. Taking the aggregate of all cities the increase has been 120 to the square mile from 4,383 to 4,503. Serampore Municipality has now actually a larger number of houses to the square mile than Calcutta, and Howrah city and Naihati Municipality have each between 5,500 and 6,000 houses to the square mile.

79. Persons per inhabited house.—The average number of persons per inhabited house is the same on the present occasion as it was in 1921 and 1901, viz., 5·1. It has varied little since 1891 and the figure of the present census reinforces the conclusion drawn in 1921 that the considerable decrease between the figures for 1881 and 1891 was due less to a marked disruption of the joint family in that decade than to a difference in the interpretation of the definition of "house". In Chittagong Division, which has shown the largest percentage of increase during the decade, the number of persons per house on the average has remained the same and has varied in individual districts only in Tippera and Noakhali. In Tippera where there has been a percentage increase of population during the decade greater than in any but two other districts, there has been actually a decline in the average number of persons per inhabited house. In Noakhali there has been a slight increase and it is in this district that there is the second largest percentage increase in the population during the decade. The largest number of persons per inhabited house is found in Eastern Bengal and Northern Bengal and the smallest in the Burdwan Division. Smaller commensal families would be expected in the industrial parts of the province and it is this factor which probably accounts for the small number in Burdwan Division. In Burdwan and Hooghly districts the numbers are respectively 4·1 and 4·2 persons per house. The high figure in Calcutta (5·7) cannot be confidently accepted as an indication of over-crowding owing to the peculiarities of housing conditions in the city and to the very different constitution of the census house in different parts of the city. The decline in the average number of persons in each inhabited house in the Burdwan Division during the decade 1911 to 1921 and also probably to some extent in the Presidency Division during the same period is no doubt partly due to the depletion caused by the influenza epidemic. Such disruption of the joint family system as is proceeding is practically confined to the middle and upper classes and in general has not extended to the cultivators where convenience demands that the family should remain together in the ancestral homestead upon the land from which it draws a sustenance; but the very slight variation in Eastern Bengal between the average number of persons in each inhabited house between 1921 and 1931 suggests either that a very considerably larger proportion of boats, etc., have been included as census houses on the present occasion or that even amongst the cultivating classes the tendency to split up into smaller commensal groups is gaining ground.

80. Boats and steamers.—Subsidiary table VII shows the results of an attempt to obtain an estimate of the numbers of boats and steamers in Bengal. Bengal is unique in India for the extent of its navigable waterways and for the number and variety of boats which ply upon them, but no estimate for the whole province exists from which their numbers can be calculated. The figures given in subsidiary table VII make no pretence to completeness or accuracy but they are interesting as the first attempted estimate of their kind. It was not until instructions had already been issued and the census operations begun that it was decided to attempt to collect these statistics. In the ordinary course of census enumeration occupied boats were entered as census houses in the enumerators' block list or summary of houses. It was accordingly directed that details of the local name of the boat and its maundage should be entered in the descriptive column of the list. Enumerators were also directed to enquire from house-holders

how many small boats they had which were used for going to and from the fields, markets, etc., and enter them in the remarks column of the list. Enumerators dealing with ghats and river areas were also directed upon final enumeration to enter separately in their block list an estimate of the number of uninhabited big boats with the local name and an estimate of their maundage. During sorting the schedules and the block-lists were scrutinised and compared and the number of uninhabited boats added to those returned as inhabited census houses. It is inevitable that the returns should show a very wide margin of error as regards both their numbers and also their size. No maundage was given for the great majority of boats and the number of big boats with an estimated capacity of 50 maunds or over is scarcely 119 thousand, a total very much smaller than might be expected. The numbers are largest in the Dacca Division and this is in accordance with anticipation. Between districts also the figures may be taken to indicate roughly the actual proportions, although it might perhaps have been expected that a larger number of big boats would be found in the 24-Parganas than were actually returned. The figures for steamers and launches, however, may be taken to be rather more accurate than those for boats. These were obtained in collaboration with the steamer companies owning the majority of steamers and with private owners in districts, particulars of whom were known to the local officers, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the margin of error for these vessels is comparatively small.

Part VII—The problem of population growth and an estimate of future population

81. **Malthus and Doubleday.**—Starting with the proposition that population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence there are in the field two principal rival theories of population growth. That deriving from Malthus has been* stated thus: first that population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks; and secondly that the checks which repress the superior power of population and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice and misery. In other words nature having arranged for population to increase at a rate at which it is bound to overtake and pass the means of subsistence periodically redresses the balance by famines, epidemics and other calamities unless human intelligence steps in and prevents the excessive increase either by moral restraint or by measures for limiting the birth rate or for despatching the excess of population. The other theory derives from Thomas Doubleday and gives nature a rather less sinister role. It is that when the existence of a species is endangered—

“ a corresponding effort is invariably made by nature for its preservation and continuance by an increase of fertility, and that this especially takes place whenever such danger arises from a diminution of proper nourishment or food, so that consequently the state of depletion or the deplethoric state is favourable to fertility, and that, on the other hand, the plethoric state or the state of repletion, is unfavourable to fertility in the ratio of the intensity of each state”.

It has been thought that this statement lays too much stress upon food and the position has been thus† restated:—

“ In circumstances of ease the birth rate tends to fall: in circumstances of hardship the birth rate tends to rise.”

82. **Pell's "Law of Births and Deaths"**.—The recorded census figures of population in Bengal probably cover too short a period to offer clear support to either one of these theories against the other. During the last sixty years the population of Bengal has become nearly half as large again as it was in 1872. There can be no question of intelligence checks having operated, and Bengal has been free from major calamities except in the decade before

* e.g., by W. S. Thompson—*Population, A Study in Malthusianism*, 1915.

† by H. Sutherland, see *Proceedings of World Population Conference*, 1927, page 58.

last when the influenza epidemic from which virtually the whole world suffered operated to reduce the rate of increase during the decade to a figure lower than any in its recorded census history. If the Malthusian doctrine holds Nature is not yet aware of any need to apply a check to the increase of population in Bengal. If the Darwinian theory holds and "fecundity is in direct relation to the chances of death", and if the "law" of Doubleday applies, Nature still finds it necessary to maintain in Bengal a high birth rate in order to keep pace with the high death rate. In some points at least the Malthusian theory fails to explain the facts. In European countries and America where most investigation has been carried out it has been* found (a) that the birth rate is negatively correlated with wealth and (b) that the indirect psychological and social effect of relative poverty as contrasted with relative wealth express themselves definitely and clearly in the sexual activity of human beings and through sexual activity in birth rates. On the Malthusian theory in the wealthier classes where the means of subsistence are plentiful the population should increase more rapidly than in the poorer classes where they are less plentiful unless there were some voluntary interference with the rate of birth. The evidence of any such voluntary restriction is not conclusive and the theory generally held is that fertility itself decreases in the higher classes with increasing wealth and culture. The Malthusian doctrine also fails to account for the fact that a high birth rate and a high death rate are apparently invariably found together and that conversely where there is a low birth rate there is also a low death rate. This fact and the extreme doubtfulness of any evidence to show that conscious limitation of the family can account for the whole or a considerable part of the decrease in the birth rate where it is low have led to the enunciation of the †theory that—

"the net result of the variations of the degree of fertility under the direct action of the environment will bear an inverse proportion to the variations of the capacity for survival."

Under this theory variations in the birth rate are mainly due to the operation of a natural law which adjusts the degree of fertility to suit the death rate of the race. The theory involves the postulate that the same conditions which lead to a reduction in the death rate lead also to a decrease in fertility in some manner not yet known. The author of the theory suggests that the hormones assist in regulating the fertility of the germ cells, that the output of hormones by the endocrine glands is regulated by the nervous system which responds to the action of the environment and that the variations in the degree of fertility in response to the direct action of the environment will bear an inverse proportion to the development of nervous energy.

83. **Raymond Pearl's "Logistic Curve".**—What may be considered to be a development of the second of these two theories is that put forward by ‡Raymond Pearl. This theory deduces that populations grow in size according to the same mathematical law that individual animals and plants follow in the growth of their bodies in size and that human populations grow according to the same law as do experimental populations of lower organisms. The law of growth postulated on these deductions may be expressed by an equation with three constants, and the curve representing this equation is called by Pearl a "logistic curve". Equations have been worked out and fitted to the populations of fifteen countries of the world, the whole world and the population of certain cities and have been shown to give over the whole recorded census history of each a very reasonable congruity with the recorded facts. Assuming the mathematical form of the curve this theory allows account to be taken of the fact that a population is necessarily confined to a certain area and therefore must have an upper limit of population as well as a lower (which may be nil) and for the fact that population growth takes place in cycles conditioned amongst other factors by cultural achievement. It is possible that over a restricted period the logistic curve may not

*Raymond Pearl—*Biology of Population Growth*, 1926.

†C. E. Pell—*The Law of Births and Deaths*, 1921.

‡R. Pearl—*Studies in Human Biology*, 1924; *The Biology of Population Growth*, 1926.

give so accurate an approximation to the recorded population as a curve of some other form. As a method of predicting future growth also it is liable to the irruption of influences not previously prevalent. Pearl states—

“Predictions of future growth may at any time be altered by the entrance into the situation of new economic or social factors of a different sort to those which have operated during that past period which the equation covers. The population may be stimulated to start upon a new cycle of growth or slighter but still in kind new factors may alter somewhat the upper limiting value of the present cycle.”

In certain instances, however, the logistic curve calculated by him gives astonishingly close approximations to the population actually recorded later. For the United States of America in 1930, for instance, a curve worked out before the census of 1920 suggested a population within 5 per 1,000 of that actually enumerated.

84. **The logistic curve applied to Bengal.**—Three curves of Pearl's logistic type have been fitted to the census population of Bengal and the population calculated from them is given in statement No. I-17 where it is compared with the observed population. The first is the equation worked out by Mr. P. J. Griffiths, I.C.S., and it was hoped to give in an appendix brief notes on the method by which it was calculated. Difficulties in setting up the rather complicated mathematical formulæ involved however have

STATEMENT No. I-17.

Year.	Equation: $p = \frac{73,743}{.9904 + e^{-0.152x}}$				Year.	Equation: $p = \frac{69,632}{.87695 + e^{-0.1408x}}$				Year.	Equation: $p = \frac{79,963}{1.10244 + e^{-0.1775x}}$			
	*Census population (P)	Calculated population (p)	Difference (p-P)			†Census population (P)	Calculated population (p)	Difference (p-P)			Calculated population (p)	Difference (p-P)		
			Actual figures.	Per cent. of (P)				Actual figures.	Per cent. of (P)			Actual figures.	Per cent. of (P)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
1872 (Dec. 71 Jan. 72)	34,845	34,460	-385	1.1	1871	34,400	34,333	-153	0.4	83,931	-445	1.3		
1881 (17 Feb.)	37,016	37,049	+33	0.1	1881	37,032	37,098	+66	0.2	30,978	-64	0.1		
1891 (26 Feb.)	39,809	39,875	+66	0.2	1891	39,815	39,890	+75	0.2	39,985	+170	0.4		
1901 (1 March)	42,884	42,669	-215	0.5	1901	42,888	42,679	-209	0.5	42,907	+19	0.0		
1911 (10 March)	46,306	45,402	-904	2.0	1911	46,302	45,439	-863	1.9	45,704	-598	1.3		
1921 (18 March)	47,592	48,046	+454	1.0	1921	47,591	48,144	+553	1.2	48,343	+752	1.6		
1931 (26 Feb.)	51,087	50,576	-511	1.0	1931	51,091	50,768	-323	0.6	50,798	-293	0.6		
1941	..	52,972	..	..	1941	..	53,292	..	..	53,055	..	..
1951	..	55,219	..	..	1951	..	55,698	..	..	55,105	..	..

*Without adjustment for changes of area since the census was taken.

†Adjusted (a) for the area now constituting the province and (b) to the 1st March in each census year on the assumption that the population changed at a regular rate between each count and the next.

NOTE.—In each equation "x" is the number of years after (+) or before (-) 1st March 1881.

prevented this. Briefly the method consists in fitting a curve of the required type to three of the recorded census figures and then adjusting it by successive approximations to all the recorded figures. The desired approximation is one in which the algebraic sum of differences between the calculated and the actually recorded populations is nil and the sum of the squares of these differences is a minimum. Mr. Griffiths' curve was worked out for the population actually recorded in Bengal treating the interval between each census count as being exactly ten years and assuming that a negligible error only was introduced by this treatment and by neglecting to make an adjustment for change of area. For the other two calculations the recorded census population was adjusted to represent the estimated population in the area now constituting Bengal on the 1st March of each census year after 1881 and on the 1st March 1871. In making this calculation it was assumed that the population between any two census years changed at a uniform rate and that the rate of change between March 1871 and the date of the census in 1872 was the same as between 1872 and 1881. In arriving at the third equation allowance has been made for a small factor which Mr. Griffiths has noted as being disregarded in his calculation. The equations give a curve of reasonable fit and the last shown is the most accurate approximation for the observations in so far as the algebraic sum and the sum of squares of differences between the observed and calculated population

at all census years from 1881 to 1931 is less with this equation than with the other two, whilst for all years including 1871 the sum of the differences is least and the sum of their squares not indeed least but very near to it.

85. General tendencies of population growth and upper limit of population suggested.—On the first equation the rate of increase was being successively enhanced till 1881 when it began to decline and the maximum population would be about 74 millions, which would be practically attained in 2063 A.D. On the third equation the point of maximum increase was passed in 1872, the rate of growth is also diminishing and a maximum population of about $68\frac{1}{2}$ millions would be expected which would be approximately reached in 2076 A.D. On neither equation is any lower limit of population implied, *i.e.*, the equations do not suggest that the present cycle of population growth began at any definite period, although on the third equation Bengal should have had a population of not less than two millions in 1668 A.D.

86. The logistic curve applied to the Muslim and Hindu population.—Mr. Griffiths also fitted curves to the population of Muslims and Hindus and obtained the results shown in statement No. I-18 below. The correspondence of these figures, particularly for Hindus, is not so close as is obtained by the equation for the total population, but the Muslim equation gives a reasonable fit for the years 1881 to 1921. The total maximum population towards which the equations suggest that each community is tending

STATEMENT No. I-18.

Year.	Muslims.				Hindus.			
	Equation : $p = \frac{426.2}{1.342 + e^{-0.279x}}$				Equation : $p = \frac{853.4}{3.744 + e^{-0.226x}}$			
	Observed population in hundred thousands (P).	Calculated population in hundred thousands (p).	Difference (p—P).		Observed population in hundred thousands (P).	Calculated population in hundred thousands (p).	Difference (p—P).	
		Actual figures.	Per cent. of (P)			Actual figures.	Per cent. of (P).	
1881 ..	183.9	182.0	-1.9	1.0	180.7	179.9	-0.8	.4
1891 ..	201.7	203.1	+1.4	.7	189.8	187.9	-1.9	1.0
1901 ..	219.5	222.0	+3.1	1.4	201.6	194.8	-6.8	3.4
1911 ..	242.4	240.1	-2.3	.9	209.5	200.7	-8.8	4.2
1921 ..	254.8	255.3	+0.4	.2	208.1	205.7	-2.4	1.2
1931 ..	278.1	268.1	-10.0	3.6	222.1	209.8	-12.3	5.5

NOTE.—In each equation x is the number of years after (+) or before (-) 1881.

would be for Muslims about 32 millions and for Hindus about $23\frac{3}{4}$ millions : in aggregate these figures fall short by 14 to 20 millions of the upper asymptotic population calculated for all communities. The Muslim and Hindu equations imply that the point at which the rate of increase ceased to be successively greater than in previous decades was passed in about 1886 by the Muslims and 1812 by the Hindus who are now approaching a stationary population. In any case the implication is that the Hindu community is further along its present growth cycle than the Muslim : in other words that it is approaching its maximum whilst by comparisons the Muslim community is still rapidly growing. It is possible to find a suggested explanation, if this is actually true, in the fact that Muslims live mainly in the healthier regions of Eastern Bengal and Hindus in the less healthy and less progressive portions of West Bengal : but it would be interesting if similar calculations have been made, to know whether the implication arises also in the case of other provinces.

87. Estimate of population in 1941.—The equations for total populations suggest a population of between 53 and $53\frac{1}{4}$ millions in 1941. The communal equations appear (and Mr. Griffiths holds them) to be inappropriate. Equations of a more complicated form might give closer correspondence with the observed census figures, but the calculation involves very great labour, they might give no better estimates for the future and in any case they are scarcely worth making in view of the fact that only seven counts are on record. For

the future all that can be said is that if the type of equation used is applicable to population growth and if the conditions influencing population growth in Bengal over the period to which it has been applied continue substantially unchanged for the future, the estimates of total population made by use of the equations deduced should represent the population to be expected. The equations themselves suffer however by being fitted to so few observed counts and the conditions influencing population growth cannot be predicted and are difficult to discover if a change in the cycle suggests their existence. Thus after the formation of the German Empire and the institution of the present constitutions in Japan, Pearl found that the cycle of growth was as if it were speeded up and Germany and Japan starting from the population of that critical time took a leap forward and continued their cycle as if they had been at an earlier stage when growth was more rapid. It is by no means impossible that constitutional change may have a similar effect in Bengal and may affect the different communities to a different degree.

88. Can Bengal support a larger population?—The prospect or even the possibility of so considerable an increase in a population already one of the densest in the world may lead to apprehension that the population of Bengal is rapidly approaching numbers which cannot be sustained at any reasonable standard of living upon the means of subsistence which Bengal can produce for long. If population actually does increase according to some such law as that illustrated by the logistic curve the fact that considerable increases are inevitable makes the apprehension futile. Pearl himself has pointed out that this inevitable increase need not necessarily increase the misery in the world since first this result has not happened up to the present, secondly—

“ the orderly evolution of human knowledge justifies us in assuming that science will keep pace in discovering means of expanding opportunities of happy human subsistence,”

and thirdly the human organism is itself adaptable to an extent not yet imagined. It cannot be denied that a large part of the population of Bengal lives at a very low level of subsistence, and that any increase of population must lead to increased distress unless the potentialities of the province are developed. What is suggested here is that these potentialities are such that pessimism as to the future condition of its population if considerable increases take place is not necessarily justified. Like the rest of India Bengal is notable for its undeveloped resources and the inefficiency with which such resources as it has are exploited. The soil is probably unlikely to deteriorate further and the general opinion about areas such as Bengal, where scanty manuring necessitates small crops, is that a dead level of yield was reached long ago and is conditioned by the rate at which plant food constituents are made available by weathering. The cultivator in Bengal practically never enriches the soil with any manure and the use of manures together with an improvement in the implements of agriculture which would then be rendered possible would probably increase enormously the output of the soil. It has been *estimated that improved methods would result in a reasonable expectation of increased food output of 30 per cent. throughout the whole of India. There is no doubt that any additional labour required under a more intensive form of cultivation could easily be obtained since the agriculturist in Bengal on the whole probably works less than agriculturists in almost any other part of the world. Subsidiary table I also shows that of the total area cultivable only 67 per cent. is now actually under cultivation. If the total cultivable area were brought under cultivation and if improved methods of cultivation yielding an increase of 30 per cent. over the present yield were adopted it is clear from a †simple rule of three calculation that Bengal could support at its present standard of living a population very nearly twice as large as that

*G. Clarke—*Proceedings of the XVIIth Indian Science Conference.*

† $\frac{100}{67} \times \frac{130}{100} = 1.94$

recorded in 1931. Fresh areas in course of time will be brought under cultivation as lands on the Bay of Bengal accrete and reach a stage suitable for cultivation. Even at present it is clear that by far the majority of the food stuffs consumed in Bengal are locally produced. During 1930-1931, taking only grains, pulses and flour, salt, sugar and spices, provisions and oilman's stores Bengal imported goods of the value of Rs. 821 lakhs and exported goods of the value of Rs. 281 lakhs. But the balance of trade during the same year amounted to Rs. 34,52.41 lakhs or more than three times the aggregate export and import trade. The sea-borne trade of Calcutta is not confined to goods originating in or meant exclusively for Bengal, but in the year 1930-1931 jute, tea and hides contributed 77½ per cent. of the total and Bengal contributed all the jute, nearly all the hides and a very considerable part of the tea. It is consequently clear that the favourable balance of trade to a very small extent only was dissipated outside Bengal and that the balance itself provides sufficiently for an enormously increased importation of food stuffs were it necessary to import them at any time. Not only agriculture but also industry is at present in Bengal practically in its infancy. Reviewing production in India a *Bengali writer in 1924 came to the conclusion that the—

“outstanding feature of the productive system of India is its inefficiency which is shown by the great wastage of resources on the one hand and the lower productivity of the industries on the other..... It is insufficient production to which is due India's poverty, both absolute and relative..... The lack of capital is partly responsible for the present low productivity... but.... could not be regarded as the fundamental cause of insufficient production in India..... Insufficient production is the result of inefficient labour, i.e., lack of capacity on the part of the people to mobilise the physical, intellectual and moral forces of the country and to organise land and capital effectively for national production.”

Improvement in methods of production both agricultural and industrial should, therefore, very easily make possible the subsistence of such an increased population as is suggested by the figures already discussed and the considerations deduced in this paragraph also make it possible to hope that such an increase of population may be attended with a very considerable increase in the material condition of the people and in the standard of living. It is clear at least that it is not yet time to indulge in gloomy forebodings on the grounds that Bengal is over-populated, provided full use is made of the available resources of the country by improved methods.

89. Extravagant methods of population increase are a practical problem.—A final problem suggested by the growth of population in Bengal concerns the enormous wastage of life with which that growth is achieved. It is clear that what is of importance in population growth is the rate of increment. A high rate of increment can be achieved by a relatively low birth rate if the death rate is also low, whilst on the contrary a comparatively low rate of increase results from even a high birth rate if the death rate also is high. Considerations adduced in chapter IV show that actually both the birth rate and the death rate in Bengal are very high and that there is consequently an appalling wastage of reproductive energy in maintaining the present increase of population. If the logistic theory of population growth is correct a retarded rate of increase is inevitable at the upper stages of the cycle of growth until finally a population is reached which to all intents and purposes is stationary. France in Europe where there is a notoriously low birth rate probably illustrates this position best but an exhaustive enquiry into the Arab population of Algiers suggested to Pearl that the retardation of the rate of increase is in general effected at the upper stages of the population growth by decrease both in the birth rate and in the death rate. The Arab population of Algiers showed both a decrease in the birth rate which could not be ascribed to any voluntary measures and a decrease in the death rate which equally could not be ascribed to improvement in public health measures since the traditional customs of the Arabs offer the utmost possible resistance to any changes in their habits which would improve sanitary conditions. Attempts to effect a retardation of the rate

*Rajani Kanta Das—*Production in India.*

†*Biology of Population Growth.*

of increase by voluntary limitation of the birth rate are almost certainly doomed to failure particularly in Bengal. They are repugnant to common sentiment in this country, the methods adopted are so expensive as to be beyond the reach of the great majority of the inhabitants and it is probably true to say that there are as yet none which can be relied upon as being absolutely certain and satisfactory. Figures for the different strata of society adduced in the appendix to chapter IV show that there is no evidence to believe that contraceptive measures are used by the upper classes or those engaged in professions and the liberal arts; and it is certain that they are not practised at all in the lower strata of society. What appears to happen, if the analogy of Western Europe may be accepted, is that a decrease in the birth rate is inevitably followed at some period by a corresponding decrease in the death rate. It is clear also that fertility in western countries decreases with the increase of wealth and intellectual interests. It is therefore possible to expect that a reduction of the birth rate by the adoption of improved measures of public health accompanied by an improvement in the standard of living, an increase in the spread of education and perhaps principally by a further emancipation of women and their introduction to spheres of usefulness and activity from which they are now in Bengal generally debarred by social custom and by the institution of purdah will in due course result in a decrease in the birth rate corresponding with the decrease in the death rate which it is the object of public health measures to bring about.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Mean density (persons per square mile), cultivable and cultivated areas, irrigation, rainfall, and distribution of crops by districts.

Natural division and district or state.	Mean density.	Percentage of total area.		Percentage of cultivable area.		Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated.	Annual rainfall.		Percentage of gross cultivated area under—					
		Cultivable.	Cultivated.	Cultivated.	Cropped annually more than once.		Normal.	Average, 1921-30.	Rice.	Other cereals and pulses.	Jute.	Fruit and vegetables including root crops.	Sugar, drugs and narcotics.	Fodder, oilseeds and other crops.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
BENGAL	616	71.2	47.7	67.0	14.1	3.8	75.8	74.5	72.5	5.3	10.7	2.6	2.6	6.3
BURDWAN DIVISION	618	78.3	47.5	60.7	5.3	14.2	57.2	54.6	80.6	2.9	1.0	1.0	1.4	2.3
Burdwan	583	82.3	32.2	39.1	15.1	19.9	55.9	50.1	88.1	3.9	0.4	3.2	2.0	2.4
Birbhum	558	87.9	55.2	62.9	5.6	19.9	56.0	46.1	93.5	2.5	..	1.7	1.4	0.9
Bankura	424	69.4	44.3	73.7	2.4	22.1	53.3	52.7	89.9	4.5	..	1.4	0.5	3.7
Midnapore	534	80.5	59.8	74.3	0.4	7.3	60.1	58.9	94.4	1.9	0.4	0.6	0.5	2.2
Hooghly	938	64.4	33.0	51.2	9.0	10.7	57.2	54.3	75.0	2.4	9.7	2.7	7.7	2.5
Howrah	2,105	80.8	31.4	38.9	6.9	1.9	60.9	65.6	80.5	4.9	5.0	5.4	2.3	1.4
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	566	56.7	31.6	55.7	15.6	2.0	61.8	59.1	78.0	5.1	6.8	2.3	1.0	5.0
24 Parganas	516	45.6	23.8	52.2	8.9	..	63.7	63.1	84.6	3.4	8.0	2.1	0.6	1.3
Nadia	531	75.0	27.8	37.0	28.2	0.02	53.7	55.6	74.5	8.8	6.4	0.0	1.2	8.5
Murshidabad	656	78.2	52.1	68.3	17.2	16.0	55.4	47.7	63.7	17.4	3.7	7.1	0.4	7.7
Jessore	576	64.7	30.1	60.5	16.6	..	62.4	62.0	76.8	5.2	11.0	0.3	2.5	4.2
Khulna	347	43.2	27.8	64.4	7.5	..	72.0	67.2	89.9	1.1	3.7	1.6	0.6	8.1
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	557	80.0	50.9	63.6	9.8	2.8	82.0	84.0	64.9	7.8	11.4	1.2	6.0	7.8
Rajshahi	548	86.6	48.8	56.4	15.1	1.4	58.0	57.6	68.5	11.6	8.2	3.0	1.1	7.6
Dinajpur	445	80.2	42.1	52.5	..	..	72.4	70.1	81.7	1.3	6.9	0.5	4.2	5.4
Jalpaiguri	335	71.3	30.5	42.8	12.8	7.9	143.6	157.1	63.4	2.1	5.6	2.1	21.3	5.5
Darjeeling	264	32.6	21.2	65.1	7.0	7.7	121.7	126.0	18.1	34.3	2.3	1.3	37.2	6.8
Rangpur	742	86.5	72.6	83.8	..	..	81.2	81.6	56.7	4.0	19.7	1.4	12.4	5.8
Bogra	785	86.4	56.0	64.8	18.7	..	63.1	66.0	70.2	5.4	16.1	0.9	0.9	6.5
Pabna	795	91.1	79.5	87.2	30.5	..	59.7	58.1	61.3	10.4	13.0	0.1	0.8	14.4
Malda	597	86.0	51.7	60.2	9.4	8.1	56.1	55.6	67.5	17.6	5.4	0.3	0.6	6.6
COOCH BEHAR STATE	448	..	..	..	..	..	123.9	130.8	..	..	..	..	..	..
DACCA DIVISION	935	79.6	71.1	89.3	23.8	0.6	81.9	79.1	64.1	4.6	17.5	4.5	1.2	8.1
Dacca	1,265	84.9	80.5	94.8	18.6	..	74.3	71.6	53.4	5.4	22.4	6.3	1.8	10.7
Mymensingh	823	69.4	59.2	85.3	44.8	1.6	80.1	87.4	61.7	2.7	20.8	1.9	0.9	12.0
Faridpur	1,003	86.3	78.1	90.5	10.5	..	73.2	66.5	65.2	10.7	23.8	4.2	1.0	5.1
Bakarganj	834	89.3	80.2	89.9	7.3	..	91.1	90.9	88.7	3.8	2.7	8.1	1.4	0.8
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	584	59.3	37.0	62.5	18.9	0.4	102.6	100.1	77.4	2.8	10.4	2.8	0.7	5.9
Tippera	1,197	72.3	69.2	95.6	28.2	..	82.0	80.5	71.4	3.7	20.9	0.4	0.8	3.8
Noakhali	1,124	82.8	76.3	92.1	57.5	..	114.2	104.0	84.0	3.2	5.3	6.8	0.2	3.5
Chittagong	699	54.8	43.3	79.8	4.2	1.9	114.5	114.5	92.5	0.6	0.04	0.84	2.1	4.02
Chittagong Hill Tracts	43	48.1	6.3	13.2	..	..	99.7	101.4	48.5	2.4	..	2.3	2.4	44.4
TRIPURA STATE	93	..	..	..	..	..	78.7	92.2	..	..	..	..	..	..

*District figures are those published by the Director-General of Observatories from records up to 1920. They are obtained by (a) averaging over the total period during which observations have been taken at any station up to 1920 the annual rainfall of each station for which there were records in 1920 for at least five years and (b) taking an unweighted arithmetical average of the averages thus computed for each observation station within a district.

†Figures for all Bengal and for divisions are the unweighted averages of the figures shown for the districts included.

‡Figures for districts are calculated by taking an unweighted arithmetical average of the figures published yearly during 1921-30 by the Director of Agriculture as the district annual average rainfall. These district annual averages are themselves unweighted averages of the annual rainfall of all the observations stations within the district for which normal rainfall figures are on record (see above).

Figures for all Bengal and for divisions are the unweighted averages of the figures shown for the districts included.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Population density (persons per square mile) with variations per cent. by districts at each census, 1872-1931.

Division, district or state.	Mean density (persons per square mile).							Variation per cent. of population (increase +, decrease -) during the period.						
	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.	1921-31.	1911-21.	1901-11.	1891-01.	1881-91.	1872-81.	1872-31.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
BENGAL	616	578	563	521	484	450	422	+7.3	+2.8	+8.0	+7.7	+7.5	+9.7	+47.25
West Bengal	618	581	611	595	555	534	545	+7.4	-4.9	+2.8	+7.2	+4.0	-2.8	+13.71
BURDWAN DIVISION	618	561	611	595	555	534	545	+7.4	-4.9	+2.8	+7.2	+4.0	-2.8	+13.71
Burdwan	583	532	572	570	517	518	552	+9.8	-6.5	+0.4	+10.1	-0.2	-6.2	+8.3
Birbhum	558	483	534	515	456	452	486	+11.3	-9.4	+3.7	+13.0	+0.8	-7.0	+10.7
Bankura	424	389	434	426	408	397	370	+9.0	-10.4	+2.0	+4.4	+2.7	+7.6	+14.8
Midnapore	534	528	558	552	521	498	503	+5.0	-5.5	+1.2	+6.0	+4.6	-1.1	+10.1
Hooghly	938	909	918	883	870	821	942	+3.2	-0.9	+3.9	+1.4	+6.1	-12.9	+0.5
Howrah	2,105	1,882	1,850	1,668	1,497	1,324	1,247	+10.2	+5.7	+10.9	+11.4	+13.1	+6.2	+72.8
Central Bengal	566	543	541	515	489	470	425	+7.0	+0.4	+5.1	+5.4	+3.9	+10.5	+36.4
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	566	543	541	515	489	470	425	+7.0	+0.4	+5.1	+5.4	+3.9	+10.5	+36.4
24 Parganas	516	541	502	429	390	340	326	+10.4	+8.0	+17.1	+9.9	+11.9	+6.9	+81.8
Calcutta	36,265	43,231	42,670	40,371	32,491	29,157	30,143	+11.1	+1.3	+5.7	+24.3	+11.4	-3.8	+65.0
Nadia	531	535	580	594	580	593	535	+2.3	-8.0	-2.4	+1.5	-1.2	+10.8	+2.0
Murshidabad	656	695	640	622	584	572	567	+12.0	+8.0	+2.9	+6.6	+2.0	+1.9	+14.0
Jessore	576	593	601	620	646	668	496	-3.0	-1.2	-3.0	-1.0	-2.6	+33.6	+6.2
Khulna	347	307	288	264	248	229	221	+10.7	+6.7	+9.1	+6.4	+6.0	+3.2	+54.1
North Bengal	550	538	528	489	463	444	422	+2.5	+1.9	+8.0	+5.7	+4.1	+5.3	+31.1
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	557	543	533	493	464	443	423	+2.7	+2.0	+8.2	+6.2	+4.7	+4.8	+32.4
Rajshahi	548	569	566	558	549	553	543	-4.6	+0.6	+1.4	+1.6	-0.8	+1.9	+6.8
Dinajpur	445	432	428	397	376	366	362	+2.5	+1.0	+7.7	+5.7	+2.8	+0.9	+22.3
Jalpaiguri	335	319	309	269	233	198	143	+5.0	+3.7	+14.8	+15.7	+17.3	+39.0	+135.9
Darjeeling	264	243	228	214	192	134	82	+13.0	+6.5	+6.6	+11.6	+43.5	+63.8	+236.4
Rangpur	742	717	686	619	594	603	619	+3.7	+5.1	+10.7	+4.3	-1.5	-2.6	+20.7
Bogra	785	760	724	628	602	605	472	+3.5	+6.6	+15.2	+11.8	+11.3	+7.0	+69.3
Pabna	795	828	851	847	812	782	722	+3.7	-2.7	+0.5	+4.3	+3.9	+8.3	+18.0
Malda	597	538	548	481	443	387	369	+4.1	-1.8	+13.9	+8.5	+14.5	+5.0	+53.9
COOCH BEHAR STATE	448	450	454	434	443	481	407	-0.3	-0.1	+4.6	-2.1	-3.9	+13.2	+10.9
East Bengal	688	625	577	513	463	405	362	+10.2	+8.3	+12.4	+10.8	+14.5	+11.7	+90.1
DACCA DIVISION	935	868	809	726	662	586	511	+8.2	+7.1	+11.9	+9.6	+13.0	+14.6	+83.3
Dacca	1,265	1,148	1,066	952	861	752	657	+8.7	+8.3	+11.9	+10.6	+14.6	+14.4	+80.6
Mymensingh	823	776	724	627	566	489	377	+6.1	+6.9	+15.5	+12.7	+18.6	+29.9	+117.9
Faridpur	1,003	949	905	833	785	718	658							

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Variation of population in British Territory according to returns of vital statistics compared with the census returns.

NOTE.—From this table the Chittagong Hill Tracts are excluded as no returns of vital occurrences are kept there.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	From 1st January 1921 to end of December 1920.					
	Total number of reported		Ratio per mille of population enumerated in 1921.		Excess (+) or deficiency (–) of reported births over reported deaths.	
	births.	deaths.	Births.	Deaths.	Actual nos.	Ratio per mille.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BENGAL British Territory*	13,255,369	11,791,835	285	253	+ 1,463,484	+ 32
West Bengal	2,416,255	2,067,558	300	257	+ 348,697	+ 43
BURDWAN DIVISION	2,416,255	2,067,558	300	257	+ 348,697	+ 43
Burdwan	424,043	381,987	295	266	+ 42,056	+ 20
Birbhum	326,771	243,799	385	288	+ 82,972	+ 78
Bankura	351,768	272,305	345	287	+ 79,463	+ 97
Midnapore	789,983	644,010	289	242	+ 125,973	+ 47
Hooghly	274,843	271,392	255	251	+ 3,451	+ 4
Howrah	268,847	254,066	270	255	+ 14,782	+ 15
Central Bengal	2,668,835	2,628,451	282	278	+ 40,384	+ 4
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	2,668,835	2,628,451	282	278	+ 40,384	+ 4
24-Parganas	605,138	573,945	230	218	+ 31,193	+ 12
Calcutta	195,761	322,117	216	355	– 126,356	– 139
Nadia	488,644	473,715	329	319	+ 14,929	+ 10
Murshidabad	519,521	392,404	411	311	+ 127,117	+ 100
Jessore	436,434	514,207	253	299	– 77,773	– 46
Khulna	423,337	352,063	201	242	+ 71,274	+ 49
North Bengal†	3,092,903	2,976,239	299	288	+ 116,664	+ 11
RAJSHAHI DIVISION..	3,092,903	2,976,239	299	288	+ 116,664	+ 11
Rajshahi	475,377	514,782	319	346	– 39,405	– 27
Dinajpur	571,837	547,765	335	321	+ 24,122	+ 14
Jalpaiguri	302,469	264,133	323	282	+ 38,336	+ 41
Darjeeling	94,571	94,437	335	334	+ 134	+ 1
Rangpur	718,780	677,779	287	270	+ 41,001	+ 17
Bogra	257,528	247,068	246	236	+ 10,460	+ 10
Pabna	348,563	359,328	251	259	– 10,765	– 8
Malda	323,728	270,947	328	275	+ 52,781	+ 53
East Bengal‡	5,077,376	4,119,637	272	221	+ 957,739	+ 51
DACCA DIVISION	5,077,376	4,119,637	272	221	+ 957,739	+ 51
Dacca	856,029	697,236	274	228	+ 158,793	+ 51
Mymensingh	1,236,055	1,021,451	255	211	+ 213,604	+ 44
Faridpur	634,844	567,297	282	252	+ 67,547	+ 20
Bakarganj	776,936	633,752	296	242	+ 143,184	+ 54
CHITTAGONG DIVISION*	1,574,512	1,199,991	270	206	+ 374,511	+ 66
Tipperra	617,493	462,722	225	169	+ 154,771	+ 66
Noakhali	475,171	350,082	323	238	+ 125,089	+ 85
Chittagong	481,848	387,097	299	240	+ 94,751	+ 59

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	From 18th March 1921 to end of February 1931.								From census of 18th March 1921 to census of 26th February 1931.	
	Total number of reported		Ratio per mille of population enumerated in 1921		Excess (+) or deficiency (–) of reported births over reported deaths		Excess (+) or deficiency (–) of the population enumerated in 1931.			
	births.	deaths.	Births.	Deaths.	Actual nos.	Ratio per mille.	Actual nos.	Ratio per mille.		
1	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
BENGAL British Territory*	13,156,298	11,613,598	283	250	+ 1,542,700	+ 33	+ 3,372,016	+ 72		
West Bengal	2,402,264	2,021,369	298	251	+ 380,895	+ 47	+ 596,547	+ 74		
BURDWAN DIVISION	2,402,264	2,021,369	298	251	+ 380,895	+ 47	+ 596,547	+ 74		
Burdwan	421,735	372,194	293	269	+ 49,541	+ 34	+ 140,928	+ 98		
Birbhum	326,115	238,844	385	282	+ 87,271	+ 103	+ 95,829	+ 113		
Bankura	350,034	266,696	343	292	+ 83,398	+ 81	+ 91,780	+ 90		
Midnapore	765,035	628,510	288	236	+ 136,525	+ 52	+ 132,433	+ 50		
Hooghly	272,694	265,433	252	246	+ 7,261	+ 6	+ 34,113	+ 82		
Howrah	266,691	249,692	267	250	+ 16,999	+ 17	+ 101,464	+ 102		
Central Bengal	2,654,317	2,574,443	281	272	+ 79,874	+ 9	+ 662,105	+ 70		
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	2,654,317	2,574,443	281	272	+ 79,874	+ 9	+ 662,105	+ 70		
24-Parganas	604,040	557,030	230	212	+ 47,010	+ 18	+ 255,082	+ 104		
Calcutta	195,822	118,501	216	351	– 122,739	– 135	+ 119,470	+ 111		
Nadia	465,145	462,577	326	311	+ 22,568	+ 15	+ 34,934	+ 23		
Murshidabad	517,334	386,970	410	306	+ 130,364	+ 104	+ 146,496	+ 120		
Jessore	430,859	501,479	250	291	– 70,620	– 41	+ 51,056	+ 30		
Khulna	421,117	347,826	290	239	+ 73,291	+ 51	+ 157,178	+ 107		
North Bengal†	3,059,179	2,943,840	296	285	+ 115,339	+ 11	+ 281,020	+ 27		
RAJSHAHI DIVISION..	3,059,179	2,943,840	296	285	+ 115,339	+ 11	+ 281,020	+ 27		
Rajshahi	468,842	508,006	315	341	– 39,164	– 26	+ 68,320	+ 46		
Dinajpur	563,095	541,346	330	317	+ 21,749	+ 13	+ 43,537	+ 25		
Jalpaiguri	800,169	260,622	321	278	+ 39,537	+ 43	+ 47,088	+ 50		
Darjeeling	94,666	93,113	335	329	+ 1,543	+ 6	+ 36,897	+ 130		
Rangpur	709,344	671,748	283	268	+ 37,596	+ 15	+ 91,570	+ 37		
Bogra	255,999	244,298	244	233	+ 11,701	+ 11	+ 87,097	+ 35		
Pabna	347,540	354,872	250	256	– 7,332	– 6	+ 51,804	+ 37		
Malda	319,544	269,835	324	274	+ 49,709	+ 50	+ 41,957	+ 41		
East Bengal‡	5,077,892	4,073,946	272	216	+ 1,003,746	+ 54	+ 1,832,344	+ 98		
DACCA DIVISION	5,077,892	4,073,946	272	216	+ 1,003,746	+ 54	+ 1,832,344	+ 98		
Dacca	854,807	690,124	274	221	+ 164,683	+ 53	+ 275,641	+ 87		
Mymensingh	1,236,026	1,014,310	256	210	+ 221,716	+ 46	+ 298,043	+ 61		
Faridpur	626,812	656,151	279	247	+ 70,661	+ 32	+ 142,965	+ 64		
Bakarganj	776,863	624,076	296	238	+ 151,787	+ 58	+ 336,271	+ 129		
CHITTAGONG DIVISION*	1,584,184	1,199,285	272	204	+ 384,899	+ 68	+ 764,424	+ 135		
Tipperra	619,238	456,625	226	166	+ 162,613	+ 60	+ 364,875	+ 133		
Noakhali	482,035	347,867	327	236	+ 184,168	+ 91	+ 233,933	+ 159		
Chittagong	482,911	384,793	300	239	+ 98,118	+ 61	+ 185,616	+ 116		

* Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

† Excluding Cooch Behar State.

‡ Excluding Tripura State.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Variation by natural divisions in the aggregate population in police-stations grouped according to their population density (number of persons per square mile) at the beginning of the decade 1911-21 and 1921-31.

(NOTE.—Figures for 1911-1921 are reproduced from Subsidiary Table VI to Chapter I of the Report in the Census of India, 1921, Vol. V, Part I.)

(a) Actual variation.

Natural Division.	Decade.	Variation (increase +, decrease -) in the aggregate population of police-stations having at the beginning of the decade a population density (number of persons per square mile) of							
		Under 150.	150—300.	300—450.	450—600.	600—750.	750—900.	900—1,050.	1,050 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BENGAL	1911-1921	+146,299	+24,355	-76,755	-190,191	+59,345	+328,936	+164,280	+831,023
	1921-1931	+151,615	+246,835	+426,020	+259,133	+460,381	+308,077	+310,466	+1,325,578
West Bengal	1911-1921	..	-18,693	-223,016	-189,982	-48,118	-23,266	-428	+86,639
	1921-1931	..	+80,782	+132,719	+112,667	+44,125	+41,471	+32,147	+162,636
Central Bengal	1911-1921	+41,489	..	+12,132	-138,297	+17,594	-31,806	+13,335	+121,254
	1921-1931	+44,679	+36,799	+108,722	+149,016	+3,640	+47,518	+33,675	+238,166
North Bengal	1911-1921	+10,573	+36,538	+204	+44,690	+853	+69,175	+59,226	-14,360
	1921-1931	+4,950	+55,266	+59,359	-66,132	+71,375	+82,132	+19,089	+54,378
East Bengal	1911-1921	+94,237	+6,610	+133,925	+93,398	+89,016	+314,833	+92,147	+637,400
	1921-1931	+102,086	+73,988	+126,220	+63,582	+341,241	+136,956	+225,555	+880,408

(b) Percentage variation.

Natural Division.	Decade.	Variation (increase +, decrease -) in the aggregate population of police-stations having at the beginning of the decade a population density (number of persons per square mile) of							
		Under 150.	150—300.	300—450.	450—600.	600—750.	750—900.	900—1,050.	1,050 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BENGAL	1911-1921	+26.4	+2.8	-1.3	-2.2	+1.0	+3.3	+4.2	+7.9
	1921-1931	+32.7	+16.5	+7.0	+3.2	+8.1	+3.9	+6.8	+10.0
West Bengal	1911-1921	..	+4.4	+11.3	+9.4	-4.5	+2.4	-0.1	+6.7
	1921-1931	..	+15.4	+8.3	+5.7	+5.1	+4.3	+5.9	+9.7
Central Bengal	1911-1921	+34.5	..	+1.1	-4.7	+1.1	-3.1	+2.3	+5.9
	1921-1931	+89.7	+28.8	+9.5	+5.7	+0.2	+4.5	+5.5	+10.4
North Bengal	1911-1921	+21.4	+9.3	+0.0	+1.5	+0.04	+3.9	+9.5	-1.8
	1921-1931	+17.5	+10.5	+2.8	-2.3	+4.3	+3.2	+4.3	+6.7
East Bengal	1911-1921	+24.0	+12.8	+18.5	+12.7	+6.9	+5.9	+4.6	+8.9
	1921-1931	+26.5	+23.3	+10.1	+7.9	+21.2	+4.2	+7.6	+10.3

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Persons per inhabited house and inhabited houses per square mile, 1881-1931.

1	Average number of persons per inhabited house.						Average number of inhabited houses per square mile.					
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	5.1	5.1	5.3	5.1	5.2	5.3	120	114	107	101	92	75
West Bengal	4.5	4.3	4.6	4.5	4.5	5.3	139	134	134	132	122	111
BURDWAN DIVISION	4.5	4.3	4.6	4.5	4.5	5.3	139	134	134	132	122	111
Burdwan	4.1	4.0	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.8	143	139	132	135	121	107
Birbhum	4.5	4.2	4.6	4.3	4.2	4.4	125	115	117	1	107	108
Bankura	4.7	4.5	4.9	4.8	5.0	5.2	90	87	88	92	82	84
Midnapore	4.7	4.6	4.8	4.8	4.9	5.0	114	115	115	114	105	88
Hooghly	4.2	4.0	4.1	4.0	3.8	4.2	225	230	221	222	233	195
Howrah	4.6	4.6	4.8	4.5	4.9	5.6	460	410	493	373	307	239
Central Bengal	5.1	5.0	5.5	5.2	5.4	5.8	112	119	98	100	90	80
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	5.1	5.0	5.3	5.2	5.4	5.3	112	119	98	100	90	80
24-Parganas	4.9	4.9	5.4	5.4	5.7	5.4	105	110	94	79	69	56
Calcutta	5.7	5.3	20.3	6.8	10.1	17.7	6,796	8,164	2,109	5,975	3,216	1,846
Nadia	4.5	4.4	4.7	4.8	5.0	5.6	117	121	122	125	119	106
Murshidabad	4.8	4.5	4.9	4.7	4.4	4.8	138	142	132	132	132	120
Jessore	5.0	5.0	5.0	4.9	5.4	7.0	116	118	121	128	120	100
Khulna	6.0	6.0	6.0	5.5	5.7	6.9	58	51	48	48	44	34
North Bengal	5.3	5.3	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.9	104	101	98	91	84	75
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	5.3	5.3	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.9	105	102	98	92	84	75
Rajshahi	4.8	4.9	4.7	5.1	5.3	6.0	114	115	119	111	107	95
Dinajpur	5.3	5.5	5.6	5.4	5.6	5.6	84	79	76	73	67	66
Jalpaiguri	4.7	4.9	5.3	6.0	5.4	6.1	71	66	58	53	42	33
Darjeeling	4.5	4.3	4.1	4.1	4.9	5.3	59	56	55	53	39	24
Rangpur	5.8	5.7	5.9	5.6	5.7	6.2	128	127	110	111	105	97
Bogra	5.5	5.7	5.8	5.9	5.7	7.4	143	133	124	106	99	66
Pabna	5.5	5.3	6.2	5.5	5.5	6.5	145	150	163	154	146	123
Malda	5.3	5.3	5.7	5.4	5.5	5.6	112	101	96	89	81	72
COCH BEHAR STATE	5.1	5.2	5.2	5.1	4.9	5.2	87	87	87	85	80	89
East Bengal	5.5	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.4	7.2	126	115	106	94	85	56
DACCA DIVISION	5.5	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.4	7.2	170	159	151	134	124	81
Dacca	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.6	5.5	6.9	235	211	196	169	157	110
Mymensingh	5.9	6.0	5.8	5.9	5.6	7.0	140	130	124	105	98	64
Faridpur	5.2	5.2	5.1	5.2	5.3	7.3	191	181	176	157	143	96
Bakarganj	5.2	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.9	8.5	160	154	142	135	125	66
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	5.4	5.4	5.6	5.5	5.4	7.0	108	94	82	74	67	44
Tippera	5.5	5.7	6.0	5.9	5.7	8.5	217	198	161	144	125	72
Noakhall	5.6	5.5	5.7	5.5	5.4	9.4	200	176	140	127	114	53
Chittagong	4.9	4.9	5.0	4.9	5.0	5.4	142	133	122	111	101	82
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5.9	5.9	5.8	5.8	5.2	6.8	7	6	5	4	4	3
TRIPURA STATE	5.3	5.3	5.1	5.0	*	*	18	14	11	8	*	*
SIKKIM	4.1	5.5	5.3	5.3	*	*	10	5	6	4	*	*

* Not recorded.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Numbers of Boats and Steamers, 1931.

1	2	3	Big boats used for carrying passengers or freight.										14	15	16	17		
			Capacity (maundage).														12	13
			Moundage not given.															
Division, District or State.	Dinghis, dugouts, etc.	Others of less than 50 mds. capacity.	50-100.	100-300.	300-500.	500-1,000.	1,000-1,500.	1,500-2,000.	2,000-3,000.	More than 3,000.	Big.	Small.	Steamers.	Launches.	Motor boats.	Others.		
BENGAL	360,928	48,632	6,325	10,991	2,311	1,126	134	93	57	58	16,402	78,934	1,054	20	10	95		
BRITISH TERRITORY	380,727	48,489	6,795	10,952	2,311	1,126	134	93	57	58	16,364	78,933	1,054	20	10	95		
Burdwan Division	5,298	427	69	118	72	59	11	6	5	4	70	742	8	8	1	4		
Burdwan	91	5	..	12	4	14	..	..	..	..	1	60	..	..	..	..
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bankura	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Midnapore	5,028	115	50	63	61	39	2	5	5	4	4	469	7	1	..	..
Hooghly	40	295	4	17	4	..	..	..	..	..	44	105	..	..	..	..
Howrah	127	12	15	26	8	6	9	1	..	..	21	108	1	7	1	4
Presidency Division	54,916	22,754	1,263	2,129	761	344	42	53	12	21	1,985	16,013	960	3	2	12		
24-Parganas	8,121	285	308	451	240	105	21	13	12	5	259	470	5	2	1	..		
Calcutta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,480	948	..	..	9
Nadia	4,022	250	155	110	26	28	..	..	..	..	163	769	..	..	..	..
Murshidabad	1,553	74	52	106	58	13	..	2	..	16	35	106	1	1	..	8		
Jessore	14,050	22,640	98	296	55	68	6	1	..	..	490	54	2	..	1	..
Khulna	32,170	505	1,250	1,196	882	140	15	37	..	1	1,038	13,184	4	..	..	..
Rajshahi Division	78,719	17,747	857	1,163	353	186	16	1	..	..	6,793	6,120	11	..	2	1
Rajshahi	19,199	3,462	269	254	108	39	11	..	..	..	4,579	2,687	1	..	2	..
Dinajpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	6	..	..	..	..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rangpur	3,736	108	92	64	4	2	..	..	..	..	917	2,162	3	..	..	..
Bogra	11,753	5	100	71	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pabna	41,996	13,884	347	722	184	93	4	1	..	..	1,214	600	5	..	..	..
Malda	2,035	228	49	72	56	62	1	..	..	..	73	685	2	..	..	1
Dacca Division	568,976	5,048	2,990	6,308	943	477	58	28	30	32	5,561	41,962	51	8	4	77		
Dacca	190,263	723	1,552	2,155	418	242	28	7	9	1	828	2,974	20	6	8	40		
Mymensingh	78,106	3,468	495	1,021	186	52	1	14	..	20	877	32,316	1	..	..	..
Faridpur	210,804	215	292	1,292	177	79	20	..	11	..	465	1,220	21	..	..	84
Bakarganj	83,808	643	651	1,980	167	104	0	7	10	2	3,391	5,422	9	2	1	8		
Chittagong Division	172,320	1,812	1,018	1,214	182	80	7	8	10	1	1,975	14,099	24	1	1	1		
Tippera	166,863	1,041	667	892	125	39	7	5	10	1	325	..	4	..	1	1		
Noakhall	6,188	..	293	268	40	21	..	..	..	..	853	12,005	..	..	..	..
Chittagong	226	471	34	20	11	..	..	..	..	..	200	871	20	1	..	..
Chittagong Hill Tracts	43	..	22	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	97	760	..	..	..	..
BENGAL STATES	201	143	30	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	1	..	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	14	111	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	..
Tripura	187	32	27	39	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..

*The figures for Dacca represent those for the Dacca district except Dacca city.

APPENDIX

At a very late stage in the preparation of this report figures were received from the Director-General of the Survey of India giving the latest survey figures for Bengal districts with States and Sikkim. In the case only of 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Faridpur and Jessore are these figures based entirely upon modern surveys. The figures for Chittagong Hill Tracts are computed entirely from surveys prior to 1905. In all the remaining areas the modern survey is incomplete and the calculation of area has been in part made upon surveys prior to 1905. The figures were received too late to effect any modification in the tables, or in the statistics prepared from them. The area given for Calcutta is the area of "Calcutta Presidency Town" and that those for districts include areas covered by arms of the sea or large stretches of water. These exclusions, however, are not likely to account for the whole difference between the figures (82,955 square miles) adopted for the purposes of this report and those more authoritative (85,606 square miles) now supplied by the Survey of India. A statement No. I-a below shows the areas on both computations and the amount by which those adopted in the census tables exceed or fall short of those now supplied.

STATEMENT No. I-a.

Area in square miles.

Division, district or state.	Area shown in census tables.	Area taken from survey of India maps.	Amount by which the area in census tables exceeds (+) or falls short of (-) that shown in column 3.
1	2	3	4
BENGAL	82,955	85,606	- 2,651
BRITISH TERRITORY	77,521	80,163	- 2,642
Burdwan Division	13,934	14,164	- 180
Burdwan	2,705	2,710	-
Birbhum	1,099	1,756	-
Bankura	2,625	2,688	-
Midnapore	5,245	5,236	+
Hooghly	1,188	1,210	-
Howrah	522	564	-
Presidency Division	17,853	17,620	+ 233
24-Parganas	5,257	4,967	+
Calcutta	33	10	+
Nadla	2,881	2,887	-
Murshidabad	2,091	2,109	-
Jessore	2,902	2,937	-
Khulna	4,689	4,710	-
Rajshahi Division	19,163	19,561	- 418
Rajshahi	2,609	2,608	-
Dinajpur	3,948	3,959	-
Jalpaiguri	2,932	2,923	+
Darjeeling	1,212	1,161	+
Rangpur	3,496	3,595	-
Bogra	1,384	1,409	-
Pabna	1,818	1,840	-
Malda	1,764	1,991	-
Dacca Division	14,829	16,164	- 1,335
Dacca	2,713	2,980	-
Mymensingh	6,237	6,346	-
Faridpur	2,356	2,503	-
Bakarganj	3,523	4,335	-
Chittagong Division	11,693	12,034	- 341
Tippera	2,597	2,606	-
Noakhali	1,515	2,207	-
Chittagong	2,570	2,590	-
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5,007	5,141	-
BENGAL STATES	5,434	5,443	- 9
Cooch Behar	1,318	1,321	-
Tripura	4,116	4,122	-
SIKKIM	2,818	2,708	+ 110

DIAGRAM No. II-1.

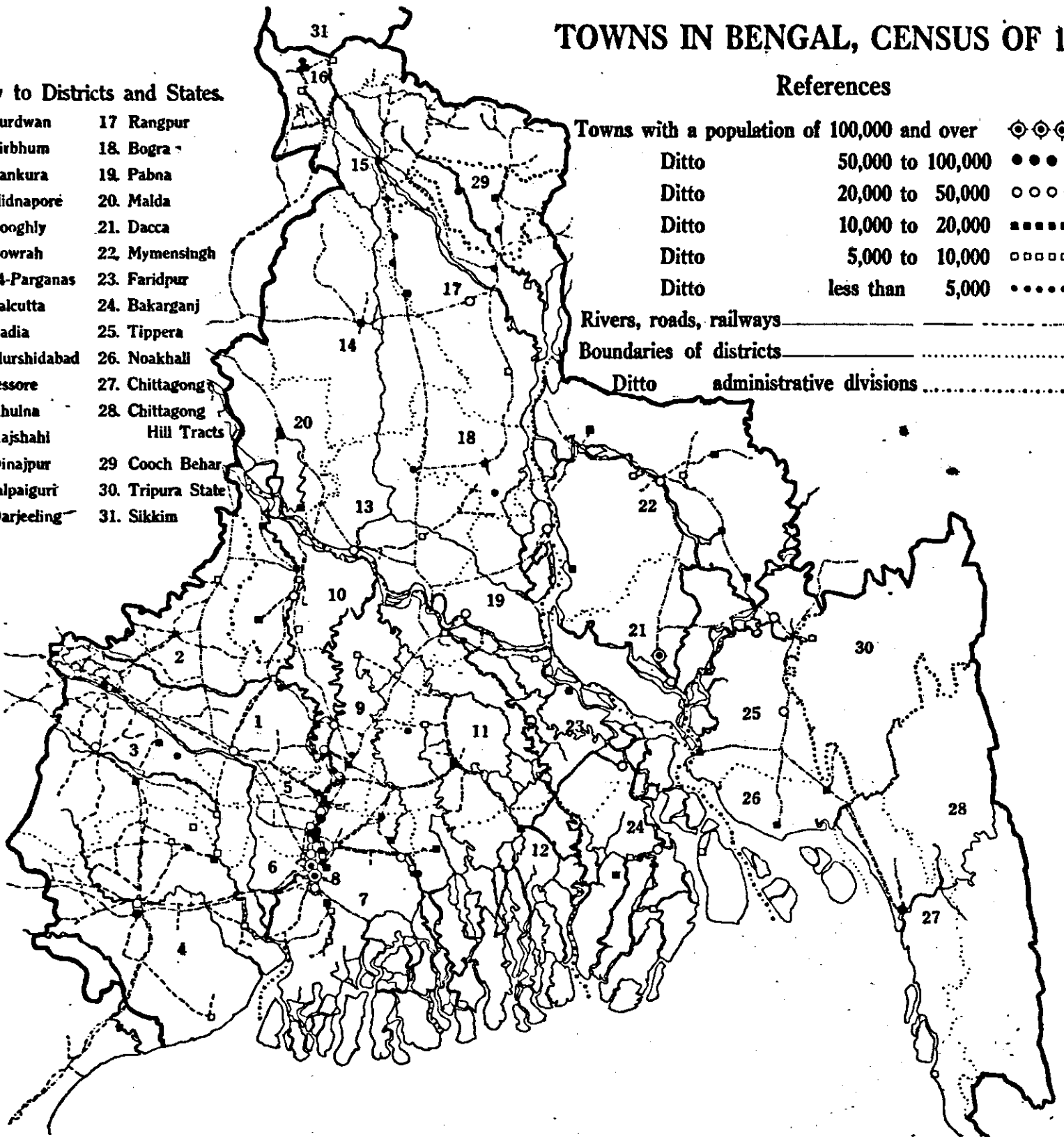
TOWNS IN BENGAL, CENSUS OF 193

Key to Districts and States.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Burdwan | 17 Rangpur |
| 2. Birbhum | 18. Bogra |
| 3. Bankura | 19. Pabna |
| 4. Midnapore | 20. Malda |
| 5. Hooghly | 21. Dacca |
| 6. Howrah | 22. Mymensingh |
| 7. 24-Parganas | 23. Faridpur |
| 8. Calcutta | 24. Bakarganj |
| 9. Nadia | 25. Tippera |
| 10. Murshidabad | 26. Noakhali |
| 11. Jessore | 27. Chittagong |
| 12. Khulna | 28. Chittagong Hill Tracts |
| 13. Rajshahi | 29 Cooch Behar |
| 14. Dinajpur | 30. Tripura State |
| 15. Jalpaiguri | 31. Sikkim |
| 16. Darjeeling | |

References

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| Towns with a population of 100,000 and over | ⊙⊙⊙⊙ |
| Ditto | ●●●●● |
| Ditto | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ |
| Ditto | ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ |
| Ditto | □ □ □ □ □ |
| Ditto | ..... |
| Rivers, roads, railways | — — — — — |
| Boundaries of districts | ..... |
| Ditto administrative divisions | ..... |



CHAPTER II

The population of cities, towns and villages

90. **Introduction.**—The statistics forming the basis of this chapter are principally contained in imperial tables III, IV and V. Five subsidiary tables prepared from the imperial tables and printed at the end of this chapter show—

- I—the distribution of population between towns and inhabited rural mauzas ;
- II—the number living in towns per mille of each religion ;
- III—towns by classes ; number, proportionate distribution of urban population and sex ratio, 1931, with variations of population, 1872 to 1931 ;
- IV—cities : population, density, sex ratio and ratio of foreign born, 1931, with variations per cent., 1872 to 1931 ; and
- V—the growth of rural and urban population in each district and division, 1881 to 1931.

A sketch map (diagram No. II-1) inserted at the beginning of this chapter shows the position of each census town by a separate symbol for each class.

91. **Definition of town.**—For the purpose of the census a town is defined as including all municipalities, all cantonments and all civil lines not falling within municipal limits. In addition the definition includes any other collection of continuous houses with a population of not less than 5,000 persons which it may be decided to treat as a town for census purposes.

92. **Towns in 1921 and 1931.**—In 1921 figures were given for 122 municipalities. Three of these have since been absorbed into the Calcutta municipal area, viz., Maniktala, Cossipore-Chitpore and Garden Reach. Two localities previously treated as census towns have been made into municipalities during the last decade. These are Rajbari in Faridpur district and Gaibandha in Rangpur district. In addition two other localities have been declared towns during the last ten years, namely, Dum-Dum in the 24-Parganas district which was a cantonment in 1921 and was included in the neighbouring municipality, and Gauripur in Mymensingh. There are now, therefore, 123 municipalities and three cantonments in Bengal and in addition to these localities 17 areas only have been treated as towns for census purposes. Of these, Rampurhat, Nilphamari, Kurigaon, Kharagpur, Saidpur, Patrasair, Domar and Beldanga were so treated in 1921 also. The first three are headquarters of subdivisions and are urban in character although Nilphamari proves to have less than 5,000 inhabitants. Kharagpur and Saidpur are important and growing railway settlements. Patrasair and Domar have been retained as towns because the first is said to be a place of great and increasing trade and the second is of some importance in the jute trade, but the population of both is below 5,000 and the census figures show a decline and not an increase of the population. Only nine new towns were, therefore, added on the present occasion. Of these, Contai, Naugaon, Kalimpong, Siliguri and Feni are subdivisional headquarters and all except Naugaon have well over 5,000 inhabitants. Ondal and Lalmonirhat, though with less than 5,000 inhabitants, are important railway centres of growing importance and Kulti and Burnpur with populations of 11,574 and 5,740, respectively, are industrial centres with important iron works. Barrackpore, Jalapahar and Lebong, the three cantonments remaining on the abolition during the last ten years of Buxa and the transformation of Dum-Dum into a municipality, have been counted as separate census towns on this occasion though they were previously included in the adjacent municipalities.

93. **Classes of towns.**—Full details of the classes adopted for table IV are given in the title page to the table. Twenty-three towns in all appear in

the smallest group, namely, those having less than 5,000 inhabitants. Of these, 15 are municipalities and two are cantonments. Of the remaining six, three (Patrasair, Nilphamari and Domar) were treated as census towns in 1921 although even then only Patrasair had a population of more than 5,000. The remaining three, Lalmonirhat, Ondal and Naugaon, are new additions and have been referred to in the preceding paragraph.

94. **Definition of city.**—A census city means every town containing not less than 100,000 inhabitants. There are only three such places in Bengal, viz., Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca. No town having a smaller population than 100,000 was decided upon for treatment as a city on the present occasion.

95. **All urban areas included.**—Some account will be given later of the classes into which census towns may be distributed apart from their classification by size. It may be taken as almost certain that no area having any distinct urban characteristics has been omitted from the list of census towns. On the contrary the justification for retaining such places as Patrasair, Naugaon and Domar will require some time in 1941 and in several of the rural municipalities conditions of life scarcely differ from those in villages and they would hardly be included if they were not covered by the definition of town.

96. **Figures represent the normal distribution.**—The figures represent what may be taken to be the normal distribution of the urban and rural population, and comparatively little allowance is to be made for disturbing factors. In chapter III some account is given of the extent to which workers employed in Calcutta live outside the city. Many of them reside in municipalities actually included as towns in the census figures, but others also reside in areas not yet declared to be municipalities, and some small but incalculable allowance is, therefore, to be made in deducing the effective working population of municipal areas on both sides of the river Hooghly close to Calcutta. There is a certain amount of traffic between Calcutta itself and the neighbouring residential areas as well as from one to another municipality in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and from adjacent stations to the subdivisional headquarters in the Asansol subdivision. In some of the industrial municipalities on both sides of the Hooghly about Calcutta the figures would probably have been higher had the census occurred a month or five weeks earlier for within a month of the census as a result of trade conditions a number of workers in these areas was discharged. No particulars are available to show to what extent these workers actually left the area about the mills in which they were employed. The great majority, however, amounting to more than

STATEMENT No. II-1.

Industrial workers discharged.

Province of residence.	District in which employed.						
	24 Parganas.				Hooghly.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Sex not shown.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
All provinces ..	18,727	10,948	2,085	5,694	5,190	4,228	964
Bengal ..	3,818	3,671	79	69	4,438	3,013	825
Bihar and Orissa ..	3,295	2,250	447	598	384	361	23
United Provinces ..	1,865	1,286	94	485	100	90	10
Central Provinces ..	68	49	19	..	181	75	106
Other provinces ..	9,660	3,602	1,446	4,542	87	87	..

20,000 were immigrants to Bengal, as will be seen from statement No. II-1, inset, and it is very probable that the greater part of these returned to their native countries; whilst it is a reasonable assumption that natives of Bengal not permanently domiciled in the industrial areas where they were employed also returned, on discharge, to their native villages.

97. **Distribution of urban and rural population.**—Of the total population of Bengal in every 1,000 no more than 73 live in urban areas of whom 42 per cent. are accounted for by the population of the three cities of Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca. In Bihar and Orissa and in Assam, the neighbouring provinces, the corresponding proportion is 41 and 34, respectively, but it is considerably greater in the North-West Frontier Province (82.5), the United Provinces (112), Madras (137) and Bombay (209). No less than 54 per cent. of the total urban population is found in the Presidency Division and another 22 per cent. in the Burdwan Division. These figures are accounted for mainly by the population of Calcutta and Howrah just as the figure for the Dacca Division (11.6) is to a lesser extent sensibly increased by Dacca City. In the

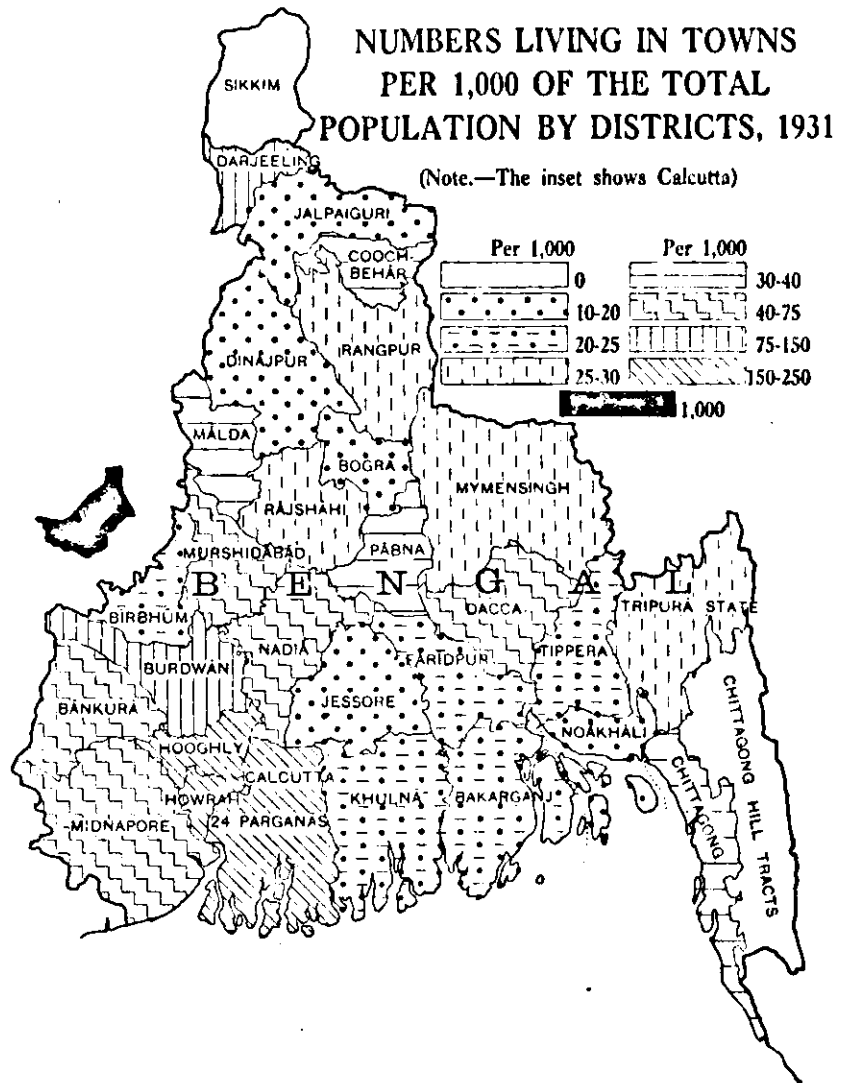
Presidency Division as many as 197 per mille live in towns, but no more than 94 per mille live in urban areas in the Burdwan Division and the figures for Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions are, respectively, only 31, 28 and 23 per mille. It is not only the population of Calcutta and Howrah, however, which sends up the proportion of town-dwellers in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions but a contribution to this result is also made by the concentration of industrial enterprise as well as by the greater number of non-industrial urban areas in these two divisions. The larger towns are also concentrated in Burdwan and Presidency Divisions. Excluding the three cities and taking towns with 10,000 inhabitants and more the numbers in Rajshahi (11), Dacca (12) and Chittagong (6) Divisions total together no more than those of the same size in the Presidency Division (30), and Burdwan Division with 19 has one more than Dacca and Chittagong Divisions together.

98. **Proportions of urban population in districts.**—The figures given in subsidiary table I are illustrated by a map forming diagram No. II-2. There are no towns in the Chittagong Hill Tracts or Sikkim State and less than 2 per cent. of the population live in towns in

Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Bogra, Jessore and Noakhali. In Birbhum and the four districts of Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj and Tippera the proportion is not as high as 2.5 per cent. The districts of Rangpur, Mymensingh and Tippera form a strip in which the proportion living in towns is between 25 and 30 per 1,000 which is the same in Rajshahi district also. With the exception of six districts nowhere in Northern and Eastern Bengal is the town population more than 3 per cent. The six exceptions are Cooch Behar (31), Chittagong (32), Malda (34), Pabna (38), Dacca (50) and Darjeeling (136). The comparatively high proportion in Chittagong is accounted

for by the existence of Chittagong Town which has been declared a major port during the last decade and has a large railway colony. In Dacca there are only two towns and the comparatively high proportion is entirely due to the existence of the city of Dacca with its university. In Darjeeling the high proportion is due both to its residential character and also to the existence of a number of schools. The urban population forms a greater proportion of the total in West Bengal and the western part of Central Bengal. Its greatest concentration is in the three districts around Calcutta, viz., 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly, where the proportion is between 15 and 25 per cent. In Burdwan it is 82 and in Bankura, Midnapore, Murshidabad and Nadia it is between 40 and 75 per 1,000. It is in the south-west of the province that the population tends to live in villages more closely resembling the village in northern and central India.

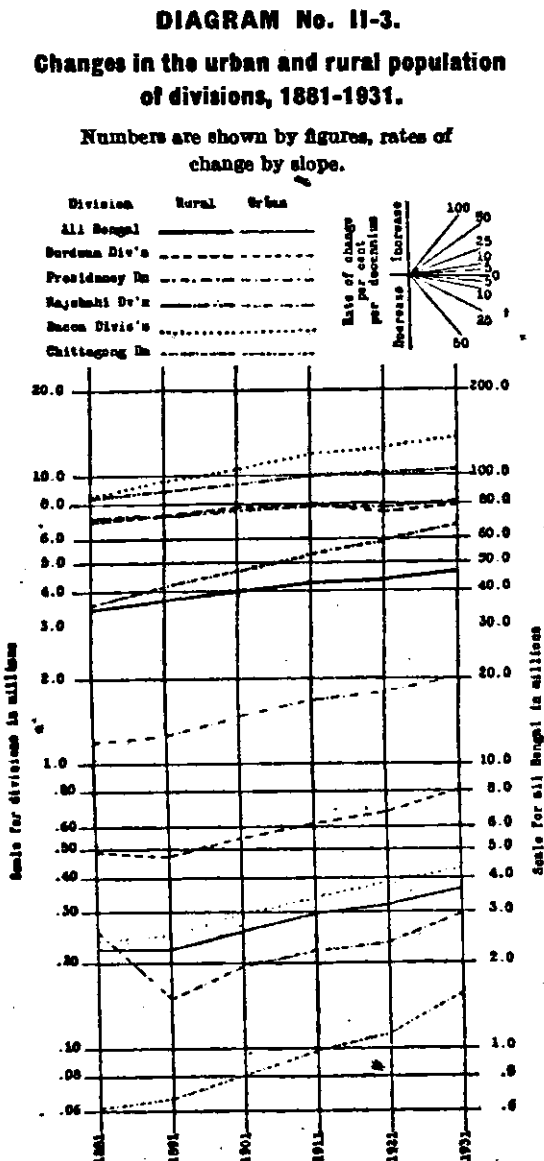
DIAGRAM No. II-2.



99. **Size of towns.**—Nearly 96 per cent. of the towns and villages in Bengal contain less than 2,000 inhabitants and account for 69 per cent. of the total population. Of the localities with a population of 20,000 and over only one, namely, Chakganpara in Bakarganj district, is not a census town. Thirty other localities, each with a population of 10,000 or more, are also not municipalities and have no urban characteristics. Of the urban population 73·1 per cent. live in towns with a population of 20,000 and over and 17·3 per cent. in towns with a population of 10,000 to 20,000. These two proportions are almost identical with the distribution of 1921 when there were 73·2 per cent. of the urban population in towns with a population of 20,000 and over and 16·1 per cent. in towns with a population of 10,000 to 20,000 ; but during the decade cities have gained a greater share of the proportion of population than towns of 20,000 to 50,000 or 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants and now absorb 42 per cent. of the total urban population against 38·1 in 1921. The increase in the class 10,000 to 20,000 and the slight increase from 1·8 to 2 per cent. in the class “under 5,000 inhabitants” has been gained at the expense of the class 5,000 to 10,000 with some accession also from the class 20,000 to 50,000 which accounted for 27·6 per cent. of the population in 1921 but only 25·8 in 1931.

100. **Variations in proportion of urban population.**—Since 1891 at every successive enumeration the proportion of the population living in towns has increased in every division. Relative to the population in rural areas the population recorded in towns actually decreased between 1881 and 1891 in all except the Presidency Division and in all except eight districts, three of which (Burdwan, Midnapore and Howrah) were in the Burdwan and two (Darjeeling and Pabna) in the Rajshahi Division : but since that date, for every thousand of the rural population, there has been an increasing number living in towns. Thus for every thousand of the rural population in British

Territory there were 60 town dwellers in 1891, 65 in 1901, 69 in 1911, 73 in 1921 and 79 in 1931. These figures are given in subsidiary table V which shows the rural and urban population at each successive census since 1881 and from the figures in this table diagrams Nos. II-3 and II-4 have been prepared. No. II-3 shows the changes in the urban and rural population of divisions from 1881 onwards. In the Presidency, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions there has been a continuous rise in the urban population since 1881. In the Burdwan Division and more notably in the Rajshahi Division there was an actual decrease in numbers between 1881 and 1891, but there has since been no decade in which an increase has not been recorded. In the rural population a decrease was recorded only for the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions in one decade between 1911 and 1921, but the diagram illustrates clearly the higher rate of increase in the urban population in every division compared with the rural population. The increase is marked in the case of the Chittagong Division where it is principally contributed by Chittagong and Noakhali districts. In the Noakhali district the largest element of increase was due to the inclusion for the first time of Feni with a population of 10,875. In the Chittagong Division the town of Chittagong



has increased by nearly 17,000 and this increase accounts for the contribution

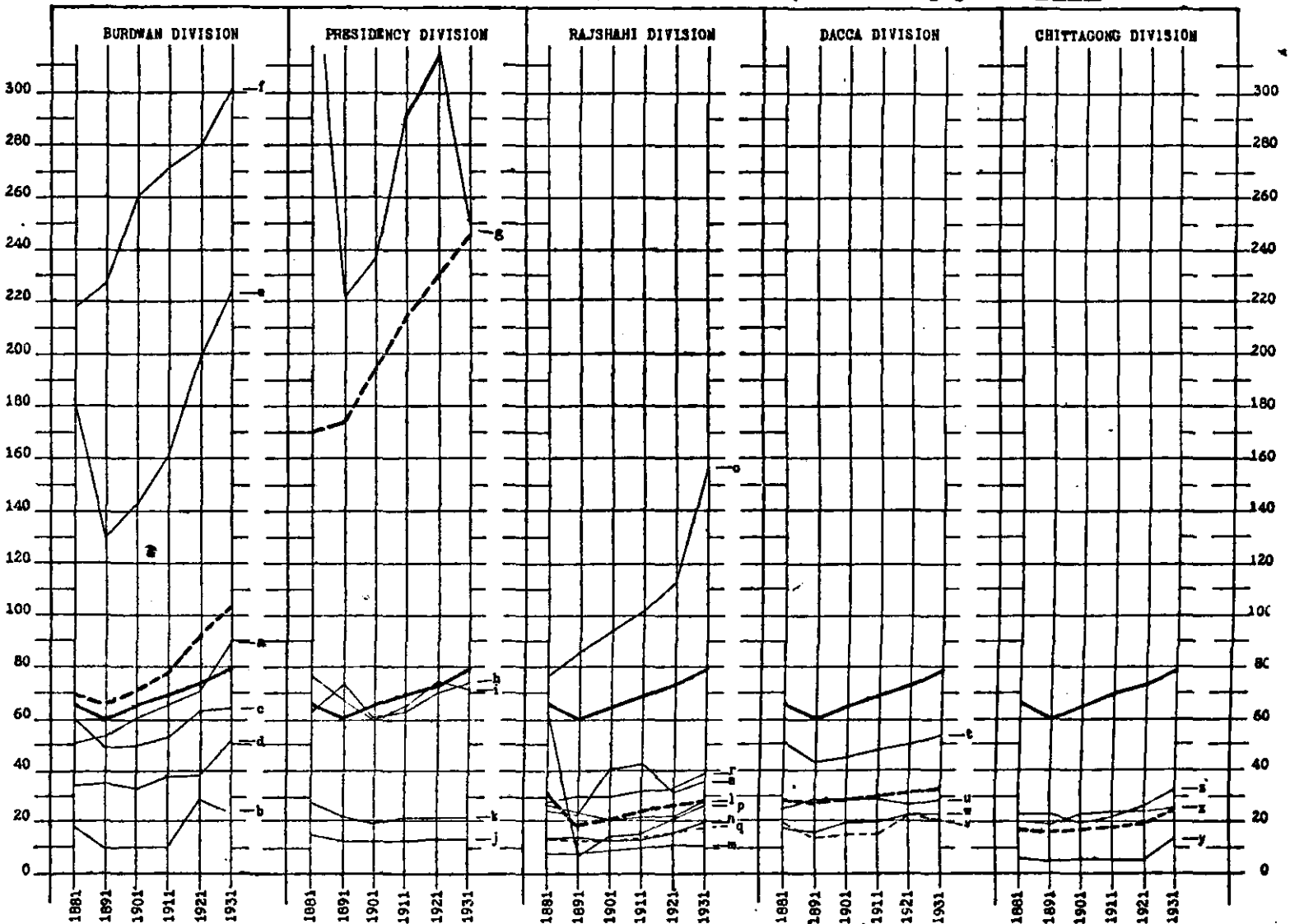
of this district. In Tippera the main increase has been contributed by Comilla (5,451) and Brahmanbaria (3,248). In the Rajshahi Division the inclusion of Naugaon, Kalimpong, Siliguri and Lalmonirhat has added over 22,600 to the urban population from areas previously treated as rural, but with the exception of Darjeeling and Domar every town in the division has shown some increase during the decade which amounted in the case of Kurigaon to as much as 82·0 per cent. The rate of increase has been less marked in other divisions but amounts in the last decade to over 16 per cent. in Burdwan and 12 per cent. in the Presidency Division. In the whole province the increase in the urban population during the decade is 16 per cent. compared with an increase of only 6·7 per cent. in the rural population.

DIAGRAM No. II-4.

Urban population per 1,000 of the rural population by districts at each census, 1881-1931.

NOTE.—No figures are shown for Calcutta which is entirely urban or for Chittagong Hill Tracts which is entirely rural.

a - Burdwan	e - Hooghly	i - Morshidabad	m - Dinajpur	p - Rangpur	s - Malda	w - Bakarganj	District averages (British Territory) — provincial - - - - - divisional
b - Birbhum	f - Howrah	j - Jessore	n - Jalpaiguri	q - Bogra	t - Dacca	x - Tippera	
c - Bankura	g - 24-Parganas	k - Khulna	o - Darjeeling	r - Pabna	u - Mymensingh	y - Noakhali	
d - Midnapur	h - Nadia	l - Rajshahi			v - Faridpur	z - Chittagong	



101. Variations of urban population in districts.—In diagram No. II-4 is shown the percentage borne by the urban population in each district not to the total population but to the rural population. This method of comparison by emphasising the difference in the urban and rural population makes it more convenient to study their relative variations. In spite of the comparatively high rate of increase in the Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions the proportion of town-dwellers compared with the rural population has not risen during the last decade either to anything approaching the

same figure or at so rapid a rate as in West and Central Bengal owing to the concurrent increase in the rural population which in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions has been considerably greater than in other parts. The most striking feature of diagram No. II-4 is the steep increase in the proportion of town-dwellers in Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah and Darjeeling compared with 1921. In Burdwan Division the increase is partly accounted for by the inclusion of four new census towns, viz., Burnpur, Contai, Kulti and Ondal, having between them a population of 25,683. But considerable accessions to the population have been contributed by other towns also. The municipality of Dainhat has increased by two persons only. Bolpur is no longer treated as a census town and there have been decreases in Arambagh, an unhealthy and disaffected area, as well as Patrasair, Kharar, Chandrakona, Khirpai and Ramjibanpur, where there was considerable agitation which may have to some extent affected the accuracy of the returns, but it is more likely to have driven peaceful and well-disposed citizens to their village homes. In every other town, however, there has been an increase and in the case of Kharagpur and Bansberia the increases are considerable and amount, respectively, to 130 and 123 per cent. The removal from the list of towns of Gopalganj and a small decrease in the population of Rajbari in the Faridpur district has reduced the urban population and its proportion to the whole; but the proportion compared with the rural population has increased during the last decade in every other district of the Dacca Division except in Bakarganj where the percentage increase in urban and rural population has been exactly the same and the proportions have remained identical. In Mymensingh district there have been decreases in the population of Jamalpur, Muktagacha and Kishoreganj, but the addition of Gauripur and increases in the other towns have led to an increase in the urban population greater than that in the rural population. In Dacca district both Dacca and Narayanganj, the only two towns, have increased substantially by 16 per cent. and nearly 12 per cent., respectively. In the Presidency Division, owing principally to the removal of three municipalities now included in Calcutta, the urban population has actually decreased during the decade, although of the towns still falling within the district decreases have been shown in the population only of Budge Budge, Tittagarh, Gobardanga and Baduria and all the other towns show an increase which was as much as 129 per cent. in the case of Halisahar, 45 per cent. in Kanchrapara, 32 per cent. in the case of Kamarhati and 29 per cent. in Bhatpara and was due to the expansion of industry, particularly of the jute trade, during most of the decade. In the Nadia district in spite of small decreases in Kumarkhali, and Chakdah increases in the other towns have resulted in a net increase in the urban population (8 per cent.) even greater than that in the rural population (2 per cent.). In Murshidabad district similar decreases in Murshidabad, and Jiaganj-Azimganj have been more than counterbalanced by increases in the other towns, though the 4 per cent. increase in the urban population is less than the 9 per cent. increase in the rural population of the same district. A decrease (2·4 per cent.) in the urban population of Jessore is due to the two municipalities of Moheshpur and Kotchandpur but is less than the decrease (3 per cent.) in the rural population of the district. In Khulna, in spite of a small decrease in Debhatta, there has been an 11 per cent. increase in the urban population as compared with 12 per cent. in the rural population in the same district.

102. **Industrial and non-industrial towns.**—The towns in Bengal fall into two clearly defined classes, industrial and non-industrial, and amongst the non-industrial towns may be distinguished those which form the administrative headquarters of districts or states and subdivisions. The towns shown in tables IV and V are distributed in statement No. II-2 below according to this principal division and within the class of industrial towns, groups have been formed according to the principal industry carried on in each town. Many of the non-industrial towns not forming the headquarters of districts or subdivisions and a certain number which do form such headquarters differ but little in their conditions from large villages, except in the provision

by the municipality of an infrequent lamp post. Scientific sewerage disposal schemes are in existence only for Calcutta, Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong Bazar, Titagarh, Bhatpara and Dacca city, and of these all except the arrangements for Calcutta and Darjeeling have been made during

STATEMENT No. II-2.

Industrial Towns.	Non-industrial Towns.	
	Administrative headquarters.	Others.
JUTE SPINNING, ETC.		
(a) Serampore (also Cotton-mill) Kishra-Konnagar Champdanj Bhadreswar Bally Baidyabati Uttarpara Budge-Budge Baranagar Kamarhati Titagarh (also Paper) Barrackpore North Barrackpore Barrackpore Cantonment South Dum-Dum Garulia Khardah Bhatpara Nalhati	Burdwan* Katwa Kaina Suri* Rampurhat Bankura Bishnupur Midnapore* Ghatal Tamluk Contal Hooghly-Chinsura* Arambagh Barasat Basirhat Krishnagar*	Darjeeling* Jalapahar Lebong Kalimpong Kurseong Siliguri Rangpur* Nilphamari Kurlgaon Gaibandha Bogra* Pabna* Englishbazar* Tangail Netrakona Kishoreganj Faridpur* Rajbari Patuakhali Pirojpur Bhola Brahmanbaria Comilla* Noakhali* Feni Cox's Bazar Agartala* Cooch Behar* Dinhat Mathabhanga Dainhat Sonamukhi Patrasair Kharar Chandrakona Ramjibanpur Khirpai Kotrung Bansberia Rajpur Jaynagar Baruipur Panhati Dum-Dum North Dum-Dum Gobardanga Baduria Taki Kumarkhali Nabadwip Santipur Birnagar Chakdah Beldanga Jiganj-Azimganj Dhulian Mahesbpur Kotchandpur Debhatta Domar Shorpur Old Malda Nawabganj Muktageshia Gauripur Bajitpur Nalchiti Haldibari
(b) JUTE COLLECTION AND PRESSING Narayanganj Srajanj Mymensingh Madaripur Jamalpur	Kushtia Meherpur Itanaghat Berhampore* Murshidabad Jangipur Kandi	
(c) COAL (WITH IRON SMELTING) Asansol Burnpur Kulti Ondal Raniganj	Jessore* Khulna* Sakhlira Naogaon	
(d) RAILWAY CENTRES Howrah Kharagpur (including Railway Settlement) Hallsahar Kanchrapara Saldpur Lalmonghat	Rajshahi* Nator Dinajpur* Jalpaiguri*	
(e) SHIPPING Barisal Chandpur Chittagong Jhalakati		
(f) OTHERS Calcutta with Suburbs Dacca		

*Administrative headquarters marked with an asterisk are District or State Headquarters and the others are Subdivisional Headquarters.

the last decade. Excluding Calcutta and the two neighbouring municipalities (South Suburban and Tollygunge) which share the same supply, there are filtered water-supply schemes only in 40 of the 140 towns shown in the tables. The names are given in the margin where an asterisk (*) distinguishes those without any such supply before 1921 and a dagger (†) those in which the schemes previously in existence have been improved or extended between 1921 and 1930.

STATEMENT No. II-3.
Municipalities with filtered water-supply schemes.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. *Asansol. | 23. †Khulna. |
| 2. †Bankura. | 24. *Krishnagar. |
| 3. Baranagar. | 25. Kurseong. |
| 4. Barisal. | 26. *Midnapore. |
| 5. Berhampore. | 27. Munshiganj. |
| 6. †Bhadreswar. | 28. †Mymensingh. |
| 7. Bhatpara. | 29. *Nalhati. |
| 8. †Burdwan. | 30. Narayanganj. |
| 9. Calcutta. | 31. Nator. |
| 10. Champdanj. | 32. †Noakhali. |
| 11. †Chandpur (South). | 33. †Patuakhali. |
| 12. †Chittagong. | 34. Pirojpur. |
| 13. *Comilla. | 35. *Raniganj. |
| 14. †Dacca. | 36. Rajbari. |
| 15. Darjeeling | 37. †Sakhlira. |
| 16. *Faridpur. | 38. †Serampore. |
| 17. *Garden Reach. | 39. †South Suburban. |
| 18. †Garulia. | 40. *Suri. |
| 19. Hooghly Chinsura. | 41. †Titagarh. |
| 20. †Howrah. | 42. †Tollygunge. |
| 21. †Jessore. | 43. Uttarpara. |
| 22. *Kalimpong. | |

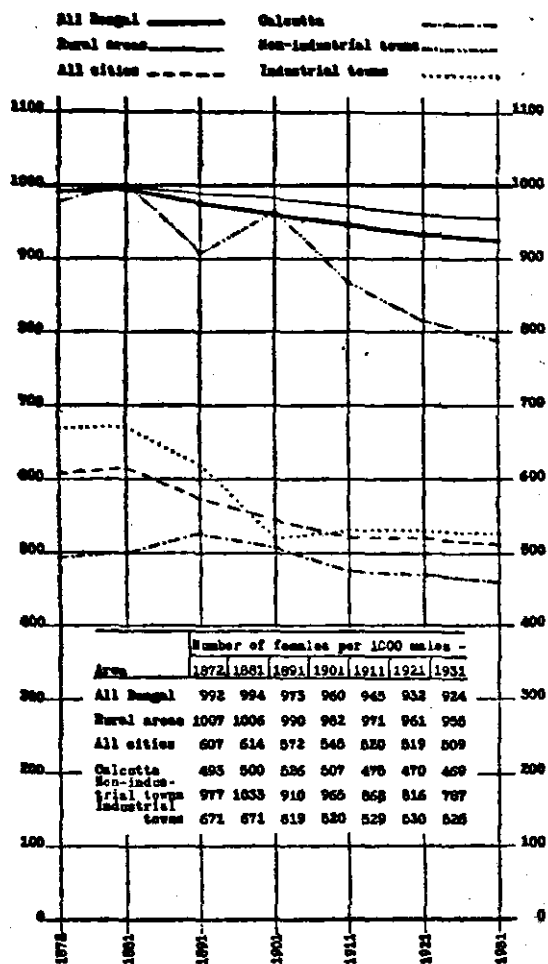
*Scheme not existent before January 1921 and carried out during the decade 1921-1930.
†Scheme existent before January 1921 but extended or improved during the decade 1921-1930.
‡Uses the Calcutta supply.
§Supplied from the local mills.

103. Sex ratio in towns.—There are marked differences in the constitution of the population between industrial and non-industrial areas. The average number of females per 1,000 males in the whole of Bengal is 924. In rural areas the proportion is 955 and in Calcutta it is as low as 469. Between these last two figures the number of females per 1,000 males shows a progressive decrease in non-industrial and industrial towns where the figures are 787 and 526, respectively.

The figures given in chapter III and there illustrated by diagram No. III-6 indicate how much greater a proportion of the population in industrial towns is immigrant than in rural areas, and the immigrant comparatively rarely brings his women folk with him or marries

and settles in towns in Bengal. Moreover, many persons who seek the town for a livelihood leave their families behind in their native villages. The figures given and illustrated in diagram No. II-5 show clearly the discrepancies in the sex proportions and indicate how in general the number of females per 1,000 males has been decreasing even in rural areas in Bengal during successive decades, but more rapidly in the urban than in the rural areas, particularly in Calcutta. In 1872 there were actually more women than men in the rural population, but at each successive enumeration this number has progressively declined. In Bengal as a whole there were 992 women for every 1,000 men in 1872 and 994 in 1881, but since that date the number has progressively declined. Even in 1872 the number of females in Calcutta was only 493, which had increased to 500 in 1881 and 526 in 1891 but by 1911 was lower than it had been in 1872 and is now down to the figure already mentioned. The female ratio in industrial towns after remaining the same in 1872 and 1881 has successively declined except between 1901 and 1911 and between 1911 and 1921, but there are now scarcely more than one female to every two males in the industrial areas and even less than that proportion in

DIAGRAM No. II-5.
Number of females per 1,000 males in rural areas, cities and towns at each census, 1872-1931.



Calcutta. In non-industrial towns the proportion was 977 in 1872 and rose to as much as 1,033 in 1881, but has since declined steadily with the exception of the decade 1891 to 1901 when it went up from 910 to 965. These sex ratios illustrate the statement made above that many of the non-industrial towns, even including those which are headquarters of districts or subdivisions, reproduce very much more approximately the ordinary conditions of life in the rural areas. Similar variations in the sex ratio appear in the figures for different classes of towns shown in subsidiary table III: there are 772 females to every 1,000 males in towns with less than 5,000 inhabitants; but on an average the proportion continuously decreases as the population of the towns concerned increases. On the other hand, casual samples do not appear to suggest that the sex ratio has any correlation with density. Figures for the population density of towns are shown on the present occasion for the first time in provincial table I. The density and sex ratio of towns with a population of less than 1,000 to the square mile are given in statement No. II-4 inset. Four of these (Chandrakona, Arambagh, Dum-Dum and North Dum-Dum) have sex ratios less than that of the average town, whilst an equal number have a sex ratio higher than the average for rural areas.

Conversely in nine towns with a sex ratio higher than 1,000 only one has a density of less than 1,000 persons per square mile. The details are given in statement No. II-5 inset.

STATEMENT No. II-4.

	Towns with a density of less than 1,000 per square mile.	
	Persons per square mile.	Females per 1,000 males.
Chandrakona	940	923
Khirpai	923	995
Arambagh	995	907
Dum-Dum	594	826
North Dum-Dum	782	783
Chakdah	997	977
Beldauga	817	968
Debhatta	991	1,019

STATEMENT No. II-5.

	Towns with a sex ratio of more than 1,000.	
	Females per 1,000 males.	Persons per square mile.
Bishnupur	1,016	2,462
Sonamukhi	1,059	1,998
Nabadwip	1,116	4,191
Santipur	1,080	2,777
Jangipur	1,087	4,265
Dhulian	1,076	2,442
Debhatta	1,019	991
Nawabganj	1,111	4,796
Bajitpur	1,069	5,825

104. **Sex ratio and decay of towns.**—Similarly the towns which show persistent decline of population do not show a corresponding increase in the number of females per 1,000 males from census to census. Such a result might be expected where, first, the towns are reduced to their permanent residents owing to the decay of industries which previously attracted immigrants and, secondly, the decay proceeds so far as to drive even the male residents afield to seek employment elsewhere. At each successive decade during the last 50 years a decline has been returned in the population of Khirpai, Murshidabad, Chandrakona, Jiaganj-Azimganj, Arambagh and Ramjibanpur. The sex ratio in all except Jiaganj and Arambagh is now higher than in the province taken as a whole, but only in Khirpai it is higher than in the rural parts of the province, and the number of females per 1,000 males has shown an increase only in two decades in Khirpai and Murshidabad and one decade in Chandrakona, Jiaganj-Azimganj and Arambagh, whilst it has actually declined continuously in Ramjibanpur, and in all six towns is less than it was in 1881 or even in 1891. Similar figures are given for Kotchandpur, Kharar and Kumarkhali where decrease in number has been continuous for four decades and for Mahespur and Old Malda which have declined at each of the last two enumerations. The actual figures are given in statement No. II-6 inset, together with others of towns which have recorded a decrease of population in more than three of the last five decades: figures in ordinary type are at the end of the decade in which there was an increase of population, and those in italics at the end of a decade in which there was a decrease.

STATEMENT No. II-6.

Sex ratios in selected towns, 1881-1931.

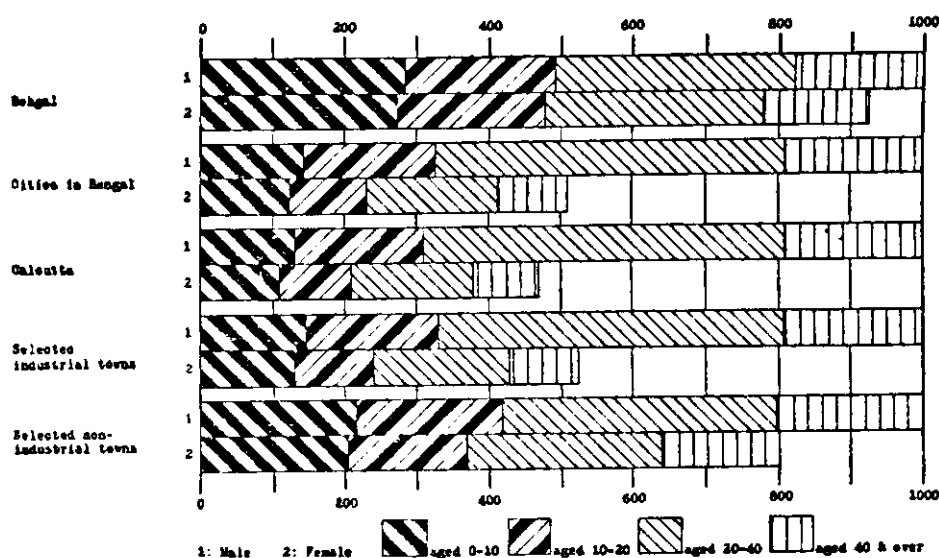
Town.	Number of females per 1,000 males.					
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Khirpai	1,032	<i>1,033</i>	<i>1,018</i>	<i>1,007</i>	<i>1,016</i>	<i>995</i>
Murshidabad	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jiaganj-Azimganj	1,078	<i>971</i>	<i>931</i>	<i>1,024</i>	<i>975</i>	<i>934</i>
Chandrakona	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arambagh	1,023	<i>1,010</i>	<i>998</i>	<i>1,013</i>	<i>990</i>	<i>924</i>
Ramjibanpur	1,084	<i>1,005</i>	<i>975</i>	<i>982</i>	<i>911</i>	<i>907</i>
Kotchandpur	1,098	<i>1,055</i>	<i>1,047</i>	<i>1,008</i>	<i>965</i>	<i>937</i>
Kharar	858	<i>836</i>	<i>861</i>	<i>886</i>	<i>967</i>	<i>848</i>
Kumarkhali	..	..	..	..	..	..
Old Malda	1,215	<i>1,162</i>	<i>1,107</i>	<i>1,116</i>	<i>953</i>	<i>920</i>
Mahespur	1,084	<i>978</i>	<i>805</i>	<i>802</i>	<i>876</i>	<i>893</i>
Chakdah	1,161	<i>1,102</i>	<i>1,067</i>	<i>1,000</i>	<i>1,007</i>	<i>838</i>
Biruar	1,012	<i>870</i>	<i>1,095</i>	<i>997</i>	<i>884</i>	<i>977</i>
Gobardanga	1,219	<i>1,180</i>	<i>1,122</i>	<i>1,040</i>	<i>945</i>	<i>851</i>
Nator	1,181	<i>1,030</i>	<i>1,034</i>	<i>1,002</i>	<i>928</i>	<i>969</i>
Sonamukhi	1,013	<i>956</i>	<i>894</i>	<i>830</i>	<i>820</i>	<i>794</i>
Santipur	1,111	<i>1,152</i>	<i>1,118</i>	<i>1,123</i>	<i>1,071</i>	<i>1,059</i>
North Barrackpore	1,168	<i>1,174</i>	<i>1,149</i>	<i>1,191</i>	<i>1,186</i>	<i>1,080</i>
	..	..	<i>847</i>	<i>694</i>	<i>633</i>	<i>667</i>

*Not on record.

105. **Age distribution in urban areas.**—The age distribution of the urban population shows similar deviations from that in the whole of Bengal. This

DIAGRAM No. II-6.

Age distribution of 1,000 males and a proportionate number of females in selected urban areas.



is illustrated in diagram No. II-6 and statement No. II-7 shown overleaf. The towns selected are those given in subsidiary table V to chapter III: and the discrepancy between the sex ratios at all ages for corresponding groups in diagram No. II-5 is due to the selection. The difference is one only in the case of industrial towns, and no more than 14 for non-industrial towns, and the samples may be taken as reasonably representative, though the non-industrial towns selected give a ratio rather closer to that for all Bengal than the

average of all similar localities. In towns there is a larger percentage of males aged 40 and over than in rural areas; but it is

STATEMENT No. II-7.

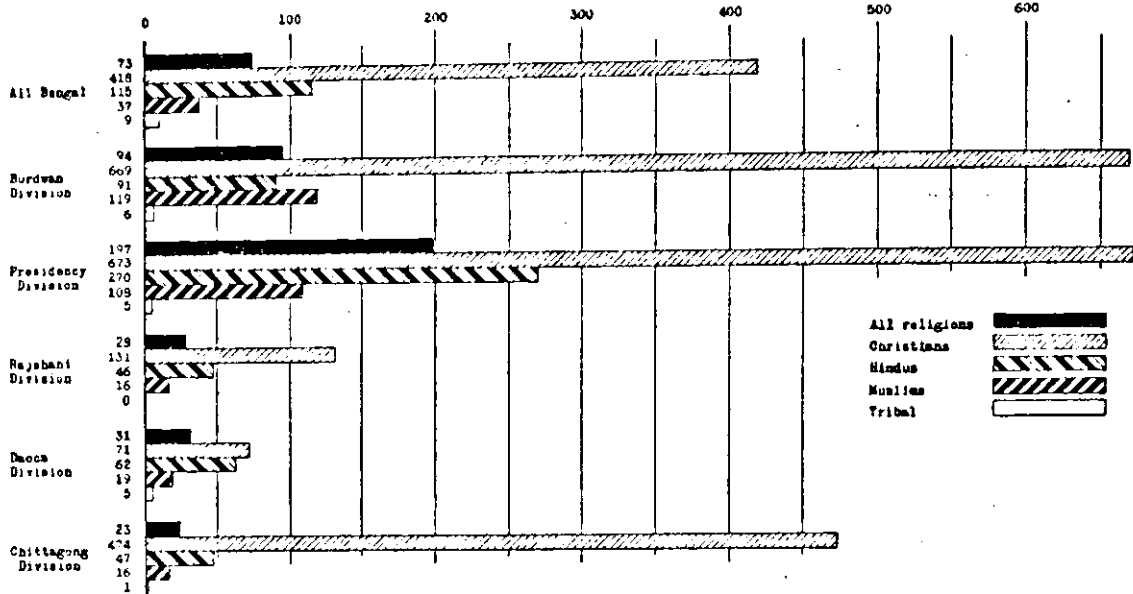
Locality and age.	Number per 1,000 males, all ages.	
	Males.	Females.
1	2	3
BENGAL.		
All ages	1,000	824
0—10	285	273
10—20	207	205
20—40	331	301
40 and over	177	145
Cities.		
All ages	1,000	509
0—10	143	123
10—20	184	107
20—40	483	183
40 and over	190	96
Calcutta.		
All ages	1,000	469
0—10	131	111
10—20	180	98
20—40	500	172
40 and over	189	88
Industrial Towns (sorting units).		
All ages	1,000	525
0—10	148	130
10—20	184	110
20—40	450	189
40 and over	188	96
Non-industrial Towns (sorting units).		
All ages	1,000	801
0—10	216	204
10—20	202	166
20—40	380	269
40 and over	202	162

between the ages 20 to 40 that the greatest discrepancy occurs in the proportions amongst males in towns and rural areas. Amongst 1,000 males almost half as many again are aged 20-40 in towns and cities as in rural areas and more than half as many again in cities. Below 20 the numbers form a smaller proportion of the whole than in rural areas, particularly between the ages of 0 and 10, amounting in Calcutta, cities and selected industrial towns to only about half of the proportion borne by males of the same age to the total population of Bengal. With females the discrepancy between the proportions aged 0 to 10 is less marked. There are 96 females for every 100 males aged 0 to 10 in all Bengal, 94 in non-industrial towns, 88 in industrial towns, 86 in cities and 85 in Calcutta. The discrepancy increases in the next two decennial groups. Against 99 females aged 10 to 20 for every 100 males in all Bengal there are 82 in non-industrial towns, 60 in industrial towns, 58 in cities and only 54 in Calcutta. For every 100 males aged 20 to 40 there are 91 females in all Bengal, 71 in non-industrial towns and no more than 39 in industrial towns, 38 in cities and 34 in Calcutta. The proportions aged 40 and over are almost identical in Bengal (82) and in non-industrial towns (80), but in other towns and cities there are no more than two-thirds as many females to males of this age as there are in all Bengal. These figures point to the deduction that a very great proportion of town-dwellers are temporary residents and where they have their families with them they send them away to their native villages as early as they can. The children up to 10 of both sexes probably represent the families of persons permanently living in towns, and at these ages the general correspondence of the sex ratios with the ratios for other parts of Bengal is the result of this: but beyond that age the influx of male workers, many of whom are without families, increases enormously the proportion of males compared with females.

106. **Urban population by religion.**—In Bengal Jews, Sikhs, Zoroastrians and Jains live principally in the towns, and Jews, in fact, are found outside urban areas only in the 24-Parganas. Amongst the other religions a greater proportion of Christians live in towns than of any other faith. In all Bengal 418 out of every 1,000 Christians are found in towns and the figure is as high as 673 in the Presidency Division and 669 in the Burdwan Division. In Midnapore where town-dwellers form the major part of the Christian population no less than 721 of every 1,000 or nearly three-quarters live in towns, and more than two-thirds of the Christians in Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah are similarly town-dwellers. It is of course natural that the town should claim the greater proportion of communities the numbers of which are comparatively small and this fact is illustrated by the distribution of town-dwellers amongst Muslims and Hindus. In the whole of Bengal only 37 Muslims out of every 1,000 live in towns, and the corresponding figure for Hindus is 115; but diagram No. II-7 compiled from subsidiary table II illustrates clearly that, in general, a greater proportion of these religions are town-dwellers in the districts where their community forms a minority. Thus in Burdwan and Presidency Divisions 119 and 108, respectively, out of every 1,000 Muslims live in towns, but in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, where Muslims predominate, the corresponding figures are 19 and 16 only. The analogy does not hold completely for Hindus. It is in the Presidency Division that the greatest proportion of this community lives in towns, but with the exception of those professing tribal religions the same principle

DIAGRAM No. II-7.

Numbers living in towns per mille : All Religions, Christians, Hindus, Muslims and those professing Tribal Religions by administrative divisions, 1931.



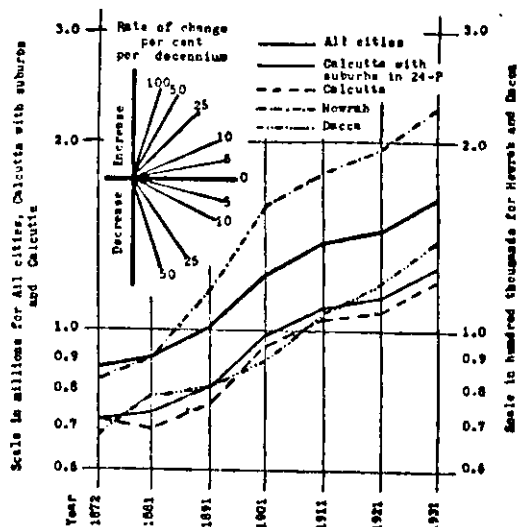
holds good also for every community if only because the proportion of town-dwellers is greatest in this division. Hindus also have taken most readily to town life and to those professions which are particularly exercised in towns, and if a comparison be made with the figures for all religions in each division the proposition will be found roughly to hold good. Thus in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions the proportion of Muslims dwelling in towns is less and the proportion of Hindus is greater than the proportion for all religions. The same also holds good for the Rajshahi Division and for all Bengal and the converse for the Burdwan Division where there is a Hindu majority. It is only in accordance with expectation that the percentage of persons professing tribal religions is negligible in towns. Here also it is in Noakhali and Howrah where the actual numbers are very small that the greatest proportion of those professing tribal religions live in towns. The figures for these two districts are 667 and 431 per 1,000, but the totals are no more than 3 and 306, respectively. The comparatively high figure of 75 per 1,000 in the 24-Parganas is accounted for by the numbers of aborigines who find work as labourers in municipalities about Calcutta.

107. **Population of cities.**—Figures of the growth of cities are given in subsidiary table IV and illustrated in diagram No. II-8 compiled from it and from imperial table IV. In subsidiary table IV as well as in the diagram the figures of population on previous occasions of census are those for the area of the city as at present constituted. Howrah and Dacca cities show the greatest percentage of increase (16 and 15.2 per cent.) during the last decade; but with the exception of 1891 to 1901 when the increase in all cities was 21.9 per cent. the rate of increase in any decade since 1872 has not been so great as at the present occasion when it amounts to 12.2 per cent. The diagram illustrates clearly the concurrent expansion of Calcutta and of its suburbs in 24-Parganas and at every decade except 1891 to 1901 as given above the percentage increase in the suburbs of Calcutta has exceeded that of the area in the city itself, amounting on the present occasion to 16.4 per cent. against 11.1. Since 1872 Howrah City has grown to more than 2½ times its size and Dacca City to well over 2 times its size and the total population of all cities is 85.8 per cent. greater than it was in 1872, for which year, however, no figures are available of Calcutta suburbs.

DIAGRAM No. II-8.

Changes in the population of cities at each census, 1872-1931.

(Numbers are shown by figures, rate of change by slope.)



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Distribution of population between towns and inhabited rural mauzas.

(NOTE.—Chittagong Hill Tracts and the State of Sikkim contain no towns.)

Natural and administrative division, district or state.	Average population in each—		Number per mille residing in—		Number per mille of urban population residing in towns with a population of—				Number per mille of rural population residing in mauzas with a population of—			
	Town.	Inhabited rural mauza.	Town.	Rural mauza.	20,000 and over.	10,000 to 20,000.	5,000 to 10,000.	Under 5,000.	5,000 and over.	2,000 to 5,000.	500 to 2,000.	Under 500.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL ..	25,958	519	73	927	731	173	76	20	47	205	473	275
West Bengal ..	22,650	350	94	906	730	140	110	20	14	102	456	428
BURDWAN DIVISION ..	22,650	350	94	906	730	140	110	20	14	102	456	428
Burdwan ..	14,432	549	82	918	546	215	178	61	10	154	557	279
Birbhum ..	10,438	386	22	978	..	522	478	..	80	94	458	418
Bankura ..	16,811	300	61	939	472	456	..	72	..	25	409	566
Midnapore ..	15,998	252	49	951	650	89	234	27	..	55	394	551
Hooghly ..	20,359	418	183	817	721	161	118	..	7	123	482	388
Howrah ..	127,610	759	232	768	1,000	..	..	..	78	238	505	179
Central Bengal ..	39,762	614	197	803	813	126	47	14	25	180	550	245
PRESIDENCY DIVISION ..	39,762	614	197	803	813	126	47	14	25	180	550	245
24-Parganas ..	19,948	661	199	801	635	265	88	17	26	187	564	223
Calcutta ..	1,196,734	..	1,000	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nadia ..	11,648	593	69	931	470	249	149	92	14	159	573	254
Murshidabad ..	13,115	694	67	933	298	397	305	..	32	249	532	187
Jessore ..	6,931	459	12	988	..	548	294	160	11	81	527	381
Khulna ..	11,772	740	22	978	..	890	..	140	39	236	550	175
North Bengal ..	10,768	443	28	972	327	428	152	93	61	181	422	336
RAJSHAHI DIVISION ..	11,793	441	28	972	347	414	161	78	61	186	414	339
Rajshahi ..	12,829	301	27	973	703	..	216	81	1	30	413	556
Dinajpur ..	19,156	264	11	989	..	1,000	..	..	6	77	350	567
Jalpaiguri ..	18,962	1,254	19	981	..	1,000	..	..	221	379	324	76
Darjeeling ..	7,247	520	136	864	..	458	513	29	..	89	616	295
Rangpur ..	9,396	621	25	975	316	251	257	176	106	289	389	216
Bogra ..	9,549	486	18	982	..	778	..	224	10	148	490	352
Pabna ..	27,185	509	38	962	1,000	..	..	..	30	193	519	258
Malda ..	11,837	438	34	966	..	922	..	78	84	208	395	313
COOCH BEHAR ..	4,598	477	31	969	..	656	..	344	58	93	563	389
East Bengal ..	21,271	664	28	972	672	237	88	3	61	268	476	195
DACCA DIVISION ..	21,452	667	31	969	673	233	89	5	46	245	501	268
Dacca ..	86,354	621	50	950	1,000	..	..	..	29	244	502	225
Mymensingh ..	15,523	600	27	973	383	528	89	..	19	207	525	249
Faridpur ..	16,505	637	21	979	543	313	144	..	15	257	522	206
Bakarganj ..	11,185	967	23	977	532	163	276	29	134	306	442	118
CHITTAGONG DIVISION ..	22,428	913	23	977	708	260	32	..	68	328	438	136
Tipperra ..	23,955	726	24	976	775	225	..	..	49	254	502	195
Noakhali ..	11,969	990	14	986	..	1,000	..	..	157	287	443	113
Chittagong ..	29,087	1,651	32	968	914	..	86	..	139	526	296	39
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	..	566	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	91	645	264
TRIPURA STATE ..	8,580	110	25	975	..	..	1,000	..	..	..	225	775
SIKKIM ..	..	299	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	330	670

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Number living in towns per mille of the total population and of each principal religion.

(NOTE.—Chittagong Hill Tracts and the State of Sikkim contain no towns.)

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number per mille of the same religion who live in towns.									
	All religions.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	Buddhist.	Christian.	Jain.	Sikh.	Jew.	Zoroastrian.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BENGAL ..	73	37	115	9	47	418	621	903	991	888
West Bengal ..	94	119	91	6	536	669	321	816	1,000	887
BURDWAN DIVISION ..	94	119	91	6	536	669	321	816	1,000	887
Burdwan ..	82	95	79	19	441	678	490	579	1,000	1,000
Birbhum ..	22	20	26	1	..	316	43	..	..	..
Bankura ..	61	55	63	1	..	255	961	..	..	..
Midnapore ..	49	89	46	3	214	721	390	968	1,000	1,000
Hooghly ..	183	195	181	3	771	669	1,000	1,000	..	1,000
Howrah ..	232	238	228	431	620	609	822	526	..	876
Central Bengal ..	197	108	270	5	941	673	905	992	992	920
PRESIDENCY DIVISION ..	197	108	270	5	941	673	905	992	992	920
24-Parganas ..	199	145	228	75	648	282	865	889	385	274
Calcutta ..	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Nadia ..	69	24	140	..	760	146	227	..	..	..
Murshidabad ..	67	88	105	1	..	568	728	667	..	..
Jessore ..	12	8	20	..	..	117	..	..	..	..
Khulna ..	22	15	28	..	74	86	91	..	..	..
North Bengal ..	28	16	46	..	136	132	371	201	1,000	444
RAJSHAHI DIVISION ..	28	16	46	..	136	131	319	201	1,000	444
Rajshahi ..	27	14	70	1	143	81	460	..	1,000	..
Dinajpur ..	11	6	16	..	91	49	303	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri ..	19	21	21	..	8	9	112	159	..	..
Darjeeling ..	136	322	121	..	152	374	613	..	1,000	900
Rangpur ..	25	13	55	..	667	442	376	1,000	..	..
Bogra ..	18	8	65	..	1,000	168	134	..	..	..
Pabna ..	38	27	74	..	..	234	339	158	..	..
Malda ..	34	33	38	..	..	16	161	..	..	..
COOCH BEHAR STATE ..	31	18	38	4	1,000	331	711	..	..	..
East Bengal ..	28	18	56	3	12	98	287	275	..	..
DACCA DIVISION ..	31	19	62	6	8	71	288	1,000	..	..
Dacca ..	60	32	87	..	473	59	1,000	1,000	..	..
Mymensingh ..	27	17	63	5	800	28	278	1,000	..	..
Faridpur ..	21	12	30	..	462	29	..	..	..	..
Bakarganj ..	23	11	52	..	2	177	..	..	..	..
CHITTAGONG DIVISION ..	23	16	47	1	128	474	..	176	..	..
Tipperra ..	24	14	54	..	16	581	..	..	..	..
Noakhali ..	14	12	21	667	13	274	..	..	..	..
Chittagong ..	32	22	63	9	39	761	..	170	..	..
TRIPURA STATE ..	25	13	32	..	..	1	..	1,000	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Towns by classes : number, proportionate distribution of urban population and sex ratio, 1931, with variations per cent. of population, 1872-1931.

Class of towns.	Towns by classes in 1931.			Variation (increase +, decrease -) per cent. of the aggregate population falling within each class—								
	Number of towns.	Population per cent. of total urban population.	Females per 1,000 males.	at the census of 1921: variation for the period—						at the census of 1872: variation for the period—	In 1872 and 1931, respectively, variation for the period—	
				1921-81.	1911-21.	1901-11.	1891-1901.	1881-91.	1872-81.	1872-1931.	1872-1931.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
All Classes ..	143	100	601	+13.2	+ 4.8	+13.2	+11.9	+10.2	- 2.4	+ 57.0	+ 99.0	
I—100,000 and over ..	3	42.0	501	+11.2	+ 3.8	+ 8.1	+24.4	+12.7	- 0.5	+ 57.4	+146.4	
II—50,000 to 100,000 ..	3	5.3	526	+15.8	+22.6	+78.4	+26.4	-12.9	- 6.6	+112.4	- 5.0	
III—20,000 to 50,000 ..	32	25.8	662	+19.2	+ 6.3	+17.4	+ 4.2	+14.0	+ 2.1	+ 1.0	+135.9	
IV—10,000 to 20,000 ..	44	17.3	725	+ 9.9	+ 2.6	+ 8.9	+ 1.8	+10.2	- 3.8	+ 74.0	+ 71.2	
V—5,000 to 10,000 ..	38	7.6	758	+15.8	- 4.4	+ 4.5	+ 0.0	+ 2.8	-13.6	+ 73.4	+ 27.1	
VI—under 5,000 ..	23	2.0	772	+ 9.5	+ 2.6	+ 3.0	- 6.3	- 3.5	-12.6	+235.4	+403.7	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Cities in Bengal ; population, density, sex ratio and ratio of foreign born in 1931 with variation per cent. in population 1872-1931.

(NOTE.—Figures of variations refer to the population of each city as constituted in 1931.)

City.	Particulars of 1931.				Percentage of variation (increase +, decrease -) during the period—							
	Population.	Number of persons per square mile.	Number of females per 1,000 males.	Number born outside Bengal per 1,000 of the total population.	1921-31.	1911-21.	1901-11.	1891-1901.	1881-91.	1872-81.	1881-1931.	1872-1931.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All Cities in Bengal ..	1,624,100	24,240	509	306	+12.2	+ 4.8	+11.2	+21.9	+11.7	+ 3.8*	+ 75.0	+ 85.8*
Calcutta with suburbs in 24-Parganas and Howrah City ..	1,485,582	22,173	490	328	+11.9	+ 4.3	+11.0	+22.9	+12.5	+ 2.9*	+ 79.1	+ 84.4*
Calcutta ..	1,196,734	36,265	468	332	+11.1	+ 3.3	+ 9.9	+23.3	+10.1	- 3.1	+ 71.1	+ 65.9
Suburbs in 24-Parganas ..	63,975	3,554	730	150	+16.4	+10.3	+27.5	+14.8	+17.4	†	+ 63.2	†
Howrah City ..	224,873	22,437	550	355	+15.2	+ 9.1	+13.6	+35.2	+28.4	+ 8.0	+147.6	+167.4
Dacca City ..	138,518	23,086	745	76	+16.0	+10.0	+21.0	+10.0	+ 4.1	+14.2	+ 76.8	+101.9

* Excluding suburbs in 24-Parganas for which figures are not on record for 1872.
 † Not recorded.

CHAPTER II—CITIES, TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Changes in rural and urban population of districts and divisions 1881-1931.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	1931		1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	47,375,398	3,711,940	44,381,158	3,211,304	43,337,395	2,968,247	40,281,248	2,803,065	37,587,427	2,221,141	34,772,918	2,243,411
British Territory	46,429,672	3,684,330	43,509,230	3,186,300	42,537,465	2,945,622	39,564,520	2,578,492	36,892,608	2,209,650	34,084,192	2,232,888
West Bengal	7,831,788	815,401	7,376,042	674,800	7,852,054	615,260	7,891,357	548,719	7,214,176	474,642	6,909,777	484,177
BURDWAN DIVISION	7,831,788	815,401	7,376,042	674,800	7,852,054	615,260	7,691,357	548,719	7,214,176	474,642	6,909,777	484,177
Burdwan	1,445,814	129,885	1,343,185	95,741	1,444,185	94,186	1,445,747	86,728	1,322,108	99,772	1,323,879	67,944
Birbhum	926,077	20,877	824,319	23,251	920,342	9,131	893,588	8,092	790,352	7,481	780,572	13,855
Bankura	1,044,479	67,242	959,052	60,889	1,081,464	57,206	1,063,136	53,275	1,019,273	50,395	982,943	58,800
Midnapore	2,600,509	138,584	2,569,791	96,869	2,719,346	101,855	2,699,238	89,876	2,541,621	89,805	2,436,099	81,760
Hooghly	910,862	203,593	900,802	179,340	938,615	151,482	915,390	183,892	952,917	123,793	856,109	156,655
Howrah	843,047	255,220	778,893	218,510	742,102	201,400	674,258	176,256	587,905	183,306	530,175	105,200
Central Bengal	3,120,140	1,988,089	7,685,691	1,775,704	7,770,990	1,674,331	7,530,304	1,462,724	7,269,471	1,265,655	7,010,156	1,194,750
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	3,120,140	1,988,089	7,685,691	1,775,704	7,770,990	1,674,331	7,530,304	1,462,724	7,269,471	1,265,655	7,010,156	1,194,750
24-Parganas	2,175,265	538,609	1,998,818	629,887	1,885,590	548,514	1,680,229	398,130	1,548,403	343,630	1,370,678	499,158
Calcutta	926,077	1,196,734	907,851	907,851	890,087	847,796	847,796	847,796	847,796	847,796	847,796	847,796
Nadia	1,424,801	104,831	1,390,704	96,868	1,521,928	95,918	1,572,136	95,355	1,531,108	113,000	1,898,007	119,844
Murshidabad	1,278,869	91,808	1,174,629	87,885	1,288,791	83,483	1,257,276	75,908	1,170,930	80,016	1,197,651	89,130
Jessore	1,650,372	20,792	1,700,024	21,295	1,737,069	21,198	1,791,858	21,299	1,866,572	22,255	1,553,118	24,130
Khulna	1,590,833	35,315	1,421,116	31,918	1,397,615	29,151	1,228,807	24,236	1,152,458	25,194	1,050,702	29,240
North Bengal	10,948,092	312,860	10,685,292	252,861	10,496,604	234,850	9,740,102	206,061	9,248,852	164,122	8,782,909	263,933
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	10,373,230	294,830	10,110,064	235,800	9,919,446	219,856	9,187,188	192,001	8,681,475	152,631	8,159,620	254,460
Rajshahi	1,390,582	38,486	1,457,037	32,638	1,448,980	31,657	1,432,164	30,243	1,282,744	30,592	1,304,067	34,577
Dinajpur	1,736,276	19,156	1,687,328	18,025	1,671,918	15,945	1,553,650	13,430	1,543,631	12,204	1,501,786	12,566
Jalpaiguri	964,395	18,962	921,456	14,813	890,895	11,765	777,091	10,289	671,670	9,682	578,626	7,933
Darjeeling	276,156	43,479	254,045	28,709	240,971	24,579	227,724	21,393	205,647	17,667	144,128	11,055
Bangpur	2,529,019	65,768	2,457,435	50,419	2,349,066	36,264	2,124,697	29,484	2,051,248	14,216	1,973,253	124,711
Bogra	1,067,321	19,098	1,032,800	16,306	970,366	13,201	843,335	11,198	806,973	10,521	724,212	10,144
Pabna	1,391,283	54,371	1,344,633	44,861	1,384,535	44,051	1,378,923	41,538	1,322,639	39,753	1,275,424	36,300
Malda	1,018,254	35,512	955,830	29,835	962,765	41,394	849,604	34,420	796,923	17,990	693,324	17,122
COOCH BEHAR STATE	572,856	18,030	575,228	17,261	577,156	15,794	552,914	14,060	567,377	11,491	593,092	5,533
East Bengal	20,477,378	595,589	18,634,133	508,139	17,217,747	444,006	15,319,483	385,561	13,854,928	316,722	12,070,076	300,544
DACCA DIVISION	13,435,071	429,033	12,449,736	387,673	11,098,331	339,318	10,498,891	295,097	9,593,986	259,141	8,461,657	239,285
Dacca	3,259,870	172,707	2,975,915	150,052	2,823,975	186,427	2,534,508	115,014	2,320,620	100,036	2,018,477	102,877
Mymensingh	4,990,559	139,703	4,710,669	127,061	4,494,353	122,069	3,899,671	105,397	3,378,395	93,791	2,978,010	73,955
Faridpur	2,312,701	49,514	2,199,305	50,553	2,089,710	82,294	1,908,534	29,112	1,772,774	24,540	1,690,521	31,211
Bakarganj	2,871,941	67,109	2,568,849	59,907	2,380,293	46,618	2,246,178	45,574	2,122,197	31,768	1,869,649	31,244
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	6,669,437	156,977	5,887,701	112,823	5,296,634	97,857	4,656,780	80,951	4,123,500	68,581	3,512,782	61,260
Tippera	3,034,870	74,865	2,678,627	64,446	2,372,434	57,704	2,080,545	48,446	1,750,249	32,886	1,488,528	30,811
Noakhali	1,682,781	23,938	1,465,071	7,715	1,295,081	7,009	1,135,208	6,520	1,004,214	5,479	815,648	5,122
Chittagong	1,738,864	56,174	1,570,760	40,692	1,475,289	38,144	1,327,265	25,985	1,261,751	28,416	1,107,009	25,833
Chittagong Hill Tracts	212,922	..	173,243	..	153,830	..	124,762	..	107,286	..	101,597	..
TRIPURA STATE	372,870	9,580	296,694	7,743	222,782	6,631	163,612	6,513	137,442	..	85,637	..

CHAPTER III

Birthplace

108. **Introduction.**—The figures of birth-place are given in imperial table VI. Subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter show—

- I—an abstract of the native born and immigrant population ;
- II—an abstract of the native born population resident in and emigrant from Bengal ;
- III—details of the migration between Bengal and other provinces, states or countries in 1921 and 1931 with variations and figures of net immigration or emigration ;
- IV—number and ratio per 10,000 of the population at each census, 1881 to 1931, whose birth-place was returned as being within and outside Bengal ;
- V—number and ratio per 10,000 of the population of selected towns, 1931, whose birth-place was returned as being some other part of India than Bengal ;
- VI—detailed birth-place of persons born in British possessions in Europe ; and
- VII—Indian emigration between Calcutta and countries overseas.

109. **The source of the figures.**—The statistics of birth-place are taken from entries made in column 13 of the census schedule. The directions for entering up this column were as follows :—

“Enter the district or state in which each person was born ; and if the person was not born in Bengal add the name of the province to the district of birth. If the person was born out of India, enter the country, as Nepal, Afghanistan, Ceylon. The names of villages, tahsils, etc., are not to be given.”

Particular care was taken in obtaining a correct entry of birth-place in areas with a large immigrant population such as Calcutta and its neighbourhood, Asansol subdivision where there are coal mines, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and Chittagong districts where there are tea gardens. Directions were also issued for a distinction to be made in Dacca and Howrah between those born in the city and those born in other parts of the same district, but no use was made of this additional information. During the process of compilation the district of enumeration was substituted for blank entries unless the name, language or other particulars, such as the relationship to some other person returned, suggested that this entry would be incorrect, and that it would be more accurate to include the entry under “birth-place not returned.”

110. **Restriction of statistics shown.**—The necessity for economy has prevented full use being made of all the details recorded. No attempt has been made to tabulate the returns of birth-place by districts, either in the case of immigrants from other provinces or even in the case of those born in Bengal. Similar restrictions on sorting were adopted in other provinces and in consequence it has not been possible to arrive at any estimate of the natural population of areas smaller than British Territory and States such as was shown in 1921 for districts. Such details as are available are indeed embodied in subsidiary tables II and III ; but as regards emigrants from Bengal to places outside India, these tables include statistics only from Ceylon, Cyprus, Somaliland, Mauritius, Borneo and the Seychelles Islands, whilst even within India complete details of emigrants for the whole province in the aggregate are not available, because for Madras and Coorg and for the Madras States no figures were collected of persons there recorded who were born in Bengal.

111. **Native and foreign born population.**—Of the total population of Bengal all but 1,853,708 (less than 37 per 1,000) were born within the province itself, and of those born outside the province no less than 1,726,370 (nearly 34 per 1,000) were born in other parts of India, amongst whom only 512,434 were born in provinces or states not actually contiguous to Bengal. The proportion of persons born in the province is more than 995 per 1,000 in Madras, nearly 990 in Bihar and Orissa and 955 in Bombay. Amongst the 127,338 persons born outside India no less than 98,620 (or

DIAGRAM No. III-1.

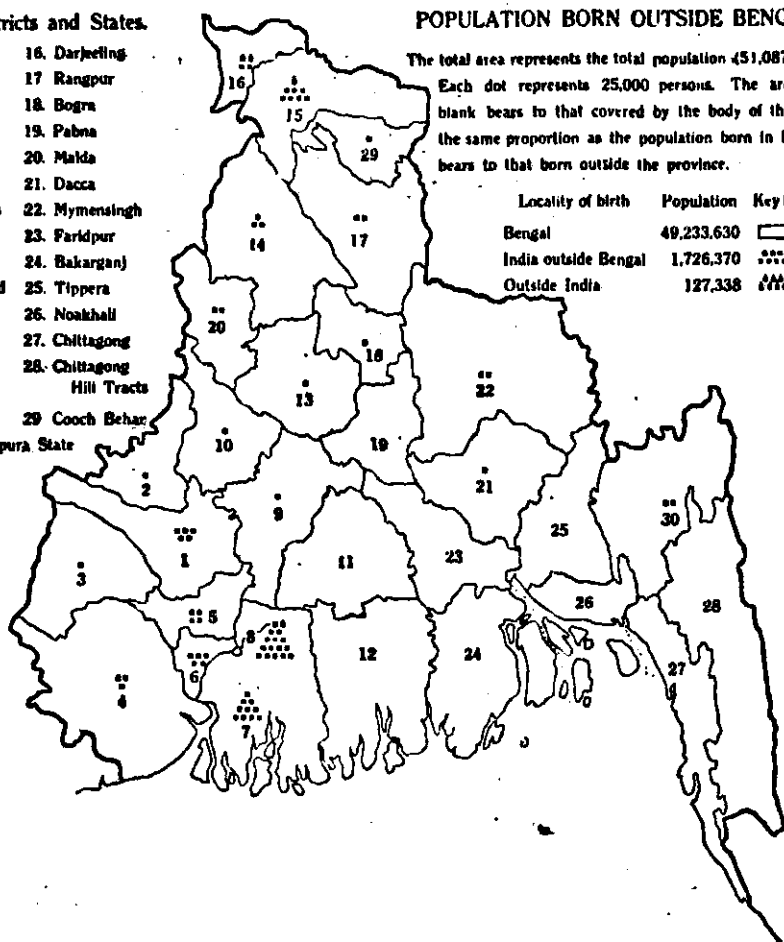
Key to Districts and States.

1. Burdwan	16. Darjeeling
2. Birbhum	17. Rangpur
3. Bankura	18. Bogra
4. Midnapore	19. Pabna
5. Hooghly	20. Malda
6. Howrah	21. Dacca
7. 24-Parganas	22. Mymensingh
8. Calcutta	23. Faridpur
9. Nadia	24. Bakarganj
10. Murshidabad	25. Tippera
11. Jessore	26. Noakhali
12. Khulna	27. Chittagong
13. Rajshahi	28. Chittagong Hill Tracts
14. Dinajpur	29. Cooch Behar
15. Jalpaiguri	30. Tripura State

POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE BENGAL.

The total area represents the total population (51,087,338). Each dot represents 25,000 persons. The area left blank bears to that covered by the body of the dots the same proportion as the population born in Bengal bears to that born outside the province.

Locality of birth	Population	Key to map
Bengal	49,233,630	
India outside Bengal	1,726,370	
Outside India	127,338	



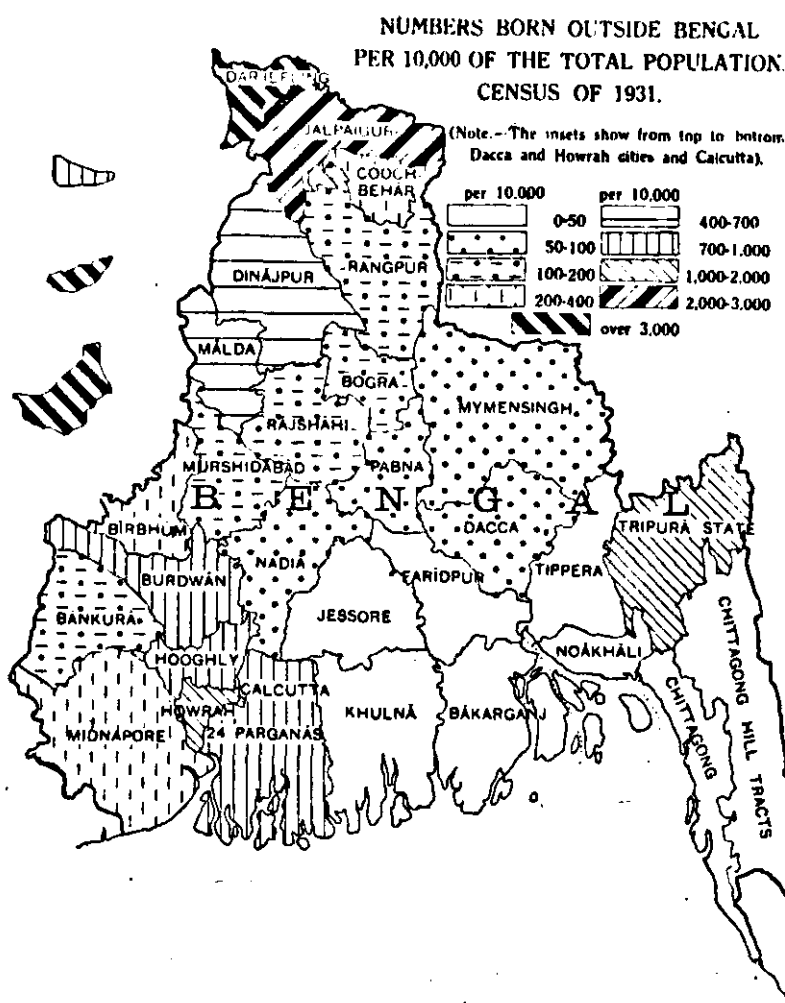
STATEMENT No. III-1.

Division, district, city or state.	Number per 10,000 born		
	in Bengal.	In India.	Outside India.
BENGAL	9,637	338	25
BRITISH TERRITORY	9,642	233	25
BURDWAN DIVISION	9,453	540	7
Burdwan	9,266	723	12
Birbhum	9,877	820	3
Bankura	9,308	131	1
Midnapore	9,770	226	4
Hooghly	9,009	984	7
Howrah	8,749	1,229	22
Howrah City	6,443	3,494	64
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	9,312	668	20
24-Parganas	9,066	925	9
Calcutta Suburbs	8,501	1,443	56
Calcutta	6,680	3,179	141
Nadia	9,917	82	1
Murshidabad	9,338	101	1
Jessore	9,909	80	1
Khulna	9,874	25	1
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	9,503	406	81
Rajshahi	9,828	175	2
Dinajpur	9,565	430	5
Jalpaiguri	7,852	1,815	333
Darjeeling	6,850	1,212	1,938
Rangpur	9,822	175	8
Bogra	9,858	146	1
Pabna	9,932	67	1
Malda	9,577	421	2
DACCA DIVISION	9,945	64	1
Dacca	9,947	51	2
Dacca City	9,246	720	34
Mymensingh	9,918	81	1
Faridpur	9,959	40	1
Bakarganj	9,930	19	1
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	9,974	26	1
Tippera	9,971	29	..
Noakhali	9,998	2	..
Chittagong	9,960	87	3
Chittagong Hill Tracts	9,955	48	2
BENGAL STATES	9,370	619	11
Cooch Behar	9,748	248	9
Tripura	8,786	1,200	14
SIKKIM	155	8,662	1,183

77.5 per cent.) were born in Nepal and a further 14,511 (or 11.4 per cent.) in other Asiatic countries, principally Afghanistan, China, Bhutan, Tibet, Persia and Japan. Europe contributes no more than 13,557: this figure is only 55 greater than the number of persons born in Europe recorded in Bengal in 1911 and amounts to about 265 in every million of the population. The numbers born in Africa, America and Australia are no more than 112, 393 and 143, respectively. Immigrants from America are less than in 1921 and those from Australasia are scarcely more than one-third the number then recorded. An attempt has been made in diagram No. III-1, based on statement No. III-1 inset, to illustrate graphically the very small numbers born outside Bengal. In studying the map, allowance must be made for the effect caused by the entry of district numbers and district boundaries. The insertion of these details by increasing the area covered in ink on the map reduces the expanse of white indicating the proportion native born and thus

modifies the impression which would be produced if the total area representing persons born in Bengal had not been broken up in this way. It must also be borne in mind that the area covered by dots within the district does not represent the proportionate strength of foreign born inhabitants within the district itself, and that these proportions only hold good for the whole of the province.

DIAGRAM No. III-2.



112. **Proportion foreign born by districts.**—Proportionate figures of the numbers born outside Bengal per 10,000 of the total population are graphically illustrated in diagram No III-2 which is based upon subsidiary table IV. The population born outside Bengal is as much as 30 per cent. in Darjeeling and the cities of Calcutta and Howrah. These figures are mainly accounted for in Darjeeling by the influx of persons (mainly tea garden labourers) born in Nepal who number 59,016 or 18·4

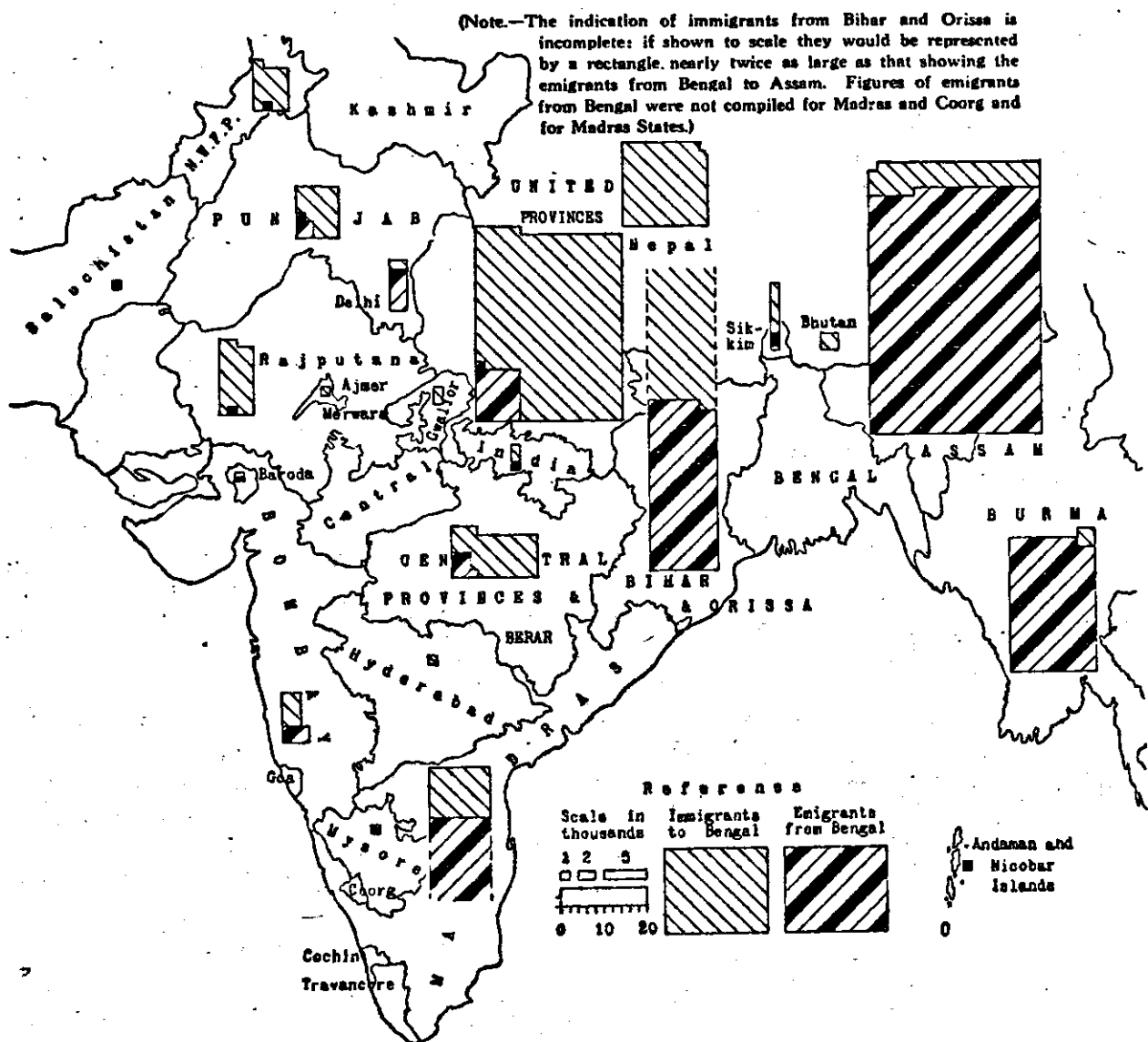
per cent. and from Bihar and Orissa who number 24,540 or 7·7 per cent. In Calcutta immigrants from Bihar and Orissa and from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh total 223,698 and 103,032 or 18·7 and 8·6 per cent., respectively, of the total population. In Howrah city also the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, providing 38,944 and 33,181 persons, contribute 17·3 and 14·7 per cent. of the population. The population born outside Bengal elsewhere reaches as much as 20 per cent. only in Jalpaiguri, where, as in Darjeeling, it is principally contributed by tea garden labourers from Bihar and Orissa and from Nepal, which contribute 155,575 and 29,191 or 15·8 and 3 per cent., respectively, to the population. The large number of immigrants in Howrah city brings up the proportion of foreign born in the whole district to 12·5 per cent. and a similar percentage (12·1) is also foreign born in Tripura State to which Assam makes the largest contribution (33,262 or 8·7 per cent. of the total). The districts of Burdwan, Hooghly and 24-Parganas form a band in which the percentage born outside Bengal is between 7 and 10, contributed principally in each case by Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces. The figures are for Burdwan 94,299 and 10,795 or 6 and 0·7 per cent., respectively ; in Hooghly 71,984 and 25,923 or 6·4 and 2·3 per cent. and in the 24-Parganas 161,715 and 68,090 or 6 and 2·5 per cent. Dinajpur and Malda have between 4 and 5 per cent. Cooch Behar and Midnapore between 2 and 3 per cent. and the strip of territory comprised by Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi and Murshidabad between 1 and 2 per cent. of immigrants : in each of these localities the greater part of the immigrants comes from Bihar and Orissa. South-east is another strip composed of Mymensingh, Dacca, Pabna and Nadia where the immigrants are between 0·5 and 1 per cent., again drawn principally from Bihar and Orissa. In the whole of the rest of the province south-east of these districts and 24-Parganas

with the exception of Tripura State to which reference has already been made, the number of immigrants from outside Bengal does not amount to as many as 5 per 1,000.

113. **Migration between Bengal and other parts of India.**—Emigration between Bengal and provinces and states in India is indicated in subsidiary table III which is illustrated in diagram No. III-3. In the diagram states of Assam, Baluchistan, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab and the United Provinces,

DIAGRAM No. III-3.

MIGRATION BETWEEN BENGAL AND
OTHER PARTS OF INDIA, CENSUS OF 1931



have been added to the provinces within which they fall. Bengalis migrate in the largest numbers to Assam, to the population of which they contribute 575,199 persons. In Burma and in Bihar and Orissa 158,098 and 157,524 Bengalis were enumerated. To the population of the United Provinces with its states they contributed 30,950 and to the Central Provinces, Bombay, Punjab and Rajputana they contributed respectively 6,946, 6,018, 4,618 and 1,007 emigrants. Amongst the other provinces Bengal receives the largest number of immigrants from Bihar and Orissa which contributes to its population 1,138,850 or 2.2 per cent. The United Provinces come next with a contribution of 348,399 or 0.7 per cent., followed by Assam with 63,416, the Central Provinces with 45,844, Madras with 42,520 and Rajputana with 32,906 or 0.12, 0.09, 0.08 and 0.06 per cent. of the population,

respectively. The number of persons born outside Bengal is 75,932 less than at the census of 1921, but although the excess of immigration over emigration has been reduced from 1,243,283, the figure of 1921, it still stands at 897,171.

114. Variations in immigration to Bengal.—During the last two decades there has been a progressive decrease in the total number of immigrants recorded at the census of Bengal and a progressive increase of persons born in Bengal and recorded in other parts of India. The figures of the immigrant population of Bengal from other parts of India decreased between 1911 and 1921 by 21,241 and between 1921 and 1931 by 91,405, whilst during the same decades the numbers of Bengalis who were enumerated elsewhere in India increased by 133,608 and 267,604. These figures affect the net balance of immigration into Bengal over emigration from Bengal, which since 1911 has also progressively declined. In 1911 Bengal received from other parts of India 1,286,429 persons more than she sent out as emigrants. But these figures were reduced to 1,131,580 in 1921 and to 772,571 in 1931. Taking an aggregate of states with British Territory, increases in the number of immigrants were indeed recorded during the past decade from Madras, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Burma, but only from Madras was this increase continuous between 1911 and 1931. The numbers of immigrants from Madras had increased in 1921 by 17,681 over those at the beginning of the decade, and the present decade has shown a further increase of 10,496 persons: many of the Madrasi immigrants are labourers in such centres as Kharagpur and Tittagarh, but in Calcutta the Madrasi is a serious rival to the Bengali for clerical appointments, and the cry "Bengal for the Bengalis" may be expected in antiphony to the similar protests raised in other provinces against the Bengali. From the Punjab the number of immigrants received is 9,258 more than in 1921, but the figure of 1921 was 2,750 less than that of 1911: more than half the increase during the last decade was absorbed by Calcutta, where the immigrants are very conspicuous as taxi-drivers. The discrepancy in the United Provinces is even more striking. In 1931 there were 5,304 more immigrants recorded in Bengal from the United Provinces than in 1921, but the figure for 1921 was as much as 62,601 less than that for 1911. Immigration from Burma is comparatively little and the increase of 1,430 in the number of persons of Burmese birth recorded in Bengal at the present census as compared with the last census is to be set off against a decrease of 239 between the figures of 1911 and 1921. The decreases in the immigrants received are even more striking than the comparatively small increases mentioned above. The Central Provinces and Assam in 1921 showed increases of 33,833 and 1,492, respectively, over the immigrants to Bengal recorded in 1911; but at the present enumeration these figures have been converted into decreases of 8,966 and 5,386, respectively. But it is from Bihar and Orissa, from which a great majority of Bengal's immigrant population is drawn, that the greatest falling off is recorded and this falling off has been continuous from 1911. In 1921 immigrants from Bihar and Orissa were 24,792 less than in 1911 and at the present census they are 88,729 less than they were in 1921.

115. Variations in emigration from Bengal.—In the case of emigration from Bengal the figures for these seven areas, with the exception of Madras for which no details are on record at the present census, show in every case an increase in the number of emigrants over those recorded in 1921. The increase has been continuous only in the case of Assam and Burma. In Assam persons born in Bengal numbered 181,703 more in 1921 than in 1911 and 199,621 more in 1931 than in 1921. The attraction is principally the opportunity of obtaining tenancies in land and immigrants are drawn largely from Mymensingh district. There is also some emigration to the labour districts of Assam, Cachar and Sylhet. This is controlled by a Superintendent of Emigration under Act VI of 1901, but figures are not maintained to show by sex and tribe or caste the numbers recruited in each district of Bengal, and those so recruited are not necessarily all Bengalis or with a

permanent domicile in Bengal. There is also no record to show how many of those recruited in a district were actually despatched. A statement No. III-2 shows for the decade ending 30th June 1930 the annual recruitment in each district in Bengal with a classification of the total by dependence.

STATEMENT No. III-2.

Statement showing the number of emigrants recruited in the different districts of Bengal from the year ending 30th June 1921 to 30th June 1930 for emigration to Assam and their classification by dependence.

Year.	Total.	Ban- kura.	Bir- dhum.	Burd- wan.	Midna- pore.	24-Par- ganas.	Murshi- dabad.	Classification.	
								Labour- ers.	Depend- ents.
1921-30	3,940	389	1,708	69	1,863	7	17	3,227	713
1921	88	10	1	7	68	..	..	49	37
1922	102	23	1	..	78	..	..	70	32
1923	78	20	6	2	50	..	..	65	13
1924	217	12	19	3	183	..	..	190	27
1925	406	32	3	2	369	..	..	367	39
1926	816	109	46	11	650	..	..	751	65
1927	147	29	22	5	84	7	..	127	20
1928	912	43	776	14	78	..	1	765	147
1929	983	70	846	13	50	..	15	698	295
1930	183	41	78	10	53	..	1	145	38

There were 3,940 labourers registered during the decade but there is no record of those who returned from Assam to Bengal. The figures for emigration to Burma are not comparable in size but are similar in proportion to those for Assam, the increase of emigration from Bengal amounting in 1921 to 10,331 over the figure of 1911 and in 1931 to 12,011 over the figure of 1921. Numbers of Bengalis from Chittagong visit Arakan during the cold weather for the rice harvest, and Bengali seamen, traders and mechanics are to be found in Rangoon. Apart from Assam the largest increase in the number of emigrants from Bengal is recorded in Bihar and Orissa, where the figures have increased by 40,602 since 1921, and in the United Provinces where the corresponding increase is 12,316. In both these provinces the figures of 1921 showed a decrease compared with those of 1911, amounting in Bihar and Orissa to 48,462 and in the United Provinces to 7,185. In the Central Provinces and in the Punjab the increase of Bengal-born inhabitants over the figures of 1921 is 3,672 and 1,446, respectively, compared with decreases in the corresponding figures amounting in the previous decade to 2,524 in the Central Provinces and 847 in the Punjab.

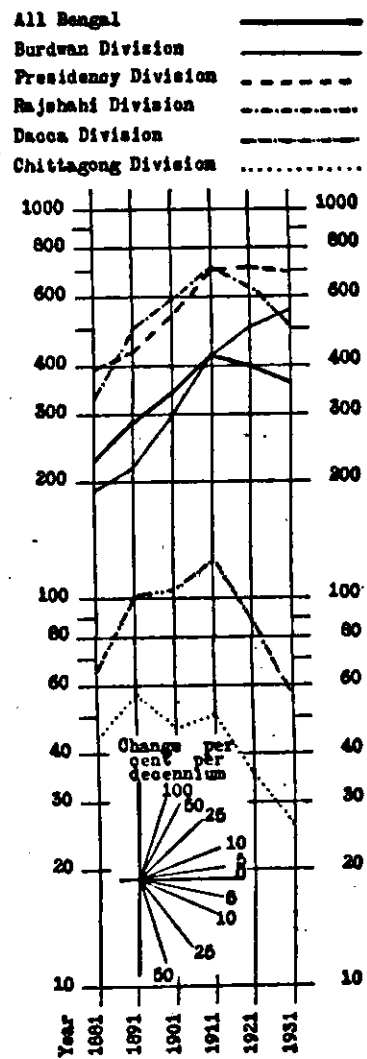
116. **Balance of migration.**—Bengal receives from each of the provinces named with the exception of Assam and Burma an increase of immigrants over the number of emigrants sent out from Bengal to the same areas; but in the case of the major areas between which inter-migration takes place the net access of members to Bengal has in every case declined during the last decade except in the case of the Punjab and possibly Madras for which, however, figures of 1931 are not available, whilst in the case of the United Provinces this decrease in the net accessions to the population of Bengal has been continuous since 1911. As a result of inter-migration Bengal received an accession of population from Bihar and Orissa of 1,086,987 in 1911, 1,110,657 in 1921 and only 981,326 in 1931. From the United Provinces she received a net accession of 379,877 in 1911, 324,461 in 1921 and 317,449 in 1931. From the Central Provinces she received a net total of 15,179 in 1911, 51,536 in 1921 and 38,898 in 1931. The increasing immigration from the Punjab resulted in a net accession of strength to Bengal of 20,466 in 1931 against 12,654 in 1921, although the figure of 1921 was less than that for 1911 when it reached 14,557. Between Bengal and Assam and Burma the balance of emigration from Bengal has been progressively increasing. It amounted in Assam to 126,565 in 1911, to 306,776 in 1921 and 511,783 in 1931 and in Burma to 133,156 in 1911, 143,726 in 1921 and 154,307 in 1931.

117. **Proportions foreign born by divisions, 1881-1931.**—Diagram No. III-4 based on subsidiary table IV shows for each census since 1881 changes by administrative divisions in the proportion of the population born outside Bengal as it is now constituted together with the rates at which those proportions have varied. The proportion of the total population foreign born in the whole of Bengal in 1881 was 240 per 10,000, which rose at successive enumerations to 281, 337 and 426. The last figure was reached in 1911 and a decline in the proportion then set in. The number per 10,000 was 405 in 1921 and has been further reduced to 363 at the present census. Substantially identical changes were shown in every administrative division of the province during the same period with the exception of Burdwan. Thus in the Presidency Division the proportions per 10,000 rose from 388 in 1881 to 429 in 1891, 533 in 1901, 698 in 1911 and 709 in 1921, but now stand at 688. The figures for Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions offer an even closer resemblance. In Rajshahi the proportions rose between 1881 and 1911 from 326 to 494, 587 and 710 at successive enumerations, but were reduced in 1921 to 629 and in 1931 to 497. In Dacca Division they rose between 1881 and 1911 from 64 to 101, 105 and 124 per 10,000 at successive enumerations, but declined in 1921 to 87 and in 1931 to 55. In Chittagong Division between 1881 and 1911 the proportions rose from 44 to 56 in 1891 but were reduced to 46 in 1901 and again rose to 50 in 1911. They were again reduced from 50 to 35 in 1921 and from 35 to 26 in 1931. In the Burdwan Division by contrast the proportions have shown continuous increase at successive enumerations from 188 to 216, 296, 423, 498 and on the present occasion to 547 per 10,000. The increased proportion in Burdwan and the slower decrease in the proportion in Presidency Divisions are due to the concentration in these two areas of industrial towns in which a great proportion of the inhabitants are immigrants.

DIAGRAM No. III-4.

Changes at each census, 1881-1931, of the number of persons born outside Bengal per 10,000 of the total population in administrative divisions.

(NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figures, rates of change by slope: upward slopes show increase, downward slopes show decrease.)



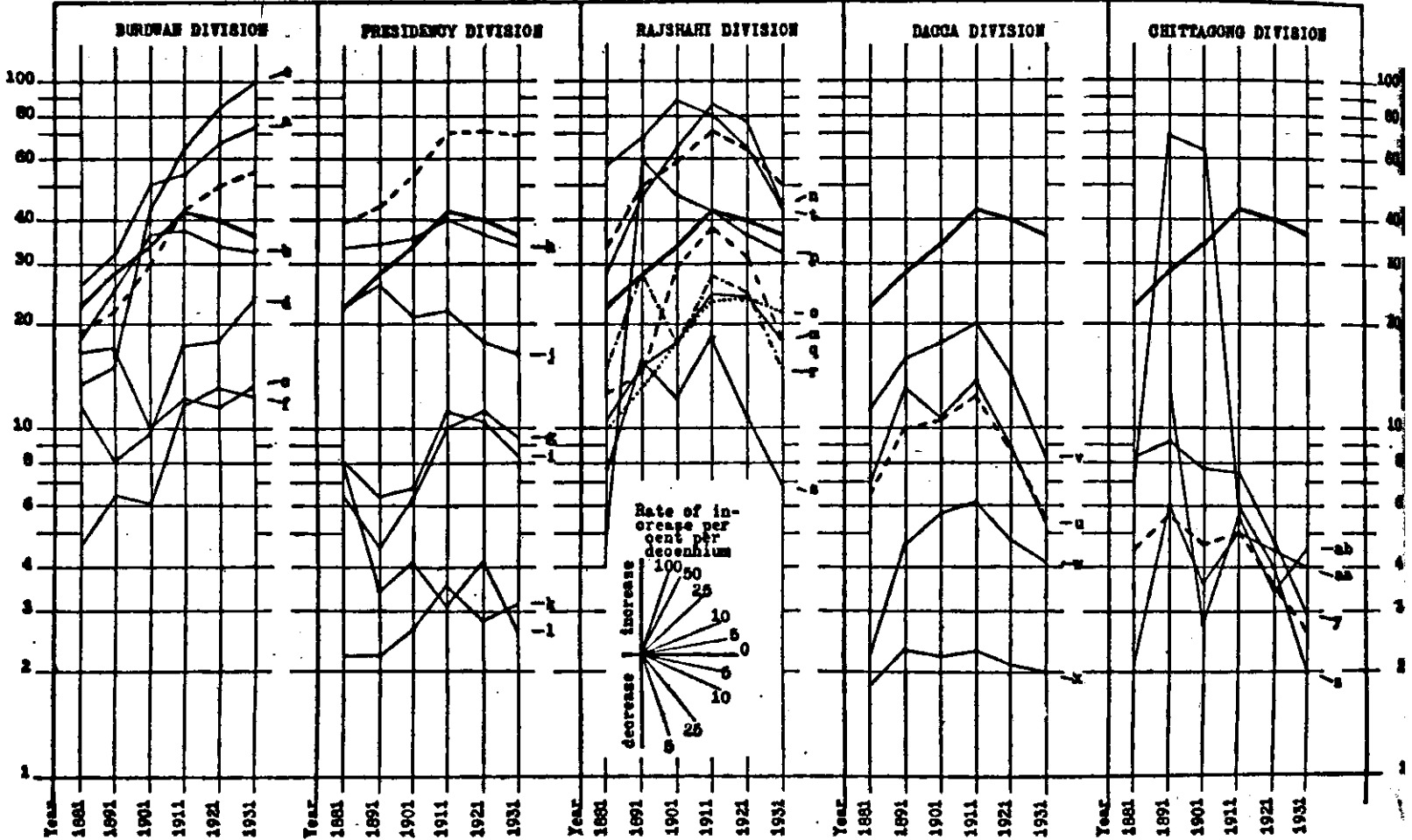
118. **Proportions foreign born by districts, 1881-1931.**—Similar details from subsidiary table IV have been plotted for districts in diagram No. III-5. The increase in the percentage of immigrants in Hooghly, Burdwan and (with an incidental decline between 1891 and 1901) in Midnapore also has, in the Burdwan Division, more than counterbalanced the decline between 1911 and 1921 in the proportions in Birbhum and Bankura, and between 1921 and 1931 in Birbhum and Howrah. In the Presidency Division the district figures provoke no comment except in the case of Jessore, which alone shows an increase in the proportion of foreign born persons during the last decade attributable to the gradual depopulation of the district and the opening thus offered to aboriginals from Bihar and Orissa. During the last two decades no marked deviation has been shown in the percentage of immigrants in each district compared with the average for the division as a whole and the same holds good for the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, although there is a marked increase in Chittagong Hill Tracts between 1921 (34) and 1931 (45).

DIAGRAM No. III-5.

Changes at each census, 1881-1931, of the number of persons born outside Bengal per 10,000 of the total population in each district.

(NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figures, rates of change by slope. The scale represents units for Noakhali, hundreds for Howrah, 24 Parganas, Calcutta, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and tens for other districts. There is a misprint in the reference below: Hooghly is represented by line e and Howrah by line f.)

- a - Burdwan g - Howrah i - Nadia m - Rajshahi q - Rangpur u - Dacca y - Tippera
 - b - Birbhum h - Hooghly j - Murshidabad n - Dinajpur r - Bogra v - Mymensingh z - Noakhali
 - c - Bankura k - 24-Parganas l - Jessore o - Jalpaiguri s - Fakra w - Faridpur aa - Chittagong
 - d - Midnapur t - Calcutta p - Darjeeling t - Maida x - Bakerganj ab - Ch. Hill Tracts
- District averages (British Territory)
 ----- provincial
 - - - - - divisional



119. Foreign born in rural and urban areas.—The numbers per 10,000 born outside Bengal vary in rural areas from 2 in Noakhali to as many as 2,148 in Jalpaiguri and even 3,150 in Darjeeling. The median point is about 162: in other words there are as many districts with less than 162 as there are with more than 162 born outside Bengal per 10,000 of the total population. In these calculations Calcutta, which is itself entirely urban, has been excluded and Cooch Behar and Tripura State have been included. A comparison between the immigrant element in each division and in the cities of Bengal and selected towns in each division is made possible by statement

STATEMENT No. III-3.

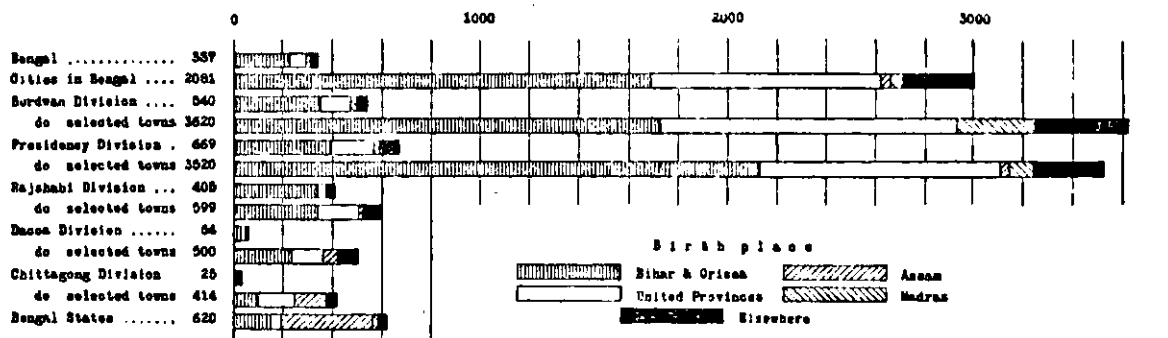
Number and ratio per 10,000 of the population by divisions (total area and selected towns) born in other parts of India than Bengal.

NOTE.—The towns selected are those shown in subsidiary table V.

1	2	Born in India outside Bengal in—													
		Bihar and Orissa (with states).		United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (with states).		Assam (with states).		Madras (with states).		Central Province (with states).		Rajputana.		All other parts of India.	
		No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.
BENGAL	51,087,338	1,138,850	223	848,899	68	63,416	12	42,520	8	45,844	9	32,906	6	54,435	11
Cities in Bengal	1,560,125	264,121	1,698	144,259	925	6,297	40	8,024	51	3,988	26	16,237	104	26,040	167
Burdwan Division	8,647,189	303,576	351	104,007	120	739	1	21,832	25	21,438	25	4,978	6	10,218	12
Selected towns	586,898	101,399	1,729	70,553	1,203	286	5	18,503	316	13,070	223	2,912	50	6,530	94
Presidency Div.	10,108,229	421,304	417	178,493	177	5,975	6	15,625	15	7,950	8	16,826	17	29,084	29
Selected towns	1,627,947	346,794	2,130	158,877	975	5,214	32	14,649	90	6,125	39	15,493	95	26,052	160
Rajshahi Division	10,668,066	359,801	337	33,538	31	4,312	4	2,567	2	13,192	12	9,126	9	10,859	10
Selected towns	73,643	2,474	336	1,267	172	90	13	..	..	4	1	102	14	470	64
Dacca Division	13,364,104	85,360	26	24,487	18	11,001	8	70	..	1,246	1	790	1	1,305	1
Selected towns	287,338	8,268	288	3,758	131	1,588	55	39	1	239	6	90	3	415	14
Chittagong Div.	6,826,414	5,090	7	3,637	5	5,297	8	258	..	300	..	296	..	1,938	3
Selected towns	109,873	964	88	1,664	162	1,416	129	42	4	59	5	55	5	341	31
Bengal States	978,336	13,920	143	4,237	44	36,092	871	2,168	22	1,718	18	895	9	1,236	13

DIAGRAM No. III-6.

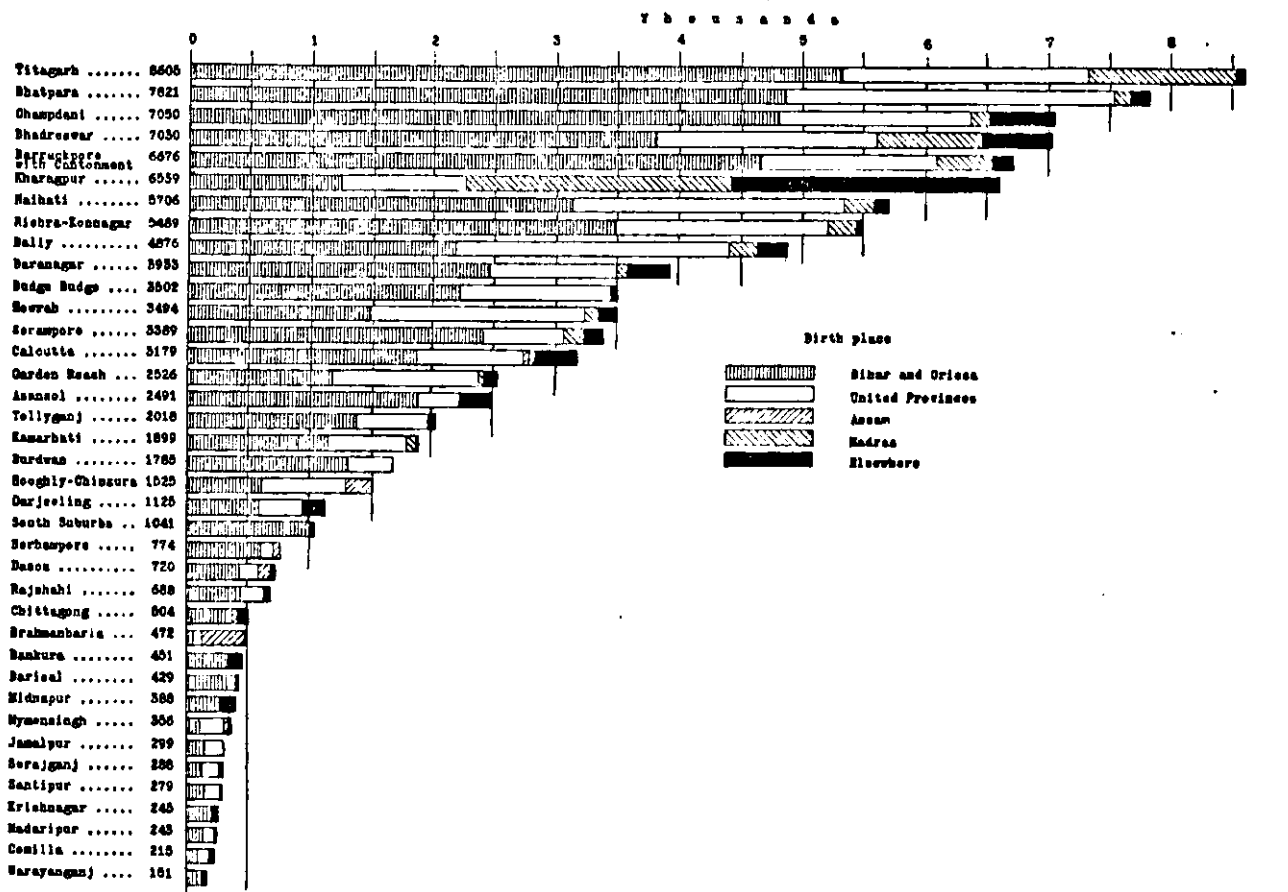
Numbers born in India elsewhere than in Bengal per 10,000 of the total population in selected areas, census of 1931.



No. III-3 from which diagram No. III-6 has been prepared. This table with the diagram illustrates not the total proportion of immigrants but only the proportion borne to the total population by immigrants from other parts of India. Against 337 per 10,000 in the whole of Bengal proportions are shown of 23 in Chittagong, 54 in Dacca, 405 in Rajshahi, 540 in Burdwan and 669 in Presidency Division, whilst the aggregate proportion in the Bengal States (620) is higher than in any division except the Presidency. In each case, however, the proportion of foreign born in the towns is very much greater than in the area taken as a whole. Thus in Chittagong 414, in Dacca 500, in Rajshahi 599, in the Presidency Division 3,520 and in Burdwan Division no less than 3,620 persons living in towns selected as sorting units are immigrants from other parts of India than Bengal, whilst in the three cities the aggregate proportion of immigrant population is 2,081 per 10,000. This diagram and the table which it illustrates also show that Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces contribute in every division in the aggregate a greater proportion of the immigrant population of the towns than any other part of India.

DIAGRAM No. III-7.

Numbers per 10,000 of the total population in selected towns who were born elsewhere in India than in Bengal, census of 1931.



120. Foreign born in selected towns.—Detailed particulars of the towns from which averages have been obtained for diagram No. III-6 are given in subsidiary table V and illustrated in diagram No. III-7. In the table

the towns are arranged under two heads, industrial and non-industrial and within those heads come first cities and then towns in the order of natural divisions, but in the diagram they have been arranged in a descending order according to the proportion of their population which is immigrant. In Tittagarh in every 10,000 of the population no less than 8,605 are immigrants and as many as 5,319 are from Bihar and Orissa and 2,002 from the United Provinces. Bhatpara, a neighbouring municipality, has a population of which 7,821 in every 10,000 come from other parts of India than Bengal, and of these 4,861 come from Bihar and Orissa and 2,670 from the United Provinces. Champdani and Bhadreswar have proportions of 7,050 and 7,030 per 10,000, respectively, but whereas Champdani draws 4,810 of these from Bihar and Orissa and 1,560 from the United Provinces, the corresponding proportions in Bhadreswar are 3,811 and 1,780 and it obtains 858 per 10,000 of its population from Madras against 158 in Champdani. Four other of the selected towns have more than 50 per cent. immigrants in their population, viz., Barrackpore with its cantonment, Kharagpur, Naihati and Rishra-Konnagar, whilst in six other industrial towns more than one-third of the population is drawn from other parts of India, viz., in Bally, Baranagore, Budge Budge, Howrah and Serampore. The proportion in Calcutta just falls short of one-third, being 31·79 per cent.; and in Eastern Bengal, excluding Dacca where the proportion is 720, Chittagong where it is 504, Brahmanbaria where it is 472, and Mymensingh where it is 356, the proportion in towns selected does not rise above 299 per 10,000 (the figure for Jamalpur) and falls to as little as 244 in Madaripur, 215 in Comilla and 151 in Narayanganj. The largest proportion contributed to the population by Assam is in Brahmanbaria (350), the next being Dacca with 99 and Comilla with 84 per 10,000. Immigrants from Madras form, as might be expected, a larger proportion of the population in Kharagpur (2,165 per 10,000) and Tittagarh (1,204 per 10,000) than in others of the selected towns, their proportions nowhere else reaching 10 per cent. and approaching it only in Bhadreswar for which the figures have already been quoted. In the selected towns the largest numbers of immigrants from Bombay are found in Kharagpur (525) and Baranagar (259), where they form 97 and 71 per 10,000 of the population. The Central Provinces contributes in every 10,000, 1,584 to Kharagpur, 534 to Bhadreswar, 472 to Champdani, 200 to Baranagar, 167 to Hooghly-Chinsura, 135 to Budge Budge and 115 to Naihati. The greatest number of inhabitants from Burma are found amongst the towns selected in Calcutta where they number 1,461 and form 12 per 10,000 of the population, but their proportions are larger in Budge Budge where the 37 Burmese form 15 per 10,000 of the population. The Punjab contributes a proportion of 323 per 10,000 to Kharagpur and 128 to Darjeeling where immigrants from Delhi number as many as 138 per 10,000. Some proportion is contributed to almost all the towns illustrated in this diagram by the Rajputana Agency, immigrants from which in Calcutta number as many as 14,881 and form 1·24 per cent. of the population; but except in Howrah, where they number 1,335 and form 5·9 in every thousand of the population, their numbers in none of the other towns approach as many as 400, although they are 80, 70, 55, 53, 45, 44 and 39 per 10,000 of the population, respectively, of Bally, Midnapore, Bankura, Asansol, Kharagpur, Rishra-Konnagar and Bhatpara.

121. **Seasonal movements of population.**—The restricted sorting makes it impossible to furnish comments on the migration from district to district or even from division to division. Seasonal movements of the population occur from time to time but these are mainly of the casual, temporary or periodic type. It is, for instance, a custom in many parts in the province for women to visit their own families at intervals, and in the districts of Northern and Eastern Bengal there is a vernacular expression specifically connoting a visit of this kind (নায়াত্র যাওয়া). Such temporary migration which takes place at festival times was practically negligible at the time of the census, since there were no great religious festivals and the only fairs which were in progress during the enumeration were principally of a local importance and were in nearly every case reported to have

been attended by fewer visitors than usual owing to economic conditions. For the cultivation or harvesting of crops some migration takes place from Bankura to Burdwan and Hooghly, from Midnapore to the neighbouring districts in the east, from Jessore and Faridpur to Khulna, from Faridpur and Dacca to Bakarganj (which, however, also sends labourers for the same purpose to Khulna), from Murshidabad and Nadia to Dinajpur, from Pabna, Dacca and Nadia to Rangpur and from Pabna to the regions near Calcutta. During the cold season labourers also come from most of the districts named to any place within reasonable reach at which earth-work is being done. Generally, however, only members of the more primitive tribes will consent to undertake the hard labour of earth-work, which is considered to be more undignified than cultivating or harvesting. When the census was taken there were works in progress in connection with such undertakings as the construction of the Damodar Canal in Burdwan and the Calcutta Chord Line between Calcutta and Bally, and these works were employing a number of labourers mainly of primitive peoples hailing from eastern Bihar and western Bengal. But the main inter-district migrations were already over except in Hooghly, since the crops had been cut and there was no cultivation going on when the census was taken, and in addition to those engaged on the construction works mentioned in the last sentence the only considerable number of immigrants of a temporary nature were those recruited for dock labour in and near Calcutta from western Bengal. After the rains a number of immigrants from Chittagong and further east go to Khulna to catch and dry or salt fish which is considered a great delicacy in Burma and further east, and there was a certain number of these temporary residents engaged in their trade in the Sundarbans of Khulna and the 24-Parganas when the census was taken.

122. **Suburban daily traffic.**—Between such centres as Calcutta and Howrah and the surrounding municipalities there is a considerable amount

of daily traffic. The extent to which workers in these cities actually reside with their families outside the city area cannot be exactly determined. Some indication of it is, however, given by the figures shown in the accompanying statement No. III-4, summarised from the more extended particulars in the Calcutta volume which have been

STATEMENT No. III-4.
Number of season tickets current between Calcutta and outlying country on the 26th February 1931.

Class of ticket.	Both stations grand total.	Station of Calcutta.					
		Sealdah.			Howrah.		
		Total.	From.	To.	Total.	From.	To.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ALL CLASSES ..	26,170	13,425	2,575	10,850	12,745	3,389†	9,355†
First ..	114	98	40	58	10	6	10
Second ..	740	437	120†	316†	303	56	247
Inter ..	5,194	2,559	710†	1,848†	2,635	655	1,980
Third ..	17,832	8,016	1,593	7,423	8,810	2,266†	6,544†
Vendors' ..	2,058	1,315	111	1,204	741	198	543
Workmen's ..	234	..	..	..	234	208	26

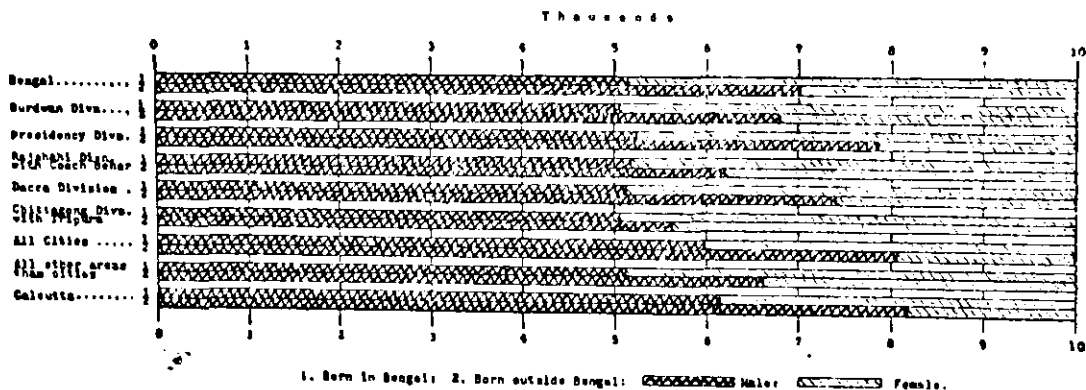
compiled from data furnished by courtesy of the railway companies. The figures show the total number of season tickets current on the day on which the census was taken and therefore practically represent the total number of persons regularly travelling by train daily in the pursuit of their business between Calcutta and the outlying regions. There is no means of ascertaining what proportion of these ticket-holders lives in Calcutta or Howrah and travels to its work to outlying stations, but it is safe to assume that the proportion is small compared with the numbers living outside and travelling in daily to their work. Figures are indeed given for tickets from and to each station, but it does not necessarily follow that a season ticket issued at Sealdah for daily travel to such stations as Dum-Dum or Barrackpore was taken by a person actually residing in Calcutta and working in these places: and in any case more than four times as many tickets were taken from outlying stations to Sealdah than from Sealdah to outlying stations and the corresponding proportion is nearly 3 to 1 in the case of Howrah. The figures show that more than 26,000 persons travel daily from surrounding areas to work in Calcutta and Howrah, and this tendency to push out for residence to areas beyond the cities appears to be on the increase. The figures published in previous reports for 1910 and 1920 are not strictly comparable on their face value with those here given,

since they represent the total number of season tickets issued throughout the whole year. In an overwhelming majority of cases the season tickets issued are for month periods ; indeed, although some railways issue quarterly tickets to their own employees no such ticket was specified in the details supplied by the companies ; and if the figures for 26th February 1931 are multiplied by 12 they will be more nearly comparable with those shown for 1910 and 1920, which were, respectively, 103,267 and 291,483. With these figures an estimated issue of about 314,000 season tickets annually for the year of the current census would represent an increase of nearly 8 per cent. over 1921 and a figure more than three times that of 1911. Even these figures, however, do not give a complete indication of the extent to which this daily immigration takes place. The immediate suburban areas of Calcutta and Howrah are supplied with tram and bus services and no figures have been obtained of the traffic over those lines. Moreover, during the cold and rainy seasons a number of persons, who at other times live outside Calcutta, find it inconvenient to travel in daily, and take up lodgings within the city. The census was therefore taken at a time when the number of season tickets in use was probably not at its maximum during the year. This tendency of Calcutta to draw its actual workers in increasing numbers from outside the municipal area and the immediate suburbs is a factor to be taken into account when comparing the relative importance of Calcutta and Bombay judged by their numbers and their effective working population. In February 1931 the number of season tickets current in Bombay was 45,706. These represented the persons travelling daily to Bombay for work from outlying places distant up to 30 or 32 miles from the city proper, but the existence of a system of electric railways in Bombay makes it difficult to make comparisons, since the tickets issued on these are presumably included and the persons using them more properly correspond to those travelling to Calcutta by bus and tram for whom there is no record.

123. **Other daily traffic.**—In addition to the daily traffic from and to Calcutta itself there is a not inconsiderable traffic between the intermediate stations on the lines ending at Sealdah and Howrah. Thus on the date of the census more than 5,800 season tickets were current for journeys between intermediate stations of this nature. The industrial centres on both sides of the river Hooghly, including the railway workshops at Lillooah and the jute and cotton mills on both sides of the river, as well as the railway goods-yard at Shalimar, and the existence of civil and criminal courts at Barrackpore, Barasat, Basirhat, Diamond Harbour, Chinsura and Serampore attract a certain amount of daily traffic and between 40 and 50 daily tickets were current to Asansol from neighbouring stations.

DIAGRAM No. III-8.

Distribution by sexes of 10,000 of the population born in and outside Bengal, 1931, by divisions, etc.



124. **Sex ratios of immigrants and native born.**—The immigrant from other provinces does not generally marry and settle in Bengal, and diagram No. III-8 plotted from statement No. III-5 illustrates the different sex ratios in the indigenous and foreign born population in various parts of the province. On the average in every thousand of the foreign born population in Bengal

there are only 300 females compared with 487 in every thousand of the population born in Bengal. In Chittagong Division and Tripura State the

STATEMENT No. III-5.

Area.	Sex constitution of the population born			
	in Bengal.		outside Bengal.	
	Males per 10,000.	Females per 10,000.	Males per 10,000.	Females per 10,000.
1	2	3	4	5
Bengal ..	5,130	4,870	7,002	2,998
Burdwan Division ..	5,054	4,946	6,805	3,195
Presidency Division ..	5,236	4,764	7,357	2,143
Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar ..	5,157	4,843	6,187	3,813
Dacca Division ..	5,125	4,875	7,410	2,590
Chittagong Division with Tripura ..	5,051	4,949	5,619	4,381
All Cities ..	5,997	4,008	3,056	1,944
All other areas excluding cities ..	5,110	4,890	6,915	3,345
Calcutta ..	6,135	3,863	3,168	1,832

proportions are most nearly equal, being 438 per 1,000 in the foreign born and 495 per thousand in the native born population. In the Rajshahi and Burdwan Divisions again the discrepancy is less than the average. In Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar the proportions are 381 in the foreign born and 484 in the indigenous population. In the Burdwan Division it is 320 in the foreign born and 495 in the indigenous population. In Dacca Division there are very little more than one half as many women in

each thousand of the population born outside Bengal as in the population born within the province, and in the Presidency Division the deficiency is even more marked, since there are only 214 per 1,000, both sexes, compared with 476 in the native born population. Total figures are not available for the proportions in rural areas, but there can be no doubt that such foreign born inhabitants as are domiciled in rural areas bring with them to conditions more closely resembling their own village life at home a larger proportion of their women folk than their compatriots who live in towns. The men who live in Calcutta and Howrah find little inducement to bring their wives and families with them and the females in every thousand of the native born population in cities are less than in the whole of Bengal, and the proportionate figures are even smaller for the population born outside Bengal. Thus whereas in all areas excluding cities the number of women is 339 per 1,000 of the total foreign born population against 489 per 1,000 of the total native born population, in the aggregate of cities (Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca) the corresponding proportions are 194 and 400, whilst in Calcutta alone the figures are 183 and 387, respectively. As a general rule associations in his native village remain for the whole period of the immigrant's stay in Bengal; and it is probably in very few cases only that he uproots himself and attempts to settle in this province. These considerations apply particularly to industrial workers. Many, if not most of these, retain their connection with their native places and return there as frequently as they can. The aboriginal, on the other hand, migrates to secure himself land and intends to remain where he settles. He gravitates to areas where, perhaps as a concomitant of depopulation, land is going out of cultivation and there he establishes himself. Bogra in this way received colonists from Bihar during the middle of the last century. The decay of Jessore and parts of Nadia is similarly attracting settlers from Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas. In these three districts the figures of immigrants are by no means the same as those of others than Bengalis, since a considerable proportion of the population in these districts, whose ancestors were introduced during the last century, is now returned as native born although of course retaining its aboriginal race. Thus taking only four of the groups originative in east Bihar, viz., Bhumij, Munda, Oraon and Santal, the figures in Bogra, Jessore and Nadia are 12,272, 4,863 and 8,295, whereas the total immigration from Bihar and Orissa is, respectively, only 9,920, 3,627 and 6,623. In such areas as Burdwan, Rajshahi and the Chittagong Divisions, conditions exist which definitely encourage even the immigrant to some of the industrial areas to bring his family with him. In railway centres like Kharagpur, Lilloah, Howrah and Chittagong, quarters are provided for the families of employees, whilst immigrant labour to the tea gardens in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri is also provided with quarters, and their women folk are welcomed as an addition to the labour force.

125. **Trans-frontier migration.**—No figures are available of the emigrants from Bengal to frontier regions such as Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, but it can be confidently stated that any migration of this kind is extremely small

in extent and almost all periodic or temporary. From Nepal 98,620 persons of both sexes were recorded at the census of whom no less than 88,207 or more than 89 per cent. were settled in the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts. These figures do not represent the total extent of immigration from Nepal, since a number of immigrants have settled in the province during the last few decades and their children naturally are recorded as native born Bengalis; but some estimate of the Nepali stock in Bengal may be formed of the numbers speaking all languages current in Nepal. From imperial table XV it appears that there are 259,801 persons in Bengal speaking Khaskura and other languages of Nepal and this figure may be taken as a more accurate estimate of the numbers of Nepalis domiciled in Bengal at the time of the census. The figure agrees substantially with that for the numbers of selected Nepali groups illustrated in Chapter XII. Notable omissions from the groups chosen are the Chhetris and Brahmans, but even so the total is 255,503. Some considerable number of these are periodic immigrants only. It is estimated that as many as 30,000 persons come from Nepal to Darjeeling during the cold weather. They work as coolies in tea gardens and on the roads, as wood cutters, as sawyers, as harvesters in the Terai, etc. Some of them penetrate to Jalpaiguri and as far as Assam, but a very small proportion only settle permanently each year and the majority return to their native country from the middle of February to the end of April on the approach of the hot and the rainy weather. Immigrants recorded from Tibet and Sikkim number no more than 1,538 and 6,320, respectively, and of the Tibetans no less than 1,435 or 93 per cent. were recorded in Darjeeling, whilst a similarly high proportion of the Sikkimese immigrants, namely 5,321 or 84 per cent., were also found in this district. Kalimpong, in Darjeeling district, is the centre of the trade between Bengal on the one hand and Sikkim and Tibet on the other and the movement of peoples between these regions and Bengal falls into two distinct classes. There is the comparatively small immigration into Darjeeling district itself of rickshaw coolies, road labourers and personal servants who come principally for the Darjeeling "season" in February, March or April and return about November. The majority of immigrants from Sikkim and Tibet, however, come to Bengal at a later period. Some few bring apples grown in Sikkim and peddle them in Darjeeling between September and December or January. The remaining immigration from those parts is almost exclusively during the cold weather. Peddlers in some numbers, also from Sikkim, penetrate not only into Darjeeling district but also to Jalpaiguri with oranges which they sell and immediately return to their own country. Traders bringing wool and other merchandise from Tibet come into Darjeeling from October or November and remain until the approach of the hot and rainy weather drives them back in March or April to their homes. The holy places of the Tibetan Buddhists are situated in India itself and numbers of pious Tibetans pass through Darjeeling and Bengal on their way to Benares, Gaya and Sarnath. These pilgrimages generally take place during the cold weather and it is in the cold weather also that beggars and religious mendicants from Tibet and Sikkim come into Darjeeling, some of them joining in pilgrimages to Gaya and other places in India. The number of immigrants from Tibet and Sikkim who make a permanent domicile in Darjeeling or Jalpaiguri is not large, though a certain number settle permanently in tea gardens as coolies. From Bhutan a very small number of petty traders visit Darjeeling from October to December, but some considerable numbers peddle oranges, apples, blankets, yak-tails and other merchandise in Jalpaiguri, and during the cold weather from October onwards are employed by the Forest Department in cutting and sawing timber and in clearing jungle. They also find employment in breaking stones in the river beds which are sent as road metal to other places. Some of these immigrants settle as forest guards or in the forest hamlets as cultivators and labourers, and some few also are attracted by the opportunity of settling on *khas mahal* lands in Jalpaiguri, but the majority return to their homes on the approach of the hot weather and the rains. A certain number of itinerant gold and silver-smiths from Bhutan travel from garden to garden selling ornaments or making them to order but they are never out of touch with their native land.

126. **Immigration from Europe.**—Of the 13,557 persons born in Europe Calcutta absorbed 66 per cent. and an additional 17 per cent. is found in the 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly districts. Seven per cent. were recorded in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and a further 6·4 per cent. in Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong and Dacca. Only 10 per cent. of them were born outside British dominions. Subsidiary table VI shows in detail the birth-place of those persons born in British possessions in Europe.

127. **Indians on the high seas.**—One of the innovations of the present census was an attempt to obtain figures of Indians on the high seas. The method adopted was to secure the issue to captains of sea-going vessels of forms to be filled in on the census date. The enquiry was conducted through the seven major ports of India, but no returns were received from Madras and Chittagong. The schedules were issued to masters of ships taking on Indian crews, and the returns include, in the case of Calcutta at least, details of Anglo-Indians but not of Europeans incorrectly included in some of the returns. The figures obtained are more fully shown in volume I dealing with the whole of India. But a summary, statement No. III-6 below, shows the

STATEMENT No. III-6.

Indians enumerated on the high seas on 26th February 1931.

1	All ports.			Aden.			Karachi.			Bombay.			Calcutta.			Rangoon.		
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
Total enumerated	12,540	12,418	122	1,234	1,209	25	141	141	..	612	548	64	9,781	9,749	32	772	771	1
BIRTH-PLACE.																		
Born in India	12,497	12,377	120	1,228	1,205	23	141	141	..	612	548	64	9,747	9,715	32	769	768	1
Assam	2,927	2,927	..	2	2	..	5	5	..	1	1	..	2,830	2,830	..	89	89	..
Bengal	6,806	6,791	15	245	244	1	98	98	..	5	5	..	5,973	5,959	14	515	515	..
Bihar and Orissa	258	258	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	231	231	..	25	25	..
MAIN RELIGIONS.																		
Hindus	801	574	27	134	124	10	2	2	..	25	23	2	402	397	15	38	38	..
Muslims	11,241	11,202	39	1,021	1,007	14	122	122	..	363	353	10	9,089	9,045	15	676	676	..

total number thus enumerated with their birth-place and religion. Of the total enumerated on the high seas Bengal contributed 6,806 or 54 per cent. Amongst those whose returns were sent to Calcutta the percentage of persons born in Bengal was 61 and it was even higher amongst the schedules received in Rangoon where it amounted to 67 per cent. Ninety per cent. of the persons thus enumerated from Bengal were Muslims and although the district of birth was not separately compiled it is safe to assume that they came principally from Chittagong and other parts of east Bengal. Assam

STATEMENT No. III-7.

Indian males, earners, on the high seas, returning as principal occupation group 102—Transport by water.

	Number.	Per cent.
ALL PORTS	10,838	87
Aden	824	68
Karachi	102	72
Bombay	479	87·5
Calcutta	8,670	89
Rangoon	768	89

contributed 23 per cent. of the total numbers returned at all ports, 29 per cent. of those returned at Calcutta and 12 per cent. of those returned at Rangoon. There were nearly 8 persons from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam for every individual from elsewhere amongst those enumerated. Occupations were returned only by males. Amongst the total enumerated 87 per cent. were seamen, etc., on board and figures are given in the accompanying statement No. III-7. The proportion was least in the returns received at Aden (68 per cent.) and Karachi (72 per cent.). It was 87·5 per cent. at Bombay and 89 per cent. at Calcutta, whilst only 5 of those included in the returns at Rangoon were not shown in the same occupational group. These occupational figures explain the small proportion of females returned; in the total returns only 1 female was included for every 100 males, the largest proportion being in the returns at Bombay, whilst at Calcutta there was only one female returned for every 300 males or more. It is of interest to note that many of the

laskars retain a close connection with the land in their own country : amongst the males one in nearly every four at Calcutta and more than one in every seven at Rangoon returned some agricultural occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood, and in almost all these cases the occupation was that of tenant cultivators, as is shown in the marginal statement. The occupational figures also account for the not insignificant number of Bengalis returned in schedules issued to masters of vessels taking on crews at Aden and Karachi. The seaman is liable to find his contract at an end at some other port than the nearest to his native place, and he naturally signs on with some other crew from the port at which he has been discharged.

128. **Emigration to plantations overseas.**—Before the last census was taken the system of indentured labour under which Indian coolies were

recruited for the plantations overseas had ceased and by the Indian Emigration Act (VII of 1922) provision was made that emigrants might proceed only from notified ports of India (of which Calcutta is one) in the case of skilled labourers upon permission granted by the local government and in the case of unskilled labourers on terms and conditions and to countries specified by the Government of India. During the decade under review no declaration was made by the Government of India permitting unskilled emigration to countries overseas except for a period of one year, with effect from the 31st May 1923, to Mauritius. Consequently, emigration of unskilled labourers took place only during 1923 and 1924. The figures both for emigration and for returned emigrants during the decade are given in subsidiary table VII. During the two years in which emigration was opened 1,379 unskilled labourers left Calcutta for Mauritius. During 1921 to 1924 and in 1929

STATEMENT No. III-B.

Locality of origin of persons actually embarked from Calcutta for countries overseas during 1921-30.

(NOTE.—Figures in italics are for skilled labourers and are included in the totals above them.)

Locality of origin.	Total 1921- 30.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1929.
ALL COUNTRIES	1,509	39	25	904	537	4
	<i>130</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>4</i>
Bengal	121	39	25	22	31	4
	<i>86</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>4</i>
Burdwan	1	..	..	1	..	..
Midnapore	1	..	..	1	..	..
Hooghly	4	..	..	2	2	..
24-Parganas	62	23	17	3	17	2
	<i>57</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>17</i>	..	<i>15</i>	<i>2</i>
Calcutta	29	16	8	8	..	2
	<i>23</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>8</i>	..	<i>2</i>
Nadia	4	..	..	..	4	..
Jessore	1	..	..	1	..	..
Rajshahi	2	..	..	2	..	..
Dacca	6	..	..	1	5	..
Mymensingh	3	..	..	..	3	..
Faridpur	1	..	..	1	..	..
Noakhali	7	..	..	7	..	..
Bihar and Orissa	99	..	..	67	32	..
	<i>2</i>	..	..	<i>2</i>	..	..
United Provinces	370	..	..	574	296	..
	<i>21</i>	..	..	<i>5</i>	<i>16</i>	..
Punjab and North-West Frontier Provinces	188	..	..	105	83	..
	<i>4</i>	..	..	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	..
Central Province	32	..	..	20	12	..
Madras	16	..	..	10	6	..
Bombay	7	..	..	7	..	..
	<i>6</i>	..	..	<i>6</i>	..	..
Indian States and Other places	144	..	..	83	61	..
	<i>12</i>	..	..	<i>12</i>	..	..
Indians born in the colony	30	..	..	16	14	..
Assam	2	..	..	..	2	..

principally tailors for Siam, were despatched to foreign countries from Calcutta. The returned emigrants during the same period amounted to more than 35,000 of whom a larger proportion was provided by Fiji and Trinidad than by any other country. The emigrants returning from Fiji found that conditions there were no longer favourable. There was a surplus of labour leading to lower wages whilst the cost of living was a great deal higher than before the war. In South Africa the political atmosphere was not congenial to Indian settlers and voluntary repatriation was accepted at the expense of the Union Government in 1923 and subsequent years. Emigrants leaving India from Calcutta were naturally drawn principally from Bengal which supplied amongst 1,676 recruited during that period (not all of whom actually embarked) as many as 1,163 almost entirely drawn from Calcutta (775) and the 24-Parganas (379). Delhi from which 230 and the United Provinces from which 204 recruits were obtained are the only other provinces providing an appreciable number of recruits for emigration. No details are available of the ultimate destination of returned emigrants. The figures for origin given in subsidiary table VII show actually the area of recruitment, and it is not correct to assume that all persons recruited in

Calcutta and the 24-Parganas were natives of Bengal. The great majority were only temporarily domiciled there. This will appear from the figures in statement No. III-8, which shows the locality of origin of persons actually embarked, and excludes those recruited who did not leave India. Details of the real locality of origin and not the areas of recruitment are here given though they are not available from subsidiary table VII. Only one emigrant in twelve was a native of Bengal but nearly two in every three skilled emigrants were Bengalis.

129. Migration to Chandernagore.—A census of French possessions in India was taken on the same night as the census of British India. By the courtesy of the Governor of the French Settlements in India, summary figures of the results obtained in the census of Chandernagore have been supplied. The figures given in statement No. III-9 adjoined show by age-groups the numbers enumerated in Chandernagore who were born in British India and of British nationality, respectively. The figures unfortunately do not indicate these details by sexes, nor do they show the numbers born in Bengal

STATEMENT No. III-9.

Numbers of both sexes enumerated in Chandernagore, 1931, who were born in British India and of British nationality.

Age-groups.	Born in British India.	Of British nationality.
All ages	12,611	11,731
0—10	1,588	1,807
11—20	2,523	2,317
21—40	6,041	5,490
41—60	2,039	1,783
61 & over	420	354

and it is consequently impossible to furnish the information with certainty which has previously been shown in Imperial Tables I and II. The figures for nationality suggest that some proportion of the persons born in British India must have become naturalized French subjects, since otherwise the number of British nationals should be at least the same as the number of those born in British India. Even if all persons born in British India be taken as being British subjects born in Bengal, there has been an evident decrease in the numbers resident in Chandernagore during the last 10 years. The totals of both sexes given in the last report are : for 1921, 14,450 ; for 1911, 9,628 ; for 1901, 10,999 ; for 1891, 4,913, and for 1881, 853. Figures for French subjects and persons born in French possessions who were enumerated in Bengal were furnished to the authorities of Chandernagore in considerable detail by sex, birth-place, origin, nationality, marital condition, occupation, etc. The total number, however, was small and amounted only to 252 Indians of both sexes (male 81, female 171), and 9 Europeans of both sexes (male 2, female 7). The Europeans were all born in France and only one Indian who claimed French nationality was returned as being born in British India.

130. Native born and foreign population in Sikkim.—In Sikkim out of a total population of 109,808, 94,391 were born in the state. Bihar and Orissa and Tibet contributed between 300 and 360 persons each to its population. But the greatest amount of immigration, as is natural, came from Nepal which sent 12,571 persons to Sikkim. The number of persons in Sikkim who may be reasonably taken to be of Nepali extraction, however, is considerably greater than would be deduced from the figures of immigration, for no less than 84,101 persons or 76·5 per cent. of the total population returned themselves as speaking as mother tongue some language of Nepal, and amongst these 38,866 or more than two-fifths spoke Khaskura or Naipali.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Abstract of native-born and immigrant population in thousands.

Natural division and district of enumeration.	Born in Bengal (in thousands) in—									Born in India outside Bengal (in thousands) in—						Born outside India (in thousands)		
	British Territory and states.			British Territory.			Bengal States.			Contiguous provinces and states.			Non-contiguous provinces and states.					
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
BENGAL	49,234	25,260	23,974	48,423	24,842	23,581	811	418	393	1,212	848	364	514	369	145	127	80	47
West Bengal	8,174	4,131	4,043	8,172	4,130	4,042	2	1	1	305	205	100	162	112	50	6.6	5.2	1
BURDWAN DIVISION	8,174	4,131	4,043	8,172	4,130	4,042	2	1	1	305	205	100	162	112	50	6.6	5.2	1
Burdwan	1,460	740	720	1,460	740	720	..	..	..	95	60	35	19	13	6	1.88	1.40	..
Birbhum	917	458	459	917	458	459	..	..	..	28	13	15	2	1	1	..	..	..
Bankura	1,097	552	545	1,097	552	545	..	..	..	14	5	9	1	1	..	..	..	..
Midnapore	2,735	1,382	1,358	2,735	1,382	1,353	..	..	..	30	15	15	34	20	14	1.05	.80	..
Hooghly	1,004	508	498	1,002	507	495	2	1	1	73	58	15	36	25	11	..	..	..
Howrah	901	491	470	901	491	470	..	..	..	65	54	11	70	62	18	2.48	1.97	..
Central Bengal	9,413	4,929	4,484	9,408	4,926	4,482	5	3	2	429	348	81	246	183	63	20.1	14.9	5.8
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	9,413	4,929	4,484	9,408	4,926	4,482	5	3	2	429	348	81	246	183	63	20.1	14.9	5.8
24 Parganas	2,460	1,273	1,187	2,460	1,273	1,187	..	..	..	104	128	36	87	61	26	2.54	1.88	..
Calcutta	800	491	309	796	488	308	4	3	1	231	198	33	149	114	35	16.90	12.39	4.51
Nadia	1,517	779	738	1,516	779	737	1	..	1	7	5	2	6	4	1	..	..	..
Murshidabad	1,348	671	677	1,348	671	677	..	..	..	20	11	9	8	2	1	..	..	..
Jessore	1,666	867	799	1,666	867	799	..	..	..	4	3	1	1	1	..	..	..	..
Khulna	1,622	848	774	1,622	848	774	..	..	..	8	3	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
North Bengal	10,714	5,525	5,189	10,178	5,254	4,924	536	271	265	381	233	148	66	46	20	97.9	57.8	40.1
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	10,138	5,223	4,918	10,117	5,212	4,905	21	11	10	370	224	146	63	44	19	97.3	57.3	40.0
Rajshahi	1,404	724	680	1,404	724	680	..	..	..	22	14	8	3	2	1	..	..	..
Dinajpur	1,879	874	805	1,879	874	805	..	..	..	69	44	25	6	5	1	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	772	409	383	766	400	356	16	9	7	158	90	68	21	14	7	32.76	21.18	11.58
Darjeeling	219	112	107	219	112	107	..	..	..	31	19	12	8	5	3	61.84	33.86	28.00
Rangpur	2,549	1,321	1,228	2,544	1,319	1,225	5	2	3	34	26	8	11	8	3	..	..	..
Bogra	1,070	547	523	1,070	547	523	..	..	..	10	6	4	6	4	2	..	..	..
Pabna	1,436	732	704	1,436	732	704	..	..	..	5	4	1	5	4	1	..	..	..
Maida	1,009	504	505	1,009	504	505	..	..	..	41	21	20	8	2	1	..	..	..
COOCH BEHAR STATE	576	302	274	61	42	19	515	260	255	11	9	2	3	2	1	66	47	9
East Bengal	20,933	10,675	10,258	20,665	10,532	10,133	268	143	125	97	62	35	40	28	12	2.8	2.0	.8
DACCA DIVISION	13,768	7,066	6,722	13,788	7,066	6,722	..	..	..	47	35	12	27	20	7	1.6	1.3	.3
Dacca	3,414	1,730	1,684	3,414	1,730	1,684	..	..	..	13	10	3	4	3	1	..	..	..
Mymensingh	5,048	2,637	2,451	5,088	2,637	2,451	..	..	..	23	16	7	19	14	5	..	..	..
Faridpur	2,353	1,199	1,154	2,353	1,199	1,154	..	..	..	7	6	2	3	2	1	..	..	..
Bakarganj	2,933	1,500	1,433	2,933	1,500	1,433	..	..	..	4	4	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	6,809	3,431	3,378	6,809	3,431	3,378	..	..	..	11	6	5	6	4	2	.7	.5	.2
Tipperra	3,101	1,590	1,511	3,101	1,590	1,511	..	..	..	7	4	3	2	1	1	..	..	..
Noakhali	1,706	859	847	1,706	859	847	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong	1,790	868	822	1,790	868	822	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong Hill Tracts	212	114	98	212	114	98	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
TRIPURA STATE	336	178	168	68	35	33	268	143	125	39	21	18	7	4	3	63	28	1
SIKKIM	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	95	48	47	..	..	..	13.0	6.8	6.1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Abstract of native-born population resident in and emigrant from Bengal in thousands.

Locality of Birth.	Number of persons enumerated (in thousands)—															Natural population					
	In Bengal—British districts and states.			In Bengal—British districts.			In Bengal states.			In contiguous provinces and states in India.			In non-contiguous provinces and states in India.						outside India.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
BENGAL	49,234	25,260	23,974	48,322	24,780	23,542	812	480	432	893	547	346	61	35	26	2.74	1.82	.91	50,191	25,844	24,377
Bengal—British Territory	48,423	24,842	23,581	48,293	24,764	23,529	130	78	52	880	546	344	61	35	20	2.74	1.82	.91	49,377	25,424	23,900
Bengal States	811	418	393	29	16	13	782	402	380	2	1	2	0.2	0.2	..	..	..	..	814	420	477

*Excluding Madras and Coorg and Madras States (except Cochin and Travancore).

†Born in Bengal without specification of district or State viz., 92 in Ceylon, 2 in Cyprus, 2 in Somaliland, 51 in Hongkong, 2,576 in Mauritius, 13 in Borneo and the Seychelles Islands.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Migration between Bengal and other provinces, states or countries, 1921 and 1931, with variation and figures of net immigration or emigration.

Locality.	Immigrants to Bengal British districts and states.			Emigrants from Bengal British districts and states.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of immigrants to over emigrants from Bengal British districts and states.		Immigrants to Bengal British districts.		
	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
INDIA	1,726,370	1,817,775	- 91,405	†853,789	886,195 +	†287,004 +	†772,671 +	1,131,880	1,084,803	1,770,658	- 75,855
British Territory	1,668,285	1,743,848	- 75,563	†837,198	870,128 +	†287,008 +	†728,087 +	1,073,819	1,088,782	1,673,878	- 85,098
Ajmer-Merwara	516	1,930	- 1,414	431	970	- 539	85	900	807	1,856	- 1,848
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	17	32	- 15	967	890	77	950	858	16	32	- 16
Assam	62,012	68,207	- 6,255	575,013	375,208	199,807	513,001	306,939	26,638	28,219	- 1,581
Baluchistan (districts and administered territories)	113	68	+ 45	578	456	122	465	388	111	68	+ 43
Bengal											
Bihar and Orissa	1,127,102	1,220,428	- 93,324	149,475	107,232	+ 42,193	+ 977,687	+ 1,113,194	1,114,260	1,200,761	- 86,491
Bombay	7,006	7,515	- 91	5,250	7,958	- 2,705	+ 2,358	+ 440	7,518	7,425	+ 93
Burma	3,791	2,381	+ 1,430	168,098	146,087	+ 12,011	+ 154,307	+ 143,726	3,777	2,352	+ 1,425
Central Provinces and Berar	45,702	51,753	- 6,051	5,738	3,083	+ 2,670	+ 39,969	+ 48,890	44,093	49,240	- 5,163
Coorg	3	6	- 3	1	6	- 5	1	8	3	6	- 3
Delhi	2,159	1,889	+ 270	6,168	2,778	+ 3,890	- 4,009	- 889	2,158	1,882	+ 276
Madras (including Laccadive Islands)	42,437	31,270	+ 11,167	†	3,281	†	†	+ 27,989	40,269	28,593	+ 11,676
N. W. F. P. (districts and administered territories)	1,002	1,026	- 936	704	777	- 73	+ 1,258	+ 249	1,915	1,015	+ 900
Punjab	23,734	14,304	+ 9,430	4,320	2,949	+ 1,371	+ 19,414	+ 11,355	23,611	14,250	+ 9,361
U. P. of Agra and Oudh	348,181	342,801	+ 5,380	30,521	18,479	+ 12,042	+ 317,610	+ 324,322	348,906	338,184	+ 5,722
Indian States	58,828	72,816	- 13,988	†16,801	18,068 +	†535 +	†42,925 +	58,850	84,483	98,891	- 11,128
Assam States	1,404	535	+ 869	186	872	- 186	+ 1,218	+ 163	686	358	+ 328
Baluchistan States	79	24	+ 55	..	..	..	..	..	79	24	+ 55
Baroda State	350	199	+ 151	893	257	+ 136	+ 48	- 58	263	199	+ 64
Bengal States											
Bihar and Orissa States	11,748	7,153	+ 4,595	8,109	9,660	- 1,551	+ 3,639	- 2,537	28,899	25,016	+ 3,883
Bombay States	191	3,718	- 3,527	708	515	+ 253	+ 577	+ 3,203	10,670	8,489	+ 4,181
Central India Agency	1,722	941	+ 781	844	949	- 105	+ 878	- 8	127	3,527	- 3,400
Central Provinces States	142	3,057	- 2,915	1,213	211	+ 1,002	- 1,071	+ 2,946	932	873	+ 59
Gwalior State	1,581	1,788	- 207	260	325	- 65	+ 1,321	+ 1,468	1,581	1,785	- 204
Hyderabad State	849	389	+ 460	313	293	+ 20	+ 536	+ 96	847	388	+ 459
Kashmir State	209	169	+ 40	111	105	+ 6	+ 98	+ 64	209	166	+ 43
Madras States (including Cochin and Travancore)	88	754	- 671	†255	67	+ †188	- †172	+ 687	88	754	- 671
Cochin State	23	222	- 199	33	9	+ 24	+ 20	- 213	23	222	- 199
Travancore State	8	532	- 524	22	58	+ 164	- 214	+ 474	8	532	- 524
Mysore State	322	451	- 129	617	424	+ 193	- 295	+ 27	322	447	- 125
N. W. F. P. (Agency and Tribal area)	2	..	+ 2	91	140	- 49	- 89	- 120	2	..	+ 2
Punjab States Agency	1,350	1,522	- 172	298	223	+ 75	+ 1,052	+ 1,299	1,343	1,504	- 161
Rajputana Agency	32,908	47,865	- 14,959	1,007	774	+ 233	+ 31,899	+ 47,091	32,011	46,850	- 14,839
Sikkim State	6,320	4,057	+ 2,263	1,707	1,666	+ 141	+ 4,618	+ 2,491	6,320	4,057	+ 2,263
United Provinces States	268	294	- 26	429	155	+ 274	- 161	+ 139	256	258	- 2
French and Portuguese settlements	1,292	1,181	+ 111	..	..	..	+ 1,292	+ 1,181	1,291	1,180	+ 132
Unspecified	267	30	+ 237	..	..	..	+ 267	+ 30	267	30	+ 237
OUTSIDE INDIA	127,338	111,888	+ 15,473	*2,738	162	+ 2,576	+ 124,608	+ 111,793	126,249	110,885	+ 15,364

Locality.	Emigrants from Bengal British districts.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of immigrants to over emigrants from Bengal British districts.		Immigrants to Bengal States.		Emigrants from Bengal States.		Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of immigrants to over emigrants from Bengal States.	
	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).
1	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
INDIA	†1,086,779	787,454	+ †313,325 +	†814,024	+ 1,003,204	189,943	155,271	+ 34,672	†31,388	26,895	+ †4,491 +
British Territory	†834,806	668,262	+ †266,544 +	†874,278	+ 1,005,616	160,180	152,808	+ 33,272	†31,381	26,893	+ †4,488 +
Ajmer-Merwara	430	970	- 540	77	885	9	75	- 66	1	..	+ 1
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	958	883	+ 75	942	851	1	..	1	9	7	+ 2
Assam	572,570	378,504	+ 199,066	545,932	345,285	35,374	40,048	- 4,674	2,448	1,702	+ 741
Baluchistan (districts and administered territories)	578	456	+ 122	467	388	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bengal											
Bihar and Orissa	149,396	107,175	+ 42,221	964,864	1,093,576	129,677	83,138	+ 46,539	28,699	25,016	+ 3,683
Bombay	5,250	7,958	- 2,708	2,268	528	88	19,676	- 6,838	19	57	- 38
Burma	158,065	146,058	+ 11,997	154,278	143,708	14	90	- 2	..	..	..
Central Provinces and Berar	5,558	3,021	+ 2,537	38,535	40,225	1,609	2,507	- 898	176	42	+ 133
Coorg	3	6	- 3	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delhi	6,168	2,778	+ 3,890	4,010	896	1	7	- 6	..	..	..
Madras (including Laccadive Islands)	†	3,281	†	†	25,312	2,168	2,677	- 509	†	..	†
N. W. F. P. (districts and administered territories)	704	777	- 73	1,211	238	47	11	+ 36	..	..	..
Punjab	4,320	2,949	+ 1,371	19,291	11,301	123	54	+ 69	..	..	..
U. P. of Agra and Oudh	30,519	18,451	+ 12,068	313,387	319,738	4,225	4,617	- 392	2	28	- 26
Indian States	†149,273	99,192	+ †47,081 +	†81,810	+ 3,601	3,762	2,341	+ 1,421	†5	12	- †7 +
Assam States	186	369	- 183	500	31	718	197	+ 521	..	3	- 3
Baluchistan States	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baroda State	893	257	+ 136	130	58	87	..	+ 87	..	..	..
Bengal States	129,677	83,138	+ 46,539	100,978	58,122	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bihar and Orissa States	8,108	9,685	- 1,577	2,502	3,196	1,078	664	+ 414	1	5	- 4
Bombay States	788	515	+ 263	641	3,012	64	191	- 127	..	..	..
Central India Agency	844	945	- 101	72	72	790	68	+ 722	..	4	- 4
Central Provinces States	1,213	211	+ 1,002	1,140	2,706	109	141	- 32	..	..	..
Gwalior State	260	325	- 65	1,321	1,480	..	3	- 3	..	..	..
Hyderabad State	313	293	+ 20	534	95	2	1	+ 1	..	..	..
Kashmir State	111	105	+ 6	98	61	..	3	- 8	..	..	..
Madras States (including Cochin and Travancore)	†255	67	+ 188	†172	687	..	..	..	†	..	†
Cochin State	33	222	- 189	33	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Travancore State	222	532	- 310	222	434	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mysore State	617	424	+ 193	617	295	..	4	- 4	..	..	..
N. W. F. P. (Agency and Tribal area)	91	140	- 49	89	140	..	..	..	..	..	..
Punjab States Agency	298	223	+ 75	1,045	1,291	7	18	- 11	..	..	..
Rajputana Agency	1,003	774	+ 229	31,008	46,076	895	1,015	- 120	4	..	+ 6
Sikkim State	1,707	1,566	+ 141	4,618	2,491	..	..	..	..	..	..
United Provinces States	429	155	+ 274	173	103	12	30	- 24	..	..	..
French and Portuguese settlements	..	..	..	1,291	1,180	1	22	- 21	..	..	+ 1
Unspecified	..	..	..	267	30	..	..	..	..	..	..
OUTSIDE INDIA	*2,738	162	+ 2,576	123,511	119,723	1,989	889	+ 109	..	..	+ 1,099

*92 persons were enumerated in Ceylon, 1 in Cyprus, 2 in Somaliland, 51 in Hongkong, 2,576 in Mauritius, 13 in Borneo and 4 in the Seychelles Islands; all were returned as born in "Bengal district or state unspecified".
†Excluding figures for Madras, Coorg and Madras States.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number and ratio per 10,000 of the population at each census, 1881 to 1931, whose birthplace was returned as being within and outside Bengal.

Division, district or state.	Population born within Bengal.											
	1931.		1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	49,233,630	9,637	45,662,822	9,595	44,334,864	9,574	41,438,587	9,663	38,688,326	9,719*	35,935,508	9,76
British Territory	48,321,649	9,642	44,839,009	9,602	43,570,608	9,580	40,736,264	9,666	37,999,850	9,721*	35,412,597	9,77
BURDWAN DIVISION	8,173,822	9,453	7,648,550	9,502	8,109,393	9,577	7,998,495	9,704	7,522,455	9,784	7,254,631	9,81
Burdwan	1,459,818	9,365	1,344,228	9,341	1,455,885	9,464	1,455,242	9,498	1,347,510	9,631	1,355,865	9,74
Birbhum	916,987	9,677	819,310	9,667	900,723	9,629	869,720	9,639	777,754	9,748	780,244	9,83
Bankura	1,097,076	9,868	1,008,180	9,865	1,124,738	9,878	1,105,210	9,900	1,051,445	9,830	1,024,586	9,83
Midnapore	2,734,808	9,770	2,619,633	9,824	2,772,629	9,828	2,761,982	9,903	2,610,292	9,910	2,448,487	9,82
Hooghly	1,003,785	9,009	989,982	9,165	1,021,220	9,368	1,005,296	9,531	1,060,618	9,851	999,348	9,86
Howrah	961,353	9,749	898,217	9,765	834,198	9,842	799,036	9,395	674,866	9,367	606,101	9,58
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	9,412,888	9,318	8,790,338	9,291	8,786,437	9,309	8,513,838	9,467	8,166,616	9,571	7,886,334	9,61
24 Parganas	2,460,838	9,668	2,334,104	9,831	2,189,912	9,997	1,947,118	9,369	1,806,511	9,648	1,749,630	9,71
Calcutta	799,408	6,880	579,564	6,384	539,374	6,019	548,685	6,480	451,377	6,623	290,566	6,81
Nadia	1,516,900	9,917	1,472,120	9,896	1,599,948	9,889	1,650,265	9,933	1,633,615	9,936	2,001,470	9,98
Murshidabad	1,848,414	9,838	1,240,262	9,824	1,842,519	9,783	1,305,338	9,791	1,218,790	9,743	1,199,504	9,74
Jessore	1,665,984	9,969	1,717,327	9,972	1,752,169	9,965	1,808,483	9,974	1,884,705	9,978	1,573,818	9,99
Khulna	1,621,844	9,974	1,446,961	9,969	1,362,520	9,969	1,247,947	9,969	1,173,620	9,966	1,071,846	9,96
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	10,137,774	9,503	9,694,922	9,371	9,416,588	9,390	8,828,950	9,413	8,397,917	9,506	8,168,253	9,54
Rajshahi	1,408,687	9,823	1,454,108	9,761	1,445,105	9,760	1,436,668	9,824	1,293,766	9,851	1,324,636	9,88
Dinajpur	1,679,108	9,565	1,592,755	9,340	1,544,176	9,149	1,487,517	9,365	1,484,676	9,543	1,472,559	9,57
Jalpaiguri	772,150	7,858	716,368	7,651	695,060	7,700	648,646	8,238	595,252	8,736	523,719	9,00
Darjeeling	218,935	6,859	180,941	6,399	154,281	6,310	133,388	5,364	92,541	4,144	80,096	5,23
Rangpur	2,548,596	9,828	2,430,418	9,691	2,295,586	9,624	2,092,028	9,711	2,035,714	9,856	2,071,998	9,81
Bogra	1,070,424	9,853	1,023,119	9,757	956,850	9,728	839,572	9,825	794,941	9,724	723,449	9,83
Pabna	1,435,760	9,932	1,374,593	9,893	1,402,996	9,821	1,403,183	9,878	1,341,214	9,845	1,301,996	9,81
Malda	1,009,209	9,577	922,630	9,369	924,634	9,207	807,948	9,139	759,513	9,320	670,206	9,41
DACCA DIVISION	13,788,232	9,946	12,724,893	9,913	11,888,759	9,876	10,681,203	9,895	9,744,579	9,899	8,845,357	9,91
Dacca	3,414,402	9,947	3,098,087	9,911	2,920,015	9,864	2,621,030	9,893	2,389,158	9,870	2,101,838	9,91
Mymensingh	5,088,095	9,918	4,769,410	9,859	4,438,476	9,801	3,846,968	9,826	3,417,209	9,842	3,017,938	9,88
Faridpur	2,352,527	9,959	2,239,102	9,952	2,108,895	9,939	1,926,511	9,943	1,789,138	9,954	1,628,157	9,96
Bakarganj	2,983,208	9,930	2,618,294	9,979	2,428,373	9,977	2,286,694	9,978	2,149,076	9,977	1,897,424	9,98
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	8,808,933	9,974	8,978,306	9,966	8,367,431	9,950	4,718,790	9,964	4,166,581	9,944	3,487,022	9,94
Tippera	8,100,761	9,971	2,730,210	9,953	2,412,247	9,926	2,101,921	9,924	1,766,365	9,909	1,506,922	9,91
Noakhali	1,706,396	9,998	1,472,125	9,996	1,301,344	9,994	1,141,017	9,994	1,008,992	9,993	820,160	9,98
Chittagong	1,789,811	9,960	1,604,314	9,956	1,500,867	9,950	1,348,427	9,964	1,285,247	9,962	1,129,940	9,92
Chittagong Hill Tracts	211,965	9,955	172,657	9,966	152,978	9,944	124,425	9,973	105,947	9,876	80,000	9,81
Bengal States	911,981	9,370	823,813	9,185	764,256	9,291	702,323	9,487	688,476	9,611	652,911	9,67
Cooch Behar	576,965	9,748	569,697	9,615	568,264	9,584	548,164	9,668	564,011	9,743	522,911	9,81
Tripura State	338,016	8,736	254,116	8,347	195,992	8,536	154,159	8,894	124,465	9,066	80,000	9,00
SIKKIM	1,707	155	1,566	192	3,052	347	1,925	326	..	..	..	..

Division, district or state.	Population born outside Bengal.											
	1931.		1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	1,853,708	363	1,929,840	405	1,970,778	426	1,445,724	337	1,120,242	281	*883,595	24
British Territory	1,792,353	358	1,856,527	398	1,912,469	420	1,407,748	334	1,092,408	279	*803,862	23
BURDWAN DIVISION	473,367	647	461,992	498	367,921	423	243,591	298	166,333	216	139,323	31
Burdwan	115,886	735	94,698	659	82,466	536	77,239	604	44,370	319	35,958	29
Birbhum	30,567	322	28,260	333	34,750	371	82,560	361	20,079	82	14,184	15
Bankura	14,645	132	11,701	118	18,932	122	11,201	100	18,223	170	17,166	13
Midnapore	64,285	230	47,027	176	48,572	172	27,132	97	21,224	81	29,816	10
Hooghly	110,470	991	90,160	835	68,877	632	43,946	419	18,092	149	13,420	10
Howrah	137,514	1,361	129,186	1,295	109,304	1,158	51,479	606	40,345	649	29,280	41
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	695,341	688	671,657	709	658,884	698	479,192	533	366,508	429	319,578	36
24 Parganas	258,536	934	294,101	1,119	244,192	1,003	131,241	631	85,622	458	120,229	61
Calcutta	397,326	3,320	4,769,410	3,618	356,693	3,981	299,111	3,520	230,183	3,377	142,653	3,22
Nadia	12,732	83	15,452	104	17,908	111	11,226	67	10,493	64	16,377	11
Murshidabad	22,268	162	22,252	178	29,755	217	27,846	209	32,156	267	27,256	21
Jessore	5,180	31	4,892	28	6,095	35	4,672	26	4,122	22	3,431	19
Khulna	4,804	26	6,073	41	4,246	31	5,096	41	4,032	34	8,602	43
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	839,282	497	859,742	689	719,716	710	559,239	587	436,489	494	274,970	31
Rajshahi	25,331	177	35,567	239	35,482	240	25,739	178	10,570	149	14,002	16
Dinajpur	76,329	436	112,598	660	143,687	851	99,563	635	71,169	457	41,787	28
Jalpaiguri	211,207	2,168	219,911	2,349	207,600	2,300	138,734	1,762	86,100	1,264	57,843	20
Darjeeling	100,700	3,160	101,807	3,601	111,269	4,190	115,729	4,648	130,778	5,668	74,483	4,61
Rangpur	46,279	178	77,436	309	89,744	376	62,153	289	29,750	144	25,871	16
Bogra	15,996	147	25,487	243	26,717	272	14,961	176	22,558	276	10,909	16
Pabna	9,894	68	14,901	107	25,590	179	17,278	122	21,178	155	9,732	10
Malda	44,557	423	63,035	640	79,625	793	76,082	861	55,406	680	40,249	50
DACCA DIVISION	75,872	65	112,418	87	148,880	124	112,788	104	99,548	101	55,582	59
Dacca	18,175	53	27,860	89	40,387	136	28,492	107	31,498	130	14,512	12
Mymensingh	42,167	82	68,320	141	89,946	199	68,100	174	54,977	158	34,028	21
Faridpur	9,688	41	10,756	48	13,019	61	11,135	57	8,184	46	3,577	20
Bakarganj	5,842	20	5,462	21	5,538	23	5,068	22	4,889	23	3,465	20
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	17,481	26	21,218	36	27,960	50	21,841	46	23,530	58	*15,489	20
Tippera	8,974	29	12,869	47	17,891	74	16,070	76	16,570	91	12,416	14
Noakhali	323	2	661	4	746	6	711	6	701	7	612	7
Chittagong	7,227	40	7,108	44	7,566	50	4,823	36	4,920	38	2,401	18
Chittagong Hill Tracts	957	45	580	34	857	56	337					

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Number and ratio per 10,000 of the population of selected towns, 1931, whose birthplace was returned as being some other part of India than Bengal.

CITY or town and district with total population.		Locality of birth.																	
		All other parts of India.	Bihar and Orissa.	Assam.	Burma.	Madras.	United Provinces.	Central Provinces.	Bombay.	Punjab.	Delhi.	North-West Frontier Province.	Central India Agency.	Hyderabad.	Gwalior.	Rajputana Agency.	Kashmir.	Elsewhere.	
																			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
INDUSTRIAL TOWNS.																			
CALCUTTA	1,199,734	Number per 10,000	380,428 3,179	224,751 1,878	4,819 41	1,461 12	5,304 44	103,278 863	8,026 28	4,555 38	12,703 106	1,558 13	611 5	186 2	380 3	908 8	14,881 124	93 1	1,014 16
HOWRAH—Howrah	224,873	Number per 10,000	78,584 3,434	33,362 1,484	102 5	47 2	2,061 118	38,944 1,732	794 36	226 10	797 38	53 2	26 1	6 ..	22 1	145 7	1,895 59	7 ..	38 2
DACCA—Dacca	138,518	Number per 10,000	9,974 720	6,008 434	1,370 99	53 4	28 2	2,037 147	168 12	78 6	125 9	.. ..	18 1	.. ..	41 3	.. ..	21 1	4 ..	22 2
Asansol—Burdwan	28,888	Number per 10,000	7,195 2,491	5,753 1,991	8 1	.. ..	4 1	953 330	15 6	62 21	198 69	5 2	.. ..	2 ..	.. ..	2 1	152 53	.. ..	46 18
Kharagpur—Midnapore	54,284	Number per 10,000	35,498 6,539	6,745 1,243	11 2	18 3	11,752 2,165	5,512 1,915	8,602 1,584	525 97	1,756 323	6 1	.. ..	117 22	134 25	12 2	244 45	4 1	60 11
Serampore—Hooghly	38,799	Number per 10,000	13,148 3,389	9,360 2,413	16 4	12 3	660 170	2,552 657	818 82	26 6	21 8	21 5	21 6	2 1	.. ..	18 3	126 33	....	....
Rishra—Konaagar—Hooghly	26,799	Number per 10,000	14,710 5,489	9,257 3,454	4 1	4 2	607 226	4,627 1,727	59 22	4 2	14 8	8 1	4 2	.. ..	3 1	4 1	114 44	.. ..	2 1
Chamerdant—Hooghly	25,312	Number per 10,000	17,844 7,050	12,175 4,810	2 1	.. ..	399 158	3,950 1,560	1,105 472	5 2	7 3	4 2	9 4	.. ..	.. ..	1 ..	94 37	1 ..	2 1
Bhadrewar—Hooghly	22,918	Number per 10,000	16,112 7,030	8,734 3,811	.. ..	.. ..	1,908 558	4,081 1,780	1,223 534	2 1	13 6	1 ..	31 14	2 1	.. ..	.. ..	57 25	....	....
Bally—Howrah	29,807	Number per 10,000	14,532 4,876	9,471 2,171	17 6	15 5	385 129	6,055 2,233	295 99	131 44	177 59	10 3	10 3	6 2	8 3	109 37	234 80	2 1	4 1
Garden Reach	55,300	Number per 10,000	13,986 2,525	6,521 1,179	19 3	1 ..	170 31	8,958 1,804	333 60	10 2	61 11	29 6	90 16	.. ..	.. ..	2 ..	60 11	.. ..	14 3
Tollygunge	23,686	Number per 10,000	4,780 2,018	3,278 1,383	8 3	7 3	.. ..	1,281 541	134 57	.. ..	27 11	.. ..	7 3	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	40 17	....	....
South Suburban	38,483	Number per 10,000	4,005 1,941	3,882 1,909	5 1	4 1	2 1	70 18	.. ..	29 8	1 ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	12 3	....	....
Budge-Budge—24-Parganas	23,569	Number per 10,000	8,256 3,502	4,561 1,936	212 90	37 16	.. ..	2,906 1,233	819 135	3 1	119 50	.. ..	1 ..	.. ..	.. ..	75 32	23 10	....	....
Baranagar—24-Parganas	36,634	Number per 10,000	14,408 3,933	8,993 2,455	5 1	.. ..	314 86	3,845 1,049	734 200	259 71	258 71	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Kamarhati—24-Parganas	30,017	Number per 10,000	5,700 1,899	3,439 1,146	.. ..	.. ..	283 94	1,928 642	88 13	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	12 4	....	....	....	....	....	....
Tittagarh—24-Parganas	40,264	Number per 10,000	42,407 8,606	26,215 5,319	.. ..	.. ..	5,934 1,204	9,865 2,902	893 80	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Barrackpore—24-Parganas	38,692	Number per 10,000	26,498 6,876	18,827 4,743	62 15	9 2	1,008 264	5,681 1,431	336 85	23 6	394 100	.. ..	34 9	1 ..	1 ..	21 6	75 19	.. ..	26 7
Naihati—24-Parganas	30,693	Number per 10,000	17,517 5,708	9,809 3,129	39 13	2 1	562 183	6,756 2,201	852 115	49 16	55 18	7 2	49 16	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	37 19	....	....
Bhatpara—24-Parganas	33,924	Number per 10,000	65,836 7,821	40,787 4,861	5 1	4 ..	1,199 143	22,409 2,670	777 92	2 ..	30 ..	.. ..	95 11	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	398 39	....	....
Sirajganj—Pabna	32,293	Number per 10,000	929 288	430 133	17 5	4 1	.. ..	415 129	.. ..	5 2	10 3	.. ..	13 4	.. ..	.. ..	3 1	30 9	.. ..	2 1
Narayanganj—Dacca	34,199	Number per 10,000	517 161	257 75	42 12	8 2	3 1	144 42	58 17	1 ..	2 ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	2 1	....	....	....	....
Jamalpur—Mymensingh	23,077	Number per 10,000	689 299	311 136	2 1	.. ..	.. ..	378 162	.. ..	.. ..	3 1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Mymensingh—Mymensingh	30,480	Number per 10,000	1,084 356	291 92	96 32	2 1	2 1	628 206	12 4	.. ..	37 12	.. ..	.. ..	1 ..	.. ..	.. ..	25 8	....	....
Madaripur—Faridpur	26,894	Number per 10,000	658 244	332 124	13 5	3 1	4 1	298 110	.. ..	.. ..	2 ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	2 1	.. ..	4 1
Barisal—Barisal	34,180	Number per 10,000	1,467 429	1,070 316	54 16	18 5	2 1	275 80	1 ..	3 1	14 4	6 2	11 3	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	1 ..	.. ..	3 1
Chittagong—Chittagong	51,873	Number per 10,000	2,916 604	562 108	225 43	18 3	39 8	1,365 263	50 10	57 11	183 36	.. ..	7 1	28 8	.. ..	2 ..	54 10	.. ..	26 6
NON-INDUSTRIAL TOWNS.																			
Burdwan—Burdwan	39,433	Number per 10,000	7,039 1,785	5,188 1,316	19 5	1 ..	4 1	1,545 392	14 4	16 4	112 28	8 2	.. ..	5 1	3 1	5 1	111 28	.. ..	8 2
Bankura—Bankura	31,259	Number per 10,000	1,499 461	1,022 327	11 4	.. ..	11 4	119 38	11 4	33 10	29 9	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	1 ..	171 55	1..	....
Midnapore—Midnapore	31,509	Number per 10,000	1,223 308	841 267	29 9	.. ..	21 7	54 17	.. ..	11 4	37 12	8 1	.. ..	.. ..	1 ..	.. ..	220 70	.. ..	6 1
Hooghly—Chinsura—Hooghly	32,512	Number per 10,000	4,959 1,525	2,491 766	52 16	33 10	30 10	1,561 480	544 167	9 3	59 18	46 14	9 3	3 1	13 4	3 1	56 17	11 3	39 12
Krishnagar—Nadia	22,997	Number per 10,000	564 245	406 202	12 5	5 2	.. ..	17 8	.. ..	.. ..	9 4	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	55 24	....	....
Santipur—Nadia	24,990	Number per 10,000	697 379	329 132	18 7	8 1	12 5	393 133	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	2 1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Berhampore—Murshidabad	27,237	Number per 10,000	2,198 774	1,659 609	29 11	1 ..	.. ..	308 113	16 6	3 1	48 18	.. ..	.. ..	1 ..	.. ..	.. ..	42 16	1..	....
Rajshahi—Rajshahi	26,638	Number per 10,000	1,846 688	1,182 440	44 16	2 1	.. ..	505 189	4 1	2 1	26 10	1 ..	2 1	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	72 37	6 2	....
Darjeeling—Darjeeling	14,512	Number per 10,000	1,632 1,125	862 594	29 20	4 3	.. ..	347 239	.. ..	.. ..	186 128	200 138	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	4 3	....
Brahmanbaria—Tippera	26,560	Number per 10,000	1,254 472	142 53	930 350	5 2	.. ..	178 65	.. ..	.. ..	4 2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Comilla—Tippera	31,220	Number per 10,000	671 215	260 83	261 84	.. ..	3 1	126 40	9 3	.. ..	11 4	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	1..	....	....

*Including states as well as British districts.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Detailed birthplace of persons born in British possessions in Europe.

Locality of enumeration.	England and Wales.			Scotland.			Ireland.			United Kingdom unspecified.			Gibraltar.			Malta.			
	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
Bengal, British Districts and States	2,048	1,010	1,038	2,558	1,007	650	663	412	251	36	0	30	3	3	..	17	0	..	
Burdwan	282	180	102	108	69	39	31	21	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Birbhum	24	13	11	4	4	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bankura	18	13	5	2	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Midnapore	126	87	38	20	17	3	8	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hooghly	52	38	14	208	152	56	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah	272	175	97	253	192	61	22	14	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah City	164	103	61	146	109	37	10	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	629	404	225	713	558	155	40	24	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Suburbs in 24-Parganas	37	44	43	27	15	12	40	24	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calcutta	4,598	4,406	2,182	398	662	236	469	287	182	5	4	1	1	1	..	16	0	..	..
Nadia	27	15	12	6	3	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murshidabad	18	10	8	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jessore	5	4	1	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khulna	27	17	10	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajshahi	17	9	8	5	3	2	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dinajpur	12	5	7	2	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jaipalguri	188	138	50	130	105	25	10	3	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Darjeeling	330	208	122	107	54	53	35	22	13	14	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rangpur	47	29	18	5	3	2	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bogra	8	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pabna	16	8	8	6	4	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Malda	5	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca	68	41	28	18	16	2	6	5	1	17	2	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca City	43	25	23	6	4	1	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mymensingh	24	14	10	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Faridpur	22	13	9	4	..	4	9	8	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bakarganj	30	11	19	13	9	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tippers	15	9	6	6	5	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Noakhali	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong	38	54	42	31	24	7	11	8	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong Hill Tracts	4	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tripura State	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sikkim	2	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Returned "Northern Ireland".

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Emigration of Indians between Calcutta and countries overseas
(emigrants from and returned emigrants to Calcutta), 1921-1930.**

(NOTE.—Figures for skilled emigrants are shown in italics under those in which they are included.)

Part I.—Number of emigrants who returned to Calcutta from countries overseas.

Country from which returning.	Year.										
	Total, 1921-30.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALL COUNTRIES	35,302	10,480	2,534	4,258	1,998	3,032	2,428	2,538	2,646	1,805	1,722
	<i>102</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>11</i>						
Fiji	13,214	4,838	964	1,963		1,021	1,185	978	974	650	641
Natal	3,735	341	468	441	265	362	398	468	652	181	169
Mauritius	844	328				296	60		210	60	
Trinidad	8,847	2,418	1,059	961	870	868	969	873		914	
Jamaica	2,788	569		671	439			668			418
Surinam	1,101	877			88		78		88		20
British Guiana	4,478	1,046		192	366	470	748	552	620		464
Siam (Bangkok)	102	33		15	11						
	<i>*102</i>	<i>*33</i>	<i>*43</i>	<i>*16</i>	<i>*11</i>						
Other Ports	18			16	1						

*Skilled labourers (tailors).

Part II.—Number of emigrants who embarked from Calcutta for countries overseas.

Country to which emigrating.	Year.										
	Total, 1921-30.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALL COUNTRIES	1,509	39	25	904	537					4	
	<i>130</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>33</i>					<i>4</i>	
Siam (Bangkok)	79	39	25		15						
	<i>*79</i>	<i>*39</i>	<i>*25</i>		<i>*15</i>						
Mauritius	1,428			904	522					2	
	<i>49</i>			<i>**29</i>	<i>†72</i>					<i>2</i>	
Sarawak	2				3					2	
	<i>2</i>									<i>††2</i>	

*Tailors.

**Theatrical Artists.

†Brick-layers.

††Welders.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Emigration of Indians between Calcutta and countries overseas (emigrants from and returned emigrants to Calcutta), 1921-1930—concl'd.

(NOTE.—Figures for skilled emigrants are shown in italics under those in which they are included.)

Part III.—Localities in which persons were collected for emigration from Calcutta to countries overseas.

(NOTE.—The difference between the totals in this part and in part II is the number of emigrants collected who were not embarked owing to death, illness or other causes.)

Locality of recruitment.	Year.										
	Total, 1921-30.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALL PLACES	1,070	41	29	950	622	..	..	..	..	..	4
	133	41	29	29	35	..	..	..	..	..	4
BENGAL	1,163	41	29	711	378	..	..	..	..	..	4
	95	41	29	2	17	..	..	..	..	..	4
Calcutta	778	2	..	711	58	..	..	..	..	..	2
	14	2	7	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Howrah	8	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	378	39	22	..	316	..	..	..	..	..	2
	79	39	22	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	2
BINAR AND ORISSA	27	..	..	2	25	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Darbhanga	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gaya	24	..	..	1	23	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Patna	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CENTRAL PROVINCES	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jubbulpore	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
DELHI	230	..	..	147	63	..	..	..	..	..	..
	5	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
BOMBAY AND MADRAS	6	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	6	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
UNITED PROVINCES	204	..	..	105	118	..	..	..	..	..	..
	5	..	..	5	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Azamgarh	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ballia	4	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bahraich	18	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
Basti	41	..	..	15	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Banaras	44	..	..	37	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ghazipur	16	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gonda	32	..	..	..	32	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gorakhpur	15	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jaunpur	6	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Meerut	14	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fyzabad	19	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..
Allahabad	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CENTRAL INDIA	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
OTHER PLACES	39	..	..	4	19	..	..	..	..	..	..
	22	..	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..

CHAPTER IV

Age

131. **The statistics presented.**—The statistics for age dealt with in this chapter are taken from imperial table VII showing the distribution of the population by age, sex and civil condition. Age also enters as a factor of differentiation in the figures for marital condition for selected castes shown in imperial table VIII and for the statistics of literacy. The following subsidiary tables are compiled from the census returns or from the vital statistics recorded in the province and show—

- I—the age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in Bengal and in natural divisions of Bengal, 1911, 1921 and 1931 ;
- II—the age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each of the main religions, Bengal with states ;
- III—the age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain castes and other groups ;
- IV—the proportion of children under 14 and of persons over 43 to those aged 14-43 in certain castes ; also of married females aged 14-43 per 100 females ;
- V—the proportion of children under 10 and of persons over 60 to those aged 15-40 ; also of married females aged 15-40 per 100 females ; 1911, 1921 and 1931 ;
- VI—the variation in population at certain age-periods, by natural divisions for each decade from 1881-1931 ;
- VII—the estimated population in thousands, Bengal, and administrative divisions, on the 1st January in each year 1921 to 1930 by sexes ;
- VIII—the annual reported births and birth rates by sexes in each administrative division, 1921-1930 ;
- IX—the annual reported deaths and death rates by sexes in each administrative division, 1921-1930 ;
- X—the annual reported death rate by sex and age-groups, 1921-1930 ;
- XI—the annual reported deaths and death rates from selected causes by sex, 1921-1930 ; and
- XII—the annual number of deaths reported from certain causes per 1,000 deaths from all causes by sexes, 1921-1930.

132. **The source of the figures and the accuracy of the age returns.**—The information as to age was collected in column 7 of the census schedule. Instructions to enumerators for filling up this column were as follows :—

“Column 7 (Age).—Enter the age as it was or will be on the birthday nearest to the date of final enumeration, i.e., to the nearest approximate number of years. For infants less than six months old enter the word ‘infant’.”

It is a matter of particular difficulty in Bengal to obtain accurate figures of ages. The vaguest ideas are often entertained as regards age and the replies received to questions are often such as to bear no reference whatever to the facts. There are in all countries a certain number of cases in which wilful mis-statements of age are made, but unless such wilful mis-statements are confined to age groups of a comparatively narrow extent, it is entirely impossible to make any allowance for them in dealing with the returns. Bachelors and spinsters, for instance, of advancing years will be tempted to understate their age. Some of the errors will be hardly so deliberate. A girl in Bengal aged 12-13 will probably have her age exaggerated if she is married especially if she has a child and understated if she is still unmarried : on the other hand boys at the pubertal age will in any case probably be returned as older than

they are. The very old of both sexes will probably exaggerate their ages. In all countries also there is a tendency in returning ages which are known with tolerable accuracy to choose certain digits in preference for others and examination of the census returns at single year age groups showed in 1921 in Bengal that the population has a distinct preference for giving an age which is a multiple of ten and that thereafter 5, 2, 8, 4, 6, 3, 7, 1 and 9 follow as digits in the ages returned in the above order of popularity. The range within which an error may be made either from ignorance or involuntarily is, however, very much greater in Bengal and in India generally than in European countries and it is clearly impossible to make corrections in the ages returned with such confidence as in other countries. The Government of India Actuary after the census of 1921, upon an examination of the results obtained in the Punjab in 1891 (when age was recorded as at the next birthday) and 1901 (when it was recorded as at the last birthday) came to the conclusion that the actual returns given in India were virtually not affected by differences in the instructions and that "the ages which the enumerators either guess or accept as correct are recorded without any consideration as to whether they are ages next birthday or last birthday and they may therefore be assumed to be the ages at the nearest birthday". The prescription that the age on the present occasion should be recorded to the nearest birthday instead of as previously to the last birthday was an innovation intended to recognise and make use of the actual practice which would be followed despite instructions to the contrary. The additional instructions issued during the enumeration emphasised the departure from previous practice and were as follows :—

"Age is to be entered at the preliminary enumeration as it will be on the 26th February. It is the age in years at the birthday nearest to 26th February. Thus the age in years at the next birthday will be entered for those born before the 26th August and the age at the last birthday for those born on or after the 26th August. In the case of a child less than six months old the word 'infant' is to be entered to avoid mistakes which might be made in abstraction if the age were entered in months. A mistake to be avoided in the use of the word 'infant' to indicate a child still at the breast without enquiry as to the month in which it was born. Where the age given is evidently absurd the enumerator should endeavour to ascertain and should enter what appears to him to be the real age."

133. Aids to obtaining accurate estimates of age.—In spite of the vagueness in the average cultivator's idea of his age, however, there are considerations from which it can be hoped that in many cases, at least if the age was not accurately remembered, the enumerator has a means of forming a more or less reasonably accurate estimate of it. In many parts of the country recurrent natural calamities, the date of which is accurately known, can be used to determine the age of persons enumerated. A certain small proportion of the population have horoscopes cast in which the accuracy of the date of birth is naturally of importance. Amongst the educated the age can sometimes be estimated from such documents as the matriculation certificate. This is dated and states that the person to whom it was given was of such or such an age at that date, but the age accepted by the University authorities is apt within limits to be determined not by the facts but by conditions as to the age of eligibility for a particular course of study. In many rural parts the enumerator was well acquainted with all persons in his block and it is not impossible by discussion with the villagers to obtain a roughly consistent series of ages for most of the inhabitants of the village. It is not contended that these considerations result in age figures of such accuracy as is obtained in western countries. But they are put forward as lessening to some extent the inaccuracy which it is reasonable to expect in age returns in Bengal.

134. Explanation of age-groups shown.—The figures presented in the tables and generally used throughout the report are shown in quinquennial groups. These groups were reached after a process of adjustment adopted on the recommendation of the Government of India Actuary. The ages returned were sorted in single years at 0, 1, 2 and 3 and thereafter in alternate ternary and septenary groups, 4-6, 7-13, etc. The central digit was thus the second most popular figure, 5, in the ternary groups and the most popular figure, 0, in the septenary groups. On a consideration of the

relative popularity of all ten digits the Actuary was of the opinion that these groups might be accepted in themselves as representing with tolerable accuracy what they profess to represent, and that for his purposes a sort by single-year age groups in a large sample of the population was not necessary. No table showing single-year age groups has accordingly been prepared. For the conversion of the ternary and septenary into quinary age groups representing the population at the last birthday instead of at the nearest birthday the adjustment adopted was to combine one half of each ternary with one half of each septenary group. The result of this is that the figures actually presented have already received a general correction first for the actual return of ages to nearest birthday which is taken to have occurred in 1921 but was not then allowed for, and secondly for such mis-statements of age as are due to the preference for particular digits. The method adopted secures automatically the approximate distribution within the correct quinary groups of those persons returning, for instance, their age as 10 owing to a preference for a multiple of 10, though they were in a number of cases younger and in a number of cases older than 10 years. Under the method previously adopted all these persons would have been allocated to the group 10 to 15. On the present occasion only a proportion of them are so allocated and the remainder are grouped amongst those aged 5 to 10. A similar result is obtained in the case of those returning their ages as 15. On previous occasions these would have all been returned in the age group 15 to 20. On the present occasion a proportion has been taken to the group 10 to 15. The present group 10 to 15 consequently excludes a number now shown in the next lower group who would have been included under the method adopted in previous years and includes a number who on previous occasions would have been shown in the next higher group 15 to 20. The net result to be expected is that each quinary group up to but excluding the final residuary group contains a rather larger proportion of the population than would have been included in it in 1921. A similar adjustment was made in the case of the single-year age groups 0 to 1, 1 to 2, 2 to 3, 3 to 4 and 4 to 5. The age returns of 0 found in the schedules include all persons who are less than six months, those of 1 all persons over aged six months but less than eighteen months, etc., and the groups shown in the table have been reached by allocating to the group 0 to 1 all these returned as 0 and one half of those returned as 1, to the groups 1 to 2 and 2 to 3, half of those returned under the lower and half of those returned under the higher of the ages limiting the group, to the group 4 to 5, one third of the numbers originally sorted into group 4 to 6 were allotted and the group, 3 to 4 combines one sixth of group 4 to 6 and one half of group 3.

135. Justification of the method of conversion and statement of original groups.—The justification of the adjustment of age figures and the assumptions underlying the method used are implicit in the last paragraph but are briefly summarised. In 1921 and previous years it is held that, except for a minority of educated persons, the ages were actually given to the nearest birthday but treated as if they were given to the last birthday. The average age of all persons aged for instance 10 is about $10\frac{1}{2}$ years if the age is at last birthday and about 10 if it is at the nearest birthday. Assuming the returns of 1921 and previous years to be accurate and to have no error due to preference for certain digits, their treatment as ages at last birthday resulted in over-estimating by about half a year the age of every person. The group 10-15 for instance included persons actually aged $9\frac{1}{2}$ - $14\frac{1}{2}$, and the average age of the group was actually 12 instead of $12\frac{1}{2}$ as it should have been. In addition to this the preference for certain digits leads to the inclusion of still more persons in a higher group. For example those giving their age as 10 will all fall into the group 10-15. A number, however, will be less than 10 years old. Those aged $9\frac{1}{2}$ years are already accounted for but there will be also some aged perhaps $8\frac{1}{2}$ or 9 years who will also get into group 10-15 and further reduce the actual average age of those included in it. In 1921 therefore this preference for certain digits contributed an additional inflation of each group in which the popular digits 0 and 5 occur at one end of the group by including in it a number of persons returning ages with those digits who should

really be in the next lower group. The alternate ternary and septenary groups are considered to result in figures actually including all or all but a negligible proportion of those whose real age falls within them: in other words although the group is constructed of persons whose ages in some cases were given out of preference for certain digits the range of real ages within which those digits are likely to be preferred also falls within the group. It is then assumed that within each group those less than an age with the digit 5 or 0 as the case may be are equal to those of or over an age with that digit. The assumption clearly does not accurately represent the facts since in group 7-13 for instance there will be more aged less than 10 than there are aged 10 and over. It is justified, however, by the fact that it results in a demonstrably more accurate approximation to the actual figures. A first approximation to a more accurate graduation is made on a later paragraph. The unconverted groups are used in subsidiary table VII to chapter IX. The full range of sorters' groups is not given in this table however and they have been reconstructed and are shown for each of the main religions in statement No. IV-1 shown in the

STATEMENT No. IV-1.

Numbers of each sex in the principal religions at age groups to nearest birthday, 1931.

Age groups (nearest birthday).	All religions.		Muslim.		Hindu.		Tribal religions.		Buddhist.		Christian.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	20,557,800	24,529,478	14,366,757	13,443,343	11,639,285	10,572,784	269,510	259,909	169,402	161,161	97,333	85,815
0	532,100	574,437	326,414	321,221	244,102	241,510	5,911	6,192	8,364	3,325	2,175	1,976
1	529,653	552,464	313,223	326,634	204,097	212,870	5,767	6,247	4,399	4,367	1,915	2,224
2	768,467	829,174	452,883	487,658	298,768	315,410	8,457	9,141	5,419	5,409	2,729	2,384
3	828,365	892,106	490,973	526,296	318,659	345,204	9,798	11,389	6,009	6,167	2,819	2,866
4-6	2,431,305	2,358,144	1,423,425	1,397,316	954,717	908,094	28,119	28,569	16,797	16,083	7,569	7,410
7-13	4,838,299	4,098,192	2,802,537	2,371,500	1,985,925	1,637,606	48,531	44,921	31,141	27,558	15,753	13,844
14-16	1,519,779	1,584,160	830,561	914,260	657,071	636,434	14,599	15,607	10,447	10,773	6,067	6,504
17-23	3,130,983	3,600,834	1,688,329	2,006,748	1,431,721	1,525,004	26,775	34,525	19,721	21,347	11,779	12,086
24-26	1,801,277	1,769,580	957,721	964,028	808,363	770,514	18,639	17,291	9,853	10,707	6,523	6,312
27-33	2,993,749	2,549,698	1,537,201	1,319,766	1,392,879	1,175,084	30,391	27,943	18,431	16,951	12,515	9,300
34-36	1,431,279	1,088,234	756,059	573,010	647,193	493,282	14,031	10,955	7,655	6,437	5,085	4,168
37-43	2,014,187	1,561,984	992,461	779,592	978,221	749,684	22,209	16,653	11,613	9,911	8,309	5,820
44-46	879,457	642,852	447,155	317,408	414,709	312,450	8,697	6,109	4,739	4,197	3,458	2,460
47-53	1,199,387	1,005,498	592,109	488,870	580,517	496,158	13,085	10,009	8,079	7,045	4,915	3,282
54-56	419,975	335,490	209,555	150,792	205,715	177,472	4,057	3,157	2,765	2,539	1,597	1,416
57-63	614,451	532,840	309,461	274,404	290,909	296,902	6,725	5,563	4,875	4,301	2,261	1,588
64-66	171,291	148,198	82,893	61,912	84,889	82,850	1,551	1,435	1,197	1,095	671	842
67-73	215,877	201,530	109,109	89,468	102,063	107,770	2,155	2,159	1,755	1,625	747	466
74 and over	190,943	165,265	98,688	72,460	88,272	88,486	2,018	2,044	1,243	1,329	671	887

text. The calculation of this table was rendered possible by the fact that the age group 4 to 5 represents one-third of the original group 4 to 6 which can consequently be accurately computed from it, whilst each of the remaining groups can similarly be calculated in succession starting with this group as an origin. It is possible that unit differences may occur in the groups shown in statement No. IV-1 compared with what they would have been had they been directly compiled from the returns. This is owing to the fact that, in forming the quinary groups odd numbers left over on dividing the original groups were allotted to the younger quinary group. Such differences may become cumulative at higher ages but are of no importance in dealing with groups as large as those shown in the statement.

136. **Accuracy of the figures in the tables.**—As a result it may be claimed that the age groups given in the tables of the present census represent what is probably a more accurate distribution of the population than those in previous reports. Intentional or involuntary inaccuracies such as the exaggeration of the ages of newly married girls and young men, an understatement of the ages of elderly spinsters or bachelors and, perhaps, in Hindu families an understatement of the age of unmarried girls cannot be corrected with confidence but are likely to remain constant from one census to another. It is, of course, possible that in some cases parents who had married their children either in contravention of the provisions of the Child Marriage Restraint Act or before that Act came into force may have

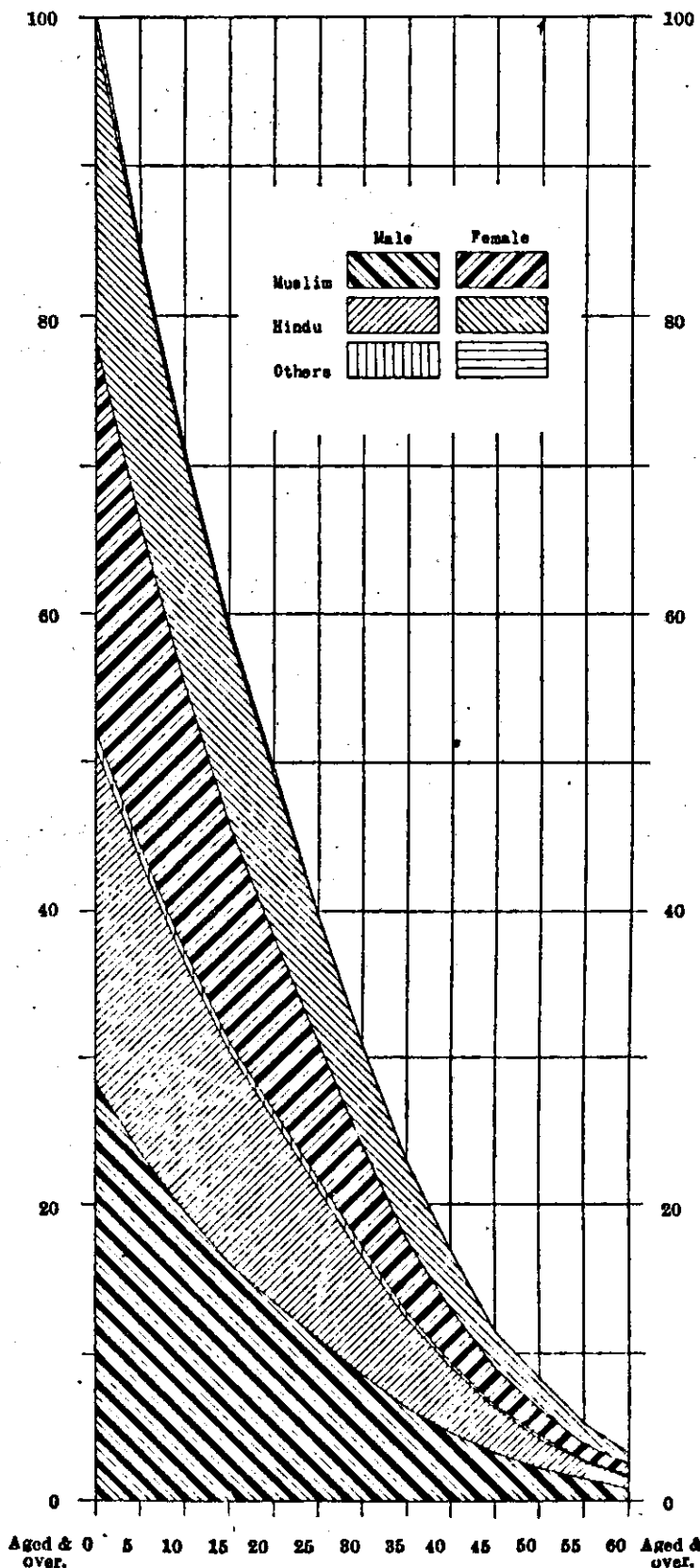
STATEMENT No. IV-2.

Numbers in 10,000 of the total population who are of and over the age shown by sex and principal religions, 1931.

Aged and over.	All religions.			Muslims.			Hindus.		
	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.
0 ..	10,000	5,198	4,802	5,443	2,812	2,631	4,347	2,278	2,069
5 ..	8,448	4,490	4,016	4,532	2,363	2,169	3,733	1,976	1,762
10 ..	7,103	3,710	3,384	3,750	1,950	1,800	3,208	1,693	1,513
15 ..	6,925	3,097	2,828	3,073	1,594	1,479	2,730	1,440	1,290
20 ..	4,962	2,641	2,321	2,545	1,352	1,193	2,314	1,235	1,079
25 ..	3,954	2,158	1,796	2,000	1,098	902	1,870	1,016	854
30 ..	3,082	1,689	1,373	1,532	853	679	1,464	800	664
35 ..	2,273	1,256	1,017	1,122	628	494	1,101	600	501
40 ..	1,676	919	757	819	457	362	820	441	379
45 ..	1,177	636	541	571	316	256	580	305	275
50 ..	812	432	380	391	215	176	404	208	198
55 ..	522	274	248	250	137	113	261	131	130
60 ..	331	178	158	158	87	71	166	82	84

DIAGRAM No. IV-1.

Numbers in 100 of the total population who are of and over the age shown by sex and principal religions, 1931.



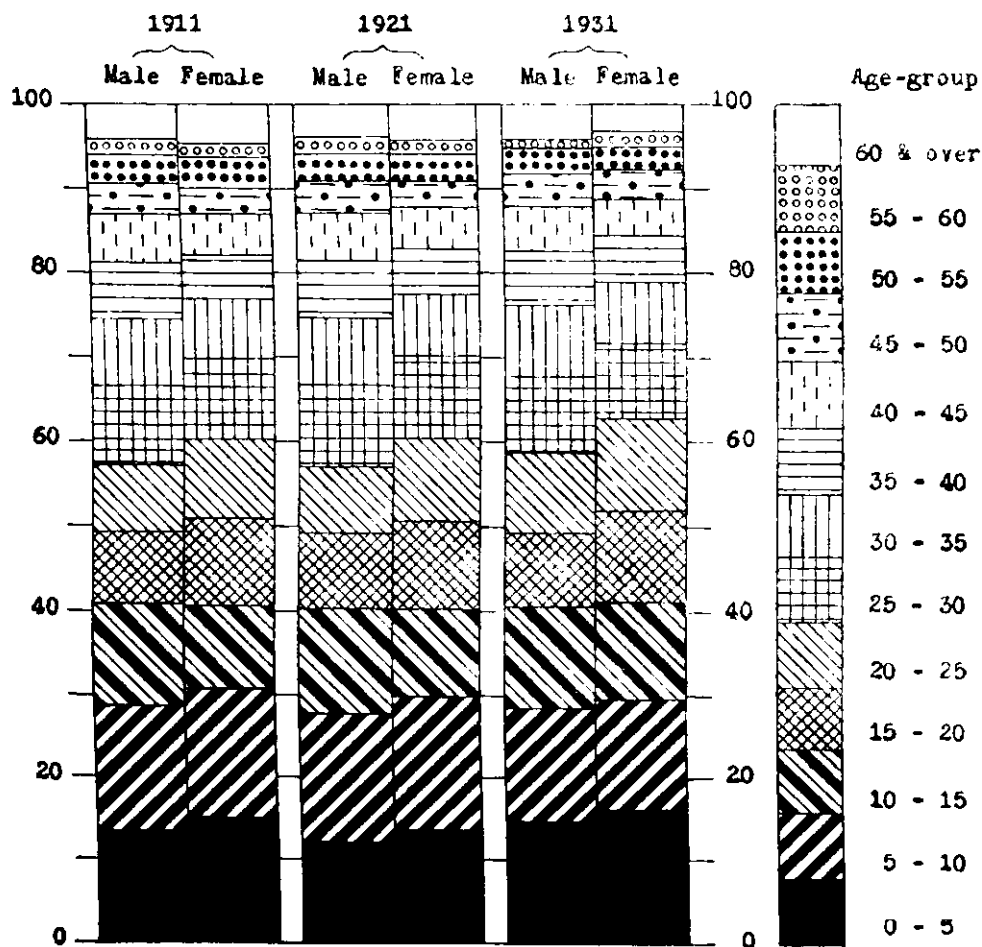
exaggerated their ages ; but it is unlikely that this factor has operated to render the returns, as originally made on the present occasion, markedly less accurate than previously. In dealing with the figures elicited at the census of 1921 the Actuary found it necessary to transfer to the next younger group a percentage which in many cases was considerable. In other words, the figures given in each group in 1921 included what was often a considerable proportion of persons whose age was really less than the lowest age of the group. On the present occasion the figures in each age group contain a very much smaller proportion of persons who should be in the next lower group. The results of the change are naturally shown most noticeably in the increased proportions at all ages up to 5 and the decreased proportions at ages 60 and over.

137. Proportions of and over successive ages.—Diagram No. IV-1 represents the numbers in each 100 of the population of and over the age shown at quinquennial groups up to 60 and illustrates statement No. IV-2 in which the distribution is given in detail. Amongst the total population females are distinguished from males and within each sex a separate indication is given of Muslims and Hindus. The diagram consequently gives a graphic indication of the percentage

of the population at or and over any given age and of the relative composition by sex and main religion of the percentage thus indicated. The comparative smoothness of the curve conceals certain anomalies to which a reference will be made later in discussing the distribution in individual age groups. Fifty per cent. of the total population are less than 20 years old and by the time the age 35 is reached those above this age form less than one quarter of the total population. In England and Wales at the census of 1921 more than half the population was over 25 years of age and it was not until the age of 50 was reached that the percentage in higher age-groups (19 per cent.) fell as low as in Bengal is reached before the age of 40. In England and Wales in spite of an initial preponderance of males at birth the higher incidence of male mortality reduces their numbers so far that there is an excess of females by the time the age-group 15-20 is reached by the population born in any given year, with the result that there is at all stages amongst the population of and over any given age a preponderance of women over men. In Bengal there is an excess of males over females at all ages, and the excess continues amongst those left if the population below any age whatever is omitted from consideration. Muslims at all ages form the majority of the population, but as attention is successively restricted to that portion only of the population which is above any given age their preponderance over Hindus is reduced. Amongst those of and over middle age, *i.e.*, aged 40 and over, there is always, as successive quinquennial groups are excluded, an actual preponderance in numbers of Hindus. This change in the proportions, however, is entirely due to the female portion of the population. At every stage amongst males of and over any given age there are more Muslims than Hindus: but at and over any age above 35 Hindu females are more numerous than Muslims of the same sex.

DIAGRAM No. IV-2.

Distribution by age-groups of 100 of each sex, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

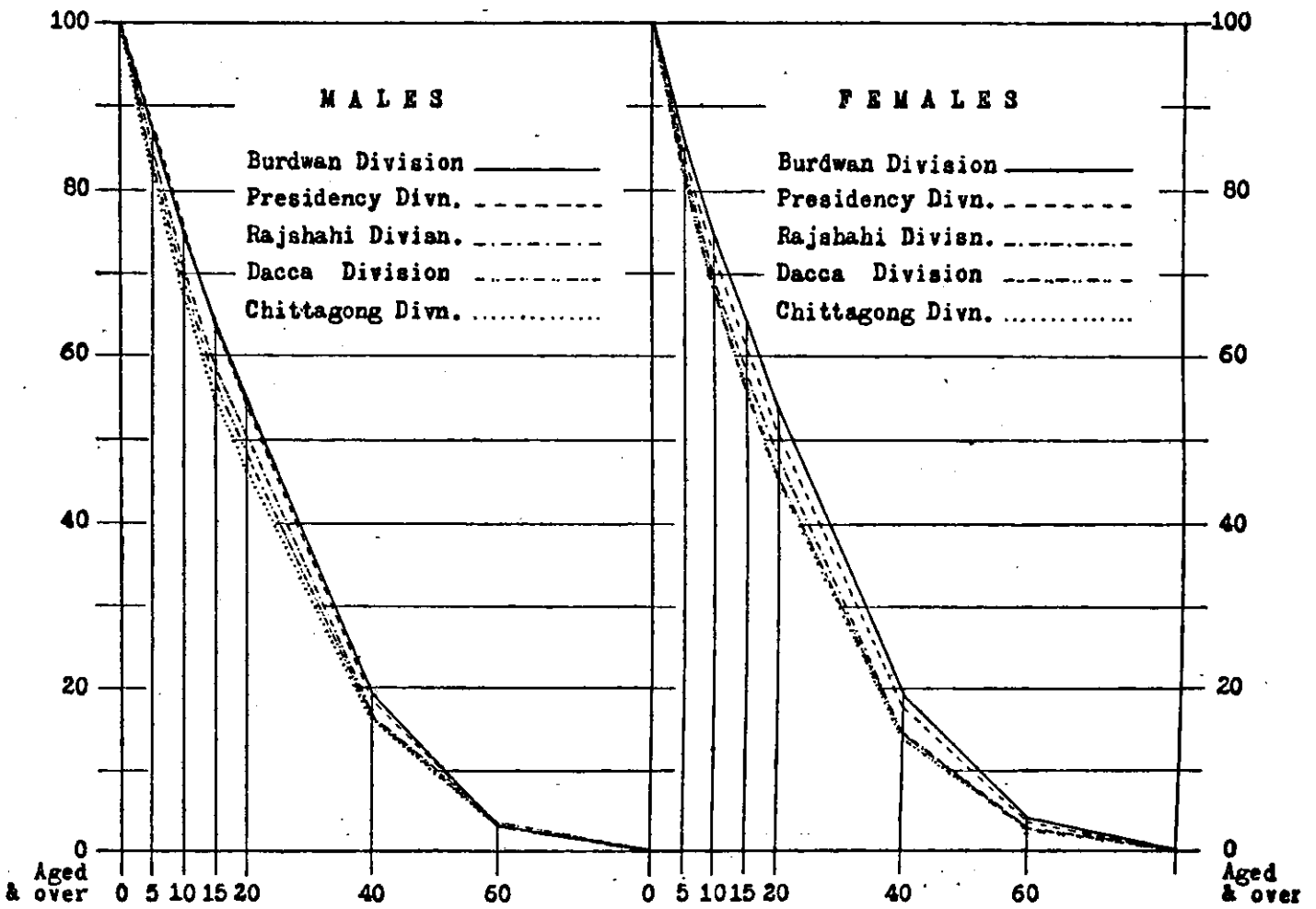


138. **Age distribution by sexes, 1911, 1921 and 1931.**—The distribution of the population in age-groups by sexes at the last three census enumerations is shown in subsidiary table I and illustrated for the whole of Bengal in diagram No. IV-2. Below the age of 45 females under any age chosen except 15 form a larger proportion of the total females than males of the same age

amongst the total males. At each census and particularly in 1921 and 1911 the age-group 10-15 contains an unusually small proportion of the female population : this is the group in which mis-statements of age are in this sex most prevalent, and the discrepancy is less marked in the present year's figures. Compared with previous years the age distribution of males shows a larger proportion between the ages of 0 and 5, 20 and 25, 30 and 35, 45 and 50 and 55 and 60, but in other age-groups the proportion is smaller except between 10 to 15 and 15 to 20 where it is smaller than in 1921 but larger than in 1911. Amongst females also there are proportionately more aged 0 to 5. The variations after the age 45 are concurrent with those for males and show a larger proportion at the age-groups 45 to 50 and 55 to 60. In the other age-groups also as with males a decrease in the proportions is shown in the age-group 5 to 10, 25 to 30 and 40 to 45 but there are increases in the proportions aged 10 to 15, 15 to 20, 20 to 25 and again in the age-group 35 to 40. The effect of the modified method of extracting quinquennial age-groups is obscured to some extent by the irregular distribution in 1921 owing to the selective action of the influenza epidemic against those of middle age. The diagram clearly shows the increase in the first and the decrease in the last age-group resulting from the conversion of age-groups.

DIAGRAM No. IV-3.

Numbers of and over the age shown in each 100 of each sex in administrative divisions, 1931.



STATEMENT No. IV-3.

Numbers of and over the age shown in each 10,000 of the same sex in administrative divisions, 1931.

Aged and over.	Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		Chittagong.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
0	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
5	8,715	8,608	8,724	8,485	8,489	8,302	8,398	8,245	8,280	8,225
10	7,480	7,460	7,500	7,238	7,068	6,941	6,954	6,858	6,768	6,828
15	6,375	6,434	6,382	6,114	5,862	5,770	5,693	5,627	5,481	5,626
20	5,476	5,417	5,462	5,087	5,028	4,704	4,822	4,545	4,626	4,545
40	1,922	1,910	1,868	1,765	1,697	1,454	1,713	1,438	1,660	1,375
60	326	407	330	378	310	282	358	315	328	270

139. Proportions of and over successive ages by divisions.—Statement No. IV-3 illustrated by diagram No. IV-3 shows the proportionate distribution

at and over the age shown of the population in each division. Amongst both males and females between 45 and 55 per cent. of the population is less than 20. In the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions in both sexes there is a larger proportion of the population at and over any age taken than in the remaining three divisions. In general, the proportion at and over any stated age in either sex is greater in Rajshahi than in Dacca, and in Dacca than in the Chittagong Division, but amongst males at and over aged from 40 onwards and amongst females also at and over the age of 60, this order is modified. Amongst males in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions the larger proportions at adult ages are partly the effect of immigration, for immigrants are known to be most numerous in the ages between 20 and 40. The difference in the distribution of the male population in these two divisions is very slight. The increased proportions in the Presidency Division at adult ages amongst females are probably due partly to immigration, but also to the fact that the tendency is natural amongst those residing temporarily for purposes of occupation in industrial areas to leave their children at home in their native villages where this is possible.

140. **Proportions of and over successive ages by religions.**—A similar comparison is shown in statement No. IV-4 and illustrated in diagram No. IV-4 for each of the main religions. Between the sexes the same general distribution is found as in the total population and as is shown in each separate division. The numbers at and over any given age in an equal number of both sexes are fewer amongst the females than amongst the males, except amongst the Buddhists, with whom at the age of 15 and over there is a slightly larger proportion of females than males, amongst the

STATEMENT No. IV-4.

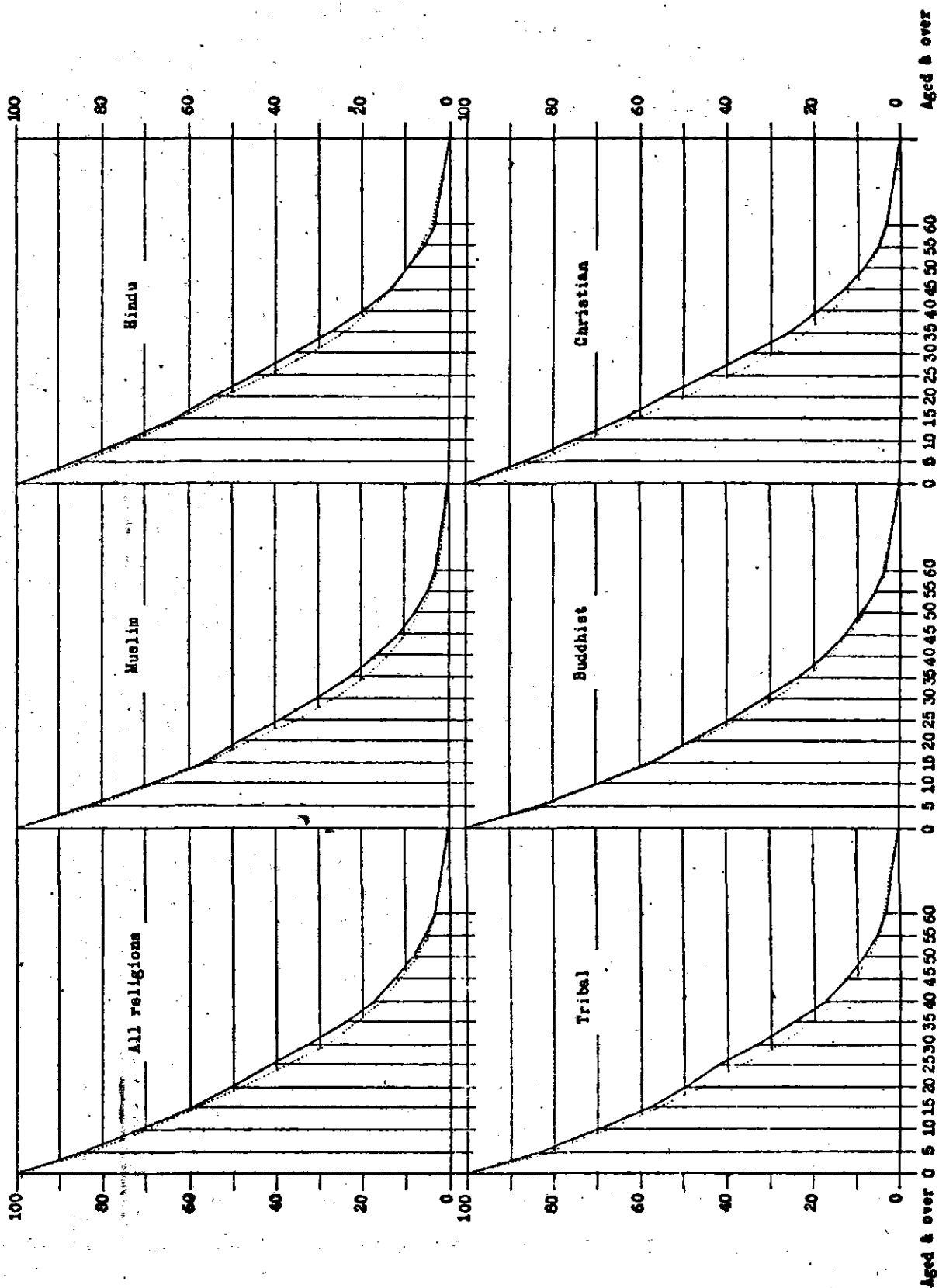
Numbers of and over the age shown in each 10,000 of the same sex in each main religion, 1931.

Aged and over.	All religions.		Muslim.		Hindu.		Tribal.		Buddhist.		Christian.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0 ..	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
5 ..	8,522	8,394	8,402	8,244	8,674	8,516	8,368	8,182	8,371	8,305	8,642	8,468
10 ..	7,154	7,049	6,931	6,842	7,432	7,312	6,946	6,767	6,957	6,951	7,444	7,230
15 ..	5,958	5,892	5,667	5,620	6,318	6,236	5,775	5,602	5,729	5,762	6,323	6,045
20 ..	5,082	4,836	4,808	4,534	5,421	5,214	5,007	4,638	4,839	4,706	5,406	4,962
25 ..	4,163	3,742	3,904	3,429	4,458	4,128	4,202	3,641	3,966	3,772	4,466	3,890
30 ..	3,256	2,862	3,036	2,579	3,512	3,208	3,329	2,771	3,131	2,914	3,488	2,988
35 ..	2,417	2,121	2,238	1,875	2,636	2,419	2,504	2,028	2,364	2,188	2,585	2,195
40 ..	1,769	1,551	1,629	1,372	1,938	1,831	1,832	1,492	1,798	1,681	1,898	1,618
45 ..	1,224	1,132	1,129	964	1,340	1,329	1,259	1,054	1,315	1,243	1,294	1,131
50 ..	833	788	767	664	912	947	855	744	937	894	864	796
55 ..	528	515	489	427	574	628	537	491	617	597	529	522
60 ..	333	328	310	269	361	404	337	362	392	385	331	347

Hindus at and over any age after 50 and amongst the Christians at age 60 and over. Up to the age of 15 the proportions in each sex of and over any age chosen are most nearly equal amongst Buddhists and Muslims and most widely discrepant amongst the Christians. Amongst males more than half the population is less than 20 amongst the Muslims and Buddhists and the highest proportion at or over this age is found amongst the Hindus, Christians, and those of tribal religions, amongst all of whom well over one-half the male community is 20 years or over. A similar proportion holds for females in each religion, but in their case the population is divided into two equal halves at an earlier age. Only amongst the Hindus are there as many as half the female population aged 20 and over, though very nearly this proportion is reached amongst the Christians. The lowest proportion of adult females is found amongst the Muslims where scarcely more than 45 in every 100 are aged 20 and over.

DIAGRAM No. IV-4.
Proportional distribution at and over the age shown of the population of each sex in each main religion, 1931.

NOTE.—Males are shown by the continuous, females by the dotted line.



141. **Mean age.**—These figures can be conveniently studied in connection with the figures for mean age given in subsidiary table I. The figures for mean age must not be confused with the expectation of life which varies from age to age. They merely represent the average age of the population living at the date of the census. The method of calculating the mean age is the same as that adopted in previous reports, and is described as follows :—

“Determine the total number of persons living at the close of each quinquennial age period. The sum of these totals multiplied by 5 and raised by $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the number of persons dealt with, gives the number of years lived. The mean age is determined by dividing this last number by the number of persons living.”

The mean age answers no questions and has been said to be more interesting for the problems it suggests than for the explanations it offers. It is sensitive

to any change in the age distribution of the population. For instance a high mean age may be due to a low rate of fecundity or a high infantile mortality or a low mortality at advanced ages or to a combination of all three. On the other hand, a low mean age may be due to a high rate of fecundity or a low infantile mortality or a high mortality at advanced ages or a combination of all of them. If a population were imagined in which no children were born, each successive annual estimate of the mean age would be higher than the last. On the other hand, in a population in which the birth rate is increasing without a corresponding increase in the death rate, the mean age will tend to be reduced. It is of importance that the mean age should be calculated upon the same method if comparisons are to be made from one period to another. The same method has, in fact, been used on the present occasion as in arriving at the figures given for 1911 and 1921 but the different processes by which the age-groups have been constituted make it entirely impossible to make any comparison between the mean ages computed on the present occasion and those obtained previously. No comment, therefore, can be offered upon the apparent general decrease in the mean age in both sexes in every division. If the mean ages were strictly comparable we should expect to find the decrease due to either such concurrent variations in the birth and death rates as resulted in an increasing percentage of survivals at early ages or to such a variation in the death rates at ages as resulted in the decreased survival of persons at higher ages. Actually, however, it has already been noted that the age-groups compiled on the present occasion result in the inclusion in each age-group of a number of persons who would have been shown in the next higher age-group in 1921 and 1911. The discrepancy in the proportions is perhaps most marked at the highest age-groups 60 and over. Here, in every sex in every division there is on the present occasion a considerably smaller proportion of the total population than on previous occasions, whilst at the other end of the scale there has been also in every division and every sex an equally marked increase in the proportions aged 0 to 5. These two factors in themselves would probably be sufficient to account for the change recorded in the mean age. It is, however, possible to compare the mean age estimated for each division on the present occasion. As might be expected from the discussion of subsidiary table I it is in each sex highest in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions and is successively lower for each sex in the Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions. The discrepancies between the sexes in the same division are least marked in West Bengal and most pronounced in North Bengal (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar State) and East Bengal (Dacca Division). In West Bengal (Burdwan Division), the mean age of females in only one year is less than the mean age of males. In North Bengal (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar State), the difference is 1·3 years, which is equalled in the Dacca Division but is ·2 years greater than in Central Bengal.

142. **A further graduation of age-groups.**—The method of obtaining the quinary groups shown in imperial table VII assumes that exactly the same number of persons in an original group is below as above the mean point. For instance, it assumes that in the age-group 7 to 13 there are as many persons aged $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 as there are aged 10 to 13, or more precisely that the number of those who have completed $6\frac{1}{2}$ but not yet 10 years is the same as those who have completed 10 years but not yet $13\frac{1}{2}$. Actually there are more persons aged $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 than aged 10 to 13 and in his report on the census figures of 1921 the Government Actuary suggested a method by which the figures may be corrected for what is called the continuous decrement for mortality at successive ages. Correction factors have been worked out on this method by Babu Nabagauranga Basak, B. C. S., who collaborated with the Census Superintendent of 1911 in writing the corresponding chapter in that report. They are based upon the Bengal mortality rates for 1921 in the Government Actuary's report. The correction factors have been worked out for four populations—Muslim males, Muslim females, Hindu males and Hindu females. The resulting formulæ are shown in the statement No. IV-5 where the adjustment for each age-group has been worked out and is

STATEMENT No. IV-5.

Distribution of each sex, Muslim and Hindu, in quinquennial age groups corrected for the error due to continuous decrement for mortality.

NOTE.—The figures published in Imperial table VII have been already corrected for minor misstatements of age. The corrections here applied are based on the mortality rates for 1921 in tables 20 and 21 of the Report of the Government of India's Actuary on the census figures of 1921.

Serial.	Figures published in table VII.		Correction formula.		Corrected figures.			
	Age-group.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Age-group.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
MUSLIM.								
A	All ages	14,366,757	13,443,343			14,366,757	13,443,343	All ages
a	0—5	2,295,205	2,360,467	a+0.0088 b	a+0.0114 b	2,313,799	2,381,949	0—5
b	5—10	2,112,981	1,884,408	0.9912 b+0.0133 c	0.9886 b+0.0201 c	2,118,547	1,895,948	5—10
c	10—15	1,816,549	1,642,880	0.9887 c	0.9700 c	1,792,389	1,609,858	10—15
d	15—20	1,234,445	1,460,504	d+0.0183 e	d+0.024 e	1,258,199	1,496,153	15—20
e	20—25	1,298,025	1,485,388	0.9817 e	0.976 e	1,274,271	1,449,739	20—25
f	25—30	1,247,461	1,141,807	f+0.0266 g	f+0.0305 g	1,277,961	1,170,762	25—30
g	30—35	1,146,630	946,388	0.9734 g	0.9695 g	1,116,130	917,523	30—35
h	35—40	874,260	676,301	h+0.0386 i	h+0.0405 i	902,045	698,515	35—40
i	40—45	719,808	548,500	0.9614 i	0.9595 i	692,023	526,286	40—45
j	45—50	579,632	493,130	j+0.0509 k	j+0.0507 k	539,933	419,354	45—50
k	50—55	398,832	319,831	0.9491 k	0.9498 k	378,531	303,616	50—55
l	55—60	257,508	212,598	1+0.066 m	1+0.0648 m	270,456	223,495	55—60
m	60—65	190,177	168,158	0.934 m	0.9352 m	183,229	157,261	60—65
n	65—70	96,001	75,690	n+0.071 o	n+0.0698 o	106,881	83,870	65—70
o	70 and over	153,243	117,194	0.929 o	0.9302 o	142,363	109,014	70 and over
HINDU.								
A	All ages	11,639,266	10,572,784			11,639,266	10,572,784	All ages
a	0—5	1,542,979	1,569,041	a+0.0067 b	a+0.0094 b	1,552,663	1,581,006	0—5
b	5—10	1,445,321	1,272,850	0.9933b+0.0097 c	0.9906 b+0.0156 c	1,448,213	1,278,850	5—10
c	10—15	1,290,408	1,137,020	0.9903 c	0.9842 c	1,283,922	1,119,055	10—15
d	15—20	1,044,308	1,080,719	d+0.0161 e	d+0.0186 e	1,062,433	1,102,067	15—20
e	20—25	1,120,292	1,147,759	0.9839 e	0.9814 e	1,102,255	1,126,411	20—25
f	25—30	1,100,871	972,799	f+0.027 g	f+0.0252 g	1,128,412	983,820	25—30
g	30—35	1,020,036	834,183	0.973 g	0.9748 g	992,495	823,162	30—35
h	35—40	812,707	621,483	h+0.0414 i	h+0.0358 i	841,541	640,495	35—40
i	40—45	696,465	531,067	0.9586 i	0.9642 i	667,031	512,055	40—45
j	45—50	497,613	404,304	j+0.0553 k	j+0.0472 k	519,352	420,202	45—50
k	50—55	393,116	336,815	0.9447 k	0.9528 k	371,377	320,917	50—55
l	55—60	248,312	237,187	1+0.0705 m	1+0.0632 m	261,569	248,787	55—60
m	60—65	187,809	180,876	0.9295 m	0.9368 m	174,652	178,276	60—65
n	65—70	93,476	95,310	n+0.0752 o	n+0.0687 o	103,962	105,091	65—70
o	70 and over	139,304	142,371	0.9248 o	0.9313 o	128,828	132,590	70 and over

also shown. The method by which the formulæ were calculated is thus described by Babu Nabagauranga Basak :—

“ Formulæ for Correction Factors to deduce more accurate population figures from the figures given in the imperial table VII after preliminary adjustment.

Let P_{10-15} denote the population of the age group—“ 10-15,” i. e., the number of persons who have completed the age of 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 years as shown in imperial table VII after preliminary adjustments for minor mis-statements of age by the method prescribed ;

P'_{10-15} denote the population of the same age-group—“ 10-15 ” after further adjustments to correct the error due to continuous decrement for mortality ;

M_{10} denote the rate of mortality at the age 10, which may be taken from the tables on pages 20-21 of Mr. Meikle’s “ Report of 1926 on the age distribution, etc., deduced from the Indian Census of 1921, etc.,” more recent mortality rates not being available now ; and

M_{10-15} denote the mean of the rates of mortality at the ages 10 and 15 being equal to $\frac{1}{2}(M_{10} + M_{15})$.

Then P'_{0-5} , P'_{5-10} , etc., would be as follows :—

$$\begin{aligned}
 P'_{0-5} &= P_{0-5} + \frac{1}{2} \times M_5 \times P_{5-10} & \dots & \dots & (1) \\
 P'_{5-10} &= P_{5-10} + M_{10-15} \times P_{10-15} - \frac{1}{2} \times M_5 \times P_{5-10} & \dots & \dots & (2) \\
 P'_{10-15} &= P_{10-15} - M_{10-15} \times P_{10-15} & \dots & \dots & (3) \\
 P'_{15-20} &= P_{15-20} + M_{20-25} \times P_{20-25} & \dots & \dots & (4) \\
 P'_{20-25} &= P_{20-25} - M_{20-25} \times P_{20-25} & \dots & \dots & (5) \\
 P'_{55-60} &= P_{55-60} + M_{60-65} \times P_{60-65} & \dots & \dots & (6) \\
 P'_{60-65} &= P_{60-65} - M_{60-65} \times P_{60-65} & \dots & \dots & (7) \\
 P'_{65-70} &= P_{65-70} + M_{65} \times P_{70} \text{ and over} & \dots & \dots & (8) \\
 P'_{70} \text{ and over} &= P_{70} \text{ and over} - M_{65} \times P_{70} \text{ and over} & \dots & \dots & (9)
 \end{aligned}$$

NOTE 1.—If P (Population) be expressed in hundreds, M should be mortality rate per cent.

NOTE 2.—The Mortality Tables on pages 20-21 of Mr. Meikle’s Report of 1926 on the Age Distribution do not give the rates of mortality at more than 65 years of age. Hence M_{65} has been used in formulæ (8) and (9) above.

NOTE 3.—The above formulæ may be applied to any population of which the rates of mortality at the ages 5, 10, 15,..... 60 and 65 are available.

143. **Proportionate distribution of graduated figures.**—In statement No. IV-6 the figures thus calculated have been reduced to a proportion of 100,000 of each sex and the numbers at and over ages 0 to 5, 10, etc., have been cumulated and reduced to a proportion of 100,000 of each sex. This table,

STATEMENT No. IV-6.

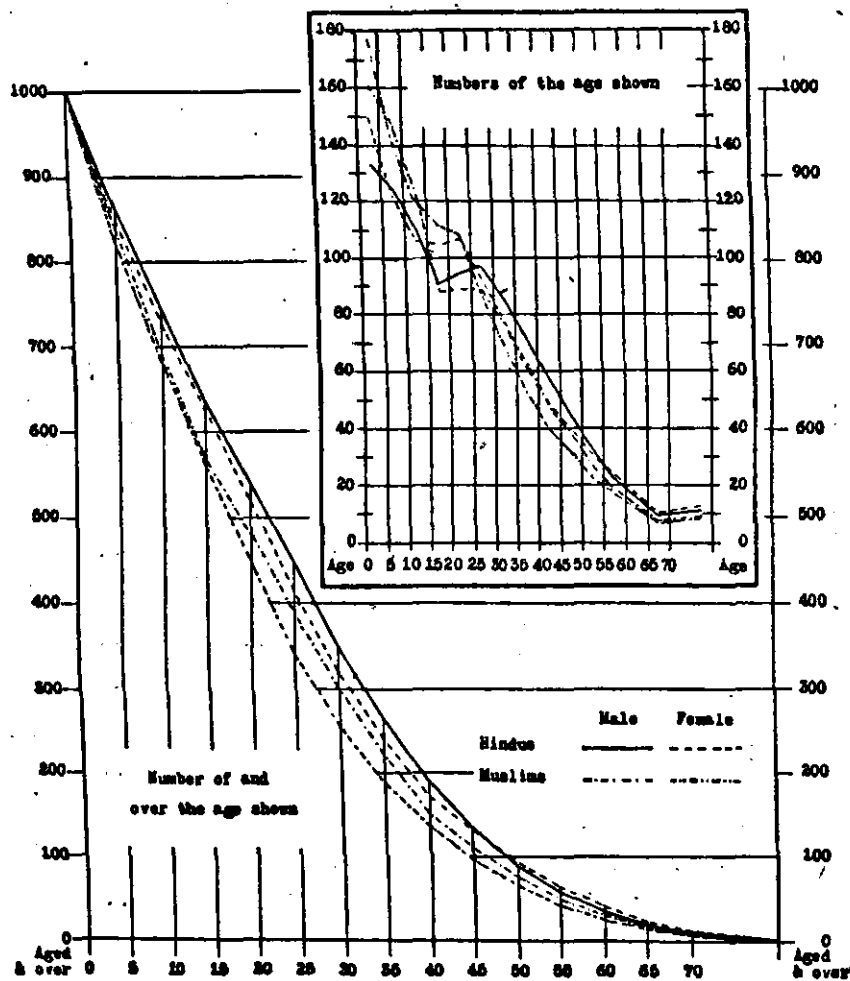
Distribution of 100,000 of each sex, Muslims and Hindus, in quinquennial age groups corrected for minor mis-statements of age and also for the error due to continuous decrement for mortality, with numbers of and over the age shown, 1931.

Age group.	Number per 100,000 of each sex.				Aged and over.	Number of and over the age shown.			
	Muslim.		Hindu.			Muslim.		Hindu.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
0—5	16,108	17,721	13,341	14,958	0	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
5—10	14,744	14,103	12,448	12,097	5	88,897	82,279	86,059	86,042
10—15	12,478	11,972	11,030	10,583	10	69,153	68,176	74,211	72,945
15—20	8,755	11,127	9,128	10,423	15	56,675	56,204	63,181	62,362
20—25	8,871	10,788	9,470	10,654	20	47,920	45,077	54,053	51,939
25—30	8,895	8,709	9,695	9,307	25	39,049	34,289	44,583	41,285
30—35	7,767	6,825	8,526	7,787	30	30,154	25,580	34,888	31,978
35—40	6,279	5,196	7,230	6,058	35	22,387	18,755	26,362	24,191
40—45	4,817	3,914	5,735	4,843	40	16,108	13,559	19,132	18,133
45—50	3,759	3,119	4,462	3,974	45	11,291	9,645	13,397	13,290
50—55	2,636	2,258	3,190	3,033	50	7,532	6,526	8,935	9,316
55—60	1,884	1,668	2,246	2,352	55	4,896	4,268	6,745	6,283
60—65	1,277	1,170	1,500	1,686	60	3,012	2,605	3,499	3,931
65—70	744	624	893	992	65	1,735	1,435	1,999	2,245
70 and over	991	811	1,108	1,253	70	991	811	1,108	1,253

therefore, shows both the numbers in each sex, in each age-group in 100,000 and the numbers of and over the age shown in each 100,000. The figures thus extracted are illustrated by diagram No. IV-5. The adjustment results in comparatively little change in the proportions and the curves shown

DIAGRAM No. IV-5.

Distribution of 1,000 of the same sex and religion, Muslims and Hindus, by age-groups corrected for minor mis-statements of age and also for the error due to continuous decrement for mortality.



in diagram No. IV-5 do not vary in a notable degree from those given in the diagrams prepared from proportions calculated on the figures in table VII without graduation. They do not, for instance, smooth out the convexity in

the curve showing the numbers of and over the age shown at ages 20 to 30 in both religions but least markedly amongst Muslim females. Similarly the characteristic depression in the curve showing the numbers at age-groups and occurring at or about the age-group 15 to 20 is not eliminated. This characteristic of the returns is however probably in part genuine and due to immigration. The graduated figures have not been employed for any of the calculations shown in this chapter, but, unless figures more delicately graded are necessary, they are clearly preferable to the figures shown in or calculated from imperial table VII. They should be used for instance for comparisons with countries where the age returns do not have the characteristics of those in India. Figures for comparison are given in statement No. IV-7 for England and Wales in 1921, Japan in 1925 and the United States of America in 1930. The proportions at ages less than 40 are greater in Bengal but in each age-group thereafter there is an increasing preponderance particularly in England and Wales. Japan shows a nearer approximation to the Bengal figures but the Japanese population also contains a larger proportion of adults.

STATEMENT No. IV-7.

Distribution by age of 1,000 of each sex in England and Wales, Japan and the United States of America.

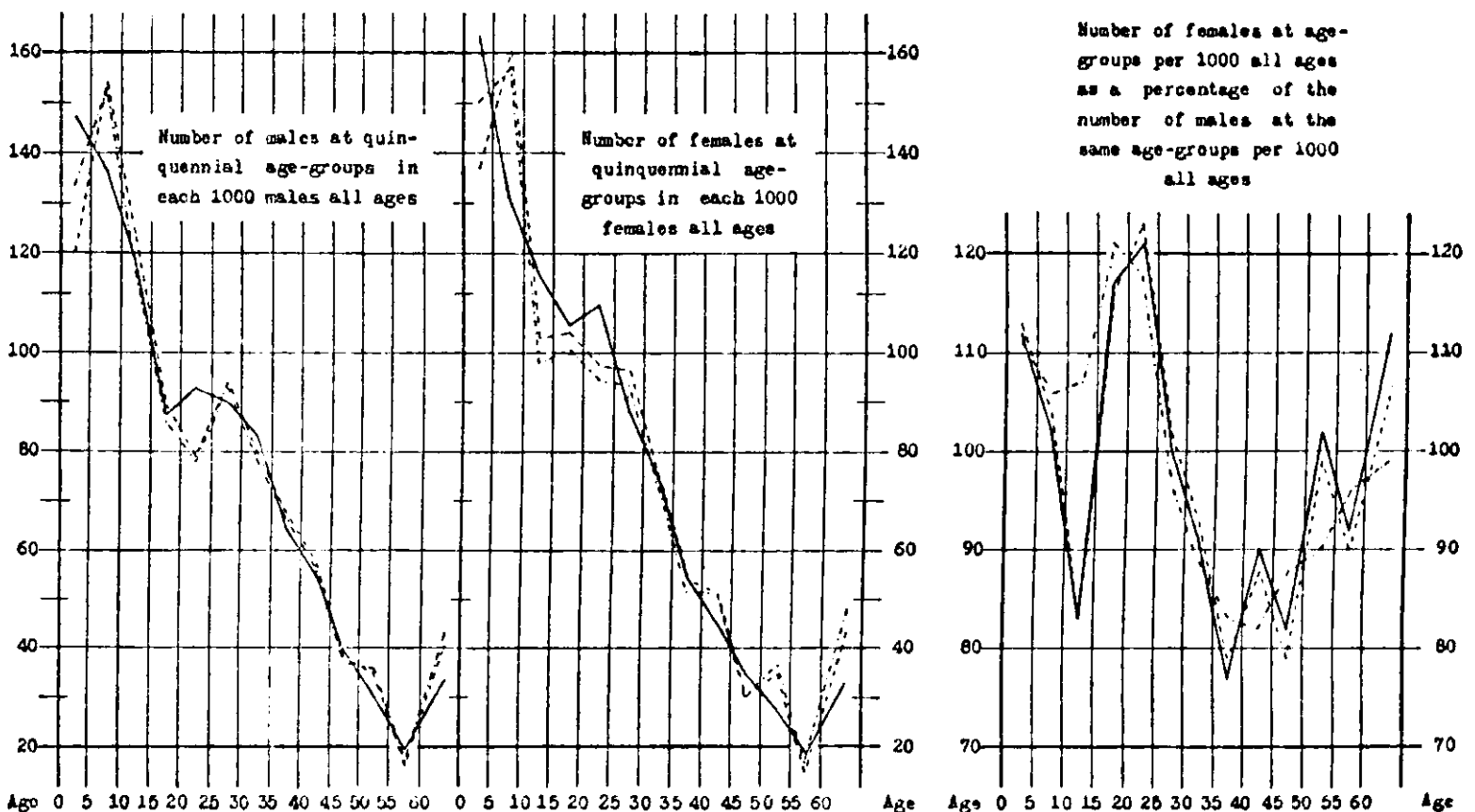
Age group.	England and Wales, 1921.		Japan, 1925.		United States of America, 1930.	
	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0-5	93	83	130	138	98	93
5-10	98	88	116	115	103	103
10-15	102	92	114	112	98	98
15-20	96	90	100	97	93	96
20-25	80	86	86	84	87	92
25-30	74	82	75	72	78	82
30-40	141	151	123	117	73	75
40-50	132	132	105	105	142	138
50-60	97	95	73	75	100	102
60 & over	87	101	69	85	124	121

DIAGRAM No. IV-6.

Distribution by quinquennial age-groups of 1,000 of each sex, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

NOTE.—In the graph on the right-hand side the lines showing 1931 and 1911 have been interchanged.

Reference: 1931 ——— : 1921 - - - - - : 1911



144. Proportionate distribution by ages 1911, 1921 and 1931.—A comparison of the proportionate distribution of each sex by age-groups at the last three census enumerations is invalidated by the difference in the method of obtaining the quinquennial group shown. This is at once clear from diagram No. IV-6 drawn from figures given in subsidiary table I. The heaping up at ages which are multiples of 10 after the age-group 30-35, which is observable in the curves for both 1911 and 1921, is observed with the age-group 40 to 45 amongst males in the present census, but is

everywhere very considerably less marked in both sexes than previously. The difference is particularly marked amongst females in which the greatest heaping up occurred in the returns of 1911 and 1921. At ages younger than 15 the curve for 1931 is also more regular than on the previous occasions, and avoids the peak shown in both the previous years after the age-group 5 to 10. The fact that a larger number was recorded in each sex at ages 5 to 10 than ages 0 to 5 was an anomaly which the new grouping of age-returns has eliminated. On the other hand, the very marked peak occurring amongst

STATEMENT No. IV-8.

Number of females of age shown per 1,000 females all ages as a percentage of the number of males of same age per 1,000 males all ages.

Age period.	1911.	1921.	1931.
1	2	3	4
0-5	112	113	111
5-10	102	104	96
10-15	83	83	87
15-20	117	116	121
20-25	121	123	118
25-30	100	102	97
30-35	91	93	89
35-40	77	79	83
40-45	90	88	82
45-50	82	79	88
50-55	102	99	90
55-60	92	90	96
60 & over	112	107	99

males in the age-group 25 to 30 and amongst females in the age-group 15 to 20 and again at 25 to 30 in the returns for both in 1921 and 1911 has not disappeared but as amongst males has been shifted to the next earlier quinquennial group and amongst females concentrated in the group 20 to 25. This peak in neither sex corresponds to any peculiarity revealed in a previous age-group at either of the previous enumerations and the present curve also fails to reveal in a later group any trace of the peak occurring in the group for 1921 or 1911. The proportions are clearly due to the joint effect of misrepresentations of age and the influx of immigrants. The tendencies have been remarked on previous occasions and are apparently constant in the population of Bengal. The curve on the right-hand side of diagram No. IV-6 illustrates statement No. IV-8 and shows the number of females at age-groups per 1,000 all ages as a percentage of the number of males at the same age-groups per 1,000 all ages. It should, therefore, provide a measure of the differential incidence of mortality amongst the sexes at age-groups and suggests a comparison with the figures given for the annual sex and age specific death rates in subsidiary table X and in rather greater detail in statement No. IV-17 or with the proportionate figures given in statement No. IV-18. At 5 to 10 the recorded female death rate is less than the male and it might be expected that the proportion of females to males would be increased instead of decreased in the next age-group 10 to 15. An increase would be expected also into the age-group 15 to 20 since the female death rate is again less than the male at ages 10 to 15, but the actual increase is out of proportion to what might be expected, and after a subjection at 15 to 20 to a death rate very much heavier than that amongst males, females actually emerge into group 20 to 25 with an increased preponderance over males.

Some part of the discrepancy may be due to the difference in the constitution of age-groups in the census returns of 1931 and the returns of vital statistics in which the composition of age-groups resembles that previously used in census tables. Considerations are also adduced later which suggest that the deaths (and consequently the death rates) are under-estimated more seriously for females than for males. The attempt to use the census figures in arriving at an estimate of the age specific death rates would involve a graduation of age-groups in 1921 to make them agree with those of 1931 and the labour would probably not be worth while.

145. Age distribution in other provinces.—A comparison of the age distribution of Bihar and Orissa,

Madras and Bombay is facilitated by statement No. IV-9. The population in each of these provinces contains on the whole a larger proportion of

STATEMENT No. IV-9.

Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in Bengal and other provinces, 1931.

Age group.	Bengal.		Bihar and Orissa.		Madras.		Bombay.	
	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
0-5	148	163	149	154	145	144	142	158
0-1	32	35	26	26	23	23	23	31
1-3	24	28	27	23	23	23	27	31
3-3	30	34	30	34	30	30	23	33
3-4	31	34	33	34	30	30	29	33
4-5	31	33	33	32	29	24	30	32
5-10	137	131	141	129	131	126	132	131
10-15	120	116	123	109	120	112	118	112
15-20	88	106	83	86	87	92	88	91
20-25	93	110	85	92	86	100	92	99
25-30	90	88	86	89	81	90	89	88
30-35	83	74	80	81	77	78	84	77
35-40	65	54	64	64	67	62	68	61
40-45	54	45	55	54	57	52	56	51
45-50	39	34	43	41	43	40	42	39
50-55	30	27	34	33	35	33	32	31
55-60	20	19	22	25	20	25	22	23
60-65	15	15	17	20	21	21	17	19
65-70	7	7	7	9	10	10	8	8
70 & over	11	11	11	14	14	15	10	11

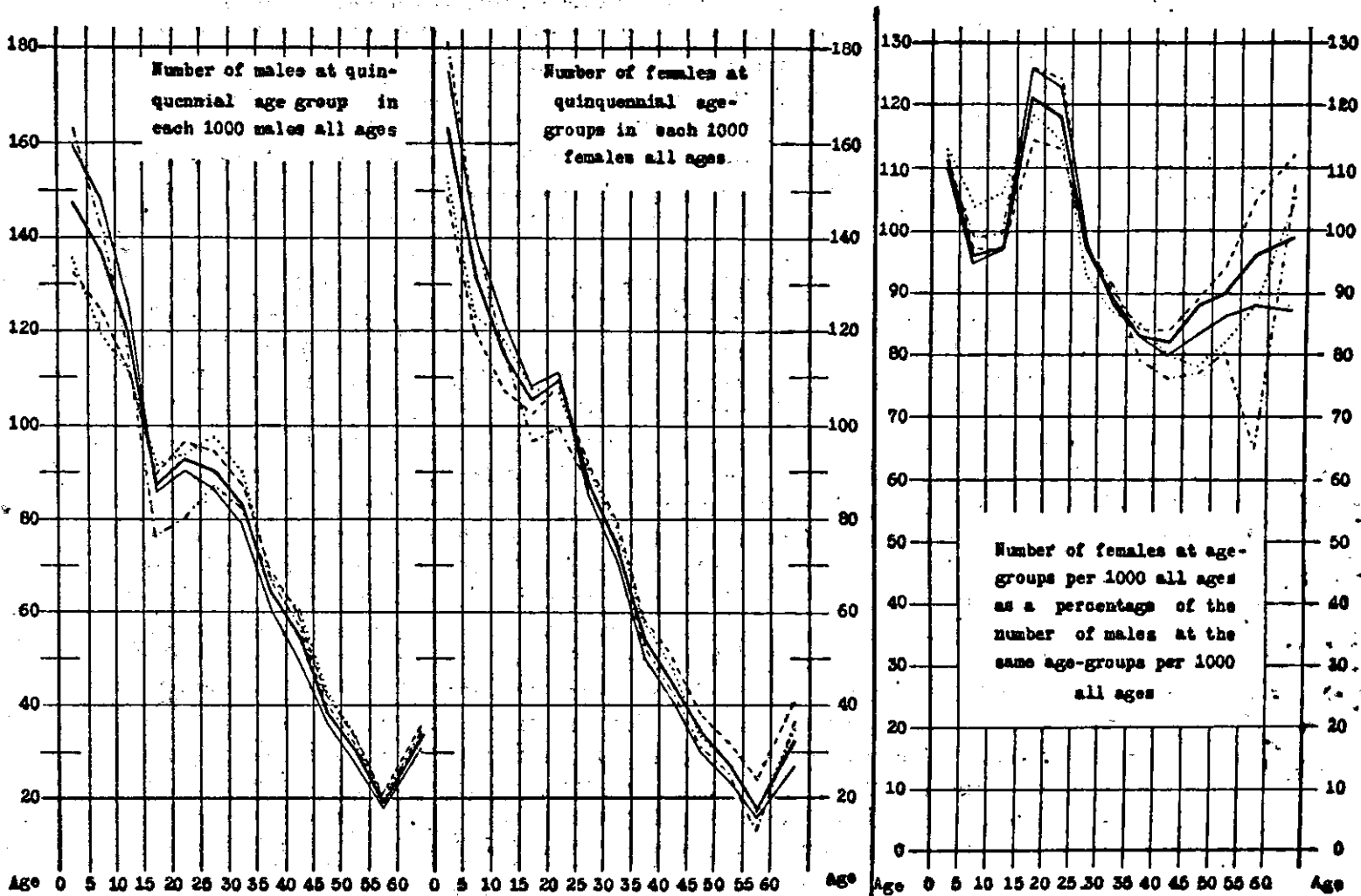
mature adults. Up to the average age of $37\frac{1}{2}$ amongst males and $27\frac{1}{2}$ amongst females there is a larger proportion in each age-group of each sex in Bengal. Beyond that age the proportions in Bengal are at all stages smaller. It may be that the population reaches maturity earlier in Bengal, and the wider prevalence of early marriage is no doubt associated with this peculiarity of the age distribution.

146. **Proportionate age distribution by religion and caste.**—For each main religion subsidiary table II shows and diagram No. IV-7 illustrates the proportionate distribution of each sex by age-groups. The adjustment of

DIAGRAM No. IV-7.

Distribution by quinquennial age-groups of 1,000 of each sex in each main religion, 1931.

Reference to religions: All religions ———— : Muslim ———— : Hindu - - - - - : Tribal ———— : Christian



age-groups has not eliminated the piling up of returns in those age-groups at and after 20 to 25 in which a multiple of 10 occurs as the lower limit: a well defined bulge is shown in the curve for females and even more markedly in the curve for males at the age-groups 20 to 25, 30 to 35, 40 to 45 and 50 to 55. These bulges are found in the curves for all the religions shown. In all, also, the avoidance of the age-group 15 to 20 is marked in both sexes, but perhaps most notably amongst males and its occurrence amongst Christians supports the deduction that it is not entirely due to an influx of immigrants at later ages. There is also a clear heaping up at the age-group 20 to 25 in both sexes except amongst the Tribal and Christian males with whom it comes one quinquennium later. Up to the age-group 15 to 20 viewed from above the curve for males is convex and that for females is concave in all religions except the Christian where a concavity at 5 to 10 precedes a bulge at 10 to 15. For Hindus and Muslims in the curve for whose females the concavity is most marked the explanation probably is that the inevitable anxiety and difficulty of getting their daughters married leads the parents to look upon them as being younger than they are and thus to keep out of

mind the uncomfortable reflection that they will soon have to be provided for. Amongst males the condition is more than what would be expected. Statement No. IV-10 illustrated in the graph at the right-hand side of the diagram shows a comparison of the female and male ratios. The features of this curve are the same for all religions as for the whole of Bengal on which there is some comment in a preceding paragraph, and the only points of interest are the extraordinary vagaries of the curve for those of tribal religions after the age-group 50 to 55 and the excess in the proportion of females over males amongst Hindus at age-groups 55 to 60 and 60 and over and amongst those of tribal religions and Christians at the last age-group. A distribution by sorters' age-groups of the caste and other groups shown in imperial table VIII is given in subsidiary table III. The interesting features of this table are the large proportions in each sex aged 0 to 6 amongst Chakmas and Tiparas and 7 to 13 amongst Tiparas, aged 24 to 43 amongst Brahmōs and aged 44 and over amongst Baishnabs.

STATEMENT No. IV-10.

Number of females at age shown per 10,000 females, all ages, as a percentage of the number of males at the same age per 10,000 males, all ages.

Age period.	All Religions.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	Buddhist.	Christian.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0-5	111	110	112	111	104	118
5-10	98	95	97	99	98	108
10-15	97	97	97	99	97	106
15-20	121	126	114	126	112	118
20-25	118	122	113	124	114	114
25-30	97	98	97	100	103	93
30-35	89	88	90	91	95	87
35-40	83	83	84	79	90	86
40-45	82	80	84	76	91	80
45-50	88	88	89	77	92	78
50-55	90	86	94	80	93	82
55-60	96	88	105	85	94	88
60 & over	89	87	112	107	98	106

147. **Returns of vital statistics and calculation of rates.**—In the paragraphs following use is made of the returns of registered births and deaths maintained by the Department of Public Health. In the Census Report of 1921 it was pointed out at some length that the method of compiling annual birth and death rates from these figures upon the population at the previous census introduced an increasingly larger exaggeration of the rates towards the end of each decade. On the present occasion, in order to minimise this inaccuracy, a fresh method of computation has been employed. (Evidently the most satisfactory method of estimating for each year the annual rate of births and deaths is to obtain an accurate estimate of the population at the beginning of the year and express the number of births and deaths occurring within the year as a proportion of that population. Where the statistics of birth and death as well as the statistics of immigration are exhaustively and accurately recorded it is possible from the returns themselves to arrive at a very accurate estimate of the population at any part of the intercensal period. Such a calculation is possible for instance in England and Wales and at the census of 1921 an examination of the age figures returned at ages 0-10 on comparison with the figures deduced from the Registrar-General's returns of births and deaths convinced the census authorities that the figures maintained by the Registrar-General were to be preferred to those actually returned for these ages at the census. (In Bengal such a method of calculation is out of the question. No accurate figures of emigration and immigration are maintained, the census figures and the figures of births and deaths registered are not maintained in single-year groups and the accuracy of the returns of vital occurrences is not very high. For the calculation of rates of births and deaths given in subsidiary tables VIII, IX and XI an estimate of the population at the beginning of each intercensal year has been made for each sex in each district upon the assumption that the population changed at an uniform annual rate between one census and the next and totals obtained for each division and for the whole of Bengal by summing the district populations. On these estimates the recorded figures have been expressed as proportions. The method is one which is evidently approximate only and it conceals the effect on the annual birth or death rate of the actual variation in their incidence throughout the decade. It is, however, the most satisfactory method in the circumstances, and is that adopted, for instance, in the Statistical Department of the League of Nations in estimating similar ratios for countries where an accurate return of the population in intercensal years is not available. The figures given, therefore,

in these tables are at least comparable with those published for other countries where accurate estimates of the population at intercensal years are not on record. Birth and death rates computed upon the population at the census of 1921 have in each case also been shown for comparison with the figures calculated in the previous records. The estimated populations on the first of January at each intercensal year in each sex for each administrative division, excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts, are given in subsidiary table VII, and from these an average population has been worked out and entered in the table by taking an arithmetical mean of the estimated population in each year. The population for each division in each year has also been entered from the returns of vital statistics by adding to the population at the beginning of each year the births registered within it and subtracting from the sum the deaths registered during the same period.

148. An estimate from census figures of the births and deaths, 1921-30.—

In chapter I it has been indicated that the returns of vital occurrences fail to account for more than one half of the total increase in the population between 1921 and 1931. A method was indicated in the memorandum on the age tables and rates and mortality at the Indian census of 1901 by which the census figures might be used as a test of the birth and death registration figures. If the effect of migration be disregarded the total population recorded in 1931 as being aged 10 and over represents the survivors of the total population enumerated in 1921. The difference between them consequently represents the deaths during the intercensal period at average age 5 and over, and a comparison with the registered figures of deaths at the same ages suggests how far the registered figures are inaccurate. If the total recorded deaths are increased by the same factor which would raise the registered deaths aged 5 and over to the figure obtained in this way from the census returns an estimate of the actual number of births during the decade will be obtained and from this figure the number of deaths can be calculated and ratios computed. The method is sufficiently clear from the working out of the calculation below.

Comparison of estimated and registered average annual birth and death rates, 1921-1930.

NOTE.—(1) The population is throughout British Territory excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.
(2) The rates are per 1,000 of the mean population between the census of 1921 and 1931.

	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
(i) Population, 1921	46,522,293	24,057,936	22,464,357
(ii) Population, 1931	49,901,080	25,927,428	23,973,652
(iii) Population aged 10 and over, 1931 (survivors in 1931 of population in 1921)	35,456,583	18,551,760	16,904,823
(iv) Deaths at average age 5 and over between the census of 1921 and 1931—			
(i)–(iii)	11,065,710	5,506,176	5,559,534
(v) Registered deaths aged 5 and over, 1921-1930	7,745,029	4,059,008	3,686,021
(vi) Registered deaths all ages, 1921-1930	11,791,885	6,183,483	5,608,402
(vii) Estimated deaths all ages, 1921-1930—			
$\frac{(vi) \times (iv)}{(v)}$	16,847,109	8,388,095	8,459,014
(viii) Estimated average annual death rate—			
$\frac{1,000 (vii)}{5[(i) + (ii)]}$	34.94	33.56	36.43
(ix) Registered average annual death rate—			
$\frac{1,000 (vi)}{5[(i) + (ii)]}$	24.46	24.74	24.15
(x) Estimated average annual birth rate—			
$\frac{1,000[(ii) - (i) + (vii)]}{5[(i) + (ii)]}$	41.95	41.04	42.93
(xi) Registered births, 1921-1931	13,255,369	6,895,486	6,359,883
(xii) Registered average annual birth rate—			
$\frac{1,000 (xi)}{5[(i) + (ii)]}$	27.49	27.59	27.39

In each case figures have been compiled for males and females as well as for both sexes and the average annual ratios are expressed per mille of the average population during the decade. For the purpose of this calculation the average population has been taken not from subsidiary table VII but as the mean between the population of 1921 and that in 1931. These figures

suggest that for every thousand in the total population of the same sex in any year during the decade the returns of vital statistics failed to account during 1921 to 1931 for (a) the birth of 14.46 of both sexes, 13.45 males and 15.54 females and (b) the death of 10.48 of both sexes, 8.82 males and 12.28 females. The under-estimation is in each case greater for females than for males but the resultant increment ratio, i.e., the average number per mille of the same sex who are added to the population as a result of the excess of births over deaths is understated more seriously for males than for females.

149. **Another estimate of the accuracy of the vital statistics.**—Another method of estimating this same increment ratio is that described in paragraph 35 of the census report of 1921. The method is more readily understood if certain symbols are used. In any area let aP represent the average population in any year between 1921 and 1930; let N_{21} and N_{31} represent the natural population in 1921 and 1931; let I_{21} and I_{31} represent the persons born outside the area but enumerated within it in 1921 and 1931; let E_{21} and E_{31} represent the persons born in the area but enumerated elsewhere in 1921 and 1931; let B represent the births during 1921 to 1931; and let D_{nr} , D_{ns} and D_r represent the deaths during 1921 to 1930 of (a) persons born in the area and resident there at their death, (b) persons born in the area and resident outside it at their death and (c) persons born outside the area and resident in it at their death. The difference between the natural population in 1931 and 1921 represents the births (1921 to 1930) in the area minus the deaths (1921 to 1930) of persons born in the area whether they died inside or outside it. Similarly the difference between the returns of births and deaths during the decade should represent the births (1921 to 1930) in the area minus the deaths (1921 to 1930) of persons born either inside or outside the area but dying within it. Using the symbols above the facts are expressed as under:

$$N_{31} - N_{21} = B - D_{nr} - D_{ns} \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

$$\text{Excess of births over deaths} = B - D_{nr} - D_r \dots\dots (2)$$

If we can obtain an estimate of D_{ns} and D_r , then by adding D_{ns} to (1) and taking D_r from (1) we shall obtain a figure actually showing what the excess of births over deaths purports to represent. From this we can calculate the extent to which the excess of births over deaths is under-estimated in the vital returns. In 1921 this was done for both sexes. It will be here extended to each sex.

150. **The data for the estimate.**—The registration area in Bengal includes all British Territory except the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and all the figures must be made to refer to this area. An average population can be calculated for British Territory from the estimated population on 1st January of each year given in subsidiary table VII and for the Chittagong Hill Tracts from the figures similarly calculated. The natural population for all British Territory is known but neither in 1921 nor in 1931 is there a record of the number enumerated outside Bengal who were born in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. On the other hand the district is small and it is a reasonable assumption that the majority of persons born in the district are the children of permanent inhabitants and do not emigrate. It is consequently safe to assume that the error introduced will be negligible if the population born in the district be taken as the total "natural population" of the district. By subtracting this from the natural population of British Territory a sufficiently accurate estimate of the natural population of the registration area will be obtained. We also do not know the number dying in Bengal who were born elsewhere and dying elsewhere who were born in Bengal. Moreover, we have no details of the age-distribution of those residents in Bengal born elsewhere or of residents elsewhere born in Bengal. A rough estimate, however, of the age-distribution can be made on general grounds. It was assumed in 1921 that about one-fourth of each group showed the same age-distribution as the general population of Bengal and that the remaining three-fourths were between 20 and 40 years old. No better assumption can be proposed now

and there is probably no better assumption for each sex in each group. It will be modified, however, to exclude from consideration ages 0—5 and 65 and over: the proportion of immigrants at these ages is probably negligible. An estimate of the mortality of each group (i.e., aged 5—65 and aged 20—40) during the decade can be framed by using the mortality rates deduced by the Government of India Actuary from the census figures of 1921. No rates are given for the total population of Bengal but on the assumption that the immigrants contain about 4 Hindus to every Muslim a weighted rate can be got from the mortality rates for each sex in the Actuary's report. The actual number living in each group in each year is not known but a reasonable average can be taken as half the aggregate of the numbers at each census, i.e., $\frac{1}{2} (I_{21} + I_{31})$ and $\frac{1}{2} (E_{21} + E_{31})$.

151. **The calculation.**—Applying this method the calculation is as follows:—

	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
Natural population in British Territory, 1921	45,582.0	23,321.0	22,261.0
Bengal born population of Chittagong Hill Tracts, 1921	173.3	93.3	80.0
N₂₁ (the difference)	45,408.7	23,227.7	22,181.0
Natural population in British Territory, 1931	50,191.0	25,844.0	24,347.0
Bengal born population of Chittagong Hill Tracts, 1931	213.0	114.8	98.7
N₃₁ (the difference)	49,978.0	25,729.7	24,248.3
Persons in British Territory born outside British Territory, 1921	1,881.6	1,308.0	578.6
Persons in Chittagong Hill Tracts born outside British Territory, 1921 .. .. .	.6	.4	.2
I₂₁ (the difference)	1,881.0	1,302.6	578.4
Persons in British Territory born outside British Territory, 1931	1,821.0	1,277.5	543.5
Persons in Chittagong Hill Tracts born outside British Territory, 1931	1.0	.5	.5
I₃₁ (the difference)	1,820.0	1,277.0	543.0
Persons outside British Territory born in British Territory, 1921 E₂₁	768.0	472.0	296.0
Persons outside British Territory born in British Territory, 1931 E₃₁	1,083.7	660.8	422.9
Average population, 1921-1930, in British Territory minus C. H. Tracts	47,977.8	24,861.2	23,116.3
Mortality rate, 5-65, deduced from census of 1921 q₅₋₆₅	....	2.344	2.520
Mortality rate, 20-40, deduced from census of 1921 q₂₀₋₄₀	....	2.116	2.278
D_{1r}	411.4	280.8	131.1
D_{no}	307.2	128.1	84.1
Average annual increment ratio from census returns per 1,000 of the total population of the same sex	9.19	9.48	8.74
Average annual increment ratio from vital returns per 1,000 of the total population of the same sex	3.08	2.86	3.25
The average annual extent to which the vital returns underestimated the excess of births over deaths in 1921-30	6.08	6.57	5.49

152. **The methods of check discussed.**—The result of this calculation suggests a very much more serious degree of under-statement than is to be deduced from the previous calculation. Neither calculation can make any preferential claim to superior accuracy, since the first disregards the effect of migration and the second makes an entirely arbitrary estimate of the allowance for deaths amongst the immigrant population into Bengal and the emigrant population out of Bengal. It is, however, probable that the figures obtained by the second method err on the side of excess, since the reduction of immigration probably occurred very much nearer to the end of the decade than has been allowed for. The curtailment of industrial enterprise in the jute mills led, for instance, to the discharge of a very large number of immigrant labourers immediately preceding the census and it is not impossible that a considerable proportion of the decrease in the aggregate figures of immigrants occurred after the period to which the vital statistics refer. If allowance were made for such a consideration, there would clearly be a reduction in the figures for the increase due to excess of births over deaths since a larger reduction would be made on account of immigrants dying in Bengal. It is, however, unlikely that upon any reasonable assumption this allowance would be increased to as much as three or more times than made at present which would be necessary in order to bring the estimated average annual increment ratio into line with that calculated on the first method. The fact that at the end of the decade there were fewer immigrants enumerated in Bengal than at the beginning suggests, however, that the calculations by the first method are at least no greater than they would be, if due allowance could be made for vital occurrences amongst the immigrant population, and the results obtained by the first enquiry may therefore be taken as representing the smallest extent to which it is likely that the increment ratio is underestimated by the vital statistics.

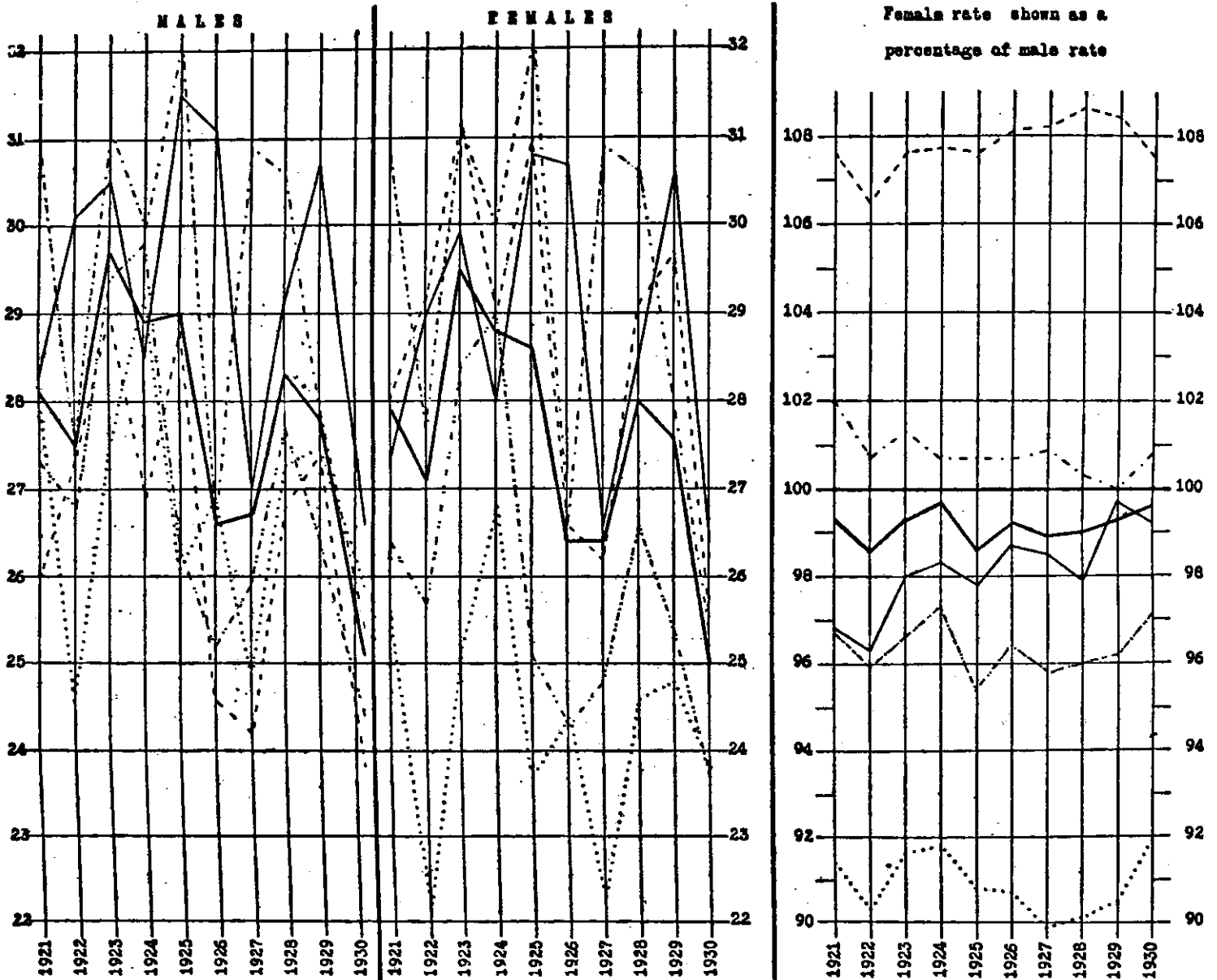
DIAGRAM No. IV-8.

Number of births annually reported per 1,000 living of the same sex in each administrative division, 1921 to 1930.

NOTE.—The ratios are computed on the estimated population on 1st January of each year calculated on the assumption of a uniform annual rate of change from one census to the next. (Figures for Chittagong Hill Tracts are not on record.)

Reference to Divisions

All Bengal ——— Burdwan Dn. ——— Presidency Dn. ——— Rajshahi Dn. ——— Dacca Divn. ——— Chittagong Dn.



153. Annual recorded birth rates by divisions, 1921-1930.—Subsidiary table VIII shows the births by sexes annually reported in each division and gives the birth rates calculated on both the methods indicated for each division. The figures in the last part of this table are plotted in diagram No. IV-8. In each 1,000 of the population the difference in the method of calculation results in a difference of 1 in the average birth rate for males, and 0·8 in the average birth rate for females. As is to be expected, the variation increases towards the end of the decade being as much as 1·7 and 1·4 per mille of the total population in the case of males and females respectively. In both sexes the period 1923, 1924 and 1925 shows the highest average birth rate throughout the whole decade, and the lowest was recorded in 1930. Between the divisions there are considerable variations. In general, the birth rate for males was low in the Presidency and Chittagong Divisions and high in the Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions. For females the birth rate was consistently lowest in the Chittagong Division, and, in general, was highest in the Rajshahi Division.

STATEMENT No. IV-11.
Female birth rate per thousand as a percentage of male birth rate per thousand by administrative divisions annually, 1921 to 1930.

Year.	All Bengal.	Burdwan Division.	Presidency Division.	Rajshahi Division.	Dacca Division.	Chittagong Division.
1921	99·3	96·8	107·6	102·0	96·7	91·4
1922	98·8	96·8	106·5	100·7	95·9	90·3
1923	98·0	98·0	107·6	101·8	95·6	91·6
1924	98·4	98·3	107·7	100·7	97·8	91·8
1925	97·6	97·6	107·6	100·7	95·4	90·8
1926	98·2	98·7	108·1	100·7	96·4	90·7
1927	98·5	98·5	108·2	100·9	95·8	89·9
1928	98·3	97·9	108·6	100·3	96·0	90·1
1929	98·3	99·7	108·4	100·0	96·2	90·5
1930	98·6	99·2	107·5	100·8	97·1	91·9

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The graph plotted at the right-hand side of diagram No. IV-8 illustrates statement No. IV-11, in which the female rate is shown as a percentage of the male rate. Only in the Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions was the female rate higher than the male rate. On the average the variation in the proportions is extremely small and runs only between 98.6 and 99.7, but between the different divisions there is a very considerable difference.

STATEMENT No. IV-12.

Number of births annually reported in each sex per 1,000 married females aged 15-40 with female ratio as a percentage of male ratio, 1921-1930.

NOTE.—The rates are calculated on an estimate of the number of females aged 15-40 on the 1st January of each year assuming a uniform rate of change in the numbers of the same ages between one census and the next. Calcutta, Malda, Noakhali and the Chittagong Hill Tracts are omitted from the calculation.

Annual average	Ratio.		Female ratio as a percentage of male ratio.
	Male.	Female.	
	84.9	78.5	92.4
1921	86.7	80.7	93.1
1922	85.0	78.4	92.2
1923	91.4	84.8	92.8
1924	88.9	82.5	92.8
1925	88.7	81.6	91.9
1926	81.3	75.3	92.7
1927	81.4	74.9	92.0
1928	86.3	79.3	91.9
1929	84.2	77.6	92.2
1930	75.5	69.8	92.5

a range of between 1.9 per cent. and 2 per cent.

154. Birth rate per 1,000 child-bearing females.—An estimate of the fertility of the population in some respects more significant can be obtained from a consideration of the annually reported births per 1,000 married females aged 15 to 40. Such an estimate eliminates differences due to variations in the sex and age distribution and shows a comparison of the fecundity of that part of the population which is actually capable of child-bearing. The ratios are shown in the accompanying statement No. IV-12. The method on which they have been calculated is indicated in the heading of the statement. In a later paragraph in dealing with sex and age specific death rates further details are given of the method by which the numbers aged 15-40 in each year have been estimated. The figures shown in the statement are plotted in diagram No. IV-9. The same features as are shown in diagram No. IV-8 for the average of each sex here reappear, but by referring the rates for both sexes to the same standard the excess of the male birth rate is more clearly indicated. The diagram inset, which represents the last column in statement, shows the female ratio as a percentage of the male ratio and indicates clearly the general trend to a reduction in the proportion of female born to male. At the beginning of the decade the proportion was 93.1 but the average was no more than 92.4, and in 1925, 1927 and 1928 it was only 92 or less. A period of one decade is hardly long enough to supply material upon which to base a convincing deduction as to the trend of the birth rate, but the figures for the increase in the excess of males over females in the recorded census figures given in chapter V and illustrated by diagram No. V-3, shows that the tendency is genuine.

DIAGRAM No. IV-9.

Number of births annually reported in each sex per 1,000 married females aged 15-40, 1921 to 1930.

NOTE.—Male births are shown by the continuous, female by the broken line. The inset shows the number of female births per 1,000 male births. The rates are calculated on an estimate of the number of females aged 15-40 on the 1st January of each year assuming a uniform annual rate of change in the numbers between one census and the next. (Figures for Calcutta, Malda, Noakhali and Chittagong Hill Tracts are not considered.)

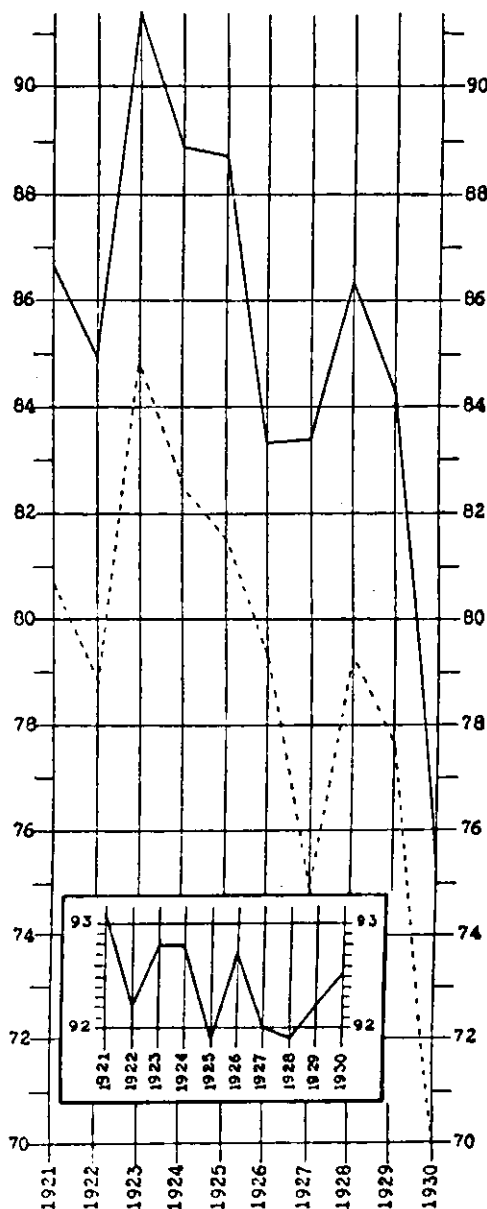
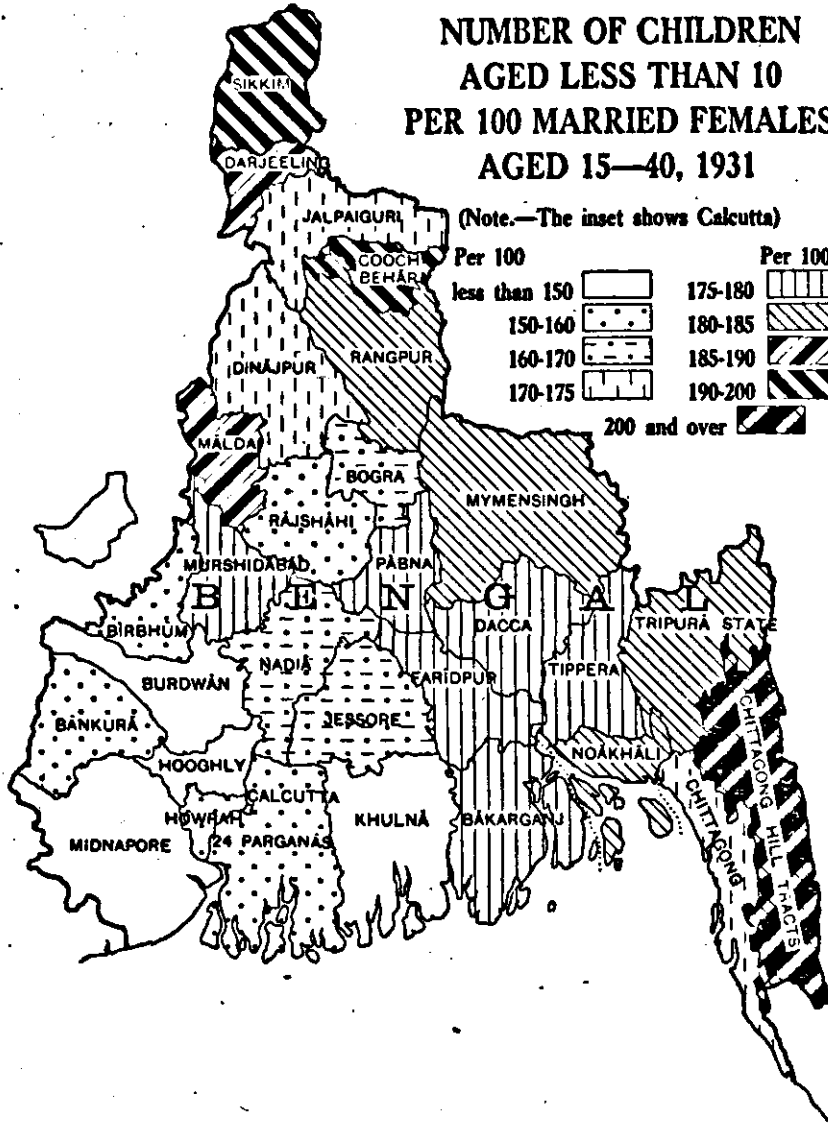


DIAGRAM No. IV-10.

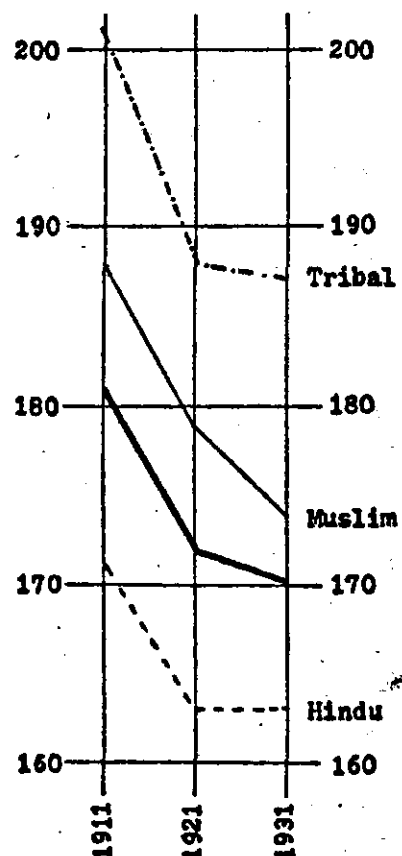


155. **Proportion of children to child-bearing females.**—The number of children less than 10 years old per 100 married females aged 15 to 40 also gives an index of the comparative fecundity of the population. For the census of 1911, 1921 and 1931 these figures are given in subsidiary table V for each district as well as by religions in each division, and they can be compared with a similar ratio of the number of children aged less than 10 per 100 persons of both sexes aged 15 to 40. The map, reproduced as diagram No. IV-10, illustrates the ratios calculated on the number of married females aged 15 to 40. It is highest in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (207). In Cooch Behar

and Sikkim the ratio is between 190 and 199, and in Darjeeling and Malda it is between 185 and 190. In general, the ratio is highest in Eastern Bengal and the eastern part of Northern Bengal, and as a general statement it may be said to increase in proportion as one moves from west to east. In Burdwan Division on the average it is only 148, being least in Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore. In Central Bengal it is 165 although in the districts of Khulna and Calcutta it is even lower than in any other part of the province. In North Bengal it is comparatively low in Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Bogra and Rajshahi but on the average is 175. In the Dacca Division and the Chittagong Division it is in each case 178, although in Chittagong district it has a proportion only just higher than in Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri. Diagram No. IV-11 illustrates the trend of this ratio since 1911 in the principal religions. Amongst the Hindus it has remained constant at the last two census counts, but between 1911 and 1921 in each religion and between 1921 and 1931 amongst both Muslims and tribals as well as in the average of all religions there has been a decline. On the average the ratio was 181 in 1911 but had declined to 172 in 1921, and is now no more than 170. Figures for castes similar to those here referred to are given in subsidiary table IV where sorters' age-groups are used. Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians as well as Baidyas appear together with

DIAGRAM No. IV-11.

Number of children under 10 years of age per 100 married females aged 15-40 in certain religions, 1911-1931.



Chakmas and Tiparas as having a high proportion of children. Brahmans and Kayasthas come with aborigines like Santals and backward classes like the Namasudras, the Jalia Kaibarttas and Jogis in a group which also has a high proportion. The proportion is lowest amongst the Brahmans of those groups shown. The proportion of children to those aged 15-40 in the whole population is 68 and has not varied since 1921 but is lower than in 1911 (76). In Japan in 1925 it was 67, but in the United States of America in 1930 it was only 58 and it was as low as 45 in England and Wales in 1921.

156. **Longevity.**—Subsidiary table V also gives figures from which the extent of longevity can be gauged between different parts of the province and different religions and can be compared for the years 1911, 1921 and 1931. Comparison is by the proportion of persons of each sex aged 60 and over to those in the same sex aged 15-40. Figures shown in the table give for each of the years illustrated the proportions per 100 of the same sex. In general there has been a considerable decline at each successive census. Had the figures been combined in previous returns on the same principle as that adopted in 1931, it would have been expected that the numbers over 60 would be somewhat reduced but that a still further reduction would be effected amongst those aged 15-40 since a larger number giving their age as 15 should have been allocated to the group 10-15 and taken away from the group 15-40 than either the number of those added to this group who gave their age as 40 or taken from the group 60 and added to the group 55-60 who gave their age as 60. It would consequently be expected that upon

the same method of composing age groups the proportions in 1921 and 1911 shown in this part of subsidiary table V would have been rather larger than they are. This accentuates the decline in the numbers between 1921 and 1931. But a comparison of the actual proportions of the population distributed by age-groups shows that such a decline is not necessarily due to a decrease in longevity. Although there are a considerably larger number in each 10,000 of the same sex under 15 now than they were in 1921, some part of this increase is undoubtedly due to the method of obtaining the age groups and what is more significant is that in both sexes there is an appreciable increase in the proportion of persons in the group 15-40 in spite of the fact that this group in 1931, as has been indicated above, excludes a number of persons actually included in the figures of 1921. In diagram No. IV-12 the figures illustrated are not those directly taken from subsidiary table V but those shown in the accompanying statement No. IV-13. Statement No. IV-14 shows similar

figures by religions. Both statements show the proportion of the total population aged 15-40 which in each sex is aged 60 and over. There are 8 persons of both sexes per 100 of the total population in the whole of Bengal compared with 20 in Japan in 1925, 24 in England and Wales in 1921 and 36 in the United States of America in 1930. The proportions are fairly evenly distributed between the sexes but in general a larger contribution is made by

STATEMENT No. IV-13.

Proportion of persons over 60 per 100 aged 15-40, 1931.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Male.	Female.
BENGAL ..	4	4
West Bengal ..	4	4
BURDWAN DIVISION ..	4	4
Burdwan ..	3	4
Birbhum ..	4	5
Bankura ..	4	5
Midnapore ..	4	4
Hooghly ..	4	4
Howrah ..	4	4
Central Bengal ..	4	4
PRESIDENCY DIVISION ..	4	4
21-Parganna ..	4	4
Calcutta ..	3	2
Nadia ..	4	5
Murshidabad ..	4	5
Jessore ..	4	4
Khulna ..	5	4
North Bengal ..	4	3
RAJSHAHI DIVISION ..	4	3
Rajshahi ..	4	3
Dinajpur ..	3	2
Jalpaiguri ..	3	3
Darjeeling ..	4	4
Rangpur ..	3	3
Bogra ..	4	3
Pabna ..	4	4
Mulda ..	4	4
COOCH BEHAR STATE ..	4	3
East Bengal ..	4	4
DACCA DIVISION ..	5	4
Dacca ..	5	4
Mymensingh ..	4	3
Faridpur ..	4	4
Bakarganj ..	4	4
CHITTAGONG DIVISION ..	4	3
Tippera ..	4	3
Nonkhall ..	4	3
Chittagong ..	4	4
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	5	3
TRIPURA STATE ..	4	3
SIKKIM ..	7	7

STATEMENT No. IV-14.

Proportion of persons over 60 per 100 aged 15-40, 1931.

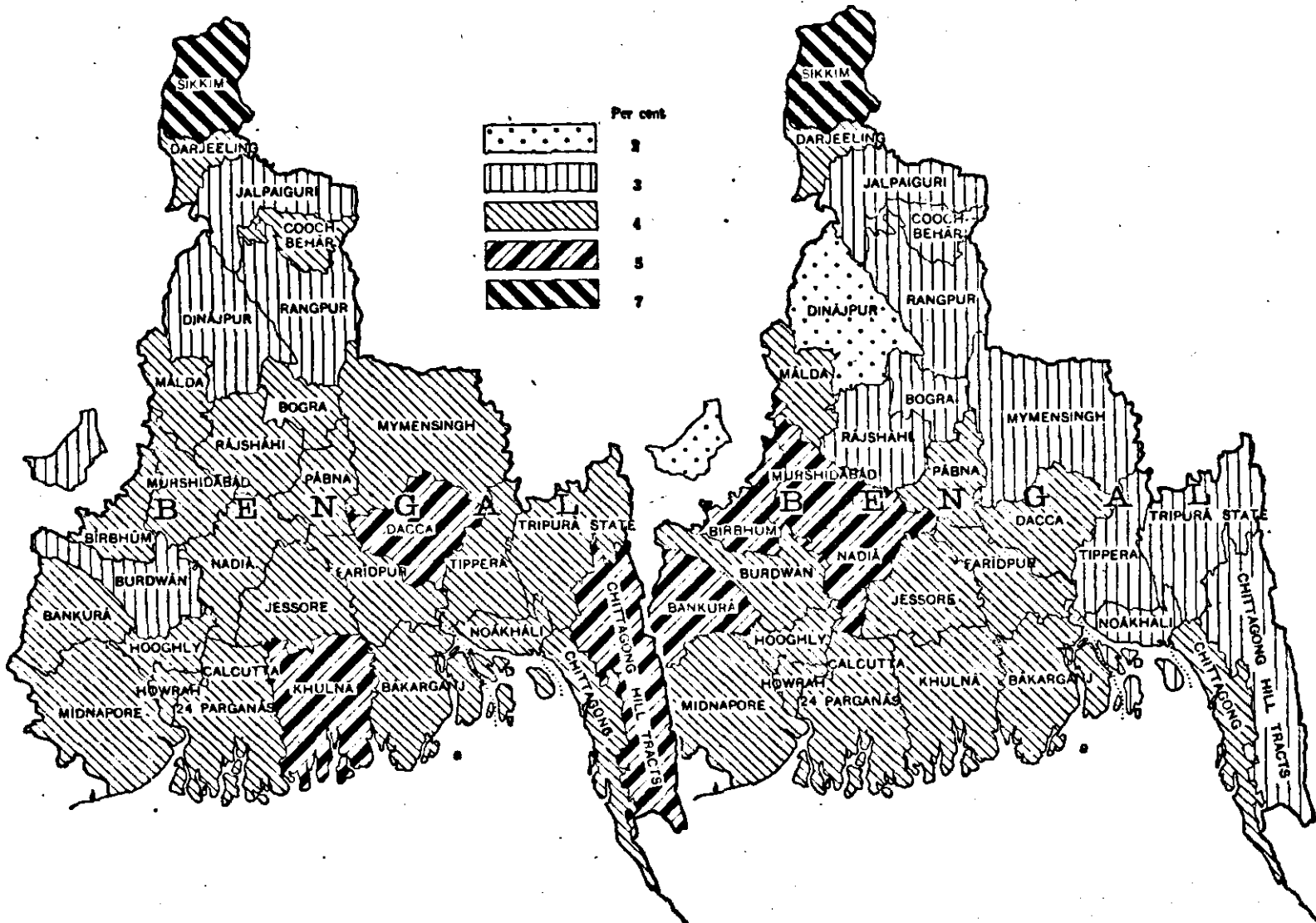
Religion.	Natural division.	Male.	Female.
All religions.	All Bengal ..	4	4
	Burdwan ..	4	4
	Presidency ..	4	4
	Rajshahi ..	4	3
	Dacca ..	5	4
Muslim.	All Bengal ..	4	3
	Burdwan ..	4	4
	Presidency ..	4	3
	Rajshahi ..	4	3
	Dacca ..	4	3
Hindu.	All Bengal ..	4	4
	Burdwan ..	4	4
	Presidency ..	4	4
	Rajshahi ..	4	4
	Dacca ..	5	5
Tribal.	All Bengal ..	4	4
	Burdwan ..	4	6
	Presidency ..	4	4
	Rajshahi ..	4	3
	Dacca ..	5	3

females in the Burdwan Division and in parts of the Presidency Division than elsewhere. Amongst Muslims in whom the total number in both sexes is less than in the other religions a greater proportion of those aged 60

DIAGRAM No. IV-12.

Number aged 60 and over per 100 of the total population aged 15-40, 1931.

NOTE.—Males are shown on the left, females on the right. The inset shows Calcutta.



and over is contributed by males. In Sikkim the incidence of longevity is relatively high amongst both sexes but elsewhere the proportions contributed by each sex differ considerably from district to district. The largest proportion to the total at the highest ages is made by males in the districts of Khulna, Dacca and Chittagong and by females in the districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Nadia and Murshidabad. In both sexes the proportions are comparatively low in Calcutta, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Rangpur. Hindus in Dacca and Chittagong and those of tribal religions in Burdwan have an aggregate larger proportion in both sexes calculated in this manner. The variations in longevity estimated on this method show very much the same variations in 1931 as in 1921 when it was highest amongst males in the lower delta, in Noakhali, Chittagong and Dacca and amongst females in the north and western districts, particularly in Nadia.

157. **Annual recorded death rates by divisions, 1921-1930.**—The number of deaths annually reported and the death rate per 1,000 in each sex in each division are shown in subsidiary table IX and the ratios shown in the last

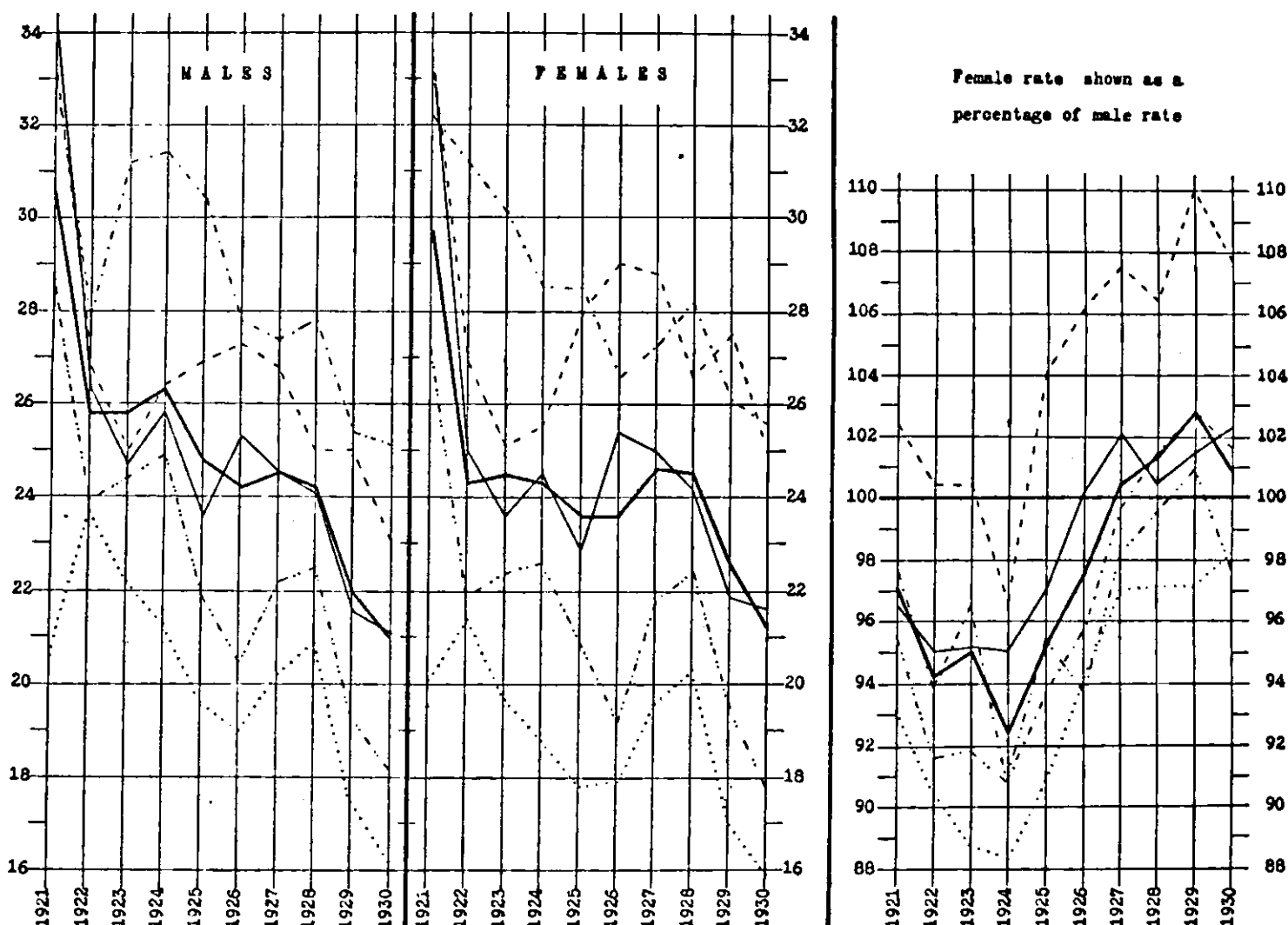
DIAGRAM No. IV-13.

Number of deaths annually reported per 1,000 living of the same sex in each administrative division, 1921 to 1930.

NOTE.—The ratios are computed upon the estimated population on 1st January of each year calculated on the assumption of a uniform annual rate of change from one census to the next. (Figures for Chittagong Hill Tracts are not on record.)

Reference to Divisions

All Bengal ——— Burdwan Dn. ——— Presidency Dn. - - - - Rajshahi Dn. - - - - - Dacca Divn. - - - - - Chittagong Dn. - - - - -



portion of this table are illustrated in diagram No. IV-13. In both sexes the lowest death rate was recorded in the year 1930 and the decade is one in which the returned death rate on the whole shows a decided decline. It was highest in both sexes in 1921 and between this year and 1930 the curves of each sex show two peaks, one in 1923 for females and 1924 for males, and a second in 1927 for both sexes. On the average the death rate reported was lowest in both sexes in Chittagong, where also on the average the lowest annual birth rate was reported and where the rate of increase in the total population has been very much higher than in any other division. It was highest in both sexes in the Rajshahi Division and higher in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions than in Dacca. The Rajshahi Division where the average rate was highest shows the widest divergences from the average trend from year to year in the whole province, but in general the curve follows a line similar to that for the average. In Burdwan and Presidency Divisions the peak in the curve for both sexes occurs in 1926 a year earlier than in the average curve. In the other divisions the corresponding peak is in 1928. In the Chittagong Division the highest rate was in 1922 and not as elsewhere in 1921. The graph plotted on the right-hand side of this diagram and

illustrating statement No. IV-15 indicates the comparative incidence of the death rate between the sexes. From 1922 to 1924 when the rate was relatively high amongst males it was comparatively low amongst females in almost all divisions. The years 1927 and 1928 showed a comparatively high mortality for both sexes, but proportionately more serious in the case of females, and the rate was considerably in excess of the male rate in the next year 1929. The female ratio is least in comparison with the male ratio in Chittagong Division and greatest in the Presidency Division.

STATEMENT No. IV-15.

Female death rate as a percentage of male death rate in each administrative division annually, 1921-1930.

	*Bengal.	Burdwan.	Presi- dency.	Rajshahi.	Dacca.	*Chitta- gong.
Annual average	97.6	98.4	104.2	97.2	94.7	93.5
1921	97.1	96.6	102.4	97.0	95.5	93.1
1922	94.2	95.0	100.4	93.9	91.6	90.3
1923	95.0	95.2	100.4	96.5	91.8	88.7
1924	92.4	95.0	96.0	90.8	90.8	88.3
1925	95.2	97.0	104.1	93.7	95.4	90.8
1926	97.5	100.2	100.2	95.7	93.7	94.2
1927	100.4	102.1	107.5	99.6	98.2	97.0
1928	101.3	100.4	106.4	101.4	99.6	97.1
1929	102.8	101.4	110.0	102.8	101.0	97.1
1930	100.9	102.3	107.7	101.6	97.8	98.2

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

158. **Death rates for Muslims and Hindus by sexes, 1921-1930.** The death rates in each sex for Muslims and Hindus have been calculated for each year and shown in statement No. IV-16. For the computation of these ratios the population in each religion in the whole of the registered area has been calculated for the 1st of January in each year on the usual assumption

STATEMENT No. IV-16.

Number of deaths annually reported per thousand living of each sex, Muslims and Hindus, with female rate as a percentage of male rate, 1921-1930.

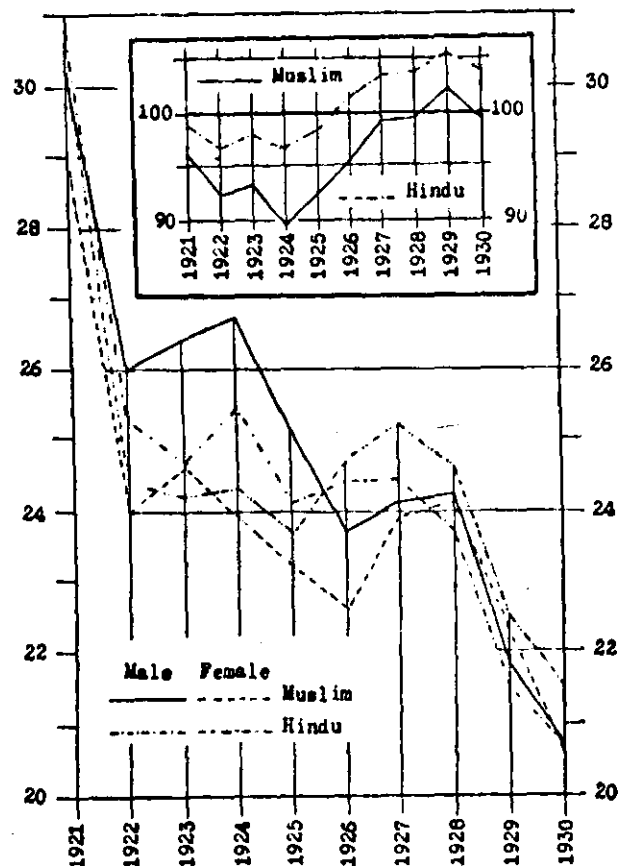
NOTE.—The rates are computed on the estimated population on 1st January of each year calculated on the assumption that the numbers in each sex changed at a uniform rate from one census to the next.

Annual average	Death rate.		Female rate as a percentage of male rate.
	Male.	Female.	
MUSLIM.			
Annual average	24.9	23.8	95.9
1921	30.2	29.0	96.0
1922	26.0	24.0	92.3
1923	26.4	24.6	93.2
1924	20.7	23.9	89.5
1925	25.1	23.2	92.4
1926	23.7	22.6	95.4
1927	24.1	23.9	99.2
1928	24.2	24.1	99.6
1929	21.8	22.3	102.3
1930	20.7	20.6	99.5
HINDU.			
Annual average	24.5	24.6	100.5
1921	30.8	30.4	98.7
1922	25.2	24.4	96.8
1923	24.7	23.2	98.0
1924	25.4	24.3	95.7
1925	24.1	23.7	98.3
1926	24.4	24.7	101.8
1927	24.4	25.2	103.3
1928	23.7	24.6	103.8
1929	21.5	22.5	105.4
1930	20.7	21.5	103.9

DIAGRAM No. IV-14.

Number of deaths annually reported per 1,000 of each sex, Muslim and Hindu, 1921 to 1930.

NOTE.—The inset shows the female ratio as a percentage of the male ratio.



that the changes between two census years took place at a uniform annual rate, and the general features revealed by diagram No. IV-13 are also shown in diagram No. IV-14 illustrating this statement. In general, the recorded death rate was higher for males and lower for females amongst Muslims than amongst Hindus. In both sexes in each religion it was lower in 1930 than at any other period and showed a general decline interrupted by two increases, one between the years 1923 and 1924 and another between the years 1926 and 1928. The last column of the statement illustrated by the diagram inset in diagram No. IV-14 shows the relative incidence of mortality in each year between females and males of the same religion. Amongst Muslims female mortality compared with male mortality is proportionately less than amongst

the Hindus. In both religions the general trend illustrated in the similar portion of diagram No. IV-14 has been towards an increase in the proportion borne by the female rate to the male rate. Amongst Hindus since 1926 and amongst the Muslims in the year 1929 the female ratio was actually higher than the male.

159. Calculation of sex and age specific death rates by divisions, 1921-1930.—Statement No. IV-17 shows for each administrative division the sex and age specific death rates for each year, 1921-1930, with an average

STATEMENT No. IV-17.

Age and sex specific death rates per mille by administrative divisions, 1921-1930.

Area and year.	Males at ages											Females at ages										
	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60 & over.	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60 & over.			
Average, 1921-30	65.2	13.6	10.0	13.7	14.4	17.0	22.6	35.2	74.8	56.6	12.1	9.1	16.1	17.8	18.4	20.6	31.4	67.5				
*BENGAL.																						
1921	80.5	17.0	12.7	17.5	19.2	23.3	28.9	43.8	81.3	70.1	14.4	11.9	20.0	22.6	23.8	26.6	39.7	74.5				
1922	89.0	14.1	10.9	14.6	15.7	19.1	23.7	36.0	69.4	58.0	11.8	10.1	16.8	18.1	19.1	21.0	31.3	60.6				
1923	70.2	14.6	11.4	15.1	15.2	18.0	22.7	35.0	66.2	61.0	12.7	10.0	16.4	17.8	17.9	20.0	30.6	59.8				
1924	67.5	14.4	11.9	16.3	16.2	19.2	23.7	35.9	73.2	57.4	12.1	10.0	17.1	18.4	18.6	20.3	30.0	60.6				
1925	65.9	13.9	10.4	13.8	14.4	17.2	21.8	33.5	72.0	57.6	12.3	9.1	15.6	16.6	17.2	19.0	28.7	63.6				
1926	64.9	13.0	9.5	12.7	13.4	16.6	21.1	33.4	75.3	56.3	11.7	8.7	15.2	16.5	17.4	18.4	30.0	62.4				
1927	60.6	13.9	9.6	13.3	14.0	17.2	22.2	34.9	79.9	53.7	12.8	9.0	16.6	18.5	19.0	20.6	32.0	73.2				
1928	60.9	13.0	9.1	12.6	13.7	17.3	22.4	35.1	77.6	53.0	12.3	8.7	16.5	18.7	19.2	21.2	31.9	71.3				
1929	58.1	11.2	7.2	10.4	11.2	14.8	20.0	32.3	75.4	51.1	10.8	8.9	14.1	16.2	16.9	19.0	29.7	71.6				
1930	54.0	10.6	6.6	9.6	10.6	13.7	19.7	32.1	74.3	47.5	10.3	6.4	12.8	14.5	15.3	18.4	30.0	71.4				
Average, 1921-30	75.2	11.6	9.0	12.7	13.5	17.5	23.1	38.9	89.6	65.9	11.8	8.9	14.5	15.4	17.1	21.0	33.2	75.3				
BURDWAN.																						
1921	97.2	15.6	11.0	18.1	21.4	27.1	34.1	55.2	113.3	84.1	14.9	12.0	19.5	22.0	25.6	30.8	47.7	90.9				
1922	82.8	12.2	10.3	14.3	15.2	19.4	24.2	38.4	82.3	69.7	11.8	10.4	15.3	16.3	18.4	27.9	32.5	65.6				
1923	78.8	11.0	9.1	12.9	13.5	17.5	22.4	37.4	83.4	68.2	11.2	9.1	13.7	14.7	16.0	10.1	30.4	65.0				
1924	77.6	11.7	10.0	13.5	14.7	18.4	23.6	38.9	87.8	66.0	11.4	9.1	14.7	15.6	17.3	20.2	33.1	60.7				
1925	74.2	10.4	8.6	11.8	12.4	16.7	21.1	36.0	84.5	65.2	10.7	8.6	13.4	13.4	15.7	17.9	29.5	67.7				
1926	81.6	11.5	9.1	12.3	12.9	16.8	21.6	37.4	80.6	71.7	12.1	9.2	14.9	14.9	16.5	20.3	32.6	76.7				
1927	69.3	12.1	9.0	12.3	12.7	16.4	22.2	38.5	95.5	63.6	12.0	8.8	14.4	15.1	17.0	19.8	34.1	84.0				
1928	65.9	11.6	8.7	11.9	12.7	16.7	22.9	38.6	89.8	58.1	12.5	8.5	15.3	15.7	19.9	20.4	34.0	77.8				
1929	64.1	9.4	6.8	10.0	10.1	13.9	19.7	34.2	83.6	56.7	10.1	6.9	12.6	13.1	14.5	17.8	28.8	74.8				
1930	60.6	10.0	6.5	9.5	9.8	13.1	19.3	34.1	86.1	55.1	10.7	6.6	11.6	12.0	13.4	16.5	29.4	80.4				
Average, 1921-30	74.3	16.3	11.6	14.6	14.9	17.9	23.8	37.1	84.3	66.3	15.3	10.8	16.4	16.8	19.4	22.0	33.2	76.4				
PRESIDENCY.																						
1921	101.6	20.4	14.0	18.4	19.8	24.1	31.3	48.0	97.6	81.9	17.8	13.7	22.0	23.6	25.6	29.0	42.6	87.1				
1922	75.7	16.0	12.8	15.6	15.8	18.8	24.3	36.0	79.7	64.3	14.2	11.8	19.2	18.9	19.8	21.9	31.5	69.4				
1923	74.1	15.9	11.8	14.7	14.1	18.4	21.3	33.0	73.2	60.2	14.0	10.6	17.0	16.7	18.5	28.5	62.0					
1924	73.7	15.9	12.7	16.0	15.6	17.9	22.9	35.0	80.0	64.2	13.9	10.8	17.8	17.0	17.6	10.4	28.1	64.7				
1925	81.6	17.0	11.5	13.9	14.6	17.2	22.3	35.1	84.1	76.0	16.5	10.7	17.4	17.4	17.8	20.0	29.3	74.8				
1926	70.7	16.4	11.7	14.6	15.1	18.3	24.3	38.2	90.2	69.8	15.8	11.0	19.0	19.5	20.1	22.4	35.7	84.1				
1927	70.1	17.6	11.7	15.2	15.1	18.1	24.8	37.4	90.1	64.2	17.6	11.6	19.7	20.3	20.5	23.8	35.2	82.8				
1928	65.7	15.2	11.0	13.6	13.6	17.1	22.8	36.2	84.3	58.3	14.5	10.0	18.4	18.4	19.1	22.8	38.3	77.4				
1929	70.1	15.4	9.5	12.3	12.7	16.4	22.9	30.3	85.1	63.0	15.2	9.4	18.2	18.5	19.8	21.7	34.3	83.6				
1930	64.0	13.8	8.9	11.2	12.2	14.7	21.3	35.3	78.6	55.5	13.7	8.2	15.1	16.8	17.4	21.0	33.9	77.9				
Average, 1921-30	71.7	16.9	12.5	17.5	17.7	22.3	27.3	39.7	71.8	62.2	13.7	11.7	19.5	22.0	24.0	26.3	35.8	81.8				
RAJSHAHI.																						
1921	85.0	14.5	15.0	21.1	22.2	27.5	30.8	44.0	62.8	73.6	15.2	15.7	23.8	25.9	30.0	30.3	40.6	62.0				
1922	70.5	14.6	12.4	17.3	18.2	23.9	27.1	30.7	58.5	69.7	11.9	12.5	18.4	20.6	24.0	26.0	34.6	52.8				
1923	83.8	18.1	14.4	18.5	18.9	23.8	27.9	40.5	66.3	74.2	15.2	12.6	20.0	22.2	25.2	28.8	37.0	59.9				
1924	72.7	10.7	14.7	21.0	21.5	26.7	31.5	44.9	71.2	61.4	13.4	12.6	20.8	23.2	26.6	28.5	37.0	50.6				
1925	76.4	17.5	19.9	18.9	19.1	24.1	28.0	39.2	70.1	66.1	14.5	11.9	19.5	21.9	24.4	25.8	34.7	61.8				
1926	68.6	10.0	12.1	16.3	17.3	22.2	25.8	38.1	69.4	59.0	13.6	10.8	18.1	20.4	23.4	24.5	33.8	61.1				
1927	66.2	15.7	11.6	16.7	17.7	21.6	25.4	37.9	81.0	57.8	13.6	10.9	20.2	22.8	24.4	24.7	34.1	60.6				
1928	68.3	15.0	11.1	16.5	13.4	21.6	27.1	39.0	70.9	59.8	13.4	11.3	20.0	23.4	25.8	26.7	36.1	62.9				
1929	83.8	13.9	9.6	14.2	14.5	18.6	23.9	36.2	95.1	59.5	13.0	9.6	17.6	20.3	21.8	24.6	35.0	67.5				
1930	61.6	14.0	9.6	14.1	14.0	17.9	25.0	37.8	73.1	54.8	13.3	8.9	16.6	18.9	20.4	25.8	35.7	69.8				
Average, 1921-30	59.3	12.5	8.6	11.9	12.4	14.8	18.3	30.2	67.8	49.5	10.4	7.9	14.9	17.1	15.8	19.9	26.9	58.9				
DACCA.																						
1921	75.0	17.1	11.7	16.2	17.1	19.8	24.9	38.0	71.0	64.1	13.7	10.8	19.5	22.5	20.2	20.7	34.5	62.0				
1922	64.4	13.5	9.7	13.5	13.8	15.7	20.4	32.4	62.2	53.1	10.4	8.5	15.6	17.3	15.8	17.4	27.9	51.6				
1923	63.2	14.6	10.9	14.4	14.3	15.9	20.5	31.5	63.6	52.6	11.6	9.3	16.1	17.8	15.9	17.0	28.0	53.9				
1924	64.7	14.3	11.2	15.6	14.5	16.2	20.0	30.7	67.0	63.6	11.2	9.1	16.7	18.4	16.1	16.7	26.1	54.2				
1925	55.3	12.8	8.4	13.0	12.5	14.1	18.3	28.8	63.4	45.9	10.8	7.6	14.4	15.1	14.0	15.9	25.4	54.4				
1926	56.2	11.1	7.6	10.3	10.5	12.5	16.2	25.9	64.4	46.3	9.2	6.6	13.1	14.2	13.4	14.7	22.9	55.0				
1927	55.0	12.6	8.0	10.9	12.1	14.8	19.1	29.8	74.1	46.5	10.9	7.8	15.3	18.1	17.0	17.4	27.5	65.9				
1928	56.3	11.8	7.7	10.7	12.9	15.5	20.0	31.1	72.8	47.7	10.7	7.1	15.5	19.2	17.9	18.2	27.2	65.7				
1929	52.9	8.9	5.1	7.6	8.9																	

be first to obtain an accurate estimate of the composition of each age-group at the beginning of each year concerned and then to calculate the ratios upon the numbers so determined. This is the method which is employed by the Registrar-General in England and Wales.

STATEMENT No. IV-18.

Age specific death rate for females as a percentage of that for males by administrative divisions, 1921-1930.

Area and year.	Age group.									
	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60 & over.	
Average, 1921-30	87.7	89.7	91.7	119.1	125.0	105.1	90.9	89.2	90.1	
*BENGAL.										
1921	94.8	84.7	93.7	114.3	117.2	102.1	92.0	90.6	91.8	
1922	84.1	83.7	92.7	111.4	115.3	100.0	88.0	86.0	87.3	
1923	86.0	85.8	97.7	108.6	115.1	99.4	88.1	87.1	86.1	
1924	85.0	84.0	84.0	104.9	113.8	95.0	85.7	83.6	82.6	
1925	87.4	88.5	87.5	112.2	115.3	100.0	87.2	85.7	87.9	
1926	86.7	90.0	91.6	119.7	123.1	104.8	91.9	89.8	90.8	
1927	86.8	92.1	93.8	124.8	132.1	110.5	92.8	91.7	91.6	
1928	87.0	94.6	95.6	131.0	136.5	111.0	94.6	90.9	91.9	
1929	86.0	96.4	95.8	135.6	144.6	114.2	95.0	92.0	95.0	
1930	86.0	97.2	94.1	128.6	136.8	111.7	93.4	93.5	96.1	
Average, 1921-30	87.8	102.6	89.5	115.5	114.7	99.7	90.8	85.3	84.1	
BURDWAN.										
1921	86.5	95.5	103.4	107.7	107.0	94.4	90.3	86.4	80.2	
1922	84.1	96.7	100.9	106.9	107.2	94.8	115.2	84.6	79.7	
1923	86.5	101.8	100.0	106.2	108.8	91.4	85.2	81.2	78.6	
1924	86.2	97.4	91.0	108.0	106.1	94.0	85.5	85.1	79.8	
1925	87.8	102.8	100.0	113.5	108.0	100.0	84.8	81.9	80.1	
1926	87.8	105.2	101.1	118.7	115.5	101.2	93.9	87.1	85.6	
1927	91.7	104.1	97.7	117.1	118.8	103.6	89.1	88.5	87.9	
1928	88.1	107.7	97.7	128.5	123.6	101.2	89.1	88.1	86.6	
1929	88.4	107.4	101.4	126.0	129.7	104.3	87.8	84.2	89.4	
1930	90.9	107.0	101.5	122.1	122.4	102.2	85.4	86.2	98.3	
Average, 1921-30	89.2	94.2	93.4	127.3	127.1	106.6	92.3	89.7	90.5	
PRESIDENCY.										
1921	89.4	87.2	93.8	119.5	119.1	106.2	92.6	88.7	89.2	
1922	84.9	88.7	92.1	123.1	119.6	105.3	90.1	87.5	87.0	
1923	89.3	88.1	89.8	115.6	118.4	101.8	86.8	86.3	84.7	
1924	87.1	87.4	85.0	111.3	114.7	98.3	84.7	80.3	80.9	
1925	93.1	97.1	93.0	125.2	119.2	103.5	89.7	83.5	88.9	
1926	91.0	96.3	94.0	130.1	129.1	109.8	92.2	93.5	93.2	
1927	91.6	100.0	99.1	129.6	134.4	113.3	93.9	94.1	91.9	
1928	88.7	95.4	96.4	135.3	133.3	111.7	100.0	92.0	91.8	
1929	90.0	98.7	98.9	148.0	145.7	117.7	94.8	94.5	98.2	
1930	86.7	103.0	92.1	134.8	137.7	118.4	98.6	90.1	99.1	
Average, 1921-30	86.9	85.9	93.7	112.3	126.6	108.4	96.6	90.4	86.6	
RAJSHAHI.										
1921	86.6	82.2	100.6	112.8	116.7	109.1	98.4	92.3	98.7	
1922	84.7	81.5	100.8	106.4	113.2	101.7	95.9	87.2	90.8	
1923	88.5	84.0	87.5	108.1	117.5	105.9	96.1	91.4	90.3	
1924	84.5	80.2	85.7	99.0	107.9	99.6	90.5	82.4	83.7	
1925	80.5	82.9	85.6	103.2	114.7	101.2	90.4	88.5	88.2	
1926	86.0	84.4	89.3	111.0	117.9	105.4	95.0	88.7	88.0	
1927	87.3	86.0	94.0	121.0	128.8	113.0	97.2	90.0	74.8	
1928	86.8	89.3	101.8	121.2	174.6	117.1	98.5	92.6	88.7	
1929	88.6	93.5	99.0	123.2	140.0	117.2	102.9	96.7	71.0	
1930	89.0	95.0	92.7	117.0	135.0	114.0	101.2	94.4	94.8	
Average, 1921-30	83.4	84.0	88.8	126.3	140.2	107.6	95.0	89.1	86.8	
DACCA.										
1921	85.5	80.1	92.3	120.4	131.6	102.0	89.1	90.8	87.3	
1922	82.5	77.0	87.6	115.6	125.4	100.6	85.3	86.1	83.0	
1923	83.2	79.5	85.8	111.8	124.5	100.0	85.9	86.9	84.7	
1924	82.8	78.3	81.3	107.1	126.9	99.4	83.5	85.0	80.8	
1925	83.0	80.5	80.9	110.8	120.8	99.3	86.9	88.2	85.8	
1926	82.4	82.9	86.8	127.2	135.2	107.2	90.7	88.4	85.4	
1927	84.5	86.5	91.3	140.4	149.6	114.9	91.1	92.3	88.9	
1928	84.4	90.7	92.2	144.9	156.1	115.5	91.0	87.5	90.2	
1929	84.1	93.2	94.1	159.2	173.0	122.3	94.0	90.9	92.7	
1930	81.9	91.5	95.7	145.8	158.5	115.0	88.6	92.9	90.3	
Average, 1921-30	86.4	82.8	84.7	108.8	120.7	102.4	87.2	89.4	86.0	
*CHITTAGONG.										
1921	80.0	89.3	88.3	105.9	108.8	96.7	84.0	91.0	96.2	
1922	85.4	84.1	82.2	103.8	107.0	96.6	81.7	89.7	94.2	
1923	87.3	87.7	83.7	91.4	95.3	94.4	84.1	87.3	92.0	
1924	86.0	95.3	78.7	94.6	108.6	92.9	81.9	84.4	86.7	
1925	87.1	92.3	77.5	106.8	107.8	93.5	82.8	84.1	94.9	
1926	88.3	92.6	92.2	114.3	121.2	104.1	90.0	87.3	98.0	
1927	91.7	94.3	73.6	109.9	126.7	108.6	90.2	91.3	98.5	
1928	89.7	98.2	87.7	124.0	163.0	106.8	88.8	97.0	101.8	
1929	90.0	95.1	87.8	122.4	134.8	115.8	93.5	93.5	96.8	
1930	89.5	98.6	95.3	125.0	134.2	112.7	95.1	98.5	100.6	

*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

It cannot be applied, however, unless statistics are available both of much greater accuracy and in much greater detail than in Bengal since the method

“is based on correction of the census figures at each age period for migrants and deceased at corresponding ages allowing for the interval between the census year and the year for which the estimate is made.”—(Newsholme—*Elements of Vital Statistics*, 1923, page 47).

Such a method could be applied in Bengal only if figures by sex and age were maintained annually for emigration and immigration and if the census figures and the figures of deaths were tabulated accurately by single-year age periods. Any use of this method or a modification of it is, therefore, clearly impossible in Bengal. An alternative method which has also been used for England and Wales is to estimate the composition of each age-group by taking the age and sex distribution of the previous census and increasing it to the same per-

centage extent as it is estimated that the population at all ages has increased. It was at first thought that some adaptation of this method might be employed. It was contemplated that the population on 1st January of each year might be estimated on the assumption of a regular rate of change, that it could then be distributed (a) by the sex and age distributions of 1921 and (b) as a check by the sex and age distributions of 1931 and that the differences between these distributions in the population at ages in each intercensal period might then be examined and an adjustment made to distribute them in some proportion from year to year which would bring them increasingly nearer to the distribution of the nearest census year. In the end, however, it was decided that such an adaptation of the method previously used in England and Wales would involve an amount of calculation out of proportion to the accuracy of the figures. In order, however, to avoid the marked discrepancy which was bound to occur at the later ages of

the decade by applying only the age proportions estimated at the census of 1921 it was decided to take each age-group in 1921 and 1931 and for each year to calculate what the age-group would have been had it changed at a regular geometrical rate between 1921 and 1931. Such a calculation gives figures for each age-group which bear little or no relation to the actual distribution in any particular year but are certainly no more inaccurate and probably rather more satisfactory than those obtained by distributing an estimate of the total population made upon the same principle according to the age distribution of the census at either end of the decade. An application of the age distribution of 1921 would clearly result in a considerable discrepancy in the later years of the decade and a similar discrepancy at the earlier years of the decade would result from an application of the age distribution in the census of 1921. On the method indicated the population in each of the age-groups chosen was calculated for each sex in each administrative division on the 1st January in every year from 1921 to 1930 and the population in each age-group for the whole of Bengal was arrived at by the addition of these estimates. The average population in each division was computed for each age-group by merely averaging the rates calculated for each year. In statement No. IV-18 the ratios for the sexes are compared in the manner elsewhere adopted in this chapter, i.e., by showing the female ratio on a percentage of the male ratio.

160. **Discussion of sex and age specific death rates.**—The death rate is lowest in both sexes in the age-group 10-15. From that age in each successive group shown it is higher than in the preceding. Amongst males the highest mortality at age 0-5 is shown in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions where the average for the decade was 75·2 and 74·3 per mille, respectively. It is in these two divisions also that the highest mortality at age 60 and over is returned. In Burdwan 89·6 and in the Presidency Division 84·3 per mille of the persons living at that age were returned as dying on an average during the decade. As recorded the mortality at ages 0-5 is lowest in the Chittagong Division and next lowest in the Dacca Division and these two divisions in the reverse order show the lowest recorded mortality at ages 60 and over. At the earlier ages amongst males there is comparatively little range in the variation of the age-specific death rate from division to division, but the range becomes wider at ages after 30, and at the age of 60 and over between Burdwan with the highest and Dacca with the lowest recorded death rate there is a difference of 22 per mille, in other words in 1,000 persons aged 60 and over in Burdwan and Dacca Divisions more than 30 are likely to die in any given year in Burdwan for every 10 in Dacca. The age specific death rates as recorded are lower for females than for males at every age except between 15 and 40, a period incidentally corresponding roughly with the child-bearing ages. The disproportion is in general most marked, as is seen in statement No. IV-18, in the age-group 20-30. In the Dacca Division it amounts to as much as 140 per 1,000, indicating that in an equal number of persons of each sex in this division aged between 20 and 30 the chance of any individual female dying within the year is about one half as high again as in the case of males. The death rate amongst females is highest at the very early ages in the Presidency Division and Burdwan Division and lowest (as also amongst males) in the Chittagong and Dacca Divisions. As amongst males also the lowest female death rate at ages of 60 and over is in Dacca Division and the highest in Presidency and Burdwan. The variation between divisions in the age specific death rates of females is also comparatively small up to the age of 30, beyond which the range is considerably increased and reaches as much as 17·5 at the last age-group shown. The range is in general throughout more restricted amongst females than amongst males and its extent at the latest age amongst females is less than the range amongst males of the corresponding age. In the critical ages between 15 and 40 the recorded rate amongst females is very much less in the Chittagong Division than elsewhere. It is in this division also, as shown in statement No. IV-18, that there is in general the least proportional discrepancy between the male and female ratios except between the ages 20 and 40. An exception to this general statement is the Burdwan Division in which at 30 to 40 the recorded

death rate for females is actually less than that for males. Compared with males the death rate operates least heavily against females at the earliest ages of their life and becomes increasingly severe until the age of 30 is reached after which it begins to slacken off, leaving the relative incidence at the age of 60 and over practically the same as it was at 10-15. In other words, amongst a given number of each sex of any age-group shown in the table, compared with males the chances of survival are most favourable for females at the ages 0-5, are diminished in the two succeeding quinquennia but do not become less than amongst the males until the ages 15-40 are reached, beyond which in successive decennial periods they are better and tend successively to improve until the last age-group is reached.

161. **Limitations of the crude death rates.**—As data for comparison between the mortality current in different divisions the crude death rates leave out of account such important considerations as the effect of the different

STATEMENT No. IV-19.

Standardized death rates (per mille) by divisions, 1921-1930.

Year.	Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Average, 1921-1930	24.01	24.10	24.23	24.50	25.22	24.54	25.01	24.74	25.73	24.84
1921	23.50	23.83	23.91	24.31	25.26	24.45	25.25	24.54	25.23	23.88
1922	23.50	23.90	23.97	24.37	25.25	24.40	25.20	24.50	25.27	23.98
1923	23.72	24.00	24.04	24.30	25.20	24.47	25.40	24.61	25.37	24.05
1924	23.84	24.04	24.14	24.41	25.20	24.47	25.40	24.67	25.50	24.13
1925	23.94	24.08	24.18	24.48	25.21	24.51	25.55	24.72	25.67	24.10
1926	24.02	24.18	24.25	24.50	25.21	24.60	25.64	24.82	25.79	24.24
1927	24.18	24.31	24.35	24.55	25.25	24.65	25.73	24.81	25.90	24.37
1928	24.32	24.37	24.40	24.62	25.20	24.62	25.82	24.85	26.03	24.40
1929	24.43	24.48	24.50	24.70	25.20	24.62	25.94	24.80	26.20	24.57
1930	24.50	24.55	24.57	24.74	25.24	24.65	26.00	24.92	26.35	24.60

* Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

age distribution in the population in each area concerned. It is clear that, if in two areas the age specific death rates are identical, the crude death rate may differ widely, merely because the age distribution of the population is different. As a method of allowing for differences in the age distribution of the population it is customary to compare what are known as standardized and corrected death rates. Standardized death rates for each year during the decade are shown for each sex in each administrative division in statement No. IV-19.

162. **Calculation of standardized death rates.**—The method of arriving at these rates is borrowed from Raymond Pearl's *Medical Biometry and Statistics*. The definition of a standardized death rate there given is as follows :—

" A standardized death rate is an abstract or theoretic figure derived by applying the specific death rates of the general population, or of some standard imaginary population, to the actually existing age and sex distribution of the living population of a particular locality to determine what would be the number of deaths in that locality if the specific death rates of the standard population prevailed there, and then dividing the number of deaths so obtained by the actual total living population of the locality."

The standardized death rate thus shows what would have been the death rate in the population of the area concerned if the age specific death rates applicable to some other population had been applicable. It therefore produces rates which on comparison amongst themselves abstract from the specific forces of mortality in each area and indicate what differences in the death rate would have resulted merely from the differences in the age distribution of the population if identical forces of mortality had been operative throughout. The method adopted in calculating the figures shown was to take the average age specific death rates (the preparation of which has already been described) for the general population over the decade 1921 to 1931 and to apply them in each division to the population of each sex distributed by age-groups on an estimate made by the method already described in explaining the preparation of sex and age specific death rates. The number of deaths which would have resulted, had these identical forces

of mortality been operating in every division in each year, were then calculated and summed and the total, expressed as a proportion per mille of the total estimated population in that year in that locality, appears in the table as the standardised death rate.

163. **Discussion of standardized death rates.**—The standardized death rates are highest amongst males in the Chittagong and Dacca Divisions followed by the Rajshahi, Presidency and Burdwan Divisions. Amongst females the order is somewhat varied. They are highest in Dacca, Rajshahi and Presidency Divisions, less in Chittagong and lowest in Burdwan Division. The range of variation is considerably less than in the recorded death rate shown in subsidiary table IX, Part B, a result which of course would be expected since one of the discriminating factors has been automatically omitted from consideration in the preparation of the standardized death rates, viz., the existence of mortality forces of different virulence in different places. If the only force operating had been a difference in the age constitution of the population in each division, Chittagong which is the healthiest division for both sexes and Dacca, which is the next healthiest division, would be expected to have actually the largest and second largest male death rate and the fourth highest and highest female death rate and the variation in their position is some index of the superior healthiness of these divisions. Dacca and Chittagong Divisions both have a lower actual recorded death rate than the standardized rate and this fact justifies a description of conditions there as healthy, that is to say, that health conditions in these two divisions operate favourably to such an extent that they convert an unfavourable into a favourable actual death rate. On the other hand in Burdwan, Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions the actual death rate in both sexes is higher than the standardized rate which justifies a description of conditions in these three divisions as positively unhealthy because they turn a death rate which would be low on the average incidence of mortality into a high rate.

164. **Standardized and "corrected" death rates.**—Standardized death rates suffer from the defect that they take no account whatever of the actual mortality recorded for each division. If we take Burdwan and Presidency

STATEMENT No. IV-20.

"Corrected" death rates (per mille) by divisions, 1921-1930.

Year.	Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		Chittagong.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Average, 1921-1930	26.18	26.28	27.30	27.24	26.47	26.18	22.01	21.45	19.36	18.81
1921	26.24	26.80	24.47	23.03	22.83	22.84	24.01	27.44	21.32	20.54
1922	27.70	25.52	27.04	26.83	27.81	26.74	23.52	22.00	23.25	21.83
1923	26.04	23.00	25.00	25.04	21.01	20.51	23.52	22.51	21.00	19.00
1924	26.04	27.40	27.18	25.40	21.20	24.01	24.30	22.05	20.00	19.01
1925	24.05	23.81	27.71	27.07	20.10	24.70	21.30	19.94	18.82	17.75
1926	26.02	25.73	24.03	24.78	27.55	26.73	19.71	19.17	18.05	17.82
1927	25.34	25.20	27.51	24.01	27.11	27.42	21.44	21.73	19.13	19.42
1928	24.08	24.43	25.51	25.20	27.40	24.14	21.70	22.19	19.51	19.05
1929	22.02	21.08	25.41	27.07	25.01	25.00	18.02	19.80	15.15	15.40
1930	21.40	21.40	23.51	24.40	24.03	25.84	17.44	17.58	14.98	15.34

* Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Divisions for instance, the standardized death rates given above differ from the average death rate for all ages in the whole of Bengal only because of the differences in the age distribution. They omit all consideration of the differences in the rate of mortality due to other considerations and peculiar to each division. The figures shown in statement No. IV-20 as "corrected" death rates are not quite what is usually understood by that term. A corrected death rate is thus described by Pearl—

"A corrected death rate is an abstract or theoretic figure got by applying the specific death rates observed in a local population to the age and sex distribution of some arbitrarily chosen standard population. A corrected death rate is, in short, just the reverse of a standardized death rate."

It shows what would have been the death rate in a given locality if with the forces of mortality recorded in each age-group of the actual population, the population had in fact been constituted in respect of its age distribution in the

same manner as the general population. What are presented as "corrected" death rates in statement No. IV-20, however, are rates calculated from the standardized death rates by the application of a correction factor measuring the amount by which the crude death rates of the local population are altered from the death rate at all ages of the general population as a result solely of the difference between the two populations in respect of the age distribution of the living. The correction factor was obtained by dividing the death rate in the general population by the standardized death rate in the local population. By the product of this factor with the crude death rate of each division the figures presented as "corrected" death rates were obtained. These figures consequently show for each division a death rate in which are included (a) the specific forces of mortality peculiar to each division (introduced implicitly in the crude figures) and (b) an allowance for the peculiar age distribution of the living population in each division which brings it into identity with the age distribution of the standard population. For purposes of comparison, therefore, the figures shown as "corrected" death rates also measure, though perhaps less exactly, the effect of the specific forces of mortality at work in each division, abstracting from the difference introduced in the crude death rate by the difference in the age distribution.

NOTE.—The method by which standardized and "corrected" death rates were calculated is illustrated in the form by which their computation was facilitated and which is reproduced in substance below. Using the notation in the form and adopting L_x to represent the number of persons of age x in the total (i.e., the general) population, the formula for corrected death rates as generally understood would be—

$$R_{co} = \frac{\sum [(L_x) (R_{sx})]}{\sum (L_x)}$$

Calculation of standardized and "corrected" death rates.

Details of..... Year..... Locality..... Population dealt with.....

Age-group.	P_x (Population at age-groups).		Deaths at age-groups.		R_{sx} Death rate at age-groups.		q_x Death rate at age-groups. Total population.		$(P_x)(q_x)$		Explanations— P_x —Population at age x . R_{sx} —Sex and age specific death rate of actual population being dealt with. R_s —Sex specific death rate of actual population dealt with, all ages. q_x —Crude sex and age specific death rate of total population. q —Crude sex specific death rate, total population, all ages. R_{st} —Standardized death rate. R_{co} —"Corrected" death rate. Σ —Sum of all quantities like.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
0—5											
5—10											
10—15											
15—20 ..											
20—30 ..											
30—40 ..											
40—50 ..											
50—60 ..											
60 and over ..											
All ages ..											
	$\Sigma (P_x)$				R_s		q		$\Sigma [(P_x)(q_x)]$.		
											R_{st} equals— $\frac{\Sigma [(P_x)(q_x)]}{\Sigma (P_x)}$.
											R_{co} equals R_s multiplied by q divided by R_{st} .

165. Discussion of "corrected" death rates.—The "corrected" death rates place the divisions in the same relative order as the actual rates shown in subsidiary table X. In both sexes Rajshahi has the highest "corrected" death rate followed by Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions.

The corrected figures differ comparatively little from the actual figures given in subsidiary table IX and are noticeably greater than them only in the Burdwan Division and amongst males in the Presidency Division. In a previous paragraph the unhealthiness of each division was estimated by comparison of the standardized with the actual recorded death rates. But

STATEMENT No. IV-21.

Female death rate as a percentage of male death rate—crude, standardized and "corrected"—by divisions, 1921-1930.

Year.	Burdwan.			Presidency.			Rajshahi.			Dacca.			*Chittagong.		
	Crude.	Stand-ard-ized.	"Cor-rected."	Crude.	Stand-ard-ized.	"Cor-rected."	Crude.	Stand-ard-ized.	"Cor-rected."	Crude.	Stand-ard-ized.	"Cor-rected."	Crude.	Stand-ard-ized.	"Cor-rect-ed."
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Average, 1921-30	99.58	100.68	96.94	103.86	101.11	100.96	97.95	96.90	99.05	96.33	96.61	97.72	93.77	94.22	97.54
1921 ..	96.49	101.49	93.27	102.14	101.67	98.43	98.80	96.79	100.03	97.18	97.10	97.06	93.06	94.45	96.53
1922 ..	95.06	101.31	91.93	100.00	101.67	96.37	95.94	96.87	96.15	92.89	97.08	93.79	90.68	94.70	93.85
1923 ..	95.19	101.18	92.13	100.00	101.33	96.68	97.14	96.76	98.39	93.03	96.89	94.11	88.69	94.80	91.70
1924 ..	101.95	100.81	101.71	98.96	101.12	93.96	91.48	96.76	92.66	91.97	96.99	93.02	89.10	94.63	92.29
1925 ..	97.05	100.58	91.56	104.09	101.03	100.94	94.44	96.84	95.55	92.24	96.71	93.48	90.72	94.23	94.31
1926 ..	109.39	100.67	97.76	105.86	101.03	102.68	96.07	97.04	97.02	96.06	96.80	97.26	94.65	93.99	98.73
1927 ..	102.63	100.54	99.45	107.06	100.86	101.00	100.00	96.88	101.14	99.55	96.42	101.16	97.49	94.09	101.52
1928 ..	101.24	100.21	98.99	106.00	100.99	102.94	101.70	97.08	102.70	100.44	96.24	102.26	97.56	93.97	101.73
1929 ..	101.85	100.20	99.59	109.00	100.82	106.53	103.14	96.97	101.20	101.55	95.95	103.60	97.65	93.74	102.04
1930 ..	101.89	99.84	100.00	100.89	100.89	104.04	101.69	96.97	102.07	98.35	95.88	100.52	98.10	93.59	102.76

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

it is perhaps more significant to make the estimate by comparison between the standardized and the corrected rates. The conclusions already drawn are reinforced by this comparison. The discrepancy is greatest amongst both sexes in Rajshahi and the Presidency Divisions and the inference is that in these two divisions conditions of health contribute a larger share to the actual comparative death rates than differences in the age constitutions of the population. A comparison of the relative incidence of the crude, standardized and "corrected" death rates amongst the sexes in each division is facilitated by statement No. IV-21.

166. **Causes of death.**—In subsidiary table XI the actual number of deaths from the principal causes of death are shown together with the death rates calculated upon them by both methods used in this chapter. In subsidiary table No. XII a statement new in the present report has been included showing the proportion of deaths due to each of these selected causes. The proportionate incidence of deaths from each individual cause, except in child-birth, varies comparatively little between the sexes. Deaths from fevers occur proportionately more frequently amongst women in Burdwan and Presidency and less frequently in the other divisions of the province. Small-pox appears to take proportionately a slightly larger toll of women than men only in the Presidency Division. Except in the Presidency Division dysentery everywhere despatches a larger proportion of the male than the female population. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in equal numbers of men and women 9 men will die from respiratory diseases for every 6 women. Expectations would suggest that the sex proportions would be reversed and that women living often secluded in confined and sometimes ill-ventilated quarters would suffer more from such diseases as tuberculosis; but the conditions under which these returns are compiled through village chaukidars make it likely that in a very considerable number of cases inaccuracies or indefinite returns have crept in. On the other hand, it is in accordance with expectation to find that the returns show a larger proportion of females dying by suicide in each division although the preparation of the returns to one place of decimals only conceals the differences which are clear if the calculation is carried to a second place. In both sexes causes of death grouped together as fever account for by far the great majority of deaths, viz., in every 1,000, 713 amongst males and 719 amongst females. In the Rajshahi Division the proportion of deaths from these causes is very considerably higher and reaches 850 per 1,000 amongst males and 844 per 1,000 deaths amongst females. It is, somewhat surprisingly, lowest in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions. In every 1,000 deaths of persons of the same sex fevers account in the Presidency Division for 634 amongst males and 653 amongst females and in the Burdwan Division for 639 amongst males and 668 amongst females. This difference,

however, is possibly due to the more inaccurate classification of causes of death in the more illiterate area of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi, since except in Rajshahi, fevers account in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions for the deaths of a larger percentage of the total population than in any

STATEMENT No. IV-22.

Monthly figures of rainfall, seers of rice per rupee, birth rate and death rate, 1921-1930.

Year.	Actual figures.												Monthly average.			
	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	All months.	Standard deviation.	Probable error ±	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
RAINFALL IN INCHES (see note 1).																
1921	1.20	0.27	2.92	3.57	6.52	12.67	17.07	15.75	9.67	3.76	0.02	0.03	6.12	5.94	1.203	
1922	0.20	0.08	0.11	1.47	4.18	22.55	13.90	15.75	13.37	4.12	0.20	0.07	6.3	7.55	1.535	
1923	0.00	2.26	0.33	2.58	6.16	11.24	15.48	18.68	8.22	2.77	0.58	0.06	5.28	5.364	1.083	
1924	0.22	0.23	0.05	3.52	6.75	14.65	18.44	14.16	14.29	3.53	2.90	0.02	6.568	6.687	1.340	
1925	0.54	0.72	1.46	7.27	7.89	11.77	13.68	11.63	12.29	5.72	0.40	0.01	6.115	5.117	1.041	
1926	0.69	0.33	3.96	3.14	6.60	9.40	21.59	15.83	12.42	4.44	0.17	0.95	6.626	6.60	1.342	
1927	1.05	1.29	1.00	2.95	7.08	12.52	12.12	8.91	12.27	3.32	0.23	0.00	5.23	4.824	0.980	
1928	0.41	0.19	0.40	2.47	8.21	17.27	18.24	15.24	7.15	8.86	0.14	0.01	6.55	6.782	1.373	
1929	1.68	0.28	1.41	4.11	5.17	13.15	15.80	11.35	10.43	10.72	0.06	0.75	6.196	5.383	1.094	
1930	0.34	0.50	2.19	1.84	6.40	13.64	17.03	14.25	7.68	2.92	3.45	0.03	5.856	5.749	1.169	
Average of 1921-30	0.627	0.62	1.383	3.292	6.496	13.886	16.265	13.655	10.779	5.816	0.815	0.193	6.087	6.063	0.373	
S. D.	0.519	0.639	1.225	1.525	1.118	3.493	2.611	2.221	2.384	2.552	1.174	0.275	6.063	..	..
P. E. ±	0.111	0.137	0.261	0.325	0.239	0.744	0.557	0.474	0.508	0.544	0.350	0.587	0.373	..	..
SEERS OF RICE PER RUPEE (see note 2).																
1921	6.312	6.625	6.687	6.25	6.062	6.062	5.75	5.75	6.0	6.375	6.875	7.187	6.328	6.427	0.087	
1922	7.375	7.875	7.0	6.5	6.312	6.187	6.187	6.312	6.437	6.875	7.125	7.502	6.854	6.429	0.087	
1923	7.75	7.625	7.562	7.687	7.562	7.437	7.437	7.125	7.125	7.312	7.375	7.5	7.459	6.188	0.038	
1924	7.5	7.562	7.687	7.375	7.0	6.562	6.125	6.937	5.5	5.812	5.5	6.125	6.578	6.820	0.167	
1925	6.437	6.437	6.062	5.812	5.625	5.625	5.687	5.687	5.562	5.562	5.687	6.0	5.849	6.404	0.062	
1926	5.875	5.937	5.875	5.75	5.625	5.5	5.187	5.187	5.312	5.5	5.75	5.875	5.614	6.262	0.053	
1927	5.937	5.812	5.875	5.625	5.5	5.312	5.312	5.125	5.0	4.937	5.125	5.562	5.427	6.329	0.067	
1928	5.812	5.437	5.5	5.5	5.437	6.375	6.437	6.375	5.562	5.625	6.0	6.437	5.625	6.303	0.062	
1929	6.812	7.0	7.062	7.125	7.062	6.75	6.437	6.437	6.375	6.437	6.75	6.125	6.628	6.316	0.064	
1930	7.437	7.5	7.562	7.25	7.125	7.062	7.187	7.312	7.5	7.812	8.062	9.562	7.915	6.448	0.132	
Average of 1921-30	6.725	6.731	6.688	6.513	6.389	6.250	6.075	6.025	6.037	6.225	6.425	6.794	6.465	6.857	0.058	
S. D.	0.708	0.763	0.767	0.805	0.762	0.733	0.726	0.724	0.771	0.857	0.901	1.137	0.857	..	..
P. E. ±	0.151	0.163	0.164	0.172	0.163	0.156	0.155	0.164	0.164	0.183	0.192	0.243	0.053	..	..
BIRTH RATE PER 1,000 (see note 3).																
1921	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.35	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.44	2.326	2.552	0.112	
1922	2.62	2.11	2.42	2.38	2.36	1.78	1.85	1.71	1.69	2.97	2.73	2.71	2.277	2.422	0.086	
1923	2.91	2.54	2.90	2.75	2.33	1.87	1.95	1.63	1.99	2.92	2.67	3.06	2.460	2.469	0.095	
1924	2.78	2.56	3.15	2.77	2.15	2.10	1.74	1.54	2.14	2.18	2.61	3.11	2.402	2.490	0.100	
1925	2.37	2.36	2.99	2.36	2.20	2.22	1.89	1.94	1.76	2.48	3.01	2.98	2.378	2.408	0.083	
1926	2.50	2.59	3.24	2.36	2.33	1.87	1.43	1.57	1.65	2.00	2.68	2.55	2.230	2.513	0.104	
1927	2.58	2.37	2.84	2.37	2.35	1.63	1.42	1.66	1.79	2.38	2.66	2.47	2.210	2.442	0.090	
1928	2.81	2.42	2.89	2.89	2.13	1.87	1.87	1.60	2.01	2.50	2.88	3.05	2.420	2.466	0.095	
1929	2.55	2.50	2.94	2.62	2.01	1.89	1.76	1.73	1.93	2.32	2.70	2.87	2.390	2.417	0.085	
1930	2.48	2.43	2.43	2.27	2.81	1.59	1.53	1.35	1.59	2.22	2.60	2.79	2.020	2.466	0.095	
Average of 1921-30	2.649	2.453	2.921	2.518	2.207	1.851	1.893	1.647	1.829	2.431	2.731	2.803	2.311	2.480	0.080	
S. D.	0.178	0.155	0.303	0.202	0.168	0.186	0.190	0.150	0.171	0.293	0.126	0.249	0.480	..	..
P. E. ±	0.034	0.033	0.065	0.043	0.036	0.040	0.041	0.032	0.036	0.062	0.027	0.053	0.030	..	..
DEATH RATE PER 1,000 (see note 3).																
1921	3.37	2.68	3.28	2.73	2.50	1.66	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	2.90	2.522	2.621	0.126	
1922	2.67	1.85	1.99	2.14	2.15	1.51	1.70	1.73	1.59	2.66	2.42	2.60	2.084	2.406	0.083	
1923	2.66	1.83	1.91	2.18	1.85	1.49	1.62	1.50	1.71	2.37	2.56	3.44	2.093	2.555	0.113	
1924	2.99	2.04	2.40	2.33	1.77	1.83	1.61	1.61	2.02	1.76	2.15	2.92	2.120	2.446	0.091	
1925	2.22	1.82	2.07	1.77	1.68	1.73	1.53	1.67	1.66	2.12	2.73	2.92	1.993	2.423	0.086	
1926	2.27	1.96	2.23	2.09	2.14	1.65	1.29	1.54	1.61	1.78	2.56	2.44	1.968	2.378	0.077	
1927	2.57	1.87	2.06	1.79	1.97	1.46	1.32	1.60	1.67	2.19	3.05	2.97	2.035	2.544	0.111	
1928	2.71	1.90	2.02	2.47	1.99	1.50	1.50	1.42	1.53	1.87	2.30	2.96	2.020	2.466	0.098	
1929	2.17	1.71	1.67	1.71	1.41	1.32	1.35	1.41	1.60	2.03	2.68	3.00	1.840	2.509	0.104	
1930	2.42	1.74	1.69	1.88	1.62	1.30	1.26	1.22	1.40	1.69	2.08	2.50	1.730	2.466	0.083	
Average of 1921-30	2.665	1.940	2.137	2.109	1.908	1.545	1.478	1.562	1.659	2.100	2.582	2.865	2.041	2.522	0.082	
S. D.	0.343	0.263	0.436	0.316	0.297	0.176	0.157	0.179	0.175	0.320	0.263	0.291	0.522	..	..
P. E. ±	0.073	0.056	0.093	0.067	0.063	0.038	0.033	0.038	0.037	0.068	0.077	0.062	0.032	..	..

NOTE 1.—Figures are unweighted arithmetical averages from the district figures published by the Director of Agriculture. These are unweighted arithmetical averages of the recording stations in each district which had been in existence at least 5 years in 1921. All British districts are included except Calcutta, Noakhali, Malda and Chittagong Hill Tracts.

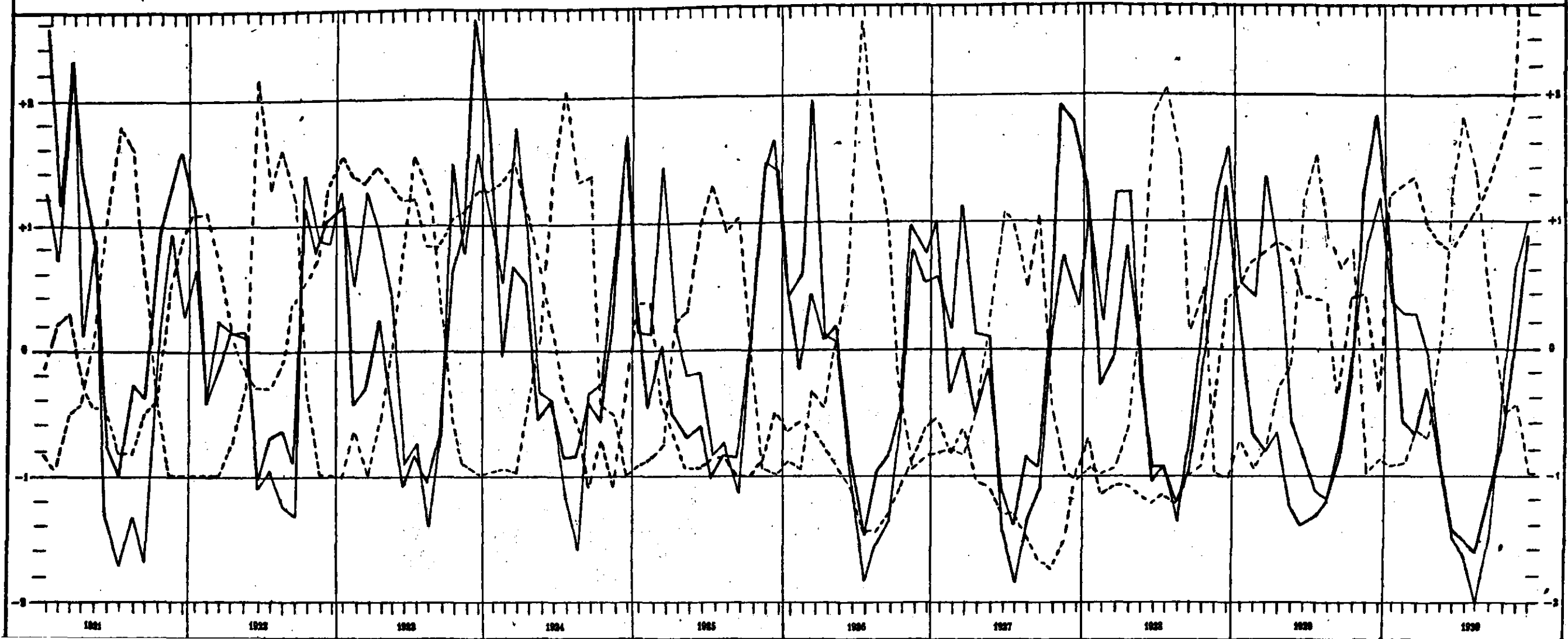
NOTE 2.—Figures are unweighted averages from the district figures published by the Board of Revenue, Bengal. These are the details reported by local officers at the headquarters station of each district. All British districts are included except Calcutta, Darjeeling and Chittagong Hill Tracts.

NOTE 3.—Birth and death rates are computed from the monthly returns of the D. P. H. and are per 1,000 of the population at the beginning of each month calculated on the assumption that the population has changed at a regular monthly rate between the census of 1921 and that of 1931. All British districts are included except Calcutta, Malda, Noakhali and Chittagong Hill Tracts.

division in Bengal. Plague has practically ceased to be a regular cause of death at all. No deaths from this cause were returned during the decade in Chittagong, only 3 in Rajshahi and only 20 in Dacca amongst all sexes and on the average during the decade no more than 4 men and 2 women in every 100,000 deaths of the same sex died from this cause. The returns show that small-pox was most prevalent during the decade in Burdwan and Dacca Divisions, dysentery in Burdwan and respiratory diseases in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions.

Chapter IV, Diagram A :- Monthly variation in the birth rate _____, death rate _____, acres of rice per Rs. _____, and rainfall _____, 1921 to 1930.

The overall monthly average is taken as a base (0) and the points plotted are the amounts by which the actual figure exceeds (+) or falls short of (-) this overall average expressed as a multiple of its standard deviation.



167. Comparison of birth rate, death rate, price of rice and rainfall.—

It is customary in the census reports to incorporate a diagram showing the monthly figures of rainfall, price of rice and recorded deaths. With some modifications a similar diagram appears in the present report. The figures on which it is based

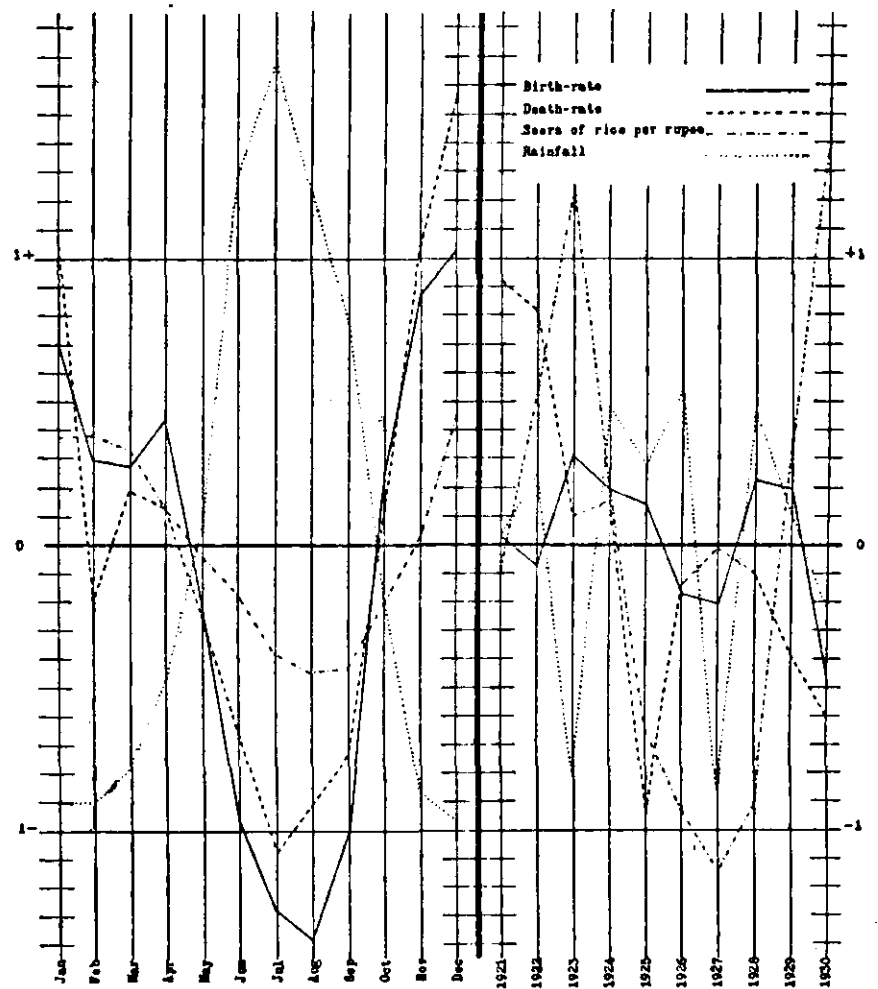
form statement No. IV-22. In place of the number of deaths the death rate has been shown because it is a better index of the incidence of mortality in the total population. The birth rates have also been added, and both the birth and death rates have been calculated upon the population estimated on the 1st of each month on the assumption that the population changed at a uniform monthly rate between one census and the next. This method of calculation (as has been already pointed out) is not unexceptionable but avoids the entirely unreal enhancement of birth and death rates introduced towards the end of a census decade by using the population at the beginning of the decade from which to calculate them.

The graphic method adopted for presentation of these figures on the present occasion also differs somewhat from that previously used. The figures have been averaged in three separate ways: first to show the average incidence in each of the twelve months during the whole period 1921-1930; next to show the average monthly incidence in each of the years 1921-1930; and thirdly to show the monthly average of all months over the whole period 1921-1930. In presenting the actual figures this last average has been taken as a base line and the standard deviation (see introduction) has been adopted as the unit of variation to show the amount by which the actual monthly figure of any month exceeds or falls short of the over-all monthly average. The standard deviation is a factor so calculated that, except in very unusual circumstances, an equal proportion of examples taken from two different series may be expected to fall within an interval measured by the same number of times the standard deviation appropriate for each series and this method of plotting therefore has the advantage that it gives a universal scale by which to compare the extent of variation from month to month within the total range of variation observed during the whole period. Diagram A on a neighbouring page therefore shows not only the variation from month to month during the last decade but also its relative extent. In addition two further graphs have been plotted to show first the average in each of the twelve months over the ten years concerned and secondly the monthly average in each of these ten years. These details are shown in diagram No. IV-15.

DIAGRAM No. IV-15.

Fluctuation from month to month—average, 1921-30—(on left), and from year to year—monthly average, 1921-30—(on right), in the birth and death rates per 1,000, rainfall and price of rice in seers per rupee.

NOTE.—The base line (0) represents the over-all average of all months in 1921-30 and the points plotted are the amount by which the averages for each individual month (on left) or months of each year (on right) exceed (+) or fall short of (-) this over-all average expressed in multiples of its standard deviation.



The most instructive of these diagrams is probably that showing the variations between the averages for each month during the whole period. It will be seen that the curves for the birth rate and the death rate evidently follow the same tendencies, whilst there appears to be no connection between the curve for the death rate and that for the cheapness of rice: on the other hand if the death rate curve be shifted to nine months, seven months or six months earlier it will be seen to follow much the same tendencies as that of the birth rate. The validity of these agreements can be tested by obtaining a correlation co-efficient between the two rates concerned. The correlation co-efficient, as its name implies, is the result of a calculation which gives a measure of the correlation between two series of events. It is so calculated that its value is plus one when two series change invariably in the same direction (greater or smaller) and in exactly the same proportion and it is minus one when a change in one is represented by an equal proportionate change in the other but in the opposite direction. By the size of the correlation co-efficient it is therefore possible to determine roughly the extent to which any two series are interconnected. The correlation co-efficients worked out are shown below.

Co-efficient of correlation between—

(1) Birth rate and death rate	=	+ .796 ± .023
(2) Death rate and seers of rice per Re. 1	=	+ .137 ± .064
(3) Death rate and birth rate 9 months later	=	- .308 ± .058
(4) Death rate and birth rate 7 months later	=	- .603 ± .040
(5) Death rate and birth rate 6 months later	=	- .473 ± .045
(6) Death rate and birth rate 2 months later	=	+ .374 ± .053
(7) Seers of rice per Re. 1 and birth rate 9 months later	=	+ .173 ± .062

In considering the correlation co-efficient it is customary to assume that correlation is significant if the co-efficient is both of reasonable magnitude and at least six times its probable error. The co-efficients shown above support the conclusion, drawn from an examination of the curves themselves, that there is a high degree of positive correlation between the birth rate and the death rate. The reasons for this are obscure since it is obviously improbable that the same conditions which result in a birth in, say, the month of December, have been combining since the month of March when the child was conceived to influence the death rate in that same month. But some part of the correlation may be due to the fact that the first month of life is the most critical and that where there is a large number of births in any month, if the same proportion die in the first two weeks, there will also be an increase in the death rate for that month. The births nine months later correspond to some part of the conceptions in any month and assuming that children are rarely born outside the normal term it might have been expected that the conception rate would vary inversely with the death rate: but the degree of correlation indicated is in itself comparatively small and is scarcely as much as six times its probable error so that it is doubtful if it is significant: on the other hand the births seven months later and six months later than any given month correspond on the same assumption respectively to the conceptions which have survived the first and second months of ante-natal mortality and have reached the second and third months of pregnancy which are admittedly critical periods. For both of these, particularly the first, the correlation co-efficient is comparatively high, and in each case it is many times its probable error so that the conclusion appears to be suggested that lethal factors exercise a greater influence over the birth rate during the second and third months of ante-natal life than they exercise upon the conception rate.

168. **Examination of the effect of malaria on fertility.**—Somewhat similar figures to those referred to in the last few paragraphs were worked out for the three districts of Jessore, Bogra and Bakarganj. In this case, however, what was ascertained was the average in each month over the period 1901 to

1930 for the birth rate, the death rate from all causes, the death rate from fever, the price of rice in seers per rupee, the temperature in degrees (maximum, minimum and average) and the rainfall in inches. In addition the death rate from malaria and kala-azar was similarly computed for 1921-1930, the only

STATEMENT No. IV-23.

Monthly averages (1901-30 where not otherwise stated) of birth rate, death rate, temperature, rainfall and seers of rice per rupee in Jessore, Bogra and Bakarganj.

District.	Month.	*Birth rate per 1,000.	*Death rate per 1,000.			Temperature in degrees.			Rainfall in inches.	Seers of rice per rupee.
			All causes.	Fever.	Malaria and kala-azar (21-30).	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
JESSORE.	January	2.764±0.049	3.868±0.110	3.079±0.092	2.743±0.145	76.676±0.222	53.306±0.197	65.036±0.174	0.450±0.066	12.365±0.373
	February	2.704±0.056	2.596±0.069	2.122±0.064	1.955±0.158	81.363±0.327	57.100±0.291	69.250±0.223	1.011±0.144	9.138±0.328
	March	3.403±0.087	2.705±0.083	2.113±0.054	1.800±0.098	90.643±0.388	66.843±0.232	78.763±0.252	1.946±0.231	8.946±0.309
	April	2.809±0.066	2.676±0.080	1.935±0.044	1.619±0.074	95.15±0.343	74.393±0.216	84.783±0.267	3.986±0.299	9.091±0.343
	May	2.351±0.050	2.211±0.062	1.703±0.044	1.434±0.072	94.296±0.228	76.420±0.144	85.376±0.164	6.882±0.329	8.917±0.362
	June	1.842±0.044	1.628±0.033	1.344±0.029	1.122±0.037	90.813±0.246	78.356±0.123	84.453±0.187	12.070±0.529	8.802±0.338
	July	1.647±0.041	1.530±0.025	1.290±0.023	1.095±0.030	88.756±0.112	78.730±0.087	83.780±0.078	11.999±0.476	8.592±0.340
	August	1.454±0.039	1.690±0.031	1.433±0.030	1.188±0.044	88.293±0.115	78.46±0.147	83.463±0.091	11.075±0.589	8.559±0.338
	September	1.720±0.059	1.986±0.047	1.703±0.042	1.324±0.036	89.083±0.123	78.056±0.182	83.67±0.086	9.325±0.436	8.490±0.314
	October	2.527±0.059	2.718±0.074	2.293±0.062	1.918±0.080	87.903±0.224	74.013±0.192	81.136±0.131	4.464±0.386	8.690±0.321
	November	3.072±0.080	4.086±0.056	3.325±0.107	2.577±0.106	83.23±0.196	63.47±0.256	73.593±0.197	0.573±0.091	8.950±0.284
	December	3.106±0.075	5.113±0.169	4.045±0.131	3.106±0.115	77.093±0.165	54.03±0.201	65.360±0.133	0.168±0.054	9.060±0.318
	Average	2.450±0.028	2.734±0.045	2.121±0.033	1.828±0.051	86.442±0.209	69.433±0.347	78.238±0.270	5.329±0.190	8.866±0.095
S. D.	0.790	1.267	0.926	0.827	5.87	9.76	7.58	5.36	2.66	
BOGRA.	January	3.038±0.096	2.373±0.070	1.966±0.056	1.296±0.087	75.653±0.244	52.416±0.187	64.140±0.164	0.322±0.053	9.713±0.433
	February	3.038±0.104	1.841±0.038	1.546±0.031	0.981±0.064	80.450±0.271	55.046±0.220	67.760±0.198	0.593±0.097	9.598±0.423
	March	3.632±0.126	1.669±0.052	1.608±0.047	0.971±0.078	90.496±0.438	62.92±0.179	76.713±0.246	1.112±0.134	9.291±0.401
	April	2.927±0.083	2.169±0.057	1.684±0.048	1.093±0.081	94.926±0.461	71.29±0.235	83.100±0.329	2.885±0.349	9.244±0.405
	May	2.438±0.071	2.077±0.058	1.601±0.045	0.949±0.069	92.3±0.349	74.19±0.149	83.293±0.218	7.065±0.413	8.896±0.400
	June	1.945±0.063	1.754±0.058	1.413±0.049	0.866±0.068	80.673±0.191	77.05±0.089	83.36±0.115	12.309±0.660	8.529±0.385
	July	1.647±0.056	1.747±0.060	1.447±0.056	0.886±0.059	80.423±0.140	78.513±0.081	83.993±0.084	12.038±0.384	8.130±0.356
	August	1.830±0.062	1.998±0.068	1.699±0.069	1.060±0.087	89.246±0.168	78.600±0.059	83.940±0.090	11.931±0.608	7.720±0.338
	September	2.041±0.062	2.007±0.079	1.904±0.127	0.949±0.081	89.423±0.169	77.990±0.071	83.780±0.102	11.605±0.727	7.835±0.380
	October	2.471±0.072	2.439±0.121	1.857±0.076	1.276±0.085	87.996±0.214	73.130±0.174	80.580±0.153	6.518±0.586	8.098±0.393
	November	3.091±0.095	2.772±0.118	2.163±0.089	1.408±0.105	82.306±0.161	62.96±0.161	72.650±0.112	0.572±0.140	9.435±0.452
	December	3.181±0.111	2.813±0.890	2.336±0.085	1.408±0.133	76.296±0.148	54.613±0.179	65.410±0.126	0.082±0.087	9.702±0.425
	Average	2.614±0.033	2.163±0.025	1.749±0.020	1.095±0.027	↑	↑	↑	↑	8.649±0.116
S. D.	0.932	0.713	0.573	0.442					3.268	
BAKARGANJ.	January	4.023±0.098	3.287±0.078	1.941±0.049	0.263±0.060	77.583±0.185	55.326±0.192	66.483±0.169	0.344±0.052	8.650±0.352
	February	3.383±0.087	2.201±0.054	1.276±0.0278	0.156±0.030	81.760±0.241	59.720±0.262	70.750±0.213	0.874±0.113	8.869±0.341
	March	3.571±0.083	2.719±0.098	1.449±0.037	0.211±0.043	80.553±0.278	68.410±0.192	78.943±0.193	2.321±0.286	8.354±0.337
	April	2.882±0.064	2.624±0.081	1.473±0.036	0.200±0.062	91.46±0.195	74.426±0.245	82.963±0.213	4.838±0.429	8.250±0.329
	May	2.278±0.053	2.616±0.070	1.355±0.040	0.189±0.048	91.710±0.150	76.753±0.150	84.243±0.145	6.668±0.518	7.063±0.269
	June	1.915±0.046	1.670±0.044	1.090±0.029	0.118±0.024	84.770±0.208	78.130±0.103	83.473±0.148	18.760±0.890	7.446±0.322
	July	1.929±0.046	1.644±0.041	1.131±0.036	0.110±0.025	87.296±0.081	78.273±0.087	82.813±0.088	19.962±0.681	7.585±0.333
	August	1.616±0.041	1.571±0.051	1.082±0.041	0.098±0.018	86.913±0.090	78.193±0.085	82.570±0.080	17.039±0.586	7.660±0.326
	September	1.855±0.055	1.712±0.054	1.168±0.039	0.168±0.031	88.900±0.081	78.100±0.096	83.06±0.059	11.503±0.590	7.770±0.341
	October	2.790±0.086	2.052±0.058	1.382±0.040	0.166±0.040	87.350±0.129	74.68±0.165	81.03±0.118	6.818±0.566	7.660±0.316
	November	3.744±0.117	2.821±0.102	1.875±0.079	0.171±0.040	82.820±0.131	65.56±0.230	74.206±0.128	1.591±0.243	7.585±0.319
	December	4.345±0.134	4.009±0.157	2.432±0.117	0.167±0.032	77.603±0.169	56.373±0.196	67.016±0.136	0.309±0.106	8.277±0.289
	Average	2.861±0.040	2.377±0.034	1.471±0.009	0.168±0.012	↑	↑	↑	7.79±0.290	8.011±0.096
S. D.	1.12	0.97	0.257	0.193				8.16	2.66	

*Calculated on the estimated population on the 1st of each month assuming a regular geometrical rate of change in the population from one census to the next.
†Not calculated.

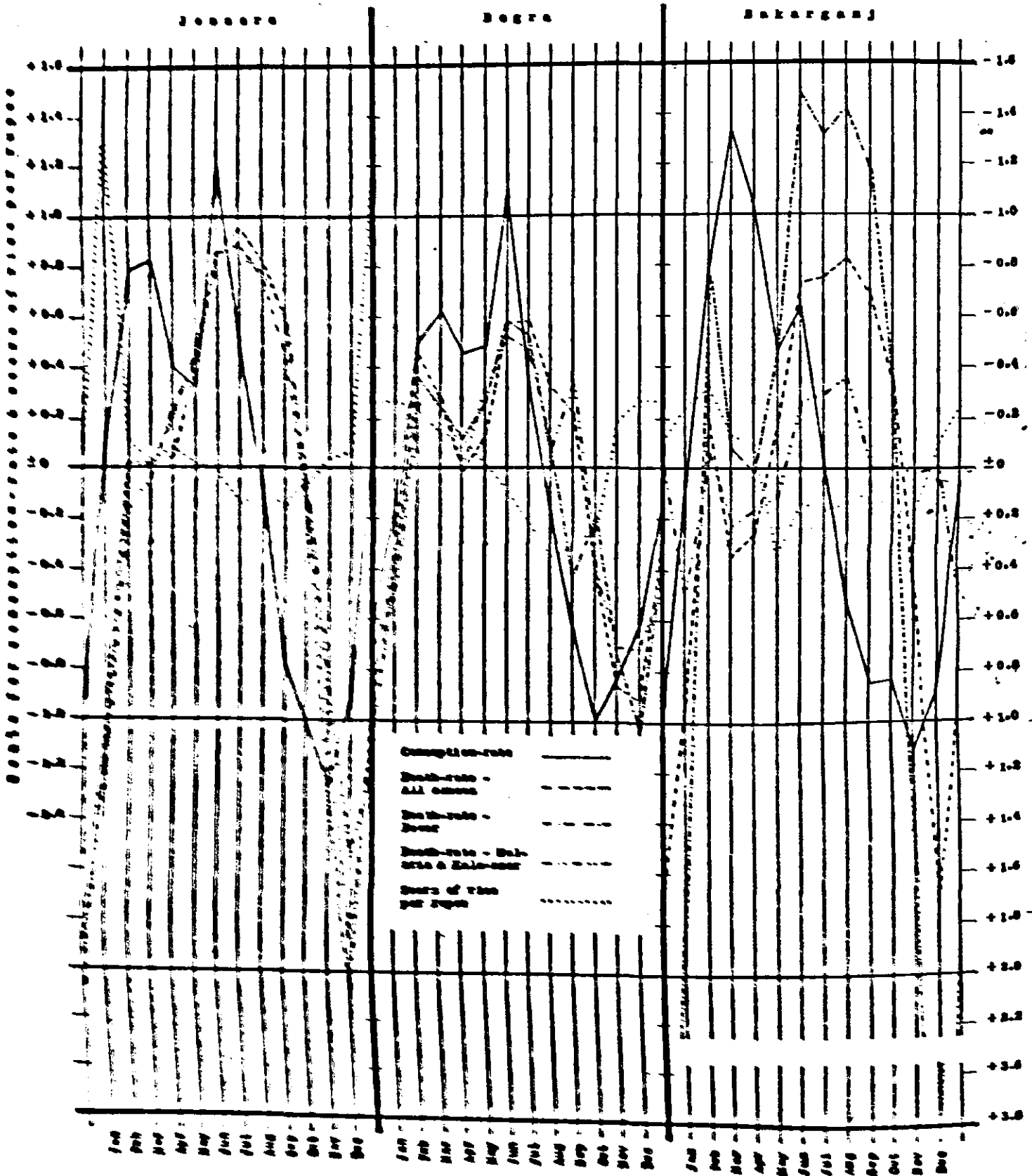
years in which separate figures were on record in the Public Health Department. The birth rate and death rate were calculated upon the population on the first of each month again computed on the assumption that the population had changed at a regular monthly rate from one census to the next. The averages thus obtained together with their probable error are entered in statement No. IV-23. From these figures diagram No. IV-16 overleaf has been prepared. As in the case of the last three diagrams the base line (0) represents the over-all monthly average of each district and the points plotted represent the amount by which the birth rate, death rate and price of rice exceed or fall short of the over-all monthly average. In the diagram the birth rate has been shifted back to nine months earlier in order to represent the conception rate. This involves a slight inaccuracy inasmuch as it takes into account nine recorded rates at the beginning of the period which strictly should fall outside if the computation were accurate and it leaves out of account rates for nine months after the end of the period chosen which strictly ought to be taken into account. Over a period of 30 years the effect of this inaccuracy is not likely to be very great and for practical purposes on the assumptions detailed in the last paragraph the birth rate in any month may be reasonably taken as equivalent to the conception rate nine months earlier. In plotting the points on the diagram, moreover, in order to illustrate any negative correlation which might exist the death rate has been inverted so that the excess of the death rate over the average is shown on the same side of the base line as a deficiency in the number of births, etc. As in diagram A the points plotted show the amounts by which the averages for individual

months exceed or fall short of the over-all monthly average in terms of its standard deviation. In each case the conception rate curve shows two marked peaks in March and June and a marked depression in October or November. The principal peak occurs in June in Jessore and Bogra and in

DIAGRAM No. IV-16.

Average monthly rates of conception and of death from various causes with plentifulness of rice (seers per rupee), districts of Jessore, Bogra and Bakarganj.

NOTE.—The base (0) represents the over-all monthly average and the points plotted are the amount by which the averages for individual months exceed (+) or fall short of (-) the over-all monthly average expressed in multiples of its standard deviation. In order to bring out negative correlation the death rates are inverted, i.e., excess and deficiency in the death rates are plotted on the same side of the base line as deficiency and excess respectively in other items. Averages are of 1921-30 for deaths from malaria and kala-azar and of 1901-1930 for other items.



March in Bakarganj and the lesser peak occurs in March in the first two districts and in June in Bakarganj. The deepest depression occurs in November in Jessore and Bakarganj and in October in Bogra. The tendencies agree in general with those illustrated in diagram No. IV-15.

Variations in the death rate from fever and from malaria and kala-azar do not appear to show strongly marked deviations from the death rate in each district from all causes. This of course is natural since deaths from fever contribute between 64 and 85 per cent. of those from all causes. Here also the natural expectation that the conception rate might prove to be lowest when the death rate was highest is not entirely borne out. In each case, however, it is in December that the maximum death rate occurs and this would seem to support the conclusions deduced above that the second or third month of pregnancy is a period of particular susceptibility to adverse health conditions and that lethal factors have a comparatively greater effect in influencing the birth rate at this period than at the time of conception. Some apparent support seems to be given to such a deduction also by the figures at the peak of the curve for conceptions, for favourable conditions of health (i.e., a low death rate) occur a month or two months after the peak for conceptions in Jessore and Bogra or even three to five months after, in the case of Bakarganj. Similarly, it is a month or two months after the lowest conception rate that the highest death rate occurs in each district.

169. **Correlations.**—The main object of the extraction of these figures, however, was to provide material for an examination into the correspondence between fertility and malaria. The three districts chosen were selected because amongst those for which there is available a continuous record of all the factors considered, they show the most notable differences of population, growth or population constitution. The population of Jessore during the whole period has shown a decline at each successive census whereas Bakarganj has rapidly increased. The population of Jessore is principally Hindu and of Bakarganj principally Muslim whilst that of Bogra contains a considerable admixture of aboriginals introduced during the middle of the last century. It was not anticipated that there would be any considerable effect on the birth rate caused by the occurrence of such festivals as those amongst the Muslims during which marital relations are forbidden since these festivals, occurring according to a lunar year, show a regular recession through the calendar months and in a period of 33 years will have occurred roughly an equal number of times in each month of the year. The figures when computed were forwarded to Mr. P. J. Griffiths, I.C.S., who kindly undertook the task of attempting to work out partial correlation co-efficients. The value of this analysis is that where there are a number of factors some of which may individually or in combination act as conditions of others, it provides a method by which the effect of each can be independently estimated, whilst allowance is made for the effect of their combinations. It was intended to put into an appendix an account of the method adopted in working out the correlation co-efficients, but technical difficulties in setting up type with a number of complicated mathematical formulæ have prevented this. The results can be summarised briefly: Mr. Griffiths found no evidence of linear correlation between temperature, seers of rice per rupee, rainfall and conception rate or between malaria, seers of rice and conception rate. In each case the co-efficients obtained were small and were not significantly greater than their own probable error. He states—

“In the first place I looked for correlation between four variables—temperature, seers of rice per rupee, rainfall and conception rate. There was no evidence of correlation and the linear regression equation (of best fit) did not even approximately work.

I next looked for correlation between three variables—malaria, seers of rice and conception. If my figures are correct there is no linear correlation in either of these cases. Theoretically one should go further and use the method of successive approximation to look for multiple curvilinear correlation. The labour would be enormous and probably not worth while.”

The conclusions of this enquiry require further elucidation by professional statisticians, but there seems to be justification in hesitating to ascribe observed fluctuations in the death rate simply or exclusively to the prevalence of malaria: in other words it appears that the immediate incidence of malaria is not itself a trustworthy index of fertility.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in Bengal and in natural divisions of Bengal, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

(NOTE.—The mean age is calculated on the method adopted in 1921.)

Age at last birthday.	1931.		1921.		1911.		Age at last birthday.	1931.		1921.		1911.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALL BENGAL.							NORTH BENGAL (RAJSHAHI DIVISION AND GOOCH BEHAR).						
ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	1,477	1,038	1,209	1,370	1,343	1,803	0-5	1,511	1,098	1,200	1,405	1,396	1,618
0-1	319	346	283	307	303	326	5-10	1,421	1,301	1,055	1,709	1,662	1,708
1-2	244	279	179	132	143	162	10-15	1,206	1,171	1,109	980	1,080	894
2-3	300	349	242	232	297	341	15-20	834	1,066	835	1,020	798	950
3-4	309	342	222	336	302	359	20-40	2,831	3,250	2,212	2,232	2,208	2,171
4-5	305	320	282	312	291	316	40-60	1,387	1,172	1,458	1,215	1,461	1,229
5-10	1,328	1,318	1,544	1,805	1,535	1,873	60 & over	810	222	280	369	400	426
10-15	1,190	1,157	1,247	1,031	1,183	981	Mean age	22.9	21.6	23.3	22.5	23.5	22.4
15-20	878	1,058	898	1,037	867	1,011							
20-25	929	1,094	792	872	785	948							
25-30	803	880	847	968	834	938							
30-35	833	741	804	748	792	719							
35-40	842	840	681	538	668	518							
40-45	848	449	577	509	571	512							
45-50	391	344	384	302	370	302							
50-55	305	273	350	348	355	363							
55-60	198	187	168	148	187	154							
60 & over	334	328	493	430	430	490							
Mean age	23.3	21.7	23.9	23.1	23.9	23.2							
WEST BENGAL.							EAST BENGAL (DACCA DIVISION).						
ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	1,285	1,304	988	1,044	1,160	1,238	0-5	1,602	1,755	1,340	1,508	1,465	1,624
5-10	1,235	1,146	1,361	1,364	1,385	1,344	5-10	1,444	1,389	1,647	1,719	1,808	1,675
10-15	1,105	1,026	1,256	1,009	1,201	908	10-15	1,261	1,229	1,290	1,056	1,228	1,021
15-20	899	1,017	983	1,079	951	1,058	15-20	871	1,022	875	1,032	847	1,015
20-40	2,554	2,507	2,445	2,417	2,245	2,206	20-40	2,109	2,107	2,038	2,085	2,049	2,018
40-60	1,596	1,508	1,581	1,544	1,604	1,600	40-60	1,355	1,123	1,387	1,187	1,359	1,196
60 & over	826	407	391	523	454	591	60 & over	858	815	428	414	444	451
Mean age	24.5	24.4	25.9	25.2	24.9	25.3	Mean age	22.9	21.3	23.2	22.2	23.2	22.3
CENTRAL BENGAL.							EAST BENGAL (CHITTAGONG DIVISION AND TRIPURA STATE).						
ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	1,278	1,515	1,028	1,249	1,165	1,385	0-5	1,720	1,775	1,372	1,448	1,530	1,589
5-10	1,224	1,247	1,332	1,442	1,295	1,368	5-10	1,512	1,397	1,705	1,736	1,707	1,720
10-15	1,118	1,124	1,187	1,014	1,135	956	10-15	1,287	1,202	1,379	1,154	1,334	1,105
15-20	920	1,027	908	1,020	897	991	15-20	855	1,081	916	1,029	885	1,041
20-40	2,594	2,322	2,532	2,301	2,511	2,220	20-40	2,988	2,170	2,862	2,111	2,800	2,998
40-60	1,532	1,387	1,605	1,473	1,504	1,526	40-60	1,332	1,105	1,362	1,165	1,326	1,167
60 & over	336	378	408	492	438	559	60 & over	328	270	405	357	412	380
Mean age	24.4	23.3	25.2	24.8	25.1	24.7	Mean age	22.9	21.9	22.7	21.9	22.7	21.8

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each of the main religions, Bengal with States.

Religion, year and sex.	No. per 10,000 of the sex and religion shown who were aged at last birthday.													
	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50	50-55	55-60	60 and over.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
All religions														
1931 Male ..	1,478	1,368	1,198	878	929	903	833	648	545	391	305	195	333	
1931 Female ..	1,038	1,315	1,157	1,056	1,094	880	741	540	449	344	273	187	328	
1921 Male ..	1,209	1,544	1,247	896	792	847	804	681	577	384	350	168	403	
1921 Female ..	1,370	1,605	1,031	1,037	872	968	745	538	509	302	348	149	430	
1911 Male ..	1,343	1,535	1,183	867	785	934	782	688	571	379	358	187	430	
1911 Female ..	1,003	1,573	981	1,011	948	938	718	516	512	302	363	154	460	
Muslim														
1931 Male ..	1,598	1,471	1,264	859	904	868	798	609	500	362	278	179	310	
1931 Female ..	1,756	1,402	1,222	1,086	1,105	850	704	503	408	300	237	158	299	
1921 Male ..	1,316	1,007	1,309	873	738	910	705	649	530	355	331	147	360	
1921 Female ..	1,479	1,740	1,071	1,039	968	853	716	499	471	267	318	119	390	
1911 Male ..	1,478	1,699	1,241	839	724	895	754	640	525	339	332	143	402	
1911 Female ..	1,081	1,708	1,017	1,009	946	929	697	477	472	260	330	110	405	
Hindu														
1931 Male ..	1,326	1,242	1,114	897	963	946	870	698	598	428	338	213	361	
1931 Female ..	1,484	1,204	1,076	1,022	1,086	920	789	588	502	382	319	224	404	
1921 Male ..	1,075	1,360	1,174	927	861	937	851	720	631	419	372	190	438	
1921 Female ..	1,234	1,438	973	1,036	941	932	777	585	558	348	384	188	518	
1911 Male ..	1,187	1,358	1,119	908	856	931	832	700	622	405	380	195	464	
1911 Female ..	1,348	1,411	938	1,017	951	949	592	742	561	352	408	197	571	
Tribal														
1931 Male ..	1,632	1,422	1,171	768	805	878	825	672	573	404	318	200	337	
1931 Female ..	1,818	1,415	1,185	904	997	870	748	631	438	310	253	129	302	
1921 Male ..	1,338	1,675	1,197	791	657	871	783	704	648	389	377	100	410	
1921 Female ..	1,453	1,708	1,142	968	902	958	784	553	494	249	292	123	379	
1911 Male ..	1,522	1,691	1,142	748	648	868	792	681	628	348	365	145	427	
1911 Female ..	1,685	1,728	1,028	982	908	955	787	493	465	230	284	114	416	
Buddhist														
1931 Male ..	1,620	1,414	1,228	890	878	835	767	566	488	378	320	225	392	
1931 Female ..	1,695	1,354	1,189	906	994	858	726	507	438	349	297	212	385	
1921 Male ..	1,322	1,401	1,301	908	805	827	778	584	532	376	400	181	467	
1921 Female ..	1,376	1,475	1,185	1,044	939	873	751	485	510	328	366	159	503	
1911 Male ..	1,389	1,543	1,277	842	770	822	790	504	545	350	385	180	443	
1911 Female ..	1,408	1,533	1,185	1,006	912	883	748	481	520	303	387	161	478	
Christian														
1931 Male ..	1,358	1,198	1,121	917	940	978	903	687	604	430	335	198	331	
1931 Female ..	1,632	1,238	1,185	1,043	1,078	910	785	582	482	335	274	175	347	
1921 Male ..	1,093	1,240	1,210	905	928	967	874	781	663	450	364	179	378	
1921 Female ..	1,261	1,441	1,240	992	987	923	789	614	509	309	312	150	417	
1911 Male ..	1,171	1,191	1,081	815	1,091	1,161	905	745	569	405	343	197	376	
1911 Female ..	1,391	1,347	1,111	995	1,039	982	796	588	499	332	317	157	446	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain castes and other groups.

CASTE or other group and religion.	Locality.	Number per mille of males aged to (nearest birthday)—						Number per mille of females aged to (nearest birthday)—					
		0-6	7-13	14-16	17-23	24-43	44 and over.	0-6	7-13	14-16	17-23	24-43	44 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1 AGARWALA—Hindu	Calcutta	125	126	80	159	340	170	177	157	95	151	294	128
2 BAIDYA—Hindu	Bengal	173	172	85	141	261	168	195	185	84	136	243	157
3 BAISHNAB—Hindu	Bengal	163	150	61	119	304	213	142	123	58	133	320	224
4 BAURI—Hindu	West Bengal	188	164	60	114	328	146	183	146	64	142	311	154
5 BRAHMAN—Hindu	Bengal	163	156	98	143	308	162	189	167	70	145	272	157
6 BRAHMO—Hindu	Bengal	45	124	159	154	364	154	85	150	128	163	322	152
7 CHAKMA—All religions	Chittagong Hill Tracts.	233	199	59	102	272	138	258	180	64	130	254	114
8 DOM—Hindu	Bengal	163	159	60	117	344	152	174	140	62	144	329	151
9 JALIYA KAIBARTA—Hindu	West Bengal	183	160	71	125	293	168	187	158	77	158	275	145
10 JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	Bengal	183	169	70	128	289	161	193	158	74	151	277	142
11 KAYASTHA—Hindu	Bengal	172	166	70	135	289	168	189	165	69	145	273	159
12 KHAMBU—All religions	Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri.	159	166	77	137	299	172	155	119	65	169	305	207
13 KOCH—Hindu	North Bengal	190	167	98	140	249	156	210	141	103	178	231	137
14 LEPCHA—All religions	Darjeeling	169	152	72	115	261	231	155	125	104	181	253	132
15 MAHISHYA—Hindu	West Bengal	174	169	69	132	301	155	179	154	63	155	295	154
16 NAMASUDRA—Hindu	Bengal	180	177	65	126	286	166	201	165	72	145	274	143
17 SANTAL—All religions	West Bengal and North Bengal.	198	182	60	110	303	147	220	164	62	140	236	123
18 SHAHA—Hindu	Bengal	170	160	75	131	273	135	186	164	60	152	266	152
19 TIPARA—All religions	East Bengal and Tripura State.	239	193	51	96	284	132	254	137	61	139	244	115
20 ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian.	Calcutta, Towns	163	173	75	135	306	148	152	170	86	144	294	154
21 INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian.	Bengal	209	161	68	122	293	147	200	159	77	149	278	167
22 "MUMIN" (JOLAHA)—Muslim.	Bengal	192	188	61	118	304	137	206	175	76	136	271	117
23 SAYYAD—Muslim	Bengal	185	185	69	127	291	143	203	175	77	135	268	123

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Proportion of children under 14 and of persons over 43 to those aged 14-43 in certain castes ; also of married females aged 14-43 per 100 females (ages are to the nearest birthday).

CASTE or other group and religion.	Proportion of children both sexes per 100.		Proportion of persons over 43 per 100 of the same sex aged 14-43.		Number of married females aged 14-43 per 100 females of all ages.
	Persons aged 14-43.	Married females aged 14-43.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
1 AGARWALA—Hindu	50	163	29	23	43
2 BAIDYA—Hindu	76	223	35	34	33
3 BAISHNAB—Hindu	57	158	44	44	35
4 BAURI—Hindu	67	161	29	30	43
5 BRAHMAN—Hindu	66	193	31	32	37
6 BRAHMO—Hindu	22	85	21	45	40
7 CHAKMA—All religions	99	253	32	26	37
8 DOM—Hindu	61	158	29	23	43
9 JALIYA KAIBARTA—Hindu	69	192	34	23	37
10 JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	72	190	33	23	33
11 KAYASTHA—Hindu	70	195	34	33	37
12 KHAMBU—Hindu	57	163	33	40	33
13 KOCH—Hindu	71	183	32	27	39
14 LEPCHA—All religions	61	171	32	34	36
15 MAHISHYA—Hindu	67	183	31	30	33
16 NAMASUDRA—Hindu	75	199	36	29	37
17 SANTAL—All religions	80	193	31	26	39
18 SHAHA—Hindu	70	183	39	30	33
19 TIPARA—All religions	100	242	31	23	33
20 ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	63	217	29	29	31
21 INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	74	223	31	27	33
22 "MUMIN" (JOLAHA)—Muslim	77	186	25	23	43
23 SAYYAD—Muslim	76	195	29	26	41

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Proportion of children under 10 and of persons over 60 to those aged 15-40 ; also of married females aged 15-40 per 100 females ; 1911, 1921 and 1931 (ages are to the last birthday).

Part A.—All religions by districts.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Proportion of children, both sexes, per 100.						Proportion of persons aged 60 and over per 100 aged 15-40.						Number of married females aged 15-40 per 100 females, all marital conditions of all ages.		
	Persons aged 15-40.			Married females aged 15-40.			1931.		1921.		1911.		1931.	1921.	1911.
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BENGAL ..	68	68	76	170	172	181	8	8	10	10	11	12	36	34	34
West Bengal ..	56	53	61	148	146	157	7	9	9	12	11	13	35	33	33
BURDWAN DIVISION ..	58	53	61	148	146	157	7	9	9	12	11	13	35	33	33
Burdwan ..	54	50	58	142	130	147	7	9	8	11	11	14	36	35	33
Birbhum ..	64	51	66	151	131	157	8	9	9	10	12	14	36	36	34
Bankura ..	62	58	67	157	157	167	8	10	9	12	11	14	34	32	32
Midnapore ..	57	56	61	148	155	158	7	8	9	12	10	13	32	32	33
Hooahly ..	50	51	56	142	143	152	7	9	9	12	11	15	35	33	32
Howrah ..	53	54	57	151	152	159	7	10	9	13	10	14	35	34	33
Central Bengal ..	59	57	62	165	160	170	7	9	9	11	10	13	35	34	33
PRESIDENCY DIVISION ..	59	57	62	165	160	170	7	9	9	11	10	13	35	34	33
24-Parganas ..	58	60	63	157	161	170	8	9	10	11	11	12	36	35	34
Calcutta ..	29	27	26	141	130	132	4	9	6	12	6	14	37	36	34
Nadia ..	64	60	68	160	160	171	8	10	10	13	11	15	33	32	32
Murshidabad ..	73	64	74	177	156	183	8	10	9	12	11	15	33	34	32
Jessore ..	62	59	62	164	157	161	8	8	10	11	10	11	34	34	33
Khulna ..	71	71	75	141	177	187	10	8	11	9	12	11	35	34	34
North Bengal ..	71	74	78	175	183	195	7	7	9	9	10	10	36	35	34
RAJSHAHI DIVISION ..	71	74	79	174	182	194	7	7	9	9	10	10	36	35	34
Rajshahi ..	68	70	75	157	168	181	7	7	9	9	9	11	37	36	35
Dinajpur ..	71	74	81	172	181	204	7	5	8	7	9	8	37	36	34
Jalpaiguri ..	64	68	70	170	178	184	6	6	9	7	10	8	36	35	36
Darjeeling ..	63	58	61	188	176	179	8	10	10	12	9	11	31	30	32
Rangpur ..	68	80	80	183	197	199	7	6	10	8	11	10	35	35	34
Bogra ..	71	78	88	162	177	202	8	7	10	7	10	9	38	37	35
Pabna ..	75	75	77	176	178	184	9	9	10	12	10	13	35	35	34
Malda ..	75	74	85	186	185	206	8	8	9	11	10	13	33	33	32
COOCH BEHAR STATE ..	68	72	72	196	205	208	8	6	10	8	11	10	32	31	31
East Bengal ..	77	78	82	178	183	190	9	7	11	9	11	11	36	35	34
DACCA DIVISION ..	76	77	80	178	183	190	9	8	11	10	11	11	36	35	34
Dacca ..	77	80	82	176	184	189	10	8	12	11	12	12	36	34	34
Mymensingh ..	76	81	86	181	196	204	9	7	10	9	11	10	36	34	34
Faridpur ..	74	73	75	176	176	181	9	9	11	12	12	13	35	34	34
Bakarganj ..	75	71	73	174	160	174	8	7	11	10	12	10	36	36	35
CHITTAGONG DIVISION ..	80	79	85	178	182	190	8	6	11	9	11	9	36	35	34
Tippera ..	78	77	82	177	181	189	8	5	10	7	10	8	37	36	35
Noakhali ..	85	85	95	183	187	202	9	6	12	8	13	9	37	35	34
Chittagong ..	78	81	84	173	179	182	9	8	12	11	11	11	35	33	34
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	80	67	75	207	192	202	8	7	11	10	12	10	33	32	32
TRIPURA STATE ..	74	72	77	183	183	190	8	7	10	9	10	9	36	35	35
SIKKIM ..	73	67	72	197	180	186	13	14	16	17	15	17	30	29	31

Part B.—By religions in each division.

Religion and natural division.	Number of children (both sexes) aged under 10 per 100.						Persons aged 60 and over per 100 persons aged 15-40.						Number of married females aged 15-40 per 100 females, all marital conditions of all ages.		
	Persons aged 15-40.			Married females aged 15-40.			1931.		1921.		1911.		1931.	1921.	1911.
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
All religions	68	68	76	170	172	181	8	8	10	10	11	12	36	34	34
All Bengal	68	68	76	170	172	181	8	8	10	10	11	12	36	34	34
Burdwan ..	58	53	61	148	146	157	7	9	9	12	11	13	35	33	33
Presidency ..	59	57	62	165	160	170	7	9	9	11	10	13	35	34	33
Rajshahi ..	71	74	78	175	183	195	7	7	9	9	10	10	36	35	34
Dacca ..	76	77	80	178	183	190	9	8	11	10	11	11	36	35	34
Chittagong ..	79	79	85	179	182	190	8	6	11	9	11	9	36	35	34
Muslim	75	77	82	174	179	188	8	6	10	9	10	10	37	36	35
All Bengal	75	77	82	174	179	188	8	6	10	9	10	10	37	36	35
Burdwan ..	69	55	65	143	136	151	7	8	9	10	11	13	38	37	36
Presidency ..	64	63	68	164	160	170	7	7	9	10	10	12	36	36	35
Rajshahi ..	74	79	85	173	182	194	7	6	9	8	10	10	37	36	35
Dacca ..	80	82	87	180	188	196	8	6	10	9	11	10	37	36	35
Chittagong ..	83	84	91	181	187	194	8	6	10	8	11	9	37	35	35
Hindu	60	58	62	163	163	171	8	9	10	12	11	14	34	33	32
All Bengal	60	58	62	163	163	171	8	9	10	12	11	14	34	33	32
Burdwan ..	55	52	59	149	146	156	7	9	9	12	11	14	35	33	32
Presidency ..	55	53	57	164	161	171	8	10	9	13	10	14	33	32	32
Rajshahi ..	64	66	69	177	184	194	8	8	10	10	10	12	33	33	34
Dacca ..	67	66	65	172	172	175	11	10	12	13	12	15	33	32	32
Chittagong ..	69	68	72	170	168	177	10	8	12	11	11	11	35	34	33
Tribal	78	77	85	187	188	201	9	8	11	9	11	11	34	33	34
All Bengal	78	77	85	187	188	201	9	8	11	9	11	11	34	33	34
Burdwan ..	72	70	78	169	172	185	8	10	10	11	11	14	35	33	34
Presidency ..	76	61	84	197	165	220	8	8	11	11	11	10	34	35	32
Rajshahi ..	87	86	95	206	203	219	9	6	11	7	12	8	33	33	34
Dacca ..	83	91	84	181	198	198	10	6	12	6	12	9	37	37	35
Chittagong ..	77	60	84	199	179	198	8	7	17	11	12	9	32	31	35

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Variation in population at certain age periods, by natural divisions for each decade from 1881-1931.

(NOTE.—Ages are to the last birthday.)

Natural division.	Period.	Variation per cent. in population (increase+ decrease-).					
		All ages.	0-10	10-15	15-40	40-60	60 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bengal	1881-1891	+ 7.8	+ 9.8	+ 11.5	+ 7.9	+ 3.2	- 1.0
	1891-1901	+ 7.7	+ 8.8	+ 15.1	+ 8.4	+ 6.7	+ 1.2
	1901-1911	+ 8.0	+ 8.3	+ 8.8	+ 10.1	+ 3.8	+ 0.8
	1911-1921	+ 2.8	- 1.2	+ 8.3	+ 5.3	+ 2.5	- 5.0
	1921-1931	+ 7.3	+ 8.8	+ 10.7	+ 8.9	+ 3.5	- 14.0
West Bengal	1881-1891	+ 4.0	+ 7.5	+ 9.6	+ 1.0	+ 5.1	- 1.1
	1891-1901	+ 7.2	+ 5.4	+ 13.4	+ 6.3	+ 8.1	+ 7.5
	1901-1911	+ 2.8	+ 1.1	+ 2.8	+ 6.2	- 1.0	+ 0.6
	1911-1921	- 4.9	- 11.4	- 0.6	+ 0.3	- 7.2	- 17.1
	1921-1931	+ 7.4	+ 13.9	+ 0.9	+ 8.1	+ 6.6	- 15.0
Central Bengal	1881-1891	+ 3.9	+ 4.3	+ 7.6	+ 5.2	+ 1.7	- 8.2
	1891-1901	+ 5.4	+ 1.0	+ 11.8	+ 6.9	+ 7.2	- 0.4
	1901-1911	+ 5.1	+ 4.8	+ 3.6	+ 9.3	- 1.7	- 3.9
	1911-1921	+ 0.4	- 5.3	+ 4.9	+ 2.8	+ 1.9	- 8.1
	1921-1931	+ 6.8	+ 11.4	+ 5.1	+ 8.1	+ 1.4	- 17.0
North Bengal	1881-1891	+ 4.1	+ 5.9	+ 2.0	+ 7.3	- 1.8	- 8.0
	1891-1901	+ 5.7	+ 6.3	+ 11.8	+ 6.5	+ 1.4	- 5.4
	1901-1911	+ 8.0	+ 10.5	+ 4.9	+ 8.0	+ 5.7	+ 2.1
	1911-1921	+ 1.9	- 1.8	+ 9.9	+ 4.0	+ 1.3	- 7.2
	1921-1931	+ 2.9	+ 0.4	+ 14.6	+ 5.2	- 1.5	- 18.6
East Bengal	1881-1891	+ 14.5	+ 18.5	+ 21.4	+ 15.1	+ 7.0	+ 4.4
	1891-1901	+ 10.8	+ 11.0	+ 19.7	+ 14.8	+ 9.2	+ 2.9
	1901-1911	+ 12.4	+ 14.3	+ 9.0	+ 14.0	+ 9.7	+ 3.6
	1911-1921	+ 3.3	+ 5.0	+ 13.0	+ 10.1	+ 9.4	+ 2.6
	1921-1931	+ 10.1	+ 10.8	+ 13.7	+ 12.1	+ 6.1	- 12.5

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Estimated population in thousands, Bengal, British Territory and administrative divisions, on the 1st January in each year 1921 to 1930 by sexes.

(NOTE.—The population of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is not included.)

Year.	BENGAL.		Burdwan Division.		Presidency Division.		Rajshahi Division.		Dacca Division.		Chittagong Division.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Population (in thousands) recorded at the census of 1921—												
1921	24,057.9	22,464.4	4,106.8	3,949.9	5,959.8	4,371.9	5,371.4	4,974.3	6,573.8	6,263.7	2,922.7	2,904.5
Population (in thousands) recorded at the census of 1931—												
1931	25,927.4	23,973.7	4,452.9	4,194.3	5,475.4	4,632.9	5,549.4	5,118.6	7,122.4	6,741.7	3,327.3	3,286.1
Population (in thousands) on the 1st January of each year calculated at a uniform annual rate of increase—												
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1921	24,043.8	22,458.1	4,108.6	3,954.9	5,080.5	4,364.5	5,398.9	4,993.4	6,553.0	6,245.1	2,917.6	2,900.2
1922	24,219.8	22,600.0	4,135.5	3,977.7	5,117.5	4,389.7	5,404.4	5,005.3	6,606.9	6,292.2	2,955.5	2,936.0
1923	24,397.7	22,744.8	4,170.0	4,000.4	5,153.1	4,414.9	5,419.7	5,017.2	6,660.9	6,339.9	2,994.0	2,972.2
1924	24,577.0	22,889.8	4,203.5	4,023.7	5,191.8	4,440.6	5,435.1	5,029.8	6,714.7	6,387.2	3,032.8	3,009.0
1925	24,762.3	23,036.2	4,237.4	4,046.8	5,230.8	4,466.4	5,450.9	5,041.4	6,770.9	6,435.4	3,072.3	3,046.2
1926	24,948.0	23,184.7	4,271.3	4,070.3	5,269.1	4,492.8	5,466.3	5,053.7	6,826.6	6,484.1	3,112.3	3,083.8
1927	25,133.2	23,334.0	4,306.0	4,093.9	5,308.4	4,519.1	5,482.4	5,066.1	6,882.7	6,533.0	3,152.8	3,121.9
1928	25,319.0	23,485.3	4,340.5	4,117.7	5,348.0	4,545.8	5,498.2	5,078.7	6,939.4	6,582.6	3,193.8	3,160.5
1929	25,509.8	23,637.9	4,375.4	4,141.6	5,387.9	4,573.1	5,514.3	5,090.9	6,996.6	6,632.3	3,235.4	3,199.7
1930	25,702.0	23,791.3	4,410.9	4,165.7	5,428.5	4,600.1	5,530.5	5,103.8	7,054.6	6,682.5	3,277.5	3,239.2
Average 1921-30	24,561.2	23,119.3	4,255.5	4,089.2	5,251.6	4,480.7	5,458.1	5,048.9	6,809.6	6,481.4	3,084.4	3,066.9

Year.	Population (in thousands) on the 1st January of each year calculated from the returns of vital occurrences—											
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1921	24,070.3	22,471.0	4,113.1	3,960.5	5,106.1	4,384.8	5,364.6	4,967.6	6,569.6	6,259.2	2,916.9	2,899.5
1922	24,025.4	22,437.8	4,089.4	3,942.1	5,080.0	4,358.5	5,347.7	4,966.7	6,580.2	6,254.1	2,928.1	2,916.3
1923	24,065.5	22,500.0	4,104.9	3,958.4	5,083.3	4,368.6	5,347.3	4,975.6	6,599.1	6,278.6	2,930.9	2,918.8
1924	24,169.4	22,613.8	4,128.8	3,983.5	5,103.9	4,395.6	5,347.3	4,982.6	6,632.6	6,316.9	2,946.8	2,935.3
1925	24,222.0	22,717.1	4,140.0	3,997.8	5,106.4	4,410.9	5,339.9	4,990.9	6,665.7	6,358.1	2,970.8	2,959.5
1926	24,325.5	22,833.1	4,173.4	4,029.0	5,116.3	4,424.3	5,348.8	5,010.1	6,695.6	6,391.4	2,991.0	2,977.6
1927	24,385.5	22,898.3	4,198.0	4,051.3	5,101.9	4,413.8	5,342.2	5,011.6	6,727.3	6,424.1	3,015.7	2,997.0
1928	24,441.1	22,949.3	4,208.7	4,057.8	5,088.0	4,401.8	5,361.5	5,031.3	6,752.6	6,443.5	3,030.0	3,006.9
1929	24,545.3	23,022.7	4,230.5	4,075.2	5,093.6	4,413.1	5,377.3	5,044.3	6,788.8	6,470.7	3,050.8	3,019.5
1930	24,623.8	23,141.4	4,270.6	4,111.1	5,110.9	4,423.1	5,391.3	5,053.0	6,838.0	6,509.6	3,082.6	3,044.5

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—Annual reported births and birth rates by sexes in each administrative division, 1921-1930.

(i) Actual births.

Year.	*Bengal.		Divisions.									
			Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Annual average 1921-30	839,549	835,988	124,757	116,869	139,038	127,846	160,152	149,138	182,813	167,473	82,788	74,662
1921	874,791	829,210	116,314	108,317	132,199	122,237	165,966	150,706	178,698	164,815	81,014	74,135
1922	864,469	811,145	124,171	115,557	140,395	128,047	150,372	140,192	176,828	162,039	72,703	65,310
1923	723,508	669,903	127,065	119,412	149,450	137,048	168,940	157,937	195,900	180,044	82,263	74,562
1924	710,933	659,181	119,564	112,679	139,339	128,714	163,267	151,721	200,119	185,430	88,574	80,637
1925	717,330	659,767	133,477	124,779	150,519	138,290	174,785	162,761	178,245	161,709	80,304	72,528
1926	683,588	612,792	132,912	124,993	129,523	119,569	145,584	135,562	171,755	157,374	83,814	75,294
1927	670,251	616,612	116,118	108,813	128,564	118,279	169,650	157,863	177,909	161,986	78,010	69,671
1928	717,580	658,094	126,225	117,499	143,526	132,073	168,466	155,891	192,341	174,725	87,028	77,006
1929	709,145	652,133	134,474	126,714	147,643	135,807	163,811	141,860	184,460	168,314	88,757	79,438
1930	643,868	584,046	117,257	109,925	129,219	117,794	140,685	130,884	171,962	158,301	84,822	77,142

*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(ii) Birth rates (number of births per 1,000 of the same sex).

A.—Calculated on the population at the census of 1921.

Year.	*Bengal.		Divisions.									
			Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Annual average 1921-30	28.7	26.3	30.4	29.6	27.3	29.2	29.7	29.6	27.9	26.3	28.3	25.7
1921	28.0	27.9	28.4	27.4	26.0	28.0	30.8	31.4	27.2	26.4	27.9	25.5
1922	27.6	27.2	30.3	29.3	27.6	29.3	27.9	28.1	27.0	25.9	24.9	22.5
1923	30.1	28.8	31.0	30.2	29.4	31.5	31.3	31.6	29.8	28.6	28.1	25.8
1924	29.8	29.3	29.2	28.5	27.4	29.5	30.3	30.4	30.5	29.6	30.3	27.8
1925	29.8	29.4	32.6	31.6	29.6	31.7	33.4	32.0	27.2	25.8	27.5	24.0
1926	27.6	27.3	32.4	31.6	25.5	27.4	27.0	27.1	26.2	25.2	28.7	25.9
1927	27.9	27.5	28.9	27.8	25.3	27.1	31.5	31.6	27.1	25.9	26.7	24.0
1928	29.8	29.3	30.8	29.8	28.2	30.2	31.3	31.2	29.3	27.9	29.8	26.8
1929	29.5	29.0	32.8	32.1	29.0	31.1	28.5	28.4	28.1	26.9	30.4	27.3
1930	26.6	26.4	28.6	27.8	25.4	27.0	26.1	26.2	26.2	25.3	29.0	26.6

B.—Calculated on the estimated population on 1st January of each year computed on the assumption that the population changed at a regular rate from one census to the next.

Year.	*Bengal.		Divisions.									
			Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Annual average 1921-30	27.1	27.3	29.3	28.9	26.5	28.5	28.3	29.5	28.8	25.9	26.7	24.3
1921	26.1	27.9	28.3	27.4	26.0	28.0	30.8	31.4	27.8	26.4	28.0	25.6
1922	27.5	27.1	30.1	29.0	27.4	29.2	27.8	28.0	26.9	25.7	24.6	22.2
1923	29.7	29.5	30.5	29.9	31.5	29.0	31.1	31.5	29.4	28.4	27.5	25.2
1924	28.9	28.8	28.5	28.0	26.9	29.0	30.0	30.2	29.8	29.0	29.2	26.8
1925	29.0	28.6	31.5	30.8	28.8	31.0	32.1	32.3	26.8	25.1	26.1	23.7
1926	26.8	26.4	31.1	30.7	24.6	26.6	26.6	26.8	25.2	24.3	26.0	24.4
1927	26.7	26.4	27.0	26.6	24.2	26.2	30.9	31.2	25.9	24.8	24.8	22.3
1928	28.3	28.0	29.1	28.5	26.8	29.1	30.6	30.7	27.7	26.6	27.8	24.6
1929	27.8	27.6	30.7	30.6	27.4	29.7	27.9	27.9	26.4	25.4	27.4	24.8
1930	25.1	25.0	26.6	26.4	23.8	25.6	25.4	25.6	24.4	23.7	25.9	23.8

*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—Annual reported deaths and death rates by sexes in each administrative division, 1921-1930.

(i) Actual deaths.

Year.	*Bengal.		Divisions.									
			Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Annual average 1921-30	619,348	560,640	106,601	100,155	139,309	123,636	156,767	140,857	153,458	138,516	62,313	57,676
1921	735,839	667,392	140,016	130,255	168,276	148,002	177,707	160,921	186,741	169,924	62,898	58,200
1922	824,299	548,947	108,668	99,305	137,040	117,967	150,752	131,381	157,901	137,524	69,938	62,790
1923	629,632	558,159	103,167	94,268	123,923	110,748	168,929	150,899	162,288	141,816	66,825	58,428
1924	847,403	555,841	108,290	98,468	136,815	118,332	170,667	143,380	167,086	144,241	64,545	56,425
1925	614,736	543,737	100,166	92,670	140,695	124,916	165,546	143,612	148,176	126,303	60,154	54,146
1926	603,602	547,595	108,230	103,545	143,960	130,066	152,153	134,054	140,199	124,638	59,000	55,292
1927	614,885	574,695	105,500	102,350	142,434	130,222	150,380	138,138	152,639	142,698	63,732	61,337
1928	613,394	575,621	104,368	100,075	133,491	120,798	152,661	142,949	156,154	147,478	66,720	64,326
1929	560,834	533,429	94,374	90,781	134,817	125,777	139,829	133,080	135,290	129,398	56,524	54,398
1930	539,260	504,998	93,231	89,837	125,643	114,529	139,042	130,179	128,105	119,112	53,239	51,339

*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(ii) Death rates (number of deaths per 1,000 of the same sex).

A.—Calculated on the population at the census of 1921.

Year.	*Bengal.		Divisions.									
			Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Annual average 1921-30	25.7	25.0	26.0	25.3	27.4	26.3	29.2	28.3	23.3	22.1	21.3	19.9
1921	30.6	29.7	34.1	33.0	33.1	33.9	33.0	32.0	28.4	27.2	21.5	20.1
1922	25.9	24.4	26.5	25.1	27.0	27.0	28.0	26.3	24.1	22.0	23.9	21.6
1923	26.2	24.7	25.2	23.9	25.4	25.4	31.8	30.2	24.8	22.7	22.7	20.1
1924	26.9	24.7	26.4	24.9	26.9	26.0	31.7	28.7	25.5	23.1	22.1	19.4
1925	25.8	24.2	24.4	23.5	27.7	28.6	30.7	28.8	22.6	20.5	20.6	18.6
1926	25.1	24.4	26.4	26.2	28.3	29.8	28.2	26.9	21.4	19.9	20.2	19.0
1927	25.6	25.0	25.7	25.9	28.0	29.8	27.9	27.6	23.3	22.8	21.8	21.1
1928	25.6	25.6	25.5	25.3	26.3	27.7	28.3	28.6	23.8	23.6	22.8	22.1
1929	23.3	23.7	23.0	23.0	26.5	28.8	26.0	26.7	20.6	20.7	19.3	18.7
1930	22.4	22.5	22.7	22.8	24.7	26.8	25.8	26.1	19.5	19.0	18.2	17.7

B.—Calculated on the estimated population on 1st January of each year computed on the assumption that the population changed at a regular rate from one census to the next.

Year.	*Bengal.		Divisions.									
			Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Annual average 1921-30	24.9	24.3	25.1	24.7	26.5	27.6	28.7	27.9	22.6	21.4	20.1	18.9
1921	30.6	29.7	34.1	32.9	33.1	33.9	33.0	32.2	28.5	27.2	21.6	20.1
1922	25.8	24.3	26.3	25.0	26.8	26.9	27.9	26.2	23.9	21.9	23.7	21.4
1923	25.8	24.5	24.7	23.6	25.0	25.1	31.2	30.1	24.4	22.4	22.2	19.7
1924	26.3	24.3	25.8	24.5	26.4	25.5	31.4	28.5	24.9	22.6	21.8	18.8
1925	24.8	23.6	23.6	22.9	26.9	28.0	30.4	28.5	21.9	20.9	19.6	17.8
1926	24.2	23.0	25.3	25.4	27.3	29.0	27.8	26.6	20.5	19.2	19.0	17.9
1927	24.5	24.6	24.5	25.0	26.8	28.8	27.4	27.3	22.2	21.8	20.2	19.6
1928	24.2	24.5	24.1	24.2	25.0	26.6	27.8	28.2	22.5	22.4	20.9	20.3
1929	22.0	22.6	21.6	21.9	25.0	27.5	25.4	26.1	19.3	19.5	17.5	17.0
1930	21.0	21.2	21.1	21.6	23.1	24.9	25.1	25.5	18.2	17.8	16.2	15.9

*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—Annual death rate by sex and age-groups, 1921-1930.

Part A.—Deaths reported per 1,000 of the same sex and age living at the census of 1921.

(NOTE.—Rates for the age group "under 1 year" are calculated on the number of births recorded in that year.)

Age last birthday.	Average of decade.		1921.		1922.		1923.		1924.		1925.		1926.		1927.		1928.		1929.		1930.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
All ages ..	25.7	24.9	30.6	29.7	25.9	24.4	26.2	24.7	26.9	24.7	25.5	24.2	25.1	24.4	25.5	25.6	25.5	25.6	23.3	23.7	22.4	22.5
0-1 ..	191.6	180.3	211.4	200.6	194.8	180.8	187.2	176.5	191.4	176.4	185.7	176.4	202.7	190.4	182.0	178.7	188.2	172.6	185.0	174.3	192.9	181.2
1-5 ..	36.2	32.6	40.4	36.9	38.9	29.9	35.5	32.3	34.2	30.2	35.8	32.5	36.5	32.6	38.3	34.9	37.1	33.4	35.5	32.4	34.5	31.2
5-10 ..	13.3	11.8	17.0	14.5	14.0	11.7	14.7	12.4	14.2	11.7	13.7	11.7	12.8	11.0	13.5	11.9	12.6	11.2	10.8	9.7	10.2	9.2
10-15 ..	10.6	9.7	12.6	11.9	10.9	10.8	11.4	10.3	12.0	10.5	10.6	9.7	9.6	9.4	9.7	10.1	9.3	9.8	7.4	8.0	7.0	7.5
15-20 ..	13.9	16.6	17.6	20.0	14.9	16.7	15.2	16.6	16.6	17.5	14.2	16.1	13.0	15.9	13.7	17.6	13.1	17.5	10.9	15.1	10.8	13.6
20-30 ..	15.1	18.1	19.1	21.9	15.8	17.8	15.5	17.4	16.8	18.4	15.1	16.8	14.3	17.0	15.1	19.2	14.9	19.7	12.4	17.1	11.9	15.6
30-40 ..	17.9	18.7	22.7	23.2	18.8	18.8	18.0	17.8	19.3	18.7	17.5	17.4	17.0	17.8	17.9	19.6	18.1	20.0	15.6	17.8	14.6	16.2
40-50 ..	23.1	20.8	28.8	26.6	23.8	21.1	22.9	20.1	24.1	20.5	22.2	19.2	21.7	19.7	22.9	21.0	23.2	21.7	20.9	19.5	20.6	19.0
50-60 ..	35.9	31.3	43.8	39.7	36.1	31.3	35.2	30.5	36.3	30.0	34.1	28.7	34.1	30.0	35.9	31.9	36.2	31.9	33.5	29.6	33.5	29.9
60 and over ..	72.7	61.9	84.6	74.8	71.1	59.6	69.7	57.6	72.7	57.4	71.1	59.1	72.6	62.1	75.9	65.2	72.7	62.2	69.6	61.3	67.6	59.9

Part B.—Deaths reported per 1,000 of the same sex and age estimated to be living on the 1st January of each year upon the assumption that the population changed at a uniform annual rate.

Age last birthday.	Average of decade.		1921.		1922.		1923.		1924.		1925.		1926.		1927.		1928.		1929.		1930.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
All ages ..	24.9	24.3	30.6	29.7	25.8	24.3	25.8	24.5	26.3	24.3	24.8	23.6	24.2	23.6	24.5	24.6	24.2	24.5	22.0	22.6	21.0	21.2
0-1 ..	178.8	153.8	210.3	183.0	187.2	157.4	192.0	166.1	189.2	160.3	181.8	157.4	179.9	154.8	159.9	199.4	169.0	145.0	165.3	142.3	153.3	132.2
1-5 ..	31.9	29.3	40.6	37.3	33.1	29.4	39.6	30.9	31.4	28.2	31.9	29.5	31.6	28.8	32.1	30.0	30.1	27.8	28.0	26.2	26.4	24.6
5-10 ..	13.6	12.1	17.0	14.4	14.1	11.8	14.8	12.7	14.4	12.1	14.0	12.3	13.0	11.7	13.9	12.8	13.0	12.3	11.2	10.8	10.9	10.3
10-15 ..	10.6	9.1	12.7	12.0	10.9	10.1	11.4	10.0	11.9	10.0	10.4	9.1	9.5	8.7	9.6	9.0	9.1	8.7	7.2	6.9	6.8	6.4
15-20 ..	13.7	16.1	17.5	20.0	14.9	16.6	15.1	16.4	16.3	17.1	13.9	15.6	12.7	15.3	13.3	16.6	12.6	16.5	10.4	14.1	9.3	12.6
20-30 ..	14.4	17.3	19.2	22.5	15.7	18.1	15.2	17.5	16.2	18.4	14.4	16.6	13.4	16.5	14.0	19.0	13.7	18.7	11.2	16.2	10.6	14.5
30-40 ..	17.8	18.4	23.3	23.8	19.1	19.1	18.0	17.9	19.2	18.6	17.2	17.2	16.6	17.4	17.2	19.0	17.3	19.2	14.8	16.9	13.7	15.3
40-50 ..	22.6	20.6	28.9	26.6	23.7	21.0	22.7	20.0	23.7	20.3	21.8	19.0	21.1	19.4	22.2	20.6	22.4	21.2	20.0	19.0	19.7	18.4
50-60 ..	35.2	31.4	43.8	39.7	36.0	31.8	35.0	30.5	35.9	30.0	33.5	28.7	33.4	30.0	34.9	32.0	35.1	32.0	32.8	29.7	32.1	30.0
60 and over ..	74.8	67.6	81.3	74.5	69.4	60.6	69.2	59.7	73.2	60.7	72.6	63.8	75.3	63.4	79.9	73.2	77.6	71.3	75.4	71.6	74.3	71.4

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XI.—Annual deaths and death rates from selected causes by sex 1921-1930.

Part A.—Actual number of deaths reported.

Cause of death.	Year.	Actual number of deaths reported.											
		*Bengal.		Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Cholera.	Annual average 1921-30	37,027	33,605	4,803	4,583	10,028	8,394	5,721	5,437	12,297	11,262	4,178	3,929
	1921	42,393	38,154	6,031	5,484	10,202	7,992	7,490	7,302	16,978	15,744	1,692	1,632
	1922	27,830	23,882	3,450	2,961	7,710	6,082	2,051	1,798	9,180	7,904	5,439	5,077
	1923	22,300	19,183	1,812	1,634	4,872	3,768	4,048	3,699	9,223	7,995	2,345	2,089
	1924	25,857	22,657	5,026	4,721	5,813	4,571	4,986	4,053	7,454	6,676	2,378	2,236
	1925	18,002	16,274	2,146	1,829	4,102	3,419	3,334	2,986	5,121	4,748	3,209	3,292
	1926	30,981	28,148	4,348	4,199	10,654	9,344	4,627	4,258	8,457	7,818	2,875	2,520
	1927	31,728	28,849	5,585	5,507	17,167	14,435	9,860	9,328	21,311	19,849	7,799	7,530
	1928	70,561	65,684	9,858	9,527	17,682	15,229	10,622	10,699	24,211	22,268	8,388	7,961
	1929	42,024	39,066	5,817	5,721	14,374	12,691	6,420	6,136	10,963	10,417	4,450	4,101
1930	28,809	26,154	4,159	4,246	7,700	6,411	3,761	3,512	10,078	9,135	3,116	2,850	
Fever.	Annual average 1921-30	440,501	402,939	68,148	66,880	88,259	80,697	133,209	118,826	104,365	93,622	46,520	42,914
	1921	557,879	512,389	99,723	95,897	117,831	107,065	154,791	139,467	134,325	122,372	51,909	47,588
	1922	469,879	415,589	73,712	70,984	90,878	80,150	135,050	116,486	114,898	99,480	55,143	49,389
	1923	481,345	428,450	70,092	66,000	86,653	75,831	150,732	134,511	120,553	104,804	53,315	46,784
	1924	491,282	421,120	72,448	68,265	92,294	77,235	151,027	125,445	124,052	105,794	51,401	44,887
	1925	462,943	411,288	65,266	62,361	94,064	86,045	146,482	126,458	110,847	94,802	46,284	41,319
	1926	429,698	393,078	68,229	63,162	90,149	82,922	129,866	118,892	98,775	86,012	44,677	42,080
	1927	405,115	383,891	65,219	66,189	82,247	77,928	119,780	109,466	94,194	88,375	43,095	41,933
	1928	384,925	367,076	60,337	60,924	74,024	69,899	119,691	111,049	87,245	82,700	43,628	42,600
	1929	361,584	351,807	52,554	54,218	77,872	78,480	111,457	106,001	80,679	77,545	39,022	37,653
1930	360,463	344,603	53,895	55,548	76,576	78,412	113,239	105,481	80,081	74,678	36,072	35,489	
Small-pox.	Annual average 1921-30	9,724	8,931	2,054	1,922	2,111	1,903	2,120	1,938	2,439	2,210	1,000	952
	1921	4,477	3,880	478	423	882	820	947	755	1,704	1,294	466	388
	1922	4,267	3,577	967	817	645	557	997	739	1,120	944	558	520
	1923	2,308	1,928	359	295	373	291	388	298	714	646	474	400
	1924	2,928	2,639	525	493	849	620	585	526	593	576	376	424
	1925	9,386	8,050	3,402	3,036	3,805	3,166	827	737	836	684	456	427
	1926	13,216	12,333	4,088	3,959	6,636	3,316	3,790	3,506	1,110	998	591	564
	1927	22,013	20,501	5,649	5,370	5,309	5,042	6,434	5,972	3,229	2,779	1,392	1,338
	1928	22,357	21,201	3,204	3,152	2,918	2,882	5,383	5,134	7,284	6,701	3,508	3,332
	1929	10,399	10,008	661	645	1,003	905	1,406	1,270	5,726	5,572	1,603	1,616
1930	5,873	5,366	1,203	1,029	1,027	1,429	442	447	2,079	1,984	522	506	
Plague.	Annual average 1921-30	27	9	2	0.4	24	7	0.2	0.1	1	1	..	..
	1921	46	13	14	4	31	8	1	1	..	..	..	..
	1922	108	42	5	..	103	42	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1923	69	29	1	..	59	18	..	..	9	11	..	..
	1924	31	4	2	..	29	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1925	8	1	..	..	8	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1928	..	..	1	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
	1929	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1930	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	Annual average 1921-30	14,847	13,030	4,459	4,250	3,438	3,065	1,770	1,408	3,760	3,137	1,420	1,170
	1921	13,793	11,553	5,339	5,026	3,505	2,657	1,242	1,042	2,893	2,260	726	578
	1922	12,644	10,767	4,365	3,982	2,946	2,618	1,146	953	3,024	2,371	1,103	848
	1923	11,671	9,848	3,752	3,525	2,847	2,312	1,363	1,157	2,671	2,113	1,038	741
	1924	12,207	10,263	3,881	3,551	2,865	2,460	1,516	1,222	2,857	2,139	1,068	891
	1925	11,700	10,136	3,419	3,219	2,970	2,605	1,332	1,050	2,830	2,307	1,149	895
	1926	13,141	11,837	3,793	3,724	3,505	3,341	1,293	980	3,240	2,653	1,310	1,138
	1927	16,402	13,956	4,446	4,352	3,831	3,578	1,400	1,082	4,154	3,524	1,571	1,420
	1928	17,463	15,956	4,777	4,732	3,634	3,422	1,984	1,506	5,225	4,705	1,843	1,591
	1929	19,662	17,494	5,324	5,142	4,123	3,719	3,078	2,419	5,353	4,609	1,744	1,545
1930	20,874	18,493	5,496	5,248	4,151	3,944	3,345	2,659	5,357	4,681	2,525	2,061	
Respiratory diseases.	Annual average 1921-30	21,948	13,455	6,638	3,843	9,393	6,029	2,600	1,573	2,465	1,377	852	633
	1921	19,383	12,984	5,956	4,048	9,166	6,067	2,331	1,618	1,747	1,114	183	142
	1922	16,275	10,098	4,833	2,986	8,309	5,500	1,904	1,084	1,313	681	216	145
	1923	16,598	10,059	4,802	2,900	7,742	4,940	1,443	852	1,379	658	1,170	1,009
	1924	16,717	9,932	4,727	2,635	8,051	5,129	1,857	973	1,645	827	637	468
	1925	17,259	10,067	4,870	2,647	8,529	5,231	1,581	940	1,538	794	740	455
	1926	18,828	11,761	5,975	2,995	9,554	6,378	1,729	995	1,604	784	603	614
	1927	20,312	12,599	6,857	3,887	9,478	6,218	1,956	1,174	2,189	1,240	832	580
	1928	26,502	15,749	8,830	5,110	10,312	6,418	2,488	1,360	4,026	2,269	846	583
	1929	32,883	19,960	10,817	6,298	11,498	7,281	4,931	2,975	4,588	2,715	1,049	691
1930	34,727	21,356	10,552	6,125	11,288	7,132	6,277	3,764	4,626	2,690	1,984	1,644	
Suicide.	Annual average 1921-30	1,311	1,850	237	287	472	714	237	313	312	465	53	71
	1921	1,398	1,818	238	242	494	686	231	285	371	525	69	81
	1922	1,329	1,852	228	290	469	716	245	345	345	528	42	73
	1923	1,348	1,956	203	238	476	764	200	345	308	502	102	107
	1924	1,375	1,927	243	254	490	726	236	321	362	548	44	78
	1925	1,333	1,982	223	306	472	774	232	320	363	514	43	68
	1926	1,313	1,914	267	289	488	737	225	291	300	541	38	56
	1927	1,292	1,879	245	308	492	740	215	292	286	483	54	56
	1928	1,347	1,843	264	335	480	664	231	333	338	426	54	85
	1929	1,157	1,613	232	299	448	665	234	295	295	299	38	55
1930	1,218	1,817	234	305	444	669	257	306	238	284	45	53	
Child-Birth.	Annual average 1921-30	..	4,431	..	787	..	941	..	1,309	..	925	..	469
	1921	..	1,656	..	263	..	356	..	720	..	234	..	88
	1922	..	2,567	..	645	..	611	..	1,165	..	142	..	4
	1923	..	1,185	..	168	..	333	..	867	..	216	..	101
	1924	..	1,972	..	260	..	483	..	524	..	403	..	302
	1925	..	2,790	..	420	..	860	..	626	..	485	..	399
	1926	..	3,228	..	571	..	874	..	715	..	608		

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XI.—Annual deaths and death rates from selected causes by sex 1921-30.

Part B.—Reported annual death rate per 1,000 of the same sex.

Cause of death.	Year.	Number of deaths reported per 1,000 of each sex calculated on the population recorded at the census of 1921.											
		*Bengal.		Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Cholera.	Annual average 1921-30	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.2	2.0	1.9	1.1	1.1	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.4
	1921	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.4	2.0	1.8	1.4	1.5	2.6	2.5	0.6	0.6
	1922	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.8	1.5	1.4	0.4	0.4	1.4	1.3	1.9	1.8
	1923	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.4	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.7	1.4	1.3	0.8	0.7
	1924	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8
	1925	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.8	1.1	1.1
	1926	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.1	2.1	2.1	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.2	0.1	0.9
	1927	2.0	2.5	1.4	1.4	3.4	3.3	1.9	1.9	3.2	3.2	2.7	2.6
	1928	2.9	2.9	2.4	2.4	3.5	3.5	2.0	2.2	3.7	3.6	2.9	2.7
	1929	1.7	1.7	1.4	1.4	2.8	2.9	1.2	1.2	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.4
	1930	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.5	1.5	0.7	0.7	1.5	1.5	1.1	1.0
Fever.	Annual average 1921-30	18.3	17.9	16.6	16.9	17.3	18.5	24.8	23.9	15.9	14.9	15.9	14.8
	1921	23.2	22.6	24.3	24.3	23.2	24.5	28.8	28.0	20.4	19.5	17.6	16.4
	1922	19.5	18.5	18.0	17.7	17.8	18.3	25.1	23.4	17.5	15.9	18.9	17.0
	1923	20.0	19.1	17.1	16.9	17.0	17.3	28.1	27.0	18.3	16.7	18.2	16.1
	1924	20.4	18.7	17.7	17.3	18.1	17.7	28.1	25.2	18.9	16.9	17.6	15.8
	1925	18.2	18.3	15.9	15.9	18.5	19.7	27.3	25.4	16.9	15.1	15.8	14.2
	1926	17.9	17.5	16.6	17.2	17.7	19.0	24.2	22.9	14.7	13.7	15.3	14.5
	1927	16.8	17.1	15.9	16.8	16.1	17.8	22.3	22.0	14.3	14.1	14.9	14.4
	1928	16.0	16.3	14.7	15.4	14.5	16.0	22.3	22.3	13.3	13.2	14.9	14.6
	1929	15.0	15.7	12.8	13.7	15.3	17.5	20.7	21.8	12.3	12.4	13.4	13.0
	1930	15.0	15.3	13.1	14.1	15.0	16.8	21.1	21.2	12.2	11.9	12.8	12.2
Small-pox.	Annual average 1921-30	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
	1921	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
	1922	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2
	1923	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
	1924	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
	1925	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
	1926	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
	1927	0.9	0.9	1.4	1.4	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5
	1928	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1
	1929	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.6
	1930	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2
Plague.	Annual average 1921-30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1921	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1922	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1924	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1928	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1929	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1930	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dysentery and Diarrhea.	Annual average 1921-30	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4
	1921	0.6	0.5	1.3	1.3	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2
	1922	0.5	0.5	1.1	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3
	1923	0.5	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3
	1924	0.5	0.4	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3
	1925	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3
	1926	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4
	1927	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.8	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5
	1928	0.7	0.7	1.2	1.2	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6
	1929	0.8	0.8	1.3	1.3	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6
	1930	0.9	0.8	1.3	1.3	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.7
Respiratory diseases.	Annual average 1921-30	0.9	0.6	1.6	1.0	1.9	1.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2
	1921	0.8	0.6	1.5	1.0	1.8	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
	1922	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.6	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1923	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.5	1.1	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.4
	1924	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.6	1.6	1.2	0.8	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2
	1925	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.7	1.2	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2
	1926	0.5	0.5	1.2	0.8	1.9	1.5	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.2
	1927	0.9	0.6	1.4	0.9	1.9	1.4	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2
	1928	1.1	0.7	2.1	1.3	2.0	1.5	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.2
	1929	1.4	0.9	2.6	1.6	2.3	1.7	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.2
	1930	1.4	1.0	2.6	1.6	2.2	1.6	1.2	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.6
Suicide.	Annual average 1921-30	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1921	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1922	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1923	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1924	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1925	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1926	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1927	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1928	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1929	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1930	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
Child-birth.	Annual average 1921-30	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.3	..	0.2	..	0.2
	1921	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	..	..	..
	1922	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	..	..	..
	1923	..	0.1	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1924	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1
	1925	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	0.1	..	..	..	0.1
	1926	..	0.1	..	..	..	0.2	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.2
	1927	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2
	1928	..	0.3	..	0.4	..	0.3	..	0.4	..	0.3	..	0.3
	1929	..	0.4	..	0.5	..	0.4	..	0.6	..	0.4	..	0.3
	1930	..	0.4	..	0.4	..	0.4	..	0.6	..	0.3	..	0.4

* Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XI.—Annual deaths and death rates from selected causes by sex 1921-30.

Part B.—Reported annual death rate per 1,000 of the same sex.

Cause of death.	Year.	Number of deaths reported per 1,000 of each sex calculated on the population estimated on 1st January of each year at a uniform annual rate of change.											
		*Bengal.		Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
Cholera.	Annual average 1921-30	1.5	1.5	1.1	1.1	1.9	1.9	1.0	1.1	1.8	1.7	1.4	1.3
	1921	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.4	2.0	1.8	1.4	1.5	2.6	2.5	0.6	0.8
	1922	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.7	1.5	1.4	0.4	0.4	1.4	1.3	1.8	1.7
	1923	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.7	1.4	1.3	0.8	0.7
	1924	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.7
	1925	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.1	1.1
	1926	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.1	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.2	0.9	0.8
	1927	2.5	2.4	1.3	1.3	3.2	3.2	1.8	1.8	3.1	3.0	2.5	2.4
	1928	2.8	2.8	2.2	2.3	3.8	3.4	1.9	2.1	3.5	3.4	2.6	2.5
	1929	1.6	1.7	1.3	1.4	2.7	2.8	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.3
1930	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.0	1.4	1.4	0.7	0.7	1.4	1.4	1.0	0.9	
Fever.	Annual average 1921-30	17.7	17.4	16.0	16.5	16.8	18.0	24.4	23.6	15.4	14.5	15.0	14.0
	1921	23.2	22.8	24.3	24.3	23.2	24.5	28.7	27.9	20.5	19.6	17.6	16.4
	1922	19.4	18.4	17.9	17.6	17.8	18.3	25.0	23.8	17.4	15.8	18.7	16.8
	1923	19.7	18.3	16.8	16.7	16.8	17.2	27.8	26.8	18.1	16.5	17.8	15.7
	1924	20.0	18.4	17.2	17.0	17.8	17.4	27.8	24.9	18.5	16.6	17.0	14.8
	1925	18.7	17.9	15.4	15.5	18.0	19.3	26.9	25.1	16.4	14.7	15.1	13.6
	1926	17.2	17.0	16.0	16.7	17.1	18.5	23.8	22.5	14.2	13.3	14.4	13.7
	1927	16.1	16.4	15.2	16.2	15.5	17.2	21.8	21.6	13.7	13.5	13.9	13.4
	1928	15.2	15.6	13.9	14.8	13.9	15.4	21.8	21.9	12.6	12.6	13.7	13.5
	1929	14.2	14.9	12.0	13.1	14.5	17.7	20.2	20.8	11.5	11.5	12.1	11.8
1930	14.0	14.4	12.2	13.3	14.1	16.0	20.5	20.7	11.4	11.2	11.2	11.0	
Small-pox.	Annual average 1921-30	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
	1921	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
	1922	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
	1923	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
	1924	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1925	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1926	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1927	0.9	0.9	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
	1928	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.1
	1929	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.5
1930	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	
Plague.	Annual average 1921-30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1921	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1922	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1924	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1928	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1929	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1930	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	Annual average 1921-30	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4
	1921	0.8	0.5	1.3	1.3	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
	1922	0.5	0.5	1.1	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3
	1923	0.5	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2
	1924	0.5	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3
	1925	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3
	1926	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3
	1927	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4
	1928	0.7	0.7	1.1	1.2	0.7	0.8	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5
	1929	0.8	0.7	1.2	1.2	0.8	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.5
1930	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.3	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	
Respiratory diseases.	Annual average 1921-30	0.9	0.8	1.6	0.9	1.3	1.3	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2
	1921	0.8	0.8	1.5	1.0	1.8	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
	1922	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.6	1.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1923	0.6	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.5	1.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2
	1924	0.7	0.4	1.1	0.6	1.6	1.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2
	1925	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.6	1.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
	1926	0.6	0.5	1.2	0.7	1.8	1.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
	1927	0.6	0.5	1.4	0.8	1.8	1.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2
	1928	1.0	0.7	2.0	1.2	1.9	1.4	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2
	1929	1.3	0.8	2.5	1.2	2.1	1.6	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2
1930	1.4	0.8	2.4	1.5	2.0	1.6	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.5	
Suicide.	Annual average 1921-30	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	..	..	..
	1921	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1922	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1923	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1924	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1925	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1926	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1927	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1928	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1929	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
1930	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
Child-birth.	Annual average 1921-30	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.1	..	0.1
	1921	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1
	1922	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	..	..	..
	1923	..	..	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1924	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1925	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1
	1926	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1
	1927	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1
	1928	..	0.3	..	0.3	..	0.3	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2
	1929	..	0.4	..	0.4	..	0.4	..	0.4	..	0.4	..	0.3
1930	..	0.4	..	0.4	..	0.4	..	0.6	..	0.8	..	0.8	

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XII.—Number of deaths reported from certain causes per 1,000 deaths from all causes by sexes, 1921-30.

Cause of death.	Year.	Bengal.		Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		Chittagong.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Male.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	Annual average 1921-30.	59.9	59.9	45.1	45.8	71.9	67.9	36.5	38.6	80.2	81.3	67.0	68.1
Cholera.	1921	57.0	57.2	43.1	42.1	60.6	64.0	42.2	45.4	91.0	92.7	26.9	28.0
	1922	46.2	43.5	31.8	29.8	56.3	51.6	13.6	13.7	58.1	57.9	77.8	80.9
	1923	35.4	34.6	17.6	17.3	37.8	34.0	24.0	24.5	56.8	56.4	36.4	35.8
	1924	39.6	41.1	46.4	47.9	42.5	40.3	29.2	32.5	44.6	46.8	36.6	39.6
	1925	29.3	29.9	21.4	19.7	29.2	27.4	20.1	20.8	34.6	37.0	54.8	60.8
	1926	51.3	51.4	40.2	40.6	74.0	71.9	30.4	31.8	60.4	62.7	48.7	45.7
	1927	100.4	98.8	52.9	53.8	120.6	110.9	65.6	67.6	139.6	139.2	122.4	122.7
	1928	115.9	114.1	96.5	100.9	132.4	126.1	69.6	74.8	155.1	151.0	125.7	123.8
	1929	74.9	73.2	61.7	63.0	106.6	100.9	45.9	46.1	81.0	80.5	78.7	75.4
	1930	53.4	51.8	44.6	47.8	61.3	56.0	27.1	27.0	78.6	76.7	58.6	55.5
	Annual average 1921-30.	712.5	718.5	639.3	667.9	633.9	[652.7]	850.0	843.7	680.5	675.9	746.6	744.2
Fever.	1921	758.4	733.5	712.4	736.4	700.4	723.3	871.2	867.0	719.8	720.2	815.8	816.4
	1922	750.9	757.0	678.5	705.8	663.1	679.5	896.0	886.7	727.6	723.5	788.4	786.5
	1923	764.3	770.2	679.7	707.1	672.2	685.0	892.5	891.5	743.0	738.2	803.9	800.7
	1924	759.9	757.7	608.9	693.3	674.7	681.4	885.8	875.0	742.5	733.8	797.3	786.6
	1925	752.8	758.3	651.6	678.4	668.6	688.9	834.9	840.6	747.8	736.9	769.1	763.3
	1926	712.0	717.8	630.5	658.5	626.2	637.7	853.7	849.8	690.4	690.2	756.5	761.2
	1927	659.2	668.0	618.3	646.8	577.6	598.4	798.4	792.3	617.3	619.5	685.7	683.6
	1928	627.5	637.7	603.0	645.5	554.4	578.9	784.1	776.6	558.8	560.7	654.0	661.0
	1929	644.8	659.8	556.9	597.8	577.7	608.2	798.9	796.6	596.4	599.2	690.4	692.3
	1930	658.5	682.6	578.1	618.3	609.6	641.2	814.5	810.4	625.2	626.9	689.0	691.3
	Annual average 1921-30.	15.7	15.9	19.3	19.2	15.2	15.4	13.5	13.8	15.9	16.0	16.1	16.5
Small-pox.	1921	8.1	5.5	3.4	3.2	5.2	5.5	5.3	4.7	9.1	7.6	7.4	6.7
	1922	8.0	6.5	8.9	8.2	4.7	4.7	6.6	5.6	7.1	6.7	8.0	8.3
	1923	3.7	3.5	3.5	3.1	2.9	2.6	2.8	2.0	4.4	4.6	7.1	6.8
	1924	4.5	4.7	4.9	5.0	6.2	5.5	3.4	3.7	3.6	4.0	5.8	7.5
	1925	15.3	14.8	34.0	32.8	27.5	25.3	5.0	5.1	5.6	5.3	7.6	7.9
	1926	21.9	22.5	37.8	38.2	25.3	25.5	24.9	26.2	7.9	7.9	10.0	10.2
	1927	35.8	35.7	53.6	52.5	37.3	38.7	42.8	43.2	21.2	19.5	21.9	21.8
	1928	36.5	36.8	32.0	33.4	21.9	23.9	35.3	35.9	46.7	45.4	53.5	51.8
	1929	18.6	18.8	7.0	7.1	7.4	7.2	10.1	9.5	42.8	43.1	28.4	29.7
	1930	10.9	10.7	12.9	11.5	13.0	12.5	3.3	3.4	16.2	16.7	9.8	9.9
	Annual average 1921-30.	-04	-02	-02	-004	-17	-06	-001	-001	-006	-008	..	..
Plague.	1921	-06	-02	-1	-03	-18	-05	-006	-006	..	..	..	..
	1922	-17	-08	-05	..	-75	-36	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1923	-11	-05	-01	..	-46	-16	..	..	-06	-08	..	..
	1924	-05	-007	-02	..	-21	-04	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1925	-01	-002	..	..	-06	-008	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1927	-002	..	..	..	-007	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1928	-01	..	-01	..	-03	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1929	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1930	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Annual average 1921-30.	24.0	23.2	41.8	42.4	24.7	24.8	11.3	10.0	24.5	22.7	22.8	20.3
Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	1921	18.6	17.3	38.1	38.6	20.8	18.0	7.0	6.5	15.5	13.9	11.5	9.9
	1922	20.3	19.6	40.2	40.1	21.5	22.2	7.0	7.3	19.2	17.2	16.6	13.4
	1923	18.5	17.7	36.4	37.4	22.1	20.9	8.1	7.7	16.5	14.9	15.7	12.7
	1924	16.9	16.5	35.8	36.1	21.0	21.7	8.9	8.5	17.1	14.8	16.9	15.8
	1925	19.0	18.8	34.1	34.7	21.1	20.9	6.0	7.3	19.1	18.4	19.1	16.5
	1926	21.8	21.6	35.0	36.0	24.8	25.7	8.5	7.4	23.1	21.3	22.2	20.5
	1927	25.1	24.3	42.2	42.5	26.9	27.5	9.3	7.8	27.2	24.7	24.7	23.2
	1928	28.5	27.7	47.7	50.2	27.3	28.3	13.0	10.5	33.5	31.9	27.0	24.7
	1929	35.1	32.8	56.4	58.0	30.6	29.6	22.0	18.2	39.6	36.1	31.6	28.4
	1930	36.7	36.6	59.0	58.6	33.1	34.4	24.1	20.4	41.8	38.5	47.4	40.2
	Annual average 1921-30.	35.5	24.0	62.3	38.4	67.5	48.8	16.6	11.2	16.1	9.9	13.7	11.0
Respiratory diseases.	1921	26.4	19.5	42.5	31.1	54.5	41.0	13.1	10.1	9.4	6.6	2.9	2.4
	1922	26.1	18.4	44.5	27.1	60.6	46.6	10.6	8.3	8.3	4.9	3.1	2.3
	1923	24.5	16.1	47.1	27.6	60.1	44.8	8.5	5.6	8.5	4.6	17.6	17.3
	1924	25.8	17.9	43.7	25.7	58.9	45.3	9.7	6.8	9.8	5.7	9.9	8.3
	1925	23.1	18.5	48.6	28.6	60.6	41.9	9.6	6.5	10.4	6.2	12.3	8.4
	1926	31.2	21.5	46.9	23.9	66.4	49.0	11.4	7.4	11.5	6.3	14.6	11.0
	1927	33.5	21.9	55.5	33.1	66.6	47.8	13.0	8.5	14.4	8.7	13.1	9.5
	1928	43.2	27.3	88.3	54.2	77.2	53.1	16.3	9.5	25.8	15.4	12.7	9.1
	1929	52.6	37.4	114.7	69.4	85.8	57.9	35.3	22.4	33.9	21.0	18.6	12.7
	1930	64.4	42.3	113.2	68.2	89.9	62.3	45.2	28.9	36.1	22.6	37.3	32.0
	Annual average 1921-30.	2.1	3.3	2.2	2.9	3.4	5.8	1.5	2.2	2.0	3.4	8	1.2
Suicide.	1921	1.9	3.7	1.7	1.9	2.0	4.6	1.8	1.8	2.0	3.1	1.1	1.4
	1922	2.1	3.8	2.1	2.9	4.2	6.1	1.6	2.6	2.2	3.8	1.6	1.2
	1923	2.1	3.5	2.0	2.5	3.7	6.9	1.5	2.8	1.0	3.5	1.5	1.8
	1924	2.1	3.5	2.2	2.6	3.6	6.4	1.4	2.4	2.2	3.8	1.7	1.4
	1925	2.2	3.6	2.2	2.8	3.4	6.2	1.4	2.2	2.5	4.0	1.0	1.3
	1926	2.2	3.5	2.5	2.8	3.4	5.7	1.5	2.2	2.1	4.3	1.0	1.0
	1927	2.1	3.3	2.3	3.0	3.5	5.7	1.4	2.1	1.9	3.4	1.8	1.9
	1928	2.2	3.2	2.6	3.6	3.4	5.5	1.5	2.3	2.2	2.9	1.8	1.0
	1929	2.1	3.9	2.5	3.3	3.3	5.3	1.7	2.2	1.5	2.3	2.3	1.0
	1930	2.3	3.2	2.5	3.4	3.6	5.8	1.8	2.4	1.9	2.4	1.8	1.0
	Annual average 1921-30.	..	7.9	..	7.9	..	7.6	..	8.3	..	6.7	..	8.1
Child-birth.	1921	..	2.5	..	2.0	..	2.4	..	4.5	..	1.4	..	1.4
	1922	..	4.7	..	6.6	..	5.2	..	8.9	..	1.0	..	0.1
	1923	..	2.1	..	1.8	..	3.0	..	2.4	..	1.5	..	1.7
	1924	..	3.5	..	2.6	..	4.3	..	3.6	..	2.8	..	6.4
	1925	..	5.1	..	4.6	..	6.9	..	4.3	..	3.8	..	8.3
	1926	..	5.9	..	6.5	..	6.7	..	5.3	..	4.9	..	8.8
	1927	..	7.7	..	7.1	..	8.2	..	7.0	..	7.2	..	9.8
	1928	..	12.0	..	15.2	..	10.0	..	14.1	..	12.1	..	12.3
	1929	..	16.3	..	20.5	..	15.7	..	21.6	..	17.3	..	14.8

APPENDIX

An enquiry into the fertility of marriages

1. **Introduction.**—In 1921 for the first time an enquiry was made into the fertility of marriages in Bengal. A similar enquiry with some modifications was undertaken on the present occasion also. In 1921 the results yielded were imperfect owing mainly to the incomplete recognition by the general public of the interest and importance of the enquiry. It was hoped that a similar enquiry on the present occasion would show that there had been an advance in public opinion, that there was now less prejudice or apathy regarding such enquiries and that material of greater extent and more value might be made available. In order, if possible, to anticipate misunderstanding and prejudice, it was thought that the enquiry could best be conducted with the assistance of medical practitioners, ladies of the teaching profession or interested in social welfare, and members of social organisations. The Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal and the Director of Public Health directed the officers subordinate to them to give such assistance as was possible, and the permission of Government was obtained for making use of ladies in the educational service of Government. It was hoped that women's associations in the districts, such as the *mahila samitis*, etc., might also be induced to assist in the enquiry.

2. **Method of enquiry and results.**—The form of the questionnaire upon which the returns were obtained is reproduced below:

1. Age	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Caste, tribe or race	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Husband's age	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Husband's occupation	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Number of years since the wife first went to live with her husband						
6. Sex of first child (quick or still-born)	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Number of children born alive	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Number of children still living	..	..	..	..	..	..
9. Ages of children still living	..	..	..	..	..	..

Expectations that the enquiry would meet with any greater enthusiasm than in 1921 were not fulfilled. One district officer declined to have anything whatever to do with it on the ground that it was in general an offence to public decency. In most other districts a certain number of returns were prepared but nowhere was any enthusiasm displayed except perhaps by the district health officer of Dacca, who himself procured the submission of a considerable number of returns. In 1921 statistics were obtained for over 34 thousand families. On the present occasion, after unintelligible and duplicate slips had been discarded, no more than 14,586 returns were left for classification. The value of deductions based on so few returns is open to criticism, but in order to make them more suitable for scientific analysis statistical constants have been worked out where possible and are incorporated in the tables in which the results of the enquiry are shown. In case enquirers should desire to check the probable errors calculated in these tables, or to calculate standard errors by a different method, an additional statement (table I) is included showing the standard deviation for each item for which a probable error has been entered, and this with the frequency given in the tables themselves should supply all the data necessary.

3. **How far the returns are representative.**—It is in the first place necessary to estimate to what extent the returns received may be taken as an average sample of the total population. Amongst the 14,586 returns 10,856 are from Hindus, 3,335 from Muslims and 395 from persons of other classes. The upper class of Hindus represented by Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas contributes an unexpectedly high proportion of the returns amounting to more than three-quarters of the total number returned for Muslims, and nearly one-fifth of the total returns received. As a sample of the total population, averages taken from all the returns are liable to be affected by differences existing between communities or classes within the same community which are not represented in the same proportion amongst the returns as amongst the general population. For comparison, however, amongst themselves the provision of a figure of probable error makes it possible to allow to some extent for differences introduced by the varying size of the samples of each class taken and the range of individual variations within them. The largest number of returns was received from North Bengal which contributed 6,132; from Central Bengal and East Bengal between 3 and 4 thousand returns were received; but from West Bengal only a comparatively small number over one thousand.

4. **The statistics compiled.**—The returns on receipt were divided amongst the principal geographical divisions of the province and they were sorted in such a way as to preserve

these geographical divisions throughout. The statistics compiled from them are shown in 8 tables. These show :—

Table A—the number of married couples regarding whom returns were received by natural divisions and by age-groups at marriage of husband and wife ;

Table B—families according to the age of wife at marriage classified by natural divisions, sex of first born and average number of children born alive and surviving ;

Table C—families according to age of wife at marriage classified by natural divisions, by duration of marriage and by fertility ;

Table D—families according to occupation of husband classified by natural divisions and by average number of children born alive and surviving ;

Table E—families according to religion or caste and natural division classified (1) by number of children born alive and surviving and (2) by age-groups of wife at marriage ;

Table F—families according to religion or caste and natural division classified by duration of marriage and average number of children surviving ;

Table G—families classified by age of parents at marriage and age of wife at birth of first child ; and

Table H—families classified by age of parents at marriage and by frequency of births.

It was assumed that where the husband was dead or the wife's age was 45 or the duration of marriage was as much as 32 years the period of fertility of the marriage might be considered to be closed. Such returns total only 2,406 and for some of the tables the statistics extracted are confined to them. In others in addition to the figures for all returns received subsidiary figures have also been shown for the returns for completed fertility cases only. The returns dealing with a total of 6,419 only refer to those families to which children were born who all survived. In every case "duration of marriage" refers not to the date since the marriage ceremony but to the date obtained from line 5 of the questionnaire which represents in general the date at which conjugal relations were established.

5. **Age at marriage of husband and wife.**—Table A shows the distribution by ages at marriage of husband and wife of all the couples for whom returns were received. In the whole of Bengal amongst the returns received 42 per cent. of the women had been married before the age of 14, 77 per cent. before the age of 17 and 95 per cent. before the age of 24. Of their husbands 41 per cent. had been married between 17 and 23 years of age, 21 per cent. between 24 and 26 and 22 per cent. between 27 and 33. The most popular marriages were between grooms aged 17-23 and brides aged either less than 14 or between 14 and 16. Next in popularity came marriages between grooms aged 24-26 and brides aged 14-16 and between grooms aged 27-33 and brides aged 14-16 or 17-23. There was some considerable variation between the figures returned in each division. The variations are perhaps best illustrated in North Bengal which supplied the largest number of returns and East Bengal from which the number of returns received was only just less than from Central Bengal which supplied the next largest. In North Bengal the number of returns in which the wife had been married before the age of 14 was only 27 per cent. and in only 62 per cent. of the cases had she been married before the age of 17, but by the time the age of 24 was reached 92 per cent. had been married, a figure closely resembling that of the whole of Bengal. Amongst grooms also the popular age of marriage was slightly higher ; 40 per cent. had been married between 17 and 23, 22 per cent. between 24 and 26 and 24 per cent. between 27 and 33. The most popular marriages were between grooms of 17-23 and brides of 14-16. The figures for East Bengal more closely resemble those for the whole of Bengal. Amongst the returns received in East Bengal the majority of the wives (58 per cent.) had been married before 14 and 87 per cent. before the age of 17 whilst only 18 per cent. and 19 per cent. respectively of the grooms had been married at the ages of 24-26 or 27-33. Here in the age-groups chosen by far the largest number of marriages occurred between grooms aged 17-23 and brides aged less than 14. But whereas in Eastern Bengal a larger number of marriages took place between grooms aged between 24 and 26 and brides below the age of 17, amongst the age-groups taken in Northern Bengal there were proportionately more marriages between grooms aged 27-33 and brides aged 17-23.

6. **Returns for marriages in which the age of the bride was less than 14.**—Statement No. IV-a in the text shows the distribution in single-year age-groups after the age of 6 of the 6,153 marriages which took place at or under the age of 13. Of these considerably less than one-half related to marriages in which the bride was under 12 years of age when the marriage was celebrated and a larger proportion of marriages took place when the bride was between 12 and 13 than at any other age period. The figures, if they are taken as typical, reflect the postponement of the age of marriage amongst girls which has been taking place during recent years. Amongst marriages in which the wife was of any age in this table the largest proportion had taken place between 7 and 13 years of age. For each age-group marriages contracted at this distance of time contributed anything up to a quarter or one-third of the total number for which slips were returned and in general the percentage contributed by marriages of a shorter duration increases regularly with an advancing age at marriage of the wife. The returns may be expected on general grounds to be unaffected by the increase of child marriages contracted before the Child Marriage Restraint Act became law since it is probable that parents or guardians concerned with such marriages would not volunteer to supply any information for the purposes of this enquiry.

STATEMENT No. IV-a.—Figures showing duration of marriage and age of wife at marriage for women married before the age of 14—All Bengal.

Serial.	Age of wife at marriage.	Duration of marriage in years.																		Number of wives aged and less at marriage.	
		0-3		4-6		7-13		14-16		17-23		24-26		27-32		33 & over		All periods.		No.	%
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
1	All ages	244	4	498	3	1,778	29	767	13	1,108	18	351	6	843	10	764	12	6,153	100	..	..
2	0-6 ..	5	7	2	4	188	38	146	29	108	21	18	4	24	5	59	12	495	100	495	8
3	7 ..	2	1	..	..	19	12	80	19	52	33	11	17	27	17	18	11	150	100	654	11
4	8 ..	4	2	5	2	78	30	39	15	70	27	13	5	24	9	25	10	268	100	912	15
5	9 ..	8	3	18	7	92	34	40	15	53	19	18	7	15	5	29	70	273	100	1,185	19
6	10 ..	15	3	24	3	186	25	113	15	189	18	53	7	97	13	127	17	754	100	1,939	32
7	11 ..	29	4	67	9	238	33	97	14	90	13	49	7	60	9	75	11	700	100	2,039	43
8	12 ..	60	4	152	9	440	28	148	9	298	19	82	5	169	11	236	15	1,597	100	4,236	69
9	13 ..	115	6	230	12	586	30	154	8	303	16	107	9	227	12	195	10	1,917	100	6,153	100

7. Masculinity at birth, fecundity and survival compared with age of wife at marriage.—Table B is designed to throw some light upon masculinity at birth, fecundity and survival as affected by the age of wife at marriage. For these purposes only completed fertility cases were sorted and the total number, 2,406, is probably too small to justify certain conclusions. For example, there are less than one hundred instances in all except four of the age-groups of wife at marriage chosen, and in no column in which percentages or averages are struck do the figures yield any progression which seems to be entirely regular. Thus the average number of sterile marriages is 3.3 per cent. and it would be expected on general grounds that they would be least numerous in marriages contracted at an early age. When the wife was aged at marriage 44 and over the percentage of sterile marriages is certainly highest, but it is somewhat surprisingly lowest amongst women married at the age of 37-43 and is relatively high when the marriage was contracted between the ages of 24-26. In both these last two cases, however, the number of instances taken is probably too small to justify any useful deductions. Similarly, expectation would suggest that masculinity at birth of the first child would be highest when the wife was married at an early age and would successively decline. In the three age-groups of wife at marriage in which the largest number of returns was received some such progression can be traced; for every 1,000 males first born there were 707 females born to marriages where the wife was aged 7-13 at marriage, 726 when she was aged 14-16 and 784 when she was aged 17-23. Thereafter the percentage shows a pronounced decline with the exception of marriages in which the bride was aged 34-36 where amongst the first born as many as 1,333 females appear for every 1,000 males, but this age-group is the one for which after the last age-group the smallest number of returns were received. The proportions, however, are widely discrepant from those discussed in chapter V. If the age-group 34-36 is omitted the highest number of females first born per 1,000 males first born is 853 which is very considerably smaller than the lowest (884) shown in the statement incorporated in diagram No. V—12 which gives proportions recorded in each division in each year, 1901-1930. The figures from the vital statistics are not accurate, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that those in table B are certainly less typical. The same uncertainty as to the validity of deductions pursues the enquirer into the average number of living births and the average number of survivors per family. It would be natural to assume that the number of living births would be greatest in those marriages in which the reproductive period was most prolonged, particularly as we are here dealing with couples having the highest survival value since (apart from widows) only those females are taken into consideration who have successfully survived the whole of their reproductive period. In general the expected progression appears to be displayed. For wives married at the age of 7-13 for instance, there are on an average 6.3 children born alive, and the smaller number born to females married at age 0-6 is shown by an inspection of the probable error not to be significantly different owing to the greater range in the returns received for marriages contracted at this age. From 7 to 13 the average numbers decline till the age-group 24-26 after which they unexpectedly rise in successive groups until the last is reached in which there is a decline. Only in one instance, however, does the difference between any group and the next appear to be significant, namely, that between ages 14-16 and 17-23, and the most noticeable variations between groups amounting to 50, 70, 90 or even 110 children per 100 mothers have a probable error so large that it would be unsafe to look upon them as indicating genuine differences. Very much the same features are shown by the figures given for the average number of surviving children per family. Here the number of survivors seems to be significantly less in groups 17-23 and 24-26 than in the next preceding group. The figures for the number of survivors per 1,000 born alive definitely seem to suggest a higher survival rate for children born to marriages in which the wife was less than 16 at marriage than to those in which her age was higher. The lowest percentages recorded occur where the wife was aged 44 and over, 24-26 and 37-43, but some hesitation will be felt in accepting conclusions from these figures because it is just in two of these three groups that unexpected discrepancies in the figures appear in every column of this table. The figures of survivors throughout this table include those who have died after attaining maturity in cases where the marriage has been of long duration and consequently allow for other mortality forces than those peculiar to infancy and childhood.

8. Variations by locality.—A comparison by localities based on table B shows that the returns received from Eastern Bengal contain a larger proportion of sterile marriages than those from any other natural division. The proportion is lowest in Central Bengal and next lowest in North Bengal. Judged also by the average number of living births per family Central Bengal appears to be significantly more fertile than any of the other three natural divisions.

On the other hand, the number of children surviving to the average family is no greater in Central than in West Bengal. It is higher than in North Bengal and the difference is here almost certainly significant and it is also higher than in East Bengal where the difference is probably significant. Compared with Central Bengal, therefore, West Bengal has a definitely lower average of living births per family together with an equal average number of surviving children per family and consequently a higher survival ratio shown in column "l." Similarly, compared with East Bengal there is a greater disparity between its significantly higher average number of births per family and its (probably) significantly higher number of survivals in each family, so that the survival ratio is actually greater in East Bengal. The survival ratio appears to be lowest in North Bengal. It is doubtful whether there are sufficient families within each division to invest with any value a comparison of the differences in the number of living births and survivors found on the average in families in different divisions in which the wife at marriage fell within the same age-group.

9. **Postponement of child birth as affected by age at marriage.**—Table C was designed to suggest conclusions as to the effect on the extent or duration of sterility of the age of the wife at marriage. From it the accompanying statement No. IV-b has been prepared. The figures show that no matter at what age the wife is married, the proportion of those married within the same age-group who have not yet borne children steadily decreases according to the duration of marriage and the only notable exceptions to this progression are those in which the wife at marriage is aged 17 to 26. These deductions are in conformity with the observations made in 1921 that child bearing continues an almost uninterrupted course until the normal end of a woman's period of reproductive fertility, but it is interesting to find that fertility, although in many cases considerably delayed, establishes itself even after the lapse of a considerable period in which no children have been born. The figures in the last column of statement No. IV-b are not

STATEMENT No. IV-b.

Percentage of families with no children during married life lasting.

Age of wife at marriage.	0-3 years.	4-6 years.	7-13 years.	14-23 years.	24-32 years.	33 years & over.	All periods.
All ages ..	41.3	13.0	4.4	3.3	3.0	3.3	7.0
0-6 ..	100.0	50.0	11.6	7.2	7.1	..	8.7
7-13 ..	51.0	20.6	5.0	3.8	3.0	4.4	7.8
14-16 ..	35.7	8.9	3.7	2.7	2.4	2.1	6.0
17-23 ..	37.0	9.1	3.7	2.4	3.7	2.4	6.8
24-26 ..	50.0	12.2	5.4	4.5	8.3	..	10.3
27-33 ..	48.1	10.3	1.7	1.9	..	8.8	8.7
34-36 ..	12.5	60.0	..	5.3	..	50.0	11.8
37-43 ..	37.5	100.0	8.8	..	..	..	8.2
44 & over ..	..	60.0	..	..	..	..	21.4

a fair index of the extent of absolute sterility in marriages in which the wife at marriage fell within each of the age-groups shown since they include in an increasing number in the younger age-groups of families in which the wife has not yet reached a full development of physical maturity. Similarly, it might be thought that the figures for sterility given for completed fertility cases in table B and reproduced in column "i" of table C would offer a means of estimating the risk of complete sterility in

marriages undertaken when the bride was of any particular age-group. An examination of columns "c" to "h" of this table shows that all the cases of complete sterility in completed fertility cases refer to wives whose age may reasonably be taken to be more than 45, at which it can be assumed that the reproductive period of a woman's life is ended, so that we are not demonstrably dealing with any cases of young widows. On the other hand, to use these figures in this way would involve the assumption that all the cases of completed fertility referred to wives whose husbands had been alive until they reached the age of about 45 and since the returns were not confined to those women whose husbands were still living and there was no means for estimating the age of the wife when her husband died if she was a widow, such an assumption is clearly untenable.

10. **Fecundity and survival compared with occupation of husband.**—In table D groups are shown distinguished according to the occupation of the husband. The occupational classification adopted is a slight modification of that used for the purposes of imperial table X which is discussed in chapter VIII. The number of instances returned under some of the occupational categories adopted in column "a" of the table is too small to justify confident conclusions upon the average figures worked out. Thus those returned as engaged in jute and other textiles, in transport by water, in postal and telegraphic services and in letters, arts and sciences are clearly too few to be of any use for purposes of comparison. The figures shown in column "d" of the table suggest that sterility is relatively high amongst those employed as domestic servants, those employed as workers in skins and other hard animal products and those engaged in unproductive occupations or occupations insufficiently described, in cotton ginning and textiles, in building and in trade. Complete sterility is apparently least prevalent amongst persons professing the law and agriculturists, and it is very low amongst persons following the learned professions generally. The notable feature of the figures given in column "f" is the comparative absence, judged by the average number of living births per family, of any differential rate of fertility between different occupational strata of the population. Compared with the agricultural population differences in fertility which are certainly significant can be traced only in the families of those persons whose occupation is medicine or law. In every 100 mothers there will be on the average 120 more children born whose fathers are lawyers and 100 more whose fathers are medical men. There will be 70 more amongst those whose fathers are public servants and 60 more amongst those whose fathers are men of letters, but in these cases the range of variation in the individual families making up the total is so considerable that the averages do not reveal any significant difference. Amongst traders, on the other hand, with whom the percentage of complete sterility is high compared with agriculturists, there are for every 100

mothers 100 less children than amongst agriculturists, and this difference is many times its probable error and is in consequence significant. In contrast to this general absence of significant variation in the rate of productivity column "h" of the table reveals very considerable variations in the number of children who survive amongst those born to different classes. The average number of survivals per family is 4 and the average for agriculturists is 3.9. Taking in each group the surviving children of 100 mothers there are 20 more amongst those born to fathers following unspecified clerical occupations and 30 less born to those who are industrialists or artisans, but these differences are not sufficiently larger than their own probable error to be significant. On the other hand, amongst domestic servants although no significant difference in fertility is revealed, the chances of survival definitely seem to be worse than amongst agriculturists. Amongst the surviving children of each 100 mothers there will be 110 more amongst the agriculturists than amongst domestic servants. In contrast with the leisured classes, the professional classes, represented by those following as an occupation instruction, the law, public administration or medicine, provide conditions in which their children have a clearly higher chance of survival than amongst the agriculturists. Thus compared with those in the agricultural classes the surviving children of 100 mothers will contain 150 more whose fathers are employed under the head law, 140 more whose fathers are public servants, 120 more whose fathers follow the medicine in some capacity and 90 more whose fathers are connected with instruction and the differences in all of these cases are significant. Similarly, to every 100 mothers whose husbands live on their income the surviving children will number 80 more than those surviving to mothers in the agricultural classes and although the difference is not so many times its own probable error it exceeds it sufficiently to be probably significant. The interesting deduction appears from this table that in contrast with conditions in occidental countries, in Bengal up to the present there is no difference in fertility between those pursuing agriculture and the learned professions. A consideration of table E analysed below shows that amongst Baidyas and Brahmans if not amongst Kayasthas also there is a higher fertility than amongst the body of Hindus, and since these contribute principally to Government service and the learned professions it might have been expected that these professions would actually show a higher fertility rate than agriculturists. In any case it seems clear that whether their rate of fertility is higher or not the rate of increase is higher amongst the intelligentsia in Bengal, since their families show on the average significantly higher numbers amongst the children surviving.

11. **Fecundity and survival by religion or caste.**—Table E is intended to facilitate a comparison of the fertility of different castes and the chances of survival amongst the children born to each. The returns received have been separately sorted to distinguish Muslims, Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayasthas, other Hindus and all others. Amongst the Baidyas and the last group the number of families actually concerned amounts only to 67 and 68 respectively and is perhaps too few on which to base very definite conclusions. Compared with the average, column "d" shows that the percentage of sterility is considerably lower in marriages amongst Brahmans and Kayasthas and very considerably higher in marriages amongst Muslims. The largest class is that of Hindus excluding Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas and it can conveniently be used as a measure to test differential fertility and survival values amongst the other groups. Incidentally it contributes on the average the lowest number of births in each family amongst the groups shown. For the whole the average is 6 per family but for other Hindus the average is only 5.8, and compared with them for every 100 mothers in each group there are 190 more children born to Baidyas, 50 more born to Brahmans, 30 more born to Kayasthas and 30 more born to Muslims. The variations within individual families are however so considerable that the difference is almost certainly not significant amongst Muslims and perhaps not significant amongst Kayasthas. If we turn to the number of children surviving and again take 100 mothers of each group the surviving children will be 200 more amongst Baidyas, 90 more amongst Brahmans and 60 more amongst Kayasthas and in each of these cases the difference compared with the figures for other Hindus is significant. Amongst the Muslims there will be only 10 more surviving children for every 100 mothers, and a calculation of the probable error of this difference shows that it is not significant. It is interesting and somewhat unexpected to find that the chances of survival are roughly proportionate to the prevalence of comparatively early marriage. Amongst the returns received more of the mothers are married under the age of 13 amongst the Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayasthas and Muslims than amongst other Hindus. It is amongst the first three classes that the highest proportion of children survive in each average family. The ratio however is higher amongst other Hindus than amongst Muslims.

12. **Growth of families by divisions.**—Table F provides figures from which some estimates are made of the growth of the average family according to duration of marriage in each division and in each of the religions or caste groups chosen. On the average to every 100 marriages amongst the children born there have survived 90 children after the marriage has lasted 0—6 years, 210 after the marriage has lasted 7—13 years, 300 when it has lasted 14—16 years, 360 when it has lasted 17—26 years, 410 when it has lasted 27—32 years and 420 when it has lasted 33 years and over. In East Bengal, where the number of children surviving per marriage which has lasted 33 years is less than in other divisions, on the average a larger number of children have survived during the first 6 years of married life than in any other part of the province. In North Bengal, which together with Central Bengal, shows the largest figure of children surviving to marriages lasting 33 years and over a smaller number than in Eastern Bengal survives to any marriage which has lasted less than 33 years. Compared with East Bengal, West and North Bengal show a significantly smaller number surviving on

the average within the first 6 years of marriage and Central Bengal a significantly larger number surviving to marriages which have lasted 7 to 13 years. Figures for these comparisons are extracted from table F and given in the accompanying statement IV-c.

STATEMENT No. IV-c.

Average number of children surviving to each family according to duration of marriage by divisions.

Duration of marriage.	All Bengal.	West Bengal.	Central Bengal.	North Bengal.	East Bengal.
1	2	3	4	5	6
0-6 ..	0.9±.01	0.8±.04	0.9±.03	0.9±.01	1.0±.03
7-13 ..	2.1±.02	2.2±.03	2.8±.03	2.0±.02	2.1±.03
14-16 ..	3.0±.03	3.0±.11	3.0±.06	2.9±.04	3.0±.06
17-26 ..	3.8±.03	3.8±.08	3.8±.05	3.8±.03	3.7±.06
27-32 ..	4.1±.05	4.6±.16	4.1±.08	3.9±.07	4.0±.10
33 & over	4.2±.05	4.2±.12	4.8±.08	4.3±.08	4.1±.09

13. Growth of families by religion or caste.—A similar comparison for castes is also afforded by the same table from which the accompanying statement IV-d has been extracted. If the figures for other Hindus be taken as a standard of comparison and the last group in the table shown be omitted there is in general at each duration period chosen a larger number of children

surviving in every other caste group. The figures for marriages of the duration of 27 to 32 years amongst Muslims are the only exception to this general statement. The differences, however, in many cases do not appear to be significant. Where the marriage has lasted 0-6 and 7-13 years the range of entries for individual families is so considerable in each case that a

STATEMENT No. IV-d.

Average number of children surviving to each family according to duration of marriage by castes or other groups.

Duration of marriage.	Total.	Muslim.	Brahman.	Baidya.	Kayastha.	Other Hindus.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0-6 ..	0.9±.01	0.9±.02	0.9±.05	1.2±.11	1.0±.05	0.9±.01
7-13 ..	2.1±.02	2.2±.03	2.3±.06	2.8±.12	2.5±.06	2.0±.02
14-16 ..	3.0±.03	3.0±.06	3.4±.11	3.4±.23	3.1±.11	2.9±.04
17-26 ..	3.8±.03	3.5±.05	4.1±.09	4.4±.17	4.3±.09	3.4±.03
27-32 ..	4.1±.05	3.6±.09	4.3±.13	6.5±.28	4.6±.20	3.9±.06
33 & over	4.2±.05	4.0±.09	4.7±.15	5.9±.20	4.5±.14	4.0±.06

amongst the three upper classes of Hindus, become significant. The deduction appears to be that children of upper class families benefit progressively by improved conditions leading to an increase in the chances of survival as the duration of the marriage increases. Table E has however suggested grounds for believing that the fertility rate is higher at least amongst the Baidyas and Brahmans and that the survival rate is highest amongst all three of the upper classes. The figures here shown are not sufficiently detailed to justify a confident conclusion as to the extent to which in a marriage which has lasted for any given period a higher rate of fertility at certain periods and a higher chance of survival amongst the children born contribute respectively to the larger numbers of children surviving.

14. Interval between successive births.—Table G was designed with the object of bringing out any differences in the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child which might be due to differences in the age of the wife at marriage and disparity in the age of the parents. Only those families have been used in which all the children born survived. Amongst the returns received 34 per cent. of the wives had become mothers before the age of 17 and 88 per cent. before the age of 24. Wives married before the age of 14 were mothers before the age of 17 in 49 per cent. of the cases for which returns were received and all except 5 per cent. of the remainder had borne their first child before the age of 24. The proportion of women married at ages not above 13 whose first child was born before they were 17 years old was in general increasingly higher with an increase of the husband's age at marriage between 17 and 33 and then appears to decline although from the returns received four-fifths of the women married below the age of 14 to men aged 44 and over seem to have borne children before the age of 17. The same uniformity does not seem to be displayed in the case of wives married between the ages of 14 and 16. Here the percentage of marriages in which children were born before the mother was aged 17 is highest where the father at marriage was aged 14 to 16 or 37 to 43 and lowest when he was aged 27 to 33, in which case as many as 70 per cent. of the first children were born when the mother was aged between 17 and 23. Perhaps a more satisfactory method of arriving at conclusions of the same nature is rendered possible by the figures shown in table H, which shows for the same families as are treated in table G, the intervals between marriage and the birth of the first and each successive child up to 4. In two-thirds of the cases the first child was not born to wives married at an age of less than 14 until after the lapse of 4 years or more. With an increase in the age of wife at marriage the period between the marriage and the birth of the first child is successively reduced. Thus to unions at which the wife was aged at marriage 14 to 16 years the first child was born in the largest number of cases at an interval of two or three years, and in one-fifth of the cases the first child was born before two years. Where the wife was aged 17 to 23 at marriage a similar condition is revealed except that there is an increase in the proportion of first children born within two years of marriage. This proportion increases in successive groups, and to women aged 27 to 33 at marriage in 53 per cent. of the cases the first child was born within two years of marriage. Beyond this age-group the number of instances is perhaps insufficient to justify conclusions, but the method on which families were selected automatically excludes all unfruitful marriages and includes only those in which by hypothesis the parents were of the strongest physique since all their offspring born survive. There is probably, therefore, comparatively little likelihood of error in accepting the conclusions suggested by the figures that amongst

fruitful marriages in a majority of cases in which the bride is aged 27 or over children are born within two years of the marriage. The figures therefore show that there is clearly a decrease in the interval between marriage and the birth of the first child with the increase in the age of the mother at marriage. This is in very marked contrast with the figures for the interval between the births of subsequent children. The actual numbers of families to which two or more children were born where the mother was aged 34 years and after at marriage is so small that the statistics for them cannot be confidently relied upon for generalisations, but where the mother was aged less than 34, there is for every age-group chosen in almost the same proportion of cases an interval of two or three years between the birth of the first and the second, second and third, and third and fourth child. It is also significant that if those instances be omitted in which the actual number of families is small, there is remarkably little variation in the percentage of unions in which with any age of parents the second and subsequent children are born two or three years after the preceding child. The factors influencing the interval between births of successive children are obscure, but it is a common belief that conception takes place less readily during the period of lactation, and the prolonged period of suckling often given by Indian mothers may have an effect in determining the interval between the children. In any case the figures given in this table confirm the deduction on general grounds that, at least until the fourth child is born, no voluntary measures are taken to restrict the number of children or the intervals between them.

15. Effect of disparity in parents' ages on interval between marriage and birth of first child.—

In contrast with the uniformity in the interval between each birth and the next, observed in the case of children after the first in all marriages, irrespective of any disparity in the ages of the parents, there is a considerable difference dependent upon the disparity of the parents' ages in the case of the birth of the first child. The number of instances recorded in which the husband is younger than the wife are so few that they may be disregarded. Where the wife was aged less than 14 years at marriage, a larger interval before the birth of the first child occurs in cases in which the husband is most nearly of the same age, and as the disparity between the partners increases there is in general an increase in the proportion of marriages in which the first child is born in less than 4 or less than 2 years. On the whole, a similar condition is seen in cases where the wife was aged 14 to 16 at marriage. Where the husband is of the same age, the first child appears generally not less than 4 years after marriage; where the husband is on an average 5 years older, a rather larger percentage is born less than 4 years from the date of the marriage; where the husband is on the average about 10 years older than the wife, a still larger proportion of the children is born within 4 years of marriage and an increased proportion within the first two years; but whatever disparity exists between the husband and wife, in no case when the husband is 24 years or over is there a larger percentage of children born at any other interval than two to three years of marriage. Generally speaking, whatever the disparity between the parents, it appears to have comparatively little influence upon the percentage of children born within two years of marriage, but with increase in disparity there is an increase in the percentage born after 2 years or 3 years and a decrease of those born 4 years or more after the marriage took place. Where the wife was aged 17 to 23 at marriage the conditions are somewhat similar, though there is here an unexpectedly large percentage of cases in which the first child was not born, until at least 4 years after marriage amongst the group in which the husband was aged 24 to 26. As the disparity between the parents increases there is a tendency for the reduction in the percentage of children born not less than 4 years after marriage to be distributed more evenly between those born at least two years after marriage and those born earlier, but only in the age-group 37 to 43 is there a larger number born less than two years after marriage than at any other period, and when the husband is aged 44 and over at marriage and is, therefore, at least 21 years older than his wife, there is a tendency for child birth to be postponed 4 years or more in a larger proportion of cases.

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE C.—Families according to age of wife at marriage classified by natural divisions, by duration of marriage and by fertility—concluded.

(NOTE.—The figures in italics are of completed fertility cases only.)

Age of wife at marriage.	Total number of families.	Number of families to which there have been born.																				
		No children during married life lasting.							No living children during married life lasting.							Living children during married life lasting.						
		0-5 years.	4-6 years.	7-13 years.	14-23 years.	24-32 years.	33 years and over.	All periods.	0-5 years.	4-6 years.	7-13 years.	14-23 years.	24-32 years.	33 years and over.	All periods.	0-5 years.	4-6 years.	7-13 years.	14-23 years.	24-32 years.	33 years and over.	All periods.
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	(s)	(t)	(u)	(v)	(w)
WEST BENGAL.																						
All ages	1,197	33	25	20	15	7	4	104	2	8	13	3	1	..	27	17	77	237	328	225	182	1,066
0-6	348	1	..	8	6	9	4	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	7	58	182	240
7-13	538	17	11	7	6	4	..	47	..	1	10	..	..	..	11	8	31	100	151	107	74	480
14-16	514	14	11	9	4	2	..	42	2	0	2	8	..	..	13	8	40	94	137	98	82	489
17-23	116	1	3	1	..	1	..	0	..	1	1	..	..	..	3	..	6	26	30	15	15	113
24-26	96	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	8	1	1	35
27-33	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	4
34-36	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4
37-43	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
44 and over	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
CENTRAL BENGAL.																						
All ages	3,778	77	50	41	40	17	6	231	10	30	39	36	24	15	154	65	251	873	1,121	633	448	3,391
0-6	693	..	..	7	7	3	6	77	..	..	..	9	4	13	21	..	..	28	46	139	443	607
7-13	1,807	34	38	18	18	7	5	115	4	15	17	14	17	9	78	15	98	418	493	330	262	1,616
14-16	1,422	34	11	10	9	8	..	72	5	13	14	15	6	5	58	48	128	307	405	258	147	1,264
17-23	233	6	2	8	1	2	..	2	..	1	1	2	1	1	7	4	20	66	94	36	19	230
24-26	291	..	1	1	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	18	19	..	..	38
27-33	41	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	24	12	47
34-36	39	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38
37-43	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
44 and over	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
NORTH BENGAL.																						
All ages	6,132	209	103	65	26	23	6	432	47	58	60	33	8	6	212	254	700	1,701	1,744	728	361	5,488
0-6	858	..	..	..	1	2	6	17	..	..	1	2	5	6	14	..	1	19	104	349	367	877
7-13	1,498	51	40	21	12	9	2	138	10	7	17	8	1	2	46	22	98	487	428	210	123	1,318
14-16	2,182	59	29	16	7	7	4	122	12	21	19	6	2	3	63	90	809	564	568	284	153	1,977
17-23	1,845	71	28	20	8	4	..	121	19	24	17	10	8	1	74	102	244	565	512	185	82	1,676
24-26	334	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	157	68	..	226
27-33	217	12	4	4	3	1	..	24	8	2	1	4	..	..	10	10	27	58	60	16	8	183
34-36	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	18	..	38
37-43	201	12	2	2	..	..	..	16	3	4	3	..	..	..	10	10	20	58	68	15	4	178
44 and over	79	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	15	6	79
EAST BENGAL.																						
All ages	3,481	49	33	57	65	18	31	253	18	34	46	20	11	7	142	109	250	964	936	463	364	3,089
0-6	609	..	..	8	4	1	31	45	..	..	5	2	2	7	11	1	1	18	37	139	362	559
7-13	1,915	20	18	36	20	9	22	131	10	13	25	11	9	4	72	48	131	525	459	249	200	1,612
14-16	1,011	20	10	13	19	3	3	68	4	19	9	4	2	4	39	58	91	222	272	146	119	803
17-23	357	5	4	6	15	4	..	30	8	..	6	6	..	1	15	7	24	66	112	43	24	306
24-26	74	..	..	..	1	1	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	8	34	24	66
27-33	38	..	..	..	1	1	..	4	..	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	9	5	..	31
34-36	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	5	..	2
37-43	47	1	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	19	8	7	38
44 and over	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	7	4	25

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE.

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE D.—Families according to occupation of husband classified by natural divisions and by average number of children born alive and surviving.

(NOTE.—The figures are for completed fertility cases only.)

Occupation of husband.	Number of families.	Sterile marriages.		Total number of children born alive.	Average living births per family with probable error.	Total number of children surviving.	Average survivors per family with probable error.	Number of survivors per 1,000 born alive.
		Num-ber.	Per-cent-age.					
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
BENGAL.								
1 ALL OCCUPATIONS	2,408	79	3.3	14,501	6.0 ± .03	9,531	6.0 ± .03	657
2 Pasture and agriculture	1,209	22	1.8	7,379	6.1 ± .06	4,758	6.0 ± .06	644
3 Fishing and hunting	19	..	..	87	6.1 ± .41	64	6.4 ± .31	660
4 Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving	11	1	9.1	59	6.4 ± .64	39	6.5 ± .39	644
5 Jute pressing, spinning and weaving	8	..	..	19	6.0 ± .67	7	6.5 ± .36	706
6 Other textile industries	1	..	..	8	6.0 ± ..	4	6.0 ± ..	600
7 Workers in skins and other hard animal products	19	2	10.5	88	6.8 ± .69	54	6.8 ± .33	661
8 Workers in wood, makers of furniture	11	..	..	77	7.0 ± .33	44	6.8 ± .36	671
9 Workers in metals	18	..	..	104	6.8 ± .43	64	6.8 ± .33	684
10 Workers in building industries	13	1	7.7	89	6.8 ± .71	41	6.8 ± .37	612
11 Other industrialists and artisans	87	5	5.7	497	6.7 ± .35	299	6.6 ± .17	622
12 Transport by water	3	..	..	8	6.0 ± 1.35	3	6.0 ± ..	333
13 Transport by road	13	..	..	78	6.8 ± .40	38	6.8 ± .31	420
14 Transport by rail	19	..	..	98	6.1 ± .67	64	6.0 ± .40	653
15 Other transport, posts, telegraphs, and telephone service	7	..	..	48	6.0 ± .71	21	6.0 ± .69	438
16 Traders	281	22	7.8	1,439	6.1 ± .18	853	6.4 ± .09	662
17 Army, navy, air force, police	19	..	..	115	6.4 ± .51	74	6.1 ± .37	643
18 Public administration	39	1	2.6	257	6.8 ± .39	200	6.8 ± .27	728
19 Religion	44	1	2.3	297	6.1 ± .35	189	6.8 ± .23	613
20 Law	34	1	1.2	608	7.8 ± .30	450	6.4 ± .24	739
21 Medicine	64	1	1.6	453	7.1 ± .30	329	6.1 ± .28	728
22 Instruction	49	1	2.0	319	6.7 ± .32	222	6.8 ± .23	716
23 Letters, arts and sciences	6	..	..	31	6.8 ± .67	20	6.8 ± .69	639
24 Living on income	53	..	1.6	357	6.7 ± .32	247	6.7 ± .24	692
25 Domestic servants	27	3	11.1	143	6.8 ± .48	78	6.8 ± .34	631
26 "Service" and unspecified clerical work	291	11	4.2	1,555	6.0 ± .15	1,072	6.1 ± .11	689
27 Unclassified, unproductive and other insufficiently described occupations	58	6	10.3	328	6.0 ± .39	204	6.6 ± .30	622
WEST BENGAL.								
28 ALL OCCUPATIONS	248	6	2.4	1,416	5.8 ± .14	1,034	6.2 ± .10	730
29 Pasture and agriculture	98	2	2.0	542	5.6 ± .21	398	6.0 ± .16	729
30 Fishing and hunting	1	..	..	2	6.0 ± ..	1	6.0 ± ..	600
31 Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving	1	..	..	6	6.0 ± ..	3	6.0 ± ..	600
32 Workers in wood, makers of furniture	1	..	..	8	6.0 ± ..	5	6.0 ± ..	1,000
33 Workers in metals	2	..	..	18	6.8 ± 2.36	8	6.0 ± 0	468
34 Other industrialists and artisans	7	1	14.3	38	6.7 ± .64	24	6.4 ± .38	727
35 Transport by rail	1	..	..	7	7.0 ± ..	4	6.0 ± ..	671
36 Traders	20	..	..	123	6.8 ± .48	65	6.8 ± .35	675
37 Army, navy, air force, police	5	..	..	17	6.7 ± .60	12	6.0 ± .39	709
38 Public administration	8	..	..	40	6.0 ± .48	26	7.0 ± .60	900
39 Religion	6	..	..	26	6.3 ± .66	18	6.0 ± .38	602
40 Law	11	..	..	60	6.6 ± .67	44	6.0 ± .50	738
41 Medicine	2	..	..	14	7.0 ± 1.35	11	6.8 ± 9	786
42 Instruction	12	..	..	98	7.8 ± .48	65	6.7 ± .34	731
43 Living on income	23	..	..	150	6.6 ± .58	108	6.7 ± .39	720
44 Domestic servants	1	..	..	8	6.0 ± ..	7	7.0 ± ..	675
45 "Service" and unspecified clerical work	42	..	..	241	6.7 ± .40	181	6.8 ± .26	751
46 Unclassified, unproductive and other insufficiently described occupations	10	3	30.0	34	6.4 ± .77	25	6.8 ± .67	785
CENTRAL BENGAL.								
47 ALL OCCUPATIONS	693	11	1.6	4,426	6.4 ± .09	2,894	6.2 ± .06	654
48 Pasture and agriculture	245	4	1.6	1,559	6.4 ± .14	1,004	6.7 ± .11	644
49 Fishing and hunting	8	..	..	52	6.8 ± .64	34	6.8 ± .36	654
50 Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving	4	1	25.0	15	6.8 ± 1.39	10	6.8 ± .69	556
51 Other textile industries	1	..	..	8	6.0 ± ..	4	6.0 ± ..	600
52 Workers in skins and other hard animal products	2	..	..	15	7.8 ± 1.61	9	6.8 ± 1.01	600
53 Workers in wood, makers of furniture	1	..	..	8	6.0 ± ..	7	7.0 ± ..	675
54 Workers in metals	2	..	..	18	6.0 ± 2.70	10	6.0 ± .67	656
55 Workers in building industries	8	..	..	23	7.7 ± .59	18	6.3 ± .52	665
56 Other industrialists and artisans	23	1	4.3	139	6.8 ± .53	85	6.9 ± .52	612
57 Transport by road	5	..	..	23	6.6 ± .43	11	6.8 ± .39	609
58 Transport by rail	9	..	..	55	6.1 ± .53	33	6.7 ± .59	600
59 Other transport, posts, telegraphs, and telephone service	1	..	..	8	6.0 ± ..	2	6.0 ± ..	667
60 Traders	85	..	..	474	6.8 ± .33	326	6.8 ± .17	648
61 Army, navy, air force, police	1	..	..	4	6.0 ± ..	1	6.0 ± ..	650
62 Public administration	12	..	..	77	6.4 ± .66	59	6.0 ± .37	766
63 Religion	20	..	..	116	6.8 ± .52	64	6.8 ± .36	652
64 Law	46	..	..	329	7.1 ± .39	228	6.0 ± .32	695
65 Medicine	29	..	..	244	6.4 ± .58	169	6.8 ± .34	698
66 Instruction	16	..	..	105	6.6 ± .69	68	6.2 ± .32	645
67 Letters, arts and sciences	8	..	..	10	6.0 ± ..	6	6.0 ± 0	600
68 Living on income	21	1	4.8	140	6.7 ± .49	94	6.6 ± .39	671
69 Domestic servants	4	..	..	18	6.8 ± 1.11	7	6.8 ± .67	638
70 "Service" and unspecified clerical work	190	6	3.1	815	6.8 ± .29	542	6.8 ± .15	664
71 Unclassified, unproductive and other insufficiently described occupations	24	..	..	176	7.3 ± .38	107	6.8 ± .39	696

* Probable error is indeterminate.

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE D.—Families according to occupation of husband classified by natural divisions and by average number of children born alive and surviving—concluded.

(NOTE.—The figures are for completed fertility cases only.)

Occupation of husband.	Number of families.	Sterile marriages.		Total number of children born alive.	Average living births per family with probable error.	Total number of children surviving.	Average survivors per family with probable error.	Number of survivors per 1,000 born alive.
		Number.	Percentage.					
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
NORTH BENGAL.								
72 ALL OCCUPATIONS	858	17	2.0	5,102	5.9 ± .07	3,246	3.8 ± .05	636
73 Pasture and agriculture	653	10	1.5	3,877	5.9 ± .08	2,387	3.7 ± .05	616
74 Fishing and hunting	8	..	..	40	5.0 ± .46	26	3.3 ± .52	650
75 Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving	2	..	..	10	5.0 ± .67	10	5.0 ± .67	1,000
76 Jute pressing, spinning and weaving	2	..	..	10	5.0 ± .67	7	3.5 ± .34	700
77 Workers in wood, makers of furniture	5	..	..	36	7.2 ± .52	15	3.0 ± .98	417
78 Workers in metals	2	..	..	11	5.5 ± 1.01	7	3.5 ± .84	636
79 Workers in building industries	1	..	..	10	10.0 ± ..	2	2.0 ± ..	200
80 Other industrialists and artisans	19	..	..	96	5.1 ± .34	65	3.4 ± .30	677
81 Transport by rail	1	..	..	9	9.0 ± ..	8	8.0 ± ..	899
82 Other transport, posts, telegraphs, and telephone service	4	..	..	30	7.5 ± .80	17	4.3 ± 1.01	667
83 Traders	49	8	6.1	246	5.0 ± .29	164	3.3 ± .18	667
84 Army, navy, air force, police	6	..	..	41	6.8 ± 1.25	25	4.2 ± .75	610
85 Public administration	11	1	9.1	69	6.3 ± .83	55	5.0 ± .73	797
86 Religion	6	..	..	44	7.3 ± .77	31	5.2 ± .71	705
87 Law	6	1	16.7	55	9.2 ± 1.84	47	7.8 ± 1.76	855
88 Medicine	15	..	..	89	5.9 ± .60	71	4.7 ± .40	798
89 Instruction	2	..	..	19	9.5 ± .34	14	7.0 ± .67	737
90 Letters, arts and sciences	2	..	..	12	6.0 ± 2.03	11	5.5 ± 2.36	917
91 Living on income	1	..	..	5	5.0 ± ..	4	4.0 ± ..	800
92 Domestic servants	8	..	..	46	5.8 ± .55	23	2.9 ± .32	500
93 "Service" and unspecified clerical work	46	..	..	314	6.8 ± .33	230	5.0 ± .28	733
94 Unclassified, unproductive and other insufficiently described occupations	9	2	23.2	38	3.7 ± .64	27	3.0 ± .50	818
EAST BENGAL.								
95 ALL OCCUPATIONS	809	45	7.4	3,558	5.8 ± .10	2,357	3.9 ± .07	662
96 Pasture and agriculture	213	6	2.8	1,401	6.6 ± .15	970	4.6 ± .11	692
97 Fishing and hunting	2	..	..	8	1.6 ± .34	3	1.5 ± .34	1,000
98 Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving	4	..	..	26	6.6 ± .68	15	3.8 ± .68	577
99 Workers in skins and other hard animal products	17	2	11.8	83	4.9 ± .63	45	2.8 ± .35	542
100 Workers in wood, makers of furniture	4	..	..	25	6.3 ± .75	14	3.5 ± .34	500
101 Workers in metals	9	..	..	62	6.9 ± .46	45	5.0 ± .49	726
102 Workers in building industries	9	1	11.1	47	5.2 ± .93	26	2.9 ± .41	553
103 Other industrialists and artisans	89	3	7.7	229	5.9 ± .41	135	3.5 ± .27	590
104 Transport by water	8	..	..	9	3.0 ± 1.35	3	1.0 ± 0	333
105 Transport by road	8	..	..	53	6.6 ± .68	25	3.1 ± .43	472
106 Transport by rail	5	..	..	27	5.4 ± 1.06	19	3.8 ± .78	704
107 Other transport, posts, telegraphs, and telephone service	2	..	..	15	7.5 ± 1.69	2	1.0 ± .67	133
108 Traders	127	19	15.0	596	4.7 ± .30	380	3.0 ± .15	638
109 Army, navy, air force, police	8	..	..	53	6.6 ± .68	36	4.6 ± .58	679
110 Public administration	10	..	..	71	7.1 ± .69	50	5.0 ± .51	704
111 Religion	12	1	8.8	81	6.8 ± .69	56	4.7 ± .49	691
112 Law	21	..	..	106	7.9 ± .55	131	6.2 ± .34	789
113 Medicine	18	1	5.6	106	5.9 ± .67	78	4.3 ± .48	736
114 Instruction	16	1	6.8	93	5.8 ± .58	72	4.5 ± .47	774
115 Letters, arts and sciences	2	..	..	9	4.6 ± .34	9	4.6 ± .34	1,000
116 Living on income	8	..	..	62	7.8 ± .90	41	5.1 ± .63	601
117 Domestic servants	14	3	21.4	76	5.4 ± .80	39	2.8 ± .54	513
118 "Service" and unspecified clerical work	43	7	16.8	182	4.2 ± .33	118	3.7 ± .23	648
119 Unclassified, unproductive and other insufficiently described occupations	15	1	6.7	88	6.6 ± .69	45	3.0 ± .29	542

* Probable error is indeterminate.

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE.

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE E.—Families according to religion or caste and natural divisions classified (i) by number of children born alive and surviving and (ii) by age groups of wife at marriage.

(NOTE.—These figures are for completed fertility cases only.)

Serial No.	Religion or caste.	Number of families.	Sterile marriages.		Total number of children born alive.	Average living births per family with probable error.	Total number of children surviving.	Average survivors per family with probable error.	Number of survivors per 1,000 born alive.	Number of families in which wife's age at marriage was							
										0—13		14—16		17—23		24 & over.	
			No.	%						No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	
BENGAL																	
1	All sects	2,408	79	3.3	14,501	6.0 ± .05	9,531	4.0 ± .03	657	910	38	816	34	385	16	295	12
2	Muslims	528	20	5.5	3,242	6.1 ± .10	2,023	3.8 ± .07	624	240	45	182	31	69	13	57	11
3	Brahmans	249	4	1.6	1,569	6.3 ± .15	1,140	4.6 ± .12	727	125	50	82	33	23	6	19	8
4	Baidyas	67	..	..	518	7.7 ± .22	383	5.7 ± .17	739	31	49	32	48	3	8	1	1
5	Kayasthas	241	6	2.6	1,478	6.1 ± .16	1,031	4.3 ± .12	697	110	46	104	43	19	8	3	3
6	Other Hindus	1,253	38	3.0	7,285	5.8 ± .06	4,678	3.7 ± .04	842	392	31	417	34	252	20	192	15
7	Others	68	2	2.9	408	6.0 ± .24	279	4.1 ± .17	624	12	18	48	28	19	28	18	28
WEST BENGAL																	
8	All sects	246	6	2.4	1,416	5.8 ± .14	1,034	4.2 ± .10	730	99	40	116	47	26	11	5	2
9	Muslims	16	..	..	107	5.7 ± .62	80	5.0 ± .39	748	6	38	10	62	..	..	..	..
10	Brahmans	48	1	2.3	260	6.0 ± .35	199	4.6 ± .24	742	18	42	20	46	6	12	..	..
11	Baidyas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	Kayasthas	45	..	..	249	5.6 ± .32	198	4.4 ± .28	795	14	31	23	51	5	11	6	7
13	Other Hindus	124	5	4.0	686	5.5 ± .20	480	3.9 ± .13	700	55	44	64	44	14	11	1	1
14	Others	18	..	..	114	5.3 ± .61	83	4.6 ± .40	728	6	32	9	50	2	11	1	6
CENTRAL BENGAL																	
15	All sects	693	11	1.6	4,425	6.4 ± .09	2,894	4.2 ± .06	654	333	48	232	34	51	7	77	11
16	Muslims	121	3	2.5	785	6.3 ± .21	458	3.8 ± .15	599	62	43	38	27	17	14	19	16
17	Brahmans	126	2	1.6	790	6.3 ± .21	538	4.3 ± .16	681	67	53	85	28	9	7	15	12
18	Baidyas	36	..	..	301	6.4 ± .29	206	5.7 ± .37	684	18	50	16	44	1	5	1	8
19	Kayasthas	86	3	3.5	593	6.9 ± .27	390	4.5 ± .21	668	42	49	36	42	6	8	5	8
20	Other Hindus	321	3	0.9	1,958	6.1 ± .12	1,283	4.0 ± .09	658	153	48	112	35	17	5	89	12
21	Others	3	..	..	18	6.0 ± 1.17	14	4.7 ± .81	778	1	33	..	..	2	07	..	..
NORTH BENGAL																	
22	All sects	858	17	2.0	5,102	5.9 ± .07	3,246	3.8 ± .05	636	182	21	285	33	234	27	157	19
23	Muslims	134	1	0.7	879	6.6 ± .17	584	4.4 ± .13	664	59	44	59	44	10	8	6	4
24	Brahmans	28	1	3.6	180	6.4 ± .57	140	5.0 ± .51	778	11	40	9	32	6	21	2	7
25	Baidyas	18	..	..	120	6.7 ± .44	98	5.4 ± .27	817	6	33	10	66	2	11	..	..
26	Kayasthas	34	1	2.9	217	6.3 ± .42	148	4.3 ± .32	682	17	50	12	35	4	12	1	3
27	Other Hindus	615	12	2.0	3,549	5.8 ± .08	2,173	3.8 ± .06	612	88	14	192	81	200	23	135	22
28	Others	29	2	6.9	157	6.4 ± .37	103	3.6 ± .25	656	1	8	3	10	12	42	12	45
EAST BENGAL																	
29	All sects	609	45	7.4	3,558	5.8 ± .10	2,357	3.9 ± .07	662	298	49	183	30	74	12	56	9
30	Muslims	257	25	9.7	1,491	5.8 ± .16	901	3.5 ± .10	604	123	48	60	23	42	16	32	13
31	Brahmans	52	..	..	339	6.6 ± .29	269	4.2 ± .24	794	29	56	18	34	3	6	2	4
32	Baidyas	13	..	..	97	7.5 ± .46	79	6.1 ± .42	814	7	54	6	46	..	..	..	..
33	Kayasthas	76	2	2.6	420	5.6 ± .27	295	3.9 ± .19	702	67	49	38	43	5	7	1	1
34	Other Hindus	193	18	9.3	1,092	6.7 ± .13	734	3.8 ± .13	672	96	50	59	30	21	11	17	9
35	Others	18	..	..	119	6.6 ± .38	79	4.4 ± .28	664	4	22	7	39	3	17	4	22

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE F.—Families according to religion or caste and natural

(NOTE.—Figures in italics other than for probable

Serial No.	Religion or caste.	Duration of marriage.											
		0—6 years.			7—13 years.			14—16 years.					
		Families.		Number of children surviving.	Families.		Number of children surviving.	Families.		Number of children surviving.	Average number of surviving children with probable error.		
		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.				
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	
BEN													
1	All sects	2,509	17	2,312	0.9 ± .01	4,116	26	2,757	2.1 ± .02	1,822	12	5,412	3.0 ± .03
2	Muslims	556	17	491	0.8 ± .02	1,008	39	2,225	2.8 ± .02	480	14	1,367	3.0 ± .06
3	Brahmans	142	12	134	0.9 ± .05	284	24	558	2.3 ± .06	164	14	550	3.4 ± .11
4	Baidyas	24	8	29	1.2 ± .12	49	18	137	2.6 ± .13	33	12	112	3.1 ± .23
5	Kayasthas	150	13	147	1.0 ± .05	241	22	593	2.5 ± .08	137	12	419	3.1 ± .11
6	Other Hindus	1,547	19	1,408	0.9 ± .01	2,439	29	4,958	2.0 ± .02	976	12	2,815	2.9 ± .04
7	Others	54	21	108	1.2 ± .07	94	24	190	2.0 ± .09	52	13	149	2.9 ± .14
8		1	1				2	8	4.0 ± .67	5	7	17	3.4 ± .49
WEST													
15	All sects	162	14	136	0.8 ± .04	270	23	586	2.2 ± .03	130	11	391	3.0 ± .11
16	Muslims	14	12	18	0.9 ± .16	88	27	76	2.3 ± .16	19	16	50	3.0 ± .25
17	Brahmans	29	14	24	0.8 ± .11	42	20	102	2.4 ± .16	20	12	75	2.9 ± .21
18	Baidyas	4	31	2	0.5 ± .19	2	15	4	2.0 ± 1.35				
19	Kayasthas	35	17	31	0.9 ± .11	88	19	87	2.3 ± .17	23	11	71	2.1 ± .20
20	Other Hindus	77	13	65	0.8 ± .06	145	24	298	2.1 ± .08	57	9	177	2.1 ± .17
21	Others	2	6	1	0.3 ± .21	19	19	19	1.9 ± .27	5	10	18	3.5 ± .40
22													
CENTRAL													
29	All sects	483	13	455	0.9 ± .03	953	25	2,216	2.3 ± .03	553	15	1,660	3.0 ± .06
30	Muslims	126	15	111	0.9 ± .06	236	29	518	2.2 ± .06	147	18	440	3.0 ± .10
31	Brahmans	81	14	74	0.9 ± .07	186	23	309	2.3 ± .09	92	15	810	3.4 ± .14
32	Baidyas	10	7	12	1.2 ± .20	31	21	90	2.9 ± .15	18	13	58	3.2 ± .27
33	Kayasthas	65	14	67	0.9 ± .08	110	24	263	2.4 ± .08	47	10	141	3.0 ± .19
34	Other Hindus	197	12	192	1.0 ± .04	431	25	1,012	2.3 ± .05	247	14	705	2.9 ± .08
35	Others	4	15	9	2.2 ± .17	9	34	21	2.3 ± .34	2	7	6	3.0 ± 0
36													
NORTH													
43	All sects	1,371	22	1,248	0.9 ± .01	1,826	30	3,692	2.0 ± .02	664	11	1,955	2.9 ± .04
44	Muslims	131	19	110	0.8 ± .04	192	28	443	2.3 ± .07	78	11	240	3.1 ± .13
45	Brahmans	24	12	23	1.0 ± .07	65	33	161	2.5 ± .11	19	10	64	3.4 ± .25
46	Baidyas	6	11	8	1.3 ± .14	8	14	25	2.1 ± .35	6	11	20	3.3 ± .57
47	Kayasthas	25	14	33	1.3 ± .11	41	23	122	2.0 ± .15	30	16	120	4.0 ± .28
48	Other Hindus	1,122	23	1,001	0.9 ± .02	1,459	30	2,822	1.9 ± .02	507	11	1,449	2.9 ± .04
49	Others	63	28	73	1.2 ± .09	61	27	119	2.0 ± .11	24	10	62	2.6 ± .17
50		1	3			1	3	2	3.0 ± .	3	11	7	2.3 ± .22
EAST													
57	All sects	493	14	473	1.0 ± .02	1,067	31	2,263	2.1 ± .03	475	14	1,406	3.0 ± .06
58	Muslims	285	17	257	0.9 ± .03	648	32	1,190	2.2 ± .04	216	13	637	2.9 ± .09
59	Brahmans	14	7	13	0.9 ± .15	41	21	84	2.1 ± .13	27	14	101	3.7 ± .33
60	Baidyas	6	7	7	1.7 ± .17	8	14	18	2.3 ± .21	9	16	84	3.3 ± .56
61	Kayasthas	24	9	26	1.0 ± .07	52	20	116	2.2 ± .13	37	14	67	2.4 ± .17
62	Other Hindus	151	13	148	1.0 ± .04	404	34	824	2.0 ± .05	165	14	434	2.9 ± .10
63	Others	14	16	22	1.6 ± .14	14	16	31	2.2 ± .20	21	23	68	3.0 ± .23
64						1	6	5	5.0 ± .	2	11	10	5.0 ± 0

*Probable error

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE.

division classified by duration of marriage and average number of children surviving.

error are of completed fertility cases.)

Duration of marriage.													Serial No.
17-26 years.				27-32 years.				33 years and over.					
Families.		Number of children surviving.	Average number of surviving children with probable error.	Families.		Number of children surviving.	Average number of surviving children with probable error.	Families.		Number of children surviving.	Average number of surviving children with probable error.		
Number.	Per cent.			Number.	Per cent.			Number.	Per cent.				
(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	(s)	(t)	(u)	(v)	(w)	(x)	(y)		
GAL.													
3,429	24	12,242	3.6 ± .03	1,282	8	5,229	4.1 ± .05	1,428	10	6,019	4.2 ± .05	1	
231	10	690	3.0 ± .08	620	26	2,348	3.8 ± .06	1,428	59	6,019	4.2 ± .05	2	
721	21	2,521	3.6 ± .05	280	8	835	3.6 ± .09	329	10	1,330	4.0 ± .09	3	
47	9	135	2.9 ± .20	118	22	419	3.6 ± .13	329	62	1,330	4.0 ± .09	4	
270	23	1,134	4.1 ± .09	153	13	662	4.3 ± .13	173	14	812	4.7 ± .15	5	
14	6	57	4.1 ± .44	53	21	229	4.3 ± .21	173	69	812	4.7 ± .15	6	
77	22	340	4.4 ± .17	41	15	285	6.6 ± .28	48	18	285	6.6 ± .28	7	
2	3	9	4.6 ± .36	17	25	39	6.2 ± .30	43	72	245	6.9 ± .30	8	
286	26	1,240	4.3 ± .09	119	11	553	4.6 ± .18	179	10	798	4.5 ± .14	9	
5	2	22	4.4 ± .82	52	22	196	3.8 ± .20	179	74	798	4.5 ± .14	10	
1,950	24	6,582	3.4 ± .03	686	8	2,696	3.9 ± .06	670	8	2,692	4.0 ± .06	11	
147	12	414	3.8 ± .09	565	29	1,346	3.7 ± .08	670	54	2,692	4.0 ± .06	12	
113	20	425	3.8 ± .13	23	6	109	4.7 ± .29	29	7	132	4.6 ± .27	13	
16	24	63	3.3 ± .27	16	22	69	4.6 ± .37	29	42	132	4.6 ± .27	14	
BENGAL.													
325	27	1,244	3.8 ± .08	126	10	580	4.6 ± .16	184	15	777	4.2 ± .12	15	
2	1	9	4.5 ± .36	59	24	245	4.9 ± .18	184	75	777	4.2 ± .12	16	
30	25	100	3.3 ± .36	9	9	36	4.0 ± .61	15	12	76	6.1 ± .42	17	
59	28	234	4.0 ± .20	28	13	116	4.1 ± .34	28	13	130	4.6 ± .33	18	
6	46	15	2.6 ± .85	15	25	63	4.2 ± .39	28	65	150	4.6 ± .33	19	
59	29	248	4.2 ± .18	16	8	10	10.0 ± *	..	..	..	..	20
2	6	9	4.6 ± .36	10	22	90	5.0 ± .55	22	16	145	4.5 ± .36	21	
156	26	586	3.8 ± .12	63	11	41	4.1 ± .22	22	71	145	4.5 ± .36	22	
16	29	61	4.1 ± .30	24	19	288	4.0 ± .21	100	17	382	3.8 ± .14	23	
..	..	..	..	9	18	97	4.0 ± .31	100	31	383	3.8 ± .14	24
..	..	..	..	9	60	40	4.4 ± .46	9	18	43	4.8 ± .26	25
..	..	..	..	9	..	40	4.4 ± .46	9	50	43	4.8 ± .26	26
BENGAL.													
909	24	3,457	3.8 ± .05	409	11	1,665	4.1 ± .08	469	12	2,010	4.3 ± .08	29	
21	4	99	3.2 ± .24	136	20	522	3.9 ± .12	469	68	2,010	4.3 ± .08	30	
174	21	604	3.5 ± .10	68	8	247	3.6 ± .20	70	9	244	4.1 ± .21	31	
7	6	19	2.7 ± .38	29	24	37	3.0 ± .25	70	57	284	4.1 ± .21	32	
127	21	498	3.9 ± .13	77	13	339	4.4 ± .18	86	14	308	4.3 ± .20	33	
9	7	34	3.8 ± .51	23	13	97	4.2 ± .30	86	68	368	4.3 ± .20	34	
38	26	166	4.4 ± .26	17	12	122	7.2 ± .45	31	21	184	3.9 ± .25	35	
1	3	1	1.0 ± *	4	11	21	5.2 ± .64	31	36	184	3.9 ± .25	36	
131	28	588	4.5 ± .13	40	9	178	4.4 ± .30	67	16	313	4.7 ± .25	37	
..	..	..	..	18	19	68	4.1 ± .40	67	78	313	4.7 ± .25	38
432	25	1,570	3.7 ± .07	204	12	763	3.7 ± .11	213	12	854	4.0 ± .11	39	
13	4	38	2.9 ± .31	64	20	257	4.0 ± .20	213	68	854	4.0 ± .11	40	
7	26	22	3.1 ± .66	3	11	16	5.3 ± 1.25	2	7	7	3.5 ± .34	41	
1	33	7	7.0 ± *	..	..	..	..	2	67	7	3.5 ± .34	42
BENGAL.													
1,434	23	4,737	3.3 ± .03	464	8	1,831	3.9 ± .07	373	6	1,593	4.3 ± .08	43	
139	16	408	2.9 ± .09	309	26	1,137	3.7 ± .08	373	43	1,593	4.3 ± .08	44	
142	20	546	3.3 ± .11	71	10	297	4.2 ± .17	82	12	355	4.3 ± .18	45	
3	2	13	4.3 ± .22	45	34	209	4.4 ± .21	82	42	355	4.3 ± .18	46	
42	22	162	3.9 ± .22	23	12	108	4.7 ± .41	21	11	111	3.3 ± .63	47	
2	7	6	3.0 ± 1.35	16	25	20	5.0 ± 1.40	21	75	111	3.3 ± .63	48	
14	24	77	5.5 ± .34	18	16	87	5.4 ± .36	7	12	41	3.9 ± .40	49	
1	6	3	3.0 ± *	10	55	49	4.9 ± .37	7	39	41	3.9 ± .40	50	
44	24	196	4.5 ± .23	19	10	101	5.3 ± .49	23	18	109	4.7 ± .42	51	
2	6	10	6.0 ± .67	5	24	23	3.5 ± .68	23	67	109	4.7 ± .42	52	
1,129	24	3,583	3.1 ± .04	326	7	1,196	3.7 ± .08	233	5	943	4.0 ± .09	53	
120	19	341	2.8 ± .10	236	38	311	3.4 ± .09	233	39	943	4.0 ± .09	54	
63	28	217	3.4 ± .16	9	4	42	4.7 ± .42	7	3	34	4.0 ± .40	55	
11	38	30	2.7 ± .28	8	21	29	4.8 ± .64	7	24	34	4.0 ± .40	56	
BENGAL.													
761	22	2,804	3.7 ± .05	283	8	1,144	4.0 ± .10	402	11	1,639	4.1 ± .09	57	
89	10	174	2.9 ± .19	116	19	433	3.8 ± .18	402	66	1,639	4.1 ± .09	58	
875	22	1,271	3.4 ± .07	112	7	855	3.2 ± .12	162	9	616	3.8 ± .13	59	
37	14	103	2.8 ± .25	43	17	128	3.0 ± .18	162	63	616	3.8 ± .13	60	
48	25	239	5.0 ± .21	25	13	99	4.0 ± .27	88	20	208	4.3 ± .31	61	
3	6	17	5.7 ± 1.12	11	21	49	4.6 ± .35	38	73	203	4.3 ± .31	62	
19	33	82	4.3 ± .25	7	12	46	4.6 ± .69	10	16	60	6.0 ± .49	63	
..	..	..	..	2	23	19	6.3 ± .27	10	77	60	6.0 ± .49	64
52	20	208	4.0 ± .20	44	16	184	4.2 ± .27	57	21	231	4.1 ± .22	65	
1	1	3	3.0 ± *	13	24	61	3.4 ± .38	57	75	231	4.1 ± .22	66	
239	20	879	3.7 ± .09	93	6	449	4.8 ± .19	124	11	482	3.9 ± .16	67	
14	7	35	2.5 ± .28	41	21	181	4.4 ± .32	124	64	482	3.9 ± .16	68	
28	31	125	4.5 ± .29	2	2	11	5.6 ± 1.01	11	12	48	4.4 ± .48	69	
4	22	18	4.0 ± .28	..	..	..	..	11	62	48	4.4 ± .48	70

indeterminate.

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE I.—Statistical constants.

NOTE.—If x = the value of an individual item in an array ;
 M = the mean of the array ;
 f = the number of items of the same value ; and
 S = sum of all quantities like ;
 then the standard deviation (S.D.) = $\frac{\sqrt{S(x-M)^2}}{S(f)}$

and the probable error = $\frac{.6745}{\sqrt{S(f)-1}} \times \text{S. D.}$

Table B.						Table D.														
Serial.	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial.	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial.	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial.	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial.	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial.	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial.	Standard deviation of averages in columns.	
	l	k		l	k		f	h		f	h		f	h		f	h		f	h	$f$	$h$
1	3.25	2.41	26	1.70	2.05	1	3.25	2.41	26	3.47	2.62	51	0	0	76	1.00	0.50	101	1.91	2.05
2	3.18	2.45	27	3.02	1.95	2	3.07	2.22	27	3.30	2.22	52	1.50	1.50	77	1.72	2.90	102	3.91	1.73
3	3.50	2.63	23	3.88	2.81	3	2.59	2.03	23	3.26	2.36	53	0	0	78	1.50	0.50	103	3.74	2.45
4	3.15	2.42	29	3.13	2.04	4	2.53	1.83	29	3.09	2.08	54	4.00	1.00	79	0	0	104	2.83	0
5	2.91	2.07	30	2.86	2.55	5	1.00	0.60	30	0	0	55	1.24	2.05	80	2.19	1.90	105	2.60	1.69
6	2.70	1.77	31	2.96	2.23	6	0	0	31	0	0	56	3.57	2.26	81	0	0	106	3.14	2.32
7	2.75	1.79	32	2.87	1.88	7	3.10	2.08	32	0	0	57	2.45	1.17	82	2.06	2.59	107	2.50	1.00
8	3.56	2.44	33	3.10	2.48	8	1.76	2.63	33	3.50	0	58	3.48	2.11	83	2.94	1.80	108	3.32	2.48
9	3.17	1.96	34	3.89	2.46	9	2.67	1.82	34	3.06	2.13	59	0	0	84	4.14	2.48	109	2.65	2.29
10	3.66	2.28	35	2.78	1.87	10	3.63	1.87	35	0	0	60	3.08	2.27	85	3.89	3.44	110	2.62	2.28
11	3.26	2.36	36	2.50	1.53	11	3.40	2.27	36	3.10	2.24	61	0	0	86	2.56	2.34	111	3.42	2.39
12	3.15	2.61	37	2.01	1.46	12	2.83	0	37	1.25	0.82	62	2.18	1.80	87	6.09	5.84	112	3.63	2.22
13	3.87	2.86	38	2.31	1.62	13	2.68	1.58	38	1.26	1.47	63	3.73	2.32	88	2.79	2.21	113	4.09	2.91
14	2.83	2.21	39	2.17	1.47	14	3.26	2.29	39	2.13	1.82	64	3.88	3.15	89	0.50	1.00	114	3.34	2.67
15	2.22	2.26	40	2.28	1.48	15	2.59	2.51	40	2.67	2.33	65	3.09	2.68	90	3.00	3.50	115	0.50	0.50
16	1.50	1.00	41	3.48	2.52	16	3.21	2.33	41	2.00	2.50	66	3.43	1.85	91	0	0	116	3.53	2.47
17	1.00	1.00	42	2.78	2.29	17	3.09	2.26	42	2.05	1.65	67	0	0	92	2.17	1.26	117	4.29	2.89
18	0	0	43	3.64	2.62	18	2.87	2.58	43	3.61	2.69	68	3.24	2.56	93	3.28	2.77	118	3.19	2.21
19	..	..	44	3.28	2.49	19	3.44	2.43	44	0	0	69	2.86	2.49	94	2.26	2.11	119	3.88	1.63
20	..	..	45	3.18	2.21	20	3.99	3.28	45	3.77	2.49	70	3.33	2.55	95	3.48	2.52			
21	3.32	2.51	46	3.02	2.22	21	3.54	2.72	46	3.41	2.54	71	1.99	2.06	96	3.23	2.32			
22	2.53	2.13	47	3.54	2.24	22	3.16	2.23	47	3.32	2.51	72	2.96	2.23	97	0.50	0.50			
23	3.35	2.61	48	2.28	2.06	23	1.87	2.28	48	3.30	2.48	73	2.89	2.04	98	1.50	1.48			
24	3.13	2.41	49	3.82	1.80	24	3.45	2.59	49	2.50	1.79	74	1.80	2.05	99	3.12	2.06			
25	3.19	2.57	50	4.00	2.00	25	3.62	2.55	50	3.57	2.06	75	1.00	1.00	100	1.92	0.87			

Table E.				Table F.												
Serial.	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial.	Standard deviation of averages in columns.						Serial.	Standard deviation of averages in columns.					
	f	h		e	l	m	q	u	y		e	l	m	q	u	y
1	3.25	2.41	1	0.79	1.35	1.78	2.06	2.44	2.52	36				0	1.64	2.04
2	3.32	2.37	2	1.06	2.16	2.01	1.84	2.20	2.52	37	0.92	1.25	1.91	2.11	2.73	3.02
3	3.43	2.78	3	0.81	1.44	1.83	2.04	2.21	2.52	38	0	0	0.50	..	2.29	3.02
4	2.65	2.05	4	0	1.77	1.83	2.06	2.05	2.52	39	0.75	1.57	1.91	2.12	2.32	2.38
5	3.69	2.69	5	0.87	1.47	2.06	2.24	2.40	2.99	40	..	2.08	2.43	1.59	2.30	2.38
6	3.10	2.22	6	..	3.50	1.46	2.35	2.19	2.99	41	0.44	1.49	0	2.41	2.63	0.50
7	2.97	2.04	7	0.77	1.23	1.92	2.24	2.57	2.00	42	0	0	0	0	0.50	0.50
8	3.26	2.36	8	..	..	..	3.50	1.79	2.00	43	0.76	1.20	1.56	1.87	2.27	2.37
9	2.99	2.28	9	0.85	1.36	1.92	2.12	2.86	2.83	44	1.30	1.46	1.66	1.65	2.13	2.37
10	3.40	2.40	10	..	0	1.09	2.42	2.17	2.83	45	0.75	1.42	1.74	1.87	2.15	2.40
11	..	..	11	0.75	1.29	1.68	1.97	2.35	2.27	46	..	2.00	0	0.47	2.10	2.40
12	3.10	2.71	12	1.22	2.13	2.30	1.59	2.25	2.27	47	0.47	1.23	1.56	2.13	2.87	4.17
13	3.21	2.12	13	1.00	1.23	1.52	2.01	1.93	2.13	48	..	..	0	2.00	3.01	4.17
14	3.71	2.41	14	..	1.00	1.36	1.57	2.03	2.13	49	0.45	1.36	1.88	1.84	2.06	1.45
15	3.32	2.51	15	0.83	0.78	1.87	2.20	2.60	2.44	50	..	..	..	0	1.04	1.45
16	3.38	2.41	16	..	..	0	3.50	2.01	2.44	51	0.79	1.41	2.25	2.20	3.10	2.88
17	3.44	2.61	17	0.88	1.33	1.59	2.05	2.16	2.32	52	..	..	0	1.00	2.29	2.88
18	2.54	3.24	18	..	..	..	..	0	2.32	53	0.74	1.12	1.47	1.79	2.13	2.04
19	3.68	2.86	19	0.88	1.53	2.29	2.27	2.64	2.51	54	1.41	1.40	1.73	1.59	2.04	2.04
20	3.16	2.34	20	..	..	..	..	2.17	2.51	55	1.03	1.30	1.22	1.81	1.76	1.46
21	2.45	1.70	21	0.50	2.00	..	2.81	0	..	56	..	0	0.46	1.29	2.12	1.40
22	2.96	2.23	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	57	0.75	1.40	1.89	2.15	2.51	2.58
23	2.87	2.26	23	0.93	1.50	1.41	2.03	3.16	2.99	58	0	2.09	1.85	2.10	2.45	2.58
24	4.41	3.96	24	..	0	3.50	1.30	2.99	2.99	59	0.73	1.42	1.87	2.10	2.02	2.53
25	2.69	2.06	25	0.75	1.35	1.92	2.23	2.40	2.10	60	0	1.18	1.50	2.19	1.73	2.53
26	3.55	2.74	26	..	..	..	..	2.21	2.10	61	0.81	1.23	2.41	2.17	1.93	2.79
27	2.82	2.01	27	0.45	1.22	1.20	1.69	1.95	2.78	62	..	..	..	2.35	1.62	2.79
28	2.93	1.92	28	..	..	..	..	1.95	2.78	63	0.44	0.83	2.35	1.56	2.50	2.10
29	3.48	2.52	29	0.89	1.51	1.90	2.15	2.50	2.61	64	..	..	..	..	2.06	2.19
30	3.48	2.35	30	..	2.23	2.11	1.91	2.23	2.61	65	0.53	1.23	1.55	2.15	2.60	2.42
31	3.04	2.59	31	1.03	1.45	1.85	2.01	2.42	2.60	66	..	..	0	..	2.31	2.42
32	2.37	2.16	32	..	2.19	2.06	1.38	1.95	2.60	67	0.77	1.43	1.80	2.13	2.74	2.55
33	3.51	2.40	33	0.93	1.59	1.93	2.20	2.27	2.79	68	0	2.69	1.92	1.50	2.05	2.55
34	3.69	2.63	34	..	3.50	1.49	2.15	2.68	2.79	69	0.73	1.08	1.85	2.26	1.50	1.97
35	2.29	1.60	35	0.87	1.22	1.65	2.34	2.66	2.04	70	..	0	0	0.71	..	1.97

CHAPTER V

Sex

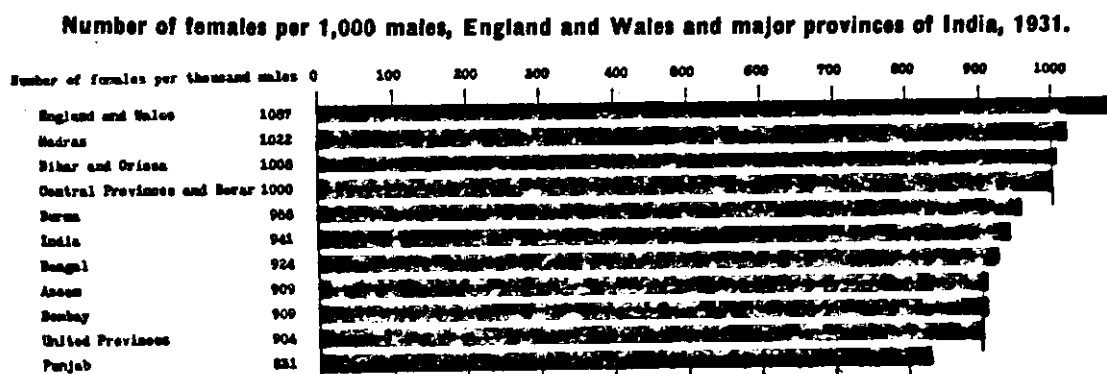
170. **The statistics shown.**—The statistics of the sexes at this and previous enumerations are given in imperial table II. Sex also enters as a basis of classification into almost every table and amongst those in addition to table II in which it is significant the most important is perhaps No. VII (age and marital condition). Details for selected castes appear both in the caste table (table XVII) and according to age for selected castes in table VIII. Subsidiary tables appended to this chapter show—

- I—the number of females per 1,000 males in the population of natural divisions, districts and states, 1872 to 1931 ;
- II—the number of females per 1,000 males of the same age group in the main religions, all Bengal, 1911, 1921 and 1931 ;
- III—the number of females per 1,000 males of the same age group in the main religions of each natural division ;
- IV—the number of females per 1,000 males of the same age in selected castes or other groups, 1931 ;
- V—the actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex (i) annually during the decades 1901-1910, 1911-1920 and 1921-1930 and (ii) in natural divisions, 1921-1930 ; and
- VI—the number of deaths annually reported for each sex at age-groups, 1921-1930.

171. **Source of the figures.**—The statistics of sex were taken from column 5 of the schedule providing for the entry of male or female in each case. The only point upon which the instructions were elaborated was a direction for the inclusion as males of eunuchs and hermaphrodites which is understood to be at variance with the practice in the United Kingdom. Omissions in the schedule were made good by deducing the sex from the name or occupation of the person concerned and from the relation entered to the head of the family.

172. **General comparison with other provinces and countries.**—Of the 51,087,338 persons enumerated, 26,557,860 were males and 24,529,478 were females. There are thus 2,028,382 males more than females in Bengal. There is a preponderance of males also in Sikkim where out of a total population of 109,808 the males number 55,825 and the females 53,983 or 1,842 less

DIAGRAM No. V-1.

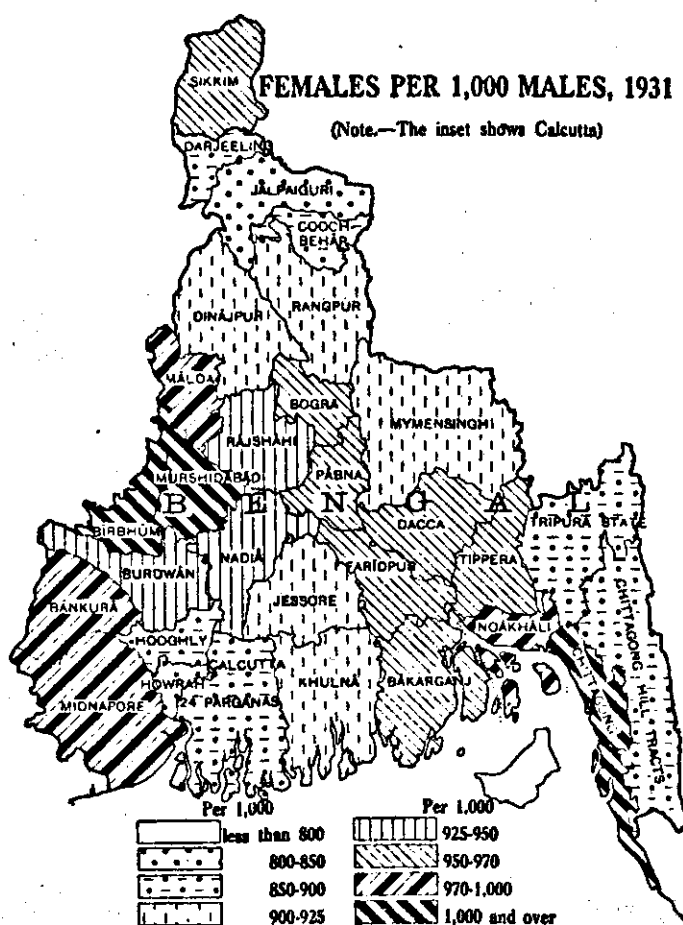


than the males. In every 100 of the total population of Bengal, therefore, there are 52 males and 48 females or over 108 males for every 100 females. The sex ratios however are generally expressed to show the number of females per 1,000 males. In Bengal there are 924 females for every 1,000 males, a ratio smaller than that for the whole of India which is 941, but larger

than those for Bombay (909), the United Provinces (904) and the Punjab (831). Burma, where the ratio is 958, the Central Provinces and Berar, where it is 1,000, Bihar and Orissa, where it is 1,008, and Madras, where it is 1,022, all have more females per 1,000 males than is the average throughout India. But none of these areas has a female ratio as high as England and Wales, where it is 1,087, and in European countries generally the ratio is more than 1,000 rising as high in the census of Portugal in 1920 as to 1,113. It is however no longer necessary to defend the accuracy of the figures merely because there is a marked preponderance of males. There were more males than females even in Europe, in Bulgaria and the Irish Free States in 1926 and in Luxembourg in 1927. Similarly females were fewer than males in Canada and Australia in 1921, in South Africa (White) and New Zealand in 1926, in the Argentine in 1914, Cuba in 1919 and Brazil in 1920, and in the United States of America in 1930. In Soviet Russia in 1926 there was a preponderance of males but it was confined to European territory and in Asiatic Russia females were in the majority. Some of the figures referred to in this paragraph are shown and illustrated in diagram No. V-1.

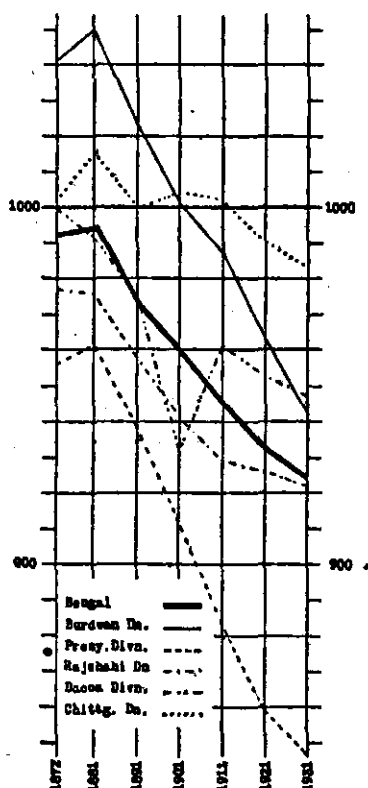
173. **Sex proportions by divisions and districts, 1931.**—On the average the sexes are most nearly equal in the Chittagong and Dacca Divisions. Here the ratios are 983 and 947, respectively, giving for Eastern Bengal, which includes these two divisions and also Tripura State, a ratio of 957 per 1,000. The ratio is smallest in the Presidency Division where it is no more than 846. The sex ratios by districts shown in subsidiary table I are illustrated in diagram No. V-2. The highest proportion of females to males is found in Chittagong, Murshidabad and Birbhum. These are the only three districts in which it rises above 1,000 to every 1,000 males. But it approaches this figure closely also in Malda, Bankura, Noakhali and Midnapore, in none of which districts is the ratio less than 970 per 1,000 males. The tongue of land stretching north-west from Noakhali and Chittagong and comprising the districts of Bakarganj, Tippera, Dacca, Faridpur, Pabna and Bogra, has a ratio of between 950 and 970 per 1,000, a figure not reached elsewhere in Bengal but found in Sikkim where the proportion is 967 to every 1,000 males. Calcutta with its large immigrant population has the fewest females per 1,000 males, namely, 468, and the district of Howrah has the next smallest proportion although here the figure, 834, is very considerably in excess of that in Calcutta. Hooghly and 24-Parganas containing most of the other industrial areas have a ratio of between 850 and 900 to the 1,000. In Jalpaiguri the ratio, 842, is scarcely higher than in the industrial district of Howrah, and the adjoining districts of Darjeeling and Cooch Behar as well as Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts also have a low female sex ratio running between 850 and 900 per 1,000. In Dinajpur, Rangpur and Mymensingh and again in Jessore and Khulna the proportion is between 900 and 925 and in the remaining districts, Burdwan, Nadia and Rajshahi, the proportion is between 925 and 950.

DIAGRAM No. V-2.



174. **General variations in sex proportions, 1872-1931.**—In Bengal at each successive census since 1881 there has been a lower female ratio although a slight increase was recorded between 1872 and 1881. In 1881 there

DIAGRAM No. V-3.
Females per 1,000 males by divisions, 1872-1931.



were 994 females for every 1,000 males but there has been a fairly regular decrease most marked in the first subsequent decade when the proportion fell by 21 to 973 but uninterrupted until the present figure 924 was reached. Migration affects the sex ratios as revealed at the census and since Bengal receives more immigrants than it sends out emigrants and there is a marked predominance of males amongst immigrants the result of migration is to increase the discrepancy in the sex ratios. In the natural population also, i.e., the total numbers born in Bengal wherever enumerated, there has, however, been a marked continuous decline in the number of females per 1,000 males. It was 1,013 in 1881, but fell in successive years to 995, 982, 970, 954 and is now 942. There has been a corresponding uninterrupted decrease in the female ratio in the Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions and in the case of the Chittagong Division the decade 1891 to 1901 only marked a slight increase in the proportion from 1,000 to 1,004. In the Tripura State the sex proportion has been stationary on each of the last three occasions and the ratio, 885, represents an increase in the proportion of females over the figure, 874, recorded in 1901. In this state successive decades from 1872 to 1911 showed alternate decreases and increases in the female ratio. In the Cooch Behar State a continuous decrease in the ratio from 1881 to 1911 has been followed by two

increases to 877 in 1921 and 886 in 1931. The figures for divisions here referred to are illustrated in diagram No. V-3.

175. **Variations in the sex proportions by districts, 1872-1931.**—The three districts in which there are more females than males on the present occasion have had a similar preponderance at every census since 1872. But both Birbhum and Murshidabad have at every successive census recorded a decrease in the female ratio and since 1881 when there were 1,130 females for every 1,000 males in Chittagong the decrease in the proportion has been interrupted only between 1891 and 1901 when it rose from 1,095 to 1,110. Bankura had 1,002 females per 1,000 males in 1921 and both Bankura and Midnapore as well as Dacca and Noakhali had over 1,000 at the census of 1911. In 1881 as well as in 1872 every district in Western Bengal had a larger number of females than males, but at each subsequent census one extra district has fallen below parity in the proportions. In the Presidency Division up to 1891 not only Murshidabad but also Nadia and Jessore had more than 1,000 females for every 1,000 males, but Jessore dropped below the thousand mark in 1901 and Nadia followed suit in 1911. Up to 1901 Pabna and up to 1891 Rajshahi also had more than 1,000 females for every 1,000 males, but in this Division Darjeeling has always been characterised by a low female ratio which has actually increased since 1881 at every decade with two exceptions; between 1901 and 1911 it fell from 873 to 869 and in the last decade it fell from 896 to 879. The proportion in Jalpaiguri has decreased considerably since 1881 when it was 904 and is now 842 but it is still higher than it was in 1911, 841. Up to 1911 the proportion in Noakhali had advanced from 973 in 1872 to 1,016 in 1911 but there has been a decrease during each of the two subsequent decades. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, on the other hand, there has been a continuous increase from 703 in 1872 to 864 on the present occasion broken only by a slight setback between 1911 when it was 860 and 1921 when it was 857. In Sikkim the decrease is only 3 in every 1,000 males and the proportion, 967, is higher than at any census since 1891.

176. **Sex proportions by religions with variations, 1872-1931.**—Figures for the main religious groups are given in statement No. V-1 and illustrated

STATEMENT No. V-1.

Females per 1,000 males in each principal religion, 1872-1931.

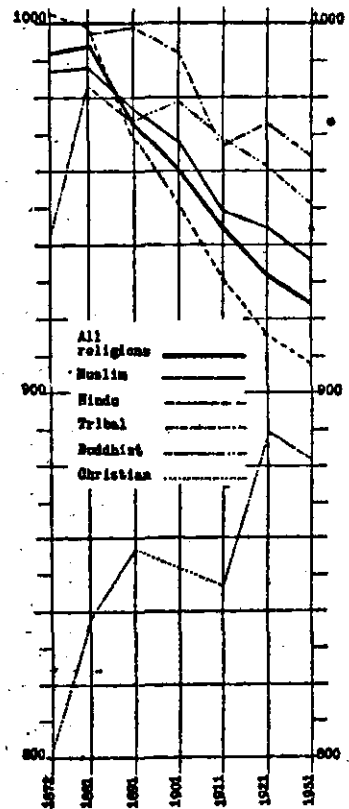
	All religions.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	Buddhist.	Christian.
1872* ..	992	987	1,008	997	949	802
1881 ..	994	988	999	997	933	836
1891 ..	973	977	969	999	974	857
1901 ..	960	918	951	990	979	852
1911 ..	945	949	931	967	969	847
1921 ..	932	945	916	978	961	889
1931 ..	924	936	908	964	951	882

*Excluding Tripura State for which figures by sexes are not on record.

in diagram No. V-4. At every census Christians have shown the smallest proportion of females to males. The proportions were as low as 802 in 1872 and for every 1,000 Christian males there are still in 1931, 42 less Christian females than amongst the total population of all religions taken together. Hindus returned, in 1872, 1,003, females for every 1,000 males, but this is the only instance in which a larger number of the population has been females in any religion at any census and since the census of 1891 there have been fewer females to every 1,000 males amongst Hindus than in any other religion except Christians. With the exception of Hindus in 1881 and Buddhists in 1911 at every census the sex proportions have been most equal amongst those of tribal religions and the female proportion is now 964 per 1,000 or 13 higher than amongst the Buddhists where the proportion is next highest. Since 1872 both Muslims and Hindus have recorded an uninterrupted decline in the proportions which is most marked amongst the Muslims between the years 1901 and 1911 and amongst the Hindus between 1881 and 1891, and during the last decade the decrease has been somewhat accelerated amongst the Muslims but retarded amongst the Hindus. Compared with other provinces the number of females per thousand males amongst Hindus is lower than in Madras (1,025), Bihar and Orissa (1,005), the Central Provinces (1,002) or Bombay (937), but is higher than in the United Provinces (905), Assam (891), the Punjab (835) or the North West Frontier Province (695). The proportion amongst Muslims is higher than in any province except Madras and Bihar and Orissa (1,018), it is as low as 807 in Bombay, 839 in the Punjab and 862 in the North West Frontier Province and is no more than 899 in the United Provinces, 902 in Assam and 905 in the Central Provinces.

177. **Sex proportions by caste.**—The sex proportions for the caste and other groups selected for imperial table VIII are worked out and shown in subsidiary table IV. Amongst the groups chosen only four have a preponderance of women: they are Christian Lepchas, Buddhists, Baishnabs and Bauris. Amongst the Lepchas, who are Christian converts, the fact that there are more females than males may be only an indication that proselytism is more successful amongst the women than amongst the men. The high proportion of females amongst the Baishnabs is also explained partly by the fact that Baishnabs draw their recruits from all classes of society and that their numbers are swollen by the accession of women who are prevented in their own group from remarrying as well as by numbers who are no longer accepted in their original caste. But neither of these explanations accounts for the very high proportion of women amongst the Bauris. The Santals of all religions also have a proportion of females well in excess of the average for the whole population and there is a relatively high proportion of women amongst the Doms, Namasudras, Mahishyas and Kochhes. Amongst the groups chosen it is interesting that the higher castes (Baidyas, Kayasthas, Brahmans and Brahmos) have all considerably fewer females per 1,000 males than the average in all Bengal. Amongst

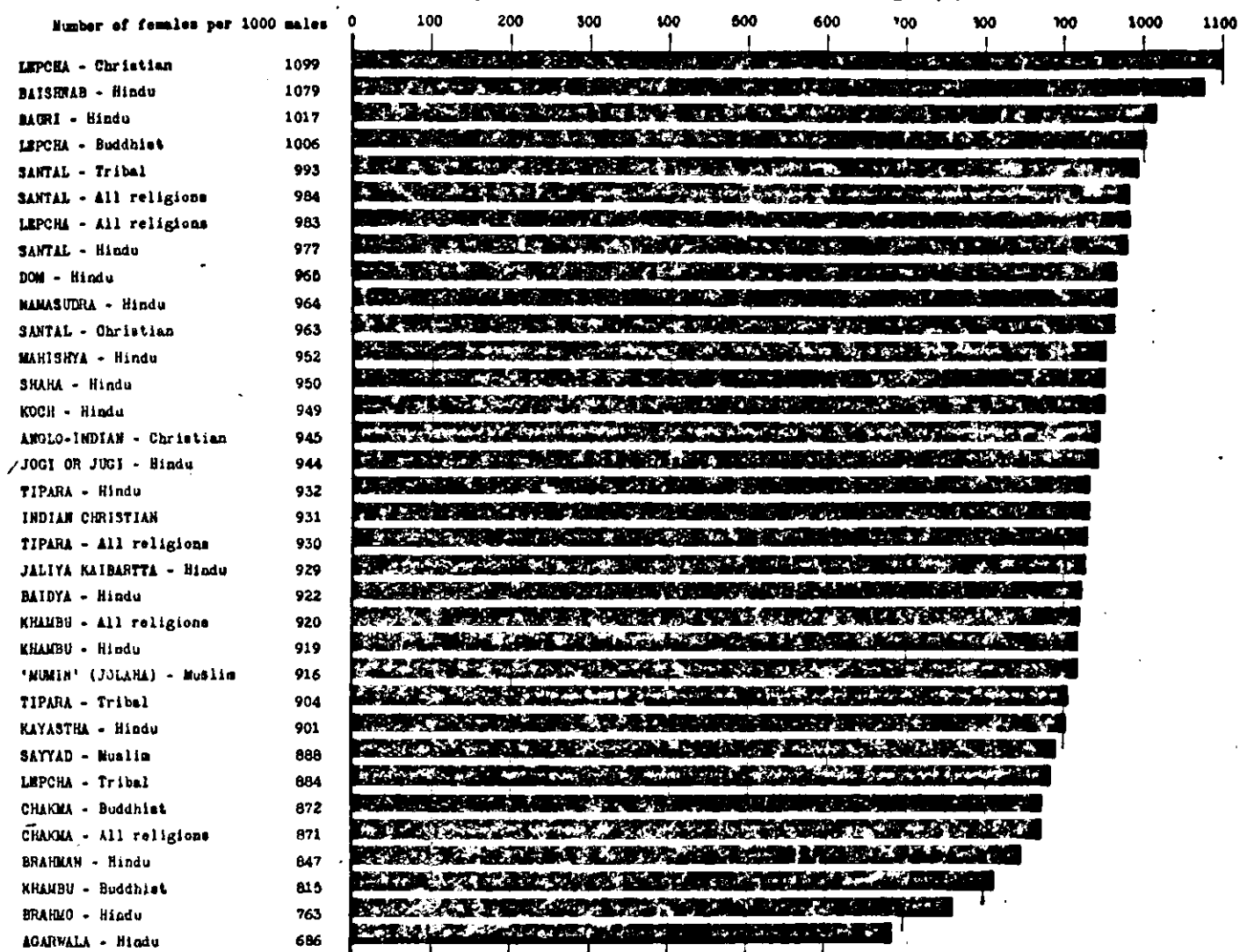
DIAGRAM No. V-4.
Females per 1,000 males in each principal religion, 1872-1931.



the Agarwalas the proportion is lower than in any of the other 23 groups chosen and an examination of the proportions at each age-group given in subsidiary table IV shows that the discrepancy is due to the fact that members of this caste are immigrants whose wives are not with them. There are, for instance, less than 4 married women in this caste for every 6 married men and the inference is that the wives of the remainder are in other parts of India. At the earlier ages, namely, up to the age-group 14-16, the sex proportions very closely resemble those for the other groups indigenous to Bengal, since they represent the children born to those of this caste whose womenfolk are resident with them in Bengal. A comparison of this table, illustrated in diagram No. V-5, with the table included in and illustrated

DIAGRAM No. V-5.

Number of females per 1,000 males in selected caste and other groups, 1931.



by diagram No. VI-9 shows that amongst the groups chosen it is not the deficiency of females which leads to the most notable prevalence of infant marriage. Thus the groups amongst which infant marriage is most common are Doms, "Mumin" (Jolahas), Baishnabs, Mahishyas, Namasudras, Jalia Kaibarttas, Bauris and Jogis. Of these groups, only the "Mumin" (Jolahas) have a smaller proportion of women than is the average on the total population. The remaining seven have a larger proportion of females to males than the average and the Baishnabs and Bauris have an actual preponderance of females over males. If Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and aboriginal groups like the Lepchas, Santals and Tiparas are left out of account, these seven groups indeed with the exception of the Shahas and Kochhes are the only ones amongst those chosen with a higher proportion of females per 1,000 males than the average. On the other hand, taking Hindu groups indigenous to Bengal it is the Baidyas, Kayasthas, Brahmans and Brahmos amongst whom are found combined a considerable preponderance of males over females together with an increasing tendency to delay marriage till a later age and the Brahmos with the smallest proportion of females to males also have the smallest proportion of infant marriages.

It appears not improbable, however, that there has been some difference in the sectarian returns of males and females amongst Brahmos since there are amongst them proportions of married men and women almost identical with those found amongst Agarwalas, viz., 6 married men for 4 married women, and the same consideration cannot be called into account for this discrepancy as in the case of the Agarwalas. What appears to have happened is that amongst some couples the husband has returned himself as a Brahmo and the wife as a Hindu.

178. **Sex proportions at age-groups.**—The sex proportions at age-groups for each different religion are shown for 1911 to 1931 in subsidiary table II. In this table decennial age-groups are used from 30 onwards with a final group of 60 and over. These figures are expanded in statement No. V-2 and illustrated in diagram No. V-6. In comparing the figures with those of 1911 account must be taken of the effect caused by the adjustment of age-groups made in presenting the statistics on the present occasion. As has already been mentioned in any age-group those shown on the present occasion include a certain number who on previous occasions would have been shown in the next higher group and exclude a certain number now shown in the next lower group who previously would have been included within it. The result expected would be an increase in the proportions aged 0-5 owing to the

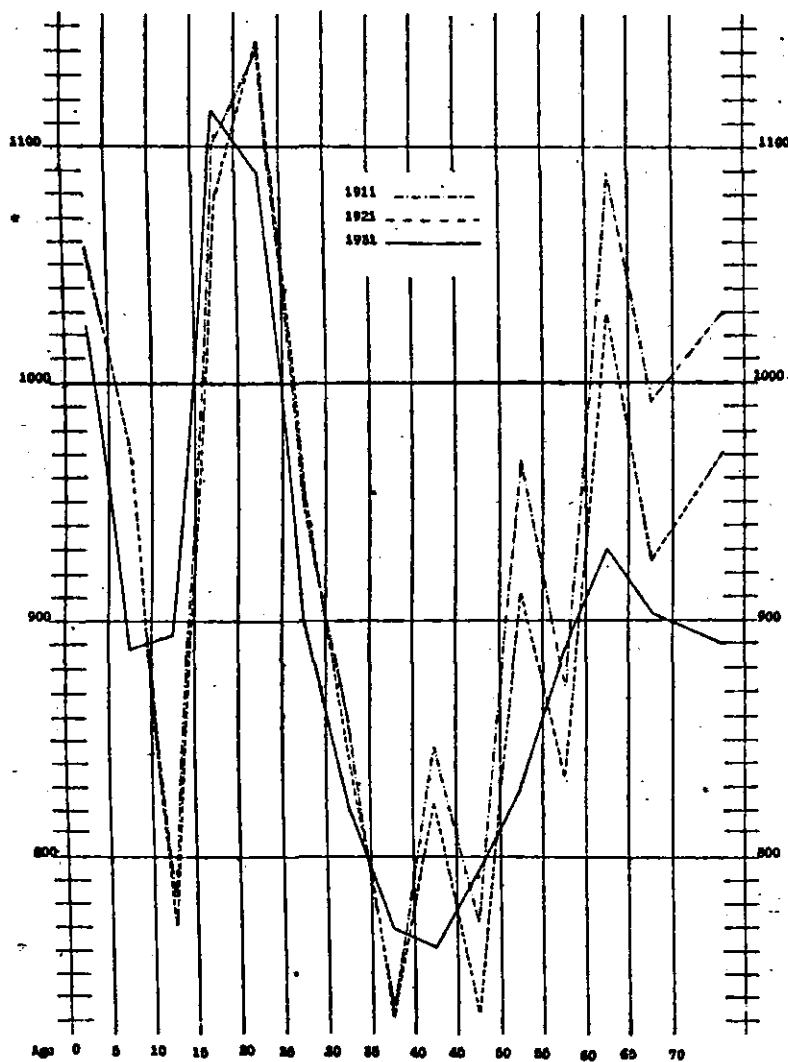
STATEMENT No. V-2.

Females per 1,000 males
of the same age-group,
1911, 1921 and 1931.

Age-group.	1911.	1921.	1931.
0-5 ..	1,068	1,057	1,024
5-10 ..	969	970	888
10-15 ..	783	771	894
15-20 ..	1,102	1,079	1,115
20-25 ..	1,141	1,144	1,089
25-30 ..	949	951	901
30-35 ..	859	864	822
35-40 ..	731	738	769
40-45 ..	847	823	761
45-50 ..	772	738	798
50-55 ..	967	921	829
55-60 ..	873	835	888
60-65 ..	1,089	1,029	930
65-70 ..	992	925	903
70 & over	1,031	971	890

DIAGRAM No. V-6.

Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age, 1911, 1921 and 1931.



inclusion of some who gave their age as 5 and would have been included in the group 5-10 on previous occasions but are now shown in the group 0-5, and in each subsequent group a somewhat smaller diminution of the numbers included, because taking, for instance, the group 20-25 the numbers of those whose age was returned as 20 and who would have been included on previous occasions in the group 20-25 but are now allocated to the group 15-20, would naturally exceed the numbers of those allocated to the group 20-25 amongst persons whose age was returned as 25 and would on previous occasions have been included in the group 25-30. These considerations, however, affect the proportionate age distribution within each sex, but not, or to a much less extent, the numbers of females to males at each age-group. The proportionate distribution of the sexes by age-groups was very much alike in 1911 and 1921 up to the age-group 35-40 but thereafter there was at every successive age-group a larger proportion of females to males in 1911 than in 1921, though in both years the proportion showed

in alternate quinquennial periods an increase and a decrease over those recorded in the period preceding. On the present occasion the curve, whilst following comparatively close-by that for 1911 and 1921 up to the age-group 35-40, is thereafter very much more regular than in either of those two years. At every quinquennial group the proportion of females to males

STATEMENT No. V-3.

Females per 1,000 males of the same age-groups by natural divisions.

Age-group.	Bengal.	Burdwan.	Presidency.	*Rajshahi.	Dacca.	†Chittagong.
0-5 ..	1,024	1,021	1,004	1,035	1,037	1,010
5-10 ..	888	874	862	881	908	904
10-15 ..	804	875	851	895	922	914
15-20 ..	1,115	1,065	945	1,176	1,175	1,237
20-25 ..	1,089	1,078	900	1,125	1,144	1,581
25-30 ..	901	937	777	883	931	1,048
30-35 ..	822	804	729	799	843	935
35-40 ..	789	804	690	739	800	856
40-45 ..	761	802	703	736	778	826
45-50 ..	793	878	884	776	770	803
50-55 ..	829	941	810	810	789	802
55-60 ..	848	1,071	897	856	824	806
60-65 ..	930	1,157	960	886	853	840
65-70 ..	903	1,176	959	846	809	763
70 & over	890	1,203	951	806	823	779

*With Cooch Behar.

†With Tripura State.

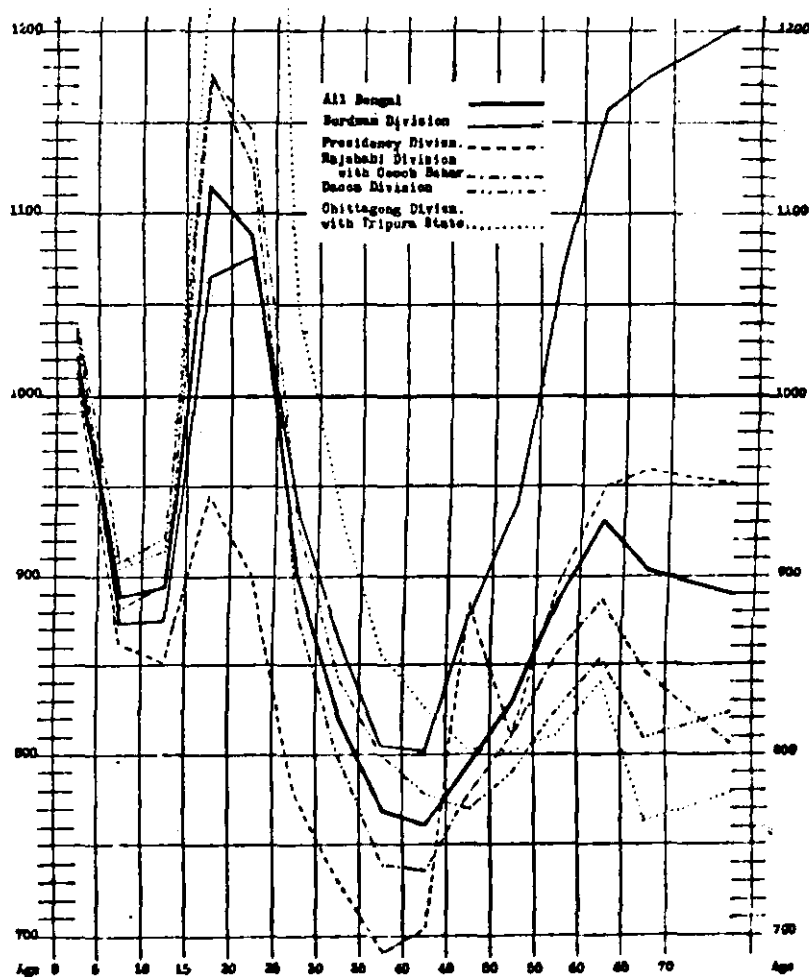
has declined except between the ages 10 to 15, 15 to 20, 35 to 40, 45 to 50 and 55 to 60. There is an excess of females over males in the age-groups 0-5, 15-20 and 20-25. This has been a feature of the returns at both of the last two previous census enumerations. An explanation for the marked preponderance of females at 15-25 and the rapid decline in their proportions is afforded by subsidiary table VI. It is only in the age-groups 15-20 and 20-30 that the reported deaths of females exceed those of males. At these ages between 12 and 13 females die for

every 10 males. In 1911 and 1921 there was also an excess of females between the age-group 60 and 65 and there was an excess also in 1911 in the age-group 70 and over, neither of which are reproduced on the present occasion, whilst the principal excess of females which occurred between the age-groups 20 and 25

in 1911 and 1921 now occurs in the next earlier age-group 15 to 20. The lowest proportions occur in 1911 to 1921 between the ages of 10 to 15 and again in the age-groups 35 to 40 and 45 to 50. The curve for 1931 shows somewhat similar depressions but there is a lower proportion at the age-group 5 to 10 on the present occasion than in the age-group 10 to 15 and the increase in the proportion shown at the age-group 40 to 45 in the years 1911 and 1921 is absent in the curve for 1931 in which the lowest proportion at any age-group occurs in the age-group 40 to 45.

DIAGRAM No. V-7.

Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age in each division 1931.



179. Sex proportions at age-groups by divisions.—

Figures similar to those discussed in the preceding paragraph are shown in subsidiary table III for natural divisions and, as in statement No. V-2, the figures there given are expanded for the ages 30 and over in statement No. V-3 above. The curves for each division, shown in the above diagram No. V-7, follow approximately the same contours as the average for all Bengal. At the later ages, from 50

to 55 onwards, in general the proportion of females at each age-group is highest in the Burdwan Division and declines in the order in which the divisions are shown throughout the tables, namely, after Burdwan follow the Presidency, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions. Up to the age-group 40-45 in every quinquennium the proportion of females to males is less in the Presidency Division than elsewhere and up to the age-group 25-30 it is next lowest in the Burdwan Division. Speaking generally between the ages of 15 and 30 the proportions are in the reverse order from that shown after the age-group 50 to 55: the Chittagong Division in the age-group 20 to 25 has as many as 158 women to every 100 men and retains the highest proportions at every group between 15 and 45.

180. **Sex proportions at age-groups by religions.**--Figures for religions similar to those already given in the preceding paragraphs for previous years

STATEMENT No. V-4.

Females per 1,000 males of the same age-groups by religions.

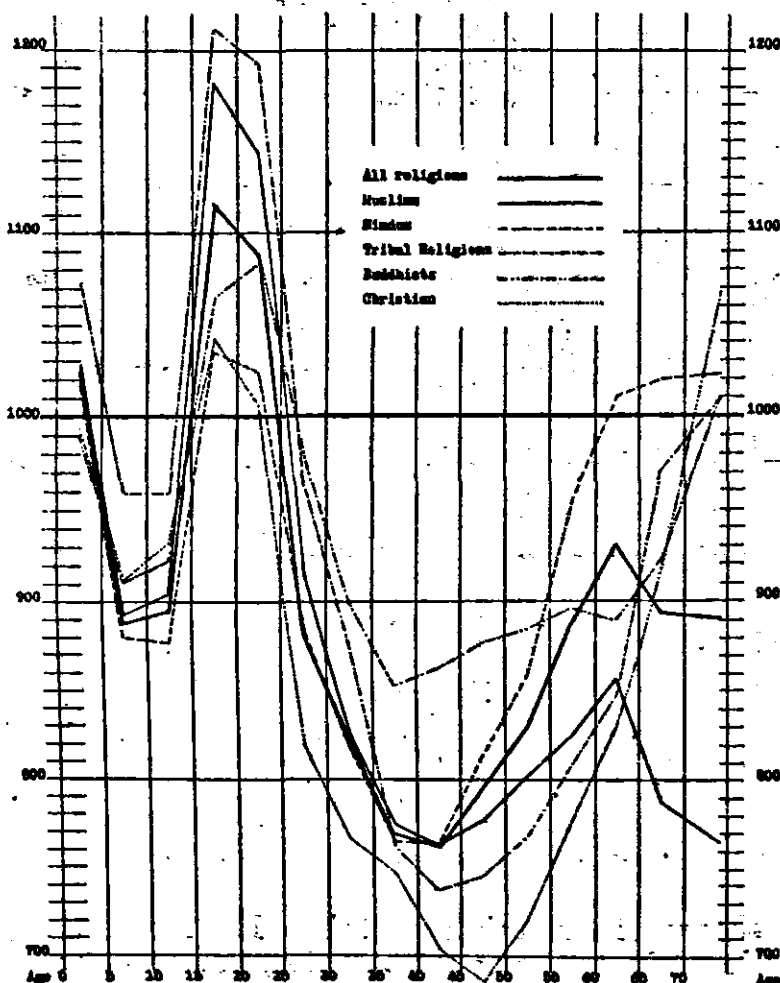
Age-group.	All religions.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	Buddhist.	Christian.
0-5 ..	1,024	1,028	1,017	1,074	990	994
5-10 ..	888	892	880	959	910	911
10-15 ..	894	904	877	959	921	932
15-20 ..	1,115	1,183	1,085	1,212	1,065	1,042
20-25 ..	1,099	1,144	1,024	1,198	1,084	1,006
25-30 ..	901	915	884	962	978	820
30-35 ..	822	825	818	876	900	766
35-40 ..	769	774	765	762	853	747
40-45 ..	761	762	763	737	868	704
45-50 ..	763	776	818	740	877	686
50-55 ..	829	802	857	768	884	721
55-60 ..	838	825	955	809	895	779
60-65 ..	830	857	1,011	846	889	829
65-70 ..	803	788	1,020	970	922	915
70 & over	890	765	1,022	1,002	1,010	1,067

and for divisions are included in statement No. V-4 and illustrated by diagram No. V-8. The curves for each religion also follow the same lines as those for the total population with very small variations. The largest proportion of females to males occurs in every religion in the age-group 15 to 20 except amongst the Buddhists where it is reached in the subsequent quinquennial group and amongst the Christians where it is reached in the age-group

70 and over. The lowest proportion is in the age-group 40 to 45 except amongst the Buddhists where it occurs in the previous and amongst the Christians where it occurs in the subsequent quinquennial group. At every

DIAGRAM No. V-8.

Females per 1,000 males at age-groups in each main religion.



age up to 25 there is a larger proportion of females to males amongst those of tribal religions than in any other religion. From this age to the age of 50-55 the largest proportions in each age-group are amongst the Buddhists. At all the ages between 20 and 65 there is in each quinquennial group a smaller proportion of females among the Christians than amongst those of other religions. But from this age onwards the proportion rapidly increases and at the age of 70 and over there are more females to males amongst Christians than in any other religion. Between the ages 5 and 20 the smallest proportion of females occurs amongst the Hindus. Compared with other religions the proportions amongst the Muslims

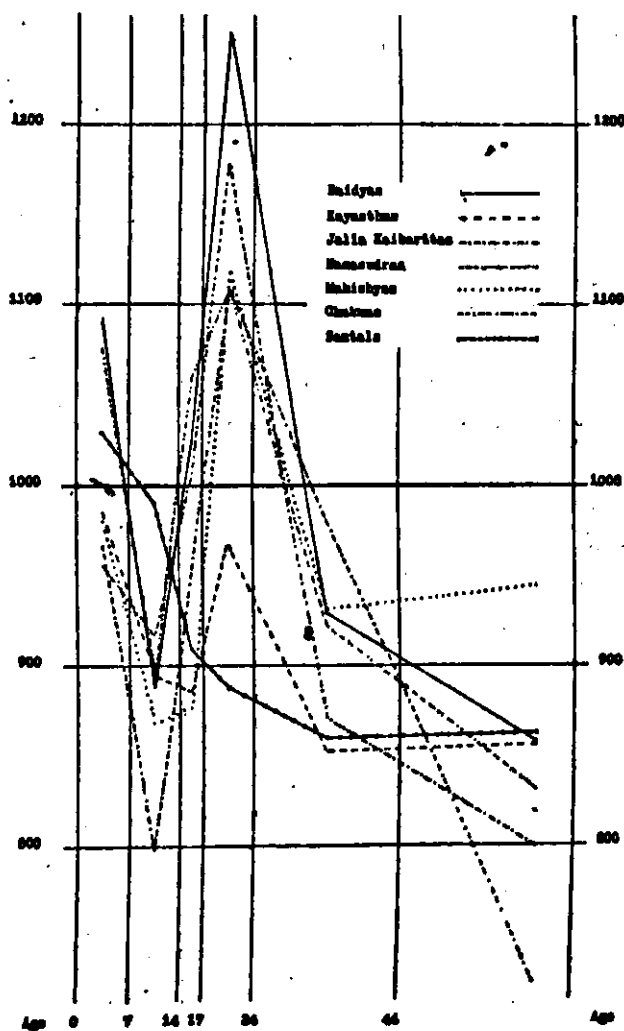
are high up to about 25 or 30 years of age but then decline, and from the age of 65 onwards there are fewer females to every thousand

males than in any other religion. Here again a comparison with the figures for marital condition shows that the frequency of early marriage amongst females is not entirely conditioned by a deficit in the number of females at what in Western countries would be considered marriageable ages, since it is just in the age-groups 15 to 20 and 20 to 25 that there are proportionately more females to males than at any other period. The excess is actually greatest amongst the Muslims with whom the early marriage of females is particularly prevalent but in all religions it amounts to an actual numerical excess of females over males of these ages. This question is discussed in Chapter VI.

181. **Sex proportions at age-groups in selected castes.**—The sex proportions at age-groups in selected castes are illustrated by diagram No. V-9 based upon subsidiary table IV. These show considerable divergences in the sex proportions. Seven groups are illustrated and the age-groups shown differ from the usual quinquennial groups illustrated in previous diagrams. The difference of grouping conceals the divergences in smaller groups beyond the age of 24 for which in diagram No. V-9 and subsidiary table IV there are only two age-groups shown. Of the seven groups all except the Kayasthas and the Baidyas show at the ages of 17 to 23 a preponderance of females over males of the same age and there is a similar preponderance amongst the Jaliya Kaibarttas, Namasudras and the Santals also at ages 14 to 16. This diagram and the table on which it is based are probably not so instructive as diagrams and statements prepared in quinquennial groups and no figures have been worked out and presented showing for comparison the proportions in the same age-groups amongst the total population and the main religions. Detailed comment, therefore, is not likely to be very illuminating. A distribution of the seven castes shown according to social position also does not reveal as large a measure of similarity in the proportions as might be expected. At all the age-groups shown except at 17 to 23 there is amongst the

DIAGRAM No. V-9.

Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age in selected castes, 1931. (Ages are to the nearest birthday.)



Kayasthas a very considerably smaller proportion of females than amongst the Baidyas. Indeed the proportion is higher amongst the Baidyas and (with the exception of Santals of ages 17 to 23) lower amongst the Kayasthas than among any of the castes shown. There is a rather larger measure of agreement particularly at ages 17 to 23 between the Jaliya Kaibarttas, Namasudras and Mahishyas but they show considerable and increasing divergences at and after the age of 24. The relatively high proportion of females amongst the Santals illustrated in diagram No. V-5 is seen on a comparison of this table and diagram to be due to relatively high proportions in the ages before 14, for at ages 17 to 23 the proportion of females is smaller than amongst any group shown and at ages 24 to 43 the proportions are again smaller than in any other group except the Kayasthas. On the other hand, however, by the time the group 44 and over is reached

the proportion of females to males amongst the Santals has risen, or rather the proportion amongst every other group except the Mahishyas has fallen so far that with the sole exception of the Mahishyas any other group shown has a larger proportion of females to males.

182. **Sex proportions at birth by districts, 1921-1930.**—The number of female births reported for every thousand male births reported in each district during the decade 1921 to 1930 is shown in statement No. V-5 and illustrated in diagram No. V-10. The average for the decade is 922. The areas in which masculinity at birth is lowest are all concentrated in a fringe running down the western boundary of the province. A straight line drawn from the trijunction of Midnapore, Howrah and the 24-Parganas to that of Rangpur and Mymensingh with Assam would include on the north and west all the districts where there are as many as 925 girl babies born to every 1,000 boys and no districts except Hooghly and Howrah where the proportion is less. In Rajshahi and Birbhum the proportions are as high as 951 and 954 respectively, and in Murshidabad between these two districts as well as in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri at the extreme north and Bankura and Midnapore at the extreme south-west of the province the proportion of females born to males born is 95 or over in every 100. In addition to these seven districts the proportion of females born per 1,000 males reaches as many as 930 to 940 only in the districts of Burdwan, Nadia and Dinajpur and it is as much as 925 only in Rangpur, Malda and Bogra. It

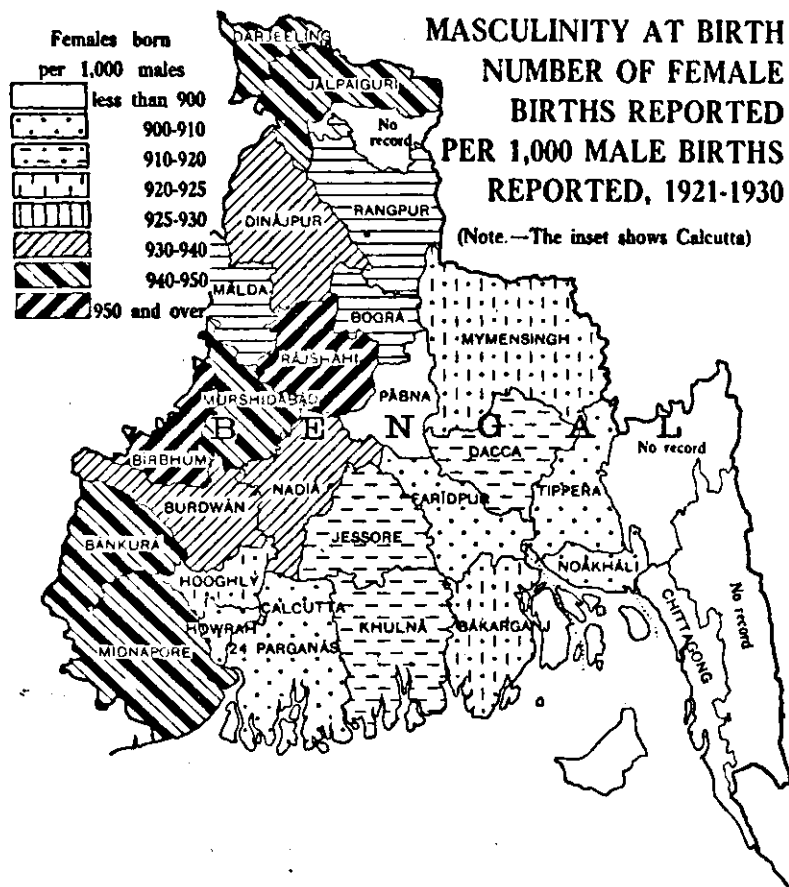
STATEMENT No. V-5.

Masculinity at birth : number of female births reported per 1,000 male births reported by districts during the decade 1921-1930.

Burdwan	..	930
Birbhum	..	954
Bankura	..	944
Midnapore	..	949
Hooghly	..	915
Howrah	..	906
24-Parganas	..	900
Calcutta	..	882
Nadia	..	933
Murshidabad	..	940
Jessore	..	923
Khulna	..	921
Rajshahi	..	951
Dinajpur	..	937
Jalpaiguri	..	944
Darjeeling	..	945
Rangpur	..	927
Bogra	..	925
Pabna	..	899
Malda	..	926
Dacca	..	921
Mymensingh	..	916
Faridpur	..	908
Bakarganj	..	917
Tippera	..	909
Noakhali	..	901
Chittagong	..	895

DIAGRAM No. V-10.

NOTE.—The hatchings for groups 910-920, 920-925 and 925-930 appear in the map at right angles to their disposition in the key.



is lowest in Calcutta where there are only 882 births of girls reported for every thousand reported births of boys, and in Pabna and Chittagong also the proportion of female to male births is less than 900 to every thousand. In Dacca, Jessore and Khulna the proportion is between 920 and 925, but it is as much as 910 only in Mymensingh, Hooghly and Bakarganj amongst the other districts and is between 900 and 910 in every other district in which records are kept.

183. **Sex proportions at birth by divisions, 1921-1930.**—The number of female births reported per 1,000 male births reported annually from 1921 to 1930 is shown for each division in state-

ment No. V-6 and illustrated in diagram No. V-11. Figures for Bengal are also given in column 11 of subsidiary table V, part i, where differences of calculation result in a variation of one unit in the years 1922, 1925, 1926 and 1929. In these years the Bengal figure in the statement is one greater

than in table V except in the year 1926; but in each case the variation is too slight to affect the general trend of the figures. The average for the preceding decade (1911-1920) was 933 girls to every 1,000 boys born. In the last decade it had fallen to 922 and although the ratio in 1930 was higher than this and was higher in 1921, 1923, 1924 and 1926, the general trend is downward. The figures for each administrative division show considerable variations. The average is highest in the Burdwan and

STATEMENT No. V-6.

Female births reported per 1,000 male births reported annually in each administrative division, 1921-1930.

	Bengal.	Burdwan. Presidency.	Rajshahi.	Dacca.	*Chittgong.
Average	922 ± 0.738	937 ± 0.906	919 ± 0.911	931 ± 1.136	916 ± 1.265
1921	928	931	925	944	922
1922	920	931	912	932	916
1923	926	940	921	936	920
1924	927	942	924	929	926
1925	920	935	919	931	907
1926	923	940	923	931	916
1927	920	937	920	930	910
1928	917	931	920	925	909
1929	920	942	920	922	913
1930	923	938	912	930	921

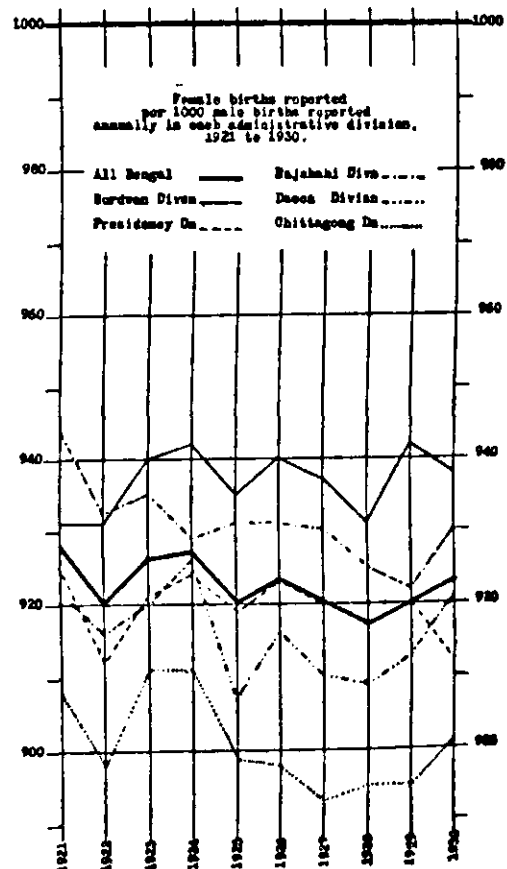
*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

lowest in the Chittagong Division, figures for which do not include details of the Chittagong Hill Tracts for which no record is kept. In 1927 the ratio in the Chittagong Division was as low as 893 girls born to every thousand boys and the highest point reached in any division was a proportion of 944 in Rajshahi in 1921; but only in Burdwan Division and only on four occasions, viz., in 1923, 1924, 1926 and 1929 was a ratio so high as 940 reported. Compared with other figures for the same area the ratio was low in 1922 in all divisions, in 1925 in all divisions except Rajshahi, and in 1928 particularly in the Burdwan Division.

184. **Trend of sex proportions at birth, 1901-1930.**—The trend of the sex proportions at birth is even more strikingly illustrated in the statement incorporated in and illustrated by diagram No. V-12. In this diagram figures similar to those illustrated in diagram No. V-11 are given for each division from the year 1901 to 1930. In the Presidency, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions figures available for the last decade are not on record in the earlier years for Calcutta, Malda and Noakhali districts and those illustrated in this diagram therefore exclude these three districts as well as the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In some instances there are discrepancies between the figures for the Burdwan and the Dacca Divisions which should be identical with those given in statement No. V-6. They are considerable however only in the case of Burdwan Division in 1922 and 1930 and in using diagram No. V-12 the reader should for these years prefer the figures given in statement No. V-6. Such discrepancies as there are, moreover, do not affect the general trend. In 1901 for all Bengal the number of girls born for every thousand boys was 945—a figure higher than was reached in any subsequent year except 1905 when it was 948 and 1906 when it was 945; and with such variations as are natural there has been since 1901 a steady decrease which is clearly illustrated in the diagram. In every year the proportion has been lowest in the Chittagong Division. In the Burdwan Division the ratio in 1930 was very little less than it had been in 1900 and in spite of variations reflected in the curve there has been in this division only no evident trend in a downward direction over the

DIAGRAM No. V-11.

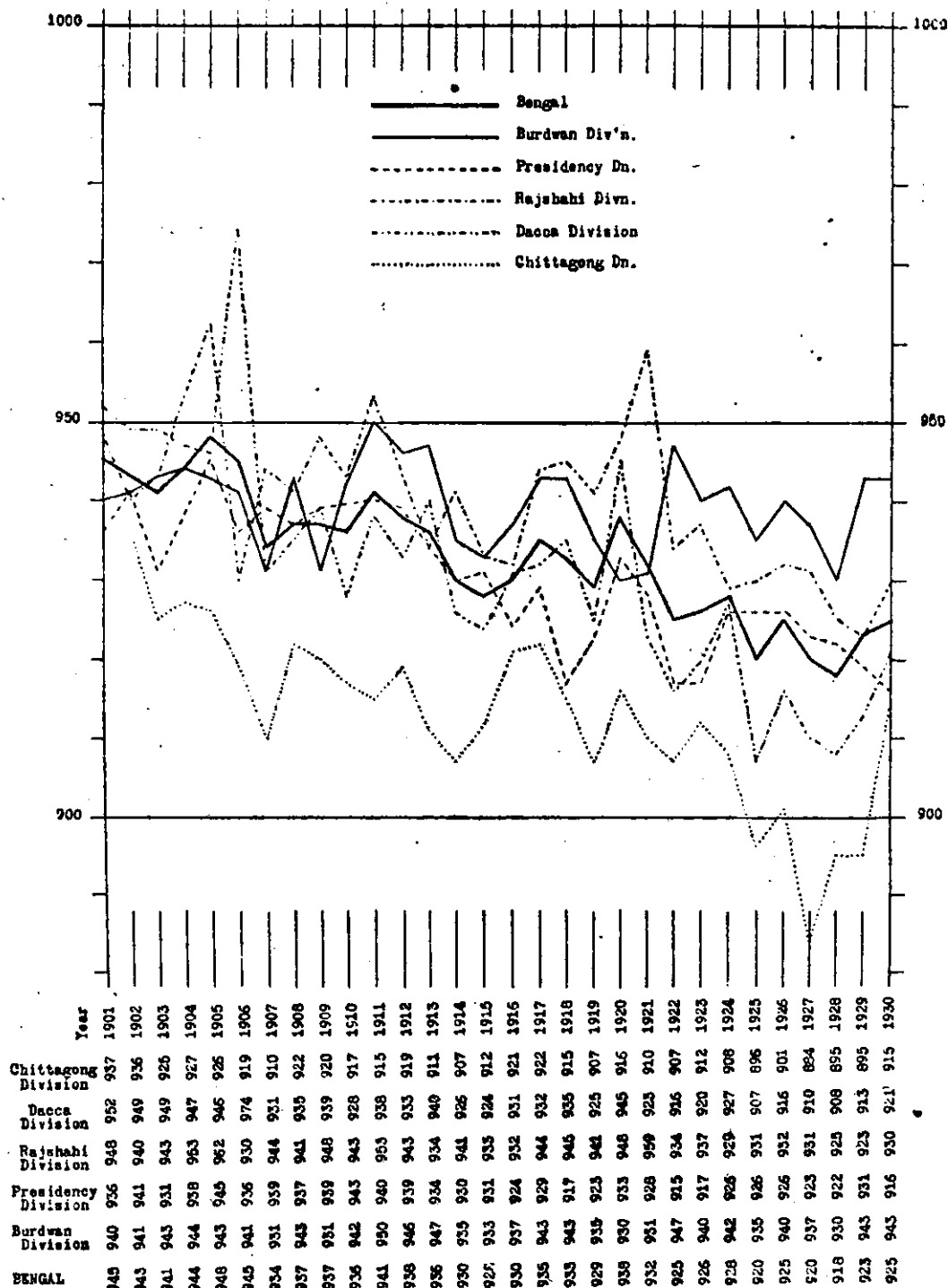
Number of female births reported per 1,000 male births reported, by divisions, 1921-1930.



whole period of 30 years. The Rajshahi Division has shown, perhaps the most notable variations between 1901 and 1931. On four occasions (in 1904, 1905, 1911 and 1921) the proportion has been over 950, but after the year 1921 the tendency has apparently been towards a marked decline

DIAGRAM No. V-12.

Number of female births reported per 1,000 male births reported in each administrative division, 1901-1930.



in the ratio. Only in the Dacca Division in 1906 when a ratio of 974 was reported has any other district returned a ratio comparable with the four highest in the Rajshahi Division and it is in the Dacca Division that the greatest variation in the proportions is seen from 974 in 1906 to 907 in 1925 and 908 in 1928. In other divisions except the Presidency, however, the figures since 1928 suggest that there may be some increase in the proportions, but it is unlikely that these will prove to be more than temporary tendencies in view of the trend during the whole of the last 30 years. The decline in the proportion of females to males at every recorded census since 1881 has thus clearly been partly due to the differential rate of birth.

185. Sex proportions at death by divisions, 1921-1930.—The sex ratios in the deaths reported annually in each division from 1921 to 1930 are shown

in statement No. V-7 and illustrated in diagram No. V-13. Female deaths formed the lowest proportion of male deaths in the year 1924 when in the whole of Bengal there were only 858 females reported dead for every 1,000 males. After this date the proportion rose until 1929 when it was 951 females to every 1,000 males, but in the next year it had again shown a decrease to 936. On the average Burdwan showed the highest proportion of female deaths to male deaths followed in order by Chittagong, Dacca, Rajshahi and Presidency Divisions. In the Presidency Division the average ratio in the decade was 889 females to every 1,000 males ; it was 900 in Rajshahi, 904 in Dacca and 929 in Chittagong. During the

STATEMENT No. V-7.

Female deaths per 1,000 male deaths annually by divisions, 1921-1930.

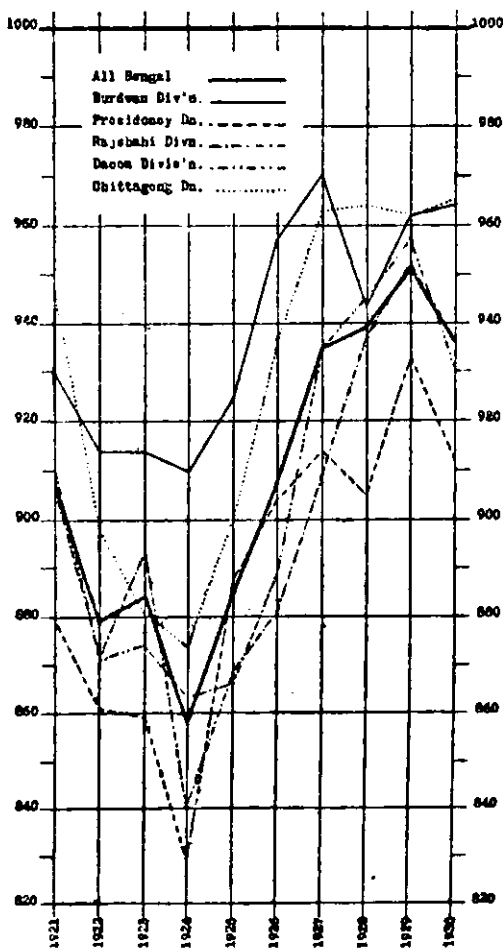
*Bengal. Burdwan. Presidency. Rajshahi. Dacca. *Chittagong.

Average	Bengal	Burdwan	Presidency	Rajshahi	Dacca	Chittagong
..	898 ± 6.335	939 ± 4.684	889 ± 6.376	900 ± 7.256	904 ± 7.235	929 ± 7.461
1921	.. 907	910	880	905	910	946
1922	.. 879	914	861	872	871	898
1923	.. 843	914	859	893	874	881
1924	.. 858	910	829	840	868	874
1925	.. 885	925	888	898	866	900
1926	.. 907	957	904	881	889	936
1927	.. 935	970	914	919	935	903
1928	.. 939	948	905	937	945	904
1929	.. 951	962	933	952	957	902
1930	.. 946	904	912	936	930	906

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

DIAGRAM No. V-13.

Number of female deaths reported per 1,000 male deaths reported in each division annually, 1921-1930.



each division. A comparison of this statement with column 3 of subsidiary table I shows that with one exception the same order is here preserved. The exception is Burdwan Division which has a smaller proportion of females to males than either the Chittagong or Dacca Divisions and should consequently come third in order, if the incidence of mortality were equal between the sexes, or if the differential incidence of mortality between the sexes were similar in all three divisions, whereas actually it takes the first place in statement No. V-7. In an equal number of each sex more women die for every male death in Burdwan than in Chittagong or Dacca Divisions, and this accounts for its taking the first place in statement No. V-7. On the other hand in the Presidency Division where, in equal numbers

of each sex not only do more women die for every man than in Rajshahi, but the death rate is actually higher amongst females, the discrepancy in the sex figures is so great that the differential incidence of mortality does not result in raising the female ratio above that in the Rajshahi Division.

186. **Sex proportions at death by religions, 1921-1930.**—Figures similar to the above for the principal religions are shown in statement No. V-8 and illustrated in diagram No. V-14. In the diagram the curve for all religions is naturally the same as in diagram No. V-13 although the average of the decade incorporated in the diagram varies by one unit from that given in statement No. V-7.

STATEMENT No. V-8.

Female deaths per 1,000 male deaths annually by religions, 1921-1930.

	Muslim.	Hindu,	Buddhist.	Christian.
Average	903 ± 7.273	918 ± 5.413	892 ± 10.989	869 ± 11.042
1921	910	907	987	791
1922	874	890	906	790
1923	877	895	836	816
1924	844	879	831	880
1925	874	901	906	925
1926	896	925	889	913
1927	931	945	844	919
1928	936	948	896	929
1929	957	949	805	878
1930	933	944	916	852

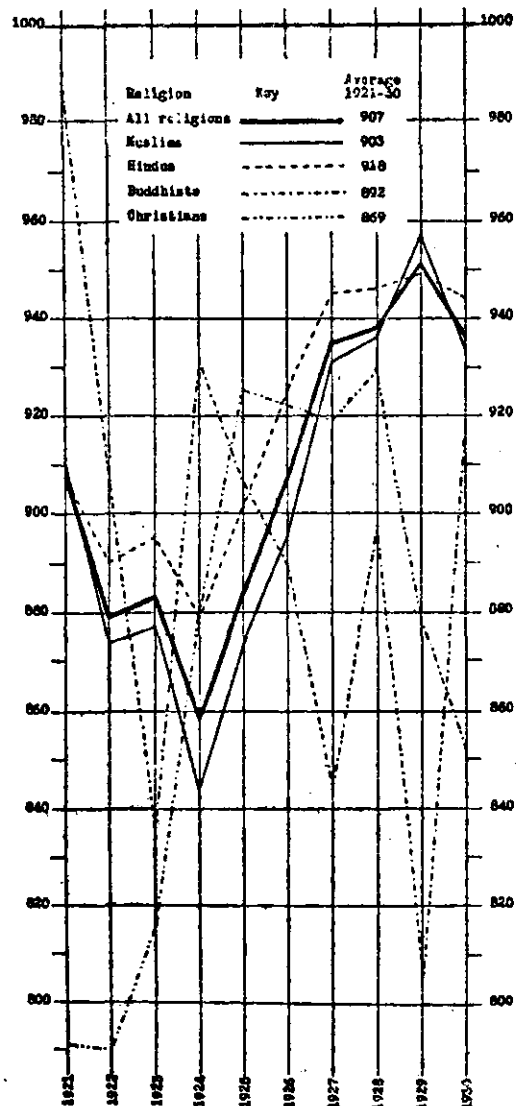
is naturally the same as in diagram No. V-13 although the average of the decade incorporated in the diagram varies by one unit from that given in statement No. V-7. The closest approximation to the average incidence is naturally shown amongst the Muslims who form a majority of the population. In every year except 1929 there were fewer females died amongst Muslims for every 1,000 males than

in the population as a whole. Amongst Hindus, on the contrary, in every year except 1929 there were more females died per 1,000 males than in the average for the total population. The other religions shown, viz., Buddhists and Christians, display a very much greater variation. Amongst the Buddhists the numbers were almost equal in the year 1921 but in 1929 the proportion was lower than in any other religion during the whole decade with the exception of Christians in 1921 and 1922. Here again, as in the case of divisions the order of the ratio shown in statement No. V-8 might be expected to be the same as the order of the ratio of females to males. Christians, indeed, with the lowest number of females to males show also the lowest number of female deaths to male deaths on the average during the decade but whereas Muslims maintain the same relative position in both the lists Hindus and Buddhists exchange places; and although Hindus have fewer females for every 1,000 males than Buddhists, the number of females dying per 1,000 male deaths is higher amongst them than amongst either the Muslims or the Buddhists. These facts suggest that compared with other religions the inequality in the incidence of the death rate tells most heavily against the females amongst the Hindus, but a very considerable fluctuation in the ratio amongst Buddhists makes it desirable to draw such a conclusion with caution and a discussion of the sex specific death rates themselves is more satisfactory.

187. **Sex proportions in the seasonal incidence of births and deaths.**—The sex proportions in the seasonal incidence of vital occurrences are discussed in this and subsequent paragraphs. No statistics have been obtained showing the monthly numbers of births by sexes within the two principal religions, Muslim and Hindu. Figures, however, have been

DIAGRAM No. V-14.

Number of female deaths reported per 1,000 male deaths reported annually, each main religion, 1921 to 1930.



worked out for the proportion of females to males born each month over the period 1901 to 1930. These are included and illustrated in diagram No. V-15.

STATEMENT No. V-9.

Monthly average number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths, all religions, Muslim and Hindu, 1921-1930.

	All religions.	Muslim.	Hindu.
Average all months ..	909	901	929
January ..	948	948	959
February ..	899	890	909
March ..	856	835	875
April ..	852	830	881
May ..	858	837	886
June ..	857	838	818
July ..	863	848	889
August ..	908	847	905
September ..	900	887	920
October ..	944	936	954
November ..	994	990	995
December ..	995	998	997

figures may be compared with those in statement No. V-9 illustrated in diagram No. V-16. Here are shown for Muslims and Hindus the monthly average proportions of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths. The period taken is one decade only, since separate monthly figures for the Muslims and Hindus are not on record over the whole period 1901 to 1930. The proportion of females to males dying is highest during the months of October, November, December and January, the period including three of the months in which the proportion of girls born is highest compared with boys. A comparatively large proportion of females die for every 1,000 males in the months of March, April, May and June, a period which again includes the other three months in which the proportions of girls to boys born is highest. The curves for sex ratios in the deaths of Muslims and Hindus display no considerable variations from the average except a very marked decrease in the proportions in the month of June amongst Hindus. In this month the proportion is as low as 818, a figure less than is reached in any month by the Muslims. On the other hand, although with this exception the curve for Hindus follows the same form as that for Muslims having its peak in October, November, December and January and its depression in March, April, May and June, both on the average and also in each month except June, to which a reference has already been made, and December, the proportion of females dying to males amongst the Hindus is higher than amongst the Muslims. On the average the reported deaths show 920 Hindu females for every 1,000 Hindu males compared with 901 Muslim females for every 1,000 Muslim males and the seasonal variations in the proportions are amongst the Hindus, with the exception of

A larger proportion of girl babies to boy babies is born during the months of November, December and January and again in the months of April, May and June. The smallest proportion is born in August, September and October. These

DIAGRAM No. V-15.
Monthly average number of female births reported per 1,000 male births reported, 1901-1930.

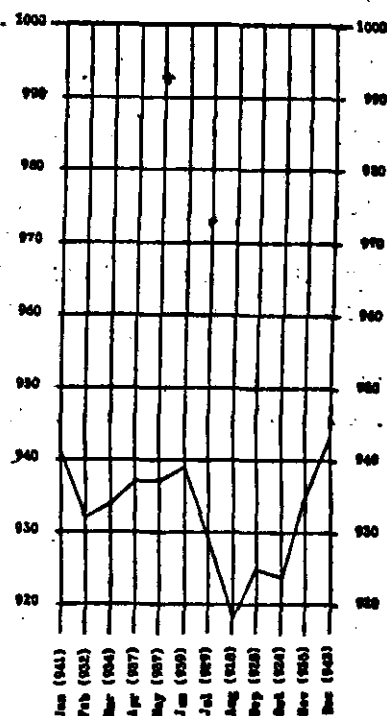
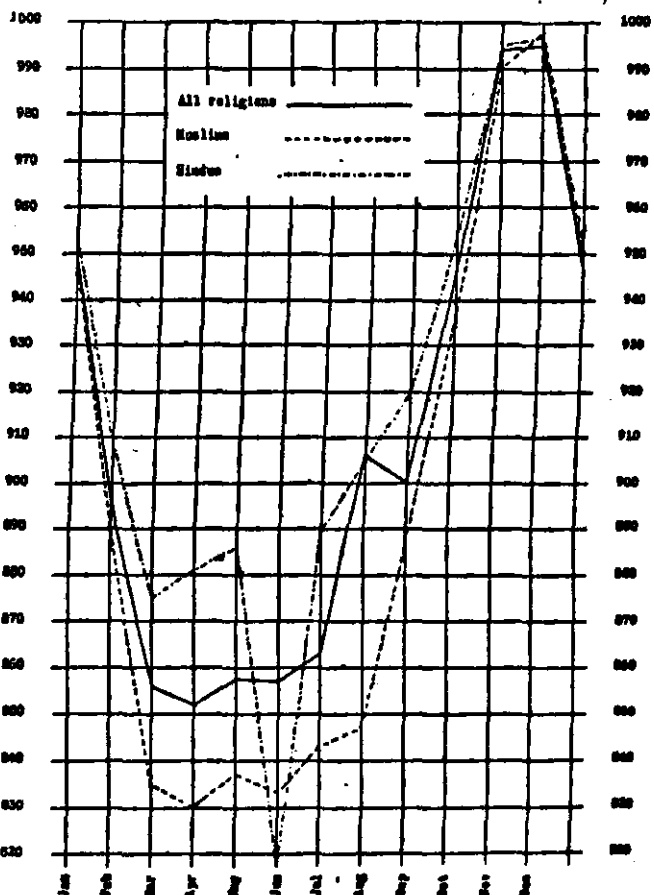


DIAGRAM No. V-16.

Monthly average number of female deaths reported per 1,000 male deaths reported, all religions, Muslim, and Hindu, 1921-1930.



the month of June, in general rather less extensive in range than the average whilst they are more extended in the case of Muslims. The deductions above are suggested by an acceptance of the returns of vital statistics without criticism of their value. But the reader must bear in mind what has been indicated in Chapters I and IV, namely, that the accuracy of the returns cannot be accepted as very high. The discrepancy between the population enumerated at the census and estimated on the basis of the returns of births and deaths differs in different divisions and it is quite possible that there is also a difference in the accuracy of the figures returned between the different communities. For instance, in Burdwan Division where the discrepancy is smallest yet where outside the Presidency Division there is the largest immigrant element the population is mainly Hindu ; and it is always to be borne in mind that the figures may more nearly approach accuracy in the case of Hindus than of Muslims. Such considerations would apply particularly to the aggregate figures for both sexes but the possibility that there may be differences in the degree of accuracy with which vital occurrences for each sex are returned amongst different communities is also to be taken into account and deductions as to the cause of observed discrepancies must naturally be made with the greatest possible caution.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Number of females per 1,000 males in the population of natural divisions, districts and states, 1872-1931.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL	924	932	945	960	973	994	992
West Bengal	942	963	987	1,001	1,023	1,050	1,041
BURDWAN DIVISION	942	993	987	1,001	1,023	1,050	1,041
Burdwan	934	985	997	1,004	1,038	1,083	1,044
Birbhum	1,005	1,004	1,017	1,029	1,048	1,082	1,000
Bankura	996	1,002	1,024	1,032	1,034	1,054	1,016
Midnapore	975	991	1,000	1,006	1,012	1,023	1,021
Hoochly	882	924	901	986	1,031	1,071	1,009
Howrah	834	864	892	935	984	1,011	1,038
Central Bengal	846	859	883	912	938	961	956
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	846	859	883	912	938	961	956
24 Parganas	852	837	864	902	913	942	909
Calcutta	488	470	475	507	528	556	552
Nadia	939	954	991	1,015	1,050	1,054	1,058
Murshidabad	1,008	1,008	1,023	1,041	1,065	1,092	1,093
Jessore	918	927	951	984	1,007	1,022	1,027
Khulna	909	918	926	918	908	900	897
North Bengal	921	923	925	938	955	973	973
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	922	926	929	941	956	976	977
Rajshahi	928	941	961	972	1,001	1,026	1,014
Dinajpur	900	902	897	902	915	933	931
Jalpaiguri	842	860	841	862	868	904	930
Darjeeling	879	896	869	873	815	742	786
Rangpur	913	904	901	915	945	965	964
Bogra	950	946	957	954	952	968	981
Pabna	956	968	974	1,002	1,010	1,023	1,011
Malda	998	1,000	1,014	1,020	1,038	1,047	1,043
COOCH BEHAR STATE	886	877	873	881	914	933	912
East Bengal	957	963	972	980	981	998	1,000
DACCA DIVISION	947	953	961	932	974	992	1,006
Dacca	969	988	1,003	1,019	1,017	1,048	1,047
Mymensingh	923	927	935	943	941	965	978
Faridpur	958	960	974	997	1,012	1,024	1,038
Bakarganj	952	953	951	949	950	952	955
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	983	990	1,002	1,004	1,000	1,015	1,002
Tippera	951	951	955	950	955	970	959
Noakhali	987	994	1,016	1,007	985	977	973
Chittagong	1,059	1,072	1,087	1,110	1,085	1,130	1,103
Chittagong Hill Tracts	864	857	860	828	801	796	798
TRIPURA STATE	885	885	885	874	920	859	931
SIKKIM	967	970	951	916	935	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age-group in the main religions, all Bengal, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

Age at last birthday.	All religions.			Muslim.			Hindu.			Tribal.			Buddhist.			Christian.		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
All ages	924	932	945	936	945	958	909	916	931	964	973	967	951	960	969	882	888	847
0-30	977	981	989	997	1,001	1,011	951	953	961	1,045	1,063	1,056	982	990	995	951	967	995
0-5	1,024	1,057	1,058	1,028	1,061	1,059	1,017	1,053	1,057	1,074	1,060	1,070	990	999	979	994	1,023	1,006
0-1	1,004	1,011	1,017	1,003	1,009	1,012	1,005	1,016	1,025	1,059	999	1,002	990	957	946	986	978	1,011
1-2	1,058	1,037	1,075	1,063	1,044	1,069	1,051	1,027	1,086	1,081	1,042	1,089	996	930	977	992	1,023	969
2-3	1,073	1,087	1,083	1,074	1,089	1,091	1,070	1,086	1,074	1,125	1,093	1,077	1,013	1,011	1,014	989	1,052	992
3-4	1,024	1,112	1,098	1,028	1,109	1,097	1,017	1,116	1,101	1,090	1,115	1,117	993	1,057	988	1,016	1,074	1,076
4-5	970	1,033	1,023	982	1,045	1,028	951	1,014	1,014	1,016	1,038	1,001	958	1,010	964	979	995	1,002
5-10	888	970	969	892	969	968	880	969	968	959	998	988	910	1,012	963	911	1,032	957
10-15	894	771	783	904	778	785	877	760	776	959	929	870	921	875	900	932	910	886
15-20	1,116	1,079	1,102	1,183	1,125	1,153	1,035	1,026	1,049	1,212	1,185	1,204	1,065	1,037	1,034	1,042	974	1,053
20-25	1,089	1,144	1,141	1,144	1,239	1,251	1,024	1,044	1,034	1,193	1,337	1,347	1,084	1,043	1,148	1,006	917	906
25-30	901	951	949	915	990	994	884	905	900	962	1,070	1,084	978	1,014	1,042	820	902	717
30 and over	812	836	859	795	824	844	839	851	877	803	808	792	886	900	914	753	752	756
30-40	799	805	800	803	813	807	794	795	798	824	872	827	880	871	880	758	762	719
40-50	775	787	818	768	787	812	783	791	827	738	698	692	889	892	892	697	690	722
50-60	851	894	937	811	862	903	805	833	976	784	752	754	888	870	944	748	756	788
60 and over	911	993	1,054	810	896	967	1,016	1,096	1,144	1,037	900	942	935	1,036	1,044	925	982	1,007

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age-group in the main religions of each natural division.

Age at last birthday.	West Bengal. (Burdwan Division).				Central Bengal. (Presidency Division).				North Bengal. (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar State).					East Bengal. (Dacca and Chittagong Divisions with Tripura State).				
	All religions.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	All religions.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	All religions.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	Buddhist.	All religions.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	Buddhist.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
All ages	942	920	944	997	846	870	826	899	921	935	896	947	932	957	959	952	962	965
0-30	970	882	889	1,031	893	920	867	1,018	989	1,000	960	1,067	924	1,016	1,023	1,000	1,052	1,069
0-5	1,021	1,023	1,010	1,093	1,004	1,004	1,006	1,027	1,035	1,087	1,028	1,081	954	1,028	1,031	1,016	988	1,002
0-1	1,023	992	1,028	1,083	991	987	998	933	1,014	1,015	1,009	1,085	944	999	1,003	987	1,040	1,012
1-5	1,059	1,066	1,056	1,126	1,047	1,051	1,048	1,086	1,076	1,086	1,060	1,048	966	1,052	1,057	1,042	1,007	1,009
6-10	1,079	1,082	1,076	1,142	1,054	1,052	1,059	1,087	1,089	1,095	1,076	1,148	977	1,069	1,071	1,066	936	1,022
11-15	1,016	1,027	1,018	1,091	999	995	1,003	1,043	1,034	1,032	1,030	1,121	966	1,031	1,035	1,024	977	1,000
16-20	941	963	934	1,038	940	946	931	1,021	973	972	973	1,002	919	991	997	973	993	967
21-25	874	879	872	917	862	867	854	1,082	881	874	890	977	898	908	908	907	930	918
26-30	876	871	875	890	851	803	837	1,109	895	896	886	999	908	919	923	908	974	930
31-35	1,065	1,075	1,061	1,185	945	1,006	895	1,114	1,176	1,237	1,081	1,265	954	1,195	1,229	1,118	1,296	1,121
36-40	1,076	1,061	1,076	1,204	900	964	850	1,019	1,125	1,174	1,049	1,224	934	1,181	1,202	1,131	1,317	1,168
41-45	937	892	943	1,010	777	823	743	740	883	901	854	969	903	969	961	987	1,020	1,038
46-50	891	843	899	930	759	771	763	665	781	788	776	702	849	821	803	859	764	806
51-55	837	802	842	917	712	739	691	655	773	783	759	769	887	849	839	871	831	911
56-60	833	806	838	844	725	741	717	603	752	768	734	652	886	788	775	813	745	888
61-65	990	934	1,002	944	844	848	846	691	823	829	834	833	1,027	803	869	853	652	864
66-70	1,176	1,024	1,201	1,217	952	896	997	859	839	801	896	654	1,181	823	769	925	707	894

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age in selected castes or other groups, 1931.

Caste, tribe, race and religion.	Locality in which chiefly found.	Number of females per 1,000 males aged in years to nearest birthday.						
		All ages.	0-4	7-13.	14-16.	17-23.	24-43.	44 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 AGARWALA —Hindu	.. Calcutta	886	973	927	829	651	592	507
2 BAIDYA —Hindu	.. Bengal	922	1,039	990	809	688	800	803
3 BAISHNAB —Hindu	.. Bengal	1,079	1,005	883	1,028	1,208	1,137	1,132
4 BAURI —Hindu	.. West Bengal	1,017	900	904	1,085	1,266	966	1,073
5 BRAHMAN —Hindu	.. Bengal	847	960	908	862	803	747	821
6 BRAHMO —Hindu	.. Bengal	763	1,454	915	649	810	676	751
7 CHAKMA —All religions	.. Chittagong Hill Tracts	871	966	798	954	1,108	812	721
	Hindu	250	500	100	100	444	143	
	Buddhist	872	866	798	955	1,109	812	721
8 DOM —Hindu	.. Bengal	965	998	850	1,005	1,182	920	965
9 JALIYA KAI-BARTA. —Hindu	.. West Bengal	929	955	917	1,004	1,178	871	799
10 JOGI OR JUGI —Hindu	.. Bengal	844	1,022	879	994	1,119	905	836
11 KAYASTHA —Hindu	.. Bengal	801	985	896	886	967	852	850
12 KHAMBU —All religions	.. Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri	929	899	704	1,008	1,127	815	1,110
	Hindu	919	897	703	1,007	1,133	816	1,109
	Buddhist	875	7,000	1,143	1,250	278	444	1,833
13 KOCH —Hindu	.. North Bengal	949	1,047	804	999	1,206	882	834
14 LEPCHA —All religions	.. Darjeeling	883	898	811	1,421	1,549	955	773
	Hindu	38	222	33	67	81		
	Tribal	884	696	600	857	1,967	590	1,324
	Buddhist	1,006	399	781	1,782	1,813	394	735
	Christian	1,099	995	1,261	843	1,353	1,030	1,077
15 MAHISHYA —Hindu	.. West Bengal	852	980	869	877	1,117	931	944
16 NAMASUDRA —Hindu	.. Bengal	864	1,076	898	1,000	1,108	922	831
17 BANTAL —All religions	.. West Bengal and North Bengal.	984	1,091	889	1,021	1,250	929	857
	Hindu	977	1,120	869	1,006	1,205	942	823
	Tribal	993	1,070	907	1,039	1,308	914	904
	Christian	963	1,013	1,033	1,073	1,279	875	715
18 SHAHA —Hindu	.. Bengal	950	1,037	940	1,013	1,109	926	778
19 TIPARA —All religions	.. East Bengal and Tripura State.	930	993	878	1,106	1,341	800	810
	Hindu	932	1,002	880	1,122	1,344	793	809
	Tribal	904	723	824	812	1,286	1,005	835
20 ANGLO-INDIAN —Christian	.. Calcutta, Towns	845	831	926	1,077	1,013	906	982
21 INDIAN —Christian	.. Bengal	831	893	919	1,056	1,189	832	806
22 "MUMIN" (JOLAHA). —Muslim	.. Bengal	916	986	850	1,147	1,166	816	784
23 SAYYAD —Muslim	.. Bengal	883	966	848	989	1,088	802	798

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V (part i).—Actual number of births and deaths annually reported for each sex during the decades 1901-1910, 1911-1920 and 1921-1930.

Year.	Number of births.			Number of deaths.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of female births over male births.	Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of female deaths over male deaths.	Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of births over deaths, both sexes.	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total 1901-1910	15,787,344	8,139,925	7,657,419	13,725,298	7,248,191	6,482,105	- 482,508	- 764,088	+ 2,099,048	941	888
1901	1,567,585	806,527	761,058	1,261,402	674,637	586,765	- 45,469	- 87,872	+ 308,483	944	870
1902	1,632,133	839,708	792,427	1,465,658	779,337	687,269	- 47,279	- 92,118	+ 165,477	944	882
1903	1,529,269	787,868	741,401	1,346,237	710,204	635,973	- 46,467	- 74,291	+ 183,032	941	895
1904	1,704,798	877,116	827,682	1,384,157	726,990	657,167	- 49,434	- 99,823	+ 320,841	944	904
1905	1,574,935	810,818	764,617	1,524,012	798,743	725,269	- 45,701	- 73,474	+ 50,923	944	908
1906	1,478,836	764,143	714,493	1,389,918	733,002	656,914	- 49,850	- 76,088	+ 88,720	935	896
1907	1,500,984	771,220	729,764	1,404,263	737,786	666,477	- 41,456	- 71,302	+ 96,721	946	903
1908	1,568,811	819,474	767,337	1,331,121	706,296	624,825	- 52,137	- 81,471	+ 255,690	936	885
1909	1,646,389	849,575	796,814	1,306,373	690,156	616,217	- 52,761	- 73,939	+ 340,016	938	898
1910	1,575,804	813,978	761,826	1,314,150	688,930	625,229	- 52,152	- 68,701	+ 261,645	936	908
Total 1911-1920	14,660,258	7,667,280	7,172,978	14,101,667	7,387,044	6,714,823	- 514,302	- 672,421	+ 788,591	933	909
1911	1,555,188	816,742	768,446	1,221,580	640,328	581,252	- 48,296	- 59,076	+ 363,608	941	908
1912	1,600,335	826,081	774,254	1,349,770	706,649	643,130	- 51,827	- 63,519	+ 250,556	937	910
1913	1,528,921	790,289	738,632	1,331,868	693,289	638,579	- 50,657	- 54,710	+ 198,053	936	921
1914	1,535,281	785,357	739,924	1,411,239	742,218	699,071	- 55,433	- 53,147	+ 103,992	930	928
1915	1,441,628	747,159	694,469	1,463,567	776,244	712,323	- 52,690	- 63,921	+ 46,939	932	918
1916	1,445,592	749,247	696,345	1,241,021	656,177	584,844	- 52,902	- 71,333	+ 204,571	929	891
1917	1,627,873	842,029	785,844	1,187,509	622,509	565,000	- 56,185	- 57,509	+ 440,364	933	908
1918	1,489,135	771,313	717,822	1,727,331	912,838	814,493	- 53,491	- 98,345	+ 238,196	931	892
1919	1,245,392	646,397	598,995	1,641,111	860,950	780,161	- 47,402	- 80,789	+ 395,719	927	906
1920	1,359,913	702,666	657,247	1,461,612	775,842	705,770	- 45,419	- 70,072	+ 121,699	935	910
Total 1921-1930	13,255,369	6,895,486	6,359,883	11,791,886	6,183,483	5,608,402	- 535,603	- 675,081	+ 1,463,484	922	907
1921	1,301,001	674,791	626,210	1,403,030	735,938	667,392	- 48,581	- 68,246	+ 102,029	928	907
1922	1,275,614	664,469	611,145	1,173,246	624,299	548,947	- 53,324	- 75,352	+ 102,368	919	879
1923	1,393,411	723,508	669,903	1,185,791	629,632	556,159	- 53,605	- 73,473	+ 207,020	926	883
1924	1,370,114	710,933	659,181	1,233,244	647,403	555,841	- 51,732	- 91,562	+ 167,370	927	868
1925	1,377,097	717,330	659,767	1,158,472	614,736	543,787	- 57,503	- 70,999	+ 218,624	919	884
1926	1,276,380	663,588	612,792	1,151,197	603,602	547,595	- 50,798	- 56,007	+ 125,183	924	907
1927	1,286,883	670,251	616,612	1,189,376	614,635	574,685	- 53,639	- 40,000	+ 97,493	920	895
1928	1,375,680	717,536	658,094	1,189,015	613,394	575,621	- 59,192	- 37,773	+ 186,665	917	938
1929	1,361,278	709,145	652,138	1,094,283	560,334	533,429	- 57,012	- 27,405	+ 267,015	919	951
1930	1,237,931	643,835	594,046	1,044,256	539,260	504,998	- 49,839	- 34,264	+ 193,675	923	936

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V (part ii).—Actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex according to natural divisions during the decade 1921-1930.

Natural division.	Number of births.			Number of deaths.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of female births over male births.	Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of female deaths over male deaths.	Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of births over deaths, both sexes.	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
All divisions	13,255,369	6,895,486	6,359,883	11,791,886	6,183,483	5,608,402	- 535,603	- 675,081	+ 1,463,484	922	907
West Bengal (Burdwan Division).	2,416,255	1,247,567	1,168,688	2,067,558	1,006,009	1,001,549	- 78,879	- 64,460	+ 348,697	937	940
Central Bengal (Presidency Division).	2,868,835	1,390,377	1,278,458	2,828,451	1,392,094	1,286,357	- 111,919	- 155,737	+ 40,884	919	888
North Bengal (Rajshahi Division).*	3,082,903	1,601,526	1,491,377	2,976,239	1,567,866	1,408,673	- 110,149	- 159,093	+ 116,664	931	898
Dacca Division	3,502,884	1,828,127	1,674,757	2,919,738	1,534,579	1,385,157	- 153,890	- 149,422	+ 583,123	916	903
Chittagong Division†	1,574,612	827,889	746,623	1,199,901	623,135	576,766	- 81,266	- 46,369	+ 374,611	902	825

*Cooch Behar State is not included.
†Chittagong Hill Tracts are not included.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Number of deaths annually reported for each sex at age-groups, 1921-1930.

MALES.

Age.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1921-30.	Male deaths per 1,000 female deaths, average, 1921-30.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	735,838	624,289	629,632	647,403	614,736	603,602	614,688	613,394	560,834	539,266	6,183,453	1162.5
0-5	232,416	204,904	214,955	212,009	212,766	215,781	207,176	213,923	210,157	201,039	2,124,475	1105.1
0-1	142,637	129,447	135,453	136,048	133,213	134,523	121,963	131,453	131,209	124,212	1,320,156	1152.9
Under 1 month	*	62,475	70,295	79,397	72,640	71,608	66,769	74,493	76,666	70,611	636,753	1222.3
1 to 6 months	*	31,197	33,840	35,413	33,022	36,311	32,004	34,618	33,371	32,870	302,646	1128.3
6 to 12 months	*	35,775	31,318	30,236	27,551	26,704	23,190	22,342	21,273	20,731	239,120	1073.6
1-5 years	89,778	75,457	78,908	75,963	79,553	81,308	85,213	82,470	78,948	76,327	804,319	1036.1
5-10	63,245	52,050	54,534	52,820	51,004	47,472	50,291	46,968	40,269	37,870	496,618	1198.6
10-15	38,017	32,865	34,880	36,212	31,773	28,918	29,314	27,987	22,173	21,208	302,847	1337.8
15-20	37,700	32,204	32,898	35,752	30,675	28,086	29,658	28,239	23,448	22,281	300,941	776.2
20-30	80,068	66,263	65,023	70,445	68,300	59,743	63,295	62,551	51,787	49,745	632,240	802.3
30-40	81,197	67,177	64,140	68,904	62,503	60,797	63,813	64,614	55,609	52,341	641,185	1187.2
40-50	66,660	55,034	52,922	55,655	51,427	50,062	52,990	53,707	48,261	47,660	534,378	1403.4
50-60	54,320	44,865	43,741	45,092	42,357	42,379	44,534	44,922	41,562	41,636	445,308	1274.4
60 and over	81,996	68,937	67,639	70,514	68,931	70,414	73,614	70,488	67,478	65,580	706,591	1176.8

FEMALES.

Age.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1921-30.	Female deaths per 1,000 male deaths, average, 1921-30.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	667,392	548,947	556,159	555,841	543,737	547,595	574,685	575,921	533,429	504,938	5,608,402	867.0
0-5	213,443	181,229	195,176	188,324	193,737	194,285	190,294	193,087	190,817	181,989	1,922,381	904.9
0-1	125,525	110,004	118,241	116,291	116,369	116,661	107,115	113,692	113,655	107,660	1,145,113	867.4
Under 1 month	*	51,222	58,446	58,312	60,326	59,573	56,309	61,193	63,878	59,332	522,591	1331.4
1 to 6 months	*	27,088	30,446	30,518	30,029	32,169	28,623	30,743	29,680	29,012	268,303	1336.3
6 to 12 months	*	31,694	29,349	27,461	26,014	24,919	22,183	21,656	20,097	19,316	222,689	1331.6
1-5 years	37,918	71,225	76,935	72,033	77,368	77,624	83,179	79,496	77,162	74,329	777,368	966.4
5-10	52,147	42,062	44,564	42,028	42,255	39,687	42,813	40,454	35,044	33,145	414,199	834.2
10-15	27,660	23,789	23,979	24,418	22,510	21,909	23,308	22,763	18,502	17,491	226,330	747.8
15-20	46,552	38,931	38,754	40,715	37,447	37,022	40,740	40,885	35,211	31,646	387,713	1288.3
20-30	95,454	77,632	75,918	80,060	73,277	73,850	83,829	85,023	74,640	67,737	788,020	1246.4
30-40	67,002	54,220	51,330	53,879	50,138	51,219	56,506	57,584	51,190	46,852	540,016	842.2
40-50	48,521	38,444	36,747	37,437	35,148	36,059	38,352	39,808	35,000	34,755	380,671	712.4
50-60	44,209	34,894	33,930	33,455	31,999	33,408	35,608	35,525	33,050	33,355	349,481	784.8
60 and over	72,404	57,740	55,711	55,525	57,226	60,158	63,144	60,282	59,375	58,026	599,591	850.2

*Complete figures not available.
 †Excluding figures for 1921 which are not available.

CHAPTER VI

Marital condition

188. **The statistics shown.**—The statistics of marital condition are displayed in imperial table VII. Imperial table VIII also gives similar statistics for selected castes. In imperial table VII quinquennial age-groups have been adopted in detail for Bengal, Tripura, Cooch Behar and Sikkim. Quinquennial age-groups are also shown for districts and cities up to 20 and decennial groups thereafter. In imperial table VIII and statistics calculated from it the age-groups adopted show the age to the nearest birthday and after 0-6 are alternate septenary and ternary groups up to the age of 23 with two groups thereafter from 24 to 43 and from 43 onwards. Where the ordinary quinquennial groups are given figures under them have been obtained by an adjustment of groups similar to those shown in imperial table VIII and shown in detail in statement No. IV-1 in chapter IV. Subsidiary tables attached to this chapter show—

- I—the distribution by marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in each religion, 1931, 1921 and 1911 ;
- II—the distribution according to marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in each natural division by principal religions, 1931 ;
- III—the distribution by main age-periods and marital condition of 10,000 of each sex in the principal religions, 1931 ;
- IV—the number of females per 1,000 males of the same age-group and marital condition in each natural division by principal religions, 1931 ; and
- V—the distribution by marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in selected castes or other groups, 1931.

189. **Origin of the figures.**—The statistics of marital condition are compiled from column 7 of the general schedule. The instructions to enumerators provided for entry in this column of all persons of whatever age as being either married, unmarried or widowed and laid down that divorced persons should be entered as widowed. They were elaborated by instructions that a woman who had never been married should be shown as unmarried even though she may be a prostitute or concubine, but that persons who are recognised by custom as married should be entered as such even though they may not have gone through the full marriage ceremony. Where the column in the schedule was blank directions were given that during compilation except in the case of Europeans, Armenians and Anglo-Indians, it should be assumed that males under 16 are unmarried, those between 16 and 50 are married and those over 50 are widowed ; and that for females similar assumptions should be made with the substitution of 14 for 16 and 40 for 50 years. In the case of Europeans, Armenians and Anglo-Indians also similar assumptions were made, but the ages adopted were 30 and 55 for males and 22 and 50 for females. The provision was made during slip-copying that where other entries in the schedule (for instance in the case of prostitutes) made it doubtful whether such an assumption could be made with confidence the slips for the individuals concerned should be distinguished in order that they might be included amongst those whose marital condition was not returned ; but in practice it transpired that no slips without entry of marital condition defied reasonable classification in the manner indicated above.

190. **Accuracy of the returns.**—There is no reason to believe that the returns of marital condition made were to any considerable extent inaccurate. The inclusion of divorced persons as widowed is a practice identical with that in many other countries and though it was varied in England and Wales in the census of 1921 the results were found to be probably misleading and the divorced were retained as a separate class only in tables devoted to age and marital conditions and were included in all other sections with widowed. It

is only in comparatively few cases and practically only in Northern Bengal that practices exist of entering into associations which are something less than a formal marriage but are not attended by the social disapproval given to irregular unions. Amongst the Koch and Ranjbangshi groups in Northern Bengal such practices exist and are briefly referred to in chapter XII. Persons who have contracted such alliances receive in general social recognition; they suffer from no stigma or disability except where reforming elements are powerful and sociologically their inclusion amongst the married is appropriate. One test of the formal accuracy of the statistics is the equivalence between males and females returned as married. There are some 600 thousand more males married in Bengal than females but the difference is almost certainly accounted for by the fact that there are upwards of 745 thousand more males born outside Bengal than females and that very many of the immigrant population are married men whose wives and females have been left behind in their native country. In Sikkim also similarly, although there are 1,275 more married males than married females, there is almost an equal number (1,189) of males born outside Sikkim in excess of females. This calculation is not particularly satisfactory because in the first place it omits consideration of those of each sex married who are enumerated outside Bengal but whose partners were enumerated in Bengal and in the second place it leaves out of consideration the marital distribution of the immigrants into Bengal. But in the absence of figures of marital condition for these two groups it is the best test which can be applied and furnishes a not entirely unsatisfactory rough check upon the formal agreement of the figures for marital condition.

191. Accuracy of statistics compiled from the returns.—The accuracy of the statistics of each marital condition by age, however, has been to some extent affected by the method in which groups shown were computed. The quinquennial groups shown for each marital condition were reached by the same method as was adopted in the computation of similar groups for the total population of each sex and the method has been described in chapter IV. For the total population this method results in showing figures in which allowance has been made both for the tendency to return ages at nearest birthday and for the definite preference for certain digits in returning ages. Its effect on age-groups by marital condition, however, is not so simple. In the first place, mis-statements of age are very certainly influenced by sex and marital condition: for a Hindu girl aged 15, her age is more likely to be understated if she is unmarried and overstated if she is married especially if she has children; for a boy aged 16 or 17 it is likely that his age will be overstated in any case, since he is just entering manhood; bachelors and spinsters alike will tend to understate their ages as they reach the age at which they are no longer likely to get married. In some age-groups the effect of such tendencies will probably be considerable and not necessarily in the same direction or of the same strength in each sex. These tendencies have existed at every census and might be expected to be constant from one to another. There is however a more important consideration. Stated generally it is: "For presenting figures of marital condition in quinary groups the conversion of alternate ternary and septenary groups by the same formula as yields increased accuracy in the case of the total population of all marital conditions is unsatisfactory because within the ternary and septenary groups of persons of different marital conditions the distribution by single-year or smaller age periods is not proportionately the same."

192. Nature of error introduced by conversion of sorters' groups.—This proposition may be illustrated by examples. The age-groups 5-10 and 10-15 are those principally affected in the case of females. Amongst females the largest number of marriages takes place in Bengal between the ages of 12 and 13½. In arriving at the figures of married females aged 5-10 one half of those returned as aged at nearest birthday 7-13 have been included although it is clear that in the sorters' group 7-13 a larger proportion will be found aged 10-15 than under 10. The result has been probably some exaggeration of the numbers of married females in the age-group 5-10. A similar distortion must have occurred in the quinary age-group for males containing the age at which the majority of boys become bridegrooms.

Similar distortions must occur also at the later ages when, with each successive year of age, a larger proportion of the survivors are widowed. At these ages it would be expected that, in any sorters' group chosen, amongst the married there would be a larger number less than the central age of the group and amongst the widowed a larger number older than the central age of the group, and that a distribution by two equal halves will consequently cause some dislocation of the figures. It is, however, difficult to estimate in general terms the extent or even the nature of the errors thus introduced. If there is any age at which on the average a larger number than in other ages change their marital condition in any sex the extent to which the quinary groups are distorted will depend upon the position of this "critical" age in the sorters' group. Perhaps the nearest approach to a general statement is that where at any particular age compared with other ages in the same sorters' group there is a markedly larger number who pass from marital condition (a) to marital condition (b) then the quinary group including the "critical" age will show a smaller number in condition (b) than it does actually contain. The number which it loses will tend to create an excess in the next lower group if the "critical" age falls in the lower half of the sorters' group and in the next higher group if it falls in the upper half of the sorters' group. The net effect in any group will be the resultant of the dislocation in its numbers contributed from groups both below and above it.

193. **Extent of error.**—It is perhaps easy to exaggerate the effect of this error particularly in groups not containing what has been described in the last

STATEMENT No. VI-1.

Numbers, unmarried, married and widowed, all religions, Muslims and Hindus, by age-groups to nearest birthday, 1931.

Age.	All marital conditions.			Unmarried.			Married.			Widowed.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALL RELIGIONS.												
All ages	51,087,338	26,557,860	24,529,478	20,064,843	12,403,363	7,601,400	25,026,817	13,228,335	12,600,482	5,103,078	866,168	4,327,516
0	1,156,603	582,166	574,437	1,137,137	572,985	564,152	19,177	9,133	10,014	290	48	241
1	1,082,117	529,853	522,484	1,065,165	523,719	541,446	16,513	8,807	10,706	430	127	319
2	1,588,641	788,467	820,174	1,552,241	758,297	793,974	35,833	10,177	25,656	567	23	544
3	1,720,471	828,366	892,108	1,685,493	812,156	853,338	53,530	16,985	87,554	1,439	226	1,214
4-6	4,789,449	2,431,305	2,358,144	4,502,139	2,300,121	2,142,018	277,083	69,861	207,222	10,227	1,328	8,904
7-13	8,931,491	4,835,299	4,096,192	6,793,813	4,402,563	2,391,250	2,094,591	427,213	1,667,378	43,087	5,523	37,564
14-16	3,103,939	1,519,779	1,584,160	1,269,677	1,106,803	162,874	1,777,649	407,747	1,369,902	56,613	5,229	51,384
17-23	6,711,617	3,130,993	3,600,634	1,409,649	1,320,081	83,568	5,099,010	1,776,129	3,292,880	252,940	28,778	224,176
24-26	3,570,857	1,801,277	1,769,580	307,735	286,061	21,674	3,025,313	1,477,090	1,548,124	27,909	37,527	200,392
27-33	5,543,447	2,903,749	2,549,698	212,111	190,445	21,666	4,739,469	2,709,817	2,029,652	691,667	93,487	498,180
34-36	2,519,513	1,431,279	1,088,234	46,311	38,691	7,620	2,071,681	1,330,953	740,728	401,521	61,685	339,836
37-43	3,576,141	2,014,157	1,561,984	47,917	40,539	7,378	2,701,669	1,852,361	849,498	826,388	121,257	705,108
44-46	1,522,309	879,467	842,852	16,115	12,881	3,234	1,066,053	795,129	270,924	440,141	71,447	368,694
47-53	2,204,885	1,199,387	1,005,498	18,213	14,741	3,472	1,368,000	1,052,711	303,289	830,683	131,935	698,728
54-56	755,465	419,675	335,480	8,415	4,577	1,838	438,231	357,939	80,292	210,819	57,459	253,360
57-63	1,197,291	614,451	582,840	8,269	5,527	742	597,985	602,805	95,120	593,037	106,059	486,978
64 and over	1,093,102	578,111	514,991	8,443	6,607	1,836	488,913	427,419	61,494	565,748	144,065	461,681
MUSLIM.												
All ages	27,810,100	14,366,757	13,443,343	10,993,554	6,720,017	4,273,537	14,613,897	7,327,524	7,284,373	2,202,949	319,310	1,663,423
0	647,635	326,414	321,221	635,108	320,753	314,355	12,372	5,850	6,792	155	11	144
1	639,857	313,223	326,634	627,872	309,658	318,214	11,800	3,509	8,201	185	58	129
2	900,541	452,893	487,658	912,858	416,364	466,494	27,330	6,497	20,833	353	22	331
3	1,017,269	490,973	526,296	875,304	479,898	495,408	41,350	10,975	30,375	616	102	618
4-6	2,820,741	1,423,425	1,397,316	2,608,758	1,375,182	1,233,576	206,166	47,493	158,703	5,787	750	6,037
7-13	5,174,037	2,802,537	2,371,500	3,791,440	2,482,720	1,308,720	1,361,712	316,185	1,045,527	20,885	8,032	17,258
14-16	1,744,821	830,561	914,260	628,298	550,542	75,756	1,095,040	270,945	818,095	23,458	3,074	20,411
17-23	3,645,077	1,638,329	2,006,748	598,988	543,608	33,380	2,961,312	1,059,095	1,902,217	89,777	16,620	71,151
24-26	1,921,749	957,721	964,028	113,898	105,364	8,534	1,722,018	838,483	883,535	85,433	18,874	66,559
27-33	2,856,967	1,537,201	1,318,768	64,564	65,622	8,942	2,595,848	1,441,083	1,124,785	228,556	40,516	180,039
34-36	1,329,089	756,059	573,019	13,224	10,080	3,144	1,142,692	721,663	421,029	173,153	24,316	148,837
37-43	1,772,053	992,461	779,592	12,588	9,398	3,188	1,396,464	942,083	454,381	363,003	40,660	322,023
44-46	784,563	447,155	317,408	4,650	3,092	1,364	563,100	421,037	142,063	197,007	23,026	173,981
47-53	1,080,979	592,109	488,870	4,714	3,556	1,158	700,362	547,887	152,475	178,003	40,696	335,287
54-56	356,347	205,555	150,792	1,480	1,056	424	224,294	157,111	37,183	130,673	17,398	113,125
57-63	563,855	309,481	274,404	1,762	1,280	482	318,308	272,230	46,078	263,797	35,942	227,855
64 and over	514,530	290,890	223,840	2,446	1,846	600	263,101	234,009	29,092	248,983	54,255	194,748
HINDU.												
All ages	22,212,069	11,639,285	10,572,784	8,560,394	5,458,803	3,102,191	10,736,124	5,652,188	5,083,936	2,914,981	522,294	2,396,667
0	485,612	244,102	241,510	479,007	240,715	238,292	6,455	3,342	3,113	150	45	105
1	416,967	204,097	212,870	412,352	201,907	210,445	4,413	2,141	2,272	202	49	153
2	614,173	298,763	315,410	605,892	295,298	310,629	8,031	3,483	4,548	250	17	233
3	693,863	318,659	345,204	651,518	313,827	337,691	11,575	4,731	6,844	779	101	669
4-6	1,862,811	954,717	908,094	1,790,256	932,979	857,277	85,280	21,183	47,106	4,206	555	8,711
7-13	3,573,531	1,935,925	1,637,608	2,831,348	1,827,049	1,004,299	720,465	167,093	513,402	21,718	1,813	19,905
14-16	1,293,505	657,071	636,434	598,660	528,581	70,079	1,062,603	126,411	636,094	32,340	2,079	30,261
17-23	2,956,725	1,431,721	1,525,004	768,214	728,813	39,401	2,026,225	690,571	1,335,654	162,286	12,387	149,949
24-26	1,579,377	808,893	770,514	183,534	178,325	10,209	1,246,563	617,813	628,750	149,290	17,725	131,565
27-33	2,567,963	1,392,879	1,175,084	138,652	128,025	10,627	2,071,769	1,214,205	857,564	357,542	50,549	306,958
34-36	1,140,475	647,193	493,282	30,688	27,001	3,627	866,051	584,187	301,864	223,736	35,945	187,791
37-43	1,727,905	978,221	749,684	33,860	29,747	3,913	1,241,181	870,631	370,550	453,064	77,448	376,221
44-46	727,159	414,709	312,450	10,374	6,141	1,233	479,381	358,419	120,962	237,404	47,149	190,255
47-53	1,076,615	550,517	466,158	12,928	10,033	2,295	821,167	481,419	339,748	144,560	88,465	354,126
54-56	383,187	205,716	177,472	4,152	3,231	921	203,207	163,419	39,788	174,828	89,066	136,763
57-63	587,811	290,909	296,902	4,504	4,071	433	284,507	219,101	45,406	318,900	67,737	251,063
64 and over	554,330	275,224	279,106	5,255	4,436	820	214,350	184,009	30,341	334,725	66,780	247,945

paragraph as a "critical" age. So long as returns of age are as vague as they are at present, considerable distortions are in any case inevitable. For comparison of any figures in India compiled from the present census returns any error introduced is negligible since it is probably the same in kind and proportion throughout, except where there are marked differences in what has been referred to as the "critical" age at which marital condition is changed. Such differences, particularly as regards those married, are bound to occur in different sexes and in different religious communities, since they are principally dependent on the most popular age of marriage within the community. In using the figures for comparison either with those of other countries at any time or with those of India at previous census enumerations it will be necessary, in estimating significant variations, to make such allowance as seems reasonable for each particular age-group. To effect such an adjustment with any hope of accuracy, it would be necessary to know the relative incidence in the changes of marital condition from one year of age to another in each sex of each religious community or group with characteristic marriage customs and this information is not to be had in full detail. For all religions, Muslims and Hindus, however, the constitution of the original sorters' groups has been reconstructed and is shown in statement No. VI-1 prepage, and a similar reconstruction can be carried out for any other population for which the figures (reached by the method adopted on the present occasion) include the age-group 4-5. The original sorters' groups may at least be presumed to be very tolerably accurate and compared with the quinary groups shown in previous years are comparatively free from the errors due to a tendency to return the age at nearest birthday and a preference for particular digits in returning age.

194. **Effect of the Child Marriage Restraint Act.**—During the decade under review the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929) came into force on the 1st April 1930. Under this Act child marriages (i.e., marriages in which either of the contracting parties was, if a male under 18 and if a female under 14 years of age) were rendered illegal. Before it became law the mass of opinion was against the Bill in Bengal. Opposition was encountered from both Muslims and Hindus. The bill was unpopular on account of its novelty and was represented as an interference with social and religious custom. Parents apprehended that they would have their daughters longer on their hands and would no longer be able to get them married before there was any chance of their getting into trouble. They would have to be kept out of mischief and education as a means of securing this meant increased expense. Parents liked to get the anxiety of marrying their girls over as early as possible, and feared that the postponement of marriage would accentuate the difficulties already felt in some classes in finding matches for their daughters. It was feared for instance that an element of personal attraction would be introduced which would make it increasingly difficult to dispose of unattractive girls. It cannot be said, however, that there was any serious agitation although there were protest meetings in various parts of the province. Actually what happened was that there was a great rush to get children of tender age married before the Act came into force. The census figures naturally reflect this anxiety in the vast increase in the numbers of both sexes returned as married at early ages, which cannot be entirely explained by the considerations discussed in the last few paragraphs. Compared with 1921 throughout the whole province there are more than seven times as many boys and eight times as many girls married at the age-group 0-5 years and more than six times as many boys and four times as many girls married at the age-group 5-10. Amongst the Muslims the proportions are higher still. Amongst those aged 0-5 years nearly eight times as many boys and more than nine times as many girls and amongst those aged 5-10 years nine times as many boys and five times as many girls are now married as in 1921. Amongst the Hindus the greatest increase has been in the earliest age-group 0-5. In this group almost seven times as many boys and five times as many girls are now married as in 1921 and in the next age-group, 5-10, there are five times more married boys and twice as many married girls as then. In the age-group 10-15 in the whole province there are nearly three

STATEMENT No. VI-2.

Number of minor marriages registered monthly by Muhammadan marriage-registrars.

District.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Burdwan .. Av. 1921-29 ..	2.66±0.36	4.77±0.54	14.0±0.50	12.88±1.18	12.22±0.97	11.66±1.36
Ac. 1930 ..	2	29	84	38	19	23
Birbhum .. Av. 1921-29 ..	0.44±0.16	2.55±0.39	18.33±1.29	3.22±0.71	3.11±0.73	1.77±0.67
Ac. 1930 ..	5	30	80	11	11	11
Bankura .. Av. 1921-29 ..	0.11±0.07	0.55±0.23	0.77±0.19	0.77±0.31	0.77±0.23	1.55±0.36
Ac. 1930 ..	1	5	16	11	5	11
Midnapore .. Av. 1921-29 ..	15.22±0.73	17.66±1.85	11.44±1.80	18.77±2.46	11.55±1.15	10.55±0.32
Ac. 1930 ..	75	96	85	112	115	75
Hooghly .. Av. 1921-29 ..	4.77±0.83	4.66±0.62	6.88±0.99	9.22±1.65	11.55±1.04	10.22±0.98
Ac. 1930 ..	2	1	167	1	3	1
Howrah .. Av. 1921-29 ..	9.33±2.15	7.11±1.27	7.44±1.17	9.88±1.38	4.88±0.80	8.55±1.30
Ac. 1930 ..	17	5	63	74	..	..
24-Parganas .. Av. 1921-29 ..	45.0±0.74	22.55±1.50	67.44±2.52	28.55±1.42	28.55±0.89	31.22±1.69
Ac. 1930 ..	45	12	80	35	32	33
Calcutta .. Av. 1921-29 ..	10.77±1.60	11.44±1.74	9.66±1.65	11.22±2.10	7.77±1.14	9.88±1.60
Ac. 1930 ..	11	10	162	..	..	..
Nadia .. Av. 1921-29 ..	4.11±0.87	5.22±0.95	6.55±0.55	4.77±0.62	7.22±1.14	3.66±0.46
Ac. 1930 ..	14	18	125	13	8	7
Murshidabad .. Av. 1921-29 ..	2.33±0.43	11.44±1.26	15.66±2.28	10.22±1.64	14.0±2.61	10.88±1.34
Ac. 1930 ..	9	9	178	10	10	10
Jessore .. Av. 1921-29 ..	18.66±2.64	17.66±2.78	15.77±1.93	14.88±1.78	18.44±2.52	11.33±1.64
Ac. 1930 ..	24	41	277	83	1	1
Khulna .. Av. 1921-29 ..	20.44±0.76	23.77±2.32	30.66±1.55	24.22±0.93	31.0±1.97	28.55±2.07
Ac. 1930 ..	48	72	518	110	20	20
Rajshahi .. Av. 1921-29 ..	4.66±0.80	18.66±2.95	28.55±2.37	25.0±0.66	9.22±0.33	9.55±1.13
Ac. 1930 ..	11	26	107	49	..	..
Dinajpur .. Av. 1921-29 ..	4.66±0.53	4.88±0.73	6.22±1.09	5.11±1.15	12.88±1.44	21.55±2.16
Ac. 1930 ..	4	14	122	53	14	10
Jaipalguri .. Av. 1921-29 ..	3.44±0.53	8.11±0.59	4.66±0.59	5.11±0.89	6.66±0.62	14.0±0.91
Ac. 1930 ..	3	6	112	60	2	..
Darjeeling .. Av. 1921-29 ..	0.33±0.16	0.11±0.07	0.22±0.15	0.33±0.11	0.44±0.23	0.88±0.11
Ac. 1930 ..	1	1	11	..	..	..
Rangpur .. Av. 1921-29 ..	14.0±1.58	32.33±3.17	30.22±1.21	10.33±1.06	10.77±1.13	10.0±0.24
Ac. 1930 ..	30	84	130	17	3	1
Bogra .. Av. 1921-29 ..	9.88±1.53	10.22±1.54	18.44±2.04	12.33±0.93	4.77±0.45	1.88±0.29
Ac. 1930 ..	50	83	135	..	..	..
Pabna .. Av. 1921-29 ..	132.22±11.12	120.11±11.00	157.44±13.32	74.77±6.74	105.77±1.33	63.66±10.67
Ac. 1930 ..	913	1,792	3,710	..	..	..
Malda .. Av. 1921-29 ..	2.33±1.72	10.0±4.13	2.11±0.67	4.55±2.74	3.77±1.31	3.55±1.10
Ac. 1930 ..	40	23	199	5	..	..
Dacca .. Av. 1921-29 ..	317.44±52.17	323.0±52.76	327.22±53.89	31.66±53.41	304.44±55.02	258.33±39.35
Ac. 1930 ..	614	958	16,197	535	398	334
Mymensingh .. Av. 1921-29 ..	2,002.0±129.51	2,607.88±133.78	2,585.22±110.41	915.55±70.18	523.44±3.17	326.33±31.95
Ac. 1930 ..	5,062	7,797	21,921	..	..	..
Faridpur .. Av. 1921-29 ..	462.11±26.99	464.0±32.64	416.0±21.16	346.22±24.25	340.0±27.59	335.66±23.76
Ac. 1930 ..	2,012	2,694	5,781	303	67	62
Bakarganj .. Av. 1921-29 ..	185.88±12.40	382.11±24.37	493.55±23.12	306.33±18.02	745.11±55.49	550.22±33.67
Ac. 1930 ..	419	1,320	3,752	4,452	84	23
Tippura .. Av. 1921-29 ..	74.88±6.73	108.55±6.94	131.22±6.74	68.88±4.43	54.66±2.90	50.11±1.32
Ac. 1930 ..	183	118	2,604	2,562	41	108
Noakhali .. Av. 1921-29 ..	225.77±14.30	382.55±14.95	428.0±25.25	357.88±12.69	371.11±14.73	392.11±16.33
Ac. 1930 ..	452	309	3,390	3,150	325	221
Chittagong .. Av. 1921-29 ..	233.55±23.45	238.88±10.22	236.66±7.96	271.33±14.17	501.66±5.12	446.11±16.24
Ac. 1930 ..	340	318	2,586	481	314	195

District.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Average.
1	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Burdwan .. Av. 1921-29 ..	8.33±1.22	2.55±0.50	1.66±0.24	0.77±0.22	1.66±0.41	1.33±0.30	6.21±0.29
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Birbhum .. Av. 1921-29 ..	1.33±0.36	0.22±0.16	0.88±0.31	0.11±0.07	0.33±0.22	0.11±0.07	2.29±0.27
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bankura .. Av. 1921-29 ..	0.33±0.11	0.22±0.10	0.0±0.0	0.22±0.12	0.33±0.16	0.11±0.07	0.48±0.08
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Midnapore .. Av. 1921-29 ..	16.66±1.34	11.44±1.15	8.22±1.05	3.88±0.34	13.22±2.01	13.44±0.15	13.09±0.47
Ac. 1930 ..	19	40	45	88	85	93	..
Hooghly .. Av. 1921-29 ..	4.33±0.63	4.77±1.01	0.88±0.36	3.44±0.68	3.22±0.35	4.44±0.50	5.66±0.31
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah .. Av. 1921-29 ..	7.33±1.57	7.66±1.23	4.77±0.68	4.33±0.59	5.0±0.72	8.0±1.20	7.03±0.36
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas .. Av. 1921-29 ..	25.55±4.41	18.88±0.30	15.55±1.24	20.66±1.62	20.66±1.41	21.22±0.23	31.06±1.33
Ac. 1930 ..	24	27	35	35	35	46	..
Calcutta .. Av. 1921-29 ..	5.44±0.93	4.66±0.65	3.44±0.67	7.33±1.12	8.11±0.79	18.00±2.24	8.56±0.45
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nadia .. Av. 1921-29 ..	6.55±0.70	5.22±1.06	1.33±0.22	2.66±0.16	2.22±0.27	3.22±0.42	4.40±0.22
Ac. 1930 ..	5	7	10	7	8	8	..
Murshidabad .. Av. 1921-29 ..	5.66±0.78	2.22±0.32	0.77±0.25	2.11±0.35	1.11±0.31	1.66±0.39	6.51±0.49
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jessore .. Av. 1921-29 ..	12.44±1.25	9.11±1.19	6.0±1.12	10.66±1.31	15.77±1.60	16.0±1.69	13.77±0.47
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khulna .. Av. 1921-29 ..	22.0±1.55	17.77±0.96	16.33±1.05	12.88±0.89	16.22±1.12	23.0±1.72	23.41±0.53
Ac. 1930 ..	21	20	21	29	13	18	..
Rajshahi .. Av. 1921-29 ..	8.11±0.68	4.44±0.65	2.11±0.36	1.55±0.36	2.77±0.47	4.11±0.43	9.90±0.63
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dinajpur .. Av. 1921-29 ..	21.88±2.25	11.22±1.44	4.55±0.63	1.22±0.25	2.22±0.35	4.22±0.60	3.89±0.55
Ac. 1930 ..	19	4	3	..	..	..	..
Jaipalguri .. Av. 1921-29 ..	6.44±1.36	3.55±0.70	2.11±0.41	1.88±0.62	3.33±0.43	5.11±0.36	4.95±0.29
Ac. 1930 ..	1	1	1	1	1	1	..
Darjeeling .. Av. 1921-29 ..	0.33±0.11	0.11±0.07	0.11±0.07	0.11±0.07	0.33±0.16	0.22±0.10	0.25±0.04
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rangpur .. Av. 1921-29 ..	8.44±0.73	5.33±0.93	3.88±0.40	6.0±0.63	7.44±0.96	13.44±0.33	13.69±0.68
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bogra .. Av. 1921-29 ..	0.11±0.07	0.0±0.0	0.66±0.16	0.88±0.18	1.0±0.11	0.55±0.16	5.81±0.33
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pabna .. Av. 1921-29 ..	52.77±6.04	73.55±5.22	53.44±10.35	65.66±13.19	66±6.63	62.0±6.63	85.42±3.81
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Malda .. Av. 1921-29 ..	0.88±0.29	0.55±0.25	0.22±0.15	0.33±0.11	0.33±0.22	0.22±0.10	2.49±0.43
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca .. Av. 1921-29 ..	255.44±40.80	249.55±39.93	241.33±11.03	225.66±46.44	257.77±39.32	247.66±41.10	276.8±12.32
Ac. 1930 ..	192	192	..	..	..	..	..
Mymensingh .. Av. 1921-29 ..	221.55±12.63	179.33±10.33	199.66±12.86	352.77±18.01	477.77±23.23	636.55±35.34	919.01±60.33
Ac. 1930 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Faridpur .. Av. 1921-29 ..	327.88±18.29	325.66±13.97	315.11±12.99	365.55±33.13	388.66±35.61	447.44±41.97	377.70±6.33
Ac. 1930 ..	43	48	55	51	82	80	..
Bakarganj .. Av. 1921-29 ..	301.0±11.55	101.88±5.57	64.33±5.10	105.33±6.80	144.66±9.82	237.55±17.07	304.88±14.60
Ac. 1930 ..	24	5	8	..	2	5	..
Tippura .. Av. 1921-29 ..	46.33±3.57	21.11±2.04	23.44±2.70	54.33±4.75	47.33±3.55	56.44±3.07	61.88±1.00
Ac. 1930 ..	68	19	59	..	..	..	..
Noakhali .. Av. 1921-29 ..	297.88±10.33	117.88±3.53	119.66±7.85	177.88±7.20	193.44±10.35	157.55±6.05	268.48±6.39
Ac. 1930 ..	73	46	32	33	22	18	..
Chittagong .. Av. 1921-29 ..	417.22±22.94	240.88±13.32	214.33±9.61	259.55±9.21	239.44±14.77	258.55±14.65	300.7±7.39
Ac. 1930 ..	198	38	63	92	99	93	..

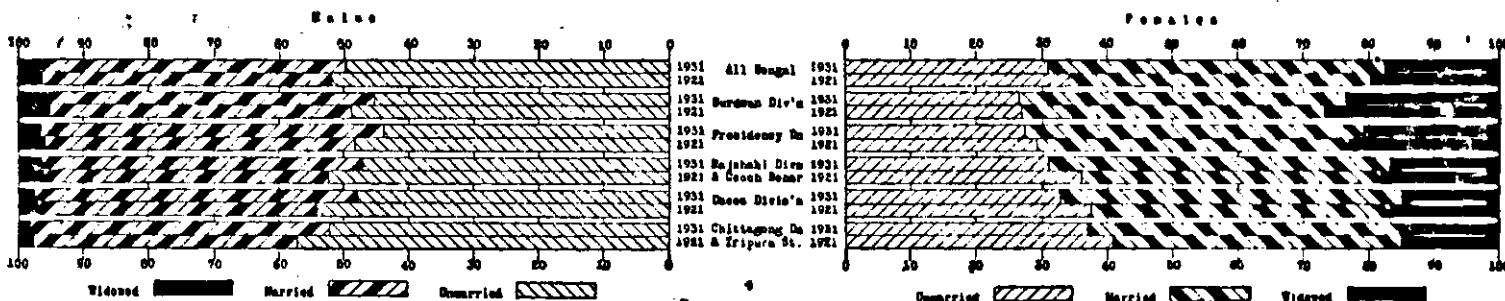
times as many boys married as in 1921 the proportionate increase being greatest in the case of Muslims ; and amongst girls there are now 15 married for every 12 married at the same age-group at the previous census. There can be no doubt that the enormous increase was brought about to a very considerable extent by early marriages to avoid the forthcoming restrictive legislation. Marriages are not compulsorily registered but there is a provision for the registration of marriages by Muslims for which there are special Muhammadan marriage registrars. Statement No. VI-2 prepage shows for all districts of Bengal except the Chittagong Hill Tracts the monthly number of minor marriages registered by Muhammadan marriage registrars (a) on the average between 1921 and 1929 and (b) in each month of 1930. It is of course possible that a larger proportion of marriages solemnised was registered immediately before the passing of the Act in order that evidence might be available, if necessary, to show that marriages had been contracted before the Act came into force and amounted to no infringement of its provisions, but the effect of this consideration is probably comparatively slight and for practical purposes it may be considered that the motive with which these marriages were registered was the same throughout the whole of the decade. Upon this assumption it is clear that during the months immediately preceding the date on which the Act came into force there was a great increase in the number of marriages registered and consequently by inference in the total number of marriages contracted amongst the Muslims it is safe to assume that there was a similar increase also amongst the Hindus. In very nearly all districts the number of marriages registered after the Act became law is practically negligible, but during the months of January to April 1930 there was a great and in some districts an enormous increase in the number of child marriages registered. The figures of Bakarganj illustrate this. The monthly average of minor marriages registered during 1921-1929 was 305. In the four months from January to April the numbers registered were respectively 419, 1,320, 8,782 and 4,452 compared with monthly averages for the same months respectively of 166, 382, 494 and 366 ; and during the subsequent months in 1930 in no case was a larger number than 64 minor marriages registered and that occurred in the month of May just after the Act came into force during which month on the average 745 marriages had been registered during the preceding nine years. In some parts of the country, as for instance in Midnapore and 24-Parganas as also to a less extent in Nadia and Khulna, the number of marriages registered continued throughout the remaining months of 1930 to approach or even exceed the average number monthly recorded during the previous nine years. But in the majority of districts the registration of marriages practically ceased after April, May or June in 1930. This does not prove that no child marriages took place and the fact that child marriages are now illegal may have prevented the registration of some which occurred but the rush to get children married before the Act came into force justifies an inference from the absence of registration that the number of child marriages contracted was reduced and that there was no general intention to flout the provisions of the Act. In many cases children in arms had been contracted in marriage and almost everywhere parents had recklessly incurred debts for the celebration of marriages on which fantastic rates of interest were charged amounting to as much as 78 per cent. per annum in instances reported in Bogra district. By the time the census was taken parents were in many cases beginning to regret these marriages. They had led or were bound to lead to an increase in the number of child widows, a result also reflected in the census returns, and in some cases an attempt was made to take advantage of the census to repudiate marriages by refusing to recognise them when, for instance as in Tippera, it transpired that the parents of the bridegroom were unable to provide the promised prompt dower. Since the Act came into operation up to the middle of 1931 there have been less than 20 cases brought under it but the number of cases is no index of the extent to which the provisions of the Act are being infringed since cognisance can be taken only upon a complaint made within one year of the solemnisation of the marriage and complainants are liable to be called upon to execute a bond as security for payment of compensation. The general attitude of Hindus to the question

of child marriage is discussed in chapter XI. Amongst the educated in general even the orthodox acquiesce in the Act owing to the increasing difficulty of getting girls married before the age of 14 in present economic conditions and to the development of modern ideas but bodies like the Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Marwaris, which incidentally represent principally other than Bengali interests, continue to protest against it. It is not however so easy to gauge the trend of social opinion amongst Muslims with whom the inconveniences of child marriage are not so serious owing to the facility for divorce and remarriage afforded by their social practices and it may accordingly be assumed that particularly amongst the uneducated the balance of advantage still appears to lie in favour of child marriage.

195. **Marital condition by sexes.**—Diagram No. VI-1 shows the numbers by sexes in each marital condition. The figures are principally contained in subsidiary tables I and II. The figures for divisions for 1921 are taken direct

DIAGRAM No. VI-1.

Percentage of each marital condition in each sex by natural divisions, all religions, 1921 and 1931.



from the report of that year and are reproduced together with the other figures also illustrated in the accompanying statement No. VI-3. Rather less than half the males at all ages (49·8 per cent.) are married and only 3·3 per cent. are widowers. Amongst females rather more than half (51·4 per cent.) are

STATEMENT No. VI-3.

Number per 1,000 of each sex in each marital condition by natural division and in some other provinces, 1921 and 1931.

Province and Division.	1921.						1931.					
	Males.			Females.			Males.			Females.		
	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bengal ..	518	444	38	343	460	197	469	498	33	310	514	178
Burdwan ..	487	462	51	271	462	267	452	505	43	265	500	235
Presidency ..	480	477	43	293	477	230	436	528	36	275	518	207
*Rajshahi ..	520	439	41	361	458	181	471	492	37	313	520	167
Dacca ..	540	430	30	375	457	168	478	408	26	327	523	150
†Chittagong ..	569	406	25	409	442	149	519	461	20	370	497	133
Bihar and Orissa ..	454	486	90	328	486	184	420	529	51	312	527	161
Madras ..	531	425	44	373	438	189	526	434	46	378	444	178
Bombay ..	481	461	68	333	484	183	471	476	53	336	508	166

*With Cooch Behar.

†With Tripura State.

married, the increased proportion being naturally due to the smaller number of females, and 17·6 are widows. There are thus in every 1,000 of the same sex 469 males and 310 females unmarried.

196. **Variations by divisions.**—The variations between divisions in the relative proportions in each marital condition are comparatively small. Amongst males the proportion married is highest in the Presidency Division where 528 are married amongst every 1,000 males. It is lowest in the Chittagong Division with Tripura where there are only 461 in every 1,000 married. But in Chittagong Division with Tripura the proportion of widowers is also smallest being 20 in every 1,000, the nearest approach to which is the figure of Dacca Division, 26. The largest proportion of widowers is found in Western Bengal (Burdwan Division) where it is 43 per 1,000. Chittagong Division with Tripura State has very much the largest proportion of males unmarried and there are 519 bachelors in every

1,000 males in this division. In the Presidency Division where the proportion married is greatest the proportion unmarried is least and amounts to only 436 in every 1,000. Amongst females the largest proportion married is not in the Presidency Division, where the presence of a number of married men in Calcutta and industrial centres whose wives are outside Bengal throws up the proportion of married men without a corresponding increase in the proportion of married women, but in Dacca Division where 523 out of every 1,000 are married. The average in the whole of Bengal is 514 married in every 1,000 women and the lowest ratio as amongst men is in Chittagong Division with Tripura State where only 497 in every 1,000 women are married and where the largest proportion (370 in every 1,000 compared with an average of 310) is unmarried and the smallest proportion (133 per 1,000 compared with an average of 176) is widowed. The proportion of widowed amongst females is on the average five times as great as amongst males.

197. **General increase in proportions married.**—In all divisions there has been since the last census was taken a considerable increase in the proportions married. This has been gained both from the unmarried (which it is due very largely to marriages hastily undertaken to escape the operation of the Child Marriage Restraint Act) and, also, to a rather less extent and very much more noticeably in the case of females than in the case of males, at the expense of those widowed. The numbers in each thousand females who are widows have decreased in the whole of Bengal from 197 in 1921 to 176 on the present occasion. This represents a genuine increase in the prevalence of widow remarriage and although the population has increased in every division there is a decrease in the actual numbers returned as widowed in the whole of Bengal. Thus there are now over 66 thousand less widowers and over 201 thousand less widows than there were in 1921, in spite of the fact that the rush of marriages to forestall Child Marriage Restraint Act has contributed to an increase in Bengal taken as a whole in the number of persons widowed of both sexes between the ages 0 and 5 and also between the ages 5 and 10. The details of these decreases will be considered when discussing the marital condition ratios by religions.

198. **Comparison with other provinces.**—Statement No. VI-3 also shows the proportions in each marital condition in 1921 and 1931 in the three provinces for which details were at hand when this chapter was prepared. There has been in every province an increase in both sexes in the proportions married, and, in all cases, except amongst females in Madras the increase has been gained principally from the numbers unmarried as well as to a lesser extent from the proportions previously returned as widow. In Madras,

STATEMENT No. VI-4.

Number per 1,000 of each sex, Hindus and Muslims, in each marital condition in Bengal and some other provinces, 1931.

Province.	Hindu.						Muslim.					
	Males.			Females.			Males.			Females.		
	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bengal	469	498	33	298	481	226	468	510	22	818	542	140
Bihar and Orissa	418	534	53	302	531	107	412	547	41	296	555	149
Madras	521	438	41	370	448	182	583	389	28	426	415	159
Bombay	455	498	52	321	516	168	520	422	58	383	485	132

however, there has been an increase in the proportion of females unmarried and the increase in the proportion married is entirely due to the decrease in the proportions of widows. Amongst the Hindus a smaller proportion of both sexes is married, but a larger proportion of females are widows in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa, Madras or Bombay, and there are proportionately fewer widows in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa and Bombay. Amongst Muslims there are in both sexes, proportionately, fewer married in Madras and Bombay and more married in Bihar and Orissa than in Bengal, and, as a corollary, there are proportionately more unmarried in Madras and Bombay, and less in Bihar and Orissa. In both sexes, however, except females in

Bombay, there are proportionately fewer widows in Bengal than in these other provinces. The figures referred to in the latter part of this paragraph are given in statement No. VI-4 prepage. In England and Wales in 1921 out of 1,000 of the same sex 414 were married and 550 single amongst males and 383 were married and 535 single amongst females.

199. **Marital condition in towns.**—The figures for marital conditions by sexes in towns offer an interesting comparison with those already discussed. The towns shown in subsidiary table V to chapter III are those selected for this comparison and they have been divided into industrial and non-industrial

STATEMENT No. VI-5.

Number per mille of the same sex and age in each marital condition in selected industrial and non-industrial urban areas, 1931.

Age-group.	Both sexes.			Males.			Females.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
INDUSTRIAL TOWNS.									
0-5	979	20	1	981	19	..	977	21	2
0-1	987	13	..	986	14	..	988	12	..
1-2	987	13	..	987	13	..	988	12	..
2-3	984	16	..	984	16	..	983	16	1
3-4	973	25	2	976	23	1	969	28	3
4-5	966	32	2	973	37	..	968	38	4
5-10	892	106	2	923	76	1	852	144	4
10-15	782	233	5	850	148	2	638	352	10
15-20	416	564	20	562	432	6	138	819	48
20-30	202	755	43	265	719	16	47	842	111
30-40	41	858	81	63	905	32	23	727	250
40-50	27	795	178	31	909	60	17	526	457
50-60	20	680	300	23	872	105	15	335	650
60 & over	20	525	455	23	787	185	10	195	795
NON-INDUSTRIAL TOWNS.									
0-5	980	19	1	985	15	..	974	24	2
0-1	990	10	..	993	7	..	987	13	..
1-2	985	15	..	987	13	..	988	17	1
2-3	984	16	..	989	11	..	979	20	1
3-4	974	24	3	981	18	1	966	30	4
4-5	965	33	2	974	35	1	954	42	4
5-10	890	106	4	957	42	1	815	178	7
10-15	764	228	8	917	81	2	587	397	16
15-20	413	555	32	650	349	7	107	830	62
20-30	190	735	75	312	666	23	26	829	145
30-40	45	792	163	70	875	55	8	667	325
40-50	19	694	267	28	862	110	5	462	538
50-60	13	562	425	20	795	185	8	240	717
60 & over	14	392	594	25	648	332	3	143	854

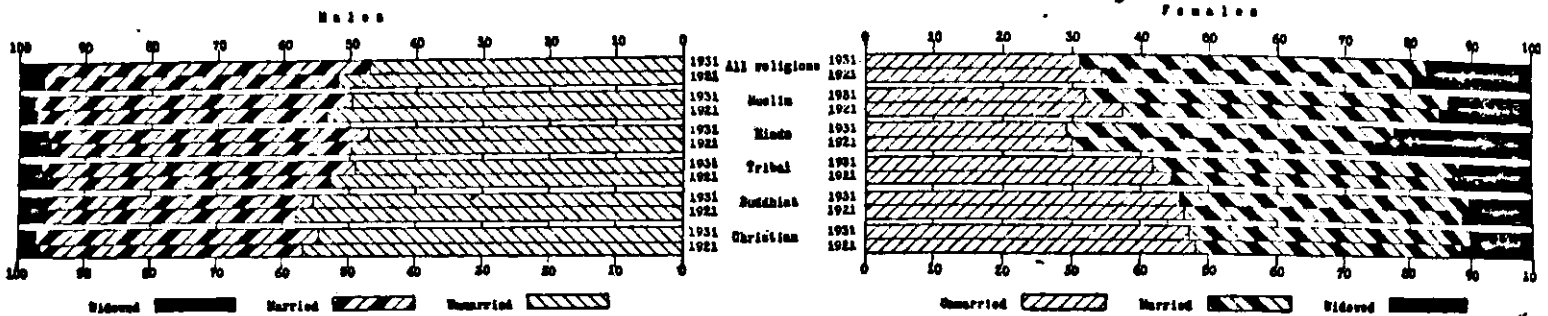
groups. Within each group the proportions at each marital condition have been worked out for each sex and are shown in statement No. VI-5. Amongst males there are more married per thousand in each age-group in industrial towns than in non-industrial towns. Wage-earners with families to support who are not with them are responsible for this. Amongst females, on the other hand, there are more married in each age-group in non-industrial towns up to the age of 20 and in industrial towns beyond that age. Amongst males in the industrial towns a smaller proportion is both widowed and single at each age-group than in the non-industrial towns, except that after the age of 15 each age-group shows a considerably larger number of single men in industrial than in non-industrial towns. Amongst females, on the other hand, at every age-group in non-industrial towns there is a larger proportion of spinsters than in industrial towns whilst the number of widows is proportionately smaller.

200. **Marital condition by religion.**—The marital condition ratios in each religion are illustrated in diagram No. VI-2 overleaf plotted from subsidiary table I. The proportionate distribution of the population by marital conditions is of course the same for all religions as is given in diagram No. VI-1 for all Bengal. Amongst males the highest proportion married is found amongst Muslims, 51 in every 100 of whom are married; and it is the Muslims also amongst whom the smallest proportion (only 22 in every 1,000) are widowers. Muslim females also have the largest proportion married, viz., 542 in every 1,000. But Christians, Buddhists and those professing tribal religions have all a smaller proportionate incidence of widowhood than the Muslims amongst whom 140 in every 1,000 women are widows. Amongst

males the smallest proportion married, 413 of every 1,000, is amongst the Buddhists. Christians with 428 and those professing tribal religions with 474 come next. Amongst females only 102 in every 1,000 Christians are widowed and the figure for Buddhists, 103, is almost the same. But the average for all religions is exceeded only amongst the Hindus amongst whom 226 in every 1,000 women are widows. The largest proportion of unmarried

DIAGRAM No. VI-2.

Percentage of each marital condition in each sex by religions, 1921 and 1931.



men is naturally found amongst the Buddhists and Christians whose married and widowed ratios are small. There are 553 Buddhist and 545 Christian males unmarried in every 1,000 of their sex and religion. The proportion amongst Muslims and Hindus is almost exactly the same being for Muslims 468 and for Hindus 469 per 1,000. In all religions the proportion of females unmarried is less than the corresponding proportion of males. The proportions are smallest amongst the Hindus only 293 in every 1,000 of whom are unmarried and amongst the principal religions Hindus are the only ones whose unmarried ratio amongst females is less than the average of 310 per 1,000. In every 1,000 Muslim women 318 are unmarried but it is Christians and Buddhists amongst whom the largest proportion are unmarried, viz., 472 and 458 in each 1,000 respectively. The proportion unmarried has in each case declined since 1921, least notably in the case of Buddhist females and Hindu females and most notable in the case of Muslim females amongst whom in 1921 as many as 373 in every 1,000 were unmarried. The decrease has been contributed principally by the increase in the proportion married. Amongst females of tribal religions the decrease in the proportion of widows is very small and amounts to only 1 in every 1,000 but amongst the Hindus there are now in every 1,000 women 28 less widows than there were in 1921 and there are 21 less in every 1,000 in the whole population of the province. Amongst the Muslims the proportion has decreased by 15 in every 1,000 and decreases of 14 and 12 respectively are shown in the numbers per 1,000 widowed amongst Christians and Buddhists. The actual figures for those widowed in each religion are even more remarkable. There have been increases in the total population, yet there are actually nearly 41 thousand less Muslim women and over 30 thousand less Muslim men widowed in spite of apparent increases in both sexes in the age-groups 0 to 5 and 5 to 10 and amongst men in the age-group 10 to 15. Similarly amongst Hindus although there have been apparent increases in the numbers of widows in the age-group 0 to 5 and 5 to 10 compared with 1921 the actual numbers in each subsequent age-group are less and at all ages there are over 142 thousand women and over 28 thousand men less widowed in 1931 than there were in 1921. Persons professing tribal religions show similar figures. There are apparently more of both sexes widowed between the ages of 0 and 5 and more women between the ages of 5 and 10 than there were in 1921, but at all ages more than 19 thousand females and 8 thousand males less were returned as widowed on the present occasion than previously. Amongst Buddhists, however, there has been an increase in the actual numbers widowed of 478 males and 1,004 females which has been so much less than the increase in the numbers married and unmarried that the proportions widowed have declined both in the case of females and to a smaller extent also in the case of males. Actually at age-groups 10 to 15, 20 to 25, 30 to 35, 40 to 45 and 70 and over amongst men and at age-groups 30 to 35, 40 to 45, 60 to 65 and 70 and over amongst females the numbers

widowed have apparently declined since 1921 but in this as in all comparisons involving age-groups at different years deductions must take account of the effect on the age distribution in 1931 of the method of forming the quinquennial groups shown. Amongst Christians there are actually more females widowed in 1931 than there were in 1921, a circumstance which however has not prevented a proportionate decline of no less than 14 in every 1,000 females whilst the decrease in the same religion in the actual number of males widowed has affected a proportionate decrease only from 36 to 27 in every 1,000 of the same religion.

201. **Proportions in Sikkim.**—In Sikkim the numbers of widowers and widows have increased since 1921 by 455 and 1,355. There has been a decrease amongst Hindus of 131 males and 197 females returned under this condition but there has also been a decrease in the total number of Hindus in the state. The proportions widowed in all religions in the state have decreased to a slight extent in the case of males and by some 5 per 1,000 in the case of females.

202. **Increase of widow remarriage in cities.**—An increasing prevalence of widow remarriage indicated by a decrease in the proportion of widows is evidently shown in each of the three cities, Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca. Figures for Calcutta city are not immediately comparable with those in 1921 since the city has now absorbed part of the area then included in the suburbs of Calcutta outside the municipal area; but the area concerned is exactly the same now as then in the case of Calcutta with the suburbs in 24-Parganas. In this area there has been a decrease in actual numbers both of males and females returned as widows amounting in the case of males to 3,760 and in the case of females to 8,439. Howrah, which has also increased considerably during the decade has returned 1,203 males and 1,296 females less as widowed in 1931 than in 1921. Similarly Dacca also in spite of a considerable increase has 260 males and 445 females less in this marital condition than there were in 1921. The figures discussed in this and the preceding paragraphs may be taken as a commentary upon the remarks relative to widow remarriage contained in chapter XI.

203. **Proportional distribution by sex and age-group.**—Statement No. VI-6 shows the distribution of 10,000 of each sex by age periods. The statement is

STATEMENT No. VI-6.
Distribution by age and marital conditions of 10,000 of each sex, 1931.

Age.	Males.				Females.			
	All marital conditions.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.	All marital conditions.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.
All ages	10,000	4,694	4,981	325	10,000	3,097	5,137	1,766
0-5	1,477	1,449	28	..	1,630	1,557	77	2
5-10	1,368	1,274	93	1	1,315	923	393	9
10-15	1,196	1,037	157	2	1,157	521	618	18
15-20	876	458	412	6	1,056	51	949	56
20-25	926	804	813	12	1,094	22	986	86
25-30	903	90	788	25	880	9	729	142
30-35	833	43	701	29	741	6	565	170
35-40	648	15	599	34	540	3	324	213
40-45	545	10	499	36	440	2	228	219
45-50	391	5	348	38	344	1	120	223
50-55	305	4	265	36	273	1	78	194
55-60	195	2	162	31	187	..	80	151
60 and over	334	3	256	75	328	1	44	283

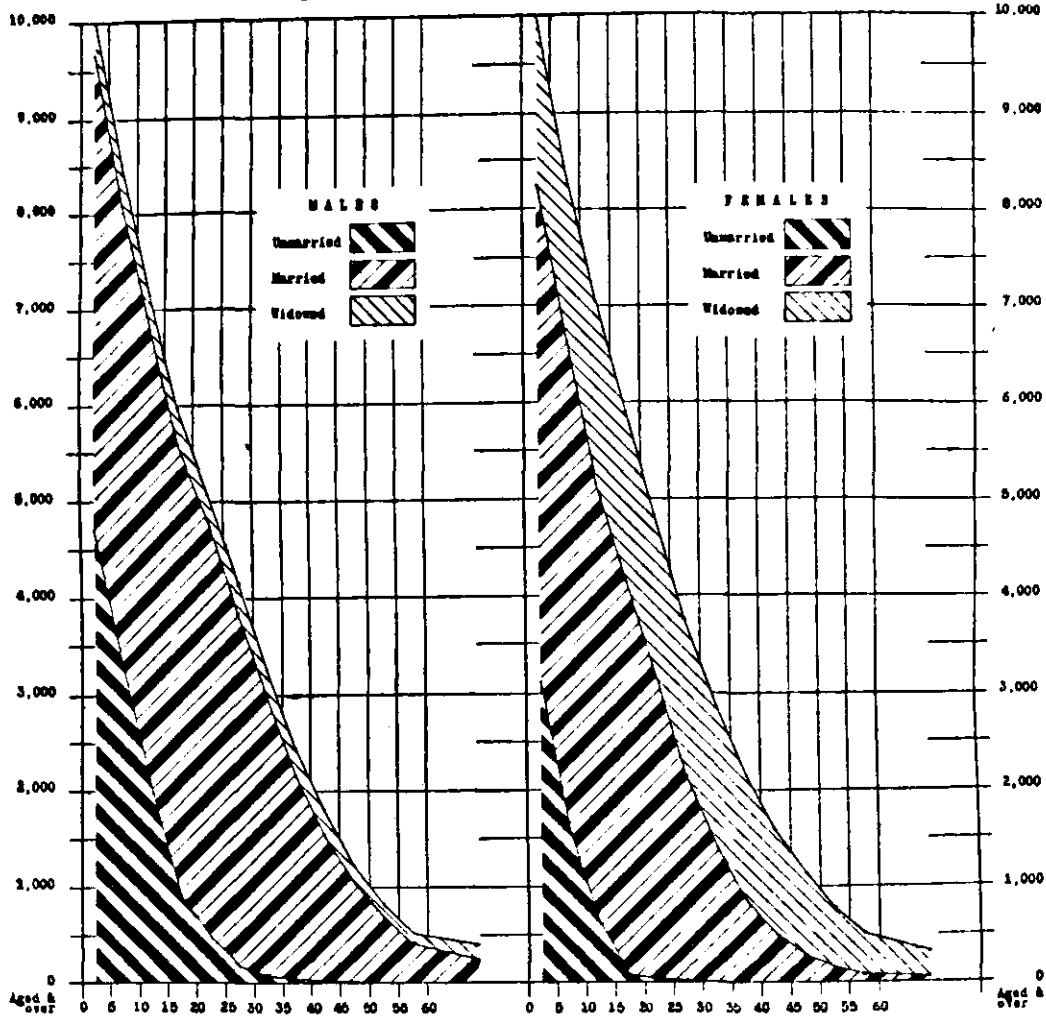
an expansion of the figures appearing in subsidiary table III for four age-groups only. Diagram No. VI-3 overleaf illustrates the statement. But in it what are plotted are the points representing the numbers of and over the ages shown and within these the distribution of marital condition. The diagram, therefore, represents for each age shown the figure reached by summing all the entries of and below the line in statement No. VI-6 in which the age occurs at the earlier limit of a group. In the total population the age-group 25-30 amongst males and 20-25 amongst females supplies the largest proportion of those married. The diagram illustrates at a glance the principal features in the marital condition of the population. It indicates for instance very clearly that in 10,000 of each sex there is a very much smaller number

of females unmarried at all ages and unmarried amongst those aged and over a given year, whilst at the same time the proportion widowed amongst females is very considerably in excess of that amongst males. The diagram can also

DIAGRAM No. VI-3.

Distribution by age and marital condition of 10,000 of each sex, 1931.

NOTE.—Figures are plotted for those of and over the age shown.



be used to give a rough indication of the marital conditions amongst those surviving in a population of 10,000 distributed by age and marital condition as at the present census.

204. **Marital condition at age-groups.**—The proportionate distribution by marital condition in each age-group also in rather greater detail than is given in subsidiary table I is shown for each sex in statement No. VI-7 and illustrated by two diagrams No. VI-4 and No. VI-5. Diagram No. VI-4 is in the form which has generally been used in these reports in previous years and it shows very clearly within each age-group of each sex the proportionate numbers in each marital condition. By the time a woman reaches 20 to

STATEMENT No. VI-7.

Distribution by marital condition of 1,000 of each sex in the same age-group, 1931.

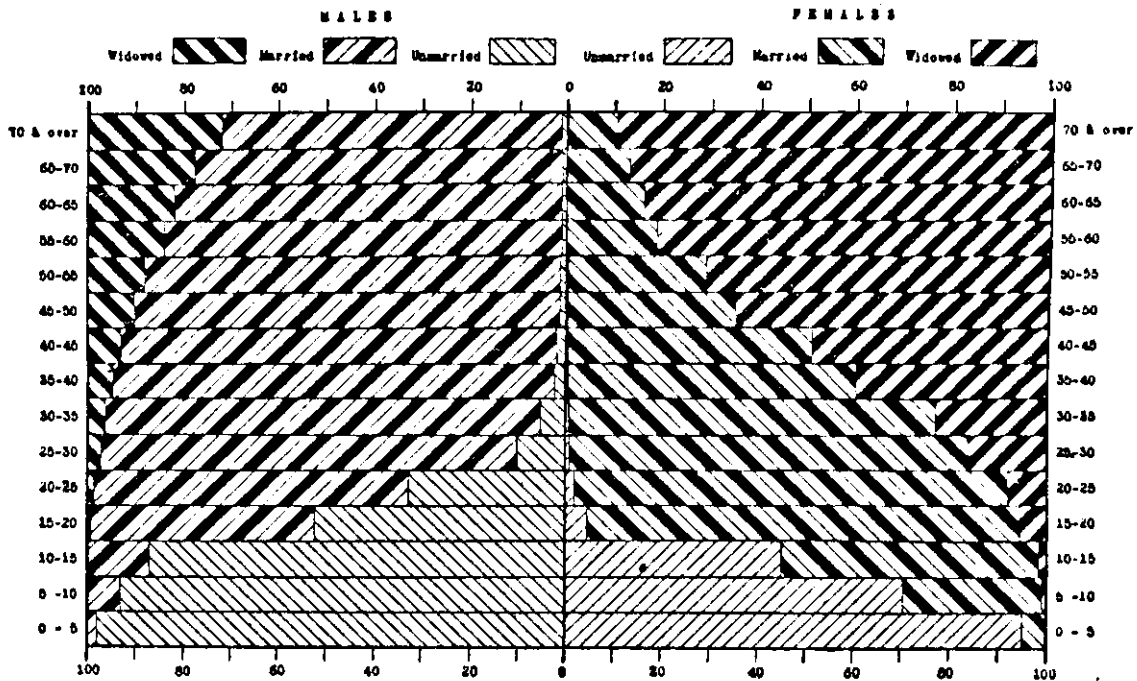
Age-group.	Males.			Females.		
	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.
0-5 ..	981	19	..	952	47	1
5-10 ..	931	68	1	702	291	7
10-15 ..	887	131	2	450	534	16
15-20 ..	523	470	7	48	899	53
20-25 ..	327	660	13	20	901	79
25-30 ..	100	873	27	10	828	162
30-35 ..	52	913	35	8	762	230
35-40 ..	23	924	53	6	600	394
40-45 ..	18	915	87	5	508	487
45-50 ..	13	889	98	4	348	648
50-55 ..	12	871	117	4	286	710
55-60 ..	10	832	158	3	191	806
60-65 ..	9	811	180	2	162	836
65-70 ..	10	768	222	3	131	866
70 and over ..	13	708	279	8	102	895

25, that is at an average age of 22½ years, in all but five cases out of 50 she will already have been married and in nearly 9 cases out of 100 she will already be a widow. By the time she is 45 in at least one case out of every two she will have been widowed, an inevitable result when women are married at an early age to men considerably older than themselves and in a certain part at least

of the population where widows are forbidden to remarry. The proportion of widows at ages above 55 to 60 is very great indeed. In the group 55-60 four women in every five and in the last age-group, 70 and over, nearly 9 in

DIAGRAM No. VI-4.

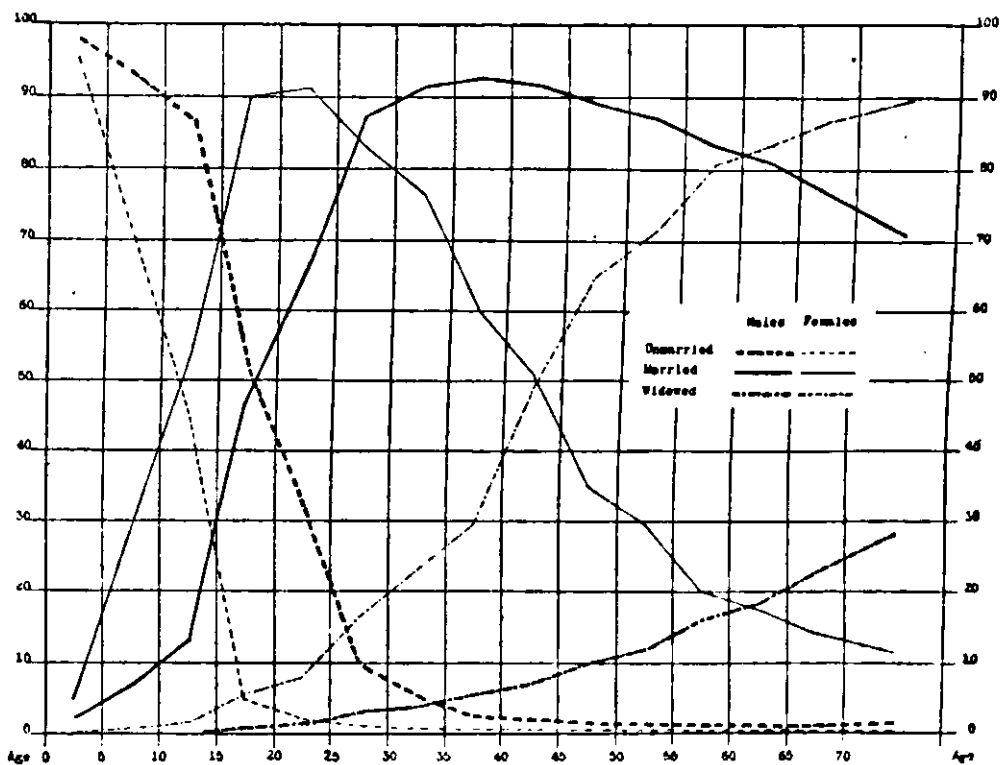
Distribution by marital condition of one hundred persons of the same sex and age at quinary age-groups.



every 10 are widowed. Amongst males it is not until the age-group 35 to 40 is reached that only 1 in every 50 is unmarried, a condition reached 15 years earlier in the case of women, and although the proportion of widowers naturally increases with each quinquennium, even at its greatest in the age-group 70 and over it is very considerably less than amongst women in the

DIAGRAM No. VI-5.

Numbers of each sex at quinary age-groups unmarried, married and widowed per 100 of the same sex and age-group, 1931.



age-group 35 to 40, or roughly half that age. Amongst an equal number of women and men of the same age-group up to about the age of 45 there will be 7 to 8 times as many widows as widowers. This proportion is later reduced but even at the age 65 to 70 there are 4 widows for every widower and at the

last age-group, 70 and over, there are nearly 3. A comparison between the sexes by marital condition ratios is perhaps most clearly shown, however, by diagram No. VI-5 prepage. From about age 30 in the case of women and 55 in the case of men the proportions unmarried are so small that the curves for those widowed practically reciprocate the curves for the married. The proportion of men whose wives are still living is highest in the age-group 35-40, but the largest proportion of women with husbands alive is passed after the age-group 20 to 25. By the time they reach 30 to 35 only 762 women in each 1,000 will have their husbands alive whereas in the case of men right up to the age 65 to 70 at least 768 in every 1,000 will still have their wives living. Even in the last age-group, 70 and over, there will be 708 men out of every 1,000 whose wives are still alive, but so high a proportion of women will not retain their husbands beyond an average age of 32½.

205. **Comparison with England and Wales.**—Figures comparable with those discussed in the previous paragraph are shown for England and Wales in 1921 in statement No. VI-8. The comparison by individual age-groups is vitiated by considerations earlier adduced but the figures for all ages are entirely comparable. The proportion amongst an equal number of each sex who are widowed at any age period is considerably less in England and Wales than in Bengal except at the last age-group amongst males when the proportion is higher. In

STATEMENT No. VI-8.

Numbers unmarried, married and widowed per 1,000 of the same sex and age-group, England and Wales, 1921.

NOTE.—Divorced persons are included amongst those widowed.

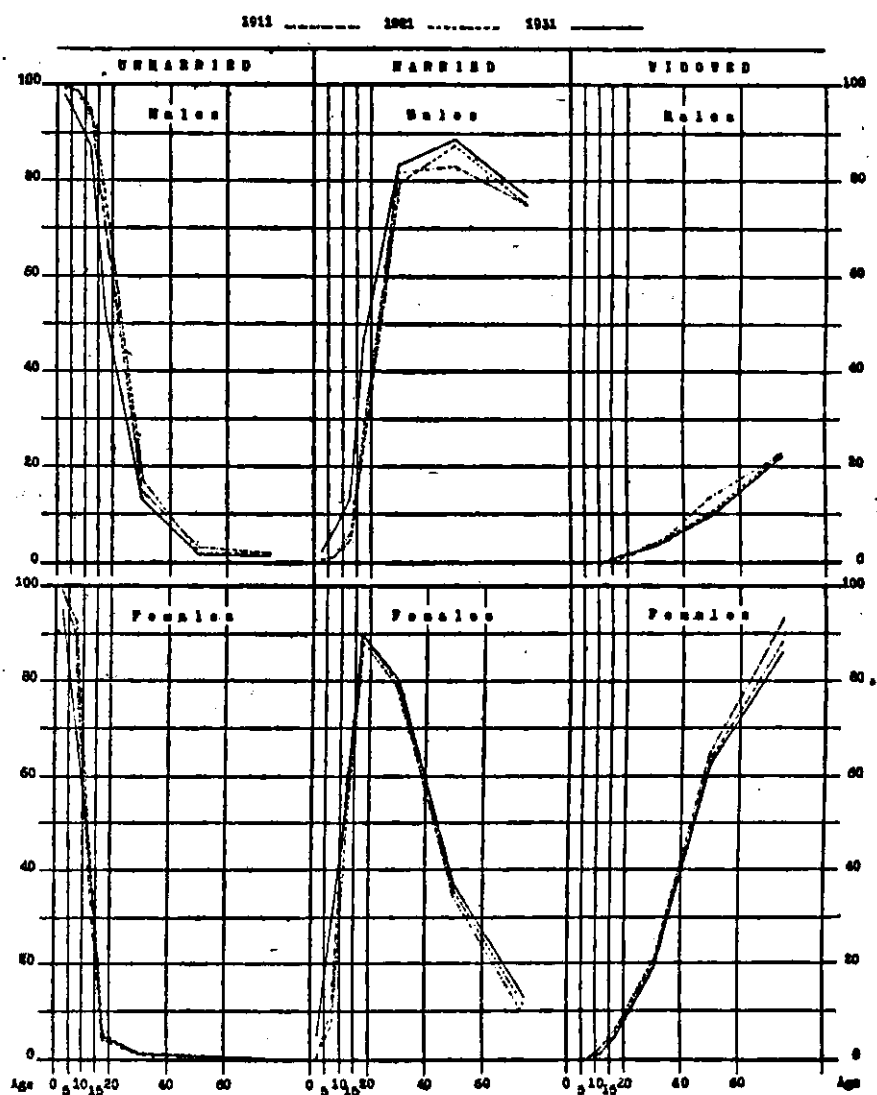
Age-group.	Males.			Females.		
	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.
All ages	550	414	36	535	383	82
0-5	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..
5-10	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..
10-15	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..
15-20	996	4	..	982	18	..
20-25	822	176	1	726	270	4
25-30	446	548	6	410	568	22
30-35	231	756	13	260	697	43
35-40	163	818	19	204	740	56
40-45	137	837	26	180	751	69
45-50	124	837	39	168	739	93
50-55	115	824	61	159	700	141
55-60	106	802	92	155	638	207
60-65	100	759	141	151	551	298
65-70	94	688	218	139	441	420
70 and over	80	528	392	136	246	618

England and Wales approximately half the population in each sex is married by about the age of 25 and three-quarters by about the average age of 32½ with males and 42½ with females. There is very considerably less disparity in the ages of husbands and wives judging by the proportions in each sex of those who are married at the same age period, for the proportions in England and Wales are very much more equal than in Bengal. In an equal number of females, all of the same age-group, there are in Bengal in every group very many more times the number widowed than in England and Wales and between the ages of about 35 to 45 in equal numbers of English and Bengali women there will be nearly eight times as many widows amongst the Bengalis as amongst the English. At every age there is a considerably larger proportion unmarried in England and Wales than in Bengal, and in the age-group 25 to 30 in equal numbers there will be found more than forty times as many spinsters in England and Wales as in Bengal, a proportion which varies comparatively little up to the age of 55 and between that age and 65 increases to between 50 and 75 times as many in England and Wales as in Bengal.

206. **Marital condition in 1911, 1921 and 1931.**—Figures similar to those shown in the last two diagrams are illustrated from subsidiary table I for rather fewer age-groups in diagram No. VI-6. Here the figures are plotted for 1911, 1921 and 1931 by quinquennial age-groups up to the age of 20 and by groups of 20 years thereafter up to 60. The curves plotted for 1911 and 1921 are almost identical but both show considerable variations from the curves of 1931. These variations are to some extent the result of differences in the age grouping. Amongst males there has apparently been an appreciable increase in the proportions married and a decrease in the proportions unmarried at every age-group. Amongst females the variations do not seem to be so pronounced except in the two earliest age-groups; but in each 1,000 females

aged 5-10 the present returns show very nearly four times as many married as in 1921 and whereas in 1921 more than nine-tenths of those at this age were unmarried, considerably less than three-quarters are now unmarried. Amongst females the proportions unmarried at the later ages have remained almost constant and the slight increase in the proportions married has been achieved by an almost corresponding decrease in the proportions widowed. Amongst males the increase in the proportions married has been gained almost equally from those single and those widowed in the age-group 40-60, rather more from those widowed in the age-group 60 and over and considerably more from those single in the age-group 20-40. When every allowance

DIAGRAM No. VI-6.
Numbers of each sex at age-groups unmarried, married and widowed per 100 of the same sex and age-group, 1911, 1921 and 1931.



has been made for differences in the method of compiling the age-groups the following conclusions appear to establish themselves :—

(i) The increase in the numbers married at the earlier ages is most probably due largely to the temporary displacement resulting from the unusually large numbers of marriages contracted before the Child Marriage Restraint Act came into force. (ii) It is also partly due to a tendency amongst the aboriginals on contact with Hinduism and also amongst the lower castes of Hindus to adopt infant marriage in imitation of what was till recently the practice of the higher castes of Hindu society. Some considerations in support of this conclusion will be adduced in a later paragraph. Its effect, however, on the total proportions is offset by the increasing tendency in the higher castes to postpone the marriage of their children until a later date. (iii) The increase due to the endeavour to forestall the operation of the Child Marriage Restraint Act does not affect the case of women after the age-group 10-15 and men after the age-group of 15-20. If a liberal allowance is made for the increase caused in the proportions married at younger ages by the method of compiling the age-groups it is still possible to deduce that beyond the average age of about 17½ with females and 22½ with males the increased proportions of those who are married are clearly due to an increasing prevalence of widow remarriage both in the Muslim and in the Hindu societies.

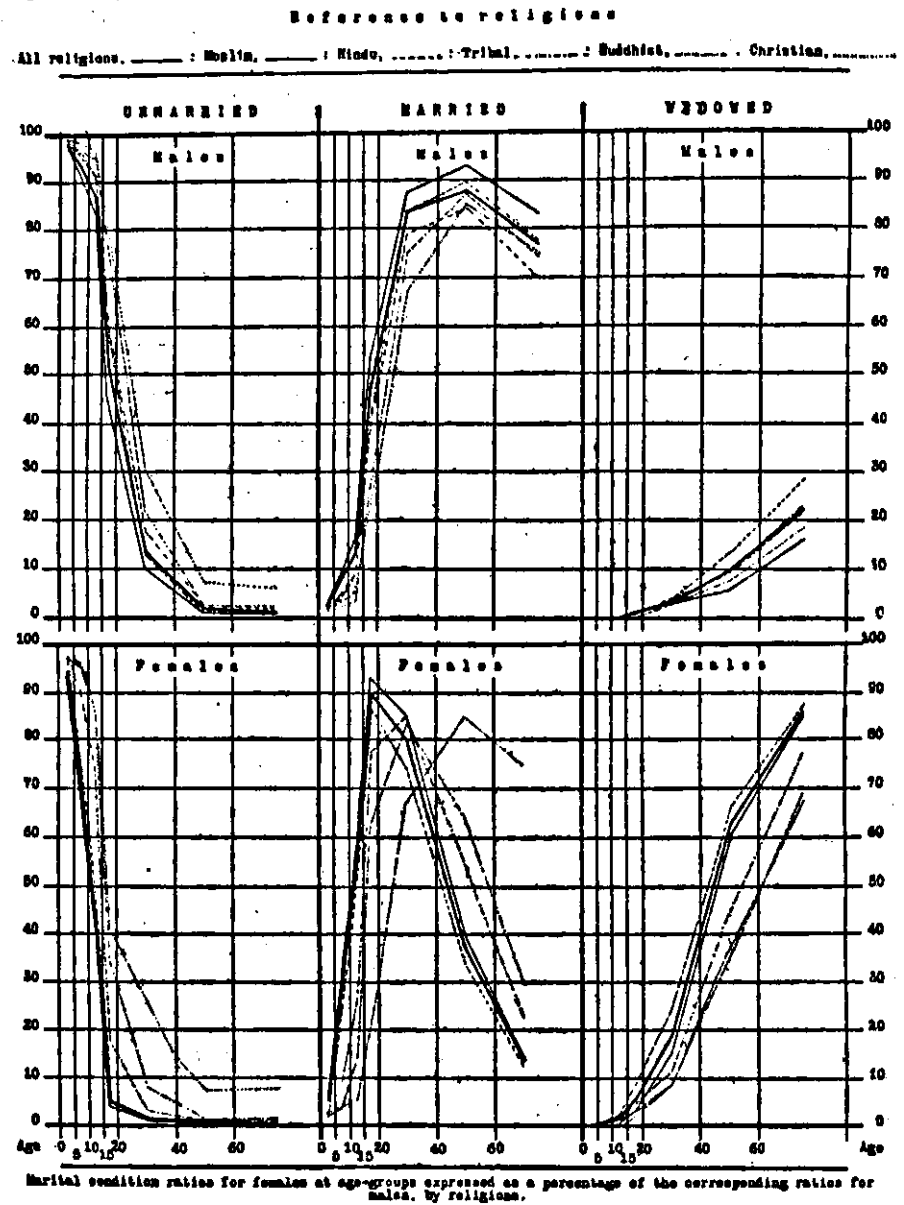
207. **Marital condition at age-groups by religions.**—Subsidiary table I has also supplied the figures for the top six graphs appearing in diagram

No. VI-7. These show for each sex and marital condition the proportions per cent. in each principal religion at the same age-groups as are illustrated in diagram No. VI-7. In statement No. VI-9 the figures for females plotted in these six graphs have been worked out as a percentage of the figures plotted for males. These figures are illustrated in the three graphs at the bottom of the diagram. They show, therefore, the relative frequency of each marital condition amongst an equal number of males and females of the same age. There need not be the same hesitation in accepting the figures by ages on this comparison since all have been prepared on the same principle. Amongst both males and females Muslims show at each age-group the smallest proportion unmarried and the largest proportion married. The proportions widowed are smallest amongst Muslims at every age-group from and including 20-40 years but there is a larger proportion of Muslim females widowed at the same age-groups than of any other religion except Hindus. After the Muslims, Hindu males show a larger proportion than any other religion who are married before the age-group

DIAGRAM No. VI-7.

Numbers of each sex at age-groups unmarried, married and widowed per 100 of the same sex and age-group by religions, 1931.

NOTE.—The scale for the percentage of female or male ratios is in tens. The line representing Christian females is incorrect.



religion except Hindus. After the Muslims, Hindu males show a larger proportion than any other religion who are married before the age-group

10-15 ; but in and after the age-group 15-20 a larger proportion of those professing tribal religions are married amongst the males and by the time the age-group 40-60 is reached amongst Buddhists and Christians there is a larger proportion of males also who are married with wives still surviving. At and after this age, 40-60, however a larger proportion have been married at some time amongst the Hindus than amongst those of other religions except the Muslims and the smaller proportion amongst those returned as married is due to a considerably larger proportion having already lost their wives. A larger proportion of Christians remain unmarried throughout life than in any other religion. At every age-group the proportion of unmarried males is next highest after the Christians amongst the Buddhists and not only the Muslims, but also, after the age-group, 15-20, those professing tribal religions show a smaller proportion of males who have remained unmarried than do the Hindus. Amongst all groups but Hindus the practice of widow remarriage contributes to an increase in the proportions of those who are married at later ages. But amongst Christians and Buddhists the postponement of marriage also contributes to the comparatively high proportions at later ages whose wives are still alive. It is in these religions that there is the largest proportion who remain unmarried throughout life and the proportion of those who are widowed and remarry is comparatively small if such an inference is valid from the fact that a larger proportion in these religions than amongst Muslims are widowed at ages after and including the age-group 20-40.

The corresponding proportions amongst females for each of the religious communities show very much wider variations than amongst the men. It is the age-group 15-20 which amongst the Hindus and Muslims shows the highest proportion of married women. With the Buddhists and those professing tribal religions it is not until the next age-group, 20-40, that the largest proportion married is recorded and the proportions in this age-group for these two religions are considerably less than those in the age-group 15-20 in the case of Hindus and Buddhists. Amongst Christians, similarly, it is in the age-group 20-40 that the largest proportion of females is married with their husbands surviving. The reader is warned that the line indicating Christian females in this diagram is wrong and represents in error the same figures as are plotted in the graph above it for males of that religion. At all ages a larger proportion of Muslim and Hindu women are married than amongst other religions and of those who survive to be 60 and over two and a half times as many professing tribal religions, five times as many Buddhists and fifteen times as many Christian women are unmarried in each 1,000 as amongst their Muslim or Hindu sisters. On the other hand in this same age-group, 60 and over, more than twice as many Buddhists and nearly twice as many Christian women have husbands still living as would be found in an equal number of Hindu women of the same age, and at every age after 20 a considerably smaller proportion of women following other religions than Hinduism and Islam are widows. In each 1,000 of each sex in the same age-group, amongst Hindus there will be found married 5 or 6 females for every male between the ages of 5 and 15 and more than 2 for

STATEMENT No. VI-9.

Marital condition ratios for females at age-groups as a percentage of corresponding ratios for males by religions, 1931.

Age-group.	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.
All religions.			
0-5	97	247	•
5-10	75	428	700
10-15	52	408	800
15-20	9	192	603
20-40	9	96	606
40-60	27	42	640
60 & over	30	18	387
Muslim.			
0-5	96	282	•
5-10	74	373	600
10-15	50	318	600
15-20	8	172	388
20-40	9	97	604
40-60	43	42	900
60 & over	33	17	528
Hindu.			
0-5	99	163	•
5-10	77	591	900
10-15	52	561	2,200
15-20	8	221	1,186
20-40	7	94	670
40-60	18	40	488
60 & over	13	14	304
Tribal.			
0-5	100	120	•
5-10	94	229	•
10-15	80	294	700
15-20	31	180	377
20-40	26	102	283
40-60	58	61	478
60 & over	71	29	350
Buddhist.			
0-5	100	108	•
5-10	97	211	•
10-15	88	421	•
15-20	47	241	303
20-40	37	111	247
40-60	39	73	309
60 & over	•	40	294
Christian.			
0-5	100	104	•
5-10	99	115	•
10-15	90	277	•
15-20	52	261	476
20-40	48	115	340
40-60	99	66	488
60 & over	123	33	304

*There being no males of this marital condition in this age-group the percentage is infinite and unmeaning.

every male in the age-group 15-20. Similarly amongst Muslims in the same age-groups there will be found married in an equal number of each sex between 3 and 4 women to every male, and amongst Buddhists there will be married 2 women to every man between the ages 5 and 10 and more than 4 between the ages 10 and 15. In all religions after the age-group 20-40 in an equal number of the same age there will be fewer women married than men. Amongst Muslims and Hindus in equal numbers of each sex there is scarcely one married woman for every two married men of the same age at the age-group 40-60 and scarcely one to every six or seven at the age of 60 and over; and although the proportions for the other religions are higher, yet even amongst Buddhists where they are most nearly equal there will be only 7 married women for every 10 married men in an equal number at the ages of 40-60 and only 4 to every 10 at the age 60 and over. The discrepancies in the proportions of those widowed are even more noticeable. In equal numbers between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as many women as men will be widowed by the age-group 20-40 amongst Buddhists, tribal religions and Christians and the proportions are very much higher amongst Hindus and Muslims. Amongst Muslims for instance by the age-group 40-60 no fewer than 96 women will be widowed for every 10 in an equivalent number of men of the same age.

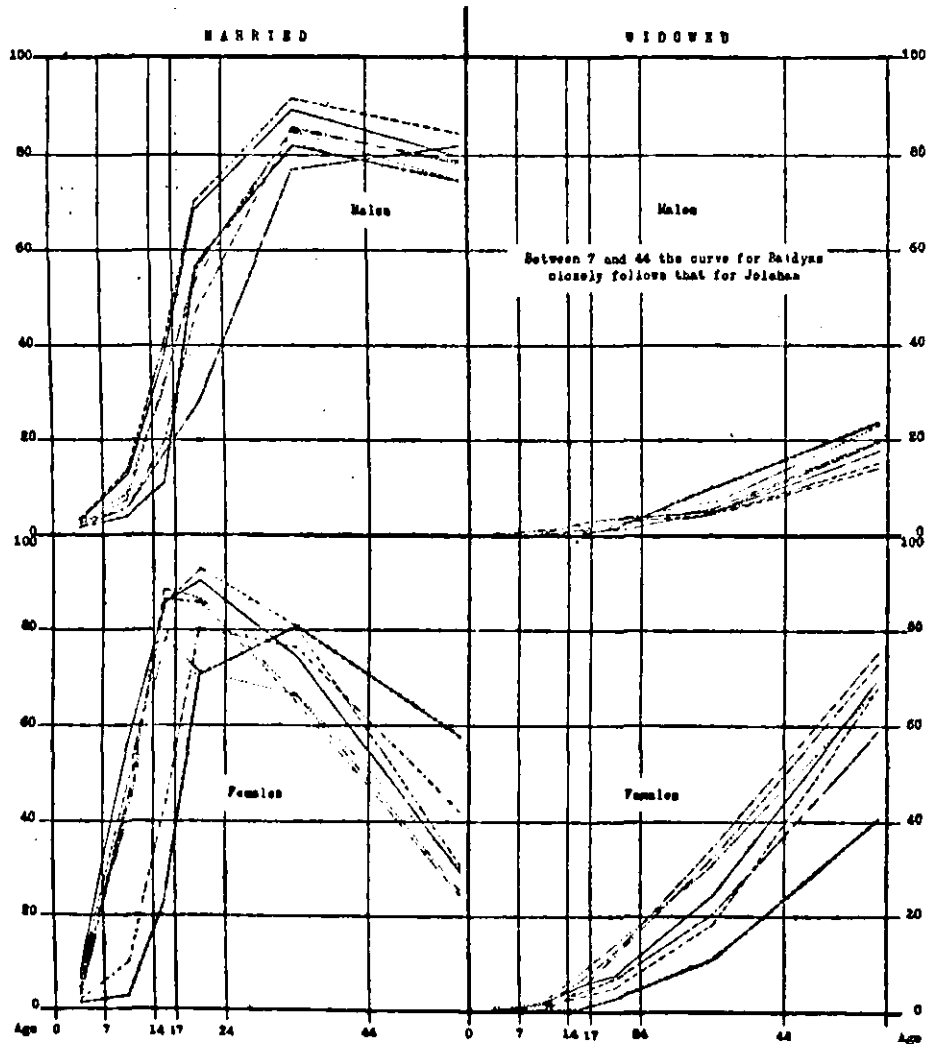
DIAGRAM No. VI-8.

Numbers married and widowed of each sex at age-groups per 100 of the same sex and age in selected caste or other groups, 1931. Ages are to the nearest birthday.

NOTE.—Ages are to the nearest birthday.

Reference to Castes:

Dev. ———— : Joleha, - - - - - : Mahiarya, - - - - - : Namastara, - - - - - : Jalia Katharta,
 Baidya, - - - - - : Lepcha, - - - - -



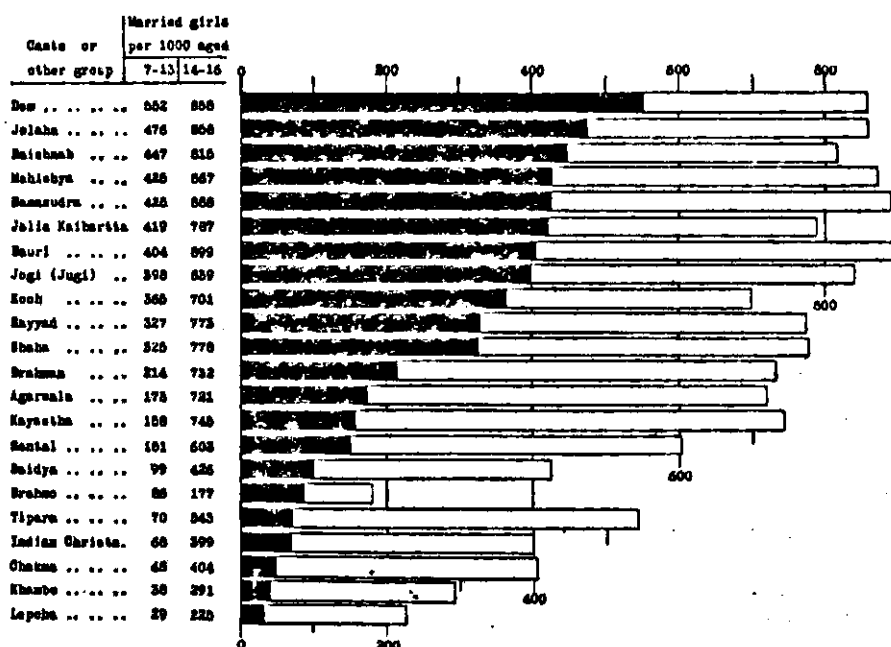
208. **Marital condition by ages in selected groups.**—In diagrams No. VI-8 and No. VI-9 some details similar to those illustrated in the preceding diagram are given for selected castes. The age-groups for which they are presented in these diagrams based on subsidiary table V differ from those used in the tables and diagrams referred to previously. The actual figures extracted in age-groups have been given and they have not been adjusted to form the usual quinquennial groups. They are not subject to the same error as the

figures in quinquennial groups and may be taken as accurate. All the castes for which figures are given in imperial table VIII are represented in subsidiary table V but the diagrams are restricted to those likely to be most representative. The Baidyas are chosen as being, perhaps, the most progressive of the castes of Bengal. Doms, Namasudras and Jalia Kaibartas are shown in the diagram as being groups of the depressed classes and the figures for "Mumin" (Jolahas) are also given for a comparison of groups of similar status in both religions. The Mahishyas are shown as being the largest caste in the province and the Lepchas as an instance of a primitive tribe. The curve plotted to the figures for the unmarried has not been shown, but it can readily be estimated by comparison of those for married and widowed. Amongst the males in all these groups the maximum proportion of those married with wives surviving is found in the age-group 24-43 but the corresponding proportion for females occurs in this same group only in the case of Lepchas. Amongst the Jalia Kaibartas, Namasudras and even amongst the Mahishyas in spite of the advances which they have made in social position of late years it is in the age-group 14-16 that the greatest proportion of females are found whose husbands are still alive and with the exception of the Lepchas the proportion is highest for all the other groups chosen between the ages of 17

DIAGRAM No. VI-9.

Frequency of infant marriage in selected caste or other groups, 1931.

NOTE.—The numbers married amongst 1,000 females of the same age-group are shown in the diagram by the whole length of the bar for ages 14-16 and by the shaded portion of the bar for ages 7-13. Ages are to the nearest birthday.



and 23. In the age-group 44 and over amongst every 100 women less than 30 amongst the Mahishyas, Namasudras, Doms and Jaliya Kaibartas and scarcely more than 30 amongst the Mumin have their husbands alive ; even amongst the Baidyas there are only just more than 40 whilst with the Lepchas amongst whom the highest proportion is reached later, the number is as many as nearly 58. Of those selected it is amongst the Lepchas that the smallest proportion are widowed amongst females at all ages except Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians and the largest proportion amongst males at age-groups including and after 24-43. The Doms and Mumin show in both sexes the largest proportion of very early marriages followed by Jaliya Kaibartas and Namasudras and amongst the Mahishyas, although the males marry later than the other groups just mentioned, the females are married young and as many as 867 are married by the time they reach the age-group 14-16.

209. **Prevalence of child marriage of girls in selected groups.**—It is, however, diagram No. VI-9 illustrating the frequency of infant marriage in selected castes which is perhaps of greater interest. This diagram shows all the groups in subsidiary table V with the exception of Anglo-Indians. They are arranged in an order corresponding with the frequency with which very early marriage takes place amongst the females of the caste. Amongst

girls in the age-group 7-13 more than half are already married amongst the Doms and more than a third amongst the Jolahas, Baishnabs, Mahishyas, Namasudras, Jaliya Kaibartas, Bauris, Jogis and Koches. The numbers are fewest, amongst the groups selected, in the aboriginal peoples Lepcha, Khambu, Chakma and Tipara and amongst the Indian Christians. In each of these five groups the proportions within that age-group married are smaller than amongst such progressive groups as the Brahmos and Baidyas. Amongst the remaining groups Kayasthas and Santals have almost an equal proportion married in this age-group, but considerably more than the Baidyas with the next lowest figure below them, and Agarwalas, Brahmans, Shahas and Sayyads show an increasing number greater than the proportion amongst Kayasthas. The age-group 7-13 of those who are married naturally includes a larger number aged 10-13 than aged 7-10 and the actual proportion in the whole age-group is roughly equivalent to the incidence of marriage amongst girls aged about 11 years to their nearest birthday. Before a girl reaches 12 therefore out of a hundred instances she will have been married in 55 cases amongst the Doms, 43 cases amongst the Mahishyas and Namasudras, 33 cases amongst the Sayyads and Shahas, 21 cases amongst the Brahmans, 15 cases amongst the Santals, 10 cases amongst the Baidyas, 9 cases amongst the Brahmos and 7 cases or less amongst the Tiparas, Indian Christians, Chakmas, Khambus and Lepchas, the figure being only 3 amongst the last given. The order of frequency is different if the age-group 14-16 is considered. In this age-group it is amongst the Bauri that the highest proportion is found, viz., 899. The lowest proportion, 126 in every 1,000, is found amongst the Anglo-Indians and the Brahmos are next with 177 in every 1,000 followed by the Lepchas and Khambus, Indian Christians, Chakmas and Baidyas, amongst whom the proportion is between this figure and 426 per 1,000. Here again allowing for a greater number married at 15-16 than at 14-15, we can take the figures given as representing the number of girls who are married in every 1,000 who have not yet reached their 16th birthday. Amongst girls aged 15 but not yet 16 years, therefore, there will be found in every 10, 8 or 9 who are married amongst the Bauris, Namasudras, Doms, Jolahas, Mahishyas, Jogis and Baishnabs and the least number again amongst those groups where very early marriage is most infrequent. The figures support a rough generalisation that very early marriage is in general least common among the aboriginal tribes like the Lepchas, Chakmas and Tiparas together with Indian Christians, a considerable number of whom are drawn from the aboriginal tribes and amongst reforming sects like the Brahmos or progressive castes like the Baidyas and that the practice is most prevalent amongst castes which either like the Doms, Namasudras, Jaliya Kaibartas and Bauris are at a low level in Hindu society or like the Mahishyas have only recently succeeded in elevating themselves and amongst whom there are probably included in the returns numbers of persons who should have been returned under some other title such as Jaliya Kaibarta or Patni. Apart from the fact that the Kayasthas and Baidyas might have been expected to come lower down, the order of castes on this list is in general what would be expected from common experience. It is perhaps somewhat surprising to find so high an incidence of infant female marriage amongst the Koch where original tribal custom favours adult marriage and permits remarriage of widows, and it is almost certainly due to the encouragement of child marriage because it is one of the institutions of their Hindu neighbours which tribal peoples consider characteristic and imitate with the intention of showing their adherence to the "superior" faith. A similar explanation probably accounts for the fact that the Santals do not come lower down the list. An increase of the prevalence of infant marriage amongst females upon the conversion to Hinduism of primitive peoples amongst whom adult and not infant marriage is a tribal custom is in fact a matter of general knowledge and is illustrated by three of the groups shown in subsidiary table V. The group with the largest population is the Santals and at the age of 7-13 in every 1,000 there are 165 married amongst females professing the Hindu religion to every 138 amongst those professing tribal religions. The same discrepancy is observed at the next higher age-group 14-16. In this group amongst 1,000 Hindu females of the tribe 626 will be married compared with 583 amongst

1,000 tribal females. Very similar conditions exist also amongst the Tiparas. Amongst 1,000 females of the same religion there will be 71 married in the age-group 7-13 and 553 at the age of 14-16 amongst Hindus whilst the corresponding figures amongst those professing a tribal religion will be 48 and 286. Figures for Lepchas reveal the same conditions, but they are of less significance owing to the comparatively small numbers in each of these religions within this tribe. It is interesting to compare the relative incidence of marriage at early ages even amongst males in the Santals and Tiparas. In the age-group 14-16 in each tribe almost twice as many professing Hinduism are married as those professing their tribal religions and amongst the Santals a similar proportion holds also for the earlier age-group 7-13 as well as for the earliest age-group shown, viz., 0-6.

210. **Infant marriage by religions.**—The figures discussed in the previous paragraph principally refer to Hindus. Infant marriage, however, is not confined to Hindus. There are instances of marriages in both sexes at very early ages in all the religions for which figures have been obtained. There are, for instance, amongst 183,148 Christians no fewer than 677 returned in both sexes as married between the ages of 0-5 and of these as many as 139 were returned as being under the age of 1. Almost 1 per cent. of the Jains of all ages are married between the ages 0 and 5 and even amongst the Jews 6 returns were received of persons of both sexes married between the ages of 0 and 5 of whom one female was returned as aged 0-1. Amongst the total married between the ages of 0-5 more than three times as many were contributed by the Muslims as the Hindus, but the discrepancy is reduced by the time the age-group 5-10 is reached when the Hindus contribute more than one-half the number contributed by the Muslims in both sexes. At this age-group the numbers married in each religion form a considerable proportion of the total population. There are, for instance, nearly 5 per 1,000 amongst Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs and Jews and almost 1 per cent. amongst Jains and tribal religions. It is amongst the Muslims that the marriage of girls at early ages is most prevalent. Thus by the time a Muslim girl reaches the age of 5-10, i.e., at the average age of about 7½, or rather older, she is already married in 32 out of 100 cases but amongst Hindus only 26 out of 100 will be married by this age. Similarly in the age-group 10-15, or by the time they have reached the average age of about 12½, or rather older, nearly 4 in every 7 Muslim and 4 in every 8 Hindu girls will already have been married. Statement No. VI-10 inset shows the figures for Bengal and for the provinces of Bihar and Orissa, Bombay and Madras for each of these two religions. In all religions the proportion of girls married by the time they reach an average age of 7½ years or rather older is considerably greater in Bengal than in any of the other three provinces and it is as much as three times as great as in Madras. There is a similar excess in the proportions married by the time they reach an average age of about 12½ or rather older. Here also the greatest discrepancy occurs in comparison with Madras and there are more than two girls married by the time they reach this age in Bengal as there. Amongst both Muslims and Hindus also the proportions are higher than in any of the remaining three provinces in the age-group 5-10 with the exception of Bihar and Orissa. Here again the discrepancies are greatest in the case of Madras. Twice as many girls will have been married in Bengal before each of the ages chosen as in Madras amongst the Hindus. Amongst the Muslims more than 11 times as many girls are married at very early ages in Bengal as in Madras and more than 3 times as many by the time they reach the average age of about 12½ or rather older. The distribution of the sexes by age as shown in the census returns and summarised in statement No. VI-11 overleaf does not indicate that the prevalence of infant marriage amongst females is due to any difficulty

STATEMENT No. VI-10,

Number per mille of females of the same age married and aged 5-10 and 10-15 in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Madras and Bombay, All religions, Muslims and Hindus, 1931.

Province.	Aged 5-10.			Aged 10-15.		
	All religions.	Muslims.	Hindus.	All religions.	Muslims.	Hindus.
Bengal	291	320	260	534	567	505
Bihar and Orissa	177	334	241	308	545	441
Madras	92	29	101	224	150	237
Bombay	221	97	256	423	260	471

in obtaining brides whose age is nearer to that of their bridegrooms. Indeed the common experience of parents in Bengal with daughters to marry is that

STATEMENT No. VI-11.

Number of males and females at selected age-groups, All religions, Muslims and Hindus, 1931.

Age-group.	All religions.		Muslims.		Hindus.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
15—25	4,803,643	5,277,504	2,221,163	2,228,478	2,545,486	2,945,892
20—30	4,610,027	4,844,740	2,120,907	2,120,558	2,394,091	2,627,285
25—35						
17—23*		3,000,834		1,525,004		2,006,748
24—30*	3,511,991		1,604,794		1,886,121	

*Ages to nearest birthday.

it is often difficult to find a bridegroom and this experience is borne out by a consideration of the figures. In all religions, for instance, the number of males aged 20-30 is less than the number of females on the average 5 years younger. There is similarly an excess over males aged 25-35 of females aged 15 to 25 and 20 to 30. A similar state of things is shown in the figures for both Muslims and Hindus. There are more Muslim females aged 15-25 than men aged over 20-30 or 25-35 and there are very nearly the same number of women aged 20-30 as of men aged 25-35. Amongst the Hindus also females aged 15-25 are more numerous than males aged 20-30 or 25-35, and in this community even a disparity of five years on the average would supply for males aged 25-35 more than sufficient brides aged 20-30. These figures suggest that in both the main religious communities of Bengal no difficulty in obtaining wives would be experienced if, for instance, the average age of marriage amongst females were raised to 17 or $17\frac{1}{2}$ and if the average age of men at marriage were raised to 25 or even to $27\frac{1}{2}$. This would result in a slight, but probably not excessive reduction in the disparity in ages at marriage and does not represent a very great revolution in social custom. In 1921 the average age at marriage was estimated in the census report to be about $12\frac{1}{2}$ for brides and 20 for bridegrooms. Any estimation of a similar average age from the same data on the present occasion would be falsified by the enormous increase of child marriages in connection with the Child Marriage Restraint Act, even if the figures at ages had been comparable in the two years. Actually the greatest increase in the numbers married seems to occur between the age-groups 20-25 and 25-30 amongst men and 10-15 and 15-20 amongst women. In other words, the largest proportion of men apparently marry even at present between the average age of $22\frac{1}{2}$ and $27\frac{1}{2}$ and of women between the average age of $12\frac{1}{2}$ and $17\frac{1}{2}$. The age distribution of the population as it stands at present according to the groups originally sorted to nearest birthday shows that in the total population there are a larger number of females aged 17-23 than males aged 24-30. If the same age-groups are taken there is a slightly smaller number of females amongst Muslims but there is a larger number amongst Hindus. It would be safe to say that in all probability the numbers of females above the age of 15 would be proportionately increased compared with those for males if early subjection to the mortality risk consequent upon child birth were removed and if females did not come under this risk until on the average about 5 years later than at present. If this result followed from an enhancement of the average age of marriage of both sexes it is clear that even amongst the Muslims a disparity of as little as 5 years would not result in a shortage of brides if the average age of marriage were as high as 30 for males and 25 for females. Similarly amongst Muslims the very small deficiency of females at the average age of $19\frac{1}{2}$ over males on the average 7 years older might be expected to disappear if girls at earlier ages were removed from risk of mortality by child birth. Within limits there are likely to be fewer widows at later ages if the disparity between husband and wife is reduced and if the force of mortality operating exclusively against females can be reduced, as it would be by postponing their exposure to child birth risk till their bodies are more developed, the conclusion appears to be that a rise in the average age of marriage amongst both the Muslim and Hindu communities in particular and in all religions as a whole in Bengal to an average of $17\frac{1}{2}$ or even $19\frac{1}{2}$ amongst females combined with an average disparity between the age of bridegrooms and brides amounting to anything from 5 to 10 years of age, would not result in any difficulty in obtaining brides for all marriageable men and would very considerably alleviate the condition of widows by reducing the prevalence of widowhood.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Distribution by marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in each religion, Bengal, 1931, 1921 and 1911.

Sex.	Age-group.	1931. Number per 1,000 of the same sex and age.			1921. Number per 1,000 of the same sex and age.			1911. Number per 1,000 of the same sex and age.		
		Unmar- ried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmar- ried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmar- ried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ALL RELIGIONS.										
MALES.	All ages	469	498	33	518	444	39	511	454	35
	0-5	981	19	..	990	4	..	999	1	..
	5-10	931	68	1	990	10	..	988	11	1
	10-15	807	131	2	950	48	2	940	59	1
	15-20	523	489	8	766	228	6	720	274	6
	20-40	136	833	81	167	795	88	151	817	32
	40-60	15	887	98	21	875	104	30	833	137
60 & over	10	767	223	17	750	238	18	752	230	
FEMALES.	All ages	310	514	176	343	460	197	336	483	201
	0-5	952	47	1	992	7	1	995	5	..
	5-10	702	291	7	927	69	4	897	99	4
	10-15	450	534	16	459	516	25	377	599	24
	15-20	48	899	53	55	881	64	43	896	61
	20-40	12	800	188	18	784	203	11	792	197
	40-60	4	369	627	6	354	640	4	345	650
60 & over	3	135	862	4	110	886	4	98	908	
MU S L I M .										
MALES.	All ages	468	510	22	534	439	27	531	445	24
	0-5	978	22	..	996	4	..	999	1	..
	5-10	913	86	1	990	10	..	988	12	..
	10-15	835	163	2	949	50	1	940	58	2
	15-20	451	541	8	752	242	6	716	278	6
	20-40	100	875	25	140	828	32	126	848	26
	40-60	7	930	63	14	916	70	11	927	62
60 & over	6	832	162	13	814	178	10	826	164	
FEMALES.	All ages	318	542	140	373	472	155	368	475	157
	0-5	937	62	1	991	6	1	995	4	1
	5-10	674	320	6	936	60	4	909	87	4
	10-15	421	567	12	496	486	18	419	564	17
	15-20	38	931	31	53	908	41	30	926	35
	20-40	9	850	141	13	841	146	10	851	139
	40-60	3	392	605	6	388	606	3	383	614
60 & over	2	143	855	5	120	875	3	108	894	
H I N D U .										
MALES.	All ages	469	483	45	498	451	51	487	464	49
	0-5	984	16	..	997	3	..	998	2	..
	5-10	955	44	1	990	9	1	989	11	..
	10-15	909	90	1	951	47	2	938	60	2
	15-20	602	391	7	779	214	7	721	278	6
	20-40	174	789	37	195	761	44	174	789	37
	40-60	22	843	135	27	833	140	32	836	132
60 & over	15	698	287	23	681	297	25	672	296	
FEMALES.	All ages	293	481	228	299	447	254	292	451	257
	0-5	972	26	2	992	7	1	994	5	1
	5-10	731	260	9	909	85	6	874	120	6
	10-15	478	505	22	378	584	88	295	671	34
	15-20	51	808	33	89	887	94	33	874	93
	20-40	13	739	248	11	713	276	10	724	266
	40-60	4	837	659	5	808	687	4	801	695
60 & over	2	124	874	4	96	900	3	80	917	
T R I B A L .										
MALES.	All ages	490	474	36	527	431	42	528	443	29
	0-5	985	15	..	997	3	..	994	6	..
	5-10	959	41	..	991	9	..	991	9	..
	10-15	911	87	2	955	44	1	956	43	1
	15-20	570	417	13	766	226	8	726	257	7
	20-40	127	832	41	163	783	54	142	824	34
	40-60	12	894	94	21	878	101	14	918	73
60 & over	7	772	221	14	780	206	12	799	156	
FEMALES.	All ages	419	460	121	445	433	122	450	439	111
	0-5	981	18	1	996	4	..	998	3	..
	5-10	900	94	6	976	22	2	977	21	2
	10-15	730	256	14	788	200	12	762	229	9
	15-20	177	774	49	292	600	48	251	711	36
	20-40	83	851	116	41	841	118	32	806	192
	40-60	7	844	449	14	864	422	3	801	391
60 & over	5	222	773	8	221	771	6	228	768	
B U D D H I S T .										
MALES.	All ages	553	413	34	570	393	37	570	398	32
	0-5	987	13	..	999	1	..	999	1	..
	5-10	981	19	..	997	3	..	996	4	..
	10-15	967	33	..	974	21	5	985	15	..
	15-20	731	261	8	878	117	5	884	118	3
	20-40	215	751	34	257	708	40	211	758	31
	40-60	23	882	95	37	874	89	29	892	80
60 & over	21	743	236	48	717	235	25	728	237	
FEMALES.	All ages	458	439	103	466	419	115	459	421	120
	0-5	985	14	1	998	2	..	999	1	..
	5-10	957	40	3	992	7	1	992	7	1
	10-15	556	189	5	933	63	4	886	111	3
	15-20	843	928	20	482	492	26	437	535	23
	20-40	79	835	86	63	846	91	54	864	92
	40-60	9	640	351	13	643	344	9	607	344
60 & over	10	297	693	11	350	739	10	244	746	
C H R I S T I A N .										
MALES.	All ages	545	428	27	567	397	36	592	379	29
	0-5	975	25	..	999	1	..	998	2	..
	5-10	960	40	..	992	7	1	995	4	..
	10-15	948	52	..	985	18	..	965	35	..
	15-20	776	220	4	909	55	6	924	74	2
	20-40	803	672	25	338	625	37	415	543	23
	40-60	73	851	76	73	845	82	95	825	80
60 & over	61	753	156	49	728	223	64	714	223	
FEMALES.	All ages	472	426	102	483	401	116	472	404	124
	0-5	972	26	3	996	5	..	996	3	..
	5-10	953	46	1	989	10	1	991	3	1
	10-15	853	144	3	915	81	4	892	106	3
	15-20	407	574	19	467	513	20	405	574	21
	20-40	145	770	85	130	774	56	141	768	96
	40-60	72	551	367	73	537	390	76	508	418
60 & over	75	247	678	46	211	744	54	172	774	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution according to marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in each natural division by principal religions, 1931.

A.—MALES.

	All ages.			Aged 0—5.			Aged 5—10.			Aged 10—15.			Aged 15—40.			Aged 40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
BENGAL.																		
All religions	469	498	33	981	19	931	68	1	867	131	2	217	757	26	14	864	122	
Muslim	468	510	22	978	22	913	86	1	835	163	2	175	804	21	7	911	82	
Hindu	469	486	45	934	16	955	44	1	909	90	1	262	707	31	21	815	163	
Tribal	490	474	36	936	15	959	41	..	911	87	2	213	751	36	11	872	117	
Buddhist	553	413	34	987	13	981	19	..	947	33	..	332	640	23	22	852	126	
Christian	545	428	27	976	25	960	40	..	948	52	..	401	579	20	71	834	95	
WEST BENGAL (BURDWAN DIVISION).																		
All religions	452	505	43	990	10	953	46	1	899	100	1	234	738	28	19	824	157	
Muslim	428	542	30	988	12	931	68	1	862	137	1	188	793	24	9	890	101	
Hindu	455	499	46	990	10	957	42	1	904	95	1	243	728	29	21	812	167	
Tribal	484	486	30	937	13	900	40	..	920	79	1	218	759	28	11	887	103	
CENTRAL BENGAL (PRESIDENCY DIVISION).																		
All religions	436	528	36	986	14	927	72	1	856	142	2	218	757	25	15	852	133	
Muslim	425	546	29	984	16	902	97	1	814	184	2	170	806	24	7	889	104	
Hindu	445	512	43	990	10	954	45	1	897	102	1	255	719	26	20	822	158	
NORTH BENGAL (RAJSHAHI DIVISION WITH COOCH BEHAR).																		
All religions	471	492	37	984	16	930	69	1	859	139	2	202	762	36	14	857	129	
Muslim	456	516	28	986	14	913	85	2	819	178	3	149	822	29	6	899	95	
Hindu	491	456	53	981	19	962	37	1	926	73	1	280	676	44	25	798	177	
Tribal	505	449	46	986	14	961	38	1	911	87	2	220	730	50	11	844	145	
Buddhist	550	408	42	989	11	985	15	..	974	26	..	388	579	33	24	825	161	
EAST BENGAL—DACCA DIVISION.																		
All religions	478	496	26	970	30	914	85	1	848	150	2	207	772	21	11	888	101	
Muslim	475	507	18	969	31	902	97	1	825	173	2	177	806	17	7	924	69	
Hindu	458	467	45	972	27	947	52	1	903	90	2	278	693	29	20	816	164	
Christian	560	419	21	966	33	945	54	1	930	69	1	323	659	18	21	897	82	
EAST BENGAL—CHITTAGONG DIVISION WITH TRIPURA.																		
All religions	519	461	20	979	21	945	55	..	897	103	..	237	747	16	9	908	83	
Muslim	522	464	14	978	22	941	59	..	887	113	..	212	775	13	7	934	69	
Hindu	504	461	35	981	19	952	48	..	919	80	1	293	684	23	13	858	129	
Buddhist	558	410	32	988	12	983	17	..	970	29	1	312	663	25	20	857	123	

B.—FEMALES.

	All ages.			Aged 0—5.			Aged 5—10.			Aged 10—15.			Aged 15—40.			Aged 40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
BENGAL.																		
All religions	310	514	178	952	47	1	702	291	7	450	534	16	21	824	155	4	320	676
Muslim	319	542	140	937	62	1	674	320	6	421	567	12	10	871	118	3	343	654
Hindu	293	481	226	972	26	2	731	260	9	473	505	22	22	768	210	4	290	708
Tribal	419	460	121	981	18	1	900	94	6	730	256	14	67	893	100	7	474	519
Buddhist	458	439	103	965	14	1	857	40	3	856	189	5	144	784	72	10	561	429
Christian	472	426	102	972	26	2	953	46	1	858	144	3	209	722	69	72	494	434
WEST BENGAL (BURDWAN DIVISION).																		
All religions	265	500	235	975	24	1	690	300	10	419	558	23	14	778	208	3	280	717
Muslim	279	542	179	964	35	1	708	288	6	437	551	12	11	856	133	4	338	658
Hindu	258	494	248	976	23	1	679	310	11	404	571	25	13	763	224	3	265	732
Tribal	379	471	150	983	16	1	897	95	8	712	270	18	51	838	116	6	488	556
CENTRAL BENGAL (PRESIDENCY DIVISION).																		
All religions	275	518	207	951	47	2	640	350	10	384	596	20	18	718	184	4	301	695
Muslim	265	558	177	926	72	2	575	416	9	329	656	15	12	844	144	3	310	687
Hindu	280	483	237	975	23	2	701	239	10	430	545	25	18	759	224	3	287	710
NORTH BENGAL (RAJSHAHI DIVISION WITH COOCH BEHAR).																		
All religions	313	520	167	951	47	2	680	313	7	426	559	15	20	829	151	2	317	681
Muslim	295	556	149	936	63	1	614	379	7	345	642	13	9	867	124	2	311	687
Hindu	335	458	207	976	22	2	783	208	9	545	435	10	32	765	203	3	309	688
Tribal	459	442	99	981	18	1	914	82	4	700	229	11	73	832	90	7	505	448
Buddhist	452	457	91	989	11	..	943	57	..	852	147	1	222	726	52	14	636	350
EAST BENGAL—DACCA DIVISION.																		
All religions	327	523	150	937	61	2	705	289	6	458	530	12	20	855	125	4	340	656
Muslim	333	544	123	926	72	2	687	308	5	439	551	10	17	888	95	4	302	694
Hindu	310	472	218	960	31	3	755	236	9	508	474	20	24	776	200	5	299	696
Christian	444	443	108	969	30	1	940	59	1	789	306	5	94	832	74	22	483	540
EAST BENGAL—CHITTAGONG DIVISION WITH TRIPURA.																		
All religions	370	497	133	961	38	1	813	183	4	578	412	10	36	852	112	6	374	620
Muslim	373	507	120	960	39	1	802	194	4	559	432	9	29	872	99	5	390	605
Hindu	347	478	175	959	39	2	822	174	4	594	394	12	43	803	154	10	348	642
Buddhist	455	436	109	985	14	1	962	35	3	857	136	7	112	808	80	3	532	460

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Distribution by main age periods and marital condition of 10,000 of each sex in the principal religions, Bengal, 1931.

Religion and age.	Males.			Females.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALL RELIGIONS.						
All ages	4,693	4,881	326	3,099	5,137	1,764
0—10	2,722	122	2	2,483	459	12
10—15	1,087	157	2	521	619	18
15—40	910	3,172	107	89	3,555	669
40 & over	24	1,630	216	6	504	1,066
MUSLIM.						
All ages	4,678	5,100	222	3,179	5,420	1,401
0—10	2,905	162	2	2,591	556	11
10—15	1,056	206	2	516	693	14
15—40	706	3,247	84	69	3,700	479
40 & over	11	1,485	134	4	471	897
HINDU.						
All ages	4,690	4,856	454	2,934	4,809	2,257
0—10	2,490	76	1	2,323	351	14
10—15	1,012	100	2	508	544	24
15—40	1,148	3,098	195	96	3,383	926
40 & over	40	1,582	316	7	581	1,398
TRIBAL.						
All ages	4,898	4,745	357	4,190	4,597	1,213
0—10	2,970	88	1	3,055	107	10
10—15	1,008	102	2	851	298	16
15—40	840	2,982	140	274	3,424	412
40 & over	20	1,563	214	10	703	775
BUDDHIST.						
All ages	5,526	4,135	339	4,584	4,388	1,028
0—10	2,994	48	1	2,968	78	4
10—15	1,187	40	1	1,018	165	7
15—40	1,805	2,515	111	686	3,202	295
40 & over	40	1,532	226	15	948	723
CHRISTIAN.						
All ages	5,446	4,281	273	4,722	4,262	1,016
0—10	2,474	81	1	2,668	98	4
10—15	1,063	57	1	1,011	170	5
15—40	1,775	2,561	90	927	3,198	307
40 & over	134	1,582	181	116	706	700

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age-group and marital condition in each natural division by principal religions, 1931.

	All ages.			Aged 0—10.			Aged 10—15.			Aged 15—40.			Aged 40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BENGAL.															
All religions	610	952	4,997	837	3,465	6,658	464	3,639	8,272	81	1,035	5,764	229	304	4,569
Muslim	636	994	5,899	835	3,220	5,360	456	3,141	5,617	92	1,066	5,302	342	297	5,201
Hindu	668	900	4,520	848	4,192	8,859	456	4,924	12,387	75	993	6,252	165	305	3,717
Tribal	825	934	3,271	992	1,932	7,109	769	2,823	8,136	315	1,115	2,843	469	427	3,482
Buddhist	739	1,009	2,887	942	1,553	3,913	816	3,967	6,933	427	1,211	2,537	376	656	3,058
Christian	765	878	3,273	951	1,056	2,923	839	2,625	4,223	460	1,101	3,027	767	444	3,408
WEST BENGAL (BURDWAN DIVISION).															
All religions	551	934	5,146	827	5,066	11,074	408	4,882	14,434	57	1,010	7,007	284	700	4,292
Muslim	601	920	5,528	841	3,021	6,948	442	3,510	7,317	56	1,004	5,074	339	334	3,767
Hindu	535	936	5,112	818	5,588	11,929	449	5,238	15,729	50	1,007	7,366	138	309	4,229
Tribal	782	965	4,932	978	1,979	10,500	889	3,047	18,000	251	1,150	4,399	517	464	3,131
CENTRAL BENGAL (PRESIDENCY DIVISION).															
All religions	534	831	4,892	791	4,111	9,104	382	3,564	9,473	86	890	6,016	205	232	4,190
Muslim	569	888	5,240	760	3,802	7,831	348	3,078	5,840	59	902	5,241	330	279	3,261
Hindu	520	914	4,550	815	4,870	11,020	393	4,490	16,016	55	822	6,678	116	231	3,627
NORTH BENGAL (RAJSHAHI DIVISION WITH COCH BEHAR).															
All religions	650	973	4,130	822	3,855	5,004	444	3,591	5,881	97	1,036	4,077	140	292	4,148
Muslim	605	1,008	5,042	799	3,970	3,822	378	3,226	4,232	61	1,041	4,199	174	274	3,744
Hindu	605	809	3,498	880	3,677	9,068	521	5,277	12,302	102	1,023	4,117	108	306	3,067
Tribal	862	932	2,041	1,010	1,887	4,368	333	2,653	4,517	354	1,140	1,784	385	389	2,186
Buddhist	765	1,046	2,013	907	2,217	1,000	794	5,184	2,000	524	1,150	1,446	574	766	2,309
EAST BENGAL—DACCA DIVISION.															
All religions	648	999	5,453	865	2,942	5,293	498	3,249	6,504	84	1,103	6,058	301	304	5,164
Muslim	664	1,013	6,398	860	2,769	5,056	493	2,960	5,490	98	1,096	5,518	411	297	6,078
Hindu	604	960	4,545	874	3,030	5,783	504	4,761	6,757	85	1,113	6,840	231	318	3,764
Christian	818	1,104	5,288	996	986	1,429	826	2,925	6,500	293	1,289	1,543	106	542	2,669
EAST BENGAL (CHITTAGONG DIVISION WITH TRIPURA).															
All religions	697	1,054	6,533	893	2,669	7,600	589	3,687	10,522	165	1,242	7,743	579	342	5,966
Muslim	704	1,079	6,483	888	2,626	8,492	564	3,500	11,640	153	1,252	6,834	556	337	3,274
Hindu	657	989	4,806	899	2,941	6,361	591	4,512	8,568	151	1,212	6,973	629	327	4,003
Buddhist	797	1,089	3,367	976	1,568	2,111	816	4,243	7,499	377	1,230	3,321	340	366	3,269

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Distribution by marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in selected castes or other groups, 1931.

(NOTE.—Ages are given to the nearest birthday.)

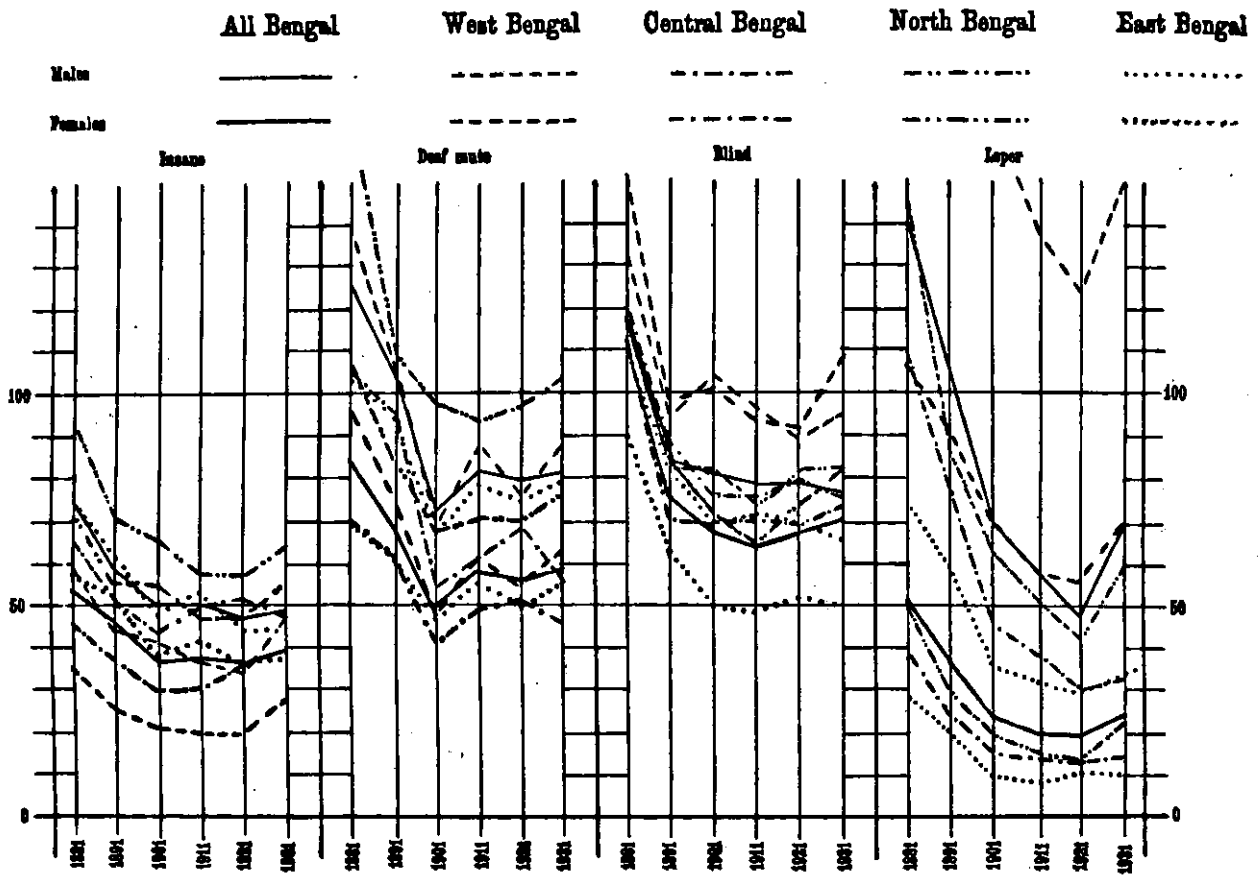
A.—MALES.

Caste or other group and religion.	Locality in which found.	All ages.			Aged 0—6.			Aged 7—13.			Aged 14—16.			Aged 17—23.			Aged 24—43.			Aged 44 and over.		
		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1 AGARWALA—Hindu	Calcutta	400	539	61	986	14	..	914	84	8	719	276	11	390	584	26	109	825	69	84	776	190
2 BAIDYA—Hindu	Bengal	559	409	41	978	22	..	941	57	8	829	164	7	694	280	26	176	781	43	24	823	153
3 BAISHNAB—Hindu	Bengal	421	504	76	983	16	1	922	75	8	738	248	16	429	538	83	96	827	78	33	752	215
4 BAURI—Hindu	West Bengal	433	529	38	991	0	..	939	61	..	698	800	4	307	671	22	45	909	46	6	854	140
5 BRAHMAN—Hindu	Bengal	488	461	59	981	18	1	947	61	2	821	168	16	577	407	16	128	825	49	28	781	191
6 BRAHMO—Hindu	Bengal	480	483	37	1,000	..	..	953	47	..	922	78	..	711	278	11	144	802	54	46	846	108
7 CHAKMA—All religions	Chittagong Hill Tracts.	558	414	28	988	12	..	986	14	..	925	74	1	593	898	9	66	905	30	15	862	133
	Hindu	607	304	89	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..	400	600	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Buddhist	558	414	28	988	12	..	986	14	..	925	74	1	593	898	9	66	905	30	15	862	133
8 DOM—Hindu	Bengal	392	565	53	976	24	..	870	125	5	623	361	17	281	686	33	47	895	56	22	800	178
9 JALIYA KAIBARTTA—Hindu	West Bengal	449	484	87	977	21	2	907	86	7	672	303	25	411	557	32	79	850	71	22	748	230
10 JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	Bengal	470	478	52	987	27	6	918	80	7	753	226	21	470	508	27	79	868	58	18	798	184
11 KAYASTHA—Hindu	Bengal	515	443	42	984	15	1	940	67	8	822	165	18	655	325	20	140	818	42	21	826	153
12 KHAMBU—All religions	Darjeeling and Jaipalguri.	471	465	84	996	4	..	904	6	..	935	64	1	438	541	21	82	829	89	5	793	202
	Hindu	473	464	84	996	4	..	904	6	..	935	64	1	438	541	21	82	829	89	5	793	202
	Buddhist	352	444	204	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..	555	339	56	66	611	333	..	333	667
13 KOCH—Hindu	North Bengal	430	505	65	965	27	8	832	157	11	472	504	24	285	643	72	66	847	87	33	793	174
14 LEPCHA—All religions	Darjeeling	447	469	84	988	17	..	961	39	..	892	108	..	415	570	15	77	820	109	12	751	297
	Hindu	374	553	73	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..	83	845	72	54	838	108	..	768	294
	Tribal	518	331	153	904	98	..	615	335	..	371	429	..	600	500	..	282	385	333	..	294	706
	Buddhist	420	491	39	993	7	..	937	13	..	906	94	..	404	586	10	45	850	105	18	755	233
	Christian	592	371	37	967	33	..	942	58	..	934	66	..	697	803	..	227	723	60	14	832	154
15 MAHISHYA—Hindu	West Bengal	484	468	48	986	15	..	942	57	1	796	196	8	513	476	11	94	855	51	15	789	196
16 NAMASUDRA—Hindu	Bengal	471	474	55	978	20	2	918	78	9	777	203	20	446	539	15	81	861	58	18	786	201
17 SANTAL—All religions	West Bengal and North Bengal.	486	471	43	983	17	..	911	88	1	753	230	17	434	527	89	87	859	54	41	818	141
	Hindu	481	471	43	981	18	1	880	118	2	743	235	22	426	523	51	106	833	61	56	797	147
	Tribal	491	473	38	989	14	..	947	53	..	762	227	11	439	536	25	63	892	45	29	846	132
	Christian	534	421	65	992	8	..	974	25	1	832	115	3	630	350	20	94	834	78	33	828	149
18 SHAHA—Hindu	Bengal	463	474	63	971	26	3	902	94	4	703	281	16	495	477	28	90	830	71	25	773	202
19 TIPARA—All religions	East Bengal and Tripura State.	546	422	32	980	10	..	972	28	..	853	142	5	454	597	9	102	857	41	6	847	148
	Hindu	545	423	32	981	9	..	973	27	..	850	145	6	447	545	8	103	856	41	4	850	146
	Tribal	559	397	44	961	39	..	951	49	..	822	78	..	589	391	20	81	864	55	11	774	215
20 ANGLIO-INDIAN—Christian	Calcutta, Towns	597	377	28	999	1	..	995	5	..	969	31	..	757	242	1	237	737	26	101	781	118
21 INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Chris- tian	Bengal	519	434	47	972	26	2	960	59	1	806	176	17	611	370	19	96	856	48	24	777	199
22 "MUMIN" (JOLAHA)—Muslim	Bengal	430	533	37	971	29	..	865	138	2	599	390	11	274	702	24	38	921	40	12	847	141
23 SAYYAD—Muslim	Bengal	467	502	31	974	26	..	902	96	2	640	346	8	413	571	16	69	892	89	20	863	117

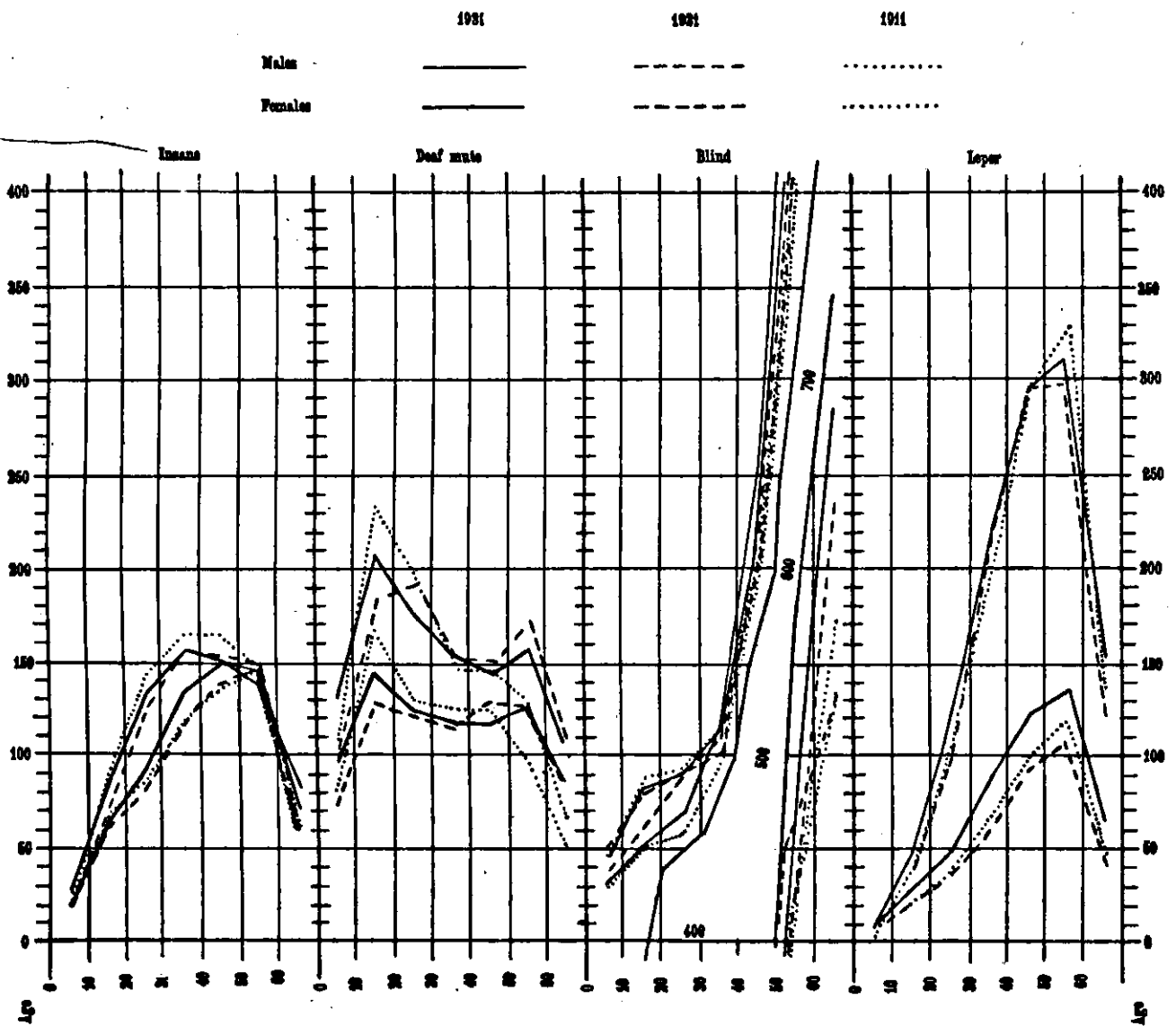
B.—FEMALES.

Caste or other group and religion.	Locality in which found.	All ages.			Aged 0—6.			Aged 7—13.			Aged 14—16.			Aged 17—23.			Aged 24—43.			Aged 44 over over.		
		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1 AGARWALA—Hindu	Calcutta	332	508	160	979	21	..	824	173	3	192	721	87	51	869	80	12	782	206	..	378	622
2 BAIDYA—Hindu	Bengal	420	416	158	981	18	1	836	99	5	591	425	43	128	805	69	28	764	208	7	402	561
3 BAISHNAB—Hindu	Bengal	219	474	307	956	40	1	535	447	18	119	815	68	35	938	129	13	583	404	6	807	687
4 BAURI—Hindu	West Bengal	271	535	184	979	20	1	585	404	11	57	809	44	9	913	78	3	748	249	1	841	658
5 BRAHMAN—Hindu	Bengal	340	460	209	975	24	1	778	214	8	224	732	44	40	866	94	12	708	280	9	822	670
6 BRAHMO—Hindu	Bengal	280	634	86	982	18	..	914	86	..	823	177	..	365	595	40	52	846	102	8	938	159
7 CHAKMA—All religions	Chittagong Hill Tracts.	486	447	87	987	11	2	959	39	2	580	404	16	180	845	25	14	917	69	6	609	385
	Hindu	236	714	..	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Buddhist	486	447	87	987	11	2	959	39	2	580	404	16	180	844	26	14	916	70	6	609	385
8 DOM—Hindu	Bengal	235	562	203	930	69	1	433	552	15	87	858	55	22	903	76	8	745	247	7	292	701
9 JALIYA KAIBARTTA—Hindu	West Bengal	292	490	218	946	46	8	582	419	19	134	787	79	45	815	140	20	664	116	20	300	680
10 JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	Bengal	298	495	207	967	41	2	589	398	18	110	839	51	28	867	105	8	686	306	3	289	703
11 KAYASTHA—Hindu	Bengal	345	455	200	978	21	1	835	158	7	215	745	40	34	876	90	10	715	275	5	319	671
12 KHAMBU—All religions	Darjeeling and Jaipalguri.	357	527	118	989	11	..	960	38	2	703	291	6	130	826	44	24	817	159	4	677	319
	Hindu	357	527	118	989	11	..	961	37	2	703	290	7	129	827	44	24	818	158	4	677	319
	Buddhist	455	409	136	1,000	..	..	750	250	..	800	400	..	600	400	..	125	626	250	..	636	364
13 KOCH—Hindu	North Bengal	339	512	149	953	44	3	613	365	22	243	701	56	105	818	77	28	731	241	20	472	568
14 LEPCHA—All religions	Darjeeling	427	466	107	991	9	..	971	29	..	771	225	4	263	709	28	66	800	108	14	578	408
	Hindu	375	625	..	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Tribal	425	430	145	935	65	..	731	269	..	733	167	100	237	593	170	304	473	218	..	711	289
	Buddhist	592	371	37	967	33	..	942	58	..	934	66	..	697	803	..	227	723	50	14	832	154
	Christian	665	357	78	986	14	..	989	11	..	899	101	..	608	378	14	132	736	82	26	604	370
15 MAHISHYA—Hindu	West Bengal	271	488	243	976	22	2	560	425	15	68	867	05	17	860	123	7	648	345	4	242	754
16 NAMASUDRA—Hindu	Bengal	398	485	217	962	30	2	564	425	11	66	888	46	16	864	120	11	683	326	7	261	732
17 SANTAL—All religions	West Bengal and North Bengal.	395	469	138	979	19	2	842	161	7	351	603	46	95	836	69	16	822	162	9	402	589
	Hindu	384	479	137	983	15	3	329	163	6	326	626	43	79	852	69	17	822	164	13	393	694
	Tribal	406	460	135	976	24	1	854	138	8	373	533	44	110	820	70	17	823	160	4	411	586
	Christian	483	407	103	988	13	..	940	55	3	647	345	8	321	730	49	50	80				

Chapter VII, Diagram A:- Number of persons afflicted per 100,000 of the total population (same sex) by natural divisions, 1881 - 1931



Chapter VII, Diagram B:- Persons afflicted per 100,000 of the total population (same sex & age-groups), 1911, 1921, & 1931.



CHAPTER VII

Infirmities

211. **Introduction.**—As on previous occasions the infirmities selected for record at the present census were insanity, deaf-mutism, blindness and “corrosive” leprosy. The statistics obtained are presented in imperial table IX where persons suffering from these infirmities are shown both by age and also by locality. Subsidiary tables published at the end of this chapter show—

- I—the number afflicted per 100,000 of the same sex at each census from 1881 to 1931 ;
- II—a distribution by age-groups of 10,000 of each sex suffering from each infirmity at the census of 1911, 1921 and 1931 ; and
- III—the numbers suffering from each affliction per 100,000 of the population of the same sex and age-group with the ratio of females per 1,000 males.

The necessity for economy has made it impossible to present figures such as were given in 1921 in imperial table XII-A showing infirmities in selected castes.

212. **Origin of the statistics.**—The provision for a return of infirmities was made in column 18 of the general schedule from which the statistics have been compiled. The instructions for filling in this column were as follow :—

“ If any person be blind of both eyes (*i.e.*, unable to count the fingers of a hand held up at less than one yard’s distance from him), or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, or deaf and dumb, enter the name of the infirmity in this column.

Do not enter those who are blind of one eye only, or who are suffering from white leprosy only.”

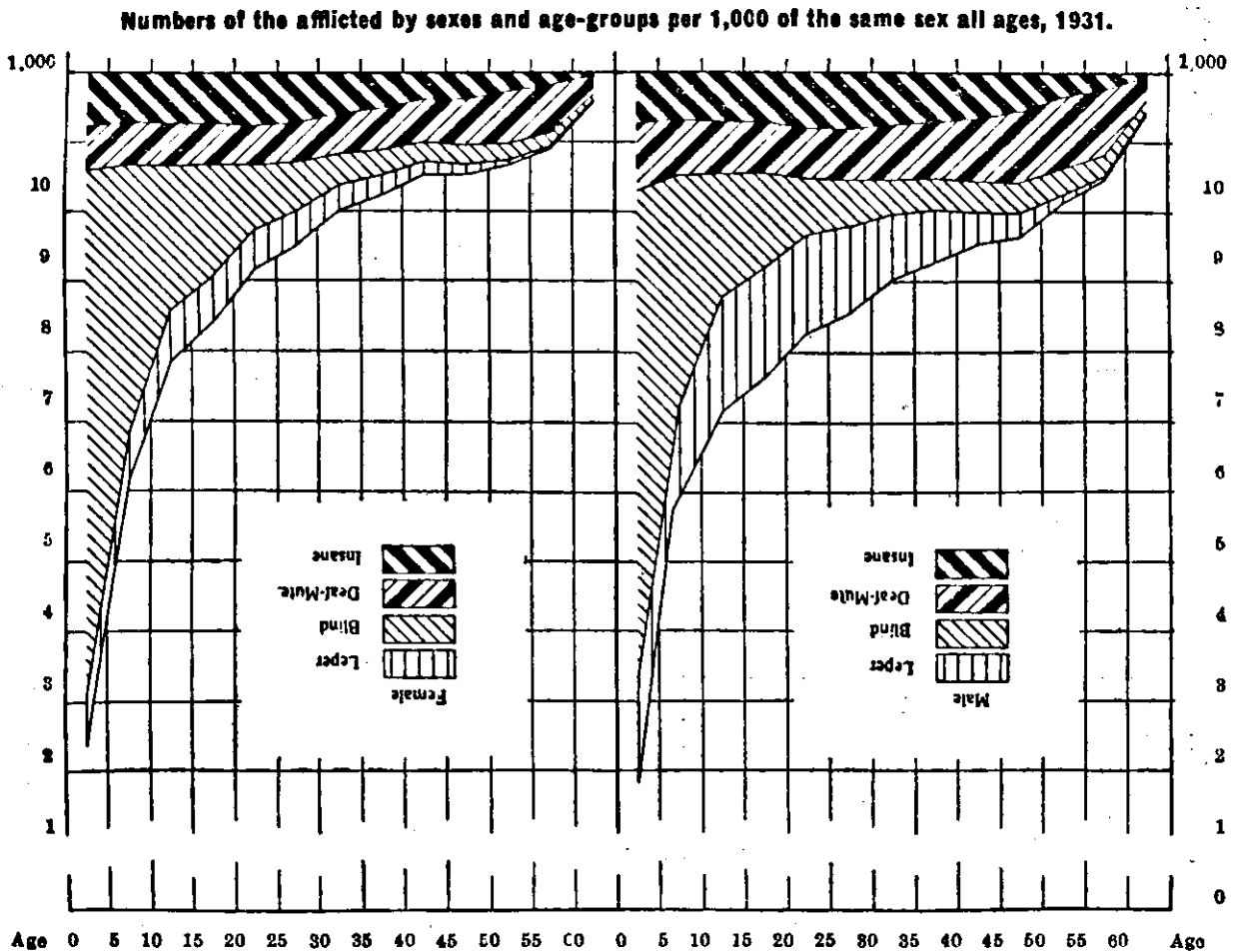
These instructions were supplemented by laying emphasis upon the need to prevent an entry in column 18 of persons suffering from leucoderma or white leprosy and other infirmities not falling within the scope of the column.

213. **Accuracy of the results.**—No great accuracy has ever been claimed for the statistics of infirmities collected at the census in Bengal. The difficulties peculiar to obtaining a correct return will be mentioned in commenting upon each individual infirmity. Although, however, no absolute accuracy can be claimed for the figures now collected they have a certain value which is generally admitted for comparative purposes of two kinds. In the first place when there is no reason to believe that the instructions issued from time to time regarding each infirmity have differed, or that if the instructions remain the same they have been applied differently at different times, it is to be assumed that the figures give some indication of the comparative numbers afflicted from one census to another. In the second place at any census, unless there is reason to believe that the same instructions have been differently applied in different parts of the province, or that the enumerating agency in any one part was markedly of less intelligence than in any other and therefore less capable of applying the instructions correctly, it may be assumed that the figures for any particular census year give some indication of the comparative incidence of the infirmities recorded between the different parts of the province in that year. The utility of the statistics at least in this restricted sense is generally conceded. Thus it is certain that, just as has

been done in the case of leprosy, so also in the case of other infirmities, those responsible for any special measures taken or proposed to alleviate them would be well advised to begin in the areas in which the comparative figures are highest and have been highest at previous enumerations.

214. **Sex distribution of the infirmities at ages.**—Diagrams Nos. VII-1 and VII-2 illustrate for 1931 the statistics for 1931 given in subsidiary table No. II. No. VII-1 shows the numbers afflicted in each thousand of the same sex, all ages, and gives a fair idea of the relative distribution of afflictions

DIAGRAM No. VII-L



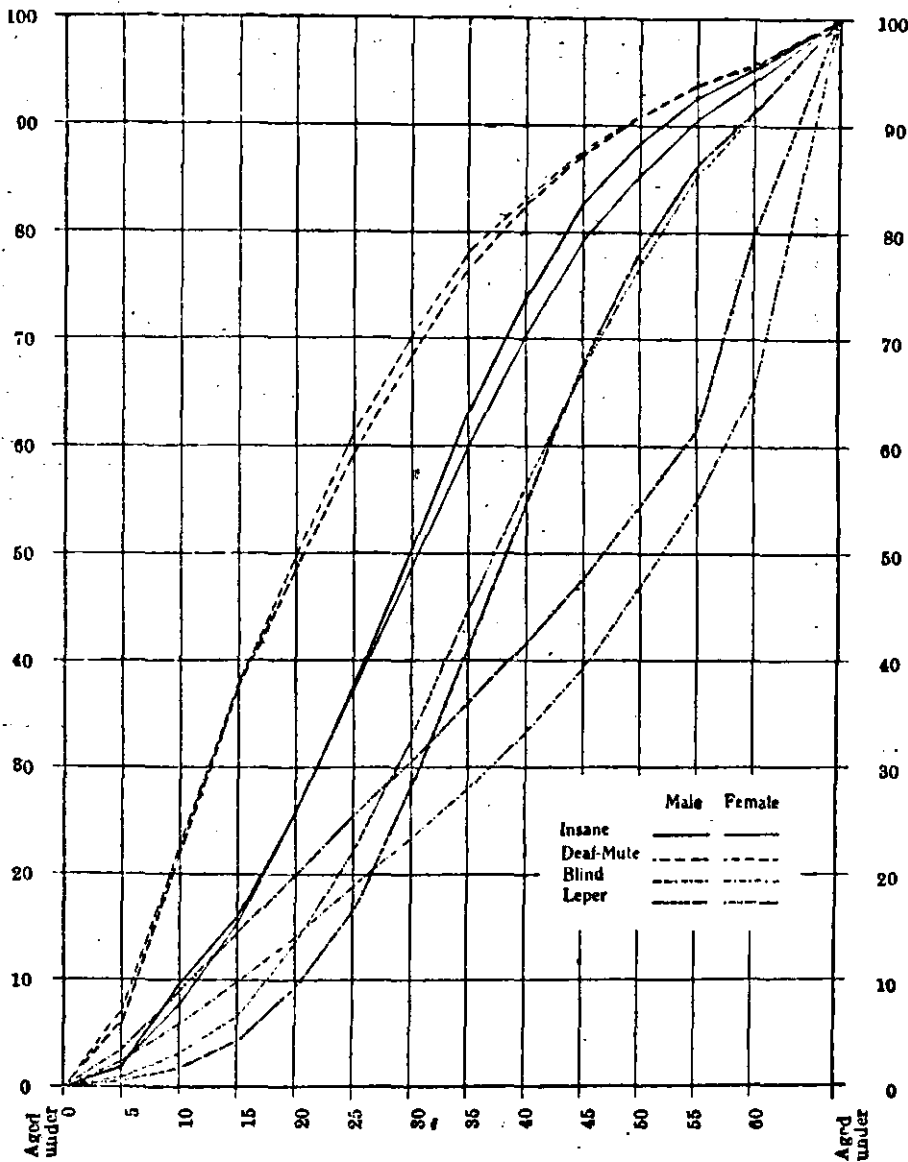
between the sexes at different age-periods. Some slight inaccuracy is introduced into this diagram owing to the fact that the total number afflicted exceeds the actual number by the number who suffer from more than one affliction and are counted in under both, but these figures are not sufficiently large to affect the general disposition of the diagram. There is a smaller total number afflicted with all census infirmities at each age-period amongst a given number of females than amongst an equal number of males of the same age-period. Thus 0·58 per thousand are afflicted amongst males between 0 and 5 years, but only 0·4 per thousand amongst females, and at each quinquennial group between 15 and 45 afflicted males are almost one more than females per 1,000 of the same sex and age. The increasing proportion of the afflicted who are blind at the later ages is in accordance with expectations, and both sexes show a marked increase in the proportion of afflicted who are lepers between the ages of about 50 and 55. In both cases a greater proportion of the afflicted are returned as insane between ages of 35 and 45 than at other periods and the preponderance of deaf-mutes in early ages is in accordance with the fact that deaf-mutism is congenital and deaf-mutes short lived although the figures remain more constant at later ages than might have been anticipated and actually increase both with males and females from the age of 50 onwards.

215. **Sex distribution of the infirm at progressive ages.**—Diagram No. VII-2 gives similar details so arranged that it can be seen at once at what

age those suffering from any given percentage of the total afflicted in the same way. Of the total deaf-mutes, for instance, almost 50 per cent. are in each sex less than 20

DIAGRAM No. VII-2.

Numbers less than the age shown in every 100 insane, deaf-mute, blind and leper of each sex, 1931.



sex less than 20 years old but it is not till 45 years are past in the case of males and 50 in the case of females that one half of the total blind is reached. Between 5 and 45 each quinquennium adds quickly to the proportions amongst the insane but it is between 25 and 55 with males and 20 and 55 with females that the proportions increase fastest with each quinquennium, whilst it is not till 45 is reached with females and 55 with males that each increasing year of age adds most noticeably to the proportions of the blind.

I.—The Insane

216. Accuracy of the figures.—The difficulty of obtaining an accurate return of the insane with the use of an entirely untrained agency having no medical knowledge whatever is illustrated by the variety of afflictions which it is possible to include within the term insane even if such refinements are omitted as distinctions between lunacy, idiocy, weak-mindedness, etc. The heads of reference from Dorland's Medical Dictionary shown in the foot-note below present a bewildering variety of mental diseases, all of which may fall under so general a description as insanity. Pathologically, therefore, the returns of insanity without a further detailed analysis would convey no very definite meaning, while the absence of any possibility of applying a uniform standard throughout the province or a scientific distinction between those persons whose peculiarities are not such as to warrant inclusion amongst the insane, makes it virtually impossible that any statistics of insanity collected at the census should have any approach whatever to scientific accuracy.

Insanity (of which upwards of 50 descriptions are distinguished by their cause or symptoms) Idiocy, Amentia, Dementia, Mania, Melancholia, Paranoia.

217. Variations in the returns 1921 and 1931.—Statement No. VII-1 inset and a map based upon it and forming diagram No. VII-3 illustrate the variation in the proportions of the insane by districts at the census of 1921 and 1931. The total numbers were 19,564 in 1921 of whom 11,479 were males and 8,085 females and 22,402 in 1931 of whom 13,046 were males and 9,356 females. In both years the largest number was returned from the Chittagong Hill Tracts where over 100 in every 100,000 of the population was returned as being insane, although the actual proportionate figures showed a decline from 139 in 1921 to 121 in 1931.

STATEMENT No. VII-1.

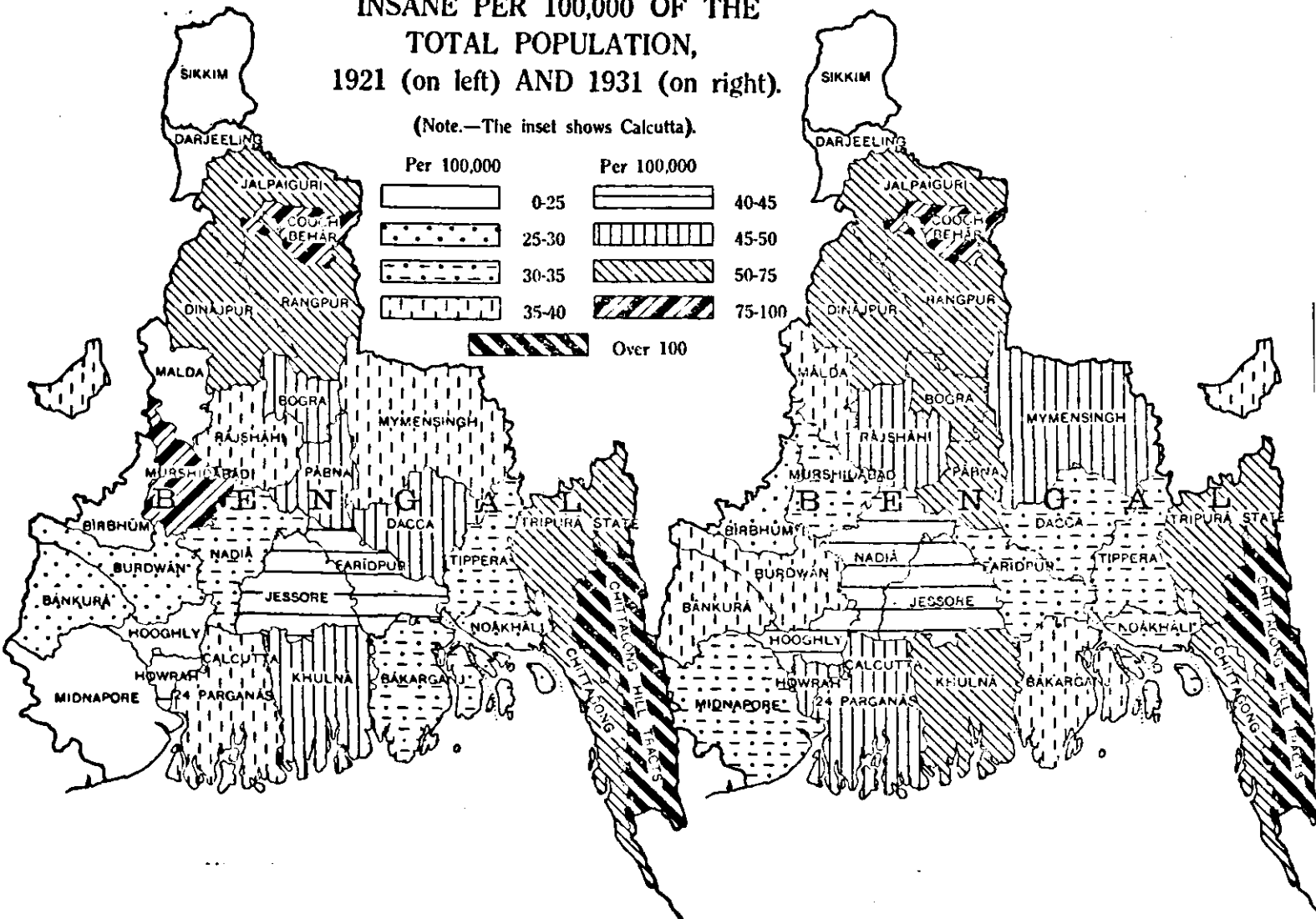
	Number of insane of both sexes per 100,000 in—	
	1921.	1931.
BENGAL	41	44
British Territory	40	43
Burdwan Division	26	37
Burdwan	27	39
Birbhum	22	25
Bankura	28	37
Midnapore	24	34
Hooghly	20	40
Howrah	42	48
Presidency Division	44	42
24-Parganas	38	45
Calcutta	35	35
Nadia	32	44
Murshidabad	76	31
Jessore	43	41
Khulna	48	50
Rajshahi Division	50	58
Rajshahi	37	45
Dinajpur	55	57
Jalpaiguri	72	73
Darjeeling	20	14
Rangpur	63	72
Bogra	47	58
Pabna	49	58
Malda	20	38
Dacca Division	39	38
Dacca	49	33
Mymensingh	35	46
Faridpur	40	30
Bakerganj	31	38
Chittagong Division	40	42
Tippura	31	31
Noakhali	29	34
Chittagong	56	58
Chittagong Hill Tracts	139	121
Bengal States	75	72
Cooch Behar	82	79
Tripura	61	61
SIKKIM	13	5

Between 75 and 100 per 100,000 were also returned as insane in Cooch Behar but this proportion was reached in no other district at the present census and only in Murshidabad in 1921 where the proportion, 76 per 100,000, was swelled by the existence of a lunatic asylum at Berhampore which has since been closed and the inmates removed. Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Tripura State and Chittagong in both years returned from 50 to 75 per 100,000 insane and the proportion of 45 to 50 per 100,000 returned in Bogra, Pabna and Khulna in 1921 has also increased and from 50 to 75 per 100,000 in 1931. Amongst other districts decreases were

DIAGRAM No. VII-3.

INSANE PER 100,000 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, 1921 (on left) AND 1931 (on right).

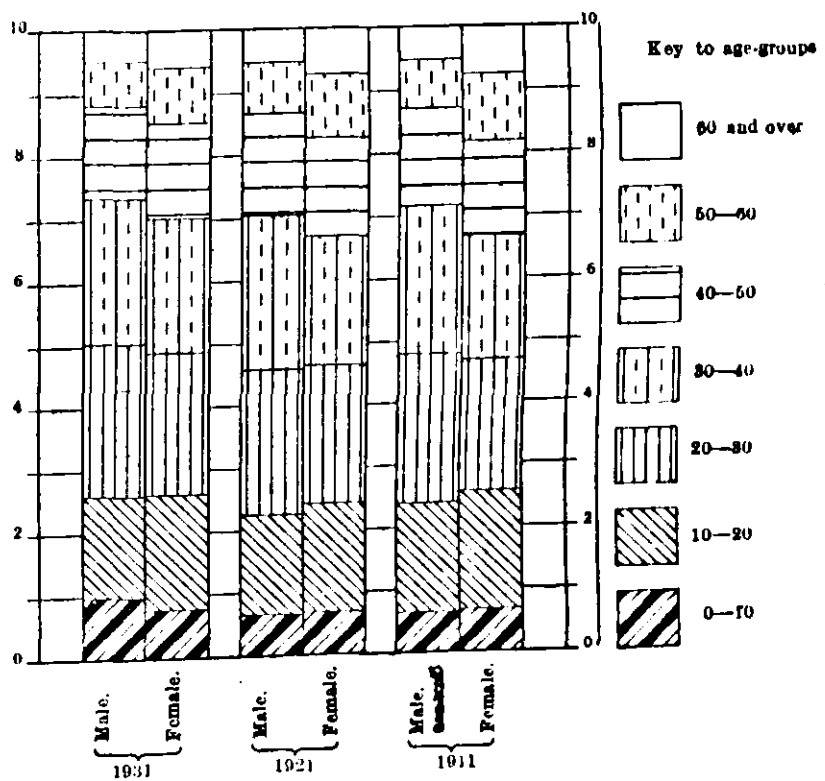
(Note.—The inset shows Calcutta).



reported only from Jessore (from 43 to 41 per 100,000), Darjeeling (from 20 to 14 per 100,000), Dacca (from 49 to 33 per 100,000) and Faridpur (from 40 to 30 per 100,000), and the decrease in Dacca was largely due as in Berhampore to the closing of the lunatic asylum there and the transfer of its patients to Ranchi. In Calcutta and Tippera proportions remained exactly the same with 35 and 31 per 100,000, respectively. In every other district there was an increase. The most notable is an increase of 20 in every 100,000 in the district of Hooghly. The only other area comparable with this division is the Malda district where the proportions rose from 20 per 100,000 in 1921 to 36 in 1931. Increases of 11 per 100,000 are shown in the returns from Mymensingh (from 35 to 46 per 100,000) and Bogra (from 47 to 58 per 100,000), of 10 per 100,000 in Midnapore and of 9 per 100,000 in Bankura (from 28 to 37 per 100,000), in Rangpur (from 63 to 72 per 100,000) and in Pabna (from 49 to 58 per 100,000). In other districts the increase varies between the two last census years from 2 to 8 per 100,000. In general terms two strips of land running north and south one through the centre of Bengal and comprising the districts of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi, Pabna, Nadia, Jessore, Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas and Khulna and another comprising Tripura State, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Chittagong show the greatest frequency of insanity as revealed by the census returns, whilst Mymensingh with an incidence practically the same as that of Rajshahi serves as a kind of bridge between these two areas. Similar variations are illustrated for natural divisions in diagram A at the beginning of the chapter.

218. **Age distribution and sex ratios of the insane 1911, 1921 and 1931.**—Diagrams Nos. VII-4 and VII-5 represent respectively the distribution by age-groups of 1,000 insane of each sex in 1911, 1921 and 1931 and the number of females per 1,000 males insane at age-periods during the same years. The figures on which diagram No. VII-4 is based are shown in the subsidiary table III and the corresponding table of previous years. The proportions insane in each sex and age are also illustrated for 1911, 1921 and 1931 in diagram B at the beginning of the chapter. Amongst both males and females returned as insane the greatest proportion is between the ages of 30 and 40, and this is a feature of the returns for all three years, but the total proportion aged less than 40 is less amongst females than amongst males both in 1931 and 1911 and was only slightly greater in 1921. More than half the male insane was less than 30 years old and the female figures are very nearly the same. The returns for 1931 both for males and females show in each year a larger proportion of the total insane returned at the lower age-groups than in 1921 and also than in 1911, though from ages 10 onwards up to 50 proportions were greater in 1911 than in 1921. The sex ratios

DIAGRAM No. VII-4.
Distribution by age-groups of 1,000 insane of each sex, 1911, 1921 and 1931.
(Vertical intervals represent hundreds.)

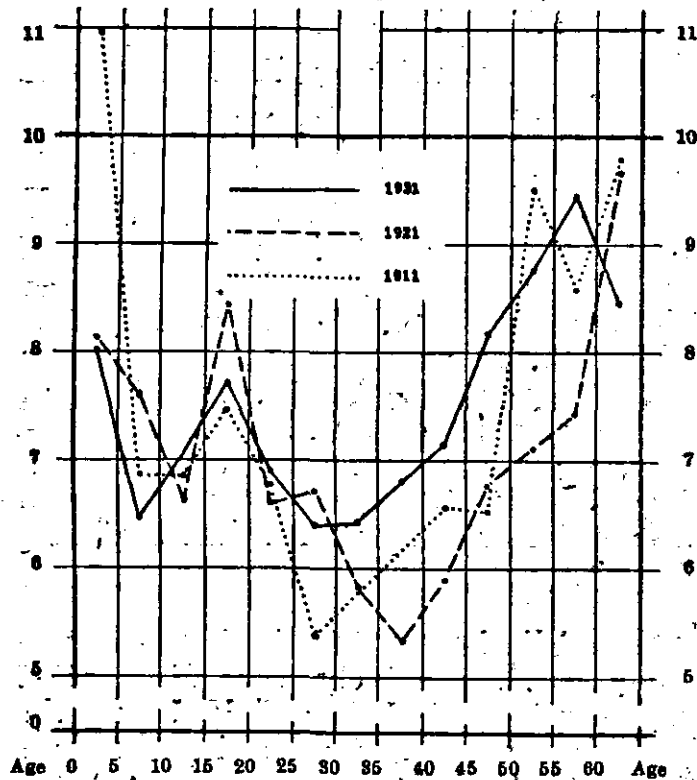


The returns for 1931 both for males and females show in each year a larger proportion of the total insane returned at the lower age-groups than in 1921 and also than in 1911, though from ages 10 onwards up to 50 proportions were greater in 1911 than in 1921. The sex ratios

amongst the insane shown in diagram No. VII-5 at any age period in either of the three years concerned showed nowhere an excess of females over males

DIAGRAM No. VII-5.

Insane: [Number of females per 1,000 males at age-periods in 1911, 1921 and 1931.
(Vertical intervals represent hundreds.)



except between the ages of 0 and 5 in 1911. In the present year the lowest ratio is between the ages of 25 and 30 and the highest between 55 and 60. From 25 onwards the curves for 1911 and 1921 show a fair degree of consistency. The smallest proportion of females to males occurs in 1911 between the ages of 25 and 30 and if the group of 60 and over is left out of consideration, the highest between the ages of 50 and 55 whilst a similar conformation appears in the group ten years later with the lowest proportion between 35 and 40 and the highest between 60 and over. Effective comparison at ten-year intervals cannot be made for the earlier half of the curve from an age earlier than 15 in the later of two years being compared, but the proportions up to the age of 25 do not show any correspondence with the previous census either in 1931 or in 1921, and as regards the curve for 1931 even the part from age 25 onwards does not show anything like the correspondence with the curve of 1921 which is shown by that of 1921 with the curve of 1911. At all ages only 717 females were returned as insane for every 1,000 males so returned in 1931.

219. **Provision for the insane.**—The Bengal Presidency now contains no institutions specifically intended for the care of the insane. Asylums maintained previously at Berhampore and Dacca were closed at the end of 1925 and their inmates were transferred to the mental hospitals at Ranchi at the end of 1925 or the beginning of 1926. I owe to the courtesy of Col. Berkeley Hill and Major Dhunjibhoy the following details with the exception of those for 1921 to 1925, which have been taken from the lunatic asylum reports of the Government of Bengal from 1921-25. Statement No. VII-2 shows Indians from Bengal resident admitted to and taken off the strength of mental hospitals during 1921-30. In statements Nos. VII-3 and VII-4 mental patients from Bengal are shown according to sex and race by birthplace and by age-groups. From these figures it appears that Calcutta, Dacca and the 24-Parganas have contributed a larger number of patients to the mental hospitals than other districts in Bengal. The patients admitted into these institutions are generally those who are either curable or if incurable definitely dangerous to themselves or others.

STATEMENT No. VII-2.

Indians from Bengal resident in, admitted to and taken off the strength of mental hospitals during the decade, 1921-30.

	Resident.		Admitted.		Taken off strength.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1921	818	149	154	33	166	39
1922	808	143	161	86	142	35
1923	825	144	187	25	207	29
1924	805	140	188	32	143	85
1925	850	137	192	28	180	28
1926	862	137	111	29	106	14
1927	897	152	168	42	164	20
1928	871	174	61	15	180	31
1929	802	158	41	20	55	14
1930	788	164	42	25	55	21
1931	775	163	2*	4*	10*	1*
26-2-31	767	171	..	..	..	..

*Up to 26th February 1931.

STATEMENT No. VII—3.

Patients from Bengal in the Ranchi mental hospitals on 26th February 1931 by sex and birthplace.

Birthplace.	Indian.		European.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
Total	767	171	53	65
Bengal, all districts	585	112	24	28
Burdwan	16	3	1	..
Birbhum	8	2	..	..
Bankura	8	2	..	..
Midnapore	16	2	..	..
Hooghly	22	..	..	..
Howrah	24	2	1	1
24 Parganas	42	8	..	..
Calcutta	63	23	21	25
Nadia	20	1	..	..
Murshidabad	15	5	..	..
Jessore	27	1	..	..
Khulna	20	2	..	..
Rajshahi	17	3	..	..
Dinajpur	15	2	..	..
Jalpaiguri	13	5	..	..
Darjeeling	8	4	..	..
Rangpur	13	5	1	..
Bogra	15	1	..	..
Pabna	22	2	..	..
Maida	11	3	..	..
Dacca	52	13	..	..
Mymensingh	23	4	..	..
Faridpur	15	3	..	..
Bakarganj	41	6	..	..
Tipperra	23	..	..	..
Noakhali	11	1	..	..
Chittagong	23	2	..	..
Gooch Behar	2	..	..	..
Outside Bengal	85	13	6	20
Birthplace not known	57	45	23	19

STATEMENT No. VII—4.

Patients from Bengal in the Ranchi mental hospitals on 26th February 1931 by sex and age.

Age-group.	Indian.		European.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
All ages	767	171	53	65
5—10	2	..	..	1
10—15	1	1	2	1
15—20	11	14	3	1
20—25	61	10	5	3
25—30	124	16	10	9
30—35	119	29	5	5
35—40	132	27	13	9
40—45	106	16	4	3
45—50	76	15	1	10
50—55	61	15	4	3
55—60	41	7	3	3
60—65	22	11	3	2
65—70	6	4	1	3
70 & over	5	6	..	..

220. **Comparison with other provinces.**—Amongst males the incidence of insanity per 100,000 (49) is more in Bengal than in the United Provinces (29), the Punjab (36), the Central Provinces (35), Madras (38) and the North-West Frontier Provinces (41) but is exceeded in Bombay (59) and Burma (99). It is more (38) in Bengal amongst females than in the United Provinces (16), the North-West Frontier Provinces (18), Central Provinces (20), the Punjab (21), Madras (27) and Bombay (36) but less than in Burma (77).

II—Deaf-mutes

221. **Accuracy of the figures.**—Of the four census infirmities comparatively few difficulties may be expected to have attended the record of figures for those deaf and dumb. There will be a natural hesitation amongst parents to record children up to 5 or 10 years old as deaf and dumb out of a not unnatural hope that they may merely prove to be backward and will later develop normally; but after that hope has been abandoned the affliction is one which is plain to those knowing the patient and which involves no particular stigma so that there is no reason to assume any reluctance to the record of the infirmity where it exists. Up to the year 1911 census enumerators were directed to record only those persons who were deaf and dumb from birth. At the last two enumerations this restriction has been withdrawn, but true deaf-mutism is all the same a congenital defect so that the differences in the instructions ought not to have produced any effective difference in the type of persons recorded as deaf-mutes on various occasions.

222. **Incidence of deaf-mutism compared with other provinces.**—The total number of deaf-mutes returned was 35,865 (males 21,560, females 14,305) corresponding to 70 (males 81, females 58) per 100,000. The male ratio is identical with that for Madras higher than that for the United Provinces (62) and Punjab (79) but less than that for the North-West Frontier Province (82), Central Provinces (91), Bombay (93) and Burma (122). The female ratio exceeds that for the United Provinces (42) and the North-West Frontier Province (46) but is less than that for the Punjab (56), Bombay (63), Madras (61), United Provinces (65) and Burma (110).

223. **Deaf-mutism by districts.**—The largest number of deaf-mutes was recorded from the districts of Mymensingh (4,477), Rangpur (2,401) and Dacca (2,287), but more than 1,000 of both sexes were also returned from Burdwan, Midnapore, Howrah, 24-Parganas, Khulna, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Pabna, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong. The proportionate figures, however, shown in statement No. VII-5 and illustrated in diagram No. VII-6 opposite are highest in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, where they reached over 150 per 100,000 of the total population, the ratio being as high as 181 in Darjeeling, and the proportion is also high in Sikkim where it reaches 149 per 100,000 of the population. But in the other districts of Bengal only Dinajpur, Rangpur and Howrah have as many as 90 to 100 per 100,000, and only Bankura, Burdwan and Mymensingh as many as 80 to 90. Birbhum, Malda, Rajshahi, Bogra and Pabna form a block with an incidence of 70 to 80 per 100,000 into which protrudes another block containing the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Faridpur, Dacca and Khulna in which it is 60 to 70 per 100,000 and enclosing Jessore district in which it is only 26 per 100,000. Noakhali, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Midnapore have also an incidence of between 60 and 70 per 100,000 whilst there are 71 in Hooghly and no more than 29 per 100,000 in Calcutta and 36 per 100,000 in Cooch Behar. The incidence of this complaint is, therefore, highest in the Rajshahi Division where it averages 93 per 100,000 and lowest in the Presidency Division where it averages 51 per 100,000, whilst the Burdwan Division is second in point of extent, 75 out of every 100,000 being thus afflicted, followed by Dacca and Chittagong Divisions with an incidence of 71 and 59 per 100,000, respectively. Extraordinary differences in the incidence of this complaint were returned in 1921 and 1931. On the whole there has been an increase in the incidence of this infirmity of 4·5 per cent. from 67 to 70 per 1,000; but taken division by division decreases of 16·3 and 24·4 per cent. have been reported in the Presidency and Chittagong Divisions from 61 to 51 per 100,000 and from 78 to 59 per 100,000, respectively. In the Burdwan Division increases of 40 per 100,000 are reported from Hooghly and Howrah, and of 16, 15 and 8 from Birbhum, Bankura and Burdwan whilst there is a decrease of 17 from one district only, namely, Midnapore. In the Presidency Division as many districts show an increase as a decrease, for an increase was returned from the 24-Parganas of 14, from Nadia of 10 and from Khulna of 17 per 100,000. But this was very much more than balanced by decreases of 20 in Murshidabad, 24 in Calcutta and as many as 69 in Jessore, which fell from being the district with the fourth highest incidence of deaf-mutism in 1921 to having the least recorded on the present occasion. In the Rajshahi Division only Bogra and Pabna show a decrease on the proportion of 1921, amounting in the first case to 6 and in the second case to 11 per 100,000, whilst increases of 7 appear for Rangpur, 11 for Rajshahi, 16 for Malda, 20 for Jalpaiguri, 19 for Darjeeling and 22 for Dinajpur. The increase in the Dacca Division is entirely accounted for by Mymensingh where the proportion rose during the decade by as many as 66 from 21 to 87 per 100,000; but all other districts returned decreases, amounting in Bakarganj to 4, in Dacca to 12 and in Faridpur to 26 per 100,000. In the Chittagong Division, on the other hand, the incidence had decreased in all districts by 10 per 100,000 in Noakhali, 12 in Chittagong, 22 in Tippera and the astonishing figure of 94 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in which actually the second highest incidence in

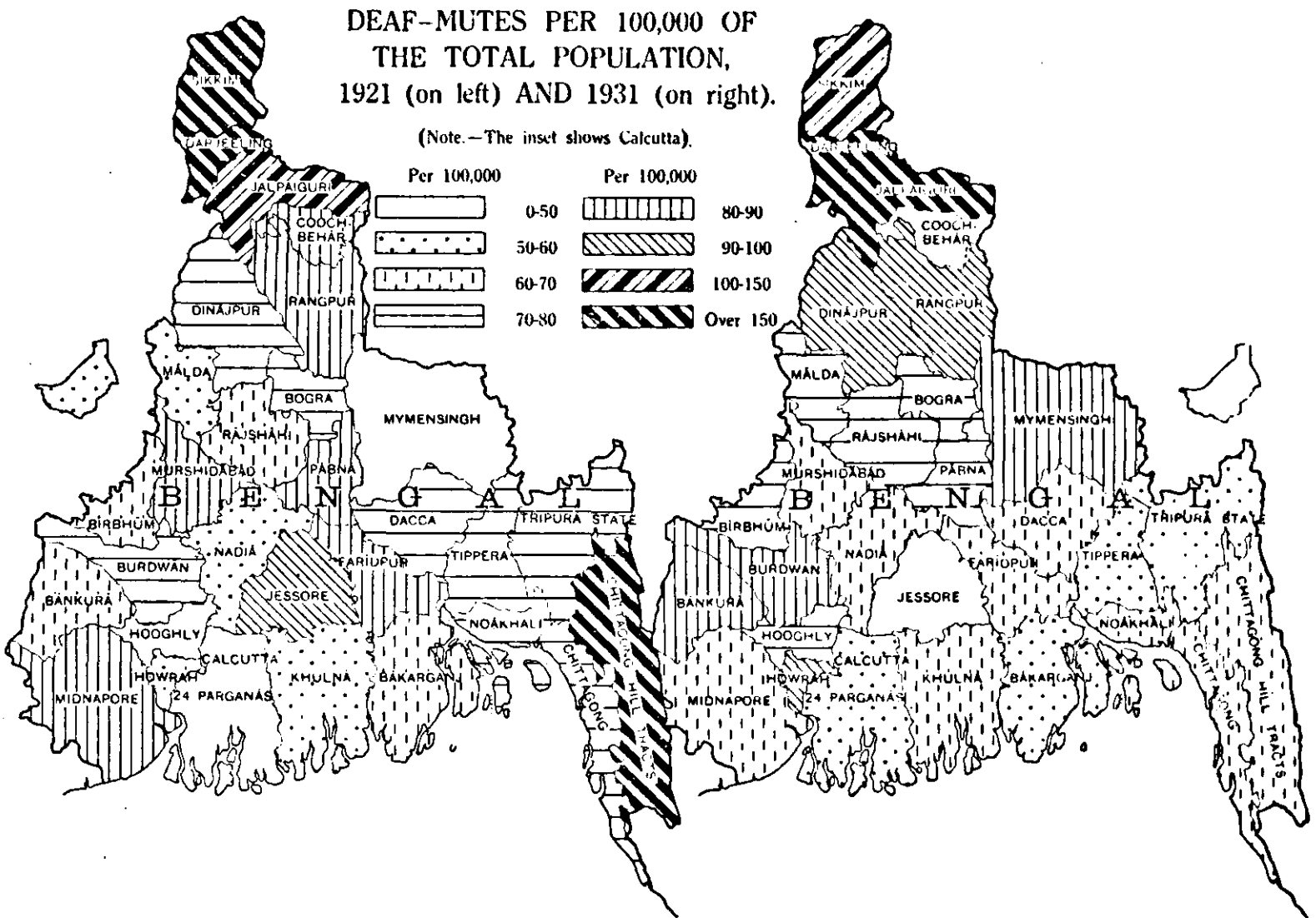
STATEMENT No. VII-5.

District.	Number of deaf-mutes per 100,000 of the total population in—	
	1921.	1931.
BENGAL	67	70
British Territory	67	71
Burdwan Division	66	75
Burdwan	72	80
Birbhum	60	76
Bankura	69	84
Midnapore	80	63
Hooghly	81	71
Howrah	56	96
Presidency Division	61	51
24-Parganas	42	56
Calcutta	53	29
Nadia	50	60
Murshidabad	80	60
Jessore	95	26
Khulna	52	69
Rajshahi Division	83	93
Rajshahi	60	71
Dinajpur	76	98
Jalpaiguri	136	155
Darjeeling	162	181
Rangpur	86	93
Bogra	77	71
Pabna	88	77
Malda	54	70
Dacca Division	64	71
Dacca	79	67
Mymensingh	21	87
Faridpur	86	60
Bakarganj	61	57
Chittagong Division	78	59
Tippera	78	56
Noakhali	73	63
Chittagong	73	61
Chittagong Hill Tracts	156	62
Bengal States	85	44
Cooch Behar	88	36
Tripura State	79	56
SIKKIM	176	149

On the whole there has been an increase in the incidence of this infirmity of 4·5 per cent. from 67 to 70 per 1,000; but taken division by division decreases of 16·3 and 24·4 per cent. have been reported in the Presidency and Chittagong Divisions from 61 to 51 per 100,000 and from 78 to 59 per 100,000, respectively. In the Burdwan Division increases of 40 per 100,000 are reported from Hooghly and Howrah, and of 16, 15 and 8 from Birbhum, Bankura and Burdwan whilst there is a decrease of 17 from one district only, namely, Midnapore. In the Presidency Division as many districts show an increase as a decrease, for an increase was returned from the 24-Parganas of 14, from Nadia of 10 and from Khulna of 17 per 100,000. But this was very much more than balanced by decreases of 20 in Murshidabad, 24 in Calcutta and as many as 69 in Jessore, which fell from being the district with the fourth highest incidence of deaf-mutism in 1921 to having the least recorded on the present occasion. In the Rajshahi Division only Bogra and Pabna show a decrease on the proportion of 1921, amounting in the first case to 6 and in the second case to 11 per 100,000, whilst increases of 7 appear for Rangpur, 11 for Rajshahi, 16 for Malda, 20 for Jalpaiguri, 19 for Darjeeling and 22 for Dinajpur. The increase in the Dacca Division is entirely accounted for by Mymensingh where the proportion rose during the decade by as many as 66 from 21 to 87 per 100,000; but all other districts returned decreases, amounting in Bakarganj to 4, in Dacca to 12 and in Faridpur to 26 per 100,000. In the Chittagong Division, on the other hand, the incidence had decreased in all districts by 10 per 100,000 in Noakhali, 12 in Chittagong, 22 in Tippera and the astonishing figure of 94 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in which actually the second highest incidence in

Bengal was returned at the census of 1921. A decrease has been recorded in both the Indian States amounting to as much as 52 per 100,000 in Cooch Behar (from 88 to 36) and 23 per 100,000 in Tippera (from 79 to 56).

DIAGRAM No. VII-6.



224. **Deaf-mutes by sexes.**—Thousand for thousand the incidence of the disease is greater amongst males than females although this relation is reversed in Calcutta where the numbers afflicted per 100,000 are 27 for males and 32 for females and in Tripura State where the corresponding figures are 54 and 57. Amongst males in every 100,000 a figure of as many as 192 persons afflicted is returned by Darjeeling and figures larger than 100 are returned from Jalpaiguri (181), Dinajpur (115), Rangpur (112), Howrah (110) and Mymensingh (102). Amongst females also the maximum incidence of the disease occurs in the same districts as amongst males, viz., Darjeeling with 168 and Jalpaiguri with 124 per 100,000: but in no other district except Dinajpur does the incidence amongst females amount to as much as 80 per 100,000 and both Jessore and Cooch Behar with respectively 21 and 24 females afflicted per 100,000 show an incidence less than amongst the males in the lowest district, viz., Calcutta with 27. Similar figures for those here discussed are illustrated for natural divisions in diagram A at the beginning of this chapter.

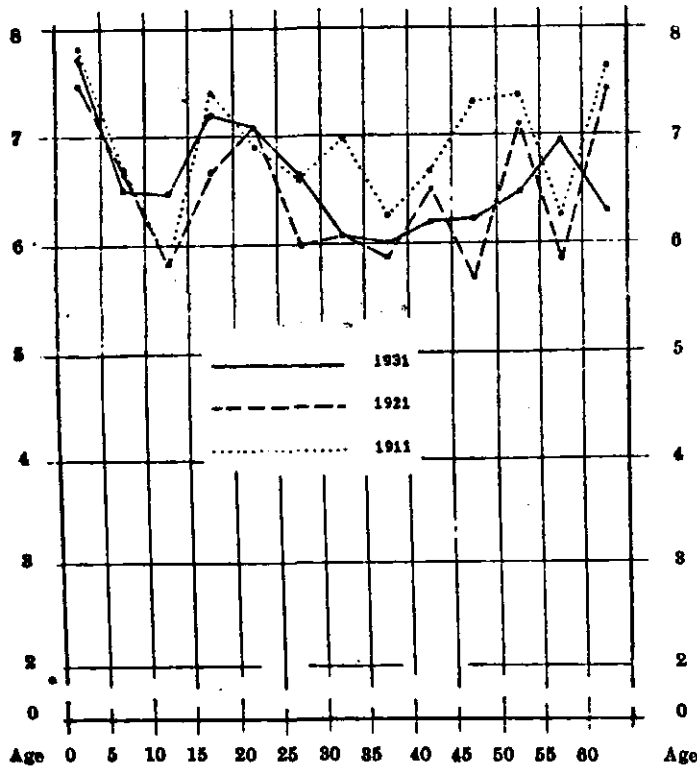
225. **Age distribution of deaf-mutes.**—Congenital deaf-mutes are generally short-lived, and such crisis as the onset of puberty are generally considered to take a heavy toll of them. This effect is reflected in the age statistics contained in subsidiary tables II and III and illustrated for decennial age-groups in the coloured diagram B at the beginning of this chapter. In each sex the total number afflicted with deaf-mutism per 100,000 of the total population is greater between the ages of 10 and 15 than at other ages and thereafter the numbers markedly decline. Similar characteristics are displayed by the curves plotted also for the two previous census years in the coloured diagram B. The congenital character of the disease forces us to resort, in explanation of the apparent increase in the proportionate numbers up to the ages of 10 to 15, to the consideration already pointed out that parents are reluctant in earlier ages to abandon the hope that their children will develop normally later on. There is some justification for this explanation in the actual figures published in subsidiary table III, which show an increase of from 34 to 95 per 100,000 males and from 25 to 69 per 100,000 females returned as deaf-mutes at the ages of 0—5 and 5—10, respectively, in the present census. All those returned as deaf-mutes now aged 10—15 should have been so returned together with others in 1921 under the age-group of 0—5 and the fact that so large a proportion was not thus returned can only be explained in this way. The increase in the numbers reported as deaf-mutes at the present census compared with 1921 marks a reversal of the general trend of the returns from 1881. In that year no less than 126 per 100,000 males and 84 per 100,000 females were returned as deaf-mutes. These figures were progressively reduced until 1901 when they were 72 and 49 per 100,000, respectively, and, although there was an increase both of males to 81 and females to 58 in 1911, the figures for 1921 again showed a decrease on those of 1911. The coloured diagram A at the beginning of this chapter shows for each natural division the numbers of deaf-mutes per 100,000 at each census from 1881. The general trend just referred to for the whole of Bengal was closely followed in West Bengal and East Bengal but it varied in North Bengal by a continuous increase in the male figures from 94 in 1911 to 97 in 1921 and 103 per 100,000 in 1931, whilst in Central Bengal the increase between 1901 and 1911 of from 54 to 61 per 100,000 males and 40 to 48 per 100,000 females continued till 1921 when the figures for males and females were 69

and 50 which during the last decade have, however, shown a decrease.

DIAGRAM No. VII-7.

Deaf-mutes: Number of females per 1,000 males at age-periods in 1911, 1921 and 1931.

(Vertical intervals represent hundreds.)

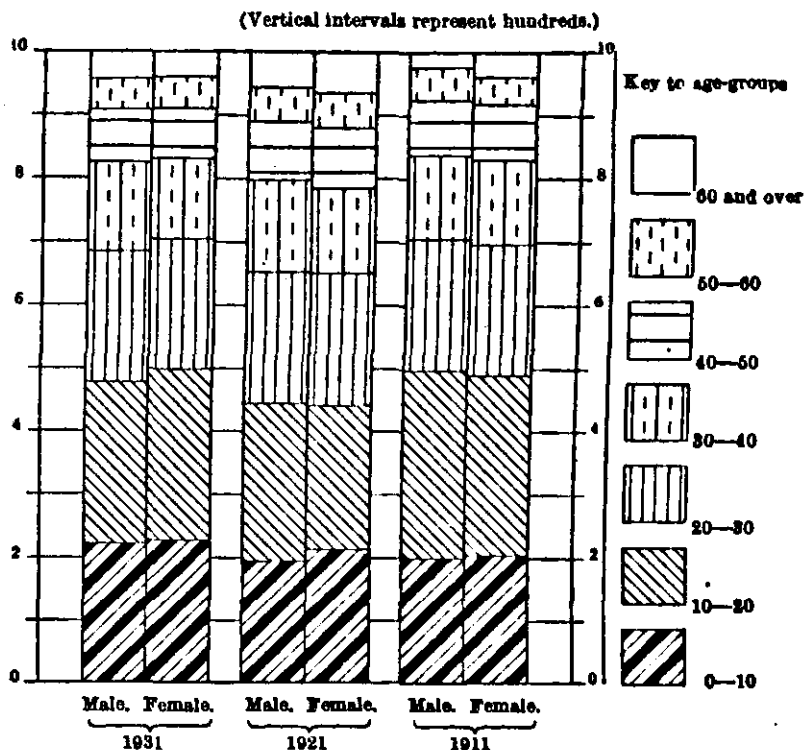


226. **Sex ratios of the deaf-mutes, 1911, 1921 and 1931.**—At no age-period during the last three decades has there been a larger number of female deaf-mutes per 1,000 males of the same age than 800. The ratio is highest between the ages of 0 and 5, which perhaps suggests that parents earlier give up the hope of their girls' learning to speak unusually late in childhood than of their boys, and reaches more than 700 per 100,000 only once more during the curve, viz., between the ages of 15 and 25. With some minor variations the curves for 1921 and 1911 show tolerably similar ratios for those years. The ratios are plotted in diagram No. VII-7.

227. **Age distribution of deaf-mutes by sexes, 1911, 1921 and 1931.**—Diagram No. VII-8 illustrates the age distribution of 1,000 deaf-mutes of

each sex in 1911, 1921 and 1931. At every age-group females below the age taken form a larger proportion of the total deaf-mutes than males, a circumstance in which the figures for the present census differ from those in previous years, when it was only females less than ten years of age who formed a larger proportion of the deaf-mutes than males of the same age. Very nearly half of the female deaf-mutes and rather a smaller proportion of males are under 20 years of age, the proportion under this age having increased in both sexes since 1921.

DIAGRAM No. VII-2.
Distribution by age-groups of 1,000 deaf-mutes of each sex, 1911, 1921 and 1931.



228. **Provision for the deaf-mutes.**—Several institutions exist in Bengal which are doing work for those afflicted with this infirmity. There are deaf and dumb schools at Calcutta, Dacca, Mymensingh, Barisal and Chittagong and until comparatively recently there was also a similar small institution at Faridpur which, however, is now closed. The Calcutta school was founded as early as 1893. Since its foundation it has dealt with some 800 deaf-mute children and now accommodates about 180, so that during its period of existence something over 600 deaf-mute children have had the advantages of education and the opportunity of learning a craft. The school at Dacca was founded in 1916 and since that date more than 20 students have passed through the school and learned not only to read and write but also to speak. The school at Mymensingh was founded in 1925 and now accommodates 18 pupils. The school at Barisal during the last ten years has admitted 40

STATEMENT No. VII-3.

Number of pupils in deaf and dumb schools in Bengal in February 1931 by sex and birthplace.

Birthplace.	Total.		Calcutta.		Dacca.		Mymensingh.		Barisal.		Chittagong.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Total	186	49	139	38	10	3	12	4	11	..	14	4
All Bengal	148	45	101	34	10	3	12	4	11	..	14	4
Burdwan	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Birbhum	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bankura	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Midnapore	4	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hooghly	7	1	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah	10	2	10	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	8	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calcutta	40	21	40	20	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Nadia	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murshidabad	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jessore	3	1	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khulna	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajshahi	2	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rangpur	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pabna	6	1	5	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca	12	8	2	2	6	2	2	..	..	..	2	1
Mymensingh	11	3	1	..	..	..	9	3	..	..	1	..
Faridpur	10	..	8	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Bakarganj	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..
Tippers	3	2	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
Noakhali	5	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Chittagong	11	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	3
Bihar and Orissa	16	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assam	14	2	14	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
India, Elsewhere	7	2	7	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Outside India	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

pupils and has passed 38 of these through its curriculum. At Chittagong the school founded in 1923 has received 43 pupils of whom 20 have been

successfully trained and set up as tailors and managers of business, goldsmiths, mechanics, etc. At the date of the census a total of 186 males and 49 females were pupils in these five institutions and statements Nos. VII-6 and VII-7 compiled from information supplied by the schools are given showing their birthplace and age. Details of the pupils who passed through the schools during 1921 to 1930 are not complete, but in Dacca, Mymensingh, Barisal and Chittagong 128 pupils completed their course and it is reported that in nearly all cases they had learned to make themselves understood and to

STATEMENT No. VII-7.

Number of pupils in deaf and dumb schools in Bengal in February 1931 by sex and age-group.

Age-group.	Total.		Calcutta.		Dacca.		Mymensingh.		Barisal.		Chittagong.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
All ages	186	49	139	38	10	3	12	4	11	..	14	4
4—5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
5—10	54	25	44	20	1	1	4	2	..	..	5	2
10—15	97	23	74	17	6	2	4	2	6	..	7	2
15—20	30	1	21	1	3	..	3	..	2	..	1	..
20—25	4	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..

maintain themselves at a trade, if they were boys, whilst the girls were found suitable bridegrooms and married. The schools are supported largely by grants from Government and district or local boards and also by voluntary subscriptions and in the Calcutta school there are a number of scholarships maintained by Government or by district boards not only in Bengal but also in Bihar and Assam.

III—Blindness

229. **Accuracy of the figures.**—At the present census a special effort was made to obtain as far as possible accurate returns of the blind. The professor of ophthalmic surgery, Col. E. O'G. Kirwan, well before the enumeration took place, suggested that figures should be obtained both for the blind and for the partially blind defined as persons who are unable to count fingers at a distance of less and more than one metre respectively. It was not possible to complicate the census returns by adding to them a provision for recording the number of partially blind but as will be seen from the opening paragraphs of this chapter the suggested definition for the totally blind was adopted with a negligible modification: it is the one applied by the Department of Public Health in Egypt for the enumeration of the blind in their statistics and there can be no doubt is good. It is not one the application of which requires a great deal of intelligence on the part of the enumerating staff and there is no very great force in the suggestion which has been made that it actually leads to smaller returns than would be correct. This contention is a conclusion deduced from the assumption that the enumerator, if he tested a person for blindness, would hold up his hand and inquire how many fingers there are in his hand and that the person being tested would naturally from his knowledge, and not because he could distinguish the fingers, reply "five," and therefore be excluded from the return of the blind.

230. **Variations between 1921 and 1931.**—The definition, indeed, is simple and accurate and can be recommended for use on future occasions: it might be advantageously applied throughout the whole of India since it is increasingly important to have full details of the blind uniformly prepared. The returns, however, show a very small variation from the figures of 1921. The total number of blind in Bengal was returned as 37,399 (20,171 males and 17,228 females). This figure represents a proportion of 73 per 100,000 in 1931 against a proportion of 72 in 1921; and upon the assumption which is pretty generally made when dealing scientifically with the census statistics of infirmities, that the census returns are very inaccurate indeed, there appears to be very little reason to believe that the returns on the present occasion were notably more accurate than in 1921, since there seems no reason to believe that the incidence of blindness has markedly decreased during the decade.

If it is conceded that the figures of 1921 erred on the side of understatement and that there has been no marked decrease in the incidence of blindness throughout the decade, it might have been expected that the proportions recorded on the present occasion would show some considerable increase over those of 1921. In point of fact it is very doubtful whether the agency by which the census statistics are obtained will ever be able to compile returns of infirmities of such accuracy as to be preferred by scientific and medical investigators to sample surveys by trained specialists, which on an analysis by approved statistical methods permit the elimination of errors inevitable in deducing general conclusions from the examination of relatively small samples.

231. **Incidence of blindness by locality.**—The largest number of the blind is contributed by the Burdwan Division, viz., 8,729, or nearly one quarter of the total blind in British Territory in Bengal. In the Rajshahi Division 8,683 persons were returned as blind, the figure also amounting to nearly one quarter of the total blind population. Proportionately the incidence of blindness is greatest also in these two divisions amounting in Burdwan to 101 per 100,000 and in the Rajshahi Division to 81 per 100,000. It is as low as 24 per 100,000 in Sikkim, but in no division, district or state of Bengal does the proportion fall below 40 per 100,000, the figure of Noakhali. Speaking generally, the incidence of blindness is greatest apart from the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in Western Bengal and in the districts of Murshidabad, Malda, Nadia and Pabna, *i.e.*, in a strip running roughly parallel with the eastern

STATEMENT No. VII-8.

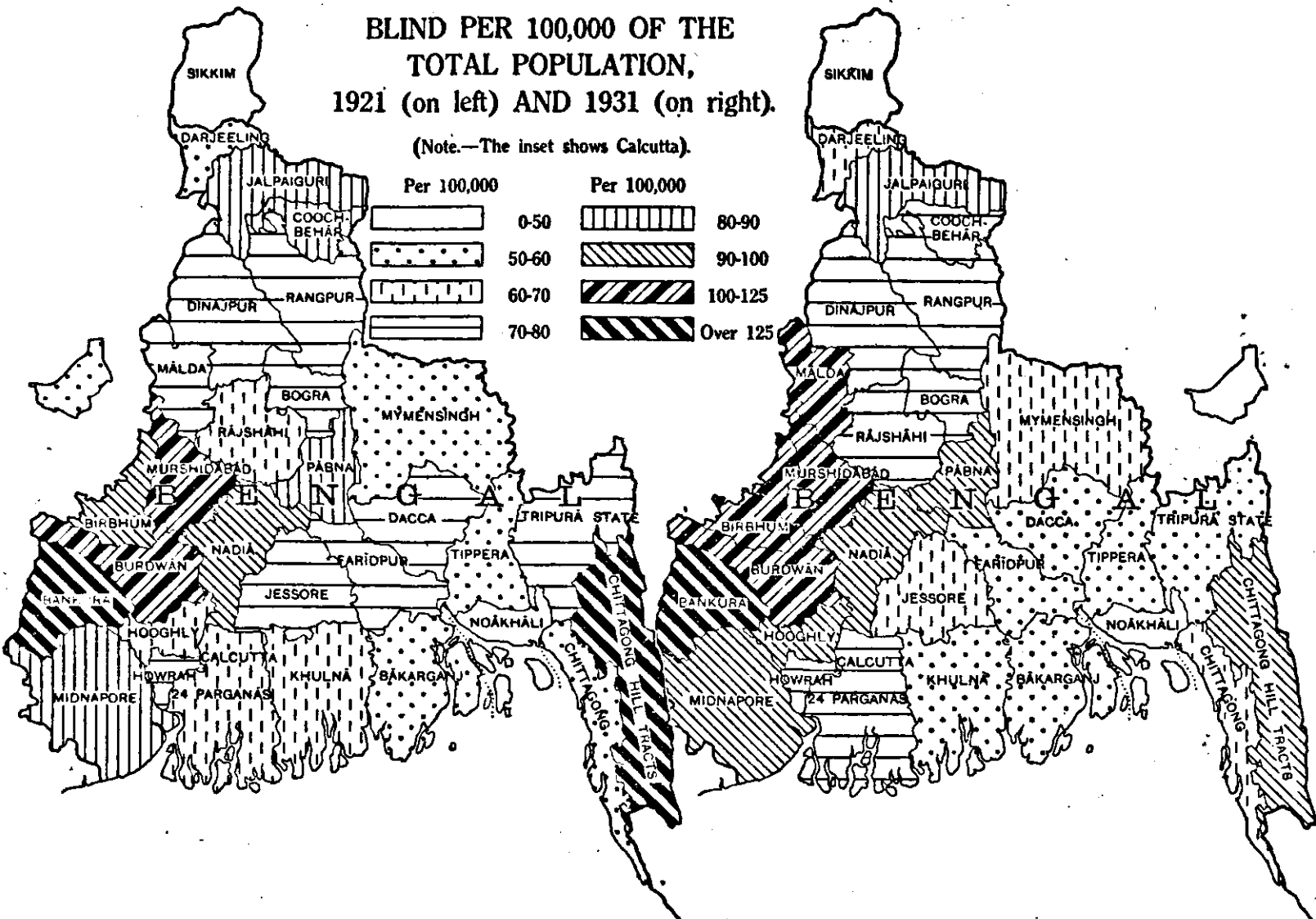
	Number of blind per 100,000 of the total population in—	
	1921.	1931.
BENGAL	72	73
British Territory	72	73
Burdwan Division	90	101
Burdwan	105	115
Birbhum	95	109
Bankura	100	130
Midnapore	87	93
Hooghly	60	91
Howrah	75	75
Presidency Division	74	74
24-Parganas	60	70
Calcutta	58	49
Nadia	91	96
Murshidabad	107	117
Jessore	75	64
Khulna	62	55
Rajshahi Division	77	81
Rajshahi	69	74
Dinajpur	76	74
Jalpaiguri	87	87
Darjeeling	52	61
Rangpur	77	74
Bogra	73	79
Pabna	84	91
Malda	78	111
Dacca Division	61	59
Dacca	72	57
Mymensingh	54	68
Faridpur	76	53
Bakerganj	50	52
Chittagong Division	58	52
Tippora	58	50
Noakhali	47	40
Chittagong	56	63
Chittagong Hill Tracts	159	95
Bengal States	83	68
Cooch Behar	89	73
Tripura State	72	59
SIKKIM	33	24

boundary of the province into which the districts of Rajshahi and Bogra make a sort of salient at its northern end. Bankura shows the highest incidence of the disease: here no less than 130 persons in every 100,000 are totally blind. Proportions of from 100 to 125 per 100,000 were returned in Murshidabad (117), Burdwan (115), Malda (111) and Birbhum (109). The incidence is between 90 and 100 in Midnapore (93), Hooghly (91), Nadia (96), Pabna (91) and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (95). It reaches as much as 87 in Jalpaiguri and between 70 and 80 per 100,000 in Cooch Behar, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi, Howrah and the 24-Parganas. In the rest of the province the incidence is less than 70 per 100,000 or .007 per cent. reaching as much as 60 only in Darjeeling (61), Mymensingh (68), Jessore (64) and Chittagong (63). In Noakhali as also in Calcutta and Sikkim the proportion is less than 50 per 100,000. These figures are given in statement No. VII-8 and illustrated in diagram No. VII-9 overleaf, whilst diagram A at the beginning of the chapter illustrates similar figures by sexes for this natural divisions of the province.

232. **Facilities for treatment.**—During the past decade a great advance has been made in the facilities for treating eye diseases in Calcutta by the opening in September 1926 of a new eye infirmary in the Medical College. This, however, is the only modern and efficient eye hospital in Bengal, but facilities are now given to post-graduate medical students in limited numbers to receive practical training in ophthalmology. The improvement in the treatment of eye diseases has, therefore, probably been mainly confined during the last decade to Calcutta, and to this may be accountable the decrease in the incidence of blindness from 58 to 49 per 100,000, although the figures for other infirmities suggest that this part of the schedule received less attention

in Calcutta than elsewhere. It is at least significant that, since the opening of the new eye hospital in Calcutta, the number of patients treated for eye

DIAGRAM No. VII-9.

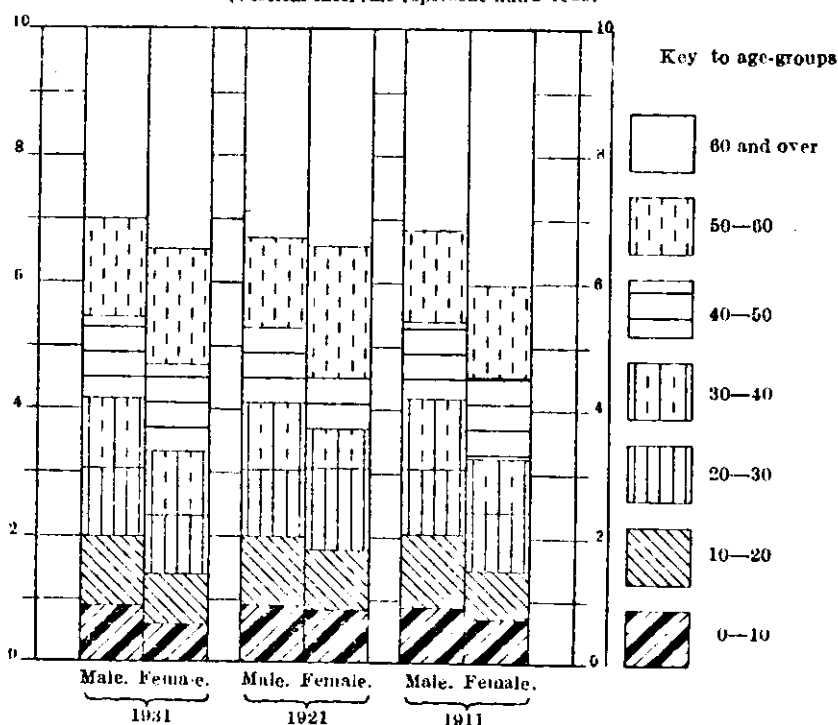


complaints has risen from 16,971 in 1926 to 29,947 in 1931, an increase of more than 76 per cent. which shows not only the increased facilities for treatment but probably also an increased confidence and desire for treatment. Compared with the figures of 1921 decreases have been recorded at the present census of 30 per 100,000 in Bankura (from 160 to 130), of 23 per 100,000 in Faridpur (from 76 to 53), of 16 in Cooch Behar (from 89 to 73), of 15 in Dacca (from 72 to 57), of 13 in Tripura State (from 72 to 59), of 11 in Jessore (from 75 to 64) and of some figure up to 10 in Calcutta (from 58 to 49), Sikkim (33 to 24), Tippera (58 to 50), Noakhali (47 to 40), Khulna (62 to 55), Rangpur (77 to 74) and Dinajpur (76 to 74), but the largest and most astounding decrease is recorded from the Chittagong Hill Tracts from 159 in 1921 to 95 per 100,000 in 1931, for which the most reasonable explanation appears to be an increased strictness in excluding those who are not totally blind. In all other parts of the province the incidence of blindness shows in the returns an increase over 1921. The figures are illustrated in the same diagram (No. VII-9) which displays the district incidence at the present census. In Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Howrah, Tippera, Noakhali, Bakarganj and Bankura the difference is not sufficient to be shown by the scale of hatchings adopted on the map. The greatest increase in the incidence of blindness is shown in Malda and Hooghly where the ratio has gone up from 78 to 111 per 100,000 in the first case and from 60 to 91 in the second. Comparatively large increases are also shown by Birbhum (95 to 109), Mymensingh (54 to 68), Burdwan (105 to 115) and the 24-Parganas (60 to 70). The general trend previous to the census of 1921 was in all natural divisions on the whole a decrease in the proportions of the blind, both male and female.

In 1881 the proportions for males and females were respectively as high as 119 and 113 per 100,000, and the figure of 1911 for males and females alike represents the lowest incidence on record since that date amounting in the case of males to 78 and in the case of females to 63 per 100,000. Between 1911 and 1921 there was no change in the incidence of males, and amongst females the incidence increased to 66 per 100,000; and on the present occasion, although the figures for both sexes show an increase over the incidence of 1921, this is entirely due to an increase in the figures for females which have advanced from 66 in 1921 to 70 on the present occasion, whereas the incidence against males has actually decreased from 78 to 76 in 1931. Amongst both sexes the highest proportions are shown in the female population of Bankura where the incidence amounts to as much as 143 per 100,000, but Burdwan also has an incidence (121) higher than in any district amongst males, and the female ratio in Birbhum (117) is equal to the incidence in Bankura which shows the highest proportion of the blind amongst males in the whole province. Even though the incidence amongst males has declined and that amongst females has increased there is only one division in which the proportion amongst females is as great as or greater than amongst males. This is the Burdwan Division where the figures are respectively 107 and 95 per 100,000.

233. **Age distribution of the blind by sexes.**—In both sexes the increase of blindness naturally proceeds at a higher rate with increasing age. The figures are illustrated in the coloured diagram B at the beginning of the chapter and also in diagram No. VII-2. No less than half the blind are over 45 in the case of males and 50 in the case of females; and from these ages in each sex the proportions per 1,000 of the same age increase very rapidly. They are actually higher amongst males up to the age-group 30 to 40 and amongst females from that age onwards. Nearly 35 per cent. of the blind amongst females and 30 per cent. amongst males are aged 60 and over. The same distribution has characterised the returns on each of the last three occasions although in 1911 the proportions were equal in the age-group 45 to 50 and the incidence amongst males was higher than amongst females in the age-group 40 to 45. There are only 599 females blind for every 1,000 males between the ages of 0 and 5, and this figure actually sinks to 557 at the next age-group 5 to 10; but from that age the proportion shows a fairly regular rise until at the age of 55 to 60 there are actually more females blind than males, and the proportions are 99 to 100 at ages 60 and over. Proportionately to the total number of the same age in each sex the blind are fewer amongst females up to the age of 30 to 35 and amongst males thereafter. The characteristic distribution of the blind among age-groups in each sex and the proportions of females per 1,000 males suffering from this affliction have remained relatively much the same since 1911, although both in that year and in 1921 the lowest proportion of female blind to male blind occurred five years later than is shown in the present year and the proportions particularly in 1921 showed a more

DIAGRAM No. VII-10.
Distribution by age-groups of 1,000 blind of each sex, 1911, 1921 and 1931.
 (Vertical intervals represent hundred redds.)



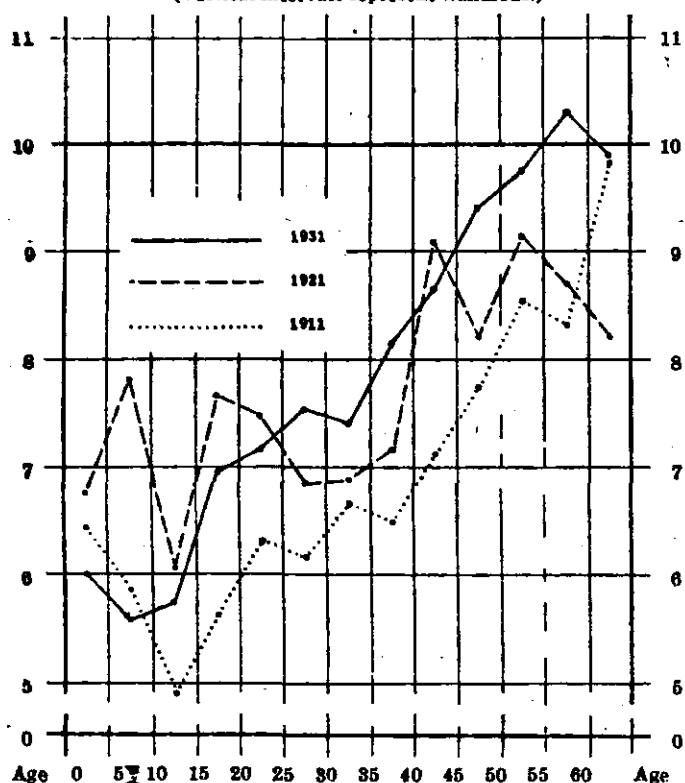
although in 1911 the proportions were equal in the age-group 45 to 50 and the incidence amongst males was higher than amongst females in the age-group 40 to 45. There are only 599 females blind for every 1,000 males between the ages of 0 and 5, and this figure actually sinks to 557 at the next age-group 5 to 10; but from that age the proportion shows a fairly regular rise until at the age of 55 to 60 there are actually more females blind than males, and the proportions are 99 to 100 at ages 60 and over. Proportionately to the total number of the same age in each sex the blind are fewer amongst females up to the age of 30 to 35 and amongst males thereafter. The characteristic distribution of the blind among age-groups in each sex and the proportions of females per 1,000 males suffering from this affliction have remained relatively much the same since 1911, although both in that year and in 1921 the lowest proportion of female blind to male blind occurred five years later than is shown in the present year and the proportions particularly in 1921 showed a more

erratic progress from one age-group to the next than either in 1911 or the present occasion. Diagrams Nos. VII-10 (on page 15) and VII-11 below illustrate the age distribution and sex ratios at age-groups.

DIAGRAM No. VII—11.

Blind : Number of females per 1,000 males at age-periods in 1911, 1921 and 1931.

(Vertical intervals represent hundreds.)



234. Comparison with other provinces.—Compared with other provinces Bengal shows a small incidence of blindness. In every 100,000 males there are 76 returned as blind against 103 in the North-West Frontier Province, 105 in Madras, 167 in Bombay, 170 in Burma, 209 in the Central Provinces, 239 in the Punjab and 260 in the United Provinces. The figures for females are similar. In Bengal 70 per 100,000 are blind, but the figure is 100 in the North-West Frontier Province, 116 in Madras, 193 in Bombay, 209 in Burma, 252 in the Punjab and as much as 313 in the Central Provinces and 330 in the United Provinces. Bengal owes her comparative immunity from eye

troubles to the moist air and abundant greenery which her sons celebrate in their songs. Col. Kirwan states: "Trachoma which is the greatest cause of blindness and partial blindness in India is not common amongst Bengalis. We see many cases amongst the foreigners to Bengal Marwaris, Pathans, etc. This I attribute to the amount of shade and humid atmosphere, less dust and glare than in other provinces of India. Keratomalacia is by far the commonest cause of blindness in children under five years of age. This is caused by insufficient fat in the food and the cause can be very easily prevented if sufficient money is available to provide milk for the babies. Small-pox is a very common cause for blindness and can very easily be prevented by proper vaccination and re-vaccination. Syphilis is also another very common cause of blindness and this will be largely preventable if the public were educated up to it and adequate treatment could be made available. We do not get any large epidemics of any special class in Bengal as a rule."

STATEMENT No. VII-9.

Statement of patients treated for eye complaints and cataract operations performed in—

Year.	Bengal.				Calcutta.*		
	All complaints.	Cataract operations.			All complaints.	Cataract operations.	
		No. of operations.	No. of patients.	No. of patients cured.		No. of operations.	No. of patients cured.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1921	288,557	2,109	2,104	2,077	16,933	742	720
1922	273,714	2,529	2,511	2,433	16,074	647	615
1923	301,523	2,531	2,465	2,404	17,477	947	937
1924	316,701	2,972	2,856	2,737	17,095	948	929
1925	306,028	3,228	3,201	3,197	16,971	769	687
1926	328,507	2,631	2,498	2,417	21,845	1,014	722
1927	342,808	3,102	2,793	2,722	22,697	1,010	815
1928	375,000	2,767	2,508	2,520	26,095	1,049	941
1929	391,726	3,038	2,955	2,846	28,570	1,107	926
1930	372,151	3,206	3,002	2,997	29,947	996	930
1931	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Eye Infirmary, Medical College Hospital only.

235. Cataract operations, 1921-31. Statement No. VII-9 above furnished by the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal and

Col. Kirwan shows for each year in the past decade the number of persons undergoing treatment for eye complaint with the number of cataract operations performed and cured in Bengal and at the Eye Infirmary, Medical College Hospital in Calcutta. Of the patients treated and the operations performed in Calcutta a considerable number were from outlying districts.

IV.—Leprosy

236. **Accuracy of the figures.**—Of all census infirmities it is in the case of leprosy that the greatest difficulties are experienced in obtaining an accurate return through such an agency as is employed in making the census enumeration, and the Executive of the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association found “good reason to believe that the number (of lepers) is 5 or more likely 10 times” the number shown in the census returns of 1921. The disease is so much dreaded and is such an object of odium that those who know themselves to be afflicted with it are under the most serious temptation to conceal the fact lest they be thrown out of employment or socially ostracised: but even were they prepared to return themselves in every case there are circumstances in the very nature of the disease itself which make it possible for sufferers at an early stage to be entirely unaware of their condition. The term “corrosive leprosy” inherited from previous census operations is apparently not known to science, but two main types of the disease are distinguished, viz., “neural” (showing evidence of actual or previous nerve involvement) and “cutaneous” (showing leprotic lesions of the skin). Upon bacteriological examination of the skin, mucosa or lymph glands the presence of “acid-fast” leprosy bacilli is often not revealed in the first and is revealed in the second type. These types are *known to leprosy workers in Bengal as A and B types and it is only the B type which is considered infectious; but, it is not only the B type which is readily recognisable by the unskilled observer. Within each of these two types leprosy research workers in Bengal distinguish various classes according to the severity of the disease. Non-infectious cases showing not very characteristic patches on the skin are distinguished as A1 whilst those showing actual acroteric lesions or the characteristic mutilations and disfigurements associated with this disease are known as A2, whilst the infectious cases are distinguished as B1, B2 and B3 according to the frequency with which the bacilli are found to be present. Without expert clinical examination A1 and B1 cases and even a proportion of B2 cases also cannot be confidently diagnosed. The character of the disease, therefore, is such as to give rise to conditions in which cases undetectable except to expert investigators may be either infectious or non-infectious whilst those which are most obvious to the untrained observer and most closely correspond to the census definition of “corrosive” leprosy are just the cases (A2) which are no longer infectious, and in which the disease has generally run its course and left the patient maimed and mutilated but no longer suffering or a source of infection. A further anomaly is introduced by the fact that it is just by comparison of the number of A1 and B1 cases (which are most likely or almost certain to escape diagnosis by the ordinary census enumerator) with more advanced cases (B2, B3 and A2) that research workers are able to form an idea whether the disease is increasing in frequency or decreasing. The hypothesis upon which research work in Bengal deals with this question is that the disease may be taken to be increasing in frequency when the number of undetectable cases or cases at an early stage (A1 and B1) is greater than the number of detectable cases or cases at a later stage

* “A” and “B” cases are now distinguished as Neural (“N”) and Cutaneous (“C”) in accordance with the report adopted by the Leonard Wood Memorial Conference on Leprosy in Manila in January 1931, but the old descriptions are retained because they are used in the reports published up to the time the census was taken, and sub-types are still distinguished by the degree of their severity. At the same conference the disuse of the term “infectious” was also recommended in favour of “open” to describe “cases from which dissemination seems probable” as opposed to which other cases are now described as “closed”, a term which replaces a description felt to be liable to misinterpretation, viz., “bacteriologically negative.”

(B2, A3 and A2), and to be on the decline when they are less. As far as census statistics go, therefore, every consideration is against the obtaining of complete and accurate returns. Such returns as are obtained are likely to be predominantly of the A2 class in which the sufferer bears the indelible traces of the disease but is no longer actually either infectious or in any real sense of the word suffering from it in active form, and consequently not only do the figures probably omit all the early cases of both kinds, but by their omission, and the fact that no scientific distinction can possibly be made in the census schedules between the kind or stage of the disease returned, make it impossible to base upon the type-distribution of the complaint any deduction whether the disease is tending to increase or decrease or is stationary in any particular area of the province.

237. **Comparison with figures obtained by other agencies.**—Work amongst lepers in India has been carried out since 1874 by the Mission to Lepers, but during the past three or four years increasing efforts have been made in Bengal to cope with this scourge under the auspices of the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, formed in London in 1923. There is now a research bureau dealing with leprosy at the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta and it is to the officer-in-charge of this department, Dr. E. Muir, that this report owes most of the details here given regarding the disease and its treatment. A considerable number of detailed surveys in selected areas have been carried out by the bureau during the past few years. Their method is to select an area in which either from economic or cultural or other considerations the incidence of the disease is expected to be high and to conduct a detailed examination of as many of the inhabitants of that region and in any case of all such "contacts" as can be inspected with the assistance of the local health and sanitary organisation maintained by the district boards; and it is some justification of the census figures of leprosy that they are used by research workers to determine the areas in which the incidence of leprosy is considerable. There is a widespread recognition of the seriousness of this complaint throughout Bengal; in nearly every district investigations have been carried out at least in some areas independently of the census figures and the results of these investigations present in many instances a valuable check upon the figures obtained at the census. The discrepancy between the census figures and the figures obtained by these independent surveys varies very considerably according to the agency employed. In some instances officers in charge of police-stations or circle officers have conducted the inquiry by means of *chaukidars*, an agency very little, if at all, more reliable than the general census staff. In these cases the figures generally do not show so great a discrepancy with the census figures as is displayed when enquirers with medical training are employed. Thus an inquiry by such an agency during the last decade in Birbhum revealed 1,569 lepers against the total shown at the present census of 1,792. Inquiries by a similar agency in 20 police-stations of the 24-Parganas revealed only 110 lepers against a census figure of 192. In other cases, however, with a similar agency an actual increase over the census figures was returned. Thus during 1930 an inquiry through *chaukidars* in 11 police-stations of Noakhali resulted in returns of 286 lepers against the census returns of 181; but in this case the district health officer himself doubted whether most of these returns were of real leprosy at all, and was of the opinion that some were only leucoderma. In Chittagong inquiries during the same year in 9 police-stations resulted in returns of 488 lepers against the census total of 352 for the whole district. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, again, a recent inquiry by the *thana* officers with the help of village headmen resulted in returns of 290 against the census figure of 195. A survey in November 1930 in the Tippera district conducted through the union boards under the supervision of the circle officers and supplemented by a survey of the Nasirnagar police-station by a trained medical worker of the Leprosy Research Bureau in 1931 revealed 859 lepers against census figures of 461 or little less than one half. Again in Dinajpur inquiries through the union boards elicited figures of 637 against the census figure of 580, whilst in

Burdwan recent inquiries through the union boards and the *Asansol Mines' Board of Health in 19 police-stations revealed 1,853 lepers against the census returns of 1,581. In two other districts inquiries have been conducted by more satisfactory agencies. In Jessore inquiries were made by the district board through the medium of their own sanitary inspectors with the unexpected result that the figures returned were 185 only as against 210 given in the census returns. Similarly an unexpected result was obtained in Jalpaiguri through the agency of the district board sanitary inspectors and assistant health officers: they found in 15 police-stations only 195 lepers against census returns of 890. Jessore and Jalpaiguri, however, are exceptional and in most cases the incidence of the disease revealed by trained medical examiners was very considerably higher than the census figures show. In Malda during 1929 an investigation initiated by expert research workers and continued by trained medical men under the supervision of the civil surgeon revealed 590 lepers against the census figure of 456. In the same year the public health staff of Faridpur enumerated 358 lepers or more than twice the number returned at the present census, viz., 166. In Rajshahi also inquiries by the district board sanitary staff revealed 517 lepers or nearly twice as many as the present census figure of 291. In Bankura, Midnapore and Bogra the leprosy research bureau has conducted or supervised fairly extensive surveys either through its own officers or through the local health and sanitary staff under the direction of its own officers. Between 1927 and 1931 surveys conducted in 5 police-stations of Bankura revealed 2,850 lepers against 1,718 returned at the present census. In Midnapore inquiries between 1930 and 1931 in 31 police-stations revealed 2,115 lepers against the census figure of 1,635. In Bogra, since the census, from January to March 1932, investigations have shown that there are no less than 354 lepers or nearly twice as many as the figure (191) returned at the census. In the three districts last mentioned the discrepancies are even more startling in certain police-stations. Trained investigators discovered nearly twice as many lepers as were returned at the census in the Binpur police-station of Midnapore (277 as against 150) and in the Taldangra police-station of Bankura district (253 against 197). Between two and three times as many were revealed in the Nayagram police-station of Midnapore district (137 against 61), and in the Gabtali and Joypurhat police-stations of the Bogra district where the figures were 70 against 34 and 22 against 9, respectively. Three times or more than three times the number of lepers were discovered in the Gangajalghati and Onda police-stations of Bankura district where the figures on expert investigation were 1,005 and 991 against the census figures of 332 and 288, in the Salbani, Sabang and Chandrakona police-stations of Midnapore where the survey figures were †579, 46 and 79, respectively, against census figures of 145, 13 and 25, and in the Panchbibi police-station of the Bogra district where the figure was 18 against 5 returned at the census. As much as 4½ times as many cases were diagnosed in the Sadar police-station of Midnapore (519 against the census figure of 116) and the Adamdighi police-station of Bogra (72 against the census figures of 16) whilst the figures in the Kahalu police-station in Bogra (33 against the census figures of 5) amount to the astonishing figure of 6½ times the numbers returned at the census.

238. Incidence of leprosy by locality, 1921 and 1931.—In these circumstances discussion of the figures of leprosy as returned at the census can only hope at the best to indicate to some extent the comparative incidence of the disease in various parts of the country and at various enumerations, although the figures for its incidence by age-groups are also not without interest. Details of the incidence of the disease in 1921 and 1931 are shown

*Dr. Muir writes: "The most recent expert survey of villages in Asansol area under the Mines' Board of Health shows 1·2 per cent. of leprosy."

†Dr. Muir reports that in Salbani "the most recent survey figure gives 793 lepers and even the expert figures probably do not gather more than half the cases." He adds: "It might be pointed out that the incidence found increases with the skill, time and thoroughness of the survey."

in statement No. VII-10 and illustrated for districts in diagram No. VII-12 and for natural divisions by sexes in diagram A at the beginning of the chapter. On the census returns 42 persons in every 100,000 are afflicted with

STATEMENT No. VII-10.

	Number of lepers per 100,000 of the total population in—	
	1921.	1931.
BENGAL ..	33	42
British Territory ..	33	42
Burdwan Division ..	99	112
Burdwan ..	112	138
Birbhum ..	148	189
Bankura ..	270	314
Midnapore ..	48	59
Hooghly ..	16	20
Howrah ..	37	21
Presidency Division ..	21	24
24-Parganas ..	10	14
Calcutta ..	29	21
Nadia ..	28	31
Murshidabad ..	57	64
Jessore ..	18	18
Khulna ..	9	11
Rajshahi Division ..	20	20
Rajshahi ..	10	20
Dinajpur ..	8	28
Jalpaiguri ..	52	97
Darjeeling ..	28	49
Rangpur ..	50	62
Bogra ..	16	18
Pabna ..	14	15
Malda ..	24	43
Dacca Division ..	22	23
Dacca ..	22	16
Mymensingh ..	31	42
Faridpur ..	18	7
Bakarganj ..	9	9
Chittagong Division ..	16	17
Tippera ..	18	15
Noakhali ..	4	11
Chittagong ..	11	20
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	28	92
Bengal States ..	50	42
Cooch Behar ..	66	45
Tripura State ..	39	38
BIKKIM ..	13	6

leprosy compared with 33 in 1921. The incidence is at its highest in West Bengal where it reaches the figure of 112 per 100,000 compared with 90 per 100,000 in 1921. But in no other division is the figure greater than 42, which is the incidence in Rajshahi Division and in the aggregate of Bengal states. The incidence in the Dacca Division is as low as 23 per 100,000, and it is even lower, viz., 17 per 100,000, in the Chittagong Division, whilst in the Presidency Division it is very little higher, being only 24 per 100,000. By districts the incidence is heaviest in Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan, Jalpaiguri, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Murshidabad and Rangpur. In all of these areas it amounts to more than 60 per 100,000 and is as high in Bankura as 314, in Birbhum as 189 and in Burdwan as 138. These areas of greatest frequency occur on the south-west of the province and along the eastern boundary at its northern and southern ends and they are prolonged in the first case on the north by Malda with an incidence of 43 per 100,000 and the second case on the north by Darjeeling with an incidence of 49, whilst Mymen-

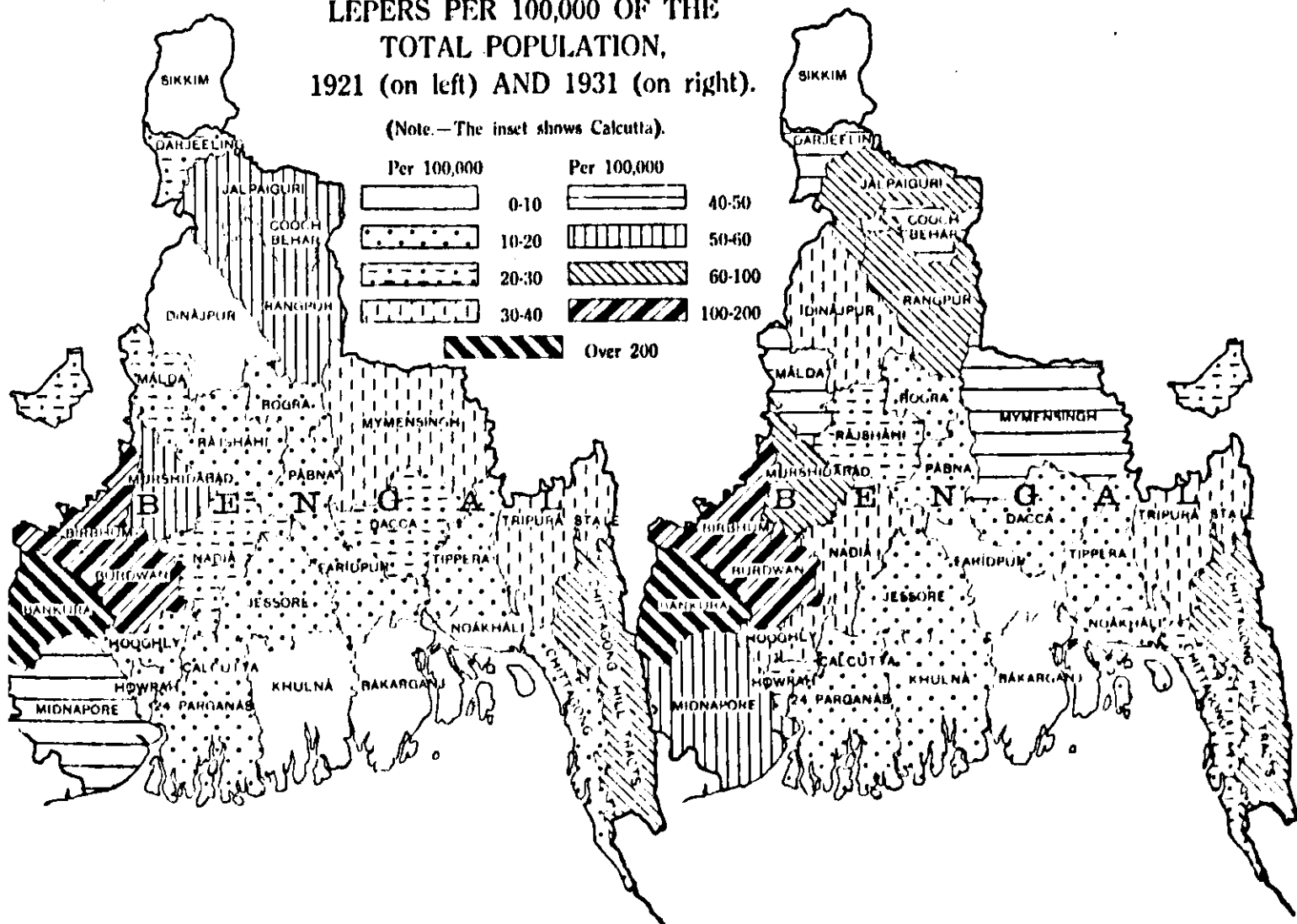
singh forms a link with an incidence of 42 between Rangpur and Chittagong, Tripura State intervening with an incidence of as much as 38 per 100,000. Bakarganj and Faridpur show the slightest incidence of the disease, viz., 9 and 7 per 100,000, respectively; and surrounding them the districts of 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Jessore, Khulna, Tippera, Dacca, Noakhali, Pabna and Bogra show the next lowest incidence of between 10 and 20 per 100,000 only. Dinajpur wedged in between Jalpaiguri and Rangpur in the north-east and Malda on the south-west shows an incidence of only 33, whilst Rajshahi, Nadia, Hooghly and Howrah on the one hand and Chittagong on the other show an incidence intermediate between the western band of high frequency and the central core of relative immunity. Thus in Rajshahi the proportion is 20 per 100,000 which is intermediate between the figures of Dinajpur and Nadia on the north and south and Pabna and Bogra on the east. Nadia and Hooghly have an incidence of between 30 and 40 per 100,000, intermediate between the frequency in Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan and Bankura on the one hand and 24-Parganas, Jessore and Calcutta on the other. The figure for Howrah is 21 per 100,000, intermediate between Midnapore with 59 and 24-Parganas with 14; and Chittagong also with an incidence of 20 is intermediate between the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tippera on the east and north and Noakhali on the north-west. The same general features are again reproduced in the map for 1921 also shown in diagram No. VII-12 although on the present occasion in most districts there has been an increase in the actual incidence per 100,000 afflicted with the disease. In 1921 as in 1931 speaking generally there was an area along the western boundary of the province and again on the boundary running from north-west to south-east where the incidence of the disease was generally highest. These two areas may be likened to the two jaws of a pair of pincers hinged in the north of the province and the incidence of the disease in general decreases with the distance from these two areas of high frequency. Thus in 1921 also Bakarganj was one of the areas of least frequency and this district with Khulna and Noakhali was surrounded in successive bands by areas having a progressively higher incidence of the disease. Into this

picture only Dinajpur fails to fit with reasonable accuracy. In this district an incidence of only 8 per 100,000 was returned in 1921 as compared with the present incidence of 33 per 100,000, more than four times as great as in 1921. With the exception of Jessore, which has recorded no change, and of Calcutta, where the incidence has decreased from 29 to 21, every British district in West, Central and North Bengal has returned an increase since 1921 in the proportion of lepers to the total population. In Calcutta itself it is doubtful whether the figures for either year can command even such confidence as may be given to the figures for the rural areas. Before the census of 1931 at one period amongst the leper patients attending the leprosy clinic in Calcutta (who necessarily knew that they were sufferers) only 7 per cent. were found to have been returned as lepers in the schedules for 1921, whilst the actual figure returned in 1931 (257) can hardly be reconciled with the fact that in 1927 no fewer than 230 cases of leprosy from the municipal area attended for the first time the out-patient clinic at the School of Tropical Medicine. Increases are returned of no less than 45 (from 52 to 97) in Jalpaiguri, of 44 (from 270 to 314) in Bankura, of 41 (from 148 to 189) in Birbhum, of 26 (from 112 to 138) in Burdwan, of 25 (from 8 to 33) in Dinajpur, of 21 (from 28 to 49) in Darjeeling, of 19 in Malda (from 24 to 43), of 15 (from 15 to 30) in Hooghly and of between 10 and 15 in Rangpur (from 50 to 62) and Midnapore (from 48 to 59). In the other districts of these three divisions the increase has been not more than 10. In the Bengal states, on the other hand, as well as in Dacca, Faridpur and Tippera the incidence of the disease now returned is less than in 1921. Thus in Dacca there are now 16 per 100,000 compared with 22 in 1921, in Faridpur 7 per 100,000 against 13 in 1921, and in Tippera there are only 15 per 100,000 compared with 18 in 1921. Similarly, in Cooch Behar the proportion has declined from 55 in 1921 to 45 per 100,000 in 1931 whilst a smaller decrease of from 39 to 38 is

DIAGRAM No. VII-12.

LEPERS PER 100,000 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, 1921 (on left) AND 1931 (on right).

(Note.—The inset shows Calcutta).



reported from the Tripura State; but the Cooch Behar figure of 264 lepers is clearly incomplete for in November and December 1930, three trained medical research workers diagnosed no fewer than 180 cases during a hurried sample survey of no more than 87 mauzas, from which the actual number of lepers is deduced as being at least 1,000 to 1,200 in the whole state. In Bakarganj, Noakhali, Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts increases of between 3 and 9 per 100,000 are recorded since 1921. In Sikkim the figure has declined from 13 in 1921 to 6 on the present occasion.

239. Causes of variation in the returns at different years.—Whether the increase in each case represents a natural increase in the incidence of the disease and not partly or entirely an increase in the accuracy of the returns is a question upon which it is difficult to express any opinion. The detailed reports of trained workers conducting intensive surveys on more than one occasion record that cases which have been concealed at first come forward voluntarily after a short time when it is seen that the treatment concurrently given with the survey work causes an improvement in the patients treated. It is possible that in the districts of Western Bengal, such as Bankura and Midnapore, where the problem was first taken up the increase may be due in some degree to the fact that sufferers from this disease, seeing that it can be arrested if taken early enough, have no longer the same incentive to conceal it and are more willing now to come forward and return their affliction. On the other hand in almost every case of detailed expert survey, the number of early cases (A1 and B1) is greater than the remainder and this ratio is generally held to indicate that the disease is on the increase. It is at least certain that the increase returned in Dinajpur, where the incidence is 75 per cent. higher than in 1921, is not due to increasing consciousness of the disease for this district alone has refused an offer twice made to send a leprosy propaganda officer to disseminate information. Although, however, the figures for the present census represent an increase on those of the last census in every division before that date, the figures, as is clear from the coloured diagram at the beginning of this chapter had progressively declined in every natural division of Bengal from the year 1881. This decline can by no means be accepted as an actual record of the facts although it is possible that in the early years many cases of leucoderma were recorded as leprosy. The improvement of communications by rail and particularly by motor bus combines with economic pressure to drive away from their original habitations just those primitive peoples who are the most likely to contract and spread the disease, and to give them access to all parts of the country whilst the insidious nature of the onset of the disease and the fact that the average period of incubation is at least two or three years, a time during which the intimates and friends of the sufferer have no suspicion that he is afflicted and associate freely with him, make it very easy for the disease to spread unsuspected. Some of the most infectious cases, indeed, show so little the outward signs of the disease that they are unlikely to be recognised as lepers by those with whom they come into contact.

240. Comparison with other provinces.—The number of lepers returned per 100,000 of each sex is 59 for males and 23 for females. The proportions are higher for both sexes in the Central Provinces (males 88, females 50), in Burma (males 102, females 49) and in Madras (males 107, females 34). In Bombay the male ratio (55) is less but the female ratio (26) is greater whilst the proportions for both sexes are lower in the North-West Frontier Province (males 12, females 8), the Punjab (males 13, females 6) and the United Provinces (males 47, females 11).

*Dr. Muir comments as follows: "You mention a high proportion of instances of early cases as being the sign of the rapid increase of leprosy. There is, however, an alternative, namely, that it is due to fairly high resistance to leprosy in the majority of cases so that the disease does not increase beyond the early stage except in a comparatively small proportion; or both causes may be at work in the instances mentioned. I think that the latter is probably more effective; not that leprosy is not spreading—I believe it is spreading in many of these places but not to the extent which would be indicated by the former of the two theories."

241. **Pre-disposing conditions.**—Leprosy is a disease which may be contracted without revealing itself for years in the absence of favourable conditions of pre-disposing causes. Any condition which leads to a general reduction in the resistance in the organism encourages the disease. Epidemics such as small-pox, cholera, influenza, enteric, etc., syphilis, staphylococcal and streptococcal infections, malaria, dysentery and helminthic infections such as hook-worm, are amongst the leading affections which give the disease an opportunity of establishing itself. In Bengal very great importance is attached to errors of diet and Dr. Muir roundly states that the chief direct causes of the high incidence of leprosy in India are dietetic. The disease is encouraged by an improper balance of foods, a lack of vitamins and addiction to unsuitable foods such as dry or decaying meat and fish and rice which has been permitted to ferment, all of which are associated with a poor standard of living consequent upon poverty or the inadequacy and inferior nutritive qualities of the food obtained from the soil, and dietary excesses in other directions also produce conditions favourable to its establishment. An instance of the importance of dietetic pre-disposing causes is afforded by the Chinese amongst whom it is particularly prevalent and who are one of the most industrious, hardworking and cleanly classes in the community and by their rapid improvement in Calcutta when errors of diet are corrected. Certain physiological conditions are favourable to the onset of the disease such as puberty, pregnancy and lactation. Excessively hot or cold climates having a high humidity favour the spread of the disease, and it is of course encouraged by insanitary surroundings, over-crowding, lack of sunlight, irregular habits and lack of personal cleanliness, whilst even psychological factors such as the extreme fear in which the disease is held may actually pre-dispose to it and lead to its increase.

242. **Incidence by social class.**—Although there are on the present occasion no figures for the incidence of the disease by castes it is not by any means confined only to the lowest classes or to the aboriginal peoples. The aboriginal, in fact, in his own country is generally comparatively free from the disease and although it is frequently present in the Santhal Parganas it is now generally believed that the disease was introduced and spread there by returned immigrants who had come down into the western parts of Bengal and took back the disease with them. But although it is not confined to any particular class it is clear that the main conditions pre-disposing to the disease, particularly those of diet, will mainly be found amongst persons of low caste and amongst primitive peoples and aboriginals, particularly when economic conditions in their own territories have driven them to migrate and seek to better themselves elsewhere. Thus Dr. Muir states—

“Leprosy like yaws and tuberculosis belongs to a certain stage in civilisation. In India we do not find leprosy amongst the aboriginals or among those who lead a tribal or nomadic life. Nor is it common *primarily* among the more highly civilised and educated classes. It is commonest among.....those who are in the intermediate state between the aboriginal tribes and the more civilised people.....Where we get contact between the primitive and the more advanced, there at the point of contact we find leprosy.”

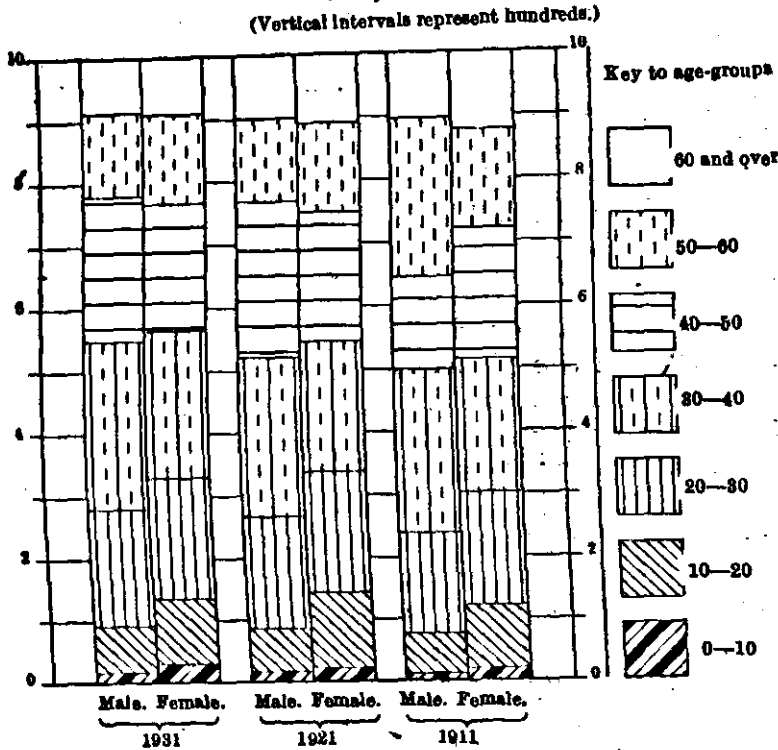
The comparatively high incidence of the disease in the district of Jalpaiguri is undoubtedly accounted for by the large numbers of Munda, Oraon and Santhal workers in the tea gardens there; and it is significant that the highest incidence of the disease is revealed in the western portion of Bengal which is generally regarded as the chief locality in which primitive immigrants from Chota Nagpur and the Santhal Parganas are found in considerable numbers. In industrial concerns where the staff is largely recruited from primitive peoples of the lower classes recent surveys amongst labourers have shown an incidence rising to 6 or even 12 per cent. of those examined with a common average figure round about 1 per cent.

243. **Incidence of leprosy by sexes.**—As between the sexes the incidence of the disease is returned as being more than twice as high amongst males than amongst females, the figures being respectively 59 and 23 per 100,000;

and these proportions are much the same in every natural division except Eastern Bengal where they are respectively 33 for males and 9 for females. The incidence amongst males reaches as much as 427 per 100,000 in Bankura and 271 per 100,000 in Birbhum. It is highest amongst females in Midnapore (236) and Bankura (201). In no district since 1881 has the incidence of leprosy returned been greater for females than males, and in the absence of any reason to believe that females are less liable to the disease—they are in fact equally liable to most of the pre-disposing conditions and exclusively liable to such as pregnancy and lactation—it may not unreasonably be assumed that there is a greater reluctance to return this affliction for women than for men.

244. **Age distribution by sexes at successive years.**—The distribution of 1,000 lepers of each sex plotted for the last three census years from subsidiary table III by age-groups together with the sex ratio of lepers at age-groups also plotted from the same table are shown in diagrams Nos. VII-13 and VII-14. The greatest incidence of leprosy amongst the total population is found in the age-group 50 to 55. There is also, however, a very marked increase in the proportion in both sexes after the age-group 20 to 25 and particularly after the age-group 30 to 35. At 25 to 30 and 35 to 40 compared with the figures for the preceding quinquennial period the number of male lepers is increased by no less than 29 and 31, respectively, per 100,000 of the population of the same age; in other words, the proportion of lepers to the total population increases by no less than 63 and 33 per cent. in each of these age-periods, respectively.

DIAGRAM No. VII-13.
Distribution by age-groups of 1,000 lepers of each sex,
1911, 1921 and 1931.



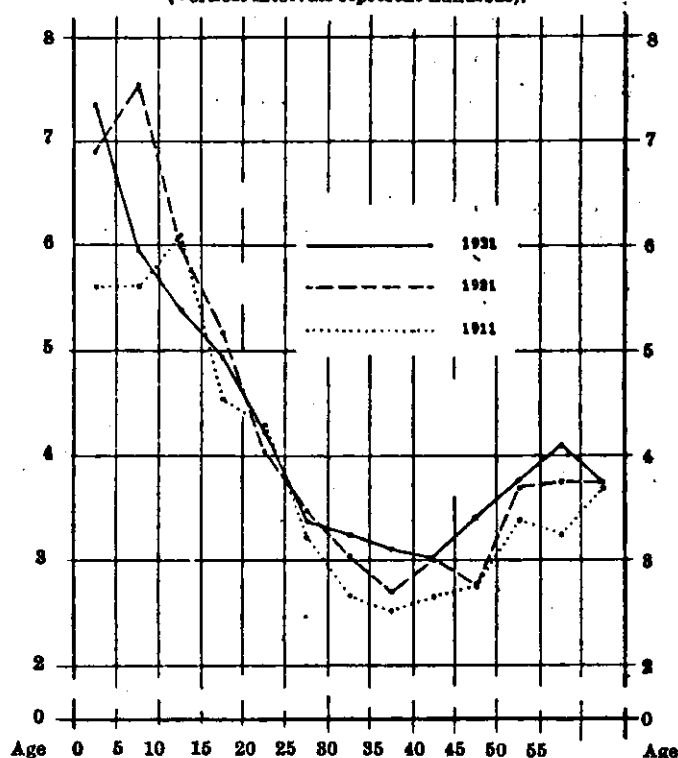
Amongst females excluding the age-group 45 to 50, where the numbers afflicted per 100,000 are 11 more than in the previous quinquennium, the greatest increases occur also in the age-groups 25 to 30 and 35 to 40 as in the case of males. The increase here over the proportion in the previous quinquennial period is respectively from 18 to 28 and from 37 to 50 per 100,000. There are thus 56 and 35 per cent. more lepers returned per 100,000 at 25 to 30 and at 35 to 40 than in the preceding age-groups. The marked increase of leprosy at the later ages after the first vigour of youth is passed is perhaps to be expected from the natural causes predisposing to it: indeed it has been found for instance amongst tea garden labourers that the disease often establishes itself when the patient, after a temperate and hardworking youth slackens off and possibly takes to an intemperate use of drink or drugs. More than 50 per cent. of the male lepers are over 35 years of age and in the case of females 50 per cent. of the total is reached also before the age of 40. Amongst 10,000 lepers of each sex there are as many as 1,179 aged 30 to 35 amongst the females. These are the highest proportions of any age-group. Together with the general distribution shown in subsidiary table II these figures bear out what has already been said as to the insidious nature of the attack of this disease and the fact that it succeeds in establishing itself most readily when the period of youthful activity is coming to an end. The coloured diagram at the beginning of this chapter shows that

there has been no significant deviation in the general frequency curve by age-groups during the last three census enumerations.

DIAGRAM No. VII-14.

Lepers : Number of females per 1,000 males at age-periods in 1911, 1921 and 1931.

(Vertical intervals represent hundreds).



which leprosy infection is conveyed; and as man is the only animal suffering from this complaint it is not possible to proceed along those lines of research which have in other fields yielded great advance by the study of animals. The long period of incubation puts a further obstacle in the way of obtaining accurate information as to the exact time at which the disease was acquired and the general mode of transmission. But leprosy workers believe that the disease is not incurable* and in the report of the Indian Council of the Empire Leprosy Relief Association for 1925 it is moderately stated that—

“Leprosy as it is found in India is capable of easy diagnosis by clinical signs in its early stages, and that patients whose disease is diagnosed early, and who undergo efficient treatment for a sufficient period under reasonably favourable circumstances, have every hope of recovery; and unless at any future time their general health is lowered they can look forward to continue freedom from all signs of the disease.”

In general the principles now being adopted in treatment are to create and maintain a state of high resistance and so far as is consistent with the maintenance of this high resistance to use drugs which break down leproma such as hydnocarpus oil and its preparations. The importance of the first principle is clear from the great part played by dietetic conditions as a predisposing cause; and in many instances research workers report an astonishing improvement when milk and vegetable food can be given to patients in whose diet these elements are not sufficiently provided. There is no proof that immunity can be inherited and it is acquired only to a limited extent after the disease has reached a fairly advanced stage. The facility for spreading the disease afforded by improved communications has already been referred to and its diffusion is further favoured by the increasing inter-mixture of different classes and castes in every-day life.

* Leprosy workers, however, are cautious about speaking of a “cure” for the disease and the word is no longer used. Cases showing “clinical or microscopic evidences of progressive or recessive changes in lesions” are described as “active”; those where such evidence of activity has been absent for a period of at least three months are now known as “quiescent”, and cases which have remained quiescent for at least two years and would have been previously known as cured are described as “arrested.”

245. Provision for lepers.—Leprosy asylums exist at Gobra on the out-skirts of Calcutta, at Raniganj in the Asansol subdivision and at Bankura; and during the last decade a leper colony established at Kalimpong in the Darjeeling district was opened in June 1928. Reference has already been made to the anti-leprosy work being done in Bengal under the auspices of the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association. The difficulties of radically exterminating the disease are many. Medical science is not yet in a position to make a clear and decisive statement as to the exact method by

Legislation under which lepers can be controlled has existed since the Lepers Act (III of 1898) was passed. In its original form the Act suffered from the defect that its definition of "leper" practically confined its application to just those cases (mainly A2) which were no longer infectious. This defect was removed by an amendment (Act XXII of 1920) and all persons suffering from any variety of leprosy now fall within the definition. The Act has been applied to the whole of Bengal but is enforced by notification only in certain places. These places are the districts of Burdwan, Bankura and Birbhum, Fort William and a number of municipalities, namely, Calcutta, including all the areas shown in volume VI of this series of reports, Howrah, Comilla, Brahmanbaria, Chandpur, Noakhali, Chittagong, Cox's Bazar, Dacca, Rampur-Boalia, Jalpaiguri, Bogra, Darjeeling and Kurseong. The notifications enforcing it in these places, however, were issued before the amendment of 1920 and it is doubtful to what extent action has been taken under the Act even in those areas in which it has been enforced. The Act provides for the appointment of Government leper asylums, only one of which has been instituted, namely, the Albert Victor Leper Asylum at Gobra near Calcutta, and amongst other things for prohibiting that lepers within any specified area should follow certain trades or do certain acts liable to spread the disease. These last provisions are made under section 9 of the Act which has been applied to all the municipalities mentioned above with the exception of Kurseong and Darjeeling. For any extended campaign against leprosy, therefore, legislative provision already exists and all that is necessary is that the provisions already on the statute book should be applied.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Number of insane, deaf-mute, blind and lepers by sexes per 100,000 persons of the same sex, 1881-1931.

1	Insane.												Deaf-mute.											
	Male.						Female.						Male.						Female.					
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
BENGAL	49	47	50	50	58	74	38	35	36	35	44	53	81	79	81	72	102	126	58	55	58	49	68	84
West Bengal	47	34	36	41	44	60	26	19	19	20	24	34	88	76	88	70	108	140	62	54	60	47	73	96
Burdwan	50	38	38	43	38	61	27	21	18	20	23	41	91	81	90	81	104	144	69	68	61	54	77	108
Birbhum	32	29	38	43	58	60	18	15	21	22	32	35	86	63	88	83	127	150	65	56	70	67	107	107
Bankura	48	40	49	42	53	66	25	15	21	23	30	28	95	80	86	79	141	178	78	58	62	58	108	125
Midnapore	41	29	31	36	35	47	27	19	20	19	18	24	78	96	95	59	99	121	47	64	60	31	53	74
Hooghly	61	24	40	43	50	84	27	16	19	21	26	46	79	88	80	66	80	140	63	24	56	48	62	97
Howrah	62	54	37	48	55	62	31	29	18	25	28	36	110	66	79	72	107	132	79	48	51	49	67	90
Central Bengal	46	51	50	43	51	66	37	36	29	28	36	45	56	69	61	54	95	105	45	50	48	40	60	69
24-Parganas	50	42	40	41	64	80	39	34	33	28	46	54	61	48	63	57	127	119	49	35	47	40	77	74
Calcutta	38	36	39	60	71	42	30	33	33	49	49	42	27	52	28	38	24	45	32	58	35	44	42	42
Nadia	50	37	32	33	47	64	38	27	16	18	27	38	71	60	59	48	91	105	47	40	39	28	52	68
Murshidabad	37	116	116	58	31	78	25	38	34	27	25	30	65	84	70	62	79	123	54	75	59	43	83	82
Jessore	42	46	39	36	46	50	40	40	31	31	38	40	32	117	75	60	108	97	21	70	52	46	62	59
Khulna	53	49	48	44	45	58	47	48	44	38	48	56	78	62	85	62	80	92	58	41	60	48	69	65
North Bengal	64	57	57	65	71	92	53	46	46	53	55	71	103	97	94	97	119	165	75	69	70	67	83	108
Rajshahi	48	42	48	54	54	60	42	32	38	48	50	49	78	67	70	62	84	81	64	52	58	49	60	61
Dinajpur	65	61	53	62	74	90	48	49	43	51	56	67	115	90	102	91	105	149	80	61	68	64	78	104
Jalpaiguri	83	82	77	84	98	113	61	62	64	56	82	96	181	159	101	138	97	182	124	106	83	83	79	107
Darjeeling	18	19	8	21	33	32	11	22	6	15	26	27	192	174	49	152	196	162	168	149	23	124	152	167
Rangpur	77	68	59	83	62	123	67	57	51	75	48	100	112	102	95	100	97	227	71	68	68	66	58	144
Bogra	58	49	66	54	99	77	59	44	62	52	80	94	75	85	93	60	116	116	67	67	75	44	107	70
Pabna	65	56	60	58	68	84	51	44	41	50	53	63	85	96	94	111	138	187	69	80	75	76	94	127
Malda	36	22	36	32	47	64	36	18	24	26	34	53	78	64	107	93	141	113	62	44	80	67	111	88
Cooch Behar State	91	91	79	100	119	132	65	72	68	75	90	85	48	105	113	136	200	228	24	69	71	66	109	124
East Bengal	44	44	53	47	62	74	36	35	40	36	51	56	79	74	78	66	94	104	54	49	54	45	60	69
Dacca	89	61	71	66	79	85	27	38	41	40	47	55	80	91	76	74	36	101	53	68	55	55	23	73
Mymensingh	52	40	60	56	67	74	39	30	42	42	58	46	102	24	82	80	128	111	71	17	64	58	90	78
Faridpur	82	43	45	27	51	68	28	38	32	22	41	49	71	102	78	34	78	85	48	68	51	21	47	42
Bakarganj	37	33	37	39	50	63	38	29	31	35	53	60	65	73	62	57	92	64	49	48	38	38	52	57
Tippura	36	31	35	25	44	67	26	30	31	19	45	54	96	93	74	55	107	112	45	61	48	69	67	63
Noakhali	35	28	28	34	47	78	34	29	31	30	56	67	75	94	88	82	113	124	51	51	49	49	63	67
Chittagong	65	62	79	77	82	104	51	51	59	56	64	84	79	95	99	83	116	143	44	53	57	58	82	108
Chittagong Hill Tracts	123	144	187	120	164	..	119	133	181	184	174	..	66	198	88	64	86	..	57	108	77	65	84	
Tripura State	55	55	44	58	95	..	67	67	50	89	45	..	54	89	48	48	168	..	57	69	39	44	66	
SIKKIM	5	22	13	46	..	..	4	5	7	32	..	..	159	200	297	355	..	..	139	152	233	365	..	..

1	Blind.												Lepers.											
	Male.						Female.						Male.						Female.					
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
BENGAL	76	78	78	80	84	119	70	66	63	67	75	113	59	48	56	69	104	141	23	18	19	23	36	51
West Bengal	95	89	96	104	94	136	107	91	92	100	97	150	152	124	137	168	244	287	69	55	57	84	90	107
Burdwan	110	108	108	123	104	165	121	107	107	121	110	186	190	159	200	239	318	444	83	68	60	88	122	159
Birbhum	102	95	110	102	135	125	117	96	101	118	147	121	271	216	241	321	522	485	108	80	88	109	190	182
Bankura	117	106	107	121	134	152	148	127	123	134	155	179	427	367	314	367	515	540	201	181	163	168	218	214
Midnapore	89	89	95	97	70	117	97	85	86	87	68	129	82	70	80	91	122	134	236	265	29	81	86	52
Hooghly	85	58	90	93	83	147	97	62	75	78	82	163	40	21	37	55	115	179	18	8	10	14	25	49
Howrah	74	79	61	66	70	120	76	70	53	67	59	120	30	23	18	23	47	82	11	11	4	6	14	31
Central Bengal	75	79	76	76	88	119	73	67	68	68	69	112	32	30	38	46	78	111	13	11	12	14	23	38
24-Parganas	71	64	57	60	84	116	68	55	47	47	56	107	18	18	15	18	50	72	10	6	5	5	18	30
Calcutta	47	61	63	71	38	101	53	72	92	105	60	178	25	32	32	32	26	63	15	21	26	22	25	67
Nadia	97	103	90	72	104	119	94	78	76	57	77	106	47	43	50	49	119	150	15	13	14	17	25	42
Murshidabad	116	107	114	115	111	159	117	108	109	114	98	157	97	86	90	119	129	104	39	27	24	33	38	68
Jessore	68	90	72	76	78	101	60	58	49	54	58	78	17	21	22	32	65	65	8	5	5	7	15	16
Khulna	64	74	67	58	44	81	47	49	44	37	31	60	15	13	14	12	18	38	7	6	5	6	8	14
North Bengal	82	81	74	82	82	120	80	73	64	71	83	118	60	42	50	63	88	147	22	12	14	18	29	50
Rajshahi	70	67	63	79	82	98	79	72	61	80	87	89	21	12	7	15	30	55	20	7	6	10	17	37
Dinajpur	69	79	72	75	77	117	78	78	69	76	81	123	45	11	42	56	61	104	20	5	13	15	40	42
Jalpaiguri	88	85	72	65	54	105	87	89	57	57	58	107	128	78	89	110	139	185	61	21	29	38	68	69
Darjeeling	61	59	27	53	78	71	62	43	23	46	79	95	63	38	45	43	98	156	33	16	14	27	49	65
Rangpur	82	66	69	86	68	132	66	67	55	66	54	129	96	77	73	94	107	231	24	19	17	24	27	64
Bogra	79	82	74	76	89	60	79	64	53	52	100	78	26	25	30	38	81	105	9	7	6	11	25	29
Pabna	98	92	78	90	85	136	84	76	63	65	73	107	21	20	29	46	62	100	9	8	8	11	21	30
Malda	105	75	102	100	126	155	117	60	107	99	136	160	63	34	55	54	98	110	28	13				

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by age-groups of 10,000 of each sex insane, deaf-mute, blind or leper, 1911 to 1931.

Age-group.	Insane.						Deaf-mute.					
	Male.			Female.			Male.			Female.		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	162	102	61	182	118	100	614	362	417	715	416	483
5-10	796	531	555	575	573	508	1,597	1,572	1,579	1,568	1,614	1,566
10-15	638	706	831	783	750	847	1,552	1,431	1,696	1,512	1,284	1,404
15-20	983	805	934	1,058	904	1,041	1,101	1,068	1,265	1,195	1,097	1,385
20-25	1,170	1,027	1,024	1,126	962	1,031	1,064	1,002	1,032	1,136	1,092	1,055
25-30	1,292	1,306	1,386	1,151	1,265	1,112	912	1,081	1,046	915	996	1,021
30-35	1,255	1,369	1,292	1,123	1,135	1,112	818	799	728	749	747	753
35-40	1,074	1,115	1,075	1,017	936	856	582	652	613	526	500	569
40-45	844	983	969	881	946	947	477	540	557	445	623	550
45-50	561	611	578	639	617	562	360	379	298	338	332	322
50-55	435	543	532	531	706	753	290	356	291	283	388	317
55-60	264	277	241	347	293	309	194	192	127	203	174	118
60 & over	486	535	522	587	735	762	439	566	351	417	647	397

Age-group.	Blind.						Lepers.					
	Male.			Female.			Male.			Female.		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
All ages	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	338	289	319	237	245	266	38	25	38	78	49	66
5-10	555	612	574	362	604	434	137	82	75	235	178	132
10-15	580	611	614	388	468	389	240	251	205	359	434	389
15-20	519	488	538	422	478	391	511	516	444	698	768	630
20-25	547	482	476	458	461	387	732	674	584	853	783	783
25-30	527	578	558	465	500	443	1,157	1,123	1,030	1,077	1,159	1,033
30-35	535	542	559	463	471	480	1,315	1,183	1,227	1,179	1,025	1,021
35-40	563	521	540	536	478	453	1,363	1,360	1,383	1,169	1,054	1,090
40-45	588	625	666	594	717	613	1,277	1,416	1,395	1,064	1,222	1,153
45-50	694	563	569	764	584	569	1,031	1,040	1,049	907	827	908
50-55	703	825	881	810	952	972	829	901	994	862	959	1,050
55-60	836	552	531	1,007	608	570	502	431	521	570	464	528
60 & over	3,015	3,312	3,175	3,494	3,439	4,033	863	908	1,055	899	1,078	1,217

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Insane, deaf-mute, blind and lepers per 100,000 of the total population of the same sex and age-group and females insane, deaf-mute, etc., per 1,000 males insane, deaf-mute, etc., of the same age-group.

Age-group.	Number afflicted per 100,000 of the total population of the same sex and age-group.								Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males afflicted of the same age-group.			
	Insane.		Deaf-mute.		Blind.		Lepers.		Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
	Male	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	46	38	81	52	76	70	59	23	717	663	854	362
0-5	5	4	34	25	17	10	2	1	802	772	599	733
5-10	23	17	95	69	31	19	6	4	646	651	557	596
10-15	33	26	105	76	37	24	12	7	706	646	572	541
15-20	55	38	102	66	45	29	34	15	772	720	695	494
20-25	62	39	93	61	45	28	46	18	690	708	715	422
25-30	70	50	82	61	44	37	75	28	639	665	753	337
30-35	74	58	80	59	49	44	93	37	612	608	739	325
35-40	81	72	73	57	66	70	124	50	679	600	814	310
40-45	80	75	71	58	82	93	138	55	715	620	863	302
45-50	70	73	75	59	135	160	155	66	817	622	941	339
50-55	70	74	77	60	175	208	160	73	875	616	984	376
55-60	67	71	81	63	326	378	151	70	915	695	1,028	411
60 & over	72	68	107	74	687	746	153	63	866	630	990	375

CHAPTER VIII

Occupations

Part I—Introductory

246. **The statistics shown.**—The figures forming the basis of this chapter are those shown in imperial tables X (Occupation by sexes) and XI (Occupation by selected castes). The necessity for economy has made it impossible to show figures corresponding to the three tables (Nos. XVIII to XX) prepared in 1921 and showing occupations subsidiary to agriculture, combined occupations, and occupations by religion. The same cause has prevented any use being made of particulars obtained by an innovation under which a return was made in the schedules showing the industry as apart from the occupation of all workers employed in organised industries. This column of the schedule was designed to provide information similar to that given as a result of a special enquiry in imperial table XXII of 1921. The figures for 1921 included only details of industrial establishments either registered under the Factories Act or employing as many as ten persons. No such restriction was proposed on the present occasion and it was therefore intended to obtain details of all workers employed in organised industries irrespective of the size of the establishment employing them. The necessity for dispensing with this information is likely to prove a fruitful source of regret in view of the importance attaching to the existence of accurate statistics along these lines for electoral purposes and also for purposes of industrial welfare and control. The figures in the tables are supplemented by a number of subsidiary tables printed after this chapter and showing—

- I—the number of workers and non-working dependents in each occupational class, sub-class and order in every 10,000 of the total population with percentages employed in and outside cities ;
- II—the distribution by dependence of 1,000 of the total population by districts with numbers per mille employed in each occupational sub-class ;
- III—the distribution of male and female workers with the ratio of females to males by occupational groups ;
- IV—the number of workers employed in each occupational group in 1931 compared with 1921 ;
- V—a distribution for selected caste or other groups of 1,000 earners (principal occupation) by occupational sub-classes with the ratio of female to male earners in each sub-class ;
- VI—figures compiled from the returns of the Railways, the Irrigation, Telegraphs and Postal Departments in Bengal showing by grades the numbers employed on the 21st February ; and
- VII—figures of educated unemployed males by locality, class, age, period of unemployment and educational qualification.

No attempt has been made on the present occasion to ascertain the number of dependents supported by those persons following each occupation. On the other hand, the figures previously shown for workers have been subdivided to show separately earners and working dependents.

247. **Source of the figures.**—The information for imperial tables X and XI was compiled from columns 9, 10 and 11 of the schedule. The instructions for filling up these columns were as follows :—

“ *Column 9 (earner or dependent).*—Enter as *earners* persons who actually work or carry on business, whether personally or by means of servants ; or who live on rents, pension, etc. ; or who have a share in a coparcenary property or trade or financial concern and are supported or principally supported thereby. Enter all other persons as *dependents*. Women and children are ordinarily dependents even if they regularly work or assist the members of their family at their work ; but if they regularly get money or any kind of direct return for their work and thereby augment the family income, they are earners.

Column 10 (principal occupation).—Enter the principal means of livelihood of all earners. Enter the exact occupation and avoid vague terms such as 'service' or 'writing' or 'labour'. For example, in the case of labour, say whether in the fields or in a coal mine or jute factory or cotton mill or lac factory or on earth-work, etc. Enter as *landlords* those who have land but lease it out and live on the rents in cash or kind and do not actually cultivate either themselves or by servants or hired labourers and distinguish between landlords of agricultural land and of houses or town property. Enter as *agricultural labourers* those who cultivate land for hire in cash or kind. Enter all other persons cultivating the land either with their own hands or by servants or hired labourers as *cultivators* and distinguish between those who have either a tenure or a permanent lease or occupancy right and those who have no tenure or permanent interest. If a person makes the articles he sells he should be entered as *maker and seller* thereof. Women and children who work at any occupation which helps to augment the family income and have been shown as earners in column 9 must be entered in column 10 under that occupation. Column 10 will be blank for persons entered as *dependents* in column 9.

Column 11 (subsidiary occupation).—Enter here any occupation which earners pursue at any time of the year in addition to their principal occupation. Thus, if a person lives principally by his earnings as a boatman but partly also by fishing, the word *boatman* will be entered in column 10 and *fisherman* in column 11. If an earner has no additional occupation the column will be left blank. If a person shown in column 9 as dependent has an occupation it will be shown in column 11. Dependents who help to support the family by subsidiary work, e.g., a woman who helps in the fields as well as doing house work, will be shown in column 11."

248. Definitions and distinctions: earners and dependents.—It was perhaps in entering up these columns and column 12 for "industries", of which no use has been made, that the greatest difficulty was encountered. The first problem was to distinguish between earners and dependents; and it was made more difficult by the fact that the simple distinction of 1921 into workers and dependents had been abandoned. The principal distinction was between those who do and those who do not work for some regular direct return either in money or in kind as a contribution towards the family income. This is a clear distinction but the performance of actual hand or brain work was not the only title to be recorded as earner and persons were also thus recorded who derive their income from rents or pensions or from shares in business concerns which yield them dividends or a share of the profits. A general presumption was made that women are dependents; they were treated as working dependents if they merely assisted other members of the family at their work, and as earners only if they received money or some other direct return for their work. It was felt that that it would be at variance with general sentiment and actual fact to return all women as earners who had any income whatever from land or investments or shares in property or business in the direction of which they took no active part; and in the case of females insistence was laid upon the provision that such income must contribute at least the main part of their support. Students and scholars also were presumed to be dependents even if they contributed to their school or university fees by private tuition or other work for pay. In both these cases as also in the case of dependents who assist the family in their work and thus contribute to its support without earning wages in cash or kind, the actual work done was entered as a subsidiary occupation in column 11, and has consequently been accounted for in the returns except in the case of house-keeping. In this case it was considered that a similar return might reasonably be made for almost every female dependent in a household over a very early age and that the statistics would have been vitiated by including so large a number of women as working dependents. It was therefore intended to exclude the entry for all except women whose principal occupation it is but the return for Burdwan Division show that this has not been consistently done. The entry of subsidiary occupations in column 11 of the schedule thus included not only earners pursuing occupations subsidiary to the main occupation from which they derive the major portion of their income (shown in the table separately as earners, subsidiary occupation) but also persons (shown as working dependents) ordinarily depending upon other members of their family who yet work with their own hands though they receive no direct wages in cash or kind, women with an independent title to property from which, however, they derive an income insufficient to furnish the main or a considerable portion of their support and persons not yet adult undergoing courses of training, whose education is not yet complete, but who assist in paying their own fees by tutoring or

other work. The figures for earners include those who are temporarily out of employment, and in their case the occupation shown is that last followed before they lost their employment.

249. **The "gharjamai".**—The *gharjamai* caused the enumerators a certain amount of uncertainty, but his record as "earner" or "dependent" was determined according as he did or did not actually take some part in the work by which the family of his wife is supported. Where he actually assists in the work of the family it is clear that at least he is on the same footing as one of the family servants and was accordingly returned as earner. In parts of Bengal, however, this institution exists not only amongst the lower but also amongst the middle classes, and in many cases the *gharjamai* actually does not do a stroke of work and was consequently returned as a dependent. Such a return is apparently consistent with the tenets of Hindu law, since a judicial decision of the Calcutta High Court, relying upon a text cited in the commentary of Sree Krishna on the Dayabhaga (chapter II, section 25), without laying down a rule records at least a *semble* that a *gharjamai* may be included in the term "poor dependent" declared by Manu to be entitled to maintenance (Govind Rani Dasi *versus* Râdha Ballav Das, Calcutta Weekly Notes XV—205).

250. **Hindus of the "mitakshara" school.**—A further difficulty arose in the case of Hindus of the *mitakshara* school of law. Under the definition adopted for earners all male members of such joint families were entitled to be returned as earners, no matter what their age or the extent

STATEMENT No. VIII-1.

Mitakshara male earners by groups.

For description of groups see subsidiary tables in this chapter.

Male earners.			Male earners.			Male earners.		
Group No.	Total.	Aged under 17.	Group No.	Total.	Aged under 17.	Group No.	Total.	Aged under 17.
All groups	13,899	1,088	91	1	..	145	18	..
1	624	184	94	6	..	146	29	..
4	170	14	95	2	..	148	88	25
5	1,425	137	99	14	..	150	179	10
6	95	5	100	21	..	151	10	1
7	675	78	102	48	7	152	5	..
10	49	..	103	6	..	153	2	..
18	4	3	106	107	5	157	362	7
21	5	..	107	6	..	158	28	..
23	8	1	108	39	..	159	107	..
27	6	..	109	168	5	161	5	..
35	151	..	111	99	14	162	1	..
44	2,828	48	112	188	7	163	69	9
44A	1,949	7	113	395	305	166	5	3
51	48	..	114	30	..	167	2	..
54	20	..	115	98	6	168	9	..
55	3	..	116	21	1	169	49	1
58	8	..	117	432	31	170	1	..
59	82	16	117A	29	3	172	8	..
60	1	..	118	22	1	174	36	..
61	2	..	119	8	..	175	2	..
63	6	..	125	32	1	177	1	..
64	568	17	126	112	..	178	1	..
68	11	..	127	4	..	181	2	..
71	4	..	129	65	2	182	7	..
72	1	..	130	74	8	183	1	..
73	3	..	131	46	5	184	1	..
75	16	4	134	253	30	185	33	..
78	15	2	135	24	..	186	30	..
81	33	..	136	2	..	187	1,026	53
82	124	6	138	2	..	188	17	6
83	14	..	140	21	..	189	539	43
85	66	8	141	1	..	190	2	..
86	36	2	142	1	..	191	1,575	5
90	24	..	144	17	..	193	19	..

to which they took an effective part in the conduct of the family business or joint *karbar*. Two alternatives suggested themselves for avoiding the anomaly which would be thus introduced into the returns in comparison with persons of other religions or governed by other schools of Hindu law. The first would have been to modify the definition of earners in the case of these persons and to prescribe that Hindus governed by the *mitakshara* school should not be entered as earners, even when they had a title to be so entered under the definition adopted in as much as they were full-blown participants in the

family property or business, unless they actually took some effective part in the management of the business or worked with their own hands either in the business itself or for wages outside. It was, however, thought simpler and likely to cause less confusion to the enumerating agency to provide merely for an entry of *mitakshara* in the case of male earners governed by this school and to make an adjustment in the number of earners returned in order to remove the anomaly pointed out above. The actual figures shown in the tables give the number of earners excluding those governed by the *mitakshara* school who were under the age of 17 years when the census was taken. The results of this exclusion cannot be represented as being entirely happy. The age 17 was chosen as being that at which members

of the communities principally governed by this school would ordinarily begin to take effective part in the management of the joint family business. It was the age adopted in the industrial enquiry, by which to determine whether workers were adult or immature. It may perhaps be conceded that persons below this age who should have been retained as earners because those members of the family through whom they directly inherit their title are all dead, would be balanced by those included in the total and over 17 years of age who had not yet begun to take an effective part in the family

STATEMENT No. VIII-2.

Mitakshara male earners aged less than 17 years, district distribution by groups.

For description of groups see subsidiary tables in this chapter.

Group No.	District or state.	Male earners under 17.	Group.	District or state.	Male earners under 17.	Group.	District or state.	Male earners under 17.
1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
All groups	ALL DISTRICTS	1,068	82	ALL DISTRICTS	6	130	ALL DISTRICTS	8
1	ALL DISTRICTS	134		24-Parganas ..	5		Calcutta ..	1
	Burdwan ..	4		Calcutta ..	1		Murshidabad ..	6
	Midnapore ..	2	85	ALL DISTRICTS	8		Jessore ..	1
	Hooghly ..	103		Murshidabad ..	7	131	ALL DISTRICTS	5
	Murshidabad ..	24		Khulna ..	1		Hooghly ..	1
	Khulna ..	1		ALL DISTRICTS	2		24-Parganas ..	3
4	Burdwan ..	14	86	24-Parganas ..	1		Nadia ..	1
5	ALL DISTRICTS	137		Murshidabad ..	1	134	ALL DISTRICTS	30
	Burdwan ..	4		Nadia ..	7		Burdwan ..	19
	Midnapore ..	58	102	ALL DISTRICTS	5		Hooghly ..	1
	Hooghly ..	19		Jessore ..	4		24-Parganas ..	4
	24-Parganas ..	7	106	Khulna ..	1		Calcutta ..	1
	Calcutta ..	17		ALL DISTRICTS	8		Murshidabad ..	4
	Nadia ..	2		24-Parganas ..	2		Khulna ..	1
	Murshidabad ..	23	109	Calcutta ..	1	148	Murshidabad ..	25
	Khulna ..	7		Jessore ..	2		ALL DISTRICTS	16
6	ALL DISTRICTS	5		Burdwan ..	14	150	Hooghly ..	12
	Midnapore ..	4		ALL DISTRICTS	7		Calcutta ..	4
	24-Parganas ..	1	111	Nadia ..	1		Hooghly ..	1
7	ALL DISTRICTS	78	112	Hooghly ..	6	151	Burdwan ..	7
	Burdwan ..	65		ALL DISTRICTS	6		24-Parganas ..	9
	Midnapore ..	2		24-Parganas ..	1	157	Burdwan ..	3
	Hooghly ..	1	113	Murshidabad ..	3	163	24-Parganas ..	1
	24-Parganas ..	8		Khulna ..	2		ALL DISTRICTS	53
	Jessore ..	2	115	Murshidabad ..	1	186	Burdwan ..	12
	Hooghly ..	3		Calcutta ..	3		Hooghly ..	30
	Jessore ..	1		ALL DISTRICTS	31	189	24-Parganas ..	2
18	ALL DISTRICTS	43	116	24-Parganas ..	2		Calcutta ..	4
23	Hooghly ..	89		Murshidabad ..	4		Jessore ..	3
44	24-Parganas ..	1	117	Calcutta ..	4		Khulna ..	2
	Khulna ..	3		24-Parganas ..	2	186	Hooghly ..	6
44A	ALL DISTRICTS	7		Calcutta ..	4		ALL DISTRICTS	43
	Hooghly ..	5		Murshidabad ..	4		Burdwan ..	31
	24-Parganas ..	1	177A	Jessore ..	2		Midnapore ..	2
	Khulna ..	1		Khulna ..	6	189	24-Parganas ..	2
59	Burdwan ..	15		Rajshahi ..	13		Calcutta ..	6
64	ALL DISTRICTS	17	118	Calcutta ..	3		Murshidabad ..	2
	24-Parganas ..	8		24-Parganas ..	1		ALL DISTRICTS	5
	Nadia ..	1	125	Nadia ..	1	191	24-Parganas ..	4
	Jessore ..	6		ALL DISTRICTS	2		Calcutta ..	1
	Khulna ..	2	129	Midnapore ..	1		ALL DISTRICTS	1
75	24-Parganas ..	4		Khulna ..	1			
78	Murshidabad ..	2						

business. On the other hand such occupations as those for instance in groups 153 to 175 or 186 and 187 do not seem to lend themselves to joint family management and a very large proportion, if not almost the whole of those persons even under the age of 17 who were returned as earners in these groups, must have been effective earners and entitled under any consideration to be recorded as such. The effect upon the statistics of this discrepancy is not, however, of any considerable extent; and the figures given in statements Nos. VIII-1 and VIII-2 above show for each occupational group concerned the numbers returned as earners but excluded from the published figures by virtue of being immature members of *mitakshara* joint families. A reasonably accurate adjustment of the figures can be made by the use of these statements in the groups in which it is felt that the omission of these persons is hardly justified by the circumstances.

251. **Principal and subsidiary occupations.**—In many cases enumerators experienced or professed to find difficulty in deciding which was the the principal and which was the subsidiary occupation of earners. The principle laid down was that, of two or more occupations that should be entered as principal from which the largest proportion of the income was derived by the individual concerned. Where more than one occupation was followed it was laid down that only the more important should be given,

except in the case of Tripura State where it was desired by the state authorities to have some figures of the relative importance of plough and *jhum* cultivation as principal and subsidiary occupations.

252. Indefinite returns.—The difficulty of obtaining accurate and detailed returns of occupation is very great. The instructions laid down that general and indefinite descriptions of occupation should not be given, but common usage in Bengal, perhaps in consonance with some innate preference for the most comprehensive and least definite term possible, sanctions the use of the most general terms in describing occupation. It was impossible to exclude returns such as "service" (*chakuri*), meaning any clerical occupation whatever and "labour" (*majuri*) without specification of the employment. The classification scheme adopted provided for insufficiently described occupations a special sub-class (No. XI) divided into four groups. Actually the total number of persons under this indefinite or residuary sub-class amounted in British Territory to 622,638 or 4·3 per cent. of the total workers in Bengal compared with 459,623 or 2·8 per cent. in 1921. The increase in the figures under this sub-class is mainly due to labourers and workmen who numbered 402,818 compared with 276,849 in 1921. It is not at all unlikely that a very large proportion of these could not be more specifically described; but under the instructions issued they should have been returned in accordance with the labour they were performing on the day on which the census was taken. The insufficiently precise returns obtained from manufacturers, businessmen and contractors and from mechanics, otherwise unspecified, were actually less on the present occasion than in 1921. Insufficiently described clerical occupations were returned by 203,993 persons, against 163,415 in 1921, and it is interesting that 8,134 of these were females compared with 3,455 at the last census.

253. Scheme of classification.—The scheme of classification adopted is briefly described in the title page to imperial table X and differs in minor respects only from that of 1921. The principal changes from the scheme of 1921 were thus summarised by the Census Commissioner:

"A certain number of changes should be noted from the classification laid down at last census. Thus persons employed in public entertainment appeared in order 18, group 101, at last census but are classified now in order 49, group 183; saddle-cloth makers have been transferred from leather work to embroidery and saddle-cloth sellers in means of transport (1) to trade in textiles; witches and wizards have been moved up from sub-class XII. Un-productive to sub-class VIII, professions and liberal arts (group 181) where they are at least as suitably kennelled as astrologers and mediums; "grasshopper sellers", classified last time under "trade of other sorts", will now appear under "trade in food-stuffs". Some groups have been amalgamated, as in the case of building trades, while others have been split up, e.g., production and trade in tobacco, opium and hemp [as well as groups under ordinary cultivation]. Indeed, owing to the re-arrangement of sub-class II one order has disappeared so that there are now only 55 instead of 56 and from order 3 onwards the numbering does not tally with that of 1921."

The actual groups are not here reproduced but are conveniently given in full in imperial table X. The more important principles upon which the classification of occupational returns has been made under the various groups were prescribed by the Census Commissioner and are briefly as follows:—

"(1) Where a person both makes and sells he is classed as a 'maker'. On the same principle, when a person extracts some substance, such as saltpetre, sulphur, carbonate of soda, etc., from the ground and also refines it, he is shown in sub-class II—Exploitation of minerals, and not in sub-class III—Industry.

(2) Industrial and trading occupations are divided into two main categories—

- (a) those where the occupation is classified according to the material worked in, and
- (b) those where it is classified according to the use which it serves.

As a general rule the first category is reserved for the manufacture or sale of articles the use of which is not finally determined, but it also includes specified articles for which there is no appropriate head in the second category. For example, while shoemakers are included in the second category (order 12, group 82), the makers of waterbags, saddlery, leather portmanteaux and the like are included in the first category (order 6, group 51).

In a few cases occupations have been classed according to the material worked in, even though certain articles made of it are specified, because the material used is more characteristic of the occupation than the article made. Thus makers of palm-leaf fans have been shown in group 56 rather than group 99. Makers of bamboo screens, leaf plates, etc., have also been shown in group 56.

(3) Persons employed in railway carriage factories have been shown in group 112 instead of under order 15, because these factories in India are always worked direct by the railways. The manufacture and repair of railway trucks and carriages is an integral part of the operations of the railway authorities. The principle on which the classification is made is analogous to that followed in the case of makers and sellers or diggers and refiners.

(4) On the other hand, railway police and railway doctors are classified in groups 157 and 169, respectively, because the primary duty of persons thus employed is, in the one case the prevention and detection of crime, and in the other the healing of disease. The fact that their pay is derived from the railway is merely an incident, and does not affect the character of the occupation.

As a general rule it may be said that wherever a man's personal occupation is one which involves special training, e.g., that of a doctor, engineer, surveyor, etc., he is classed under the head reserved for that occupation. Exceptions have been made, however, in cases where the work in which he is employed involves further specialization. For this reason a marine engineer is classed in group 102 and a river surveyor in group 103. Officers of Government whose occupation is covered by some other group (e.g., doctors, clergymen, professors, postal, forest, settlement and railway officers and other establishments, etc.) will be included in that group and not under group 159. Government peons and chaprasis other than those in the abovementioned establishments will be included under this group and not in group 111."

254. Measures to adopt uniformity of classification.—The particular difficulties encountered in making the returns of agricultural occupations in Bengal fit into a scheme of classification devised to be analogous with that adopted in European and other countries are noted briefly in a later paragraph. Uniformity of classification throughout the whole of India was secured by the issue of a detailed classification list by the Census Commissioner. This was compared with lists maintained in Bengal from census to census giving the actual vernacular returns in the schedules on various occasions. To these returns the correct group number was allocated before the lists were circulated for use in sorting offices. During slip-copying and sorting any attempt at classification on the part of the slip-copyists or sorters was forbidden, and when the sorters had copied out the returns found exactly as given in the vernacular and had entered them upon the sorters' tickets, the tickets were scrutinised by squads specially trained in the classification scheme and the correct classification was entered by them in red on the tickets. The returns were then combined under the correct occupational groups, the tickets were re-written and compilation was made from these re-written tickets.

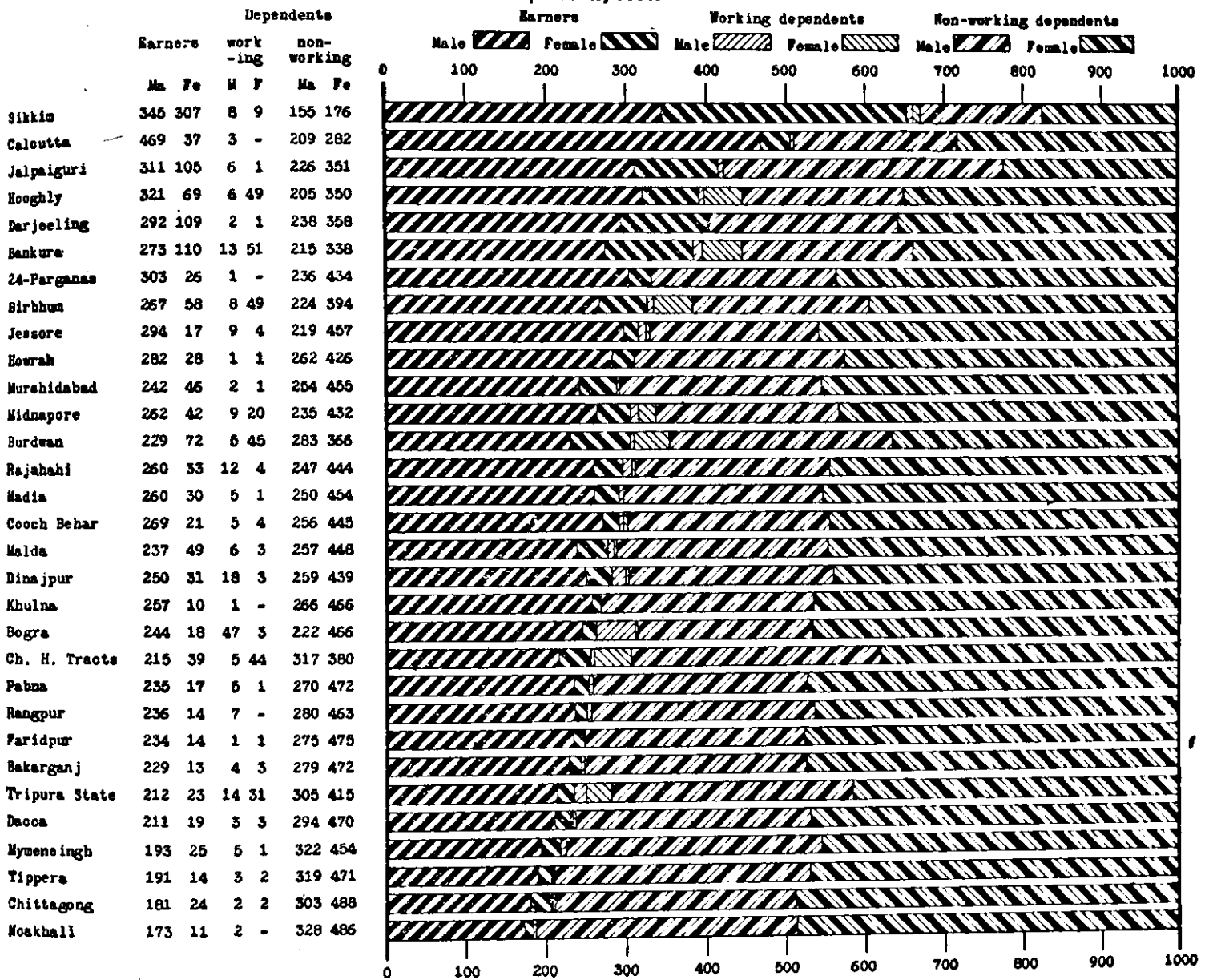
Part II—General figures of dependence and occupation

255. Dependence by districts.—In the province of Bengal out of a total population of 50,114,002 only 14,414,422 are workers and the remainder amounting to 35,699,580 are non-working dependents. In the Bengal states, similarly, out of 973,336 persons as many as 689,850 are non-working dependents and only 283,486 are workers. Of the workers 663,837 in British Territory and 22,455 in Bengal states are working dependents. The proportions for the whole of Bengal are in every 1,000 of the population 288 workers (of whom 13 are working dependents) and the remainder dependents. In Sikkim the proportions are very much higher and there are 667 workers in every 1,000 of the total population of whom only 17 were returned as working dependents. The distribution by dependence is given in subsidiary table II in which, however, there is no distribution by sexes. Diagram No. VIII-1 contains and illustrates a statement showing the distribution by sexes of 1,000 of the total population of each district and state according to dependence. The districts and states are arranged approximately according to the proportion of earners in the total population, but Darjeeling and Murshidabad appear out of place. Sikkim has a larger number of earners and working dependents than any area in Bengal and the sex distribution amongst the earners is very much nearer parity than is found elsewhere, since in every 1,000 of the population there are in Sikkim 343 males and

307 females returned as earners. In Calcutta the number of males returned as earners in each 1,000 is higher still and amounts to 469 but the number of females is scarcely one-twelfth the number of males and Calcutta supports a very much larger number of non-working dependents. The proportion

DIAGRAM No. VIII-1.

Distribution by sexes of 1,000 of the total population of each district and state as earners, working dependents and non-working dependents, 1931.



returned as earners is smallest in Eastern Bengal and in the Tripura State. It is as low as 173 males and 11 females in every 1,000 in Noakhali where no more than two persons in every 1,000 were returned as working dependents and where every worker of whatever sex maintains on an average more than four dependents who are not returned as contributing their work in his assistance. Murshidabad is the median of all the areas shown with 291 workers of both sexes compared with the average for the whole of Bengal of 288. Two other features of this statement are of interest. One is the comparatively large number of female working dependents in Bankura, Hooghly, Birbhum, Burdwan, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Tripura State and Midnapore, the only districts in which the proportions run into two figures. The other is the relatively large number of non-working male dependents in Chittagong, Tripura State, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Tippera, Mymensingh and Noakhali, in all of which more than 30 per cent. of the population consists of males not returned as working. There are nearly three times as many female earners in every 1,000 of the population in Sikkim as in Birbhum, Darjeeling or Jalpaiguri, the three districts with the highest proportion in Bengal and well over 30 times as many as in Khulna, where there are only 10 females in every 1,000 of the population who are earners and where there are no more than 1 of both sexes returned as working dependents.

256. **General distribution of occupations.**—Diagram No. VIII-2 includes and illustrates a statement showing the numbers returned as being occupied in each sub-class compared with numbers occupied in a number of principal occupational groups. These figures include as workers the numbers of convicted prisoners in jail undergoing rigorous imprisonment who are shown as working dependents in the body of table X, both parts, but excluded in other estimates of the total number of workers. Pasture and agriculture with fishing and hunting are the occupations of more than two-thirds of the workers of the province and 99 in every 147 of the workers are actually engaged in cultivation of some kind. Industries, trade and domestic service are the most popular employments after agriculture. Almost five in every 100 workers are employed in domestic service and out of 941,000 engaged in trade 509,000 are occupied in trade in food-stuffs.

257. **General variations in figures for dependence, 1921-1931.**—The figures for which a summary is included in diagram No. VIII-2 are given in full in subsidiary table IV where a comparison is also given with the numbers returned in 1921, so far as it is possible to adjust the groups appearing on the present occasion under different combinations. The returns show a decrease of over two million workers between the figures of 1921 and 1931. A decrease is found in every sub-class except Nos. VII, VIII, IX, X and XI, namely, public administration, professions and the liberal arts, persons living on their income, domestic service and insufficiently described occupations. There is no doubt that this decrease does not correspond to any actual diminution in the number of workers employed.

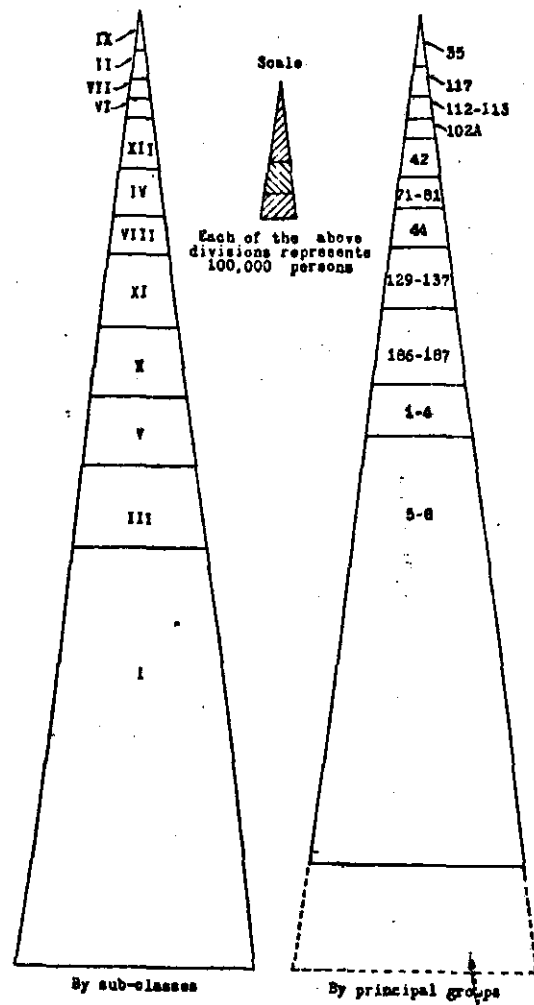
The explanation almost certainly is to be sought partly in the change in the particulars recorded on the present occasion when the figures for workers were distributed amongst earners and working dependents. A full account has already been given of the distinction drawn, but it was reported in more than one district that very great difficulty was experienced in making the enumerators understand the circumstances in which a person recorded as a dependent in one column of the schedule might be entered in any column at all as having an occupation. This was a departure from the procedure on previous occasions and evidently left the enumerators in some cases bewildered. This explanation of the decrease in the total number of earners is entirely consistent with the fact that it is just in those occupational categories in which working dependents are expected to exist either not at all or in the smallest proportion, that an increase has been recorded. By far the greater part of the decrease

DIAGRAM No. VIII-2.

Distribution of workers (earners, principal occupation and working dependents) by occupational sub-classes (on left) and principal groups (on right), 1931.

Figures are given in thousands

Total workers	14,704
By occupational sub-classes	
IX. Persons living on their income	25
II. Exploitation of Minerals	43
VII. Public Administration	50
VI. Public Force	59
XII. Unproductive	212
IV. Transport	283
VIII. Professions and Liberal arts	284
XI. Insufficiently described occupations	627
X. Domestic service	610
V. Trade	941
III. Industry	1,282
I. Exploitation of animals and vegetation	10,088
By principal groups	
35. Coal mining	42
117. Trade in Textiles	64
112-113. Railway employees	69
102A. Inland Water Transport	71
42-43. Cotton ginning, spinning, etc.	178
71-81. Preparation of foods & food stuffs	179
44. Jute pressing, spinning, etc.	262
129-137. Trade in food stuffs	509
106-107. Domestic service	610
1-4. Non-cultivating proprietors and their agents	678
5-8. Cultivators	6,799



occurs in sub-class I including the occupations of pasture and agriculture, fishing and hunting, and amongst these particularly in pasture and agriculture; it is here pre-eminently that a worker relies upon the assistance of his family, and it is very probable that here the numbers show a decrease because persons who have previously been recorded as "workers" in virtue of the help they give in the family cultivation, etc., have in many instances on the present occasion been rightly returned as "dependents" but have escaped return as following a subsidiary occupation, the method adopted to secure their inclusion as workers whilst differentiating them from those who work for some specific return in cash or kind. The figures for earners may be taken in general as being reasonably accurate, but it is probably correct to say that those for working dependents err very considerably on the side of a deficit. On the other hand there has been some omission for which this explanation does not account. A comparison between subsidiary table VI and imperial table X shows that a number of workers included in subsidiary table VI cannot be accounted for in the table of occupations. This discrepancy, however, is less than might appear at first sight, because subsidiary table VI includes under the same category persons shown under the scheme of classification explained at the end of part I of this chapter in more than one group or order in the table. The returns in imperial table XI however also display certain inconsistencies. There are for instance more Barui females engaged in their traditional occupation as earners, principal occupation, and more of both sexes who follow it as a subsidiary occupation than the total of those shown under group 13, *pan-vine* cultivators, in table X. Similarly there are more Napit female earners following their traditional trade as principal occupation and more males following it as subsidiary than the total numbers under these heads in group 186, barbers, hairdressers and wig-makers.

258. **General variation in occupational sub-classes, 1921-1931.**—For the occupational sub-classes a comparison with 1921 is afforded in statement No. VIII-3 illustrated in diagram No. VIII-3 overleaf. This statement and

STATEMENT No. VIII-3.

Distribution of workers (earners and working dependents) of each sex by occupational sub-classes, 1931 and 1921.

Sub-class.	Number of workers.			Percentage on all persons occupied of—		
	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Workers in each sub-class.	Male workers.	Female workers.
1931.						
All occupations	14,420,461	12,522,213	1,898,248	100.00	87	13
I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	9,858,461	9,080,155	828,306	68.34	92	8
II.—Exploitation of minerals	43,074	25,388	17,686	0.29	59	41
III.—Industry	1,269,073	982,182	286,891	8.80	77	23
IV.—Transport	278,931	260,466	12,465	1.93	96	4
V.—Trade	928,102	788,938	144,169	6.43	84	16
VI.—Public Force	87,697	67,640	57	0.41	100	..
VII.—Public Administration	49,329	48,968	361	0.35	99	1
VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	280,299	259,878	20,421	1.95	99	7
IX.—Persons living on their income	24,948	20,477	4,469	0.17	82	18
X.—Domestic service	803,998	384,048	419,950	5.58	48	52
XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	822,638	659,323	163,315	4.32	90	10
XII.—Unproductive	205,924	108,960	101,964	1.43	60	50
1921.						
All occupations	10,414,810	14,189,441	2,214,369	100.00	88.5	13.5
I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	11,805,319	10,570,279	1,235,040	71.02	90	10
II.—Exploitation of minerals	67,328	38,255	29,073	0.41	67	33
III.—Industry	1,642,004	1,290,771	411,233	10.00	75	25
IV.—Transport	364,570	346,914	17,656	2.22	95	5
V.—Trade	969,076	791,489	177,587	5.91	82	18
VI.—Public Force	67,031	67,031	..	0.41	100	..
VII.—Public Administration	47,178	46,772	404	0.29	99	1
VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	249,694	232,088	17,606	1.52	93	7
IX.—Persons living on their income	13,511	10,092	3,419	0.08	75	25
X.—Domestic service	450,113	334,349	115,764	2.74	74	26
XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	459,623	405,259	54,364	2.80	84	16
XII.—Unproductive	279,366	125,242	154,123	1.70	46	54

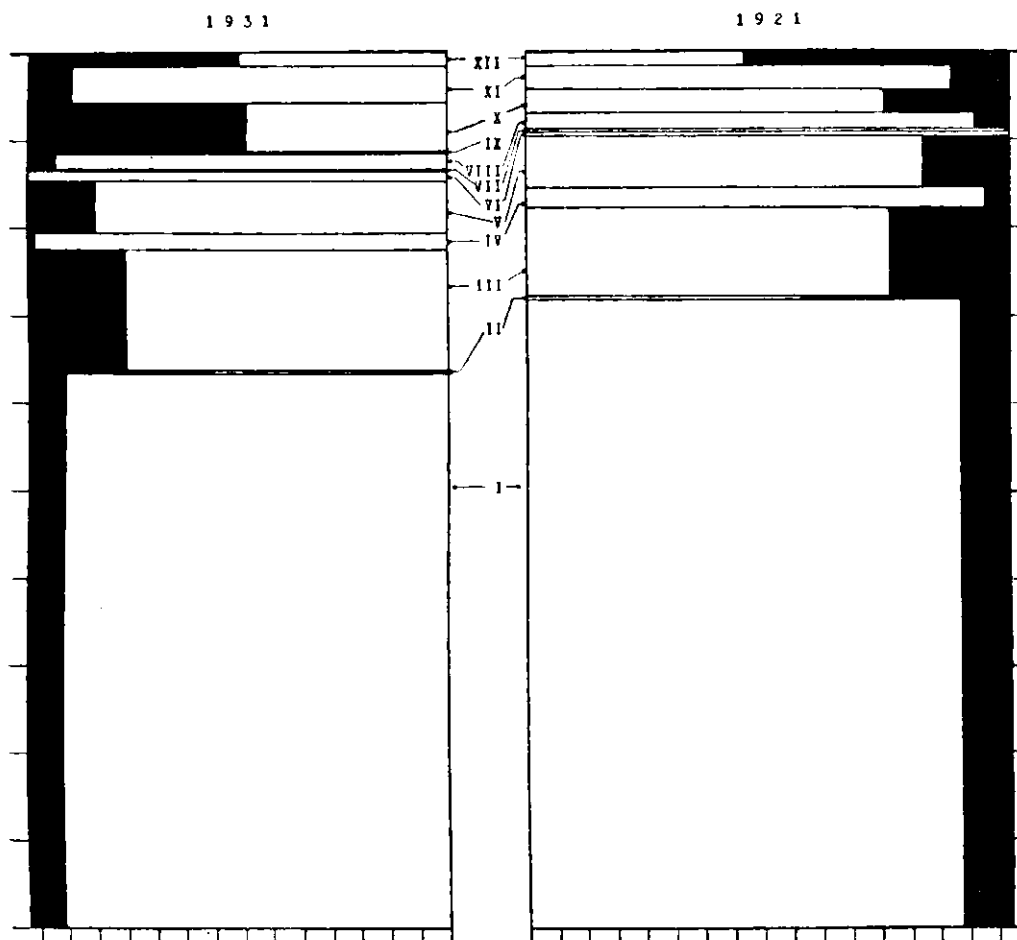
the diagram illustrating it refer to British districts in Bengal only and include amongst workers those persons undergoing hard labour in jails. The figures are given by sexes and two proportionate distributions are given; one showing the percentage of all persons occupied who are engaged in each of the twelve occupational sub-classes; and another showing in each occupational sub-class the proportion employed who are respectively males and females. The relative order of the occupational sub-classes in each year is less disturbed than might have been expected from the inconsistencies introduced

into the returns owing to the circumstances mentioned in the last paragraph. As was to be expected sub-classes VII, VIII, IX, X and XI are now shown to employ each a larger percentage of the total workers in the province than in 1921, whilst the proportions are smaller in every other sub-class with the exception of public force (VI) which is the same and trade (V) which shows an increase. In the order of numbers employed however the occupational

DIAGRAM No. VIII-3.

Distribution of workers (earners and working dependents) by occupational sub-classes, 1921 and 1931.

NOTE - That portion of each block standing upon one of the horizontal divisions marked on the base represents 1,000,000 persons. The vertical divisions each represent 10 per cent. of the total number of workers. The shaded portion of each strip represents female and the unshaded portion male workers.



sub-classes still show generally the same disposition. More, however, are now employed as domestic servants than those returned under insufficiently described occupations; the professions and liberal arts employ more persons now than transport or unproductive occupations; and the exploitation of minerals now finds employment for more people than only private means though it was a larger employer than either public force or public administration in 1921. Otherwise the general order according to the number of persons employed is the same as it was a decade ago.

259. General proportions of female workers in occupational sub-classes.—

A large proportion of domestic servants is naturally women but in 1921 there were almost three males returned in this sub-class to every female, whereas on the present occasion the females outnumber the males. Amongst the unproductive workers, mainly beggars, vagrants and prostitutes, the proportion of females in 1921 was 55 per cent. but has been reduced to 50 per cent. on the present occasion. This decrease has been brought about partly by an increase in the male population in jails and partly by a very much larger decrease amongst females in the numbers returned as vagrants, beggars and prostitutes. Women, both in 1921 and 1931, contribute over 40 per cent. of the total number employed in the extraction of minerals. In other sub-classes women contribute a considerable proportion of those returned as workers only amongst persons living on their income (where the proportion is now 18 per cent. compared with 25 per cent. in 1921) and

in trade (where their proportion is now 16 per cent. compared with 18 returned as workers in 1921). In addition a comparatively large number (12 per cent. in 1921 and 10 per cent. on the present occasion) were females amongst those who returned themselves under insufficiently described occupations.

260. **Proportion of workers in cities.**—The percentage of workers recorded in cities and outside cities is indicated in subsidiary table I. Only in the case of persons living on their income do more than half of those returned in any occupational sub-class live in cities. Very nearly half of those engaged in public administration however are also to be found in cities; and it is in cities that 29 per cent. of those persons also reside who returned themselves under insufficiently described occupations. All these categories, however, in the aggregate employ a comparatively small proportion of the total workers in Bengal and of the whole only 5 per cent. are found in cities. It is natural that a larger proportion of the population of cities are workers than of those residing elsewhere and the cities in Bengal, in which are concentrated 5 per cent. of the workers, account for only 3 per cent. of the total population. In Calcutta, for instance, the number of non-working dependents in every thousand of the population is less than in any other part of Bengal. The same conditions, however, do not apply in the cities of Howrah and Dacca, where 64 and 73 per cent. of the population respectively are non-working dependents. Even so, however, in Howrah the proportion of workers is well above the average for Bengal (288).

STATEMENT No. VIII-4.

Occupational distribution by divisions, 1931.

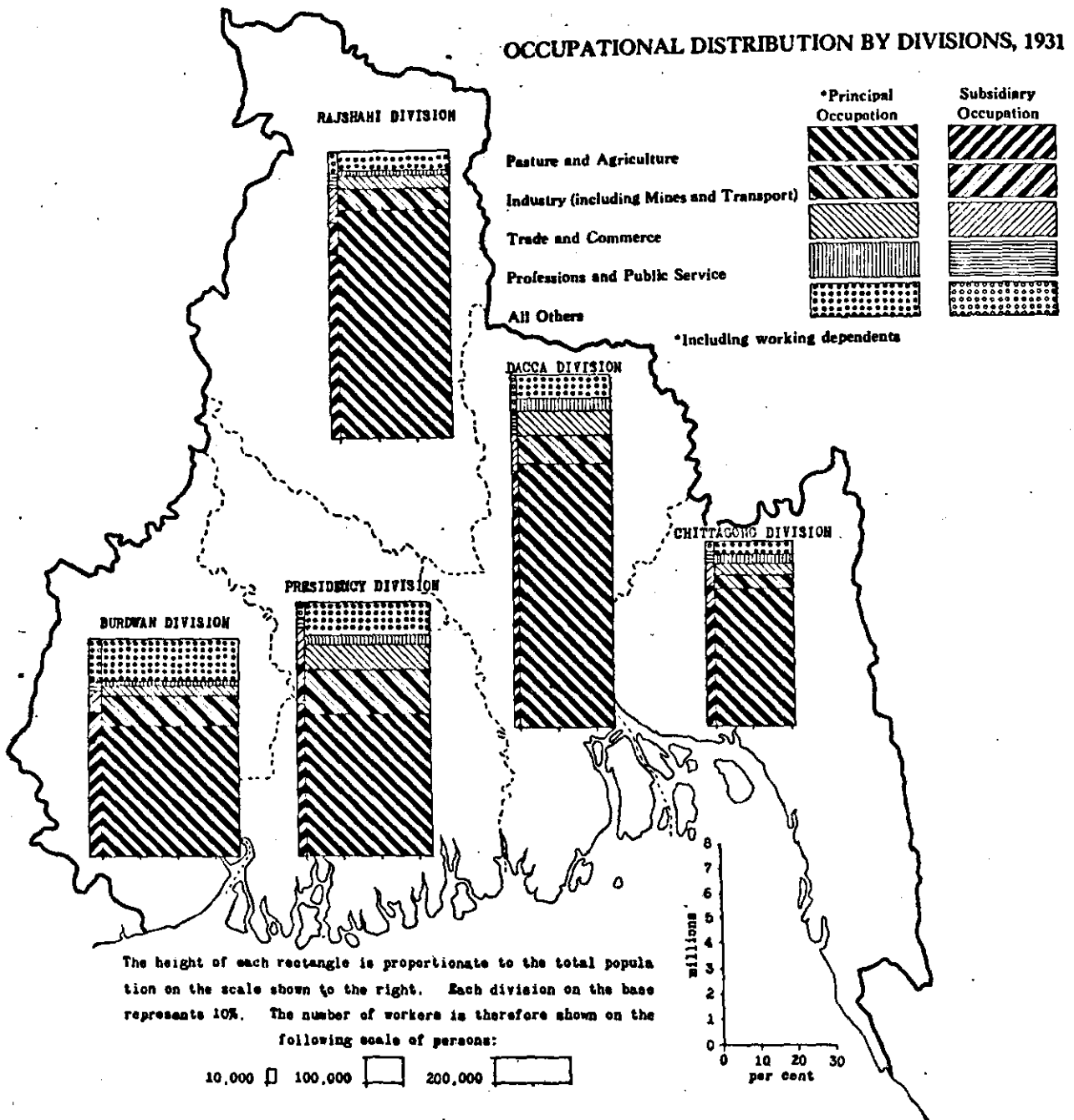
Occupation.	All Bengal.	Burdwan Division.	Presidency Division.	Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar.	Dacca Division.	Chittagong Division with Tripura State.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TOTAL POPULATION	51,087,338	8,647,189	10,108,229	11,258,952	13,864,104	7,208,864
Number of *workers, all occupations	14,704,079	3,184,308	3,324,348	3,384,213	3,284,343	1,516,867
Pasture and agriculture	10,058,153	1,922,265	1,880,618	2,683,157	2,400,561	1,141,559
Industry including mines and transport	1,808,165	444,445	560,278	227,032	254,263	122,152
Trade and commerce	841,058	158,853	295,797	157,101	235,537	93,770
Professions and public service	393,178	82,616	120,987	65,214	91,992	53,359
Other occupations	1,673,526	596,129	476,663	251,709	242,990	106,024
Percentage of *workers on total population	28.8	36.8	33.0	30.0	23.7	21.0
Percentage on *workers, all occupations, of those engaged in—						
Pasture and agriculture	69	60	56	79	75	75
Industry including mines and transport	11	14	17	7	8	8
Trade and commerce	6	5	9	5	7	6
Professions and public service	3	2	4	2	3	4
Other occupations	11	19	14	7	7	7
Number of workers engaged as subsidiary occupation in—						
All occupations	1,205,881	337,828	221,639	288,133	229,881	137,419
Pasture and agriculture	724,262	179,574	139,742	184,058	139,511	87,377
Industry including mines and transport	151,128	47,693	32,431	81,763	22,767	16,474
Trade and commerce	140,722	32,732	32,409	33,134	24,336	18,111
Professions and public service	55,823	14,612	9,899	15,246	10,318	8,708
Other occupations	139,956	63,217	13,149	23,892	23,949	6,749
Percentage on total population of workers with any subsidiary occupation.	2.4	3.9	2.2	2.6	1.6	1.9
Percentage on *workers, all occupations, of those engaged as subsidiary occupation in—						
All occupations	8.2	10.6	6.6	8.5	5.7	9.1
Pasture and agriculture	4.9	5.6	4.0	5.4	4.2	5.8
Industry including mines and transport	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.9	0.7	1.1
Trade and commerce	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.2
Professions and public service	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.6
Other occupations	0.8	2.0	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.4

*Earnings, principal occupation, plus working dependents.

261. **General occupational distribution by divisions.**—The general occupational distribution of the population by divisions is illustrated in diagram No. VIII-4 overleaf. Occupational groups for this diagram have been combined rather differently than in the tables and they agree in general with the grouping adopted for a similar comparison in paragraph 223 of the report of 1921. Diagram No. VIII-4 can thus be compared with diagram No. 101 in that paragraph. In diagram No. VIII-4, however, the proportions engaged in pasture and agriculture are indicated without the addition of those engaged in fishing and hunting but transport as well as mines has been combined with industry. The diagram illustrates subsidiary table II and also statement No. VIII-4 above. Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions

contribute the largest number of persons engaged in pasture and agriculture. But in the Chittagong Division as well as in these two the proportion engaged is more than three-fourths of the total number of workers in all occupations. Even in the Presidency Division, however, where industries including mines

DIAGRAM No. VIII-4.



and transport occupy a greater number per cent. of the working population than in any other division, the proportion of workers engaged in agriculture is 56. In Burdwan also although industries including mines and transport and other occupations, principally domestic service employing a very large number of females, account for a considerable percentage of the workers, there are 60 per cent. of the workers employed in pasture and agriculture. Of the total population a greater percentage are workers in Burdwan than any other division and the percentage regularly decreases in the order in which the divisions are shown, being successively less in Presidency, Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions, and least in the Chittagong Division with Tripura State where the proportion is 21 per cent. only. In the Presidency Division also a considerable proportion of the workers were returned under "other occupations", principally those insufficiently described and also domestic service, but with the exception of industries including mines and transport and other occupations in these two divisions in no other division is as large a proportion as 10 per cent. of the total workers engaged in any other occupation except pasture and agriculture. The diagram as well as the statements which it illustrates includes particulars of those workers

who also have some subsidiary form of occupation. These are shown by reversed hatchings on the left of the columns showing the principal occupation. In the whole of Bengal only 2·4 per cent. of the population has any subsidiary occupation. The proportion is highest (3·9 per cent.) in the Burdwan Division where there are also the largest proportion of workers and it decreases roughly in the same manner as the proportion of total workers with the exception that a larger proportion in Rajshahi and Chittagong have subsidiary occupations than in the Presidency and Dacca Divisions, respectively. Pasture and agriculture are here again the principal subsidiary occupations. The average number of workers who have some form of agriculture as a subsidiary occupation is nearly 5 per cent. throughout the whole province. It is higher in the Chittagong Division but the variation between the divisions is no greater than 1·8 per cent. In the Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions less and in the Dacca Division scarcely more than 20 per cent. of the total workers have no concern with agriculture either as a principal or as a subsidiary means of livelihood; and even in the Presidency Division as many as 60 per cent. of the total number of workers rely principally or in part upon pasture and agriculture. As many as 1 per cent. of the total number of workers look as a subsidiary means of livelihood to industries including mines and transport in the Burdwan, Presidency and Chittagong Divisions and to trade and commerce in the Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions: but except in Burdwan, where other occupations, principally domestic service and occupations insufficiently described, form a subsidiary means of livelihood for as many as 2 per cent. of the workers, no other occupation of those illustrated attracts as many as 1 per cent. of the workers as a subsidiary occupation.

262. **General occupational distribution by districts.**—Figures somewhat similar to those above discussed are shown for districts in statement No. VIII-5 illustrated by diagram No. VIII-5. Here the grouping of occupations

STATEMENT No. VIII-5.

Distribution by main occupational categories of (A) workers (i.e., earners, principal occupation and working dependents) and (B) workers with a subsidiary occupation in each district and state, 1931.

District.	A. Persons engaged as earners (principal occupation) and working dependents in sub-class.					B. Earners engaged as a subsidiary occupation in sub-class.				
	Description of sub-classes:									
	I.	II-IV.	V.	VI-VIII.	Others.	I.	II-IV.	V.	VI-VIII.	Others.
Burdwan	300,775	87,444	29,914	8,593	125,709	27,671	7,299	5,544	1,981	12,424
Birbhum	231,842	19,993	15,954	6,730	87,031	10,313	4,775	5,105	2,231	4,572
Bankura	343,444	45,096	23,563	7,743	77,509	20,555	9,675	5,394	2,317	6,311
Midnapore	665,377	74,648	23,530	16,154	163,530	84,404	16,102	7,756	5,096	28,048
Hoochly	259,366	106,951	26,086	13,815	89,919	22,231	6,034	5,410	2,054	6,355
Howrah	121,461	109,713	39,306	9,576	62,431	14,400	3,308	3,523	933	2,667
24-Parganas	508,432	223,869	54,568	21,719	87,807	47,494	10,674	8,769	1,973	3,272
Calcutta	13,329	165,017	94,954	57,053	277,438	1,883	614	997	231	2,919
Nadia	301,818	61,315	39,973	10,513	38,690	19,037	2,971	4,782	1,233	2,250
Murshidabad	272,961	41,924	40,703	9,916	33,774	17,668	4,960	6,093	1,742	1,445
Jessore	431,634	40,750	34,736	11,241	22,790	23,436	6,307	6,047	2,661	2,490
Khulna	352,444	27,393	23,863	10,555	16,164	24,224	7,005	5,681	3,059	873
Rajshahi	345,554	32,184	14,095	9,900	39,473	31,355	7,584	4,835	3,250	4,534
Dinajpur	430,115	23,575	20,069	8,533	48,554	20,166	3,482	4,157	2,148	4,234
Jaipur	362,822	15,944	12,564	6,172	18,323	10,754	2,025	1,404	891	2,233
Darjeeling	93,447	6,707	6,400	2,859	14,716	2,311	360	243	60	678
Rangpur	550,231	37,821	26,037	12,029	41,657	54,949	5,138	6,138	3,219	5,692
Bogra	277,793	24,386	11,087	6,872	19,436	27,962	5,421	4,111	1,823	3,343
Pabna	260,587	45,810	23,916	8,796	33,816	18,413	3,713	3,099	1,303	1,351
Malda	214,218	32,035	33,130	6,326	24,914	14,333	2,954	7,069	670	1,057
Dacca	549,323	83,026	79,843	26,475	71,526	44,651	6,663	7,303	2,436	4,275
Mymensingh	884,063	64,254	70,475	26,696	104,820	45,730	7,207	9,241	3,215	15,010
Faridpur	459,715	47,993	35,079	14,115	34,705	20,177	3,202	2,963	1,917	3,488
Bakarganj	567,460	53,990	50,100	23,706	81,939	28,958	5,605	4,789	2,850	1,176
Tippera	531,434	33,726	37,029	17,727	32,239	24,749	5,219	7,809	3,326	1,444
Noakhali	242,223	25,508	14,797	15,263	19,457	25,607	5,114	3,409	2,540	1,755
Chittagong	221,829	52,481	36,729	17,848	46,984	25,399	5,739	4,460	2,453	3,189
Chittagong Hill Tracts	57,804	1,916	2,052	549	2,153	2,096	214	1,916	78	142
Cooch Behar	148,430	8,566	9,793	3,927	10,820	3,815	1,086	2,037	1,727	720
Tripura State	88,262	5,521	3,163	1,935	5,201	8,926	183	346	311	219
Sikkim	69,810	965	882	253	1,321	2,691	464	94	263	670

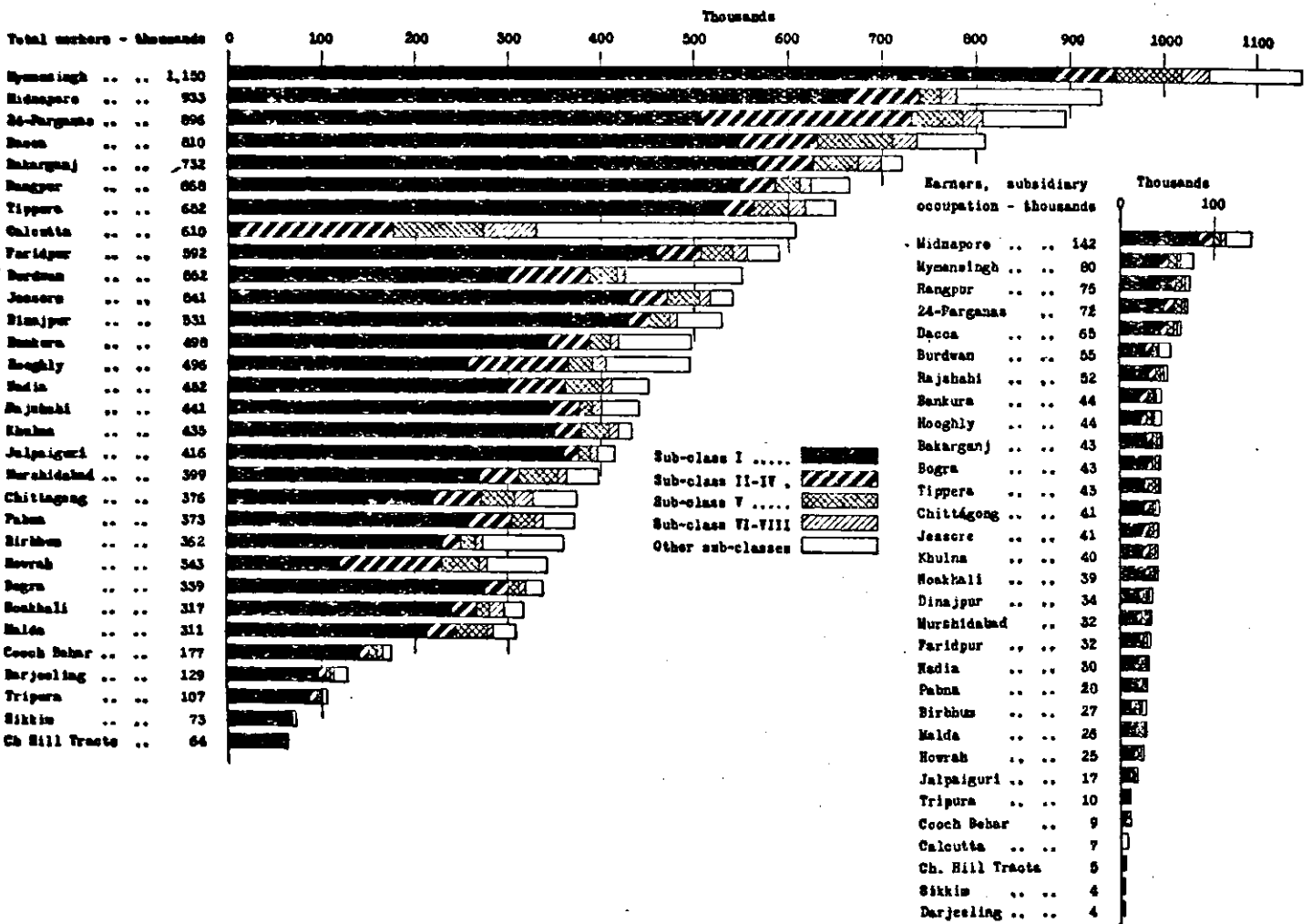
is explained in the headings to both the statement and the diagram. Hunters and fishers are included with agriculturists and herdsmen; industries including mines and transport are again grouped together; trade and

commerce and the professions and public service are again shown in two combinations. The only difference, therefore, between the grouping adopted for this and for the previous statement is the inclusion amongst agriculturists of fishers and huntsmen shown amongst other occupations in diagram No. VIII-4 and the statement on which it is based. In diagram No. VIII-5

DIAGRAM No. VIII-5.

Numbers and distribution by principal occupational categories of workers (earners and working dependents) and (inset) of those having a subsidiary occupation by districts.

NOTE.—The following are the descriptions of the categories shown :—
 Sub-class I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation.
 Sub-classes II-IV.—Exploitation of minerals, industry and transport.
 Sub-class V.—Trade and commerce.
 Sub-classes VI-VII.—Public force and administration and the professions and liberal arts.



the districts are arranged in the order of their total workers, on the one hand, and in the order of their earners having a subsidiary occupation, on the other. Mymensingh, the largest district, supplies also the largest number of workers, but the different proportion of workers in each district, to which reference has already been made, results in the remaining districts appearing in a very different order from the order of their total population. The actual figures given in the statement can be conveniently read with and interpreted by the percentage figures given in subsidiary table II. With the exception of Calcutta and Howrah in every district, even where as in the 24-Parganas, Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah, industries including mines and transport occupy a large number of workers, pasture and agriculture with fishing and hunting are the occupations of the majority of the population. Trade and commerce employ considerable numbers only in Calcutta, 24-Parganas, Dacca and Mymensingh. In no other district except Calcutta, where 48 per mille of the population are employed in public service or in the professions and liberal arts, does the number thus employed reach 1 per cent. of the population except in Hooghly and on the average in the whole of the province only 9 persons in every 1,000 of the population are engaged in these occupations.

263. **General distribution of subsidiary occupations.**—In every district except Calcutta agriculture supplies a greater proportion of the population with a subsidiary means of livelihood than any other category of occupations; and except in the districts of Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions, where a certain proportion of the population turn to industry and transport and to domestic service as a subsidiary means of livelihood, trade is the only occupation attracting any considerable proportion of the population as an auxiliary source of income. A greater proportion of the population follows this occupation in addition to their principal employment in Chittagong Hill Tracts, but the actual numbers are so small that they cannot be represented in the graph included in diagram No. VIII-5. Elsewhere between 4 and 5 persons in every 1,000 adopt some form or other of trade as a subsidiary means of livelihood in Birbhum, Bankura, Hooghly, Murshidabad, Jessore and Bogra districts. The numbers of workers with a subsidiary occupation are naturally to some extent controlled by the total number of workers: but the proportions of workers adopting some subsidiary occupation varies considerably. Scarcely 1 in 90 workers in Calcutta has any subsidiary means of livelihood but on the other hand in Rajshahi very little less than 1 in every 8 has some form of subsidiary occupation and similar proportions are in Bogra 1 in 7, in Noakhali 1 in 8, in Tippera 1 in 15 and in Bakarganj 1 in 17. In the whole of Bengal there are more than 18 earners without any subsidiary occupation for every 1 with. On the average in Western Bengal the proportion of workers with a subsidiary occupation is highest, being about 1 in every 15, but in the Presidency Division it is as low as 1 in about every 25.

Part III.—Detailed figures of occupations

264. **Class A : Production of raw materials.**—The production of raw materials is the first class in the occupational classification. It provides occupation for 10,131,227 persons compared with 12,156,549 in 1921. It comprises sub-classes I—Exploitation of animals and vegetation and II—Exploitation of minerals. Sub-class I employs 10,088,153 persons as well as providing subsidiary means of livelihood for 724,262 more. It provided employment for 12,089,218 in 1921.

265. **Order 1 : Pasture and agriculture.**—Pasture and agriculture give employment to 9,895,728 persons in Bengal, a number representing 1,937 in every 10,000 of the total population amongst whom 1,855 per 10,000 or a total of 9,477,076 are employed in ordinary cultivation. In addition to those persons who pursue pasture and agriculture as their principal occupation there are 697,656 who turn to it as a subsidiary means of livelihood and of these ordinary cultivation is followed by 674,718. In the total population there are 2,878 persons in every 10,000 who are workers, and pasture and agriculture consequently forms either the principal or subsidiary means of livelihood for 2,074 or nearly three-quarters of them. There were 11,907,784 persons employed under this order in 1921.

266. **Difficulties in the classification of agricultural occupations: landlords, owners and tenants.**—Attention has been drawn in previous reports to the difficulty of fitting conditions in Bengal readily into the scheme of classification adopted for agricultural occupations and this has been accentuated by the modifications within this sub-class introduced at the present census. In Bengal the agriculturist of any class, if asked what is his occupation, will immediately reply by stating his status in the system of land tenure current in the province and will describe himself as a *rayat*, *patnidar*, *talukdar*, etc. It has never been possible to use these returns in the census schedules for two reasons, first because the actual terms used connote a different status in different parts of the province, and secondly because they convey no definite indication of the actual work or occupation followed by the individual concerned. On previous occasions and particularly in 1921 attention was concentrated upon the distinction between those who live on the rent of land

and those who live by cultivating land for which they pay rent. It was possible by the use of comparatively simple conventional terms to preserve the distinction required. The enumerators were instructed to return as a *rent-taker* persons who let out their land, and as a *tenant* or *rent-payer* persons who paid rent for land which they cultivated; but on the present occasion the introduction of a distinction between cultivating owners and cultivating tenants has added a further difficulty. The primary distinction in the classification is between non-cultivators deriving income from agricultural land, cultivators of land permanently under cultivation and cultivators of *jhum*, *taungya* and other shifting areas. The last division is new but presents no difficulties in Bengal and such cultivation is restricted to areas like the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Darjeeling and the Tripura State. The distinction between rent-receivers and cultivating rent-payers is not indeed readily apparent from the terms ordinarily in common use but can be secured by the use of fairly simple conventional terms. Those used in 1921 were *bishay bhogi* and *praja* and although the word *praja* is liable to the criticism that in many parts of Bengal it is used in a distinctively technical sense in connection with the Bengal Tenancy Act, probably no better terms can be devised if this is the only distinction required. On the present occasion also the word *bishay bhogi* was retained to indicate persons living on the rent of land and shown in group 1 as non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind. Similarly, agricultural labourers shown in group 7 presented no difficulty. Under the Bengal Tenancy Act, indeed, certain persons who cultivate land on condition of giving a share of the actual produce of the year to the person from whom they hold possession of the land are at law agricultural labourers, although for census purposes they are tenant cultivators. But in this case also the distinction between agricultural labourers and persons recorded in group 6 as tenant cultivators was not difficult to enforce. The instruction already quoted was supplemented by instructions given below in detail to the effect that those persons were to be returned as agricultural labourers who had no kind of right, title or interest even to the possession of their land, and cultivated merely for wages in cash or kind. The difficulty comes with the introduction of a distinction between owners and tenants. So long as it was a case of distinction between landlord and tenant it was comparatively simple to lay down that both these classes fall within the body of those who hold a right, title or interest in their land and that the distinction between them was whether they got their livelihood or the greater part of it from rent or the actual cultivation of land either by themselves or by servants and labourers. Into this distinction the question of proprietary right does not enter at all and this is a very great advantage in Bengal where a feature of the land tenure system is the great number of intermediate tenures existing in regular dependence, one on another, from the person paying revenue for the estate direct to the crown to the actual cultivating *rayat* and where even the terms used for these intermediate tenures differ from district to district and may be identical in form but different in connotation from one district to another. The difficulty is created by the need for a definition of "owner" which is required if a distinction is to be made between cultivating owners and cultivating tenants.

267. **Ownership of land in Bengal.**—The actual term land-owner is not a term bearing any definite meaning in the land law of Bengal. The accepted law appears to be that interests which would be combined if there were an absolute estate in the land are divided between the paramount title of the crown to receive revenue, the proprietary right of the zemindar to receive rent and the right of the *rayat* to be left in beneficial possession of the land he holds subject to the payment of rent. The composite nature of any estate in land is considered to have survived through the period of Muslim rule actually from Shastric times. In the earliest times the orthodox opinion is that the right of the land was divided between the king and the actual cultivator. In Mogal times the only claim to the land made by the ruler was to a tax or a sum payable on what had been originally a proportionate share of the produce, whilst the tax collectors (often conquered rajas) were looked upon as being merely officials of the revenue administration without rights in the land unless

they had received grants as payment for their services. The Permanent Settlement did indeed set up in Bengal a class of landed proprietors who were owners of their estates but they were not recognised as being possessed of an absolute estate in their zemindary and as a judicial decision expresses it—

“the notion of an absolute estate in land is as alien from the Regulation Law as it is from the old Hindu and Muhammadan law of the country” (Thakurani Dasi *versus* Bhisweswar Mukherjee).

A proprietor under the Bengal Tenancy Act is indeed defined as “a person owning (sic) an estate or part of an estate,” i.e., (a) included under one entry in any of the registers of revenue-paying or revenue-free lands; or (b) forming a government *khas mahal*; or (c) which is revenue free and not entered in any register [Bengal Tenancy Act, section 3(ii) and 4]. But nothing gives him an absolute estate in his land. There are even “landholders’ constituencies” (not landowners’ constituencies) in the Legislative Assembly and Bengal Legislative Council where the qualification is either to have a proprietary right in an estate or share of an estate or to hold a permanent tenancy from such proprietor and to pay a minimum amount of revenue towards roads and public work cess. In the case of *khas mahals* directly administered by government the legal position is that government holds an estate under itself so that the proprietary right merges with the paramount title: in this case the rent of the tenants becomes revenue but the tenants do not necessarily become proprietors or permanent tenancy holders.

268. **Difficulty of defining cultivating owners.**—In Bengal it consequently appeared at first that the most satisfactory meaning to give to cultivating owners would be the sense borne by the word proprietor in the Bengal Tenancy Act; and it is clear that any other criterion inevitably results in figures entirely out of relation to the land tenure system. On the other hand the difficulties of such a definition are considerable. The number of cultivating proprietors thus defined is negligible in Bengal and the figures which would have been yielded in group 5 by such a definition would probably have been entirely out of comparison with those in such other parts of India as have no proprietors in the sense defined in the Bengal Tenancy Act and where intermediaries for the collection of government dues have the status only of tax farmers. It would include only a class probably not existing anywhere outside the operations of the Permanent Settlement Regulation (Regulation I of 1793). The figures would be equally misleading in comparison with those in European countries where cultivating owners would presumably be peasant proprietors whose status more nearly resembles the permanent *rayat* in Bengal than any other class in the land-tenure system.

269. **The distinction adopted.**—On these considerations it was decided that a clean sweep would have to be made of the existing terms and notions current in Bengal and that attention would have to be concentrated principally upon the actual work or occupation followed by the agriculturist concerned. If he cultivated his land either personally or by means of hired servants he was to fall in either class 5 or 6 irrespective of his status in the land-tenure system. Equally irrespective of his status in the land-tenure system if he derived returns from his land not by actual labour put into them by himself or by his own hired labourers but from rent he was to go into class 1 as a non-cultivating proprietor. Excluding the agricultural labourers who are shown in group 7, between actual cultivators, i.e., persons who themselves cultivate their lands either with their own hands or by hired labourers and servants, the only distinction possible was according to permanence of tenancy. It has already been said that the nearest analogy to the peasant proprietor elsewhere is in Bengal a tenant with a permanent or semi-permanent right, and it was this distinction which was used to differentiate between groups 5 and 6. If the cultivator had a permanent title to the possession of his land he was regarded as a cultivating owner and returned as *cultivator with permanent rights*, even if at law he was not entitled to the privileges of a permanent or settled *rayat*

under the Bengal Tenancy Act. Similarly, even if the cultivator was not a tenant under the definition in that Act, he was still to be regarded as a cultivating tenant and returned as a *cultivator but without permanent rights* if he was entitled to remain in possession of his land during the season in which crops sown and tended by him were in the ground although he might be liable at the end of the season to make over a proportion of the crops to the person with a title in the land. It was considered immaterial whether the amount made over should be at law considered rent for occupation of the land or the amount retained should be considered wages for cultivating the land. The criterion was whether during the season of cultivating the land he was entitled to remain in possession of it. In cases in which the person with the title to the land supplied plough and bullocks and seed such a cultivator was clearly an agricultural labourer only. But where he entered into possession of the land with an oral or other agreement from the person entitled to cultivate it to the effect that he should cultivate for a period and at stated times render a share of the produce, he was recorded as an *agriculturist without permanent title*. The application of this distinction therefore secures the principal distinction between agriculturists, namely, that arising from the work actually done by them, and in addition provides for groups 5 and 6 the best distinction possible which corresponds with actual conditions in the province. The detailed instructions issued in elaboration of those given to the enumerators and conveyed to them by the superior census agency are reproduced below :—

“ The tables of occupation to be compiled from the census returns have been brought into line with the classification adopted in European and other countries and for this purpose it is necessary to make some distinctions in the return of occupations which are not familiar in Bengal. Thus in order to make possible a distinction amongst those who live from agricultural land between actual cultivators and those who live on income derived from their land it is necessary to enter in the schedules some terms not ordinarily used in Bengal and to avoid the use of expressions commonly employed to describe the status of tenure or tenancy-holders by reference to the nature of their title to the land, such as, *zemindar, talukdar, pattanidar, haoladar, shikmidar, etnamdar, chukanidar, joidar, rayat, dar-rayat, korfa-adhiar, bargadar, bhagdar*, etc. Great care should be taken not to confuse the meaning of terms as used for census purposes with the same terms if they occur in the Bengal Tenancy-Act.

The primary test is whether the person to be enumerated actually cultivates his land or not.

Those who have any kind of right, title or interest in agricultural land but who derive the greater part of their livelihood not from actually cultivating the land either themselves or by servants or hired labourers but from leasing it out and getting rent for it are to be entered as ‘landlords’ (*bishay-bhogi*). Landlords of house property or land in towns which is not agricultural land will also be entered as ‘landlords’ but a distinction must be made between these two classes and the entry ‘landlord’ must always be followed either by ‘(agricultural land)’ or by ‘(town or house property)’. Amongst those who actually do the work of cultivation again a further distinction is to be made. Those who have no right, title or interest in the land and cultivate for wages in cash or kind are to be entered as ‘agricultural labourers’ (*krishimajur*). Those who have a right, title and interest of any kind in the land and actually cultivate it either themselves or by servants or by hired labourers are to be entered as ‘cultivators’ (*krishak*). If they have a tenure (*madhyastha svattva*) or a permanent tenancy or a tenancy with occupancy rights they must be entered as ‘cultivators (tenure-holders or with permanent interest)’ (*krishak, madhyastha svattva bishista* or *sthayi svattva bishista*). If they have no tenure and no permanent right or interest but have a temporary or oral lease, or a lease as a *korfa* or *dar-rayat* or other description of under-tenant without permanent title or have not any lease at all but merely right to possession of the land by virtue of a mortgage or an *utbandi* or *barga* or *adhiari* or *bhag settlement* even though they may not be ‘tenants’ under the Bengal Tenancy Act they must be entered as ‘cultivators (without permanent interest)’ (*krishak, sthayi svattva bishista nahe*).

In many cases persons having a title to land lease out some part of it and keep the rest *khas* for their own cultivation. Such persons must be entered both in column 10 and in column 11. In column 10 if the greater part of their livelihood comes from their rents they will be shown as ‘landlords’ but if it comes from their cultivation they will be shown as ‘cultivators (with or without permanent interest)’. In column 11 they will also be shown, unless they have some other more important subsidiary occupation which should be entered in column 11, as ‘cultivators (with or without permanent interest)’ if they have been entered in column 10 as ‘landlords’ and as ‘landlords’ if entered in column 10 as ‘cultivators’.

Agents and managers of Government estates are to be distinguished from those of private estates.

Where the method of cultivation is similar to the *jhum* cultivation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts the entry for cultivators should be 'cultivator (*jhum*)'. Such cultivation is not likely to be met except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Darjeeling, probably in Tripura State, and perhaps in the Madhupur jungle of Mymensingh and parts of Chittagong."

270. Preponderance of agricultural occupations.—In the whole of the province there are nearly 25 persons following an agricultural occupation for every one employed in government service or in the professions and liberal arts. Omitting Calcutta which is a city and in which conditions are clearly unsuitable for the comparison, there are in every district except Chittagong, Howrah, Noakhali and Hooghly at least 20 workers engaged in agricultural pursuits for every government servant or professional man. In Sikkim the proportions are 159 to 1, a figure not nearly approached in Bengal where the highest, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, is 90. The proportion is in general lowest in districts of the Chittagong and Presidency Divisions and highest in districts of the Rajshahi Division where, with the exception of Malda, there are in every district about 30 agriculturists for every person employed in public administration and the liberal arts. As a measure of the ratio of agriculturists to unproductives the figures under sub-class XII should be added to those under sub-classes VI-VIII. If this is done and the term unproductive is interpreted to exclude persons engaged in transport and trade, there are 16 agriculturists for every unproductive in Bengal. The largest number, 68, is found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and with the exception of Calcutta the smallest, 8, 9 and 11, respectively, are found in Chittagong, Howrah and Noakhali. The figures here given have been calculated on the percentages shown in subsidiary table II, and a calculation upon the actual numbers engaged might give slightly different results but in general the proportions will be found to hold.

271. Ordinary cultivation.—Cultivation of special crops, forestry, stock raising and the raising of small animals contribute comparatively small numbers to the total employed in pasture and agriculture. The great majority are engaged in "ordinary cultivation" which finds employment for 9,477,076 persons as well as providing a subsidiary means of livelihood for 674,718 more. More than one half of these are cultivating owners, for every two of whom there is one agricultural labourer. The figures for cultivating tenants are less than one-sixth those of cultivating owners, and there is only one landlord for more than ten cultivating owners. Cultivating owners and tenant cultivators were not distinguished in 1921: together they number 6,041,495 compared with 9,274,924 in 1921 a decrease of about 35 per cent. On the other hand agricultural labourers have increased by 50 per cent. and now number 2,718,939 compared with 1,805,502 farm servants and field labourers in 1921. There has been a considerable increase in the numbers returned as non-cultivating proprietors (from 390,562 to 633,834) and a small decrease in the number of their agents, rent collectors, etc., from 46,181 to 44,586. The decrease in the number of landlords' agents was commented upon in the last census report as having been on the last occasion noticeable in those districts in which settlement operations had been conducted in the preceding decade. It is in the group "pasture and agriculture" that the most notable decrease occurs from the figures of 1921. The variations under ordinary cultivation account for all but just over 28,000 of the decrease (2,068,441) in the number of all workers between 1921 and 1931. Variations as considerable as those shown by the figures cannot occur in a predominantly agricultural country where the *rayat* has the strongest possible attachment to his holding and are evidently due to differences in obtaining the returns.

272. Distribution of returns from land between cultivators and non-cultivators.—The variations in the figures of cultivators and of non-cultivators, respectively, lead to very different figures in the proportions in each of these classes in 1931 compared with 1921. A further difference is introduced owing to the fact that in 1921 it was possible to estimate the number dependent upon workers in each group which is not possible on the present occasion. Figures for the number of cultivators per 100 landlords and their agents given

STATEMENT No. VIII-6.
Number of cultivators per 100 landlords and their agents.

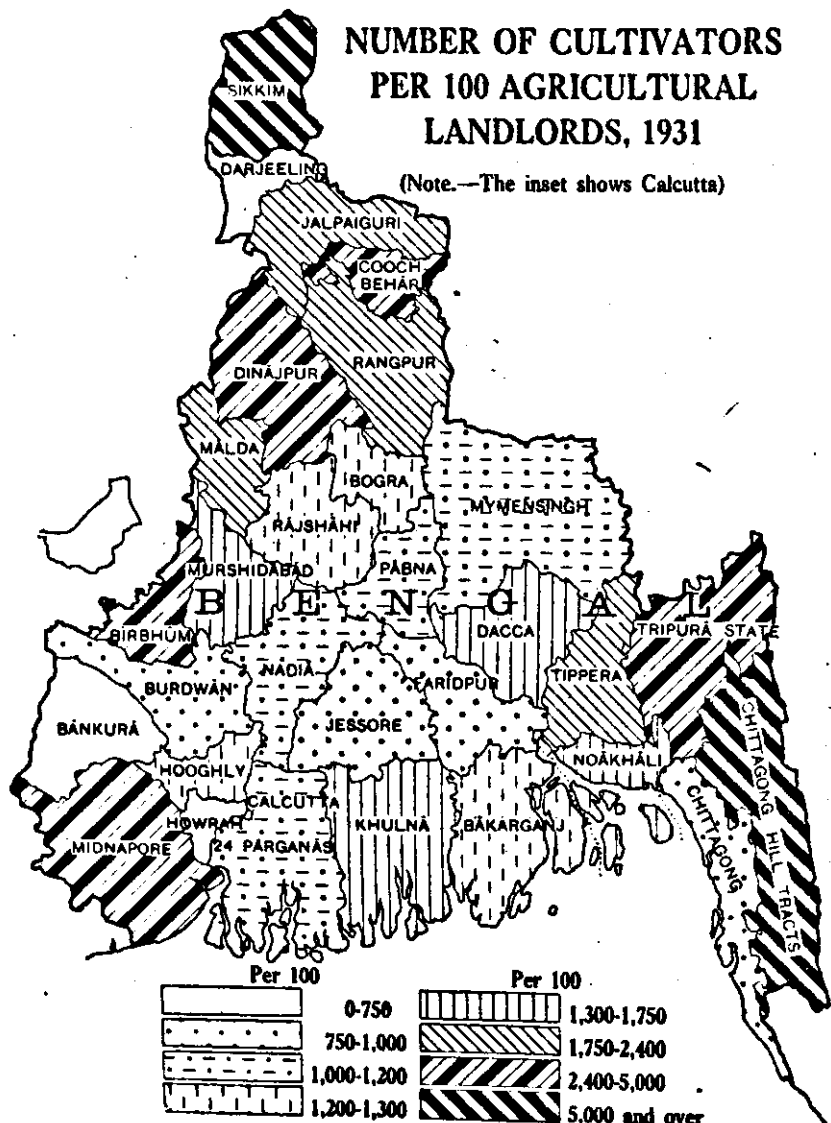
BENGAL	1,297
BRITISH TERRITORY	1,276
Burdwan Division	1,116
Burdwan	938
Birbhum	8,998
Bankura	419
Midnapore	2,692
Hooghly	1,215
Howrah	793
Presidency Division	1,102
24 Parganas	1,129
Calcutta	24
Nadia	1,109
Murshidabad	1,506
Jessore	994
Khulna	1,341
Rajshahi Division	1,644
Rajshahi	1,264
Dinajpur	3,265
Jalpaiguri	1,780
Darjeeling	550
Rangpur	2,268
Bogra	1,216
Pabna	1,030
Malda	1,778
Dacca Division	1,190
Dacca	1,746
Mymensingh	1,087
Faridpur	966
Bakarganj	1,208
Chittagong Division	1,584
Tippera	2,174
Noakhali	1,541
Chittagong	808
Chittagong Hill Tracts	11,046
BENGAL STATES	3,788
Cooch Behar	3,300
Tripura	4,751
SIKKIM	186,764

in statement No. VIII-6 and illustrated in diagram No. VIII-6 do not therefore correspond in any way with the similar figures given in the report for 1921. Groups 1 to 4 are included as landlords and their agents and groups 5-8 as cultivators. On the average there are approximately 13 cultivators for every landlord, landlord's agent, rent-collector, clerk, etc. The proportion of those drawing their income from agriculture direct from the soil is highest in Sikkim and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In these two places there is one landlord or landlord's agent only to every 1,868 cultivators in Sikkim and to every 110 cultivators in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In Cooch Behar, Dinajpur, Birbhum, Midnapore and Tripura State there are between 24 and 50 cultivators to every person deriving his income from rent or by the collection of rent for the land. In Jalpaiguri, Rangpur and Malda as well as in Tippera district the proportion is between 175 and 240 cultivators for every 10 landlords and middlemen with their agents. Excluding Calcutta where conditions are not representative there is the smallest number of cultivators to every landlord or agent in Bankura and Darjeeling where the numbers are 419 and 550 per 100, respectively, but there are less than 10 to 1 also

in Howrah, Burdwan, Jessore, Faridpur and Chittagong. If we assume that each worker maintains a family of $5\frac{1}{2}$ persons including himself these proportions imply that on an average the work put into the fields by every cultivator is expected to support directly or indirectly almost 6 persons whilst the number of persons looking to support in the same way from his labours in Burdwan would be almost 7.

273 . Group 7 includes some working dependents of cultivating owners and tenants.—Under occupational group 7 the figures for working dependents include 138,551 persons of both sexes who are members of families of cultivating owners and cultivating tenants, but who assist in the actual cultivation of the family property and are included in this group as agricultural labourers.

DIAGRAM No. VIII-6.



by directions of the Census Commissioner. For some purposes, however, it is of interest to be able to distinguish the extent to which cultivating owners and cultivating tenants rely for their cultivation upon members of

STATEMENT No. VIII-7.

Persons shown in the imperial table X as working dependents under occupational group 7 (agricultural labourers) who are members of the families and assist in the cultivation of persons returned as—

Division, district, city or state.	Cultivating owners (group 5).		Cultivating tenants (group 6).	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5
BENGAL	93,584	20,673	19,750	4,544
BRITISH TERRITORY	90,318	17,334	19,335	4,533
Burdwan Division	10,100	3,527	1,611	244
Burdwan	1,093	724	507	69
Birbhum	078	272	81	8
Bankura	1,514	445	107	35
Midnapore	4,333	1,784	567	112
Hooghly	1,104	283	307	18
Howrah	88	19	42	2
Howrah City	5	..	30	..
Presidency Division	5,417	1,149	2,592	225
24-Parganas	624	228	87	1
<i>Calcutta Suburbs</i>	..	..	1	..
Calcutta	..	..	..	..
Nadia	949	52	846	17
Murshidabad	208	22	182	8
Jessore	3,410	674	1,474	203
Khulna	206	173	3	1
Rajshahi Division	52,907	5,692	6,542	167
Rajshahi	7,030	3,261	728	17
Dinajpur	10,020	1,978	958	79
Jalpaiguri	733	6	183	25
Darjeeling	89	2	1	8
Rangpur	416	85	1,140	9
Bogra	33,042	295	2,417	20
Pabna	471	29	444	8
Malda	1,106	36	671	1
Dacca Division	16,743	1,970	6,848	1,262
Dacca	1,658	956	2,327	922
Dacca City	..	..	..	..
Mymensingh	10,092	780	3,529	186
Faridpur	630	211	553	1
Bakarganj	4,363	23	439	161
Chittagong Division	5,151	4,996	1,742	2,636
Tippera	2,514	395	1,385	2,596
Noakhali	1,538	24	202	1
Chittagong	1,003	149	134	24
Chittagong Hill Tracts	101	4,428	21	14
BENGAL STATES	3,266	3,339	415	11
Cooch Behar	327	1,607	393	..
Tripura	2,939	1,732	22	11
SIKKIM	14	..	12	6

their families as opposed to hired labourers and servants. During enumeration, therefore, members of the families of cultivating owners and cultivating tenants were so recorded in the schedules that it was possible at the stage of compilation to separate them from other working dependents shown as agricultural labourers. Details of such persons are given in statement No. VIII-7 above.

274. **Cultivation of special crops, etc.**—The only two occupations of importance under this category are tea plantations and the growing of *pan-vine*. There were 28,210 persons returned as workers engaged in the cultivation of the *pan-vine*. The occupation is practically entirely in the hands of the Baruis whose traditional occupation it is and the actual figures given in the imperial table XI amount to rather more than those shown in the occupational table. There is, therefore, some doubt whether the figures under this occupation are correct, but the discrepancy is not so great as to equal the figure for 1921. Tea cultivation is practically confined to Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tippera. It offers employment to 258,865 persons, the majority of whom are found in Jalpaiguri and amongst whom female workers number almost 80 for every 100 males. In the Jalpaiguri district there are 146 tea gardens and new gardens are projected.

275. **Forestry.**—Only 6,392 persons were returned under the category Forestry in groups 17 to 20, a figure considerably less than half of the number returned in 1921 and including forest officers of Government recorded in group 17.

276. **Stock raising.**—Stock raising affords employment to 118,262 persons. The figure shows an increase on that of 1921 entirely accounted for by an increase in the numbers returned as breeders and keepers of cattle and buffaloes. The figure in 1921 showed a great decrease from the corresponding figure in the previous decade which was explained as being due to numbers of herdsmen returning themselves as sellers of milk, butter, *ghee*, etc., and it is possible that the returns on the present occasion are more accurate. They are now higher than the figure of 1911 which was 25,595. The occupation is distributed over the whole province and the greatest numbers professing it are found in the Dacca and the Presidency Divisions as opposed to group 23 including herdsmen, shepherds and breeders of other animals, i.e., cattle, buffaloes, and transport animals, whose numbers are over 2½ times as many as those employed in group 21, and who are chiefly found in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions.

277. **Raising of small animals.**—Amongst the persons employed in raising of small animals, the decrease in the number returned as cultivating silk worms is noticeable. The occupation is practically confined to Murshidabad and to Malda where it is entirely in the hands of females and a larger number use it as a subsidiary means of livelihood—most of these being males. The returns for lac cultivation (group 26) are clearly incomplete. The group was new at the present census and, although it is probable that comparatively few persons rely upon it as their principal means of livelihood, it is certain that in a district like Malda in spite of the reported falling off in the trade a certain proportion of the population find a subsidiary occupation in this group.

278. **Order 2: Fishing and hunting.**—In order 2, fishing and hunting, the principal occupation is fishing and pearling (group 27), which employs 191,770 persons as earners' principal occupation, or working dependents. The figures show an increase on those of 1921. The occupation is principally followed in the Presidency Division. The total extent to which fishing is followed as an occupation cannot be estimated on the present occasion owing to the amalgamation of group No. 131 of 1921 reserved for fish dealers. Many of the fishing castes also sell the fish they catch and some of them have very probably been included in group No. 134 amongst dealers in other food-stuffs. The total number entered in 1921 as fishermen and fish dealers was 359,353 and on the present occasion the total of groups 27 and 134 is 490,865.

279. **Sub-class II: Exploitation of minerals.**—The exploitation of minerals forms the second of the 12 sub-classes of occupation and gives employment to 43,074 workers in addition to 1,519 who use it as a subsidiary means of livelihood. The only important mineral mined is coal and the coal industry finds employment for 42,166 persons as well as offering a supplementary means of livelihood to an additional 1,436. The decade has been a period of depression in the coal trade which is reflected in the decrease in the numbers employed from 67,311 the figure of 1921. The occupation is confined to Burdwan with a very small number employed also in Bankura.

280. **Class B: Preparation and supply of material substances.**—The preparation and supply of material substances forms the second of the main occupational classes and affords employment to 2,506,149 persons compared with 3,290,833 in 1921. In addition 290,331 persons find a subsidiary means of livelihood under this class. The class includes sub-classes III—Industry, IV—Transport and V—Trade.

281. **Sub-class III: Industry.**—Industry (sub-class III) finds employment for 1,281,808 persons in addition to 114,878 who pursue the occupation included in it as a subsidiary means of livelihood. There has been a decrease of 392,217 workers from the figures of 1921. Some part at least of the decrease is genuine. Between 1930 and 1931 the report of the Chief Inspector of Factories shows a decrease of workers in registered factories amounting to 83,438.

282. **Order 5: Textile Industries—Jute.**—Textile industries employ 457,622 persons and provide subsidiary employment for a further 28,313 compared with 540,137 workers in 1921. Jute pressing, spinning and weaving is the principal occupation under the textile order of industrial occupations and employs 261,703 persons as well as furnishing subsidiary employment to an additional 5,748. The figures show a decrease on those of 1921 which were 293,469. The industry is practically confined to the towns along both sides of the Hooghly in the 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly districts. The subsidiary figures shown as group 44A in imperial table X show the numbers employed in jute pressing but they are incomplete and as they stand cannot be reconciled with those of 1921. In that year the numbers were 34,750 whereas on the present occasion the numbers returned as being employed in jute pressing are 177,252. This leaves 84,451 only employed in jute spinning and weaving compared with 258,719 in 1921. The depression in the jute trade immediately before the census probably affected more the spinning and weaving than the jute pressing industries and as has been mentioned (in Chapter I) a considerable number of employees of jute mills were dismissed just before the census took place. The reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories also show a decrease in the number of jute mill employees and there were nearly 63 thousand less on the employment rolls of registered jute mills and presses in 1931 than in 1930, and nearly 16 thousand less in 1930 than in 1929, but it is unlikely that the relative proportions employed in pressing and in spinning and weaving jute are correctly represented by the figures.

283. **Cotton.**—The cotton industry is the only other textile industry of importance in Bengal. It offered employment to 172,798 persons as well as subsidiary occupation to 19,791 persons, but, in spite of a continuously prosperous decade, the numbers were less than at the census of 1921 when they amounted to 225,333. Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving are mainly found in the Dacca and the Burdwan Divisions and more than 10 per cent. of the persons following the occupation are found in the Dacca district, but numbers were returned in all districts except the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing, on the other hand, employ now 5,263 persons compared with 1,609 in 1921 and of these the great majority are found in the Presidency Division and particularly in the 24-Parganas.

284. **Rope-making, etc.**—Rope-making which employs 9,433 persons and working in hair which employs 828 are cottage industries and in each of these cases between two and three times as many women are employed in them as men.

285. **Silk, etc.**—Silk spinning and weaving employs 4,822 persons and provides subsidiary occupation for 820 more but the figures are considerably less than they were in 1921. This, together with wool carding, spinning and weaving which employs no more than 763 persons, is also a cottage industry. Wool textiles are practically confined to the three districts of Murshidabad, Burdwan and Bankura.

286. **Order 6: Hides, skins, etc.**—Workers in leather number 8,436 and in bone, ivory, horn, etc., 3,583. No leather workers were returned from the Chittagong Division and comparatively few from the Burdwan Division, so that the occupation is principally confined to Presidency, Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions, and it is in the Dacca Division that the largest number of workers in bone, ivory, horn and shell are found, principally concentrated in Dacca district itself.

287. **Order 7: Wood—Carpenters, basket-makers, sawyers.**—Carpentry was returned as their principal means of occupation by 78,468 workers and as a subsidiary means of occupation by an additional 10,788. The occupation is found in all parts of the province, but principally in the Dacca and the Presidency Divisions. Basket-makers, etc., numbered 55,359 principally found in the Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions in addition to 9,375 who follow this occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood. Sawyers, principally returned from the Dacca Division, number 6,285 in addition to 1,290 who use this occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood.

288. **Order 8: Metals.**—Amongst the workers in metals the greatest proportion are blacksmiths and other workers in iron. They number 38,731 in addition to 4,112 following the occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood. The largest number of them is found in the Presidency Division, and particularly in the 24-Parganas district; but the blacksmith is an essential constituent of the village community and no district is without some considerable number of them. Workers in brass, copper and bellmetal amount to 6,567 and workers in other metals except gold, silver, etc., to 3,323.

289. **Order 9: Ceramics.**—The most notable peculiarity about the return for workers in ceramics is the fact that only 180 in the whole of the Chittagong Division are returned under this order compared with 11,781 persons returned in 1921. Such as were returned appear in group 64 as brick and tile makers, so that not a single potter or maker of earthenware was returned in this division on the present occasion. On the other hand the figures for vendors of pottery, bricks and tiles in this division were only 356 in 1921 and are now 4,002. The village potter generally sells his own wares and it appears that the potters have got themselves into group 124. The figures for the whole order are little more than half only of those in 1921. There were 79,224 persons returned in this order in addition to 9,743 for whom it was returned as the subsidiary means of livelihood compared with a total of 147,512 in 1921.

290. **Order 10: Chemical products—Vegetable oils.**—This order gives employment to 38,270 workers in addition to 4,168 who find a subsidiary occupation amongst the groups included in it. The manufacture and refining of vegetable oils is the only occupation of importance in the order. It employs 33,934 persons in addition to giving a subsidiary occupation to 3,904 more, and is chiefly found in the Presidency Division particularly in the Nadia district in which almost half of those returned under this group are concentrated. The figures in this district are well over five times as many as were recorded on the previous occasion, but the total number of workers in this group was much higher (52,113) in 1921 and the district figures show very considerable variations in the two years.

291. **Order 11: Food industries—Rice-husking, flour-grinding, tobacco, grain-parching, etc.**—This order gives employment to 179,023 persons and provides a subsidiary means of livelihood for an additional 11,895. Rice-husking and flour-grinding, the manufacture of tobacco and the parching of grain are the principal food industries in Bengal. Paddy-husking finds employment for 143,146 persons and is almost entirely a woman's occupation for there over 13 women are employed in it to every man. The manufacture of tobacco employs 11,320 persons. Grain-parching, like paddy-husking, but to a less degree, is principally a woman's occupation and for every 17 persons employed in it 14 are women. Sweetmeat and condiment makers number 6,303 one of the most numerous groups in this order but with the sole exception of the manufacturers of tobacco, who, on the present occasion, number more than three times as many as those recorded in 1921 when opium and ganja were included with tobacco all groups in this order show a decrease in the numbers returned compared with 1921. The increase in the numbers employed in the manufacture of tobacco is an interesting commentary on the boycott of foreign cigarettes.

292. **Order 12: Industries of dress and the toilet.**—This order finds employment for 172,449 person workers and subsidiary employment for an additional 20,162. Tailors, milliners and dressmakers and darners are the most numerous group in the order and total 43,926. Embroiderers and makers of hats and other articles of wear who number 2,917 were included with them in 1921 when the aggregate total was 47,650, rather larger than the total number now. Barbers, hair-dressers and wig-makers number 62,370 and the occupation is practically confined to members of the Napit caste. The figures for this occupation are indeed clearly incomplete since in imperial table XI a larger number of Napits are shown following the caste occupation than the total given under group 86, whereas the occupation is also followed by Muslim groups as well as others. Washermen and cleaners number 39,487 of whom 36,650 shown in imperial table XI are of the Dhobi caste. The only other group employing any considerable number of persons in this order is number 82 for the manufacturers of foot-wear who number 23,281 in addition to 1,316 who pursue this employment as a subsidiary occupation.

293. **Order 13: Furniture industries.**—This order employs 2,905 persons compared with 1,883 in 1921. The majority of those returned are cabinet-makers, carriage-painters, etc.

294. **Order 14: Building industries.**—Various groups shown under the order building industries in 1921 have now been combined into a single group. All persons concerned with building from lime-burners and cement-workers to tilers, plumbers and house-decorators are now included in this group which provides employment for 54,402 persons and subsidiary employment for 4,048. The figure is scarcely two-thirds of that for 1921.

295. **Order 15: Construction of means of transport.**—Returned under the order, construction of the means of transport, are 5,320 workers or scarcely more than half the figure of 1921. The number of persons returned as employed in the manufacture of motor vehicles, carriages, carts, etc., has increased but there has been a very considerable decline in the numbers in group 93 comprising builders of ships, boats and aeroplanes. The figures are obviously incomplete since not a single person was returned under this group in places like Mymensingh or even in Noakhali and Chittagong, though this was also a feature of the returns in 1921.

296. **Order 16: Production and transmission of physical force.**—There were 3,329 persons employed in the production and transmission of physical force and as is to be expected the majority of these are found principally in Calcutta, but also to some extent in the districts of Howrah and Dacca and the 24-Parganas.

297. **Order 17: Other miscellaneous and undefined industries.**—These accounted for 86,400 workers and provided subsidiary employment for an additional 7,237. The figures are less than those of 1921 when the workers returned numbered 110,697. In both years makers of jewellery and ornaments were the most numerous group in the order. They number 44,836 on the present occasion and are distributed fairly evenly throughout the province—the largest number being in the Dacca, Rajshahi and Presidency Divisions with a considerable concentration, which might be expected in Calcutta. Scavenging was returned as their occupation by 22,464 persons compared with 27,895 in 1921. Almost one-third of those returned are occupied in Calcutta. The only other considerable group in this order is that for printers, engravers, book-binders, etc., who numbered 14,025 compared with a total of 13,506 in 1921. As is to be expected 5 of every 7 returned in this group were found in Calcutta.

298. **Sub-class IV: Transport.**—Transport provides employment for 283,283 persons and subsidiary employment for 34,731. The figures for workers in 1921 were 371,803. Those returned under transport by air (order 18) are employees at the aerodrome at Dum Dum and their numbers have increased from 22 in 1921 to 107 on the present occasion.

299. **Transport by water.**—The numbers for transport by water (order 19) show a decrease from 109,226 in 1921 to 82,474 on the present occasion, but the order provides a subsidiary occupation for 8,088 others. The greater part of transport by water is concerned with the inland water transport services of Bengal which account for 70,740 workers returned compared with 94,439 in 1921. Dacca, the Presidency and Chittagong Divisions show the highest returns under this subsidiary group and as many as 12,026 persons were recorded under it in Calcutta city alone. Taking into account persons connected with sea-going vessels the total number employed is 78,381 compared with 105,715 in 1921 and of the difference between this figure and that for inland transport almost the whole is accounted for by the district of Calcutta whilst the figures for Chittagong, which has also been declared a major port during the decade, do not include a single entry in addition to those allocated to inland water transport.

300. **Transport by road.**—In transport by road (order 20) 120,541 workers are employed and an additional 24,572 find in some group included in it a subsidiary means of occupation. The figure of workers was 173,047 in 1921. The largest number now as then is returned under group 106 by labourers employed on the construction of roads and bridges. Their numbers are 51,563 workers with 10,322 following this employment as a subsidiary occupation. There has been an increase from 6,771 to 8,304 workers connected with mechanically driven vehicles but although private motor drivers and cleaners fall into a different group (No. 186) it is doubtful whether these figures accurately reflect the enormous increase in motor transport which has taken place during the decade. Persons connected with other vehicles are now returned at 28,972 compared with 41,974 in 1921 and there has been a similar decrease in the number of persons owning and carrying *palkis* from 44,559 in 1921 to 20,599 in 1931, a decrease partly accounted for by the increase of mechanical transport and the decrease in the number of immigrants from Bihar who are pre-eminently the *palki*-bearers of Bengal. Porters and messengers have declined from 15,294 in 1921 to 10,433 on the present occasion, but there is no doubt that a considerable number of those returned under group No. 191 as labourers and workers otherwise unspecified should properly have been returned in this group. Rail transport employs 69,328 persons compared with 75,236 in 1921 of whom 3 in every 7 were labourers, coolies and porters. These figures may be compared with those given in subsidiary table VI. The figures supplied by the railway companies themselves show a total of 157,910 persons employed on the date of the census, and even if this include coolies and labourers, the figures are very much more than twice the total number of persons returned as being employed in transport by rail including those for whom this employment is only a subsidiary occupation. A similar discrepancy is revealed in the figures for order 22 (post-office, telegraph and telephone services). The numbers returned are 10,833 but the figures given in subsidiary table VI are considerably more than twice this number and do not include employees of the telephone services.

301. **Sub-class V : Trade.**—This sub-class finds employment for 941,058 persons compared with 984,005 in 1921. Trade in food-stuffs is the most important occupation in this sub-class. Order No. 31 (hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.) provides occupation for 14,386 persons and subsidiary occupation for 970 others and order 32 (other trade in food-stuffs) employs 508,732 persons as well as providing a subsidiary occupation for 78,853. In addition group 150 under order 39 (trade of other sorts) in which it forms the principal item comprising general store-keepers and shopkeepers, otherwise unspecified, is the occupation of 146,011 persons and a subsidiary occupation for an additional 12,348. The variations between 1921 and 1931 in the groups forming order 32 are very considerable. Groups have been recast and the only ones nearly identical with those of 1921 are Nos. 131 (dealers in dairy products, eggs and poultry) and No. 133 (dealers in fodder for animals). The restriction of group 132 to dealers in animals specifically sold for food has contributed to the enormous reduction in the numbers

from 180,354 to 1,040. Even this explanation, however, is probably not the sole cause of the enormous decrease and it is doubtful whether the numbers actually represent the total number of butchers and other dealers in animal food in the province. The classification of traders into groups within orders 32 and 39 is clearly one of some difficulty and is bound to differ from census to census particularly when so many of the shops in rural areas are general stores and may at the prejudice of the enumerator be returned in various ways. Trade in textiles (order 25) employs 63,630 persons and finds subsidiary occupation for 14,523 more. The subsidiary figures for trade in jute given as group 117A are astonishingly low and amount to only 3,898 compared with 16,860 in 1921; but although the reduction of numbers to scarcely more than one-fifth of their figure in 1921 is very large, there has been at least some reduction owing to the depression in the trade and to the reduction of staff before the census, took place. There were 49,793 persons returned as bank managers, money-lenders, exchange and insurance agents, etc., and their employees compared with 51,149 in 1921, but in addition almost one-fourth as many workers in this group were returned as following the occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood. The trade in skins, leather and furs employs almost the same number of persons in 1931 as in 1921, namely, 24,469 workers, and in addition 3,041 who follow this trade as a subsidiary means of livelihood compared with 25,897 workers in 1921. Trade in articles of luxury (order 38) employs an increasing number of people as workers, viz., 39,351 compared with 28,891 in 1921. There are three groups in this order and only one of them (dealers in common bangles, etc.) now employs a fewer number of workers than were returned in 1921, the figures being for 1931, 4,910 and for 1921, 5,072. On the other hand, there is an increase of over 4,000 workers returned as publishers, book-sellers, stationers, etc., and of nearly 6,500 returned as dealers in precious stones, jewellery, etc. Amongst the other groups in this sub-class only one appears to call for special attention. Group No. 124 (trade in pottery, bricks and tiles) shows an increase of workers from 1,885 in 1921 to 9,343 in 1931; this is due perhaps to differences of classification and to the inclusion of persons previously entered either as potters in what corresponds to groups 63 to 65 or as sellers of crockery, etc., in what corresponds to group No. 140. In all these three groups there has been a considerable decrease in the number returned as workers during the decade.

302. Class C : Public administration, professions and liberal arts.—This class is shown on the present occasion as employing rather more than those returned as workers in 1921. The figures are 393,178 in 1931 and 370,239 in 1921. The figures for the imperial army (group No. 153) have decreased from 4,296 to 2,544 while the numbers in Indian state armies have increased from 376 to 420, a figure still considerably less than the total military forces in the two states in Bengal, Cooch Behar and Tripura, which amounted at the end of 1930 to 700 men. The discrepancy was, however, similar in 1921 when the military strength of these two states amounted to 519. Figures for the police also show a decrease from 22,912 to 21,811, which does not reflect the necessity during the decade of an increase in the police force. The sanctioned strength of the police both in Calcutta and elsewhere in Bengal was over 29 thousand in 1930. Public administration (order VII), on the other hand, provides employment for 50,297 workers compared with 48,297 in 1921, the increase being entirely confined, apart from the increase of more than 100 per cent. in the numbers of village officials other than chaukidars, to the increase in state servants from 34,763 to 38,769. In sub-class VIII, the professions and liberal arts, which provide occupation for 283,851 persons and subsidiary occupation for 43,843, the largest contributions are made by religion (order 45—82,351 workers), medicine (order 47—68,369 workers) and instruction (order 48—74,323 workers). Teaching, medicine and the law (which now employs 30,835 workers compared with 24,456 in 1921) have all shown increases during the decade but there has been a decrease in the numbers returned as priests, ministers, etc., from 90,793 in 1921 to 80,199 on the present occasion although a large number (13,192) look to religion as a subsidiary means of occupation. Within the

orders for medicine and letters, arts and sciences there has been some splitting up of the groups used in 1921. Registered and unregistered medical practitioners are now separated and the numbers are found to be fairly equal. Registered medical practitioners rather surprisingly total nearly 7 thousand more than those who are not registered, and the total registered and unregistered amounts to nearly 10 thousand more in 1931 than in 1921. Dentists and veterinary surgeons have also been separately recorded for the first time on the present occasion. Similarly groups 178, 179, 180 and 181 represent the separation of a single group No. 177 corresponding to them in 1921. The principal group within the order for letters, arts and sciences is No. 182 (Musicians, actors, dancers, etc.) which employs 18,594 persons compared with 20,969 in 1921.

303. Class D : Miscellaneous.—The remaining class “miscellaneous” includes persons living on their income, those employed in domestic service, persons with insufficiently described occupations and persons pursuing unproductive occupations. In each of these sub-classes except the last, there has been an increase of the returns since 1921, perhaps most noticeable in the case of domestic service in which 809,715 persons are occupied and an additional 71,129 persons find a subsidiary means of livelihood compared with the total occupied in 1921 of 455,246. An increase in sub-class XI (insufficiently described occupations) is probably partly due to increased indefiniteness in the returns but might, perhaps, have been lessened had time and cost permitted a more careful scrutiny and verification of the returns. It is particularly noticeable in the group of unspecified labourers and workmen, which now includes 405,344 workers compared with 277,517 in 1921, but is also considerable in those returning clerical occupations (group 189) who total 205,538 workers on the present occasion compared with 164,019 in 1921. On the other hand, indefinite returns of mechanics show a decrease from 12,557 to 9,040. The jail population has increased from 13,692 to 20,863 but there has been a decrease in the return of beggars, vagrants and prostitutes from 272,264 to 190,619. The figure for 1921, however, includes a number returned as wizards, witches and mediums now shown in group 181, but even so, there would appear to have been no ground for anticipating such a decrease and it is probable that the figures are incomplete.

Part IV.—Employment of females and occupation by caste and other groups

304. Employment of females.—Subsidiary table III shows for all groups the distribution of male and female workers with the ratio of females to males. Apart from group 194 (procurers and prostitutes) under which no male appears to have chosen to have himself returned, occupational groups in which women are principally employed are those for paddy-huskers and flour-grinders (group 71), grain-parchers (group 72), trade in thatches and other forest produce (group 122), manufacture of rope, twine, string and other fibres (group 45), upholsterers, tent-makers, etc. (group 89), rearing of silk worms (group 25), workers in hair, etc. (group 48), the group including midwives, vaccinators, nurses, compounders, etc. (group 172) and domestic service (group 187). In all of these groups female workers outnumbered the males by anything up to nearly 14 to 1. The number of female workers is relatively high also in the tea gardens where the labourers live with their families and the women contribute by plucking tea as well as cultivating the gardens and in coal-mining where there are 72 female workers for every 100 males. They are also numerous (71 in every 100 males) amongst toy-makers, taxidermists, etc. In contrast to coal-mining and indeed to mining generally, in which the average is 715 female for every 1,000 male workers the proportion employed in the textile industries particularly jute pressing and spinning and weaving is comparatively small. There are only 14 women to every 100 men employed in jute textile manufactures, 31 for every 100 in cotton spinning and 11 for every 100 in cotton ginning, cleaning

and pressing; and the returns of the Chief Inspector of Factories show a very marked and progressive decline in the employment of women and children in factories. On the average taking all occupations together there are only 15 women for every 100 men employed. The cultivator's womenfolk evidently give him less assistance in his work than the fisherman's, for there are only 79 women for every 1,000 men employed in ordinary cultivation as compared with 188 women for every 1,000 men employed in fishing and pearling. The potter's womenfolk give him even greater assistance than the fisherman's and for every 1,000 males employed in the manufacture of ceramics 229 women are employed, the proportion being highest (256 females to a 1,000 males) amongst the makers of earthenware and pottery. Women contribute also a comparatively large proportion of those employed in basket-making and similar occupations (group 56) where they number 558 for every 1,000 males. They are also numerous as workers in the industries of dress and the toilet (order 12). Within this order 418 women for every 1,000 men are employed in the unspecified industries included in (group 87), 272 for every 1,000 men in washing and cleaning and 268 for every 1,000 men in embroidery, hat-making, etc. As labourers they are also relatively numerous, for instance, in group 106—labourers employed on roads and bridges—where there are 236 for every 1,000 males and in group 191, including labourers and workmen unspecified, where there are 158 females for every 1,000 males. They have a very considerable share in the trade in wood and pottery and also in the trade in food-stuffs. In the trade in wood, bark, bamboos and canes there are between 284 and 571 women to every 1,000 men, whilst the potter's womenfolk not only assist in the manufacture but also in the sale of his products, and under group 124 for sale of pottery, bricks and tiles there are 486 workers who are females to every 1,000 who are males. An unusually large proportion of the dealers in grain and pulse (505 for every 1,000 males) turn out to be females and similarly an unexpectedly large proportion (437 for every 1,000 males) are recorded as dealers in fodder for animals. The comparatively large number of dealers in dairy produce (315 to 1,000 males) and the proportion amongst dealers in other food-stuffs where there is more than one woman worker for every 4 males are also not unexpected. There are 399 women dealing in fire-wood, charcoal, etc., for every 1,000 males and 257 for every 1,000 dealing in common bangles, toys, etc. Some groups under letters, arts and sciences have a comparatively large percentage of women. Dancing and singing girls for instance bring the number of women up to 1 for every 3 men employed as conjurers, acrobats, etc. There is also rather more than 1 woman for every 4 men returned as public scribes and rather more than 1 for every 10 returned as artists, sculptors and image-makers. Amongst persons living principally on their income there is more than 1 female for every 5 males. The profession of beggars and vagrants is almost a family occupation and there are 940 females returned in this group for every 1,000 males.

305. Employment of women and children in industry.—In 1921, 428,691 women were returned as being employed in industry. On the present occasion 306,536 only is the total of women employed either as principal or subsidiary occupation and including working dependents. The decrease is 122,155 or 28½ per cent. and it certainly represents a genuine trend. Between 1930 and 1931 the number of women working in registered factories was reduced by over 12 thousand. There are no figures on the present occasion for the employment of children. Here also, however, the returns of the Inspector of Factories show that there is a progressive decline. Between 1930 and 1931 the numbers of children employed in registered factories decreased from 16,630 to less than half that number, viz., 7,281.

306. Occupation by caste and other groups.—Subsidiary table V based on imperial table XI shows the proportionate distribution by occupational sub-classes and the ratio of female to male earners in selected caste or other groups. The lower castes and those whose traditional occupation is agriculture as well as those with a highly specialised traditional

occupation naturally show the largest percentage employed in traditional occupations. Amongst the Bagdis, for instance, 697 in every 1,000 earners follow the traditional occupation of the caste. Amongst the Baruis who are traditional growers and sellers of *pan-vine* more than half the earners are still employed in the caste occupation. In every 100 Jalia Kaibartta earners 60 are fishermen and in every 100 Mahishyas 59 are cultivators. The Lepchas and the Bauris also show a high proportion of earners engaged in the traditional occupations of the caste. The case is similar with the artisan classes. In every 100 Kumhar earners 59 are potters; in every 100 Dhobi earners 49 are washermen; in every 100 Kamar earners 44 are blacksmiths and in every 100 Napit earners 45 are barbers. Similarly, amongst the weaving groups there are 41 Jogi weavers out of every 100 earners and 38 "Mumin" (Jolaha) weavers in every 100 earners in the group. Muchis and Chamars amongst the artisan groups chosen have apparently broken away most extensively from their traditional crafts, but, whereas the Muchis appear to have taken to agriculture or similar occupations in the greatest numbers, the Chamars have taken more readily to other industrial occupations. About the same proportion of Baidya and Brahman earners were returned under their caste occupations, the figure being in every 1,000 earners of the same caste 188 Baidyas and 166 Brahmans. Similarly, amongst the Kayasthas 127 in every 1,000 earners were returned under the traditional caste occupation. In all these cases a larger proportion of the earners was returned outside the caste occupation in agricultural and similar occupations than in any other group, but there was also a considerable proportion returned in other learned or insufficiently described occupations. Amongst the groups first mentioned as having departed least from their traditional occupation, the occupation most frequently adopted in place of it is some form of pastoral or agricultural pursuit. Thus amongst the Bagdis all the earners except 148 in every 1,000 pursue in addition to the traditional pastoral and agricultural occupations of the caste some other form of agricultural pursuit. Similarly, amongst the Baruis only 193 earners in every 1,000 are employed outside sub-class I, including the groups engaged in the exploitation of animals and vegetation. Similar proportions are also shown amongst the Jalia Kaibarttas, the Khambus and the Mahishyas as well as amongst the Bauris who, however, have also in a considerable proportion of cases adopted mining as an occupation. The tendency to adopt an agricultural occupation, where possible, is in fact, generally amongst all groups, if Anglo-Indians, Armenians and Europeans are excluded; and the only extent to which, amongst those groups chosen, any considerable number seeks occupations outside sub-class I occur amongst the Bauris and Chamars already mentioned and the Jogis, "Mumins" (Jolahas), Kamars and Muchis, all of whom in roughly from 10 to 14 per cent. of the cases have adopted some other industrial occupation than that traditional to the caste. Rather more than 10 per cent. of the Kayasthas have adopted trade as their occupation, but apart from the groups already mentioned and excluding differences amongst those of the same group professing different religions no others, amongst the groups chosen for imperial table XI, show as many as 10 per cent. of the earners in any other occupation than that traditional to the caste except agriculture.

307. Occupations of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Armenians.—A larger percentage of the returns of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Armenians was made under insufficiently described terms than for any other of the groups shown in imperial table XI. If these are omitted Europeans are found to be principally employed in industry, public force and the arts and professions. The high proportion under the order public force is due to the detachments of British troops which form a considerable proportion of the whole European population. Anglo-Indians are largely employed in the railways and in the telegraph and postal services and nearly one-quarter of the workers of this class were returned under the sub-class transport in which these occupations fall. Next to transport the largest proportions are employed in the arts and professions, in trade and in industry. In the professions more than half as many again are women than men in this community. Armenians engage principally in industry, in trade and in the arts and professions.

308. **Female workers in caste or other groups.**—Of the castes chosen there are or approach 1 female earner to every 3 males only amongst the Bauris, Khambus, Doms, Haris, Lepchas, Bagdis and Indian Christians. The smallest proportion of female to male earners is that returned amongst the Mahishyas where there is only 1 female for every 20 males. In general the proportion is lowest in the highest castes. Thus there are only 7 female workers for every 100 amongst the Brahmans and only 8 amongst the Kayasthas and Baidyas ; but these proportions are not by any means confined to the highest classes and similar are found also amongst the Namasudras and Napits as well as amongst both the Muslim groups chosen for this table. There are curious differences in the extent to which women of the caste assist their men folk in the traditional occupations of the caste. Amongst the Haris and Doms, for instance, in the traditional occupation there is more than 1 female to every 2 males. In other castes a comparatively high proportion is reached only amongst Bauris and Khambus where there are 42 and 40 female earners, respectively, for every 100 males. Amongst the Bagdis 26 earners are females for every 100 males and between 20 and 22 females to every 100 male earners are found in the traditional occupations amongst the Dhobis, Goalas, Lepchas and Kumhars. Outside the traditional occupation the proportions are very irregular. Amongst the Bauris, for instance, 9 times as many women as men were returned as earners in the arts and professions and more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many women as men in trade, but the total numbers engaged are in both these cases comparatively small. More women than men amongst the Bagdis and Jalia Kaibarttas are found in domestic service and there is also higher proportion of women than men amongst the Jalia Kaibarttas engaged in mining. Amongst the Bagdis nearly twice as many women as men are engaged in trade and the numbers in each case run into several thousands. Twice as many Chamars and considerably more Muchis returned under the arts and professions are females than males : as in the case of the Bauris and Haris, to whom reference has already been made, persons under this occupational sub-class fall principally into the residuary order (49) and may be taken almost certainly to be drummers and musicians or other entertainers. Amongst the Doms, Haris and "Mumins" (Jolahas) the comparatively small numbers living on their income include more women than men.

Part V.—Educated unemployed

309. **Method of enquiry.**—At the present census an attempt has been made to discover the number of educated adult males who are unemployed. Information was collected, not on the general schedule, but upon a special return similar to that approved by the Government of India and providing for the record of the following details :—

- (1) Name and caste.
- (2) Residence (village and district).
- (3) Father's profession.
- (4) Age (to nearest birthday).
- (5) Duration of period without employment.
- (6) University (if any), name and (if foreign) country.
- (7) Degree or other highest examination passed with date.
- (8) Capacity in which employed, if employed at all.
- (9) Employment for which fitted by education.

The filling of the return was not made a statutory obligation under the Census Act and such information as was given was therefore voluntary. The forms were distributed by the ordinary enumerating agency, were filled in by the

person concerned and were returned to the enumerator at or before the final enumeration. For the compilation of the figures two terms required definition. These were "educated" and "unemployed." It was decided to ignore the returns from persons who had not at least passed the matriculation or school-leaving certificate examination. On the other hand it was thought that resentment might be aroused by any inquisition on the part of the enumerator into the standard of education actually reached by persons wishing to fill in the return, and that it was consequently inadvisable to restrict the issue of forms to those who could satisfy the enumerator that they had reached the standard required. The enumerators were accordingly directed to give a form of return to any male person whom they entered in the general schedule as being literate in English and who stated that he was not employed or not suitably employed but would like employment, and the instructions for filling up the form contained a similar direction. The entries in the form itself (line 7) made it possible to discard all returns not properly sent in. During the sorting and compiling of the forms those returned by persons below the matriculation standard were ignored. Forms illegibly filled up or filled up in other languages than English were also similarly rejected.

310. Persons included in the returns.—The enquiry was confined to those "educated unemployed" who had tried in vain to obtain suitable employment and therefore excludes those persons who have no occupation but are content, as not infrequently happens, under the joint family system to live upon "the earning members" of the family. For the purposes of the enquiry "unemployed" was interpreted as including also those who considered themselves "not suitably employed" and the last question of the form provided for the entry by the person filling it up of what he considered to be the employment for which he was fitted. The replies to this question naturally had no value except as a measure of the individual's modesty in estimating his own capacities and no use was made of them. Returns for persons whose educational qualifications were no higher than matriculation or school-leaving certificate standard were also set aside if they showed any employment at all, but a note was kept of the number of such returns. The figures actually extracted therefore may be taken to include—

- (a) persons who, not having proceeded with their education further than passing the matriculation or school-leaving certificate examination, have no employment at all; and
- (b) persons of higher qualifications who are either unemployed or dissatisfied with their present employment.

311. Incompleteness of the returns.—Considerable misunderstanding was inevitable as to the scope of the enquiry. There is no doubt that in some cases the returns were filled up by persons who imagined or hoped that Government intended to make immediate provision of employment for those who are unemployed. Persons labouring under this delusion had almost certainly no qualification higher than the matriculation certificate and it is safe to assume that the forms for almost all of them were eliminated during sorting, either because they had not the requisite qualifications or because they were not entirely without employment. Returns received, however, by no means represent the actual extent of educated unemployment. The decision of Government to make this enquiry was reached and forms and instructions for the collection of these details were issued after the work had already begun upon the general census schedules, and obvious difficulties are involved when the distribution of fresh forms and registers and the dissemination of additional instructions cannot be incorporated with others but is made when the enumerating agency is already engaged in mastering and applying instructions already conveyed to it. Educated unemployed, however, are not likely to be encountered in large numbers in the more remote and inaccessible parts where the enumerating agency is difficult to get at and in general harder to instruct, and there is not any reason to suppose that the opportunity of making a return was to any great extent denied to the

unemployed by oversight or carelessness on the part of the enumerating agency in any area where they are likely to exist in considerable numbers. Such omissions as resulted from this cause form in any case an entirely negligible proportion of those due to other causes. In some cases there is no doubt that a sense of delicacy or shame prevented individuals from making returns which might be interpreted as a public declaration that they were parasites incapable of maintaining themselves. A short-sighted view of their own interests characterised the attitude of many persons who might have filled in the forms but argued that, as no immediate advantage would result to themselves in the way of getting employment, therefore it was not worth their while even to take the trouble of filling them up. The most powerful consideration at work, however, probably was a real or assumed suspicion of the objects of Government in making the enquiry. It was an innovation and therefore an object of the inevitable prejudice against anything new in the most conservative country in the world. A particular ground for suspicion reinforced this general distrust. The existence of a widespread revolutionary organisation in Bengal is and was a matter of common knowledge and it was known that recruits to the ranks of this organisation are principally found amongst young men of the middle classes who are educated or partially educated but without employment. A suspicion was consequently felt or professed that Government had a sinister object behind the enquiry, namely, to obtain particulars of those who might be potential revolutionaries and to make use of these details for bringing them under observation by the police. Cases occurred in which returns, filled in and made over to the enumerator, were subsequently recalled upon the ground that some entry had been erroneously made or omitted and were never returned.

312. Reasons for publishing the incomplete returns.—No accuracy whatever, therefore, can be claimed for the figures obtained as a result of this enquiry. Indeed very grave consideration was given to the question whether the results of the enquiry should be published at all. On the one hand it was felt that the publication of results so evidently incomplete would throw discredit upon the other tables compiled at the census in circumstances guaranteeing them a greater degree of accuracy. On the other hand, however, it was realised that as there was no statutory obligation to make a return of educated unemployment the deficiencies in the figures collected could not reasonably be held to cast discredit upon other details collected under the sanction of a statutory obligation. Moreover, nothing approaching the scope of this enquiry has ever previously been undertaken and the figures therefore represent the only details of this sort available up to the present, whilst by publishing them, admittedly incomplete as they are, it was felt that the charge could be escaped of having concealed the actual results of the enquiry. As a comment upon the unemployment of educated persons they are practically valueless, whilst as a comment upon the educational standard of the unemployed they suggest the cynical reflection that it has not reached the stage at which those concerned are able to realise that nothing effective can be done by Government for the relief of unemployment until the extent of the evil has been determined as accurately as possible.

313. The statistics shown.—Summary figures of the results are published as subsidiary table VII to this chapter. This table is divided into three parts. In parts (A) and (B) are shown the number of educated males aged 20 to 39, who returned themselves as being out of or anxious to secure employment. These figures include also those with higher than the minimum educational qualification, viz., having passed the matriculation, or school-leaving certificate examination who, though not actually unemployed, returned themselves as not having an employment for which their educational qualifications fitted them. In both these parts figures are given by age and period of unemployment. Additional details are given in part I by class for Bengal with Cooch Behar, Bengal British districts, the divisions of Bengal and three cities of the province. Part II shows a distribution by degrees. No returns were received from Tripura State. Within the class "depressed

Hindus " no detailed distribution was possible by individual groups and the figures were obtained by placing together returns of individuals of the following groups :—

1. Agaria.	23. Garo.	45. Kichak.	67. Naiya.
2. Bagdi.	24. Ghasi.	46. Kochh.	68. Namasudra.
3. Bahelia.	25. Gonrhi.	47. Konai.	69. Nat.
4. Baiti.	26. Hadi.	48. Konwar.	70. Oraon.
5. Bauri.	27. Hajang.	49. Kora.	71. Paliya.
6. Bediya.	28. Halalkhor.	50. Kotal.	72. Pan.
7. Beldar.	29. Hari.	51. Kurariar.	73. Pasi.
8. Berua.	30. Ho.	52. Lalbegi.	74. Patni.
9. Bhatiya.	31. Jaliya Kaibartta.	53. Lodha.	75. Pod.
10. Bhuinmali	32. Jhalo, Malo.	54. Lohar.	76. Pundari.
11. Bhuiya.	33. Kadar.	55. Mahar.	77. Rabha.
12. Bhumij.	34. Kalu.	56. Mahli.	78. Raju.
13. Bind.	35. Kalwar.	57. Mal.	79. Rajwar.
14. Binjhia.	36. Kan.	58. Mallah.	80. Santal.
15. Chamar.	37. Kandh.	59. Malpahariya.	81. Shagirdpesha.
16. Dalu.	38. Kandra.	60. Mechh.	82. Sunri.
17. Dhami.	39. Kaora.	61. Mehtor.	83. Teli.
18. Dhenuar.	40. Kapali.	62. Muchi.	84. Tiyar.
19. Dhobi.	41. Kapuria.	63. Munda.	85. Turi.
20. Doai.	42. Karenga.	64. Musahar.	
21. Dom.	43. Kaur.	65. Nagar.	
22. Dosadh.	44. Khatik.	66. Nagesia.	

In columns 2 and 3 of part (C) additional particulars by divisions are given of educated unemployed males aged respectively less than 20 years and 40 years and over. Like parts (A) and (B) this part also includes in the columns for those whose educational qualifications are higher than the matriculation or school-leaving certificate, persons not unemployed but without employment for which they consider themselves educationally qualified. In column 8 are given figures for those persons not shown either in parts (A) and (B) or in columns 2 to 7 of the supplement, who have no higher than the minimum qualification and without being unemployed are dissatisfied with their employment. Columns 4 to 7 of part (C) show the numbers of educated unemployed whose fathers were soldiers, cultivators, artisans and menials or servants. The group from which these last figures are compiled includes educated unemployed of all ages and also those with higher than the minimum educational qualifications who are dissatisfied with their present employment : it is consequently formed by the total figures in parts (A) and (B) with the addition of those in columns 2 and 3 of part (C).

314. The value of the figures.—These figures are presented more as a curiosity than as material for statistical deduction and no attempt is made to analyse and comment on them. They cannot be confidently used to illustrate the extent and duration of unemployment as between different localities, communities and caste groups or persons of different technical or educational qualifications. The only value which the absolute figures seem to have is to fix an irreducible minimum than which the extent of educated unemployment is certainly not less. During the course of sorting and compiling, applications for employment were received many times in excess of the total numbers appearing in these tables for the whole of Bengal. Some of the applicants were youths whose education had not been completed and whose age was not as much as 20 years whilst others undoubtedly did not possess the requisite minimum qualification required for the enquiry. But even when a reduction is made on this account the number who applied for employment during these operations was very considerably in excess of the total number of educated unemployed returned.

315. **Comparison with literacy statistics.**—The figures in Statement No. VIII-8 below give a comparison for the two main religious communities between the numbers of males aged 17 and over who have completed a

STATEMENT No. VIII-8.

Comparison of literates and educated unemployed, 1931.

NOTE.—The figures refer to males only and those of literates show persons who have reached at least the primary standard of education.

Division and district.	Muslims.		Hindus.	
	Literates aged 17 and over.	Educated unemployed aged 20 and over.	Literates aged 17 and over.	Educated unemployed aged 20 and over.
BENGAL (British Territory.)	532,239	1,072	968,093	2,398
Burdwan Division	22,868	41	217,709	623
Burdwan	5,668	16	42,414	230
Birbhum	7,167	8	26,171	67
Bankura	591	3	23,224	116
Midnapore	1,864	1	42,600	67
Hooghly	3,872	6	39,736	56
Howrah	3,506	7	43,495	67
Presidency Division	100,860	193	344,199	743
24 Parganas	24,136	10	92,270	115
Calcutta	30,634	45	139,672	108
Nadia	7,595	42	20,492	111
Murshidabad	11,850	37	28,331	102
Jeasore	11,067	36	26,033	79
Khulna	15,574	14	37,392	48
Rajshahi Division	119,301	208	80,489	236
Rajshahi	23,638	54	15,470	59
Dinajpur	17,969	18	12,613	26
Jalpaiguri	2,911	6	5,879	11
Darjeeling	346	1	2,825	12
Rangpur	26,309	32	23,038	20
Bogra	34,826	41	10,942	23
Pabna	9,595	40	12,506	52
Malda	3,707	14	7,007	33
Dacca Division	156,500	381	199,968	529
Dacca	34,582	106	47,680	163
Mymensingh	49,011	145	41,777	142
Faridpur	20,062	41	36,000	115
Bakarganj	52,845	59	71,440	109
Chittagong Division	132,910	281	119,739	267
Tipprra	54,276	186	68,200	158
Noakhali	54,749	57	24,952	65
Chittagong	23,631	38	24,693	46
Chittagong Hill Tracts	254	..	894	3

primary education and of those aged 20 and over who returned themselves as unemployed respectively. But the percentages given in columns 4 and 7 are probably an index not so much of the extent of unemployment as of the readiness to admit it in different districts.

316. **The problem of "bhadralok" unemployment.**—The failure of this enquiry can only be recorded with regret. Bengal is fortunate enough to have no problem of industrial unemployment and such mal-adjustments as occur in the supply and demand of industrial labour invariably solve themselves automatically in a short period. Bengal imports more industrial labour than it exports, and labourers thrown out of employment by contraction of industrial enterprise leave the province for their own homes. For many years previous to the census however there has actually been in Bengal a demand for more industrial labour than was available. Variations in the supply of agricultural labour may depend upon famines or floods and the type or state of harvest in the agricultural areas. But Bengal is happily free from very serious famines and these inequalities of demand and supply fairly rapidly adjust themselves and are in no sense of the term permanent. The Calcutta University Commission (1917 to 1919) found that there was no unemployment of the middle classes. Although there was no specific question on this point in the Commission's questionnaire it reported (Volume IV, part ii, chapter XXX, paragraph 14) :—

"At present all the young men who have been trained at higher schools and colleges seem to find posts of one kind or another.....It is often the practice to wait a long time for a settled appointment which the applicant thinks is worth his while to accept. But apart from congestion in the legal profession we have found few signs of actual unemployment among the young men of the educated classes. No prominence is given to unemployment in the answers to our questionnaire. The matter was not mentioned to us in oral evidence during our visits to different parts of Bengal. The output of higher education is still absorbed by the Government services, by the professions and by the commercial firms."

The Commission went on to add, however :

“ Nevertheless we cannot but feel that unless there are great developments of industry and commerce in Bengal and unless the educational system is adapted to the new requirements, the supply of young men trained by the high schools and colleges will be found at no distant date to have overshot the demand.”

This warning very soon proved to be well founded and in less than three years, on the 30th March 1922, the problem of educated unemployment was raised by a resolution in the Legislative Council. As a result of this resolution a committee was appointed

“ to investigate the problem of unemployment among the educated middle classes in Bengal and to suggest remedial measures.”

The Committee reported :

“ The evidence which has been placed before us to the effect that there is considerable unemployment among the Anglo-Indians of Bengal and among the educated middle-class Bengalis is overwhelming and we have been greatly impressed by the acuteness of the problem and the urgent necessity for the adoption of measures for the alleviation and removal of the present distress and for the prevention of any aggravation of the present condition of affairs in the future.”

The Committee found that, apart from a general depression such as is a familiar feature of long-term trade cycles, the extent of educated unemployment was conditioned at the time when it reported by two main causes. The first was the depression in trade and industry which specifically followed the artificial stimulus to industry during the war: the abnormal demand made by the army and the reduction of supplies from Europe had led to the artificial development of industries, the employment of a large additional number of clerical workers and an increase of salaries which could no longer be kept up in altered conditions. The second cause was overproduction of the type of employee concerned. There has been a rise in the standard as well as in the cost of living whereas middle-class incomes have remained very nearly constant and in any case lag behind the rise in prices. There has also been an absorption into the ranks of the educated classes of persons previously unable as unused to enjoying the advantages of education and some indication of this absorption is given in the figures in part (C) of subsidiary table VII. The committee found that there had been a tendency for industries once founded to decay owing to failure to adopt progressive methods of meeting competition. Finally they pointed to the decay of village life with a consequent drift to towns and unwillingness to return to the *mufassal*, conditions which invariably lead to unemployment. They did not mention what is also probably a contributing cause, namely, the growing spirit of individualism in Hindu society and the gradual dissolution of the joint family system with its corporate responsibility for all its members. It is difficult to separate clearly cause and effect in this last phenomenon, but it can be confidently said that economic tension and an increasing unwillingness to support idle and incompetent or unproductive members of the joint family are found existing side by side. Interest in the problem of educated unemployed was still active whilst preparations were being made for the census and two resolutions calling for the collection of statistics of varying complexity were tabled during the sessions of the Legislative Council in 1930 and 1931.

317. Possible palliatives.—Possible lines along which a reduction of unemployment could be effected have been proposed. Education at present in Bengal leads practically to one end only, viz., the degree of master of arts or science or bachelor of laws. The Unemployment Enquiry Committee emphasised the importance of a radical change in the system of education. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca at the time of giving evidence said—

“ I regard the education given now in the majority of cases of secondary and higher education in Bengal as tending to diminish the intellectual energy of those who receive it. It is sterilising. I think that the education at present imparted is in many cases a positive disadvantage to those who receive it, and tends to render the students more worthless in the market than if they had worked by themselves.”

The committee recommended the increase of facilities for technical education and the development of rural industries: and they concluded that the prosperity of Bengal in general including the class of educated unemployed lay entirely

“in the intensive economic development of the country, in the entrance of Bengali *bhadralok* into industry, trade and commerce of the country and in the immediate acceleration of development schemes which will train the *bhadralok* to effect this entrance.”

The committee also emphasised what is common conviction in Bengal that these improvements are conditional upon a change in the attitude of the middle-classes to manual labour. Bengal in some ways has one advantage over some parts of India in that its caste system is not so rigorous. As education spreads amongst all castes, the restrictions in the way of any individual adopting any particular trade or occupation are being reduced (Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee Report, page 31) but there is still room for a considerable change in the social attitude towards manual work, and perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the problem is to see in what directions this change appears to be coming about.

318. **Signs of a change in the attitude of the *bhadralok* to manual labour.**—In the Government technical schools particularly in Calcutta and Kanchrapara it is reported that *bhadralok* young men gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of technical instruction, although practical experience in training is insisted upon. The experimental research tannery attached to the Bengal Tanning Institute has already trained a number of *bhadralok* young men, some being of the higher castes, who have gone through all the processes of leather manufacture from dehairing and defleshing of the raw hide to its final emergence as finished leather. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, which owes its existence to young middle-class Bengalis who had received technical training at the Calcutta University employs as skilled and unskilled operatives a not inconsiderable proportion of workers drawn from the Bengali *bhadralok* classes to whom until recently the idea of manual labour as a means of subsistence would never have occurred. Perhaps the most interesting example, not only of the change which is taking place in the attitude of the Bengali middle-classes, but also of the extent to which success may attend their efforts, is provided by the House of Labourers at Comilla. This was founded in 1922 by young *bhadralok* Bengalis with a capital of not more than Rs. 210 and after a number of false starts and in spite of a series of disappointments the venture has achieved very considerable success during the period in which it has been in existence. Its employees are practically all *bhadralok* young men who carry into practice their professed belief in the dignity of labour by themselves excavating earth, laying bricks, casting concrete blocks, erecting and roofing steel buildings and carrying out all processes in the manufacture of iron and steel. It appears that the number of applicants from these classes for employment with this concern is larger than can be accepted. None of these ventures, even if extended to other parts of Bengal, could of course absorb all the educated unemployed in the province even if they were conducted with equal ability and success. But what is significant is the changed attitude which leads to such ventures being taken up, and it gives an earnest that in other directions also with the same spirit some alleviation of the unemployment existing at present could be found in industrial development. Opportunities for technical training exist and are made use of, and in addition the Education Department has a scheme for a progressively increasing inclusion of agricultural training in the school curriculum under instructors trained by the Department of Agriculture. More than one school in the province includes industrial training in its syllabus. The most notable instance is perhaps the higher English school at Sultanpur, Birbhum, where weaving, dyeing, spinning, carpentry, blacksmithy, soap-making and the fitting of umbrellas to handles made in the school are part of the curriculum and it is proposed to introduce tanning and the manufacture of bell-metal in the future. In this school instruction in one of the industrial departments is compulsory and the training is mainly practical: and several old students of the school have set themselves up in industrial occupations.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Proportion of workers (earners and working dependents) in each occupational class, sub-class and order, with percentages employed in and outside cities, 1931.

(NOTE.—Out of every 10,000 of the population 7,122 are non-working dependents of whom 2 per cent. are found in cities and 98 per cent. outside cities).

Class, sub-class and order.	No. per 10,000 of total population.	Percentage of workers recorded.		Class, sub-class and order.	No. per 10,000 of total population.	Percentage of workers recorded.	
		In cities.	Outside cities.			In cities.	Outside cities.
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
A.—Earners (principal occupation) and working dependents.							
ALL OCCUPATIONS	2,878	5	95	V.—Trade	184	13	81
A.—Production of raw materials	1,983	..	100	23 Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.	10	8	92
I. Exploitation of animals and vegetation	1,975	..	100	24 Brokerage commission and export	2	61	33
1 Pasture and Agriculture	1,937	..	100	25 Trade in textiles	12	8	90
(a) Ordinary cultivation	1,855	..	100	26 Trade in skins, leather and furs	5	7	90
(b) Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc., (Planters, managers, clerks and labourers.)	58	1	99	27 Trade in wood	8	6	90
(c) Forestry	1	6	94	28 Trade in metals	..	23	7
(d) Stock raising	23	..	100	29 Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	2	1	99
(e) Raising of small animals and insects	..	..	100	30 Trade in chemical products	1	14	8
2 Fishing and hunting	88	1	99	31 Hotels, Cafes, Restaurant, etc.	3	34	0
II Exploitation of minerals	8	1	99	32 Other trade in food-stuffs	100	8	9
3 Metallic minerals	..	..	100	33 Trade in clothing and toilet articles	1	31	6
4 Non-metallic minerals	8	1	99	34 Trade in furniture	2	7	9
B.—Preparation and supply of material substances.	490	13	87	35 Trade in building materials	1	6	0
III Industry	281	11	89	36 Trade in means of transport	1	6	0
5 Textiles	90	7	93	37 Trade in fuel	3	16	8
6 Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	2	14	86	38 Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	8	15	8
7 Wood	27	9	91	39 Trade of other sorts	30	29	7
8 Metals	10	9	91	C.—Public Administration and liberal arts	77	17	80
9 Ceramics	15	2	98	VI.—Public force	12	15	8
10 Chemical products properly so called and analogous.	7	4	96	40 Army	1	59	4
11 Food industries	85	5	95	41 Navy	..	56	4
12 Industries of dress and the toilet	34	19	81	42 Air force	..	20	8
13 Furniture industries	1	50	50	43 Police	..	11	13
14 Building industries	11	29	71	VII.—Public Administration	10	48	8
15 Construction of means of transport	1	37	63	44 Public Administration	..	10	48
16 Production and transmission of physical force.	1	81	19	VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	55	13	87
17 Miscellaneous and undefined industries	17	29	71	45 Religion	..	16	8
IV.—Transport	85	23	77	46 Law	..	6	33
18 Transport by air	..	..	100	47 Medicine	..	13	12
19 Transport by water	10	28	72	48 Instruction	..	15	9
20 Transport by road	24	23	77	49 Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44)	..	5	11
21 Transport by rail	13	16	84	D.—Miscellaneous	328	19	81
22 Post office, telegraph and telephone services	2	38	67	IX.—Persons living on their income	5	51	41
				50 Persons living principally on their income	5	51	41
				X.—Domestic service	159	14	81
				51 Domestic service	159	14	86
				XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	123	29	71
				52 General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation.	123	29	71
				XII.—Unproductive	41	9	91
				53 Inmates of jails, asylums and almshouses	4	30	70
				54 Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes	37	6	94
				55 Other unclassified non-productive industries	..	12	88
B.—Earners (subsidiary occupation).							
ALL OCCUPATIONS	236	1	99	V.—Trade	28	1	99
A.—Production of raw materials	142	1	99	23 Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.	2	1	99
I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	142	1	99	24 Brokerage commission and export	..	5	95
1 Pasture and Agriculture	137	1	99	25 Trade in textiles	3	1	99
(a) Ordinary cultivation	132	1	99	26 Trade in skins, leather and furs	1	1	99
(b) Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc., (Planters, managers, clerks and labourers.)	2	..	100	27 Trade in wood	1	1	99
(c) Forestry	1	..	100	28 Trade in metals	..	4	96
(d) Stock raising	2	..	100	29 Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	..	..	100
(e) Raising of small animals and insects	..	..	100	30 Trade in chemical products	..	3	97
2 Fishing and Hunting	5	..	100	31 Hotels, Cafes, Restaurant, etc.	..	2	98
II.—Exploitation of minerals	..	1	99	32 Other trade in food-stuffs	10	1	99
3 Metallic minerals	..	..	100	33 Trade in clothing and toilet articles	..	4	96
4 Non-metallic minerals	..	1	99	34 Trade in furniture	..	..	100
B.—Preparation and supply of material substances.	57	1	99	35 Trade in building materials	..	1	99
III.—Industry	22	1	99	36 Trade in means of transport	..	..	100
5 Textiles	6	1	99	37 Trade in fuel	..	1	98
6 Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	..	6	94	38 Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	1	4	96
7 Wood	4	..	100	39 Trade of other sorts	3	4	96
8 Metals	1	1	99	C.—Public administration and liberal arts	11	1	99
9 Ceramics	2	..	100	VI.—Public force	2	..	100
10 Chemical products properly so called and analogous.	1	..	100	40 Army	..	..	100
11 Food industries	2	1	99	41 Navy	..	..	100
12 Industries of dress and the toilet	4	2	98	42 Air force	..	..	100
13 Furniture industries	..	..	100	43 Police	..	2	..
14 Building industries	1	4	96	VII.—Public Administration	6	6	94
15 Construction of means of transport	1	2	98	44 Public Administration	..	..	94
16 Production and transmission of physical force.	1	4	96	VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	9	1	99
17 Miscellaneous and undefined industries	1	2	98	45 Religion	..	3	1
IV.—Transport	7	1	99	46 Law	..	2	98
18 Transport by air	..	..	100	47 Medicine	..	2	1
19 Transport by water	2	1	99	48 Instruction	..	3	1
20 Transport by road	5	1	100	49 Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44)	..	1	99
21 Transport by rail	..	5	95	D.—Miscellaneous	26	3	97
22 Post office, telegraph and telephone services	..	1	99	IX.—Persons living on their income	1	32	68
				50 Persons living principally on their income	1	32	68
				X.—Domestic service	14	1	99
				51 Domestic service	14	1	99
				XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	10	4	96
				52 General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation.	10	4	96
				XII.—Unproductive	1	2	98
				53 Inmates of jails, asylums and almshouses	..	..	98
				54 Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes	1	2	98
				55 Other unclassified non-productive industries	..	..	100

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by dependence of 1,000 of the total population with numbers per 1,000 employed in each occupational sub-class.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number per mille of the total population who are														
	Earnings (principal occupation) and working dependents occupied in sub-class.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.		
															Earnings (principal occupation) and working dependents in all occupations.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
BENGAL ..	274	14	197	1	20	6	18	1	1	6	1	10	12	4	
West Bengal ..	328	40	222	5	39	7	18	1	1	5	1	41	24	3	
BURDWAN DIVISION ..	328	40	222	5	39	7	18	1	1	5	1	41	24	3	
Burdwan ..	301	50	191	25	22	9	19	1	1	4	..	55	21	3	
Birbhum ..	325	57	245	1	18	3	17	2	..	5	..	58	22	3	
Bankura ..	383	64	309	1	34	6	21	2	..	5	..	65	22	4	
Midnapore ..	304	29	239	..	22	5	8	1	..	4	..	58	8	3	
Hooghly ..	390	55	233	..	87	9	23	1	..	9	..	23	20	2	
Howrah ..	319	2	111	..	84	15	36	1	..	7	..	60	15	4	
Central Bengal ..	326	4	186	..	45	10	29	2	3	8	1	17	24	5	
PRESIDENCY DIVISION ..	328	4	188	..	45	10	29	2	3	8	1	17	24	5	
24-Parganas ..	329	1	187	..	74	8	20	1	1	6	1	8	21	3	
Calcutta ..	506	3	11	..	90	47	81	6	17	25	10	42	128	12	
Nadia ..	290	6	197	..	85	6	26	1	1	5	..	11	9	5	
Murshidabad ..	288	3	199	..	24	8	30	1	1	5	..	15	4	6	
Jessore ..	311	13	258	..	22	3	21	1	1	5	..	8	5	3	
Khulna ..	267	1	217	..	14	3	18	1	..	5	..	4	4	3	
North Bengal ..	286	15	238	..	16	4	14	1	1	4	..	12	5	6	
RAJSHAHI DIVISION ..	285	15	238	..	16	4	14	1	1	4	..	12	5	6	
Rajshahi ..	293	16	242	..	19	4	16	2	1	4	..	16	4	7	
Dinajpur ..	281	21	245	..	10	3	11	2	1	3	..	19	2	5	
Jalpaiguri ..	416	7	309	..	10	6	13	1	1	4	..	8	7	4	
Darjeeling ..	401	3	308	..	13	8	20	2	2	5	..	12	31	3	
Rangpur ..	250	7	212	..	10	4	10	1	1	3	..	8	1	7	
Bogra ..	262	50	250	..	18	4	10	1	1	4	..	10	2	6	
Pabna ..	252	6	180	..	26	6	17	1	1	4	..	12	6	6	
Malda ..	286	9	208	..	28	2	31	2	1	4	..	17	4	3	
COOCH BEHAR STATE ..	290	9	243	..	19	4	17	1	2	4	..	7	3	6	
East Bengal ..	222	6	171	..	14	3	16	1	..	6	..	7	6	4	
DACCA DIVISION ..	231	6	178	..	15	3	17	1	1	5	..	8	8	4	
Dacca ..	230	6	160	..	21	3	23	1	1	6	..	10	7	4	
Mymensingh ..	218	6	172	..	11	2	14	1	..	4	..	11	4	5	
Faridpur ..	248	2	195	..	16	4	15	..	..	5	..	6	6	3
Bakarganj ..	242	7	193	..	15	5	17	1	1	6	..	4	4	3	
CHITTAGONG DIVISION ..	201	5	154	..	13	4	13	1	..	6	..	4	7	4	
Tippera ..	205	5	171	..	9	2	12	1	..	5	..	3	4	3	
Noakhali ..	184	2	142	..	10	4	9	1	..	8	..	4	4	4	
Chittagong ..	205	4	123	..	24	6	20	1	..	9	..	6	15	5	
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	254	40	271	..	6	3	10	1	..	2	..	3	6	1	
TRIPURA STATE ..	235	45	231	..	18	5	9	2	..	3	..	4	8	3	
SIKKIM ..	650	17	636	..	4	5	9	..	1	3	..	11	..	..

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number per mille of the total population who are													Non-work- ing dependents.
	B.—Earnings (subsidiary occupation) occupied in sub-class.													
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
BENGAL ..	14	..	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	712
West Bengal ..	21	..	4	1	4	..	..	1	..	4	3	..	632
BURDWAN DIVISION ..	21	..	4	1	4	..	..	1	..	4	3	..	632
Burdwan ..	18	1	3	1	3	..	..	1	..	7	1	..	649
Birbhum ..	11	..	4	1	5	..	..	2	..	3	2	..	616
Bankura ..	18	..	5	3	6	..	..	2	..	4	1	..	643
Midnapore ..	30	..	4	1	3	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	667
Hooghly ..	29	..	4	2	5	..	..	1	..	6	1	..	655
Howrah ..	13	..	3	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	649
Central Bengal ..	13	..	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	670
PRESIDENCY DIVISION ..	13	..	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	670
24-Parganas ..	17	..	3	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	679
Calcutta ..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	491
Nadia ..	12	..	1	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	704
Murshidabad ..	13	..	3	..	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	709
Jessore ..	14	..	3	1	4	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	678
Khulna ..	15	..	4	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	738
North Bengal ..	16	..	2	..	3	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	699
RAJSHAHI DIVISION ..	17	..	2	..	3	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	709
Rajshahi ..	22	..	4	1	3	1	..	1	..	2	1	..	691	
Dinajpur ..	11	..	2	..	3	..	..	1	..	2	2	..	668
Jalpaiguri ..	11	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	677
Darjeeling ..	7	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	695
Rangpur ..	21	..	2	..	2	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	743
Bogra ..	20	..	4	1	4	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	653
Pabna ..	13	..	2	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	742
Malda ..	14	..	2	1	7	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	765
COOCH BEHAR STATE ..	8	..	1	..	3	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	701
East Bengal ..	11	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	772
DACCA DIVISION ..	16	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	763
Dacca ..	13	..	2	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	766
Mymensingh ..	9	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	776
Faridpur ..	8	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	759
Bakarganj ..	10	..	1	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	751
CHITTAGONG DIVISION ..	11	..	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	796
Tippera ..	8	..	1	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	799
Noakhali ..	15	..	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	814
Chittagong ..	14	..	2	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	791
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	13	..	..	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	697
TRIPURA STATE ..	23	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	799
SIKKIM ..	12	..	3	1	1	..	1	2	..	6	..	..	331

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Distribution of male and female workers with ratio of females to males by occupational classes, sub-classes, orders and groups, 1931.

Group No.	Occupation (CLASS, Sub-class, ORDER and group).	Males.		Females.		Number of females per 1,000 males.	
		Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	ALL OCCUPATIONS	12,770,435	13,870,520	1,933,644	2,039,450	152	147
	A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	9,268,746	9,961,018	862,481	895,990	93	90
	I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	9,243,358	9,934,471	844,795	877,944	91	88
	1.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE	8,081,316	8,748,205	814,412	845,179	90	87
	(a) Ordinary cultivation	8,784,688	9,428,849	692,390	721,945	79	77
1	Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind	463,415	610,990	170,419	170,988	368	295
2	Estate agents and managers of private owners	1,109	1,290	39	39	35	30
3	Estate agents and managers of government	92	100	..	..	..	..
4	Rent collectors, clerks, etc.	43,175	51,853	171	180	4	3
5	Cultivating owners	4,990,474	5,220,047	219,915	230,863	44	44
6	Tenant cultivators	797,446	854,075	33,660	35,323	42	41
7	Agricultural labourers	2,461,930	2,662,657	257,009	264,011	104	99
8	Cultivators of <i>jhum</i> , <i>taungya</i> and other shifting areas	27,045	29,037	11,177	11,541	413	397
	(b) Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (Planters, managers, clerks and labourers).	177,580	188,684	115,687	116,013	651	615
9	Cinchona	353	362	348	348	986	961
10	Cocoanut	13	18	..	..	..	..
11	Coconuts	1	1	1	1	1,000	1,000
12	Ganja	38	1,082	1	33	26	30
13	Pan-vine	27,420	35,592	790	924	29	26
14	Rubber	4	8	..	..	..	..
15	Tea	144,523	146,094	114,942	114,464	701	784
16	Market gardeners, flower and fruit growers	5,228	5,527	205	243	39	44
	(c) Forestry	8,125	7,692	267	285	44	37
17	Forest officers, rangers, guards, etc.	1,256	1,585	73	87	58	55
18	Wood cutters and charcoal burners	4,711	5,926	190	194	40	33
19	Collectors of forest produce	116	122	4	4	34	33
20	Collectors of lac	42	59	..	..	..	..
	(d) Stock raising	112,724	121,040	5,538	6,304	49	52
21	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	29,470	32,406	3,417	3,925	110	121
22	Breeders of transport animals	30	43	..	..	..	..
23	Herdsmen, shepherds and breeders of other animals	83,224	88,591	2,121	2,379	25	27
	(e) Raising of small animals and insects	201	940	536	632	2,637	672
24	Birds, bees, etc.	2	2	..	..	..	..
25	Silkworms	198	934	530	632	2,677	677
26	Lac cultivation	1	4	..	..	..	..
	2.—FISHING AND HUNTING	162,042	186,266	30,383	32,765	187	176
27	Fishing and Pearling	161,440	185,577	30,380	32,709	188	176
28	Hunting	602	689	53	56	88	81
	II.—Exploitation of minerals	25,388	26,547	17,686	18,046	697	680
	3.—METALLIC MINERALS	698	779	23	23	33	30
29	Gold	..	..	2	2	..	..
30	Iron	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	Lead, silver and zinc	..	..	..	..	..	..
32	Manganese	..	..	..	..	..	..
33	Tin and wolfram	402	518	21	21	43	41
34	Other metallic minerals	296	261	..	..	..	..
	4.—NON-METALLIC MINERALS	24,690	25,768	17,663	18,023	715	699
35	Coal	24,522	25,698	17,644	18,004	720	703
36	Petroleum	12	12	5	5	417	417
37	Building materials (including stone, materials for cement manufacture and clays).	..	..	..	..	..	..
38	Mica	6	7	4	4	667	571
39	Precious and semi-precious stones	3	3	..	..	..	..
40	Salt, saltpetre and other saline substances	147	148	..	..	..	..
41	Other non-metallic minerals	..	..	10	10	..	..
	B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	2,049,851	2,317,074	456,298	479,406	223	207
	III.—Industry	986,819	1,090,150	294,989	306,536	299	281
	6.—TEXTILES	374,793	400,590	82,829	85,345	221	213
42	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing	4,750	5,283	513	516	108	98
43	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	192,032	150,085	40,766	42,504	809	833
44	Jute pressing, spinning and weaving	229,573	235,139	32,130	32,312	140	137
44A	Jute pressing	155,772	159,312	21,480	21,576	138	135
45	Rope, twine, string and other fibres	2,395	3,054	7,038	7,453	2,939	2,438
46	Wool carding, spinning and weaving	690	731	73	73	106	100
47	Silk spinning and weaving	3,646	4,394	1,176	1,248	323	334
48	Hair (horse-hair), etc.	255	270	573	617	2,247	2,245
49	Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and sponging of textiles	324	347	120	124	370	357
50	Lace, crepe, embroideries, fringes, etc., and insufficiently described textile industries.	1,128	1,283	440	498	390	388
	6.—HIDES, SKINS AND HARD MATERIALS FROM THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.	11,583	13,038	463	468	39	37
51	Workers in leather	8,144	9,315	292	318	36	34
52	Furriers and persons occupied with feathers and bristles; brush makers.	15	15	2	2	133	133
53	Workers (except button makers) in bone, ivory, horn, shell, etc.	3,424	2,706	159	168	46	45
	7.—WOOD	119,725	140,026	20,387	21,539	170	184
54	Sawyers	6,258	7,546	27	29	4	4
55	Carpenters, turners and joiners, etc.	77,931	88,646	637	610	7	7
56	Basket-makers and other workers in woody materials (including leaves) and thatchers and builders working with bamboo, reeds or similar materials.	35,536	43,834	19,823	20,900	558	477

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Group No.	Occupation (CLASS, Sub-class, ORDER and group).	Males.		Females.		Number of females per 1,000 males.	
		Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III.—Industry—concluded.							
B.—METALS		48,808	54,821	1,211	1,443	84	89
57	Smelting, forging and rolling of iron and other metals ..	1,728	1,796	8	8	5	4
58	Makers of arms, guns, etc. ..	253	268	18	18	71	67
59	Blacksmiths, other workers in iron and makers of implements ..	37,767	41,601	964	1,183	26	28
60	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal ..	6,388	7,095	179	191	28	27
61	Workers in other metals (except precious metals) ..	3,291	3,712	42	44	13	13
62	Workers in mints, die-sinkers, etc. ..	88	89	..	..	..	..
B.—CERAMICS		84,459	73,428	14,768	15,539	229	212
63	Potters and makers of earthenware ..	34,922	39,462	8,942	9,363	256	267
64	Brick and tile makers ..	17,927	19,834	3,546	3,812	200	192
65	Other workers in ceramics ..	11,610	14,132	2,237	2,364	193	167
10.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS PROPERLY SO CALLED AND ANALOGOUS.		35,848	39,839	2,424	2,599	68	65
66	Manufacture of matches, fireworks and other explosives ..	1,078	1,163	54	59	50	51
67	Manufacture of aerated and mineral waters and ice ..	494	542	10	10	20	18
68	Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils ..	31,693	35,439	2,241	2,399	71	68
69	Manufacture and refining of mineral oils ..	130	152	4	7	31	46
70	Other chemical manufactures ..	2,451	2,543	116	124	47	49
11.—FOOD INDUSTRIES		36,638	42,998	142,367	167,823	3,886	3,446
71	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders ..	9,796	10,964	133,350	138,300	13,612	12,621
72	Grain parchers, etc. ..	1,584	2,018	7,007	7,410	4,423	3,672
73	Butchers ..	3,476	3,644	148	148	43	41
74	Makers of sugar, molasses and gurh ..	1,966	3,971	67	82	34	21
75	Sweetmeat and condiment makers ..	5,981	7,234	322	325	54	45
76	Toddy drawers ..	385	678	11	11	29	16
77	Brewers and distillers ..	26	30	1	1	34	33
78	Manufacturers of tobacco ..	9,910	10,709	1,410	1,464	142	139
79	Manufacturers of opium ..	88	38	..	..	..	..
80	Manufacturers of Ganja ..	1	1	..	..	..	..
81	Others ..	3,473	3,708	71	72	20	19
12.—INDUSTRIES OF DRESS AND THE TOILET		168,853	178,216	16,596	17,401	166	99
82	Boot, shoe, sandal and clog makers ..	21,706	23,005	1,675	1,592	73	69
83	Tailors, milliners, dressmakers and darners ..	41,267	43,997	2,659	2,406	64	64
84	Embroiderers, hat makers and makers of other articles of wear ..	2,300	2,591	617	663	268	264
85	Washing and cleaning ..	31,034	35,149	8,453	8,812	272	251
86	Barbers, hair-dressers and wig-makers ..	59,216	70,103	3,154	3,353	53	48
87	Other industries connected with toilet ..	330	365	138	155	418	425
13.—FURNITURE INDUSTRIES		2,169	2,278	748	769	343	338
88	Cabinet-makers, carriage painters, etc. ..	1,839	1,937	314	323	171	167
89	Upholsterers, tent-makers, etc. ..	321	339	431	446	1,343	1,316
14.—BUILDING INDUSTRIES		50,219	54,169	4,183	4,290	83	79
90	Lime burners, cement workers; Excavators and well sinkers; stone cutters and dressers; brick layers and masons; Builders (other than buildings made of bamboo or similar materials), painters, decorators of houses, tilers, plumbers, etc. ..	50,219	54,169	4,183	4,290	83	79
15.—CONSTRUCTION OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT		3,299	3,111	21	22	4	4
91	Persons engaged in making, assembling or repairing motor vehicles or cycles. ..	1,720	1,976	1	1	1	..
92	Carriage, cart, paliki, etc., makers and wheel-wrights ..	1,163	1,339	10	10	9	7
93	Ship, boat, aeroplane builders ..	2,416	2,796	10	11	4	4
16.—PRODUCTION AND TRANSMISSION OF PHYSICAL FORCE		3,327	3,397	2	2	1	1
94	Heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc., Gas works and electric light and power. ..	3,327	3,397	2	2	1	1
17.—MISCELLANEOUS AND UNDEFINED INDUSTRIES		77,614	84,461	3,986	6,176	116	169
95	Printers, engravers, book-binders, etc. ..	13,967	14,149	58	62	4	4
96	Makers of musical instruments ..	1,969	2,102	9	14	5	7
97	Makers of clocks and surgical or scientific instruments, etc. ..	886	936	50	50	56	53
98	Makers of jewellery and ornaments ..	43,172	48,946	1,664	1,705	39	35
99	Other miscellaneous and undefined industries (toy-making, taxidermy, etc.). ..	1,266	1,677	896	942	707	597
100	Scavenging ..	16,154	16,751	6,310	6,408	391	382
IV.—Transport		270,295	303,152	12,938	14,362	48	49
18.—TRANSPORT BY AIR		102	124	5	5	49	49
101	Persons concerned with aerodromes and aeroplanes ..	102	124	5	5	49	49
19.—TRANSPORT BY WATER		92,234	96,256	259	367	3	3
102	Ship-owners, boat-owners and their employees, officers, mariners, etc. ships' brokers, boatmen and townmen. ..	78,169	86,186	212	366	3	3
102A	Ship-owners, boat-owners and their employees, officers, mariners, etc. ships' brokers, boatmen and townmen of sea-going vessels. ..	7,641	7,673	..	..	..	..
103	Persons (other than labourers) employed in harbours, docks, rivers, and canals, including pilots. ..	2,142	2,150	38	39	18	18
104	Labourers employed on harbours, docks, rivers and canals ..	1,918	1,920	..	..	..	..
20.—TRANSPORT BY ROAD		169,718	132,699	10,925	12,664	99	98
105	Persons (other than labourers) employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges. ..	431	498	10	12	23	24
106	Labourers employed on roads and bridges ..	41,708	50,337	9,855	11,548	236	229
107	Owners, managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with mechanically driven vehicles (including trams). ..	8,275	8,294	29	35	3	4
108	Owners, managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with other vehicles. ..	23,920	38,648	52	56	2	1
109	Paliki, etc., bearers and owners ..	20,506	24,372	93	98	5	4
110	Pack elephant, camel, mule, ass and bullock owners and drivers ..	228	234	1	2	4	3
111	Porters and messengers ..	9,648	10,124	766	863	81	84

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
IV.—Transport—concluded.							
21.—TRANSPORT BY RAIL ..							
		67,453	68,779	1,875	1,912	28	28
112	Railway employees of all kinds other than coolies ..	38,798	39,576	619	624	16	16
113	Labourers employed on railway construction and maintenance and coolies and porters employed on railway premises.	28,655	29,203	1,256	1,288	44	44
22.—POST OFFICE, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES ..							
		10,800	11,485	33	34	3	3
114	Post office, Telegraph and Telephone services ..	10,800	11,485	33	34	3	3
V.—Trade							
		792,737	923,772	148,321	158,008	187	171
23.—BANKS, ESTABLISHMENTS OF CREDIT, EXCHANGE AND INSURANCE.							
115	Bank managers, money-lenders, exchange and insurance agents, money-changers and brokers and their employees.	45,436	56,771	4,357	4,915	96	87
24.—BROKERAGE COMMISSION AND EXPORT ..							
		8,884	9,569	213	246	24	26
116	Brokers, commission agents, commercial travellers, warehouse owners and employees.	8,884	9,569	213	246	24	26
25.—TRADE IN TEXTILES ..							
		57,499	71,539	6,131	6,614	107	92
117	Trade in piece goods, jute, wool, cotton, silk, hair and other textiles ..	57,499	71,539	6,131	6,614	107	92
117A	Trade in jute ..	3,849	5,561	49	65	13	10
26.—TRADE IN SKINS, LEATHER AND FURS ..							
		23,622	26,632	847	878	36	33
118	Trade in skins, leather, furs, feathers, horn, etc., and the articles made from these.	23,622	26,632	847	878	36	33
27.—TRADE IN WOOD ..							
		12,255	16,375	5,734	6,907	468	422
119	Trade in wood (not fire wood) ..	9,785	12,319	3,605	4,015	370	326
120	Trade in barks ..	70	70	40	40	571	571
121	Trade in bamboos and canes ..	2,143	3,593	609	729	284	203
122	Trade in thatches and other forest produce ..	307	393	1,480	2,123	4,821	5,402
28.—TRADE IN METALS ..							
		2,098	2,223	45	46	21	21
123	Trade in metals, machinery, knives, tools, etc. ..	2,098	2,223	45	46	21	21
29.—TRADE IN POTTERY, BRICKS AND TILES ..							
		6,288	7,331	3,055	3,333	486	441
124	Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles ..	6,288	7,331	3,055	3,333	486	441
30.—TRADE IN CHEMICAL PRODUCTS ..							
		3,655	4,185	173	180	47	43
125	Drugs, dyes, paints, petroleum, explosives, etc. ..	3,655	4,185	173	180	47	43
31.—HOTELS, CAFES, RESTAURANT, ETC. ..							
		13,352	14,302	1,034	1,054	77	74
126	Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters and ice ..	4,207	4,783	408	425	97	89
127	Owners and managers of hotels, cook-shops, <i>sarais</i> , etc., (and employees).	8,944	9,302	611	614	68	66
128	Hawkers of drink and food-stuffs ..	201	217	15	15	75	69
32.—OTHER TRADE IN FOOD-STUFFS ..							
		369,916	471,878	109,716	115,707	276	245
129	Grain and pulse dealers ..	63,921	77,122	32,260	33,429	505	433
130	Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar and spices ..	32,400	37,696	4,727	4,929	146	131
131	Dealers in dairy products, eggs and poultry ..	47,449	58,296	14,950	16,124	315	276
132	Dealers in animals for food ..	985	1,225	56	64	56	52
133	Dealers in fodder for animals ..	1,052	1,342	400	464	437	346
134	Dealers in other food-stuffs ..	242,456	283,778	56,639	60,029	234	211
135	Dealers in tobacco ..	9,022	10,685	547	627	65	59
136	Dealers in opium ..	568	648	20	22	35	34
137	Dealers in ganja ..	1,108	1,141	18	19	16	17
33.—TRADE IN CLOTHING AND TOILET ARTICLES ..							
		7,341	8,057	220	225	30	29
138	Trade in ready-made clothing and other articles of dress and the toilet (hats, umbrellas, socks, ready-made shoes, perfumes, etc.).	7,341	8,057	220	225	30	28
34.—TRADE IN FURNITURE ..							
		10,859	11,999	1,336	1,374	123	114
139	Trade in furniture, carpets, curtains and bedding ..	1,038	1,255	587	614	565	489
140	Hardware, cooking utensils, porcelain, crockery, glassware, bottles, articles for gardening, etc. ..	9,821	10,744	749	760	76	71
35.—TRADE IN BUILDING MATERIALS ..							
		2,600	3,122	517	574	199	184
141	Trade in building materials (other than bricks, tiles and woody materials).	2,600	3,122	517	574	199	184
36.—TRADE IN MEANS OF TRANSPORT ..							
		5,532	7,201	392	464	71	64
142	Dealers and hirers in mechanical transport—motors, cycles, etc. ..	418	437	..	..	..	..
143	Dealers and hirers in other carriages, carts, boats, etc. ..	276	336	5	5	18	15
144	Dealers and hirers of elephants, camels, horses, cattle, asses, mules, etc. ..	4,838	6,428	387	459	78	71
37.—TRADE IN FUEL ..							
		10,341	12,961	4,122	4,555	399	351
145	Dealers in firewood, charcoal, coal, cowdung, etc. ..	10,341	12,961	4,122	4,555	399	351
38.—TRADE IN ARTICLES OF LUXURY AND THOSE PERTAINING TO LETTERS AND THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.							
		36,792	39,970	2,559	2,861	70	72
146	Dealers in precious stones, jewellery (real and imitation), clocks, optical instruments, etc. ..	9,958	10,590	146	154	15	15
147	Dealers in common hangings, bead necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackle, flowers, etc. ..	3,905	4,399	1,006	1,107	257	252
148	Publishers, book-sellers, stationers, dealers in music, pictures, musical instruments and curiosities. ..	22,934	24,981	1,408	1,600	61	64
39.—TRADE OF OTHER SORTS ..							
		147,187	169,657	7,870	8,175	53	51
149	Dealers in rags, stable refuse, etc. ..	51	57	12	12	235	210
150	General store-keepers and shop-keepers otherwise unspecified ..	138,683	150,739	7,328	7,620	53	51
151	Itinerant traders, pedlars and hawkers (of other than food, etc.) ..	7,356	7,521	471	481	64	64
152	Other trades (including farmers of pounds, tolls and markets) ..	1,077	1,340	59	62	55	46

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS	372,023	429,558	21,155	22,443	57	52
	VI.—Public force	58,973	71,296	57	57	1	1
	40.—ARMY	2,963	3,093	1	1	..	..
153	Imperial Army	2,544	2,567	..	..	..	..
154	Indian State Armies	419	436	1	1	2	3
	41.—NAVY	16	16	..	..	..	..
155	Navy	16	16	..	..	..	..
	42.—AIR FORCE	18	22	..	..	..	..
156	Air force	18	22	..	..	..	..
	43.—POLICE	56,979	62,288	56	56	1	1
157	Police	21,811	22,501	..	..	..	..
158	Village watchmen	34,168	40,787	56	56	2	1
	VII.—Public Administration	49,928	52,582	369	372	7	7
	44.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	49,928	52,582	369	372	7	7
159	Service of the State	38,636	40,292	133	135	3	3
160	Service of Indian and Foreign States	844	919	4	5	5	5
161	Municipal and other local (not village) service	9,334	9,789	214	214	23	22
162	Village officials and servants other than watchmen	1,114	1,582	18	18	16	11
	VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	263,122	305,680	20,729	22,014	79	72
	45.—RELIGION	79,340	92,346	3,068	3,297	38	36
163	Priests, ministers, etc.	77,420	90,157	2,779	3,068	36	34
164	Monks, nuns, religious mendicants	756	803	143	143	189	178
165	Other religious workers	330	374	15	15	45	40
166	Servants in religious edifices, burial and burning grounds, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers, etc.	840	912	68	81	81	89
	46.—LAW	39,814	32,398	21	21	1	1
167	Lawyers of all kinds, including Quasis, Law Agents and Mukhtars	17,162	17,990	4	4	..	..
168	Lawyers' clerks, petition-writers, etc.	13,652	14,408	17	17	1	1
	47.—MEDICINE	56,668	67,462	11,371	12,076	199	179
169	Registered medical practitioners including oculists	29,052	33,935	550	573	19	17
170	Other persons practising the healing arts without being registered	21,856	26,988	797	877	36	32
171	Dentists	1,142	1,194	28	30	25	25
172	Midwives, Vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	4,405	4,688	9,934	10,637	2,255	2,250
173	Veterinary surgeons	544	652	62	62	114	95
	48.—INSTRUCTION	69,275	80,699	5,048	5,291	73	66
174	Professors and teachers of all kinds	68,352	79,607	5,002	5,245	73	66
175	Clerks and servants connected with education	923	1,092	46	46	50	42
	49.—LETTERS, ARTS AND SCIENCES (OTHER THAN 44)	26,649	32,888	1,284	1,326	48	46
176	Public scribes, stenographers, etc.	713	740	189	190	265	257
177	Architects, surveyors, engineers and their employees (not being State servants)	2,223	2,791	48	52	22	19
178	Authors, editors, journalists and photographers	614	687	9	9	15	13
179	Artists, sculptors and image-makers	1,980	2,118	209	213	105	101
180	Scientists (astronomers, botanists, etc.)	15	15	..	..	..	..
181	Horoscope casters, astrologers, fortune-tellers, wizards, witches and mediums	1,790	1,978	41	41	23	21
182	Musicians (composers and performers other than military), actors, dancers, etc.	18,038	22,924	556	588	31	26
183	Managers and employees of places of public entertainments, race courses, societies, clubs, etc.	563	585	4	4	7	7
184	Conjurors, acrobats, reciters, exhibitors of conjuncties and wild animals, etc.	758	859	228	229	308	267
	D.—MISCELLANEOUS	1,079,815	1,162,870	593,710	641,611	550	552
	IX.—Persons living on their income	20,725	23,181	4,536	4,800	219	207
	50.—PERSONS LIVING PRINCIPALLY ON THEIR INCOME	20,725	23,181	4,536	4,800	219	207
185	Proprietors (other than of agricultural land) fund and scholarshipsholders and pensioners.	20,725	23,181	4,536	4,800	219	207
	X.—Domestic Service	389,037	417,547	420,678	463,297	1,081	1,110
	61.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	389,037	417,547	420,678	463,297	1,081	1,110
186	Private motor-drivers and cleaners	7,371	7,685	173	177	23	21
187	Other domestic service	381,666	409,862	420,505	463,120	1,102	1,130
	XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	563,408	610,963	63,525	66,848	113	109
	52.—GENERAL TERMS WHICH DO NOT INDICATE A DEFINITE OCCUPATION.	563,408	610,963	63,525	66,848	113	109
188	Manufacturers, businessmen and contractors otherwise unspecified	6,941	7,497	70	75	10	10
189	Cashiers, accountant, book-keepers, clerks and other employees in unspecified offices and warehouses and shops.	197,852	207,320	6,186	9,216	41	44
190	Mechanics otherwise unspecified	9,027	9,093	13	13	1	1
191	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	350,688	387,053	55,256	57,544	158	149
	XII.—Unproductive	106,645	111,179	104,971	106,668	984	959
	53.—INMATES OF JAILS, ASYLUMS AND ALMS HOUSES	20,672	20,672	191	191	9	9
192	Inmates of jails, asylums and alms houses	20,672	20,672	191	191	9	9
	54.—BEGGARS, VAGRANTS AND PROSTITUTES	85,843	90,356	104,778	106,471	1,221	1,179
193	Beggars and vagrants	85,843	90,356	80,718	81,977	940	907
194	Procurers and prostitutes	..	..	24,060	24,494	..	..
	55.—OTHER UNCLASSIFIED NON-PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES	130	157	4	4	31	25
195	Other unclassified non-productive industries	130	157	4	4	31	25

*No males were returned under this group and the proportion of females to males is therefore indeterminate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of workers employed in each occupational group in 1931 compared with 1921.

Group No.	Occupation.	1931.		1921.
		Earners (principal occupation and working dependents).	Earners (subsidiary occupation).	Workers.
1		8	4	5
	ALL OCCUPATIONS	14,704,079	1,205,891	16,772,520
	A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	10,131,227	725,781	12,156,549
	I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	10,088,153	724,262	12,089,218
	1.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE	9,695,728	697,656	11,907,784
	(a) Ordinary cultivation	9,477,076	674,718	11,517,169
1	Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind	633,834	157,144	890,562
2	Estate agents and managers of private owners	1,148	181	
3	Estate agents and managers of government	92	8	46,181
4	Rent collectors, clerks, etc.	43,346	8,487	
5	Cultivating owners	5,210,389	240,521	9,274,924
6	Tenant cultivators	831,108	58,202	
7	Agricultural labourers	2,718,939	207,729	1,805,502
8	Cultivators of <i>jhum</i> , <i>taungya</i> and other shifting areas	88,222	2,356	(a)
	(b) Cultivation of special crops, fruits, etc. (Planters, managers, clerks and labourers)	293,267	11,430	256,147
9	Cinchona	701	9	
10	Cocconut	13	6	
11	Coffee	2		223,141
12	Ganja	39	1,076	
13	Pan-vine	28,210	8,306	93,006
14	Rubber	4	4	(b)
15	Tea	258,866	1,693	
16	Market gardeners, flower and fruit growers	6,433	337	(c)
	(c) Forestry	8,392	1,585	13,247
17	Forest officers, rangers, guards, etc.	1,329	343	2,518
18	Wood cutters and charcoal burners	4,901	1,219	
19	Collectors of forest produce	120	6	10,634
20	Collectors of lac	42	17	45
	(d) Stock raising	118,262	9,082	115,419
21	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	32,887	8,444	1,826
22	Breeders of transport animals	30	13	
23	Herdsmen, shepherds and breeders of other animals	85,345	6,625	113,593
	(e) Raising of small animals and insects	731	847	5,802
24	Birds, bees, etc.	2		6
25	Silkworms	723	838	5,797
26	Lac cultivation	1	8	(d)
	2.—FISHING AND HUNTING	102,425	26,606	181,436
27	Fishing and pearling	191,770	26,516	180,159
28	Hunting	655	90	1,275
	II.—Exploitation of minerals	43,074	1,519	67,331
	3.—METALLIC MINERALS	721	81	
29	Gold	2		
30	Iron			
31	Lead, silver and zinc			
32	Manganese			
33	Tin and wolfram	513	26	
34	Other metallic minerals	206	55	
	4.—NON-METALLIC MINERALS	42,353	1,438	67,331
35	Coal	42,166	1,436	67,311
36	Patroleum	17		1
37	Building materials (including stone, materials for cement manufacture and clays)			
38	Mica	10	1	10
39	Precious and semi-precious stones	3		
40	Salt, saltpetre and other saline substances	147	1	9
41	Other non-metallic minerals	10		(e)
	B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES	2,506,149	290,331	3,029,833
	III.—Industry	1,281,808	114,878	1,674,025
	5.—TEXTILES	457,622	28,313	540,137
42	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing	5,263	536	1,609
43	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	172,798	19,791	225,333
44	Jute pressing, spinning and weaving	281,703	5,748	293,469
44A	Jute pressing	177,252	3,636	24,750
45	Rope, twine, string and other fibres	9,435	1,078	10,340
46	Wool carding, spinning and weaving	763	41	699
47	Silk spinning and weaving	4,822	820	7,928
48	Hair (horse-hair), etc.	828	59	
49	Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and sponging of textiles	444	27	367
50	Lace, crepe, embroideries, fringes, etc., and insufficiently described textile industries	1,568	213	492
	6.—HIDES, SKINS AND HARD MATERIALS FROM THE ANIMAL KINGDOM	12,036	1,488	16,709
51	Workers in leather	8,436	1,197	13,336
52	Furriers and persons occupied with feathers and bristles; brush makers	17		127
53	Workers (except button makers) in bone, ivory, horn shell, etc.	3,583	291	3,244
	7.—WOOD	140,112	21,453	168,593
54	Sawyers	6,235	1,290	7,247
55	Carpenters, turners and joiners, etc.	78,408	10,788	92,610
56	Basket-makers and other workers in woody materials (including leaves) and thatchers and builders working with bamboo, reeds or similar materials	55,359	9,375	68,736

(a) Included in figure against 5 and 6.
 (b) Included in figure against 9, 10, 11 and 12.
 (c) Included in figure against 13.
 (d) Included in figure against 24.
 (e) Included in 37, 38 and 39.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of workers employed in each occupational group in 1931 compared with 1921.

Group No.	Occupation.	1931.		1921.
		Earners (principal occupation and working dependents).	Earners (subsidiary occupation).	Workers.
III.—Industry—concluded.				
8.—METALS				
57	Smelting, forging and rolling of iron and other metals	50,716	5,348	78,788
58	Makers of arms, guns, etc.	1,736	68	13,231
59	Blacksmiths, other workers in iron and makers of implements	271	15	2,442
60	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal	58,731	4,112	44,442
61	Workers in other metals (except precious metals)	6,667	719	12,451
62	Workers in nuts, die-sinkers, etc.	3,323	433	2,092
		86	1	108
9.—CERAMICS				
63	Potters and makers of earthenware	79,276	9,743	147,512
64	Brick and tile makers	43,864	4,961	91,105
65	Other workers in ceramics	21,513	2,138	56,158
		13,847	2,649	264
10.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS PROPERLY SO CALLED AND ANALOGOUS				
66	Manufacture of matches, fireworks and other explosives	22,279	4,189	56,786
67	Manufacture of aerated and mineral waters and ice	1,132	90	920
68	Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils	504	48	342
69	Manufacture and refining of mineral oils	53,934	2,904	52,112
70	Other chemical manufactures	134	25	33
		2,566	191	3,367
11.—FOOD INDUSTRIES				
71	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	179,923	11,395	238,285
72	Grain parchers, etc.	143,146	6,208	167,635
73	Butchers	8,591	837	9,261
74	Makers of sugar, molasses and gura	3,024	168	4,546
75	Sweetmeat and condiment makers	2,033	2,020	2,638
76	Toddy drawers	6,308	1,256	10,277
77	Brewers and distillers	396	293	408
78	Manufacturers of tobacco	27	4	43
79	Manufacturers of opium	11,320	872	
80	Manufacturers of ganja	38		3,480
81	Other food industries	1		
		2,544	236	30,003
12.—INDUSTRIES OF DRESS AND THE TOILET				
82	Boot, shoe, sandal and clog makers	172,449	29,162	212,739
83	Tailors, milliners, dressmakers and darners	23,281	1,316	28,976
84	Embroiderers and makers of hats and other articles of wear	43,026	2,877	47,650
85	Washerwomen and cleaners	2,917	367	
86	Barbers, hair-dressers and wig-makers	39,487	4,474	56,214
87	Other industries connected with the toilet	62,370	11,086	75,865
		468	52	5
13.—FURNITURE INDUSTRIES				
88	Cabinet-makers, carriage-painters, etc.	2,965	149	1,822
89	Upholsterers, tent-makers, etc.	2,158	107	1,425
		752	53	459
14.—BUILDING INDUSTRIES				
90	Lime burners, cement workers, excavators and well sinkers, stone cutters and dressers, brick-layers and masons, builders (other than of buildings made of bamboo or similar materials), painters, house decorators, tilers, plumbers, etc.	54,462	4,046	91,754
15.—CONSTRUCTION OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT				
91	Manufacture, assembly or repair of motor vehicles or cycles	5,329	512	16,699
92	Makers of carriages, carts, palkis, etc., and wheel-wrights	1,721	256	1,270
93	Ship, boat and aeroplane builders	1,178	176	755
		2,426	561	8,074
16.—PRODUCTION AND TRANSMISSION OF PHYSICAL FORCE				
94	Heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc. (gas works and electric light and power)	2,329	79	3,625
		2,329	70	3,066
17.—MISCELLANEOUS AND UNDEFINED INDUSTRIES				
95	Printers, engravers, book-binders, etc.	28,466	7,237	116,667
96	Makers of musical instruments	14,025	186	13,506
97	Makers of clocks and surgical or scientific instruments, etc.	1,978	138	822
98	Makers of jewellery and ornaments	936	50	1,143
99	Other miscellaneous and undefined industries (toy-making, taxidermy, etc.)	44,836	5,815	66,922
100	Scavenging	2,161	366	363
		22,464	690	27,895
IV.—Transport				
18.—TRANSPORT BY AIR				
101	Persons connected with aerodromes and aeroplanes	107	22	22
		107	22	22
19.—TRANSPORT BY WATER				
102	Ship-owners, boat-owners, and their employees, officers, masters, etc., ships' brokers, boatmen and townmen	22,476	5,689	169,229
102A	Ship-owners, boat-owners and their employees, officers, masters, etc., ships' brokers, boatmen and townmen of inland water transport	78,881	8,072	105,715
103	Persons (other than labourers) employed in harbours, docks, rivers and canals, including pilots	70,748	8,648	84,429
104	Labourers employed on harbours, docks, rivers and canals	2,180	9	1,396
		1,913	7	2,112
		128,641	24,872	173,667
20.—TRANSPORT BY ROAD				
105	Persons (other than labourers) employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges	441	67	2,016
106	Labourers employed on the construction of roads and bridges	51,568	10,322	62,226
107	Owners, managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with mechanically driven vehicles (including trams)	2,804	25	6,771
108	Owners, managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with other vehicles	28,972	9,732	41,974
109	Owners and bearers of palkis, etc.	20,599	3,871	44,559
110	Owners and drivers of pack elephants, camels, mules, asses and bullocks	229	11	205
111	Porters and messengers	10,423	544	15,294
		69,329	1,363	78,226
21.—TRANSPORT BY RAIL				
112	Railway employees of all kinds other than coolies	39,417	733	43,423
113	Labourers employed on railway construction and maintenance and coolies and porters employed on railway premises	29,911	580	31,994
		19,533	699	94,272
22.—POST OFFICE, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES				
114	Post office, telegraph and telephone services	10,583	666	14,372

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of workers employed in each occupational group in 1931 compared with 1921.

Group No.	Occupation.	1931.		1921.
		Earners (principal occupation and working dependents).	Earners (subsidiary occupation).	Workers.
1	2	3	4	5
	V.—Trade	941,058	140,722	984,005
	23.—BANKS, ESTABLISHMENTS OF CREDIT, EXCHANGE AND INSURANCE	49,793	11,893	51,149
115	Bank-managers, money-lenders, exchange and insurance agents, money-changers and brokers and their employees	49,793	11,893	51,149
	24.—BROKERAGE COMMISSION AND EXPORT	9,097	718	13,169
116	Brokers, commission agents, commercial travellers, warehouse owners and employees	9,097	718	13,169
	25.—TRADE IN TEXTILES	63,630	14,523	87,153
117	Trade in piece goods, jute, wool, cotton, silk, hair and other textiles	63,630	14,523	70,203
117A	Trade in jute	3,898	1,718	16,860
	26.—TRADE IN SKINS, LEATHER AND FURS	24,469	3,041	25,897
118	Trade in skins, leather, furs, feathers, horn, etc., and articles made therefrom	24,469	3,041	25,897
	27.—TRADE IN WOOD	17,989	5,293	15,425
119	Trade in wood (not firewood)	13,340	2,994	15,425
120	Trade in barks	110	..	
121	Trade in bamboos and canes	2,752	1,570	
122	Trade in thatches and other forest produce	1,787	729	..
	28.—TRADE IN METALS	2,143	126	4,044
123	Trade in metals, machinery, knives, tools, etc.	2,143	126	4,044
	29.—TRADE IN POTTERY, BRICKS AND TILES	9,343	1,221	1,885
124	Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	9,343	1,221	1,885
	30.—TRADE IN CHEMICAL PRODUCTS	3,828	537	7,419
125	Drugs, dyes, paints, petroleum, explosives, etc.	3,828	537	7,419
	31.—HOTELS, CAFES, RESTAURANTS, ETC.	14,388	679	15,250
126	Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters and ice	4,615	593	7,056
127	Owners and managers of hotels, cook-shops, <i>sarais</i> , etc., (and employees)	9,555	361	
128	Hawkers of drink and food-stuffs	218	16	
	32.—OTHER TRADE IN FOOD-STUFFS	508,732	78,853	619,058
129	Grain and pulse dealers	96,181	14,370	110,122
130	Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar and spices	37,187	5,438	249,476
131	Dealers in dairy products, eggs and poultry	62,399	12,021	63,592
132	Dealers in animals for food	1,040	249	180,354
133	Dealers in fodder for animals	1,512	294	2,720
134	Dealers in other food-stuffs	299,095	44,707	..
135	Dealers in tobacco	9,609	1,658	12,794
136	Dealers in opium	583	87	
137	Dealers in <i>ganja</i>	1,126	34	
	33.—TRADE IN CLOTHING AND TOILET ARTICLES	7,561	721	9,814
138	Trade in ready-made clothing and other articles of dress and the toilet (hats, umbrellas, socks, ready-made shoes, perfumes, etc.)	7,561	721	9,814
	34.—TRADE IN FURNITURE	12,195	1,178	17,646
139	Trade in furniture, carpets, curtains and bedding	1,625	244	4,284
140	Hardware, cooking utensils, porcelain, crockery, glassware, bottles, articles for gardening, etc.	10,570	934	13,362
	35.—TRADE IN BUILDING MATERIALS	3,117	579	2,839
141	Trade in building materials (other than bricks, tiles and woody materials)	3,117	579	2,839
	36.—TRADE IN MEANS OF TRANSPORT	5,824	1,741	5,131
142	Dealers in and hirers of mechanical transport motors, cycles, etc.	418	19	155
143	Dealers in and hirers of other carriages, carts, boats, etc.	281	62	659
144	Dealers in and hirers of elephants, camels, horses, cattle, asses, mules, etc.	5,225	1,660	4,817
	37.—TRADE IN FUEL	14,463	3,053	18,045
145	Dealers in firewood, charcoal, coal, cowdung, etc.	14,463	3,053	18,045
	38.—TRADE IN ARTICLES OF LUXURY AND THOSE PERTAINING TO LETTERS AND THE ARTS AND SCIENCES	39,351	3,469	28,891
146	Dealers in precious stones, jewellery (real and imitation), clocks, optical instruments, etc.	10,099	645	3,640
147	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackle, flowers, etc.	4,910	596	5,072
148	Publishers, book-sellers, stationers, dealers in music, pictures, musical instruments and curiosities	24,342	2,228	20,179
	39.—TRADE OF OTHER SORTS	155,937	12,795	81,199
149	Dealers in rags, stable refuse, etc.	63	6	638
150	General store-keepers and shop-keepers otherwise unspecified	146,011	12,348	54,379
151	Itinerant traders, pedlars and hawkers (of other than food, etc.)	7,827	175	5,016
152	Other trades (including farmers of pounds, tolls and markets)	1,186	266	1,157
	G.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS	393,178	58,823	370,239
	VI.—Public force	59,030	12,323	68,565
	40.—ARMY	2,864	49	4,672
153	Imperial Army	2,544	23	4,296
154	Indian States armies	420	17	376
	41.—NAVY	16	..	14
155	Navy	16	..	14
	42.—AIR FORCE	15	7	..
156	Air Force	15	7	..
	43.—POLICE	56,035	12,276	63,879
157	Police	21,811	690	22,612
158	Village watchmen	34,224	11,586	40,967

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of workers employed in each occupational group in 1931 compared with 1921.

Group No.	Occupation.	1931.		1921.
		Earners (principal occupation and working dependents).	Earners (subsidiary occupation).	Workers.
1	2	3	4	5
VII.—Public Administration		50,297	2,657	48,297
44.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION		50,297	2,657	48,297
159	Service of the state	38,769	1,658	34,768
160	Service of Indian and foreign states	848	76	1,185
161	Municipal and other local (not village) service	9,548	455	11,829
162	Village officials and servants other than watchmen	1,132	468	820
VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts		283,851	43,843	253,379
45.—RELIGION		82,351	13,188	94,171
163	Priests, ministers, etc.	80,199	13,016	90,798
164	Monks, nuns, religious mendicants	899	47	1,294
165	Other religious workers	345	44	970
166	Servants in religious edifices, burial and burning grounds, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers, etc.	908	85	1,114
46.—LAW		39,838	1,781	24,458
167	Lawyers of all kinds, including <i>baris</i> , law agents and <i>mukhtars</i>	17,168	828	12,994
168	Lawyers, clerks, petition-writers, etc.	18,669	953	11,762
47.—MEDICINE		66,369	11,162	57,238
169	Registered medical practitioners including oculists	29,602	4,906	48,179
170	Other persons practising the healing arts without being registered	22,652	6,215	
171	Dentists	1,170	54	14,066
172	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	14,339	881	
173	Veterinary surgeons	608	108	(/)
48.—INSTRUCTION		74,323	11,487	44,227
174	Professors and teachers of all kinds	78,354	11,498	48,175
175	Clerks and servants connected with education	969	169	1,052
49.—LETTERS, ARTS AND SCIENCES (OTHER THAN 44)		27,972	6,041	23,288
176	Public scribes, stenographers, etc.	902	28	902
177	Architects, surveyors, engineers and their employees (not being state servants)	2,271	562	4,310
178	Authors, editors, journalists and photographers	623	78	..
179	Artists, sculptors and image-makers	2,189	142	
180	Scientists (astronomers, botanists, etc.)	15	1	5,624
181	Horoscope casters, astrologers, fortune-tellers, wizards, witches and mediums	1,831	188	
182	Musicians (composers and performers other than military), actors, dancers, etc.	18,594	4,918	20,969
183	Managers and employees of places of public entertainments, race courses, societies, clubs, etc.	567	22	265
184	Conjurors, acrobats, reciters, exhibitors of curiosities and wild animals, etc.	981	107	1,149
D.—MISCELLANEOUS		1,673,528	130,956	1,215,899
IX.—Persons living on their income		25,261	2,720	13,646
50.—PERSONS LIVING PRINCIPALLY ON THEIR INCOME		25,261	2,720	13,646
185	Proprietors (other than of agricultural land), fund and scholarships holders and pensioners	25,261	2,720	13,646
X.—Domestic Service		809,718	71,129	455,249
51.—DOMESTIC SERVICE		809,718	71,129	455,249
186	Private motor drivers and cleaners	7,544	298	927
187	Other domestic servants	802,171	70,831	454,319
XI.—Insufficiently described occupations		626,933	50,878	460,923
52.—GENERAL TERMS WHICH DO NOT INDICATE A DEFINITE OCCUPATION		626,933	50,878	460,923
188	Manufacturers, business men and contractors otherwise unspecified	7,011	861	6,880
189	Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employees in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops	205,538	10,998	164,019
190	Mechanics otherwise unspecified	9,040	66	12,567
191	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	405,344	39,253	277,517
XII.—Unproductive		211,616	6,229	286,084
53.—INMATES OF JAILS, ASYLUMS AND ALMS HOUSES		20,863	..	12,692
192	Inmates of jails, asylums and alms houses	20,863	..	12,692
54.—BEGGARS, VAGRANTS AND PROSTITUTES		166,561	5,766	272,266
193	Beggars and vagrants	166,561	5,766	(g)236,835
194	Procurers and prostitutes	24,058	436	85,929
55.—OTHER UNCLASSIFIED NON-PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES		134	27	128
195	Other unclassified non-productive industries	134	27	128

(f) Included in 169, 170 and 171.

(g) Including figures of witches and wizards shown in group 181 in 1931.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Distribution for selected groups of 1,000 earners (principal occupation) by occupational sub-classes, and ratio of female to male earners (principal occupation) in each sub-class.

NOTE.—The figures in brackets represent those engaged in the traditional occupation of the caste and are in addition to the figures in the same sub-class not within brackets.

CASTE or other GROUP and religion.	Distribution by sub-classes of 1,000 earners (principal occupation).												
	All sub-classes.	I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation.	II.—Extraction of minerals.	III.—Industries.	IV.—Transport.	V.—Trade.	VI.—Public Force.	VII.—Public Administration.	VIII.—Arts and Professions.	IX.—Persons living on their income.	X.—Domestic Service.	XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	XII.—Unproductive.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	1,000	18	15	105	241	108	15	68	118	28	41	245	6
ARMENIAN—Christian	1,000	85	8	221	98	150	10	25	129	45	31	136	14
BAGDI—Hindu	1,000	155 (697)	1	50	12	18	4	1	2	2	22	12	8
BAIDYA—Hindu	1,000	250	10	65	37	59	21	53	136 (188)	20	33	88	10
BABUI—Hindu	1,000	261 (546)	4	46	10	44	2	6	26	5	17	24	6
BAURI—Hindu	1,000	290 (408)	104	41	911	8	8	1	3	2	37	58	4
BRAHMAN—Hindu	1,000	334	5	70	80	88	14	27	96 (166)	21	75	92	13
CHAMAR—Hindu	1,000	135	20	346 (206)	57	18	8	2	13	17	42	131	6
DHOBI—Hindu	1,000	327	5	56 (487)	7	25	8	8	9	10	27	23	10
DOM—Hindu	1,000	421	29	58 (296)	10	14	12	8	10	5	69	51	11
EUROPEAN—Christian	1,000	47	20	211	93	93	157	56	119	18	90	156	5
GOALA—Hindu	1,000	452 (248)	8	77	32	38	3	4	6	4	66	54	6
HARI—Hindu	1,000	491	12	73 (158)	37	23	16	2	57	7	70	39	16
INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	1,000	614	1	54	43	30	12	13	22	12	57	59	4
JALIYA KAIBARTTA—Hindu	1,000	252 (601)	3	45	6	22	1	1	8	4	25	13	11
JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	1,000	294	6	97 (408)	7	87	3	3	27	3	22	17	21
KAMAR—Hindu	1,000	293	5	131 (438)	12	52	12	14	14	3	37	29	8
KAYASTHA—Hindu	1,000	378	7	74	23	106	13	40	76	13	56	73 (127)	11
KHAMBU—All religions	1,000	632 (263)	3	31	21	12	1	4	3	3	9	8	6
Hindu	1,000	632 (263)	3	31	21	12	1	4	3	3	9	8	6
Buddhist	1,000	439 (120)	40	..	..	120	..	40	..	..	30	161	..
KUMAR—Hindu	1,000	236	4	72 (589)	5	39	..	..	..	..	17	17	..
LEPCHA—All religions	1,000	360 (526)	..	16	31	5	..	..	..	..	27	12	..
Hindu	1,000	217 (289)	..	238	..	7	..	..	119	..	32	32	..
Tribal	1,000	.. (1,000)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Buddhist	1,000	378 (517)	..	..	34	..	..	..	..	..	26	12	..
MAHISHYA—Hindu	1,000	198 (588)	1	68	10	42	..	..	..	..	40	30	..
MUCHI—Hindu	1,000	461	10	105 (259)	14	24	..	..	..	..	53	48	10
"MUMIN" (JOLAHA)—Muslim	1,000	366	7	137 (379)	14	33	..	..	..	..	23	15	10
NAMASUDRA—Hindu	1,000	824	2	62	13	31	..	..	..	..	32	19	11
NAPIT—Hindu	1,000	324	8	51 (454)	6	35	..	..	..	..	33	26	8
SAYYAD—Muslim	1,000	604	6	68	24	66	10	16	98	14	34	80	30

CASTE or other GROUP and religion.	Number of female earners (principal occupation) per 100 males in the same occupational sub-class.												
	All sub-classes.	I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation.	II.—Extraction of minerals.	III.—Industries.	IV.—Transport.	V.—Trade.	VI.—Public Force.	VII.—Public Administration.	VIII.—Arts and Professions.	IX.—Persons living on their income.	X.—Domestic Service.	XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	XII.—Unproductive.
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	25	45	2	0	10	15	..	19 158	41	53	23	200	
ARMENIAN—Christian	21	4	..	8	12	18	..	10 100	130	..	..	222
BAGDI—Hindu	23	16 (20)	76	74	4	182	..	1	16	63	103	20	
BAIDYA—Hindu	7	16	..	3	..	3	..	1	..	10	36	118	
BABUI—Hindu	7	8 (4)	7	6	2	9	..	4	..	17	52	158	
BAURI—Hindu	22	26 (42)	69	61	17	254	..	12 903	22	90	89	111	
BRAHMAN—Hindu	7	14	2	2	..	2	..	..	..	11	12	44
CHAMAR—Hindu	17	19	62	26 (4)	8	16	..	1	225	13	6	129	
DHOBI—Hindu	18	6	22	19 (22)	5	8	..	1	4	26	33	144	
DOM—Hindu	32	16	47	46 (52)	10	7	2	4	57	103	64	63	
EUROPEAN—Christian	16	8	..	2	..	22	..	..	..	24	44	10
GOALA—Hindu	14	89 (22)	16	15	..	15	..	7 160	..	30	26	183	
HARI—Hindu	32	11	67	54 (54)	..	71	1	18 248	137	54	55	217	
INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	27	25	2	26	4	14	..	7 61	27	41	13	100	
JALIYA KAIBARTTA—Hindu	19	13 (15)	135	44	6	41	..	..	38	55	122	11
JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	13	5	7	19 (16)	3	8	..	1	3	14	84	5	
KAMAR—Hindu	11	19	15	19 (2)	1	15	..	1	3	35	67	10	
KAYASTHA—Hindu	8	9	3	9	1	1	..	..	..	29	3	2 (2)
KRAMBU—All religions	61	66 (40)	18	9	24	6	..	..	..	2	38	4
Hindu	51	66 (40)	18	9	24	6	..	..	..	2	38	4
Buddhist	108	264 (200)	..	..	..	300	..	..	..	..	33	4
KUMAR—Hindu	17	8	40	16 (21)	..	12	..	..	..	42	59	6
LEPCHA—All religions	38	59 (22)	..	7	..	12	..	..	..	13	..	166
Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tribal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Buddhist	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
MAHISHYA—Hindu	26	62 (19)	..	17	4	13	..	..	..	..	..	164
MUCHI—Hindu	13	9 (5)	48	31	4	29	..	1	3	43	94	5	
"MUMIN" (JOLAHA)—Muslim	9	5	3	17 (9)	1	8	1	3	4	105	81	10	
NAMASUDRA—Hindu	7	4	10	18	2	25	1	7	7	38	51	8	
NAPIT—Hindu	8	7	11	12 (6)	4	12	..	1	2	19	53	65	
SAYYAD—Muslim	8	6	1	14	1	6	..	..	..	38	81	48

*Under this sub-class the occupation of paliki-bearers is traditional to the Bauris, but those following it are not separately on record and are included in the numbers shown under sub-class I which includes the other traditional occupations of the caste viz., agriculture and earthwork.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Number of persons employed on the 26th February 1931 on Railways and in the Irrigation, Telegraph and Postal Departments in Bengal.

Class of employee.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.	Class of employee.	Post office.		Telegraph Department.	
				Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.
A.—RAILWAYS—			C.—POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT—				
TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED ..	4,086	153,868	TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED ..	42	26,687	317	2,387
Officers ..	358	199	(1) TELEGRAPHS ..	40	17,973	317	2,387
Subordinates on scales of pay rising to Rs. 250 per month or over ..	1,354	802	Supervising officers (including probationary Superintendents and Inspectors of post offices and Assistant and Deputy Superintendents of Telegraphs and all officers of higher rank) ..	8	141	58	45
Subordinates on scales of pay rising from Rs. 30 to Rs. 249 per month ..	2,281	58,549	Postmasters, including Deputy Assistant and Sub and Branch Postmasters ..	9	1,222	..	..
Subordinates on scales of pay under Rs. 30 per month ..	60	94,310	Signalling establishment including warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, military telegraphists and other employees ..	..	..	219	242
B.—IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT—			Miscellaneous agents, school masters, station masters, etc.— ..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED ..	48	4,074	Clerks of all kinds ..	21	2,447	28	494
PERSONS DIRECTLY EMPLOYED ..	18	2,238	Postmen ..	..	5,668	..	..
Officers ..	16	37	Skilled labourers establishment including foremen, instrument makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics, sub-inspectors, linemen, line riders and other employees ..	..	9	14	1,566
Upper subordinates ..	..	2	Unskilled labourers establishment including line coolies, cable guards, battery men, telegraph messengers, peons and other employees ..	2	1,700	..	1,008
Lower subordinates ..	..	130	Road establishment consisting of overmen, runners, clerks, and booking agents, boatmen, ayees, coachmen, bearers, and others ..	..	2,096	..	17
Clerks ..	..	346	(2) RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE ..	1	1,168	..	..
Peons and other servants ..	..	1,707	Supervising officers (including Superintendents and Inspectors of sorting) ..	1	12	..	..
Coolies ..	..	16	Clerks of all kinds ..	..	21	..	..
PERSONS INDIRECTLY EMPLOYED ..	29	1,836	Sorters ..	..	602	..	..
Contractors ..	29	808	Mail guards, mail agents, van peons, postmen, etc. ..	..	468	..	..
Contractors' regular employees ..	..	501	(3) COMBINED OFFICERS ..	1	248	..	..
Coolies ..	..	567	Signallers ..	1	248	..	..
			Messengers and other servants ..	..	548	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Educated unemployed.

A.—Aged 20-39, by locality, class, age and period of unemployment.

Serial.	Class.	District, State or City.	Age and period of unemployment.								District, State or City.	Age and period of unemployment.								Serial.				
			All ages (20-39) and un-employed for any period.	Aged 20-24 and un-employed for—		Aged 25-29 and un-employed for—		Aged 30-34 and un-employed for—		Aged 35-39 and un-employed for—		All ages (20-39) and un-employed for any period.	Aged 20-24 and un-employed for—		Aged 25-29 and un-employed for—		Aged 30-34 and un-employed for—		Aged 35-39 and un-employed for—					
				Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.			More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.		Less than one year.	More than one year.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
1	All classes	BENGAL WITH COOCH BEHAR.	3,521	273	1,340	139	1,103	66	434	23	152	882	52	267	38	367	10	103	6	39	1			
2	Brahmans	..	800	83	323	26	206	23	86	7	41	142	9	44	1	53	5	21	2	7	2			
3	Baidyas	..	64	7	30	3	17	2	4	..	1	22	1	10	2	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Kayasthas	..	605	43	244	22	181	9	86	5	35	163	9	51	10	61	..	21	1	11	4	5	4	5
5	Depressed Hindus	..	197	7	71	6	67	6	23	2	8	79	2	25	3	29	1	11	1	6	4	6	4	6
6	Other Hindus	..	739	55	279	28	237	12	95	1	32	123	4	37	9	58	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
7	Muslims	..	1,078	72	376	43	389	11	140	7	29	351	27	99	14	165	..	33	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	Anglo-Indians	..	24	4	7	1	3	..	4	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	All other classes	..	16	2	5	1	3	..	2	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	All classes	BENGAL BRITISH DISTRICTS.	3,510	273	1,337	129	1,108	66	431	23	151	853	51	262	39	381	7	76	4	22	10			
11	Brahmans	..	793	83	326	26	206	23	86	7	41	65	6	30	3	15	1	4	1	5	11			
12	Baidyas	..	64	7	30	3	17	2	4	..	1	11	1	4	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	Kayasthas	..	604	43	244	22	180	9	86	5	35	98	9	35	4	31	1	14	1	6	13			
14	Depressed Hindus	..	197	7	71	6	67	6	23	2	8	55	2	20	2	17	1	12	..	1	14			
15	Other Hindus	..	735	55	278	28	236	12	94	1	31	33	3	15	2	13	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
16	Muslims	..	1,072	72	376	42	388	11	147	7	29	281	14	97	18	97	4	41	2	8	16			
17	Anglo-Indians	..	24	4	7	1	3	..	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	All other classes	..	16	2	5	1	3	..	2	..	2	5	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	All classes	BURDWAN DIVISION.	671	50	304	15	191	16	63	5	27	268	38	120	11	58	8	21	1	13	19			
20	Brahmans	..	269	20	127	7	64	8	21	3	10	65	8	24	5	17	5	3	..	3	20			
21	Baidyas	..	11	2	6	1	1	1	1	..	1	6	6	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	21			
22	Kayasthas	..	98	6	44	1	20	2	10	1	6	73	6	37	3	13	2	5	..	4	22			
23	Depressed Hindus	..	15	5	5	..	6	..	1	..	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	23			
24	Other Hindus	..	230	14	97	6	76	3	26	1	7	52	5	20	..	12	1	3	..	..	24			
25	Muslims	..	41	..	21	..	14	..	4	..	2	45	11	19	2	8	..	5	..	..	25			
26	Anglo-Indians	..	7	..	4	1	1	..	1	..	1	16	4	3	..	4	..	4	1	..	26			
27	All other classes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	1	3	..	2	..	1	..	..	27			
28	All classes	HOWRAH CITY.	662	119	394	40	233	28	108	8	48	43	8	17	..	18	1	2	1	1	28			
29	Brahmans	..	248	31	98	13	57	9	23	1	16	22	5	9	..	6	..	1	..	..	29			
30	Baidyas	..	12	1	6	1	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30			
31	Kayasthas	..	194	22	95	7	42	6	10	1	11	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	31			
32	Depressed Hindus	..	37	2	16	..	13	3	2	1	..	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	32			
33	Other Hindus	..	252	25	95	11	71	4	33	..	12	..	..	3	..	4	..	1	..	..	33			
34	Muslims	..	193	24	78	8	43	4	33	1	12	8	8	3	..	5	..	..	..	..	34			
35	Anglo-Indians	..	16	4	3	..	2	..	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35			
36	All other classes	..	10	1	3	..	2	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36			
37	All classes	RAJSHAHI DIVISION.	442	30	170	8	128	5	83	4	17	51	9	27	1	13	..	1	1	2	37			
38	Brahmans	..	74	8	27	2	17	..	17	..	3	13	1	7	..	2	..	..	..	1	38			
39	Baidyas	..	8	3	4	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39			
40	Kayasthas	..	51	2	19	..	17	..	11	..	1	6	1	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	40			
41	Depressed Hindus	..	11	..	5	1	1	..	2	..	..	4	1	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	41			
42	Other Hindus	..	92	10	34	..	23	2	17	..	6	13	1	9	1	2	..	..	..	..	42			
43	Muslims	..	206	7	81	2	69	1	36	3	7	14	3	6	..	5	..	..	..	..	43			
44	Anglo-Indians	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	44			
45	All other classes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	45			

B.—Aged 20-39, by degree, age and period of unemployment.

Degree or other qualifications.	Age and period of unemployment.								
	All ages (20-39) and un-employed for any period.	Aged 20-24 and un-employed for—		Aged 25-29 and un-employed for—		Aged 30-34 and un-employed for—		Aged 35-39 and un-employed for—	
		More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All qualifications	3,521	1,340	273	1,103	130	434	66	152	23
British degrees	19	..	..	4	3	4	4	3	1
Continental degrees	3	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
American degrees	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other foreign degrees	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Indian degrees	692	118	32	256	34	153	33	59	10
Medical	102	7	1	32	11	31	9	11	..
Legal	94	1	1	20	2	32	10	17	5
Agricultural	13	0	..	2	..	2	..	..	..
Commerce	21	14	1	5	..	1	..	..	..
M. A.	49	2	1	13	2	22	..	9	..
M. Sc.	31	3	1	14	1	7	1	4	..
B. A.	243	47	20	96	14	41	6	15	4
B. Sc.	96	27	5	46	2	14	1	..	1
B. Engr. or L. O. E.	17	2	1	12	1	1	..	..	..
B. T. or L. T.	26	6	1	16	1	2	..	..	..
Matriculation or school leaving certificate	2,797	1,220	241	841	92	277	29	85	13

C.—Miscellaneous details.

Division, District or State.	Total number of educated unemployed.						Persons with no higher qualification than matriculation or school leaving certificate, not unemployed but returned as having failed to get employment for which they consider themselves educationally qualified.
	Aged.		All ages whose fathers were—				
	Less than 20 years.	40 years and over.	Soldiers.	Cultivators.	Artisans.	Menials or servants.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL	433	132	..	621	79	316	857
BRITISH TERRITORY	433	132	..	621	79	316	857
Burdwan Division	91	48	..	162	..	..	97
Presidency Division	138	54	..	202	..	..	275
Rajshahi Division	28	9	..	62	..	..	121
Dacca Division	116	17	..	308	78	189	599
Chittagong Division	62	6	..	160	8	113	125

APPENDIX I.

Notes on the processes of decaying industries.

1. **Introduction.**—The Census Commissioner desired during the census operations to place on record notes on the processes of those industries which have decayed or are threatened with extinction owing to the competition of mass production. In Bengal a comprehensive investigation into "cottage industries" has been carried out by the department of industries and the results published in a *Report on the Survey of Cottage Industries in Bengal* (1929). This contains much of the information which it was desired to put on record, and although it is inevitable that there should be some overlapping the following notes are intended merely to supplement this production by elaborating the description of some processes and adding such details of a "cultural" interest as came to light. The method adopted was to circulate a list of industries prepared in consultation with the Census Commissioner and the Director of Industries, Bengal, with a request for such information as could be got along definite lines. The enquiries were made through the district officers and without any agency equipped to make accurate technical descriptions of the processes described. It was received with particular enthusiasm in Nadia and acknowledgments are due to Messrs. T. C. Ray, the district officer, B. C. Ray (Rai Saheb), subdivisional officer, Ranaghat, and B. G. Kanjilal, H. Rahman, A. Sen and S. N. De, circle officers, for unusually full and detailed reports. Mention of these names, however, does not imply any deficiency in other districts, but complete indebtedness could not be acknowledged without reciting the name of almost every district census officer and of a number of other officers who made interesting reports generally accompanied by sketches or photographs and in one case even by water colour illustrations. For the scientific identification of vernacular terms acknowledgments are due to the Director of the Geological Survey of India, the Curator of the Industrial Section, Indian Museum, and the Director of Industries, Bengal.

2. **Blacksmithy.**—Blacksmiths are found practically in every district of Bengal and manufacture primitive implements required for cultivation as well as tyres for bullock carts. Three types of bellows are reported. In Murshidabad and Faridpur blacksmiths are reported to use the type of bellows more commonly associated with gold and silversmith workers. It consists of a bag of leather tapering at one end and open at the other. At the tapering end a tube is inserted and there is sown on each side of the open end a wooden or bamboo strip. These strips serve for hand hold as well as ensuring that the mouth of the bellows is securely closed. The blacksmith holds the strips in his hands and drawing them apart extends the bag to its utmost. It is thus filled with air which he encloses by bringing the strips of wood together when a downward pressure drives the air out of the tube at the tapering end. The most common form of bellows, however, is one framed of cow, goat or buffalo hide softened with curds and oil. This is placed around two or three triangular slabs of wood in such a way that a chamber is left between each two slabs when the bellows are expanded. The bottom slab of the bellows and the middle one also, if there are three, are fitted with valves opening inwards and the narrow end is attached to a tube leading on to the furnace. The bellows are supported in such a way that a rope attached to the lower slab passes overhead and into the hand of the blacksmith and by pulling on it he raises the lower slab of the bellows and drives the air through the nozzle. When pressure is released the bellows open through their own weight, the valves admit air into the chamber and the process can be repeated. The third type consists of two metal cylinders. The lower is open at the top and into it is fitted a pipe which leads out into the furnace. The upper is closed at the top and has a handle and a valve opening inwards. Water is put into the lower cylinder up to below the level of the pipe. The upper cylinder, which is smaller, is then moved up and down within the lower. As it descends the air space is lessened and the air, prevented by the water from escaping, is conducted through the pipe and thus to the fire: as the cylinder rises air flows in to replace it through the valve.

Large locks of a simple type and having only one lever are commonly made and are used by villagers. An improved type is made in the Khardah police-station of the 24-Parganas and its mechanism is rigidly kept secret by the inventor who himself inserts the five or six levers forming the locks into the shell or frame made by local blacksmiths.

3. **Blanket making.**—Blanket making is reported as an industry mainly in Western Bengal where it is carried out by the Gareri caste. The herds are shorn generally twice a year in *Jaistha* or *Asarh* and in *Paus*, *Magh* or *Falgun*. In some cases a third shearing also takes place in the month of *Kartik*. Ordinary shears are used such as are familiar in European countries and the fleece obtained in *Falgun* after the dry weather is supposed to be the best in quality. It is teased or carded with a bow, the vibration of the string in which, rakes up the knots and loosens it. In the same way as cotton described later it is spun from a simple distaff with the familiar *charka* type of spinning wheel, wound into hanks and in some cases sized with flour or powdered rice and water. The warp is set up along pegs driven into the ground in such a way that the whole length of the warp can be set up in a very much restricted space and the blankets are woven on a very primitive type of tension handloom. The essential part of this consists of a cloth or breast-beam, *nidhani* (নিধানী) or *okhar* (ওখর).

and a warp-beam, *kaldhari* (কালধারী). The breast-beam is supported on posts near the weaver in such a way that it can be wound round and take up the cloth as it is woven. The warp stretched between two slabs of wood is lashed to it at one end whilst the other end is carried over and tied to the warp-beam. The warp-beam is lashed to a bow shaped or triangular frame, *ohari* (ওহারী), which is made fast to a post by a rope which is led back to the seat of the weaver and can be regulated in length by him. The odd threads are caught up in leases or loops of string attached to a bar or heddle rod, *baynat* (বয়নট), so that when the heddle rod is raised only the odd threads of the warp are lifted leaving the even threads below and forming a space through which the shuttle can pass. Beyond the heddle rod a stick known as the shed stick, *sansat* (সাঁসত), is placed over the odd threads so that when the heddle rod is not elevated the weight of the shed stick also creates a space between the odd and even threads. The woof wound on a bobbin is passed alternately under and over the odd threads, which are alternately raised by the heddle rod operated by hand and depressed by the shed stick, the shed or opening between the threads being cleared by a thin slat of wood or sword, *beo* (বেও), which is also used to press home each pick or length of woof drawn from side to side of the warp. As the cloth is woven the cloth beam is wound round so that an unwoven portion of the warp is always within hand of the weaver. The warp is generally set up about 18 inches in width and is the full length of the blanket which it is required to make and which is composed of three or more strips sown together. The only other portion of this simple loom appears to be a stick, *chapani* (চাপনী), used to vary the alternations of odd and even threads when it is desired to introduce some pattern or to make a fringe.

4. **Boat building.**—Bengal is remarkable for the number and variety of its boats. Wherever there is water the cultivators have small dug-outs often made of palmyra palm trunks hollowed out and the Garos are particularly expert in this work, some of the *kundas*, as the vessels are called, having a capacity of as much as a thousand maunds. Apart from dug-outs of this kind almost every variety of wood is used in the construction of larger boats. Teak (*tectona grandis*, Lin), babul (*acacia arabica*, Willd), sal (*shorea robusta*, Gaertn), *uri-am* (*magnifera longipes*), *kadam* (*anthocephalus Cadamba*, Bech and Hook), *jam* (*eugenia, jambolama, Lam*), *gab* (*Diosphyros embryopteris*, Pers), *karai*, *jarul* (*lagostræmia flosreginae*, Retz.) and *sundari* (*heritiera littoralis*) are amongst the woods employed. In Faridpur and probably elsewhere the building of the boat is not undertaken until the *panjika* or almanac has been consulted for an auspicious day. The keel, *daura*, is laid down and the process of manufacture follows what must be the universal method throughout the world. Ribs are built up from the keel, the gunwale is fixed at the appropriate height by means of stringers, *galui*, and the sides of the boat are built up about the ribs until the level of the gunwale is reached. The curvature is given to the planks by heating them in water and affixing them to the framework. The planks are joined together either by double pointed nails or in some cases by ties. Cotton and jute are used to caulk in spaces and the whole is generally treated with coal-tar and sometimes painted with the juice of the *gab* tree. Chittagong was once famous for its ship-building and possesses a characteristic type of sea-going boats, which probably owed its construction to the Portuguese pirates, as well as the *sampan*, which is apparently of Chinese origin. But it is reported that steam and motor vessels are rendering the medium size boats unpopular.

5. **Brass and bell-metal industry.**—Indigenous brass and bell-metal industries have been seriously affected by the importation of cheap enamel, aluminium and porcelain vessels. Three alloys appear to be known to the workers : brass, made of copper and zinc in the proportions of 5 : 4 or 5 : 3, bell-metal made of copper and tin mixed in the proportions of about 7 : 2 and an alloy known in the vernacular as *bharan* composed of white metal, copper, zinc and lead. The bell-metal is said to be in process of replacement by German silver alloyed with zinc. The metal workers employ both the moulding and the hammering process to make their goods. They buy the constituents of the alloy or else obtain old and damaged utensils and scrap metal and melt them down in a furnace. The furnace consists of an oven fed with wood, coal, charcoal or coke into which a number of crucibles, locally known as *muchi* (মুচি) are placed. These crucibles are made of earth and in the Nadia district are over a foot in diameter and are reported to contain as much as one maund. After firing when the metal has melted and amalgamated the alloy is poured into receptacles and cooled with salt water. It is then taken out, heated and beaten into expanded sheets upon anvils by gangs of men generally working four or five together. The expanded sheets are then cut to suitable sizes and are again beaten out into the form of whatever vessel is required. For moulded vessels moulds are prepared of clay to which sand is added and also jute fibre or paddy chaff in order to give them strength. The moulds are made frequently from a model which is smeared with oil before the clay is attached, so that, when the clay is taken off in two or more parts, the inside is smooth whilst the outer side is rough. Impressions in clay are taken in this manner both of the inside and outside of the vessel and they are carefully joined together so that the inner and the outer portions fit together but a space is left between them. This is retained by means of wax in some districts or by carefully adjusting them on a base of clay in other places. The melted amalgam is then poured in and the moulds are left until they are dry. In some cases the appropriate amount of metal, either scrap or the constituent elements required, is placed into a small crucible, also known as a *muchi*, which is actually affixed below the prepared mould. The whole is then placed in a furnace and when the metal in the crucible has melted it is taken out of the

furnace and the crucible is inverted so that its contents flow out into the mould. Both moulded and beaten articles are finished with files or chisels. The article is affixed to a primitive lathe or *kond* (কন্ড) by a mixture of resin, mustard oil and powdered brick. The lathe consists of a circular billet of wood from which at one end an iron pin is supported by a peg in which it pivots whilst the other end rests on and projects beyond a crutch of wood permitting it to turn round. The finished article is glued to the projecting end and the billet is made to revolve by means of a string wrapped round the centre and pulled alternately, the finishing being done by chisels and files.

6. **Cart wheels.**—A peculiarity of the cart wheels made in parts of the province is that the spokes pass right through the boss of the wheel from circumference to circumference. A heavier and broader wheel is thus necessary.

7. **Conch shell industry.**—The manufacture of conch shell bangles, etc., is of very great antiquity and has been very fully described in more than one publication, for instance in *The Sacred Shank of India*, by J. Hornell (Madras Fisheries Bureau, bulletin 7), and in *The Conch Shell Industry in Bengal* by S. C. Mitter (Bengal Industries Department, bulletin 24). The Sankharis who deal in these articles are particularly notable in the district of Dacca. The implements employed as well as the method of employment are fully described in other publications and it is not proposed to repeat them here. The workers in addition to the *viswakarma puja* on the last day of *Bhadra* also observe a holiday on the 17th *Bhadra* for the *satara kamai* and on the first *Aswin* for the worship of *Agastha Muni*. From the central part of the shell buttons are made. The dust which results from sawing the shells into bangles and polishing them is used by *kavirajes* for medicinal purposes. It is first reduced to ashes in closed receptacles and is then administered either alone or in combination with other ingredients as a specific against liver complaints and colic.

8. **Cotton spinning and weaving.**—Cotton weaving is perhaps the most universal home industry. Cotton from Bengal is known in Lancashire and that from Tippera is a recognised kind. Dacca, Nadia and parts of Mymensingh are still famous for their cotton cloths. Amongst the varieties made may be mentioned the expensive *bhiti* and *jamdani* cloths of Dacca, woven from mill-made or imported yarn, and the embroidered *bhiti* cloth of the same district known as *kushida* and exported to Afghanistan, Turkey and Persia for turbans. A type of cotton known locally as *binni-tula* (বিনিতুলা) and in Lancashire as "foxy red Comilla or Tippera" resembles the "red Peruvian" cotton sometimes met with in Liverpool but is of shorter staple. The cotton is prized for its roughness and has a natural reddish colour from which it probably gets its vernacular name. Cloth made from it is valued because of the colour which resembles the ochre coloured garments of religious devotees and does not fade or show dirt. The whole process of making the finished cloth from the raw cotton is described with great clarity in the following extract communicated by Rai Saheb B. C. Ray :—

The apparatus used in India for making thread (তুলা) consists of the spinning wheel (চাক) and *takli* (তাকলী). After the cotton is gathered from the capsules it is carded. The apparatus used for this purpose is like a bow and is known as a *dhun* (ধুন). The string of the bow is placed upon the cotton and made to vibrate by the strokes of a wooden hammer. The vibrations of the elastic cord disentangle the fibres (ফাইব্রা) cleanse them from dirty extraneous matter such as the numerous black seeds, separate the coarse parts and make the cotton fine and soft for spinning. Then the fibres are rolled on a stick and formed into a lap like cylinder, half a cubit long and about half an inch in diameter. The extremity of the lap (লাপ) is fastened to the spindle (স্পিন্ডেল) of the spinning wheel, the wheel is turned and the lap is gently and carefully drawn out with the finger. The fibres are then twisted into a thread and when the thread is about 2 cubits long it is rolled on the spindle. The lap is then again gently drawn out and the wheel is turned as before. In this way when a piece of thread about 300 yards long is prepared it is taken out of the wheel and rolled on a whirling reel called *charki* (চারকী). The quantity of thread thus rolled is called a *skein* or *feti* (ফেটি). Twenty such *fetis* make one bigger coil called a *mora* (মোরা).

The *takli* is worked by fastening the extremity of the lap to the roll of the turning plate, the lap being drawn up and held upward with one hand while with the other, the plot is given a horizontal rotating motion by a twist.

The threads thus prepared are inter-woven into a fabric by a machine called the loom (লুই), the operation being performed in this country at a small cost in the following manner. At first in erecting the loom a rectangular space 5 cubits in length and 3 cubits wide is selected. At the four corners of this space 4 bamboo posts are pitched each about 3 cubits in height. On each side the two posts, 3 cubits apart, are joined by cross-pieces of wood; and this frame supports the working parts which are as follows :—

- (1) The yarn-beam (তুলা জড়ান বরাণ), diameter 5", upon which the warp threads (টানা তুলা) are wound is suspended from the back posts, 5 feet apart, by loops of cord on which it can revolve.
- (2) The cloth beam (কাপড় জড়ান বরাণ), diameter 3", upon which the cloth is wound as the weaving proceeds, rests in the front on two small posts each only half a cubit in height, and having V-shaped notches cut on their tops to hold the beam. These are also pitched close to the front bamboo posts.
- (3) At the centre of the rectangular space on which the frame is erected is dug a small trench, 3 cubits long, 1 cubit broad and 1 cubit deep. The weaver sits in front of the loom and placing his legs within this pit alternately raises one and lowers the other of the two thin bamboo pieces, 1½ cubits each, which compose the treadle (টোপানড়) for working the heddles. The simple

mechanism of the treadles is as follows. A horizontal iron rod is fixed to two pegs 4" high and 6" apart at the nearest side of the bottom of the pit and between the pegs this rod passes through holes at one end of the bamboos acting like a hinge, about which the bamboos can turn. The other ends of the bamboos are joined by strings to the heddles.

The front beam has 4 holes on one side and its rotation can be stopped by wedging into one of these holes a plug about 9" long which is kept tied by a string to a peg on the ground. The beam can be turned when this plug is pulled out. The motion of the yarn-beam is also checked by a forked rod, one of the prongs of the rod being plugged into a similar hole at the end of the beam.

- (4) The length of the warp is determined by the length and number of the cloths, but ordinarily it is about 82 to 83 cubits long so as to yield 8 pieces of cloth each 10 cubits long. The width of each cloth 10 cubits long is about 46 inches. For this width, about 1,500 to 1,600 pairs of threads are required and the warp therefore consists of 1,500 to 1,600 pairs of threads each about 82 cubits long. In preparing this warp, bamboo splinters or thin iron rods each 3 cubits high are posted in pairs about 5 cubits apart so as to make a length of 82 cubits. Two skeins or *jetis* or yarn on two *charkis* are then taken, one in each hand, by a man who walks up and down the entire length. Each of the *charkis* is fitted with a *holpi* (*হোলপি*) or double fork, one of which is fixed to the *charki* axle and the other has a glass ring fitted to it. The end of the thread passes through this ring and as the man walks along, the thread exerts a pull on the *charki* which revolves and uncoils the thread. The man places the pairs of threads alternately on each side of the pairs of posts so that near the posts the warp looks like a net-work. When the desired number of pairs of threads, i.e., 15 to 16 hundred, is stretched a certain number of coloured threads are stretched out for the borders of the cloth; and after the entire length of the warp is thus ready each pair of threads is passed through the reeds (*man*) in the lay (*man*).
- (5) The lay or batten is about 3 to 3½ cubits in length and in it the reed or slay is fitted. The reed consists of a series of parallel slips of split bamboo or flattened iron wires stretched and fitted within the batten. They are 16 to 17 hundred in number and through the openings pass the pairs of threads.

After the pairs of threads are passed through the inter-spaces of the reed the bamboo splinters are drawn out and replaced by leash-rods called *joa* (*জো*). Then the whole warp is wound upon the yarn-beam, the yarn-beam is placed in position in the frame and the end of the warp passing through the reed is drawn and tied tightly to the cloth-beam. Then begins the operation of passing the pairs of threads in the warp through the heddles.

- (6) The heddles are known by the name of *boa* (*বো*). The function of the heddles is to form the shed or passage for the shuttle. They are made of strong twisted threads and consist of two sets of parallel loops (*bo*), each set being in pairs, one above another. The warp threads passing through the reed are separated systematically into two series by them, one of the pair of threads through an interstice of the reed being held within a pair of loops of one of these sets and the other within a similar pair of the other set. Each set of loops is kept vertically stretched by two horizontal bars, one at the bottom and the other at the top between which the pair of loops forms an eye for the reception of the thread within each of them. The two bottom bars are tied to the two treadle rods, each to each, and the two top bars are tied at several places by strings to small pieces of stick, each about 4 inches long, the centres of which are suspended by strings from a piece of bamboo on the top of the frame. Thus when the treadle is worked, the two heddles move vertically in opposite directions, the upper small sticks from which they are suspended having a reciprocating motion like see-saws. These sticks are therefore called *nachnis* (*নাচনী*, viz., "dancers"). This vertically opposite movement of the heddles creates an opening or shed between the separated ranks of the warp-threads through which the shuttle is shot by hand. After each flight of the shuttle when the weft (*man*) is passed through, a swinging batten is drawn and pressed forward and serves to compact the fabric by beating up the weft.
- (7) The shuttle is known as *matu* (*মতু*) and is an implement of iron of the shape of a cigar and hollow within and having pointed ends. Through its centre runs an iron wire which holds the bobbin of thread and which can be taken out and replaced through a slit at the side of the shuttle. The bobbin, *chhata nali* (*ছাতা নালি*), is a thin hollow reed, about 2" long, on which the weft is wound and through which passes an iron wire. The shuttle has eyes through one of which the end of the yarn is led in and passed out through the other. As the shuttle runs through the web, the bobbin revolves and unwinds the weft.

As the cloth is woven, it is wound on the cloth-beam and in order to keep its width always fully stretched a bow with pins at each end, called the "temple" (*man*), is used.

Figured borders of various kinds are made with the help of a jacquards and dobbies. But in a greater number of looms the patterns on the borders are made by the movement of rods over which the border threads pass and which are supported by strings carrying weights over the frame. These rods called *dangis* (*ডাঙ্গি*) are moved by the hand in different order according to the pattern.

Fly shuttle looms have also been introduced and their number is increasing every year. These looms are exactly the same as the hand looms except the batten and the shuttle. The batten is thicker and has recesses at the two ends for the shuttle. The shuttle is a sort of tiny wooden car, tapering at each end, and hollowed out in the middle for holding the bobbin, in the same manner as in the ordinary shuttle. It is driven across by a smart blow imparted by a piece of wood called the picker or driver, *mera* (*মেরা*). There are two such pieces of wood one at each end of the batten and the two are connected by a cord passing over the frame. At the centre of this cord a handle is attached which the weaver holds in his right hand and by pulling each half of the cord with a sudden jerk drives the picker which pushes the shuttle alternately from one end to the other.

9. Dye.—The use of indigenous vegetable dyes is practically extinct in Bengal. In Faridpur a yellow dye was at one time obtained from the flower of the *kusum* tree (*schleicheria trijuga*, Willd), the petals of which were dried and boiled and the solution used for colouring yarn. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts blue dye is still obtained from the indigo plant and a red dye is obtained from the roots of the tree known as *rangach* (*morinda angustifolia*, Roxb.).

The roots are first cut into small pieces and smashed into a pulp. Water into which ashes of tamarind wood have been added and carefully strained away is then added to the pulp and the yarn soaked in it for a night. It is placed three or four times into the solution and before the last dipping is smeared with vegetable oil. In the Chittagong district a chocolate colour is obtained from the bark of a tree which is cut into chips, left in cold water in a cauldron for four or five days and then boiled for at least a day. A quantity of stick lac separately boiled in water is mixed with the decoction of bark. Lime juice and lime are also added and the yarn (generally of silk) is steeped for several hours in the resulting mixture and then dried. The tree used is becoming rare owing to its indiscriminate use as a dye and it has been impossible to identify it, the only name known for it coming through a Bengali transliteration of the Burmese name which is given as *tinyhat*. In Chittagong alum and lemon juice are used to give brilliance to the imported synthetic dyes in which silk yarn is coloured after being boiled with soap, washed in cold water, dried and steeped for 3 to 4 days in cold water. The black colour of hooka shells is in some cases said to be natural; in others it is obtained by burying the shells underground for some days. In some parts it is applied by burning the outer scrapings and applying the ashes or by mustard oil or by a concoction of fried rice powder added to juice extracted from fruit of the *haritaki* tree (*terminalia chebula*, Retz.) dipped in water with a piece of iron and added to *hirakash* (sulphate of iron) and cocconut oil.

10. **Gurh and sugar.**—*Gurh* is made from the juice of the date-palm (*phoenix sylvestris*, Roxb.) as well as from the sugarcane. The juice is boiled in shallow pots until it thickens: it is clarified by addition of soda and of lime and is sometimes cleaned and whitened by being rubbed over as it hardens with the top of a wooden "T" made of two sticks joined together. It is sometimes poured out flat as it begins to harden and cut into *patalis* or cakes. The *gurh* from date-palms and sugarcane is known *khejuri gurh* and *kushari gurh*.

Hazari gurh is made in the Manikganj subdivision of Dacca. It is obtained from the date-palm, the juice of which is obtained overnight in pots with a covering of lime to prevent fermentation. It is then boiled and clarified with milk and with soda, bone-dust or vegetable ashes (e.g., of the water-hyacinth) and formed into balls which are white in colour and much esteemed.

The green fruit or fruit stalks of the palmyra palm (*borassus flabellifer*, Linn.) is tapped in the months of May and June and the juice is boiled to the consistency of jelly. From this sugarcandy (*tal-misri*) and *gurh* (*talpatali*) are made. To make sugarcandy the jelly is put into a pot and threads are allowed to hang into it from bamboo splits: as it cools crystals form like barley sugar which are prescribed by *kabirajes* for coughs. To make *gurh* cakes the jelly is flipped with a wooden ladle flattened at one end and known as *tadu*. This process gives it a consistency like dough and it is then poured into a dish and cut into shape as it cools.

Sugar is made from the *gurh* of both sugarcane and date-palm. The *gurh* is broken into lumps and placed on a sieve through which the liquid (*chita-gurh*) passes away leaving the crystalline portion. Layers of a weed known as *pata-saola* (*villineria spiralis*) are placed on top of the whole and cause the crystals to bleach: as they bleach they are scraped off and dried in the sun and the layers of weed replaced, or they are left for about 10 days for the process to complete itself.

11. **Articles of horn.**—The manufacture of horn combs is reported from Midnapore district. Buffalo horns are sawn into blocks, boiled in water and flattened out. They are shaped by a fine chisel and the teeth are cut by saws. Combs as well as buttons and toys of horn are also made in parts of Dacca district which imports horn from Assam, Barisal, Khulna and other places.

12. **Jute weaving.**—Jute weaving was a hereditary occupation of the Kapali caste but the cloth (*chat*) and bags made by them cannot compete with the hessian and gunny bags made by the mills. The loom used was almost identical with that described for blanket weaving. Rugs or *daris* are made on a similar loom either of jute or jute and cotton in Rangpur and from the same district loosely woven mats known as *fatis* are exported to Bombay and other provinces for packing.

13. **Khar.**—Bark of the plantain tree (*musa sapientum*), dried and burnt to ashes (*khar*), is boiled with water in earthen vessels and the decoction used as a detergent and cleansing agent.

14. **Lac toys.**—There was at one time the manufacture of lac toys in the Birbhum district, but it is said to have died out though some of the old craftsmen still exist and their handicraft is being encouraged at Bolpur.

15. **Lime.**—The preparation of lime from ghooting, i.e., *kankar* or calcareous nodules chiefly composed of calcium carbonate, has been practically supplanted by Sylhet and other kinds of rock lime, and the Baitis whose caste occupation it was are giving it up. It is said to have had the advantage of preventing saline action in buildings where it was used. Lime from shells is still prepared however and is used for consumption with betel and *pan* leaves. The indigenous method is to burn the ghooting or shells in a mud or masonry kiln in which are placed alternate layers of coke and shells, etc. The industry is still carried on in parts of Chittagong district by a class of Muslims.

16. **Mats, baskets, wickerwork.**—Mats are woven of rushes, reeds, strips of bark, etc. From a rush (*Cyperus ligetum*) they are interwoven with a warp formed of threads of jute. Between two pieces of bamboo horizontally pegged to vertical posts at the required distance the threads of jute are passed through a third stick or reed pierced with holes. The rushes are interwoven with the threads and the central stick sliding up and down the warp of jute-string is used to beat up the weft. A similar process is used in the manufacture of mats from a grass known as *malia*, *mola* or *betti* which grows in *bil* areas in Khulna but has not been scientifically identified. The *juncellus inundatus* is also used for mat making. It is known in the vernacular as *patira* and grows wild near the edge of *khals* and in low lands in places like Bakarganj. The reeds are split and the pith carefully removed; the outer fibre is boiled to make it pliant and partly dried in the sun. Strips of it are then woven into mats, which are moistened with a wet cloth and folded without cracking. In Midnapore mats known as *machhlandas* are made similarly from reeds which are steeped in water for 24 hours, stripped, dried in the sun, dyed red and split to the required thinness. These reeds are probably the same as the rush mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph. *Kushashans* are produced similarly from *eragrostis cynosuroides*, Beauv., which is a grass known as *kusha* growing on high land and cut in *Bhadra* and *Aswin*. The grass is bleached for four or five days inside a room and is then spread out, dried and woven. *Typha elephantina*, Roxb., known in the vernacular as *hogla* or *hugla* grows in the Sundarbans areas and is used for mat making and split bamboos (*bambusa* sp.) and cane (*calamus* sp.) as well date-leaves, and a cane, *clinogyne dichotoma*, Salisb., known as *mukta* in Mymensingh, are also used. Bamboo and cane are also used for baskets, winnowing fans, sieves, measure, stools (*moras*) and fishing traps of a bewildering variety and every degree of fineness of workmanship. A kind of sun-hat known as *mathul* (মাথুল) made either of rushes or of a framework of cane or bamboo strips holding together broad leaves is a very characteristic article of equipment in Malda and other parts of the province.

17. **Measuring bowls.**—Birbhum is noted for measuring bowls made from the wood of the jack-fruit tree (*ariocarpus integrifolia*, Linn.) and *sirish* tree (*albizzia lebbeck*, Benth). The logs are seasoned and cut to suitable sizes, placed on a rough lathe and filed into the correct shape. They are then ornamented with brass plates on which designs have been cut with chisels.

18. **Paper making.**—There was at one time a paper making industry in Mymensingh which used a species of grass but this has now died out. Paper is made in Murshidabad, Dacca and also in Chittagong from jute and in some cases also from rags. The jute fibres are steeped with lime in water in a tank for two or three days and are then taken out and dried in the sun. This process is twice repeated and the jute fibres are mashed together in a mortar (*dhenki*). The pulp is then placed in a cane basket in clear water and the lime is removed by constant agitation. A split bamboo sieve is then made to scoop up the pulp which is spread over a cloth or a mat, successive layers of the pulp being added until the desired thickness of paper is obtained. The paper is dried and then placed on wooden boards, sized with the gruel of boiled *atap* rice, polished and, if desired, coloured. In Dacca it is reported that five or six reams of unbleached paper can be prepared from one maund of jute and each ream sells for five to six rupees, but the paper is everywhere reported to be of inferior quality and in Chittagong it is used mainly for making kites and indigenous fire works.

19. **Pottery.**—The village potter is an institution in almost all the villages in Bengal, but his trade is being threatened by the increasing popularity of cheap imported enamel, aluminium and pottery wares. Pottery is made from selected clay mixed with water to a working consistency and in some cases kept for a period under grass. According to the type of vessel being prepared sand and in certain cases paddy husks or jute fibres are mixed with the clay. The vessels are worked on a wheel of primitive design from which after being moulded they are detached with a thread. Large vessels or those of awkward shape are made in more than one part and the portions hammered together. When the vessel has been moulded it is dried sometimes in the sun and sometimes in a cool place before being fired. There was in some parts a reluctance to disclose the composition of the colouring matter applied to the vessels before firing, but where the colour is not determined by the method of firing, it is generally put on in the form of a wash made from coloured earths known as *banak mati* (brown ochre), *geru mati* (red ochreous earth), or *alio mati* (yellow ochre), anhydrous sesquioxides of iron, or sometimes by painting with a decoction of *harital* (orpiment or yellow sulphide of arsenic) or *haridra* (turmeric). Firing is done in a kiln. If ventilation spaces are left in the grass and earth or clay covering the whole heap of pots, when fired the resulting pottery will be brown, whereas closing up all the ventilation holes results in a black colour.

In Noakhali and possibly other districts also an auspicious day is chosen for firing. The potters in some parts believe that different persons have a talent for making different kinds of vessels and confine themselves to those in which they are skilled. They universally observe the month of *Baisakh* as a holiday and celebrate the *Vishwakarma Puja* and the *Astani Puja* in the month of *Aswin*, and in Nadia they are reported to burn the image of *Kali*.

The village potter is generally the craftsman who constructs clay images for workshop and in Nadia ingenious figures of Indian types, etc., as well as clay models of fruits are produced and after firing are covered with paint or varnish. Tiles are also made in some districts; those made in Nadia are one inch thick with a surface 12 inches by 12 inches.

20. **Sati food.**—*Palo* (পালো) is the name of a powder resembling arrowroot and made from the roots of *curcuma zeodaria* which grows wild in Bengal and is known locally in the vernacular as *sati*. The tubers are washed and peeled with a knife, dried in the sun and then either powdered through a grater or mashed in a paddy-husking mortar (*dhenki*) (ঢেঁকী). The powder is mixed in water and strained through a cloth which allows only the finer grains to pass: these are mixed with successive washes of water which are drained away, leaving the powder after each washing whiter and with a less bitter taste. It is considered to be good for diarrhoea and dysentery and for curing worms but it is more expensive than arrowroot and the plant is never cultivated.

21. **Silk spinning and weaving.**—Silk of more than one kind (*endi*, *muga*, *mulberry*, etc.) is reeled, spun and woven in several parts of the province and reports on it were received from all districts of the Burdwan Division except Burdwan and from Murshidabad, Khulna, Malda, Rangpur and Chittagong. The silk made from cocoons through which the pupa has cut a way out is of an inferior quality. For the finest silk the chrysalis is killed before emerging from the cocoon by being suspended in a cotton cloth in the steam above a pan of boiling water. The cocoons are then boiled in water to which soda or cattle urine has been added, and after the correct time, which it is a matter of some importance to estimate as the quality of the yarn is affected by it, they are taken out and reeled. The outer layers of the cocoon are coarser than those within which make the finest thread. The reeling is generally done by the women of the family who moisten the knee with oil, soften the cocoons against it and pick out a thread of silk from each. Four to six are joined together and reeled on to a *latai* (লাটাই) or bobbin. The thread from two bobbins is sized with a concoction of fried paddy and water and re-reeled on another *latai* known as a *narma* (নর্মা). The next process is the twisting of the filatures in the yarn. A series of rods known as *thak* (থাক) are set up in pairs one above the other at intervals along the desired length. At the end furthest from the worker the rod is single and bears a number of wheels or pulleys known as *charki* (চরকী). These give the yarn passage without friction and from them the end rod is known as the *charki thak* (চরকী থাক). The rods nearest the worker are known as the *mul thak* (মূল থাক) and both they and the intermediate rods known as *bangri thak* (বাংরী থাক) are fitted with eyelets (corresponding in number to the *charkis*) below the lower and above the upper rod of each pair. The thread from the *narma* is led through the eyelets below on the bottom *mul thak*, then through those on each intervening *bangri thak* round the *charki* and back through the eyelets in the upper rods. After being brought through the upper eyelets of the *mul thak* the thread is affixed to a *bantul* (বাঁটুল). This is a kind of top made of a lump of clay pierced by a split bamboo about 8 inches long. It is kept revolving to give the filatures composing the yarn a twist. As each length is twisted it is disconnected from the *bantul* and wound again on to a *latai*. It is then ready for weaving. The setting up of the warp is known as *nurilana* (নুড়িলানা) and the loom differs in no appreciable feature from that described for blanket weaving. The weavers have adopted jacquards to obtain patterned borders, but have steadily resisted the introduction of the fly-shuttle loom on the ground that it will spoil the cloth. As each foot or so of cloth is woven it is sized with rice gruel. The finished cloth is wound round a billet of wood (known as the *kol laraj*) and dried for two or three days after which it is sized again, pressed and sold. The silk weavers in Birbhum on the last day of *Bhadra* worship their looms by smearing them with oil and vermilion.

22. **Sola helmets, etc.**—The pith or rather the soft white wood of the *sola* plant (*aschy-nomene aspera*, Linn.) is used for making pith helmets. The plant attains a height of 12 feet and a diameter of 3 inches. The rough integument is peeled off, and the stems are chipped into square sticks about one-eighth of an inch thick, and softened by passing a roller gently over them. The brim of the helmet is made by bending the sticks and pressing them together with flour or rice paste and the crown is made similarly round a frame or mould. The two parts are then pressed together and trimmed with a *katan* or big knife also used to cut the plants. With a somewhat similar *katan* the Malakars who work in *sola* are able to slice away paper-thin continuous strips from a stick of the wood and these are then glued to the inner and outer portion of the skeleton helmet. Toys, decorations, bridal crowns or *topars* (টোপার) and artificial flowers as well as decorations for the *tazias* taken out at the Muharram festival are also made from thin strips of the wood which can be made to take the shape of a mould.

23. **Vegetable oil.**—Vegetable oils are made from *kanchra* or *karanja* (*pongamia glabra*, Vent.), *nim* (*melia azadirachta*, Linn.) and *kusum* (*schleichera trijuga*, Willd.) seeds by the aboriginals in Midnapore. Oil is also extracted from seeds of the *eronda* (*jatropha curcus*, Linn.), *bheronda*, (*ricinus communis*, Linn.) and *royna* (*amara rohituka*). The seeds are dried, crushed and boiled in water; the oil comes to the top, is collected and is again boiled to evaporate the water. In Noakhali the crushed *royna* seeds are placed in spherical baskets of split cane 4-5 inches in diameter with a mouth of about 2 inches wide. Two of these are placed mouth to mouth on a block of wood which is grooved to allow the oil to run away, and the oil is expressed by pressure of a heavy plank above them pivoted to a vertical post. The *royna* oil was believed to be efficacious for the itch, has a bitter taste and is used by *kabirajes* for treatment of spleen diseases. As illuminants these oils have been ousted by cheap kerosine.

APPENDIX II.

A note on industrial disputes and the welfare activities of trade unions in Bengal.

1. **Industrial disputes.**—Since the census was taken the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India has been published. This contains in volume V complete details of industrial organisation in Bengal. Some of the information there given has been brought up to date to cover the period 1921-1930 and is shown in the statements accompanying this note.

2. **Strikes in 1921-1930.**—Statement No. VIII-a shows the number of disputes in each industry with the number of men involved and the number of man-days lost by them. On an average in each year there were 63 strikes, and in the course of them over 146 thousand workers annually lost an average of well over a third of a month's pay. The figures for 1929 are diminished by the fact that the great jute mill strike of that year counts as one only although it involved a very large number of mills and a larger number of workers than any before.

STATEMENT No. VIII-a—Industrial disputes in Bengal during 1921-1930 by industries and extent.

Year.	Number of disputes.									Number of men involved.	Number of man-days lost.
	All industries.	Jute mills and presses.	Cotton mills.	Trans- port.	Other fac- tories.	Con- servancy.	Cargo hand- ling coolies.	Miscel- laneous.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Total 1921-1930	625	244	39	60	140	48	43	54	1,462,763	17,081,726	
Annual average 1921-1930	62.5	24.4	3.9	6.0	14.0	4.8	4.3	5.4	146,276.3	1,708,172.6	
1921	150	44	8	27	46	5	8	12	254,082	2,900,258	
1922	93	41	1	9	14	1	14	13	198,702	1,803,750	
1923	87	33	1	1	12	4	9	7	187,520	1,247,569	
1924	55	22	10	1	8	10	2	2	90,881	925,582	
1925	44	16	1	6	8	3	4	6	60,344	517,549	
1926	57	34	3	1	7	7	2	3	150,670	822,255	
1927	33	15	2	3	6	2	..	5	60,674	802,239	
1928	58	19	5	8	12	12	..	2	123,275	3,916,057	
1929	36	12	6	..	14	..	1	2	324,528	8,485,385	
1930	33	8	2	4	13	1	3	2	61,198	571,057	

3. **Duration of strikes and number of men involved.**—Statement No. VIII-b shows industrial disputes classified by their duration and the number of men involved. Disputes are most frequent in which 100-1,000 or 1,000-10,000 men are involved, and in which the duration of the dispute costs the labourers 100 to 1,000 or 1,000 to 10,000 days' pay.

STATEMENT No. VIII-b—Industrial disputes in Bengal during 1921-1930 classified by duration and number of men involved.

Year.	Total number of strikes.	Number of strikes in which the duration in man-days was					Number of strikes in which the number of men involved was			
		10-99.	100-999.	1,000-9,999.	10,000-99,999.	1,000,000 & upwards.	10-99.	100-999.	1,000-9,999.	10,000 & upwards.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total 1921-1930	623	51	191	193	156	27	110	254	239	20
Annual average 1921-1930	62.3	5.1	19.1	19.3	15.6	2.7	11.0	25.4	23.9	2.0
1921	148*	9	31	65	45	8	19	50	75	5
1922	93	8	20	32	29	4	14	36	38	5
1923	87	5	26	20	18	3	10	31	25	1
1924	56	3	24	19	8	1	6	30	17	2
1925	44	6	15	13	9	1	12	17	15	..
1926	57	6	15	16	19	1	7	19	31	..
1927	33	4	13	7	8	1	11	12	9	1
1928	58	7	22	9	15	5	16	24	15	3
1929	35	1	13	12	7	2	8	18	10	1
1930	33	2	12	15	8	1	8	19	4	2

*The number does not include two disputes of 1921, the figures for which are not available.

4. **Causes of strikes and nature of settlement.**—Statement No. VIII-c showing the causes of strikes and the nature of the settlement reached illustrates clearly the evident frivolity of many disputes. The workers were content to return on their employers' terms in 60 per cent. of the cases and without any decision on their demands in a further 15 per cent. They secured their demands only in 12 and a part of their demands in 13 per cent.

STATEMENT No. VIII-c—Causes of strikes and nature of settlement.

Year.	Number of strikes in which									
	the demands concerned					the result was				
	Pay.	Bonus.	Personnel.	Leave and hours.	Other.	Success.	Partial success.	Failure.	Indefinite.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Total 1921-1930	300	12	128	35	150	77	82	375	81	
Annual average 1921-1930	30	1.2	12.8	3.5	15	7.7	8.2	37.5	8.1	
1921	74	3	32	1	40	11	37	79	23	
1922	43	1	15	2	32	14	14	58	12	
1923	23	..	17	9	18	8	8	50	6	
1924	27	1	10	6	12	8	8	80	9	
1925	30	3	9	..	12	6	1	31	7	
1926	26	3	7	..	11	6	1	39	11	
1927	18	..	5	3	7	4	1	23	5	
1928	35	1	12	1	9	6	9	33	10	
1929	19	..	8	1	7	9	8	14	4	
1930	16	..	13	2	2	6	..	28	4	

5. **Strikes in jute mills.**—Statement No. VIII-d shows the number of strikes and days lost by them in jute mills: these are a portion only of the mills and presses shown in state-

STATEMENT No. VIII-d—Number of strikes in jute spinning and weaving mills, 1921-30, with men involved and loss of working days.

Year.	Number of strikes.	Number of men involved.	Number of man-days lost.
Total 1921 to 1930	215	1,046,818	9,337,529
Average 1921-30	21.5	104,681.8	933,752.9
1921	39	186,476	706,229
1922	40	178,967	1,079,827
1923	29	90,664	644,804
1924	13	69,488	346,766
1925	14	44,940	242,906
1926	29	88,042	794,384
1927	9	34,900	218,009
1928	18	56,524	1,508,708
1929*	11	313,089	3,345,007
1930	8	38,756	451,048

*The figures include those of the strikes dealt with in the cuts. The strikes have been counted as one dispute.

conducted by Government at the instance of the Government of India in 1927, referred to in Volume V, Part I, of the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. Some information on the subject, however, is available from returns submitted by registered trade unions as a part of their statutory obligations. In these returns trade unions are required to specify, among other items of expenditure from the general funds, besides those relating to cost of management and normal trade union administration, the money spent on the payment of benefits to members under two broad heads, viz., (i) Funeral, Old Age, Sickness, Unemployment Benefits, etc., and (ii) Educational, Social and Religious Benefits. It is worthy of note that a promise for the provision of benefits of the kinds enumerated above is fairly general in the rules of trade unions registered up to date, but that nowhere is it accompanied by definite schemes. In a very few instances special authority has been given to the executives by rules to make grants at discretion. The result is that although small sums of money are spent by a union here or a union there as benefits to individual members, no serious attempt is made to secure collective welfare by any comprehensive social programme.

This is borne out by the figures in the statement VIII-e below. The statement refers to 21 trade unions which submitted returns for the year 1930-1931 and indicates some of their avowed objects which relate to welfare activities, and the amount spent on them during that year. Of these 21 trade unions only 8 with an aggregate of 27,071 members spent a total sum of about Rs. 1,475 under the heads indicated above. This sum includes about Rs. 733, stated to have been paid by one of the unions to its members as "Legal Benefits"—a vague item of expenditure, not included in the statutory heads of return.

STATEMENT No. VIII-e—Expenditure of trade unions on welfare work, 1930-1931.

Trade Union.	Objects relating to welfare work.	Amount spent in 1930-1931.
1. A.	1. "to organise and establish separate funds for the benefit of members or their dependents in case of unemployment, illness, accident or death." 2. "to establish clubs, reading rooms, schools for the children of workers, co-operative stores and recreation grounds, etc."	Educational, social and religious benefit—Rs. 34-8-0.
2. B.	1. "to adopt measures to provide allowances to members or their dependents on account of employment, sickness or accidents." 2. "to establish provident funds, co-operative stores and credit societies, mutual benefit funds, etc."	Unemployment benefit—Rs. 28-8-0.
3. C.	1. "to endeavour to provide against sickness, unemployment, infirmity, old age, and death of members." 2. "to provide schemes of benefits, insurance, provident fund, loan society, co-operative stores, medical relief, etc."	NIL.
4. D.	1. "to organise and establish separate funds for the benefit of members or their dependents in case of sickness, accident, death, non-employment, old age, funeral and other purposes, etc."	NIL.
5. E.	1. "to organise and establish separate funds for the benefit of members or their dependents in cases of unemployment, illness, accident, etc." 2. "to establish clubs, reading rooms, co-operative stores, workshops or training schools, etc., for the benefit of members and their families."	(A scheme of Death Benefit is said to be under consideration.) (It is understood that a scheme of Death Benefit is carried out by a body of the workers independently of the trade union and its funds.)
6. F.	1. "to provide funds for the relief of members when out of employment." 2. "to organise and establish separate funds for the relief of members or their dependents in cases of death, old age, sickness, accidents and other calamities of such members, and for the payment of expenses of funeral and other religious ceremonies of deceased members."	NIL.
7. G.	1. (Similar to item 3 above)	.. Education, social and religious benefits—Rs. 106.
8. H.	1. "to provide funds to help members or their dependents on account of death, old age, sickness, accidents or unemployment of such members." 2. "to introduce and spread general education among members and to educate them in navigation and seamanship." 3. "to make provision for educational, social, religious benefits of members, or their dependents, including funeral expenses and expenses arising from religious ceremonies for deceased members. (There are rules empowering the executive to grant allowances under certain conditions; but no definite schemes are laid down.)"	Funeral, old age, sickness, unemployment benefits, etc.—Rs. 54-8-0.
9. I.	1. "to endeavour to provide against sickness, unemployment, maternity, infirmity, old age and death of members. Also to open co-operative guilds, clubs, journals, reading rooms, libraries, and night classes, and to organise lectures and other demonstrations."	NIL.
10. J.	1. "to render assistance to members during their unemployment, disablement and distress." 2. "to establish provident funds, co-operative credit societies, mutual benefit funds, co-operative stores, and other organisations for the benefit of the members."	NIL. Cost of a social gathering—Rs. 16.

Trade Union.	Objects relating to welfare work.	Amount spent in 1930-1931.
11. K.	1. "to endeavour to provide against unemployment, sickness, infirmity, superannuation and death of members."	Funeral, old age, sickness, unemployment benefits, etc.—Rs. 86-4-0.
12. L.	1. "to make provision for members during periods of unemployment, sickness and old age." 2. "to establish libraries, schools and such other institutions for the promotion of education among members and their children."	Funeral, old age, sickness, unemployment benefits, etc.—Rs. 122-8-0.
13. M.	1. Ruled that funds may be spent on objects as specified under section 15 of the Indian Trade Unions Act.	Funeral, old age, sickness, unemployment benefits, etc.—Rs. 11-8-0.
14. N.	1. "the relief of members when in distressed circumstances, or when unemployed." 2. "to furnish training in the art of motor driving."	Unemployment benefit—annas 10.
15. O.	1. "to organise and establish separate funds for the benefit of members or their dependents in cases of sickness or death, accident, non-employment and old age of such members." 2. "to promote and foster fellow-feeling, provident habits and thrift among members by organising, establishing and managing co-operative stores, sanatorium, gymnasia, amusements and excursion parties."	NIL.
16. P.	1. "to organise and establish separate funds for the benefit of members or their dependents in cases of sickness, accident or death, non-employment and old age, and for funeral and other purposes declared lawful under the Act." 2. "to train or educate members by establishing and managing voluntary organisations for carrying on works of philanthropy or public utility, by organising lectures on sanitation, water-supply, milk and food supply, by establishing library or libraries and reading rooms, etc." 3. "to promote and foster fellow-feeling, provident habits and thrift among members by organising, establishing and managing co-operative stores, tiffin rooms, dairies, sanatoriums, sports, gymnasia, amusements, excursion parties, theatres and social gatherings."	NIL. (There appears to be a library with books and periodicals worth Rs. 467-4 as stated in the Return.) Spent on social gathering—Rs. 81-3-0.
17. Q.	1. Nothing in particular	.. NIL.
18. R.	1. Aims at generally improving the normal and physical condition of members and developing a spirit of mutual help by raising benefit funds. 2. Authorises the executive to formulate, whenever thought desirable, schemes of benefit on special lines.	NIL.
19. S.	1. Nothing in particular	.. NIL.
20. T.	1. "to provide funds to help members in distress, disease and unemployment" 2. "to provide training in the art of seamanship and navigation." 3. "to start unemployment insurance." 4. "to start a boarding house for the dwelling of members free of charge."	Funeral, old age, sickness, unemployment benefits, etc. (including legal benefits—Rs. 732-15)—Rs. 1,005-9-9.
21. U.	1. "to render assistance during unemployment, disablement and distress." 2. "to establish co-operative institutions and mutual benefit funds."	NIL.

APPENDIX III.

A note on the conditions of rural trade.

1. **Method of enquiry.**—In the report for 1921 a short account was given of the conditions of rural trade. On this occasion an effort was made to supplement the information there given. The enquiry was conducted through the district officers. Circle officers were asked to select a typical market in each rural police-station in their circles and to record particulars of its size, the area it served, the population of that area, the conditions of credit, and the main articles sold with an estimate of the average annual sale. Returns were received from every district except Noakhali and Bogra, and numbered 336 in all. Most came from East Bengal but 68 were received from Burdwan which contributed the smallest number and there are probably enough to justify conclusions of a very general character. The returns were distinguished according to the number of permanent shops in the market to which they referred. Those with less than 20 shops were treated as "small"; those with 21-50 as "medium" and those with 51 or more as "large". This distinction was maintained throughout subsequent operations when they were sorted by divisions.

2. **Size of rural markets.**—Almost exactly half the markets have no more than 20 shops and more than three quarters have 50 or less. In the different geographical divisions of the province the average numbers vary from 28 in West to 66 in East Bengal. The medium figures differ very much less. They represent the size of markets than which in each division there are an equal number with more and with less permanent shops. The variations are analogous to those of the averages but range only from 14 in West to 39 in East Bengal. There is practically no variation at all in the mode which represents the number of permanent shops in the largest number of markets and varies only between 7 and 9. The greatest part of the trade of rural Bengal is done in markets which are almost entirely deserted except on market days and in some

STATEMENT No. VIII-f.
Average number of permanent shops with median and mode.

Division of Bengal.	Average.	Median.	Mode.
West	28	14	8
Central	41	23	8
North	34	17	7
East	66	39	9

parts of East Bengal where rivers are the natural roadways a considerable part of the goods for sale never leaves the boats which bring them to the market and serve as stalls for their sale.

3. **Area served.**—In 1921 it was calculated that each market in the plains served an average area of 10.4 miles. The material obtained by this enquiry yields a rather different figure owing to the fact that the areas served by different markets overlap considerably and what has been estimated here is the total area from which each draws its custom irrespective of the existence of other markets within the same radius. The figures obtained from the returns are shown in statement VIII-g. The areas served by the smaller markets have a radius of between 2½ miles to 3½ miles. The larger markets attract purchasers from a radius of between 4½ miles to 6 miles. The figures are certainly not an exaggeration and the cultivator has generally no hesitation in starting off to walk quite as far as 6 miles for his weekly or bi-weekly visit to the *hat*.

STATEMENT No. VIII-g.
Average area served by markets (in square miles).

Division of Bengal.	Average.	Small markets.	Medium markets.	Large markets.
West	31	30	17	72
Central	30	19	29	59
North	57	39	64	106
East	49	22	49	69

4. **Population reached by the typical rural market.**—Estimates of the population served by each type of market naturally lay claim to no great accuracy but there are sufficient returns to

STATEMENT No. VIII-h.
Average population served by markets (in thousands).

Division of Bengal.	Average.	Small markets.	Medium markets.	Large markets.
West	12.8	8.5	11.7	40.9
Central	16.0	8.5	18.8	27.8
North	20.8	13.6	17.9	52.7
East	24.7	14.8	13.9	38.8

justify a hope that the grossest errors of estimation will have cancelled one another out. The figures are given in the marginal statement No. VIII-h and do not profess to represent the number likely to attend each market or even the families of those who attend them but the total population of the area from which any proportion of the population visits the market. If the same proportion amongst the population are males aged 15 and over as are found in the total population of Bengal, these figures would suggest as potential visitors males above 15 years old numbering on the average from about 4.8 to 9.2 thousands. These are not the only visitors to markets, nor can it be assumed that each visits the market once or twice a week since there will be other markets also handy for persons within the total area served by any one, but there is no doubt that many thousands of persons attend the average *hat* which is of any size whenever it is held and the population estimates here given are by no means wildly improbable.

5. **Class of trader.**—As is to be expected when permanent shops are so rare trade is almost entirely concentrated in the hands of small shop-keepers. The returns contained an estimate for each market of the percentage of trade dealt with by small dealers, local branches of big firms and traders who were merely agents of big firms. The results are given in statement No. VIII-i: Only in the Rajshahi Division was any considerable portion of the trade found to be handled by any but small dealers. Here conditions are somewhat different from those elsewhere and particularly in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts comparatively large shops are to be found which are branches of firms established in Bihar and Orissa or the United Pro-

STATEMENT No. VIII-L

Estimated percentage of the trade dealt with by small shop-keepers.

Division of Bengal.	Small markets.	Medium markets.	Large markets.
West	98	99	87
Central	95	85	98
North	89	78	46
East	97	98	92

vinces. Small dealers naturally handle most of the trade where the number of permanent shops is small.

6. **Cash and credit : regulation of prices.**—Both the wholesaler from whom the shop-keeper buys and the shop-keeper himself allows their clients considerable credit. It is only in a minority of cases and principally in the smallest markets, that the retailer is expected to pay cash for his stock. Generally credit is allowed, sometimes with a provision that a part of the cost shall be paid for in cash. It is not unusual for no interest to be charged : in these cases the price of the goods is written up. In other cases a period of grace is allowed within which the payment may be made without charge of interest. The rates vary from about 6½ to as much as 25 per cent. per annum. The retailer passes on to the purchaser the advantages of credit which he receives. In a very few cases only is cash payment universally insisted upon. The purchasers are known and are sometimes allowed indefinite credit, which is generally limited however to about a month. The rates of interest for these concessions vary considerably from about 5 per cent. in some cases to as much as 37 or 38 per cent. per annum. Articles locally produced have sometimes a customary price unaffected by economic conditions like the cost of production or supply and demand : the price of such things as milk and vegetables, for instance, will often be regulated in this way. Dealers are said in some cases to combine in order to maintain prices at an "artificial" level but in general prices are regulated by competition and the operation of supply and demand.

7. **Some of the items principally sold.**—From the returns showing the articles mainly sold and the annual quantities put into circulation it has not been possible to compile any comprehensive particulars, but some points of interest emerge. Items like umbrellas, shoes, hurricane lamps, coats and shirts, looking glasses, scent, soaps and mosquito curtains are sold in sufficient quantities to have been noted as amongst the principal articles traded. The details given suggest that a new umbrella is sold yearly to anything from one in 5 to one in 80 of the population of the area dealt with by each market. Shoes seem to be even more popular, and apparently from one in 4 to one in 60 of the population buys a new pair annually. In some parts it is estimated that a hurricane lamp is sold each year to as many as one in 4 of the population and the smallest estimate of sales would give one to every 100. If we assume that roughly in the area dealt with by each market on the average there is also one other market, that the cultivator (who is the person principally concerned in this enquiry) makes his umbrellas and shoes last him two years and that the purchasers annually number on an average one in 20 of the total population it can be calculated that on an average something like one person in five in rural areas has an umbrella and a pair of shoes. The majority of the population is either women or small children who are generally not allowed either of these luxuries and amongst adult males their use is consequently even more general than is suggested by this figure. On a similar calculation and assuming an average family of no more than four, taking the lowest figure returned (one in 60) it is probably not an overestimate to deduce that on an average one family in fifteen buys a new hurricane lamp every year ; and if they last five years there is one to every three families in rural Bengal. Even electric flash lights are sold in sufficient quantities to be mentioned as one of the principal articles of trade. It is safe to say that the sale of all these articles indicates a rise in the standard of living since thirty or even twenty years ago.

8. **Origin of principal articles mentioned.**—The small trader with whom the main part of the trade lies in general handles the majority of all the articles mentioned and none is apparently a monopoly of larger concerns. Pottery is almost always of local make and practically none but Indian scents, soaps and papers are to be found in the local markets. Indian goods are in fact in each case most popular except for hurricane lamps which come principally from Central Europe and Japan with some few from the United States of America. After India Japan supplies the majority of the umbrellas, shoes, looking glasses, etc., and many of the umbrellas described as of Indian make have frames and covers of Japanese or other origin which are merely assembled locally. For his food the cultivator relies almost entirely upon local production, but the remotest village contains articles in daily use in the cultivator's home which have come from Europe or Japan or even further afield.

CHAPTER IX

Literacy

319. **The statistics presented.**—The statistics of literacy are contained in imperial table XIII and for selected groups in imperial table XIV. Subsidiary tables printed after this chapter show—

- I—literacy ratios by religion, age and sex ;
- II—literacy ratios by locality, age and sex ;
- III—literacy ratios by locality, religion and sex ;
- IV—English literacy ratios by locality, age and sex, 1931, and by locality and sex, 1891 to 1921 ;
- V—ratios of literacy and English literacy by sexes in selected castes and other groups, 1921-1931 ;
- VI—literacy ratios by locality and sex at successive enumerations from 1881 to 1931 ;
- VII—numbers of each sex literate in any language and in English at age-groups to the nearest birthday adopting the groups 7 to 13, 14 to 16, 17 to 23 and 24 and over ;
- VIII—the number of educational institutions and pupils according to the returns of the Education Department ; and
- IX—literacy by the same age-groups as are given in subsidiary table VII of Indian and some other Asiatic Christians by race, tribe or province and sex.

320. **Origin of the figures.**—Returns were obtained from columns 16 and 17 of the general schedule. The instructions issued for filling in these columns were as follows:—

“ Column 16 (Languages in which literate).—Enter against all persons the name of all current languages which they can both read and write. In the case of persons who cannot read and write any language this column will be blank. Where Hindustani is the spoken language enter ‘Urdu’ or ‘Hindi’ according to the script in which the language is written.

Column 17 (Literacy in English).—Enter the word ‘literate’ against all persons shown as literate who can both read and write English. The column will be blank for those who cannot.”

It was laid down that persons should not be entered as literate unless they could write a letter to a friend and read the reply and it was directed that persons claiming literacy should be carefully questioned before the schedule was filled up. Where there was no entry in column 16 the person was assumed to be illiterate. It was originally intended to take advantage of the return of language of literacy for the compilation of additional statistics but the necessity for economy prevented such an elaboration. Statistics of literacy by languages, however, were prepared for each police-station and census town in Midnapore for the Orissa Boundary Commission.

321. **Are the figures accurate ?**—The significant feature of the literacy returns on the present occasion is that although the proportions literate have increased amongst females and in the total population of both sexes, they show a slight decline amongst males. The figures given in subsidiary table VIII show that there has been during the decade a considerable increase in the number both of educational institutions and of scholars attending them. It is true that there has been a falling off in the numbers undergoing university and collegiate education but the census standard of literacy is acquired long before this stage is reached and in every stage below it a very considerable increase in the number of scholars reading in schools is shown between 1921 and 1931. An increase in the literacy proportion in both sexes and in each sex was confidently anticipated and the fact that

expectations have been falsified will lead to some hesitation in accepting the figures for literacy. The possible causes which may have operated to result in a deficiency in the figures shown may be divided into two classes. It is necessary to consider first whether the returns actually made by the population are likely to be incorrect or rather to contain elements of inaccuracy not present in presumably the same degree in previous years and secondly whether the method of presenting the figures has introduced any variation likely to result in a reduction of the numbers included as literate.

322. **Possible errors in the returns.**—Amongst the total population there is a considerable number whose education extends only as far as ability to sign their name and since some degree of pride generally accompanies this accomplishment, there is also a danger that persons possessing it will return themselves as literate. During enumeration proceedings emphasis was laid upon this point and directions were circulated that such persons were not to be entered as literate. In any case, however, the tendency exists in equal strength at every enumeration and is not likely on the present occasion to have varied greatly in its intensity, though it is of course possible to hope that the elimination of such persons has been more successfully effected and the accuracy of the returns increased on the present occasion. It is not likely that persons actually illiterate will to any extent claim literacy out of a feeling of shame at their lack of education. There was no change in the standard of literacy. The prescription which will be noted later for a return of those who have reached the primary standard is not likely to have caused any enumerator to apply in general a more rigid test of literacy. The consideration which might have introduced errors into the returns is communal partisanship amongst the enumerators. Both Hindus and Muslims alleged that enumerators of the other community were concealing literates of a faith different from their own and fictitiously exaggerating the number of literates in their own community. Most of these allegations were vague and impossible of investigation, but such as were scrutinised proved generally to be unfounded and in any case if the allegations had been true and made with a sense of responsibility it may be taken that the instances of omission and fictitious entry in each religion would have balanced and left no appreciable effect on the figures. A reference has already been made to the fact that in one part of Mymensingh, the Iswarganj police-station, grounds were discovered for believing that during slip-copying a number of Muslim literates had been suppressed and a number of fictitious Hindu literates had been invented by the slip-copyists. The total change which would be necessitated as a result of this discovery is to reduce by 15 and 5, respectively, the number of Hindu males literate and literate in English and to increase by 10 and 3, respectively, the number of Muslim males literate and literate in English. This was the only instance in which any similar state of affairs was discovered and the numbers concerned were altogether too small to have any effect upon the total literacy ratios. Political considerations of a communal nature might indeed have prompted persons to return themselves as literate from an apprehension that the importance of their community in the reformed constitution would depend upon the numbers of literates. The same considerations, however, were operative at the census of 1921. On the present occasion one vernacular paper actually exhorted its readers to see that no literate person was omitted from enumeration and explained that all persons male or female of whatever age should be returned as literate if they were able to read the "Qur'an", that is, to say it by rote. This would certainly have inflated the number of literates by the inclusion of persons not actually literate in some cases, but there is no ground to believe that any such result has actually been effected and the increase in Muslim literacy is quite satisfactorily accounted for by the impetus given to Muslim education during the past decade, since there are for instance now well over four times as many Muslim boys as eight years ago who are reading in standards of the schools higher than those at which literacy in the census meaning is acquired. On the whole there do not appear to be sound grounds for any assumption that the returns of literacy actually made on the present occasion were to any marked degree

less accurate than those on previous occasions, and such differences as might conceivably have occurred would tend in the direction of a diminution in the total numbers literate.

223. **Effect of the method of composing age-groups.**—On the other hand, the method of obtaining statistics by age-groups was the same as that adopted for ascertaining the total numbers at age-groups in each sex. It has already been pointed out that the conversion of sorters' age-groups to the quinary age-groups shown results in the allocation to a lower age-group in each case of a certain number who upon the grouping adopted in 1921 and on the previous occasions would have been included in the next higher group. As far as the total population is concerned, this change results in increased accuracy in the figures in each age-group, but it has already been pointed out in chapter VI that, when other factors are concerned in addition to the variation to the population at any ageperiod caused by the mortality about

STATEMENT No. IX-1.

Numbers of each sex in each principal religion aged 4-6 and returned as literates but treated as illiterates for the purpose of imperial table XIII.

Division, district or state.	All religions.		Muallm.		Hindu.		Tribal.		Buddhist.		Christian.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Fe- male.	Male.	Fe- male.	Male.	Fe- male.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	23,189	10,977	9,074	4,633	13,489	5,818	32	7	71	82	469	420
Burdwan Division	5,504	1,684	573	181	4,241	1,445	8	..	1	..	78	64
Burdwan	577	181	106	28	452	133	..	..	..	..	18	18
Birbhum	118	35	32	12	80	20	1	..	..	..	4	2
Bankura	228	34	23	2	203	31	..	..	..	..	2	1
Midnapore	2,781	647	163	39	2,588	582	5	..	..	..	24	25
Hooghly	557	238	67	28	490	210	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah	1,243	559	182	72	1,028	469	..	..	1	..	30	18
Presidency Division	5,364	2,680	1,129	512	3,909	2,019	1	..	4	7	281	284
24-Parganas	1,133	456	236	77	800	352	..	..	..	..	37	25
Calcutta	2,115	1,010	231	144	1,605	1,175	1	..	4	7	236	248
Nadia	383	222	122	80	257	184	..	..	..	..	4	4
Murshidabad	271	150	100	61	169	95	..	..	..	..	..	2
Jessore	655	215	171	88	484	128	..	..	..	..	..	1
Khulna	307	198	269	94	534	130	..	..	..	..	4	4
Rajshahi Division	2,021	920	1,111	514	886	369	5	3	10	8	39	23
Rajshahi	549	179	429	115	117	64	..	..	1	..	1	..
Dinajpur	328	126	173	63	148	54	1	2	..	..	6	5
Jaipalguri	136	76	47	29	79	33	8	..	1	1	2	3
Darjeeling	87	42	10	..	53	29	..	..	8	8	15	5
Rangpur	384	197	200	83	178	105	..	..	..	..	4	9
Bogra	235	197	183	179	49	16	1	1	..	..	2	1
Fabna	161	73	50	26	110	47	..	..	..	..	..	..
Malda	141	30	19	9	122	21	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca Division	8,084	4,249	5,012	2,833	2,974	1,363	17	3	16	16	64	36
Dacca	2,447	1,654	1,580	1,182	847	447	..	..	..	1	20	24
Mymensingh	2,957	1,411	2,071	999	842	405	10	8	..	..	33	4
Fariapur	1,390	675	723	429	655	244	7	..	1	..	4	2
Bakarganj	1,290	509	638	223	630	267	..	..	15	14	7	5
Chittagong Division	2,119	1,222	1,220	578	840	607	3	1	40	21	15	13
Tippora	599	334	328	264	273	68	..	..	2	..	1	2
Noakhali	913	558	616	154	208	408	..	..	..	..	1	1
Chittagong	598	326	280	160	269	134	3	1	82	20	13	10
Chittagong Hill Tracts	9	4	1	..	2	2	..	..	6	1	..	..
Bengal States	97	32	29	15	68	16	..	..	..	..	..	1
Cooch Behar	61	25	19	15	42	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tripura	36	7	10	..	26	6	..	..	..	..	..	1

that period such a distribution cannot be made with the same confidence. It may, for instance, be assumed with reasonable certainty that if a person has not acquired literacy by the age of 40 he will not acquire it during the rest of his life. By that age, therefore, all who are going to be literate have already become literate and unless an assumption is made that literacy conveys an enhanced survival value literates and illiterates alike will be subjected to the same decrement by mortality in successive ages. At the age-group 44-46, for instance, it will be expected that literates and illiterates would both show the same proportionate distribution amongst twelve-monthly or six-monthly age periods included in the group. At this age and generally at the older ages a distribution of sorters' groups according to the formula used for converting them in the case of the total population would probably introduce no errors but rather would result in increased accuracy in the group figures. At the earlier ages, however, such an assumption will not hold. Amongst those for instance returning themselves as literate and placed in the group 4-6 years it is a practical certainty that a very much larger proportion are actually aged 5 to 6 than 3½ to 4½. By dividing the age-group 4-6 in such a way that one-half only are retained as being aged 5-10 and one-half are left out of

account altogether in estimating the total literates on the assumption that they are under 5 years old and that literacy claimed under 5 years of age is not genuine, the number of literates aged 5-10 is to some extent understated for a number of persons who ought to be included are amongst those erroneously presumed to be under 5 and consequently disregarded. At any age up to which the acquisition of literacy proceeds a similar result will be achieved for it will be a reasonable assumption that amongst literates in any sorters' group to be divided there is a larger number in the upper than in the lower half and that a division of the sorters' groups in equal parts between two adjacent quinary groups will lead to a reduction in the numbers which

STATEMENT No. IX-2(a).

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex aged 5 and over obtained by treating as aged 5 and over all persons shown in statement No. IX-1.

Division, district or state.	All religions.		Muslim.		Hindu.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BENGAL ..	181	33	116	18	260	50
Burdwan Division ..	253	38	103	24	270	38
Burdwan ..	210	30	182	19	221	31
Birbhum ..	150	13	119	9	175	14
Bankura ..	185	12	172	10	194	12
Midnapore ..	314	35	224	21	330	30
Hooghly ..	259	47	243	36	204	49
Howrah ..	305	89	215	43	327	98
Presidency Division ..	206	52	110	14	277	80
24 Parganas ..	208	32	145	14	242	40
Calcutta ..	479	338	374	142	506	359
Nadia ..	108	27	53	6	197	57
Murshidabad ..	108	18	62	7	167	33
Jessore ..	128	21	75	8	215	41
Khulna ..	169	24	118	11	219	36
Rajshahi Division ..	125	16	113	12	148	23
Rajshahi ..	128	22	107	14	201	48
Dinajpur ..	130	11	158	10	109	13
Jalpaiguri ..	92	13	134	20	82	11
Darjeeling ..	212	23	291	49	206	18
Rangpur ..	120	12	99	7	167	22
Bogra ..	192	25	180	23	246	51
Pabna ..	117	21	72	13	266	48
Malda ..	69	7	56	4	90	12
Dacca Division ..	164	38	105	23	303	64
Dacca ..	170	47	110	31	288	76
Mymensingh ..	120	31	87	23	220	54
Faridpur ..	150	30	84	23	207	43
Bakarganj ..	245	38	148	17	484	85
Chittagong Division ..	183	24	124	15	378	51
Tippera ..	165	15	78	11	430	29
Nonkhali ..	232	32	202	15	332	92
Chittagong ..	183	31	130	23	339	59
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	86	6	104	67	175	10
Bengal States ..	104	11	74	6	110	13
Cooch Behar ..	132	14	100	8	148	18
Tripura ..	60	5	23	2	75	7

ought to be ascribed to the upper group. What has actually happened, therefore, in compiling the literacy figures on the present occasion is that a two-fold dislocation has taken place. In the first place the actual number of literates has been reduced by the exclusion of persons actually 5 years and older, who ought to have been included but were excluded because they have fallen in the sorters' group 4-6 in which one-half were presumed to be under the age at which returns of literacy were considered to be genuine. In the second place there must have been in all groups containing ages up to which literacy is progressively acquired a diminution of the actual numbers by the exclusion of a number who ought to have been included but have been allocated to a different group upon division of the sorters' group in which the age falls. The net effect of these forces in each age-group is difficult to estimate because, for instance, in the age-group 10-15 although a number who should have been included have been lost by transfer to the age-group 5-10, the loss has been compensated by the inclusion of a number taken from the age-group 14-16 in which it is reasonable to assume that those aged 15-16 were more numerous than those aged 13½ to 14½. What can be taken as reasonably certain, however, is that the figures on the present occasion exclude a number who would have been included in previous years and therefore the ratios tend to be smaller than they would have been if the same method of grouping ages had been adopted in 1931 as in 1921. In statement No. IX-1 on prepage the numbers of those persons who fell into the sorters' group 4-6 but were excluded from the total literates on the ground that they were aged less than 5 are given by localities for each sex in each of the main religions. It would probably be a more accurate assumption that the numbers aged 4-5 amongst this group of literates are actually negligible and that all those returned as literate aged 4-6 may be safely taken as aged 5 and over. If the total figures of literates are increased to include all persons returned as aged 4-6 the literacy ratios will to some extent increase and an additional statement No. IX-2(a) is given above to show what the proportions would be in these circumstances.

324. **Support for the conclusion that the statistics are under-estimates.**—Certain features of the returns suggest that the arguments deduced above are correct. For instance, it is significant that amongst the groups for which figures of literacy have been separately compiled it is in general the higher and admittedly more literate castes amongst whom there appears to have been a reduction of the proportions literate. General expectation would not suggest that during the past decade there has been any falling off in literacy amongst the middle and higher classes. It is true that economic distress has been prevalent to some extent and may have discouraged parents from sending their children to school. It is also true that education is looked upon in Bengal as being entirely or almost entirely a means to the acquirement of a position which will provide a living in later life, and that the increasing number of educated persons who find themselves unable on the strength of their education to obtain any employment may have accentuated the effect of economic distress and reduced the extent to which advantage is taken of educational facilities amongst the middle and upper classes. It is finally true that some of the higher castes have shown increases in numbers which suggest that persons of lower castes have contrived to get themselves included in them who should have been returned under a different name, and the presumption is that the persons thus added contain a larger proportion of illiterates than those who really belong to the caste. Instances of such unexpectedly large increases are given in Chapter XII. The effect however on the literacy figures can be exaggerated since it is generally the educated and progressive group of a lower caste which lay claim to superior status. Moreover, literacy is acquired at a comparatively early stage of education and the standard for census purposes is so low that amongst the upper classes nearly all the children would be expected to acquire it almost naturally from the members of their families without attending schools at all. On the other hand it is just amongst the middle and upper classes that literacy will naturally be acquired at an early age and one would expect to find amongst these classes a larger proportion literate of the ages 5-6 who have consequently in part been excluded from the return of literates when the quinary groups came to be composed from the sorters' groups on the ground of their being less than 5 years old. English literacy is acquired at a considerably later age and the total figures of English literacy are not likely to have suffered diminution, if at all, to anything like the same extent on this account.

325. **Caution in using the figures.**—The figures for distribution by quinquennial age-groups are therefore to be accepted with the reservations first that they probably do not cover the whole number of literates aged 5 and over and secondly that each group has suffered a modification to an extent to which it is difficult to gauge (a) by a transfer to the next lower group of a number of persons who should have been included within it and (b) by transfer from the next higher group of a number of persons who should have been included in the higher group. The second consideration does not enter at the later age-groups but since literacy is apparently acquired continuously up to almost the age of 30, the age-group 20-40 also has probably suffered to some slight extent in this way. The age-groups given in subsidiary table IX according to sorters' groups are not liable to these considerations and may be taken as accurate. For comparison with the figures of previous years it will probably be safest, although this has not been done in the following paragraphs to adopt the figures given in statement No. IX-2(b) above. These figures indicate that the proportion of literacy has actually declined in no sex of any religion.

STATEMENT No. IX-2(b).

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex aged 5 and over obtained by treating as aged 5 and over all persons shown in statement No. IX-1.

Division and State.	Tribal.		Buddhist.		Christian.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
	2	3	4	5	6	7
BENGAL	14	4	155	29	489	390
Burdwan Division	11	1	642	120	706	878
Presidency Division	7	1	575	391	809	670
Rajshahi Division	10	1	184	17	257	152
Dacca Division	131	77	567	293	325	197
Chittagong Division	6	4	120	13	639	455
Bengal States	..	..	28	1	218	48

326. General literacy proportions compared with other provinces.— In Bengal, including states, out of a total population of 51,087,338, literates aged 5 and over number 4,743,281. In computing the numbers literate, however, all persons taken to be aged less than 5 who returned themselves as literate have been disregarded and the literacy ratios are consequently calculated throughout this chapter upon the population aged 5 and over. The practice is the same as in 1921 and is consistent with that adopted in European countries. For the total population of both sexes, therefore, the numbers literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over are 110. Amongst the provinces for which statistics were available at the time when the report was written the literacy ratio is higher in Bengal than in any other province with the exception of Burma where the proportion is 368 per mille. In Madras it is 108. Some of the states of India have a very much higher literacy ratio. For instance, it is 337 in Cochin, 288 in Travancore and 209 in Baroda. The great majority of those literate are males, the numbers being 4,078,774 males and 664,507 females, giving proportions for every 1,000 aged 5 and over of 180 and 32, respectively. Male literacy is higher in Bengal than in other major provinces except Burma and Madras. It is 180 per mille in Bengal, 560 per mille in Burma and 188 per mille in Madras. On the other hand, the figures of female literacy give a ratio of 32 per 1,000 which is equalled in Bombay but in no other major province with the exception of Burma where the ratio is 165 to every 1,000. The marginal statement No. IX-3 shows the literacy ratios at the present census in the principal divisions of India. In Bengal the numbers literate in English were 966,667 males and 99,140 females giving literacy ratios aged 5 and over of 43 males and 5 females per 1,000 of the same sex and an average for both sexes of 25.

STATEMENT No. IX-3.
Numbers literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over in other provinces of India, 1931.

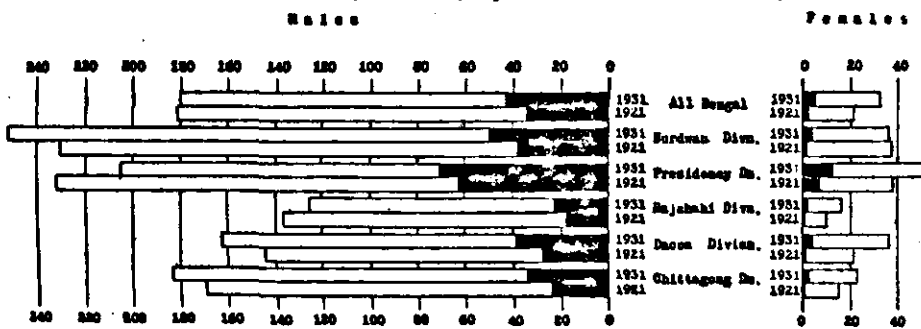
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
Burma	368	560	165
Bengal	110	180	32
Madras	108	188	30
Assam	91	152	23
Central Provinces	60	110	11
Punjab	59	95	15
United Provinces	54	94	11
Bihar and Orissa	52	95	8
North-West Frontier Province	49	80	12

327. Literacy by divisions.—Amongst males the literacy ratio is highest in the Burdwan Division where it is 252 per mille. It is next highest in the Presidency Division where the figure is only 205 in spite of the fact that in Calcutta nearly half the population are literate. Chittagong with a ratio of 183 and Dacca with a ratio of 162 follow and the ratio is lowest (125), in the Rajshahi Division which gives a figure smaller than that for the Cooch Behar State (132), but considerably larger than that for Tripura State and Sikkim (59 and 66, respectively). The Presidency Division has the highest number of female literates, viz., 51 per mille, a figure to which

DIAGRAM No. IX-1.

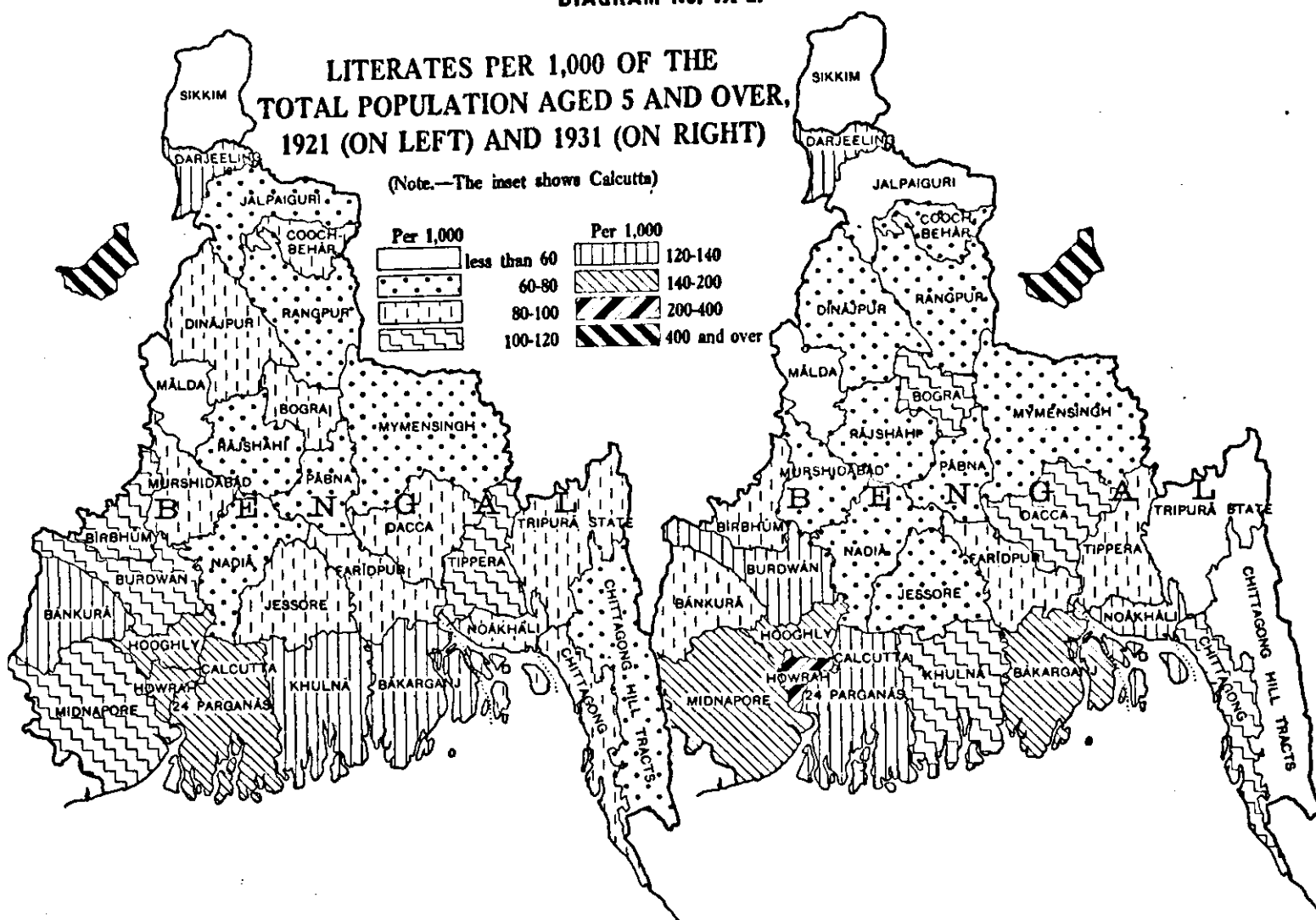
Numbers literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over of the same sex in each administrative division, 1931 and 1921.

NOTE.—The deeply shaded portion shows those literate in English. (The column for female literacy in Burdwan Division, 1921, erroneously reproduces that for the Presidency Division.)



Calcutta largely contributes where exactly one-third of the female population are literate. The ratio is 36 in the Burdwan and Dacca Divisions, 23 in the Chittagong Division and 16 in North Bengal. The literacy ratios for divisions are illustrated from subsidiary table II in diagram No. IX-1 which also illustrates for comparison the figures for 1921 taken from subsidiary table VI. The respective order of literacy amongst the divisions in 1931 and 1921 is the same for males except for Burdwan and Presidency Divisions and has changed for females only as regards the position of Burdwan and Dacca Divisions.

DIAGRAM No. IX-2.



328. **Literacy by districts.**—Literacy ratios for both sexes by districts are illustrated for the years 1921 and 1931 in diagram No. IX-2. The figures

STATEMENT No. IX-4.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex aged 5 and over, by districts and states, for 1921 and 1931.

Districts and States.	1931.			1921.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Fe-males.	Both sexes.	Males.	Fe-males.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bengal ..	110	180	32	104	181	31
Burdwan ..	123	209	30	113	209	20
Birbhum ..	81	150	12	114	216	12
Bankura ..	99	185	12	125	237	11
Midnapore ..	175	312	34	116	218	13
Hooghly ..	180	258	46	145	248	32
Howrah ..	207	303	88	168	281	35
24-Parganas ..	127	207	31	150	252	24
Calcutta ..	432	476	333	450	530	271
Nadia ..	69	108	26	73	120	23
Murshidabad ..	63	107	18	80	142	18
Jessore ..	78	127	20	36	151	16
Khulna ..	100	168	24	122	214	19
Rajshahi ..	77	127	22	62	109	11
Dinajpur ..	74	130	11	80	141	10
Jalpaiguri ..	58	92	13	65	113	8
Darjeeling ..	126	211	27	124	211	25
Rangpur ..	69	129	12	69	121	7
Bogra ..	113	191	27	99	179	13
Pabna ..	70	117	21	76	134	15
Malda ..	38	68	7	55	103	7
Dacca ..	109	168	46	99	167	29
Mymensingh ..	77	119	30	60	103	12
Faridpur ..	91	149	30	91	156	22
Bakarganj ..	144	244	37	134	234	26
Tippera ..	93	165	15	102	180	18
Noakhali ..	132	230	31	89	167	11
Chittagong ..	104	182	31	84	160	13
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	60	86	6	64	113	6
Cooch Behar ..	77	132	14	91	159	11
Tripura State ..	34	59	5	32	143	11

In Faridpur and Tippera on the east and Birbhum and Bankura on the west it is between 8 and 10 per cent. In Jalpaiguri, Malda, Tripura and Chittagong

for 1931 are given in column 2 of subsidiary table II, those for 1921 are taken from the same table of 1921, and details for both years are included in statement No. IX-4 shown in the margin. The highest degree of literacy is in Calcutta and reference has already been made to it. The ratio is higher than 20 per cent. only in the district of Howrah and it is between 14 and 20 per cent. in Hooghly, Midnapore and Bakarganj. In Darjeeling, Burdwan, 24-Parganas and Noakhali the ratio is between 12 and 14 per cent., but except in the districts of Bogra, Dacca and Chittagong where it is between 10 and 12 per cent. it is not as high as 10 per cent. in any other part of the province.

Hill Tracts as well as in Sikkim it is less than 6 per cent. there are no more than 3·4 to 3·8 persons literate in every hundred in Malda, Tripura State and Sikkim; and elsewhere the proportion is between 6 and 8. The area north of the Padma, therefore, with the exception of Darjeeling and Bogra, together with the strip of land comprising Murshidabad, Nadia and Jessore in continuation of it to the south and another strip including Mymensingh, Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts prolonging it to the east and south-east is the area in which illiteracy is most extensive. The distribution was rather more even in 1921. Then, as now, the areas of greatest literacy were in the west and southern fringe of the province and in the Darjeeling district in the north, whilst Malda had a literacy ratio of less than 6 per cent. Malda, however, and Sikkim were then the only areas with so small a literacy ratio and both have shown a decrease in the ratio during the decade. There has similarly been a decrease in all the districts of the Presidency Division and in some districts in every other division except Dacca, where the ratio is the same in Faridpur as in 1921 and has increased in Dacca, Mymensingh and Bakarganj. The only districts in which, outside of the Dacca Division, an increase in the incidence of literacy has been recorded are Burdwan (from 113 to 123), Midnapore (from 116 to 175), Hooghly (from 145 to 160), Howrah (from 168 to 207), Darjeeling (from 124 to 126), Rangpur (from 68 to 69), Bogra (from 99 to 113), Noakhali (from 89 to 132) and Chittagong (from 84 to 104). In every other district the literacy ratio shows a decrease on the figure for 1921.

329. **Literacy ratios in cities.**—Subsidiary table II contains figures also for cities. The average literacy ratio in cities is nearly 4 times as high as in the whole of Bengal. It is 414 in every 1,000 and closely approaches that for Calcutta which is 432. It is higher in Dacca (422) than in Howrah (356) and the male ratio in Dacca is actually higher than in Calcutta, being 502 compared with 476. Nearly one-third of the females in Dacca and more than one-fourth in Howrah are literate.

330. **English literacy.**—The corresponding ratios for males only literate in English are illustrated in diagram No. IX-3 from the figures given in subsidiary table IV and reproduced with those for 1921 in the marginal statement No. IX-5. More than 1 male in every 5 who are returned as literate is literate also in English. The highest percentage of English literacy occurs in Calcutta where it is over 25 per cent. and it is the industrial area of Howrah and Hooghly and the district of Burdwan which show the next highest incidence of English literacy. In these districts the percentage literate in English is between 5 and 10 of the total population. The proportions for 1921 and 1931 in the divisions are illustrated by diagram No. IX-1. The high percentage of English literacy in Calcutta throws up the percentage in the Presidency Division to as much as 7 per cent. of the total male population and English literacy is most widely extended after the Presidency Division in Burdwan, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions whilst even in Rajshahi rather more than 2½ per cent. of the total population is

STATEMENT No. IX-5.

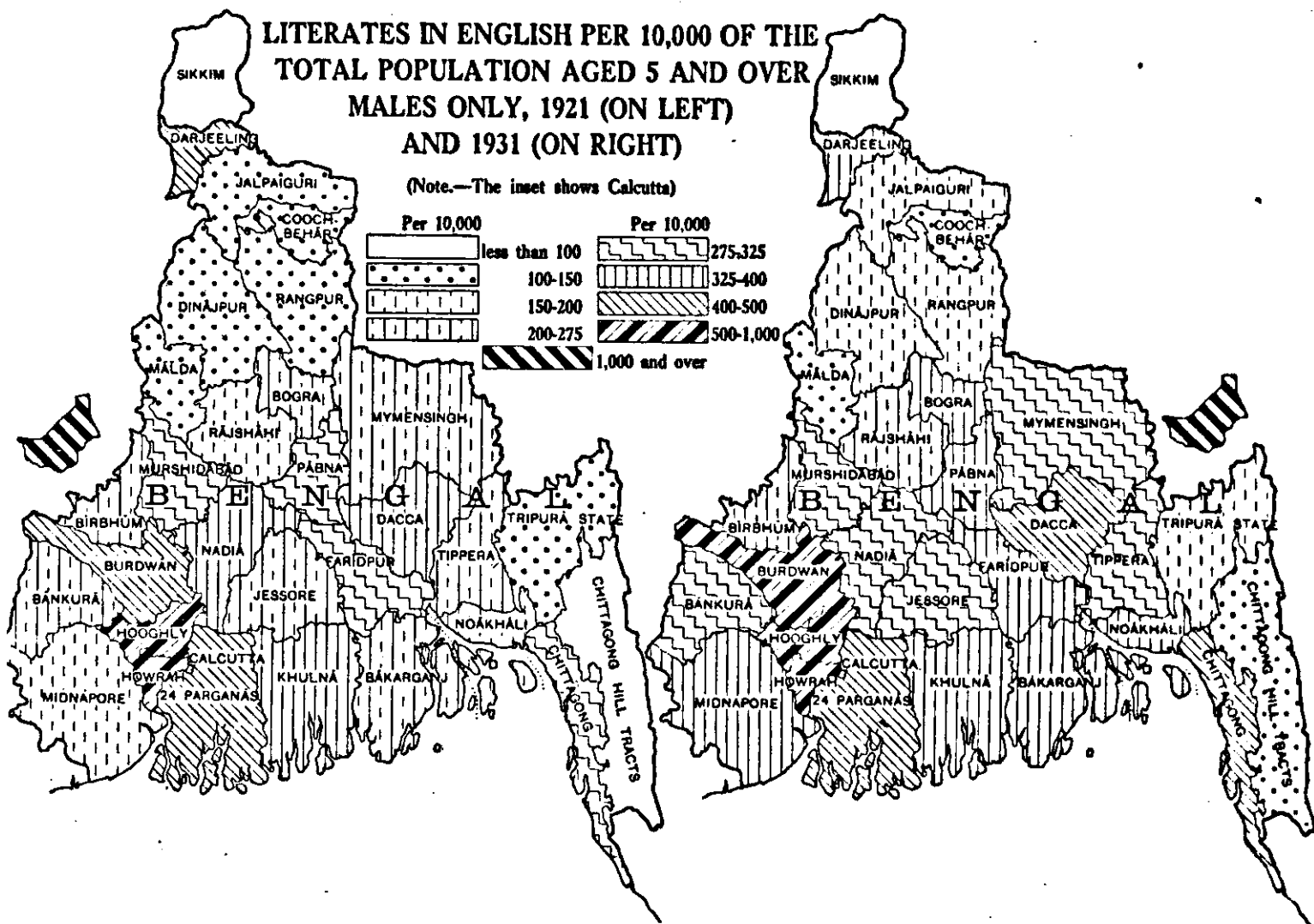
Numbers literate in English per 10,000 of the same sex aged 5 and over, by districts and states, for 1921 and 1931.

Districts and States.	1931.		1921.	
	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.
1	2	3	4	5
Bengal	428	48	338	23
Burdwan	562	38	436	24
Birbhum	250	11	274	5
Bankura	275	7	265	5
Midnapore	329	18	164	10
Hooghly	707	37	605	16
Howrah	896	137	799	45
24-Parganas	458	38	431	23
Calcutta	2,502	1,117	2,619	798
Nadia	320	26	331	16
Murshidabad	289	25	284	10
Jessore	288	18	201	13
Khulna	394	22	341	7
Rajshahi	237	15	150	4
Dinajpur	159	11	129	5
Jalpalgur	172	23	126	6
Darjeeling	371	94	417	143
Rangpur	189	14	132	6
Bogra	345	29	249	7
Pabna	356	27	303	9
Malda	137	6	127	3
Dacca	492	60	386	19
Mymensingh	313	40	203	8
Faridpur	370	31	310	10
Bakarganj	390	34	260	11
Tippers	311	23	255	9
Noakhali	341	30	196	5
Chittagong	408	27	284	16
Chittagong Hill Tracts	102	6	64	6
Cooch Behar	125	16	138	10
Tripura State	172	12	115	7

literate in English. English literacy has increased during the decade in every division and the average figure for Bengal which was 339½ per 10,000 in 1921.

is now 428 per 10,000, the greatest proportionate increase being in the Dacca and Burdwan Divisions. After these districts the 24-Parganas and Dacca with Chittagong show the widest prevalence of English literacy. Speaking generally, English literacy is naturally found to be most frequent in the same

DIAGRAM No. IX-3.



areas as those which are most literate in the vernacular. Thus, Bengal north of the Padma with the exception of Darjeeling, Bogra and Pabna together with Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts are the areas in which the English literacy ratio is lowest. But Mymensingh with a comparatively low general literacy ratio has an English literacy ratio three-fourths that of the whole province and in the Tripura State a larger proportion than the average of all persons literate are literate in English. Similarly, in Murshidabad, Nadia and Jessore, where the ratio of literacy in any vernacular is comparatively low, the ratio of English literacy is between $2\frac{3}{4}$ and $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Diagram No. IX-3 makes it possible to estimate the change in the English literacy ratios between the last two decades. There has been a decrease in the proportions in Darjeeling, Birbhum and Nadia. A decrease in Calcutta is outside the range of hatchings in this diagram and is entirely due to the inclusion in the figures for the present census of the inhabitants of areas added since 1921; and if the figures for the area now constituting Calcutta be taken, the proportions have increased. The fact that instruction for the matriculation examination hitherto has been conducted in English has undoubtedly contributed to the relatively high proportion of literacy in English and the decision recently made that instruction up to the matriculation standard shall be given in the vernacular may be expected to result in a diminution of the proportions of those literate in English probably not marked in 1941 but likely to be considerable in 1951.

331. **Literacy by religion.**—The numbers literate and literate in English in every 1,000 of the same sex and religion in successive census years from

1901 are given in statement No. IX-6 and are illustrated in diagram No. IX-4. In this diagram the religions are arranged in a descending order according to their literacy in 1931. Nearly 727 of every 1,000 male Jews aged 5 and over

STATEMENT No. IX-6.

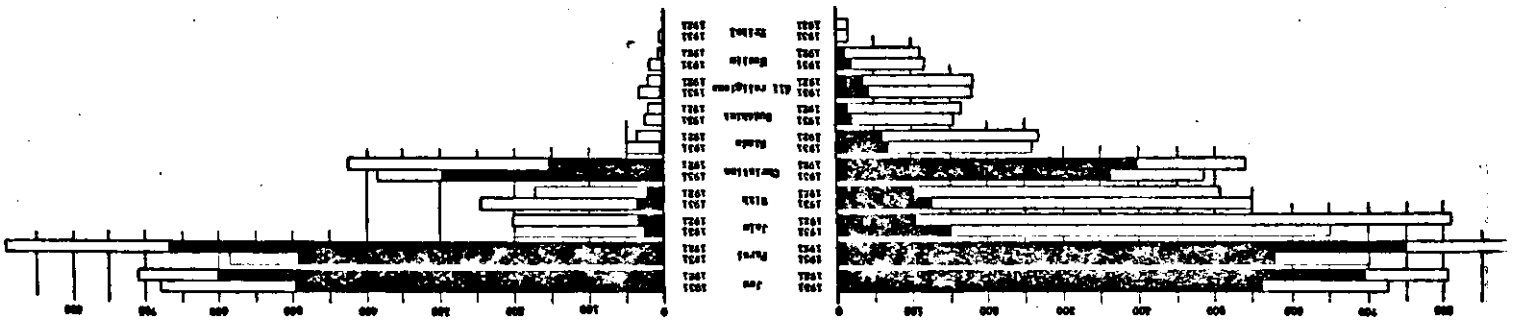
Numbers literate and literate in English per 1,000 of the same sex and religion aged 5 and over in successive census years.

Religion.	Literate.								Literate in English.			
	Male.				Female.				Male.		Female.	
	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.
All religions ..	147	161	181	180	9	13	21	32	34	43	2	5
Muslim ..	77	98	109	116	2	8	6	17	11	20	3	2
Hindu ..	217	238	268	259	14	23	36	49	59	68	2	6
Tribal ..	..	11	14	14	..	..	1	4	1	1	0.1	..
Buddhist ..	..	197	169	165	..	11	19	26	16	21	1	1
Christian ..	..	590	539	484	..	467	425	384	397	363	303	294
Jain ..	..	794	809	851	..	122	201	199	103	150	32	24
Sikh ..	..	554	505	548	..	95	172	244	102	124	23	35
Jew ..	..	833	805	727	..	712	709	680	694	500	600	495
Parsi ..	..	892	893	702	..	851	893	584	760	577	667	492

are literate and the proportion of female literacy in this religion (680 per 1,000) is also the highest. The Parsis follow with a male literacy of 702 and a female literacy of 584 per 1,000. In both these communities the proportion of literates in English is high amongst both males and females but amongst the Jains who follow next in the order of literacy there are proportionately fewer males literate in English than amongst the Christians (whose numbers of

DIAGRAM No. IX-4.

Numbers literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over of the same sex in each religion, 1931 and 1921 (males on left—females on right).

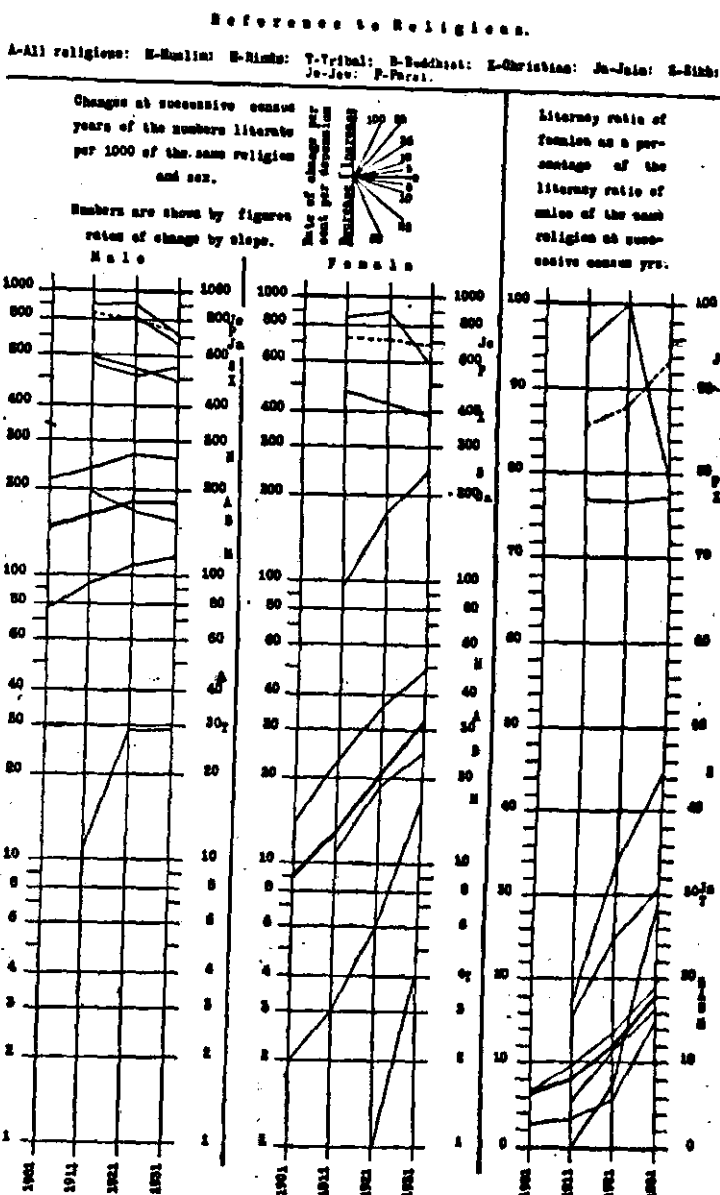


course are swollen by persons to whom English is their mother tongue) and amongst the females not only the Christians but also the Sikhs have a higher English literacy ratio than the Jains. The Hindus of both sexes are well above the average of literacy both in the vernacular and in English; but Buddhists, Muslims and Tribals are below it and only 14 Tribal males in every 1,000 are literate in any language. With the exception of Sikhs and Muslims all the communities show a decrease in literacy amongst males between 1921 and 1931. On the other hand, with the exception of Jews, Parsis and Christians, the proportion literate in English has increased in each religion during the decade, save amongst those professing Tribal religions where the proportion is practically the same in both years. Amongst Jews, Parsis, Jains and Christians there has similarly been a decrease in the proportions of females literate in the vernacular and literate in English. Amongst women of other religions however there has in every case been an increase in the proportion literate both in the vernacular and in English save amongst Buddhist females with whom the proportions remain stationary. The figures of literacy amongst Indian Christians are given in subsidiary table IX by Tribal and similar groups.

332. Literacy by religion at each census, 1901-1931.—The figures shown in statement No. IX-6 are also illustrated in diagram No. IX-5. On the left hand side of this diagram changes are shown in the percentages literate: from 1901 for the two principal religions, Muslim and Hindu, and from 1911 for the remaining religions shown. The relative positions of the religions have been generally maintained in every year with the exception that in both sexes the ratio has declined amongst the Jews less rapidly than amongst the

Parsis with the result that the Parsis for the first time are shown on the present occasion in the second place. Similarly Sikhs have now overtaken Christians and have a higher proportion of literates amongst males though they are still considerably behind them in their female literacy ratio. Amongst males the most rapid rate of increase in the ratio has been between 1911 and 1921 amongst those professing Tribal religions. The figures for females on the whole show much steeper slopes particularly for the more numerous religions which have principally influenced the average (shown by a thicker line) and it is only amongst the Jews, Jains and Christians that the literacy ratio remains even approximately the same. The study of the proportionate literacy ratios is facilitated by the right hand portion of diagram No. IX-5 plotted from statement No. IX-7. In 1921 proportionately there were as many Parsis literate amongst females as amongst males; and amongst Jews in 1931 in an equal number of each sex more than 9 females are literate for every 10 males. Amongst the Parsis, in spite of a decrease in the relative proportions, amongst equal numbers of each sex there are still to be found more than 8 females for every 10 males literate. Similarly in equal numbers of each sex amongst the Christians almost the same proportions would be found literate between the sexes as amongst the Parsis, but scarcely more than 4 females would be literate for every 10 males amongst the Sikhs and the relative proportions are very much less in other religions. On the average in equal numbers of each sex scarcely 18 females would be found literate for every 100 males and amongst the Buddhists and Muslims the discrepancy is even greater. At the same time the steepness of the curve in this part of the diagram taken with the portion in which are plotted the female ratios by successive years illustrates both the eagerness with which since

DIAGRAM No. IX-5.
Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex in each religion, 1901-1931.



STATEMENT No. IX-7.

Female literacy ratio as a percentage of male literacy ratio.

Religion.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.
All religions ..	6.12	8.07	11.00	17.77
Muslim ..	2.56	3.23	5.51	14.65
Hindu ..	6.45	9.66	13.44	18.92
Tribal ..	..	..	7.14	23.68
Buddhist ..	..	5.58	11.24	16.13
Christian ..	..	79.14	78.84	79.34
Jain ..	..	15.87	24.85	30.57
Sikh ..	..	17.15	34.06	44.52
Jew ..	..	85.49	88.06	93.54
Parsi ..	..	95.39	100.00	88.20

1901 all those communities which had then a low literacy ratio amongst females have been seeking further education for their girls and also the fact that proportionately the increase in all religions in the proportions of females returned as literate at each successive census has been considerably in excess of the increase amongst males. In the right hand side of this diagram a level horizontal line would indicate corresponding changes of an

equal proportional magnitude in the literacy ratios for males and females, whilst an upward slope indicates that the ratio amongst females is a larger proportion of the ratio amongst males than at the preceding census. Amongst the Parsis, for instance, the ratio has decreased in both cases but it has decreased more rapidly amongst females than amongst males. Amongst the Jews, on the other hand, there has been a decrease in the ratio of both sexes which has been more pronounced amongst males than amongst females and the curve from 1921 to 1931 in the case of the Jews on the extreme right of the diagram is consequently upward. Similarly, amongst the Buddhists the ratio has increased at each of the last two decades amongst females and has decreased amongst males and the curves on the right hand side of the diagram are steep. Perhaps the steepest curve is amongst those of Tribal religions. The male ratio has remained practically stationary between 1921 and 1931 whereas the female ratio has increased and is now four times what it was in 1921.

333. Literacy by divisions, 1881-1931.—For divisions the literacy ratios at each census 1881-1931 are plotted in diagram No. IX-6 from the figures given in subsidiary table VI. In comparing the ratios for 1881 and 1891 with those for subsequent years it must be remembered that in 1881 and 1891 there were three categories, viz., illiterate, literate and learning, that in 1901 the category of those learning was abandoned but no criterion was prescribed by which to decide literacy and that it was not till 1911 that the definite standard was adopted by which on each occasion literacy has since been defined for census purposes. In compiling the figures under the classification now adopted those who were returned as learning in 1881 and 1891 have been shown as literate if above and illiterate if below the age of 15 years. The relative position of the divisions in the order of literacy in the case of males has been the same on each occasion with the exception of 1881 when Chittagong Division was in the second place and the Presidency Division third and of 1921 when the Presidency Division took the lead. The order amongst females has varied a good deal more and is not the same as amongst the males. The highest proportion of female literacy is found and has always been found in the Presidency Division and at every census since 1891 the Dacca Division has had a higher percentage of female literates than the Chittagong Division where the ratio of male literates is greater than in Dacca. From the year 1891 until 1921 the proportion of literacy increased continuously in all divisions amongst females and at a relatively high rate. Amongst males, on the other hand, between 1891 and 1901 there was a drop in the ratio in every division except the Presidency, and in no decade since 1891 has the increase in the ratio been so great amongst males as amongst females.

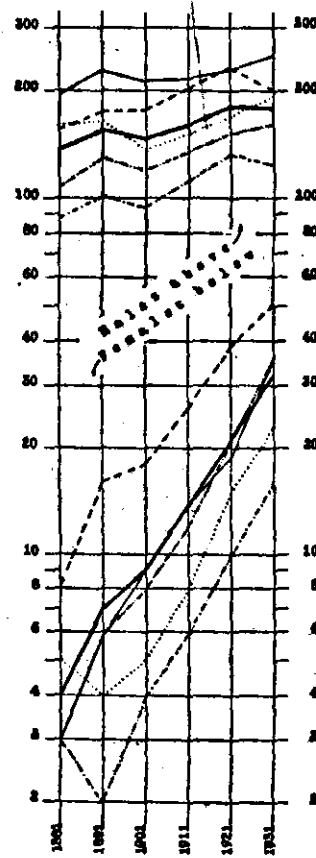
334. Relatively greater increase in literacy amongst females.—The extent to which the female literacy ratio has increased compared with the

DIAGRAM No. IX-6.
Numbers literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over of the same sex in each administrative division, 1881-1931.

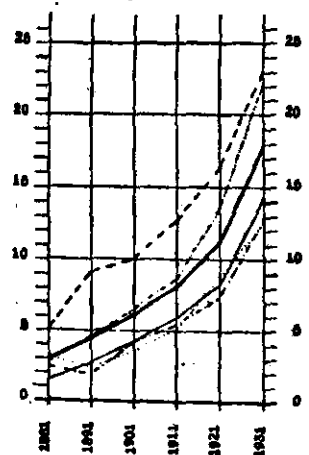
Reference to divisions:

All Bengal ———— Rajshahi... - - - - -
Burdwan... ———— Dacca... - - - - -
Presidency - - - - - Chittagong - - - - -

A.- Numbers literate per 1000 of the same sex aged 5 and over, 1881-1931.
Numbers are shown by figures, rate of change by slope.



B.- Literacy ratio for females as a percentage of the literacy ratio for males, 1881-1931.



male ratio is shown in statement No. IX-8 illustrated by the bottom part of diagram No. IX-6. Here, again, as in diagram No. IX-5 a horizontal line would represent a constant proportion between the literacy ratio of females and males.

STATEMENT No. IX-8.

Female literacy ratio as a percentage of male literacy ratio, 1881-1931.

Natural division.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.
Bengal ..	2.92	4.49	6.12	8.07	11.66	17.77
Burdwan Division ..	1.52	2.63	4.20	6.02	8.26	14.28
Presidency Division ..	5.13	9.14	10.10	12.68	16.38	25.12
Rajshahi Division ..	3.41	1.96	4.25	5.41	7.41	12.80
Dacca Division ..	2.78	4.61	6.61	8.82	13.63	22.22
Chittagong Division ..	3.14	2.44	3.08	5.26	8.87	12.51

Between 1881 and 1891 the female ratio in Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions declined and the male ratio increased. Consequently the slope in the lower part of diagram No. IX-6 is downward, but after this year the proportionate increase has been considerably more rapid amongst the females in every

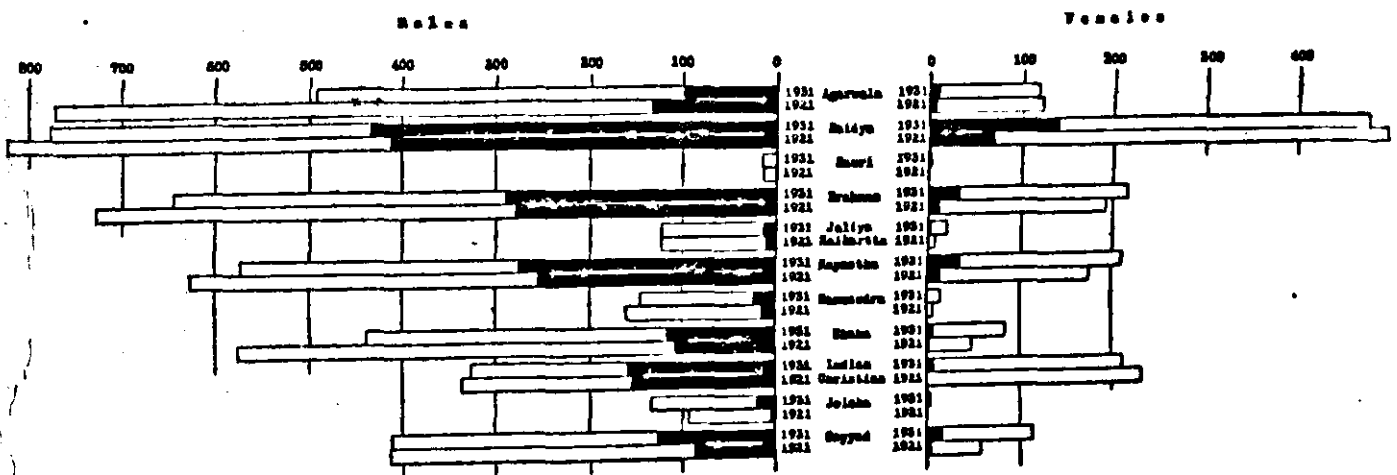
division than amongst males. In 1891 in an equal number of persons of both sexes in the whole of Bengal less than 5 women would have been found literate to every 100 men but in 1931 for every 100 men 18 women would be found literate. The difference is considerably greater in the Dacca Division where, in an equal number of both sexes, almost 5 times as many females would now be found literate per 100 literate males as in 1891 and 8 times as many as in 1881. Even in the Rajshahi Division where the female literacy ratio is lowest there are now in an equal number of both sexes for every 100 literate males 6 times as many literate females as there were in 1891.

335. Literacy in selected castes.—The figures for literacy in selected castes are given in imperial table XIV and the ratios calculated from them are shown in subsidiary table V. Comparisons with 1921 are affected by the fact that the figures on the present occasion for selected castes are shown for those aged 7 and over in some cases and those aged 4 and over in others instead of for those aged 5 and over as in 1921. Forty-one groups are shown in this table but it is only for the 21 referred to in paragraph 3 of the title page to the table that figures are on record of all persons aged 7 and over for calculation of the proportion as literate aged 7 and over in the total population of the same age. These proportions are worked out and shown in subsidiary table V in part A. For the remaining groups shown in part B of the subsidiary table, the proportions are worked out in the total population.

DIAGRAM No. IX-7.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex and age in selected castes, 1931 and 1921.

NOTE.—Figures are for 1931 of those aged 7 and over and for 1921 of those aged 5 and over. The deeply shaded portion shows those literate in English. The figures for English literacy of Baidya males and Indian Christian females are incorrectly represented and should be 520 and 94, in 1931 and 618 and 86 in 1921, respectively.



The figures given in subsidiary table V for literates, aged 7 and over per 1,000 of the same sex and age in selected castes in 1931 compared with the figures for literates aged 5 and over per 1,000 of the same sex and age in 1921 are illustrated in diagram No. IX-7. Amongst the groups shown, excluding Anglo-Indians, the highest proportions of literacy in both sexes is in the Baidya caste of whom more than three-quarters of the males and almost one-half of the females are literate. The Brahmans, Kayasthas, Agarwalas and Shahas follow. The number of literates per 1,000 males are amongst

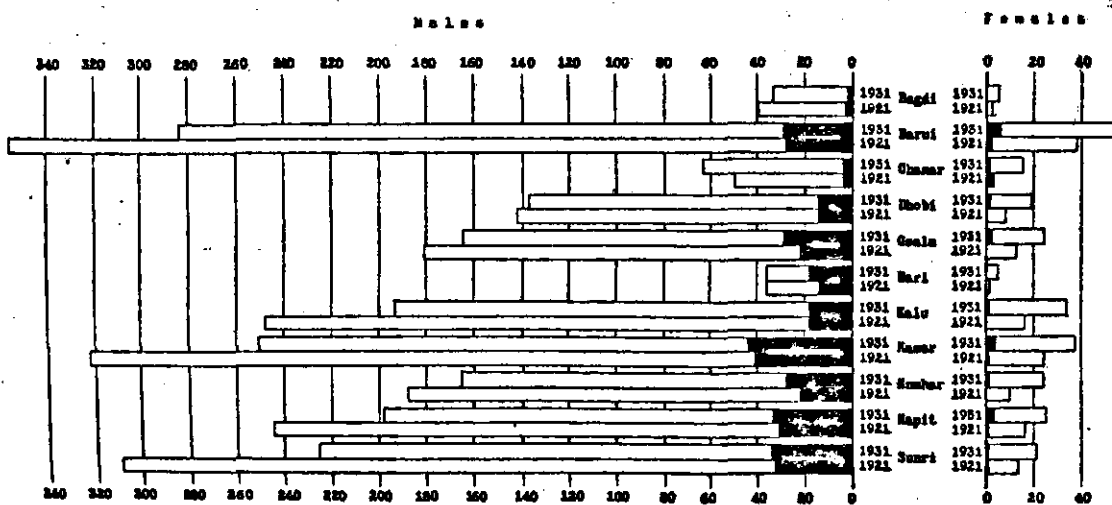
the Brahmans, 645, amongst the Kayasthas, 571, amongst the Agarwalas, 491, and amongst the Shahas, 438. After the Baidyas for females the ratios are highest amongst the Brahmans (216), Indian Christians (212) and Kayasthas (209). The Shahas show a literacy ratio amongst their females of only 85 in every 1,000 whilst the Indian Christian males are less literate than the Shahas, though their females are more literate even than the Kayasthas. The order of literacy in English is approximately the same. The *Baidyas lead with 529 per 1,000 or more than half and are followed at some distance by Brahmans with 289 and Kayasthas with 274 literates per 1,000. The extent of English literacy amongst females is naturally considerably less. Here also of the groups shown in the diagram the highest percentage is amongst the Baidyas where 140 in every 1,000 are literate in English. *Indian Christians with 94 and Kayasthas with 35 are next both having a higher number per 1,000 literate in English than the Brahmans with only 33. The comparative figures for 1921 and 1931 show, speaking generally, amongst the higher and more literate classes a decrease in the literacy recorded in 1931 compared with 1921. Amongst the Jaliya Kaibarttas the decrease is comparatively small amongst males. This is also the case with the Sayyads. The "Mumin" (Jolahas) amongst those shown in this diagram have actually increased their proportion of literates. But in every other case there has been a decrease in the proportion least marked amongst such castes as the Namasudras and Indian Christians. Amongst females, on the other hand, there is, in general, an increase recorded excepting for Indian Christians, Baidyas and Agarwalas, who indeed would seem to have lost ground, but in every other caste shown in this table the ratio of female literacy is higher than it was in 1921. On the other hand the general tendency in all cases has been to take advantage of the facilities of education in English and the English literacy ratios show a decrease only in the case of Agarwala males.

Figures similar to the above but calculated on the total population and including in 1931 those literate aged 4 and over are shown for certain other groups for which in 1931 the total numbers of the same age are not on record.

DIAGRAM No. IX-8.

Number literate per 1,000 of the same sex, all ages, in selected castes, 1931 and 1921.

NOTE.—Figures are for 1931 of literates aged 4 and over and for 1921 of literates aged 5 and over. The deeply shaded portion shows those literate in English.



Some of these groups are illustrated in †diagram No. IX-8. Similar tendencies are revealed by these figures. Thus there has been in general amongst males of all groups a decrease in the proportions returned as literate in any language except amongst the Chamars where the literacy ratio has increased from 50 to 63 per 1,000 at all ages and amongst the Haris where it has remained

*The figures for English literacy of Baidya males and Indian Christian females are incorrectly represented in the diagram and should be 529 and 94 in 1931 and 513 and 85 in 1921, respectively.

†The English literacy ratio shown in the diagram for Chamar females in 1921 should represent total literacy.

exactly the same (36 per 1,000) as in 1921. The decrease is most notable amongst the Baruis, Kamars and Sunris where the proportions were highest in 1921. On the other hand, decrease in the proportions returned as literate in English appear only amongst the Bagdis and to a very small extent amongst the Chamars and Kalus whilst amongst females no group shows a decrease either in general literacy or in literacy in English. There are now between 12 and 18 more females literate in every 1,000 than in 1921 amongst the Baruis, Kalus, Kamars and Kumhars and in every 10,000 there are 10 and upwards more literate in English amongst the *Chamars, Kumhars, Goalas, Napits, Kamars and Baruis.

336. **Progressive acquisition of literacy.**—For each sex a distribution by age-groups is shown for literacy by religion in subsidiary table I and by locality in subsidiary table II and for English literacy by locality in subsidiary table IV. For the whole of Bengal statement No. IX-9 shows the total numbers together with those literate and literate in English in every 10,000 of each sex aged at and over 0, 5, 10, 15, and 20 and this statement is illustrated in diagram No. IX-9.

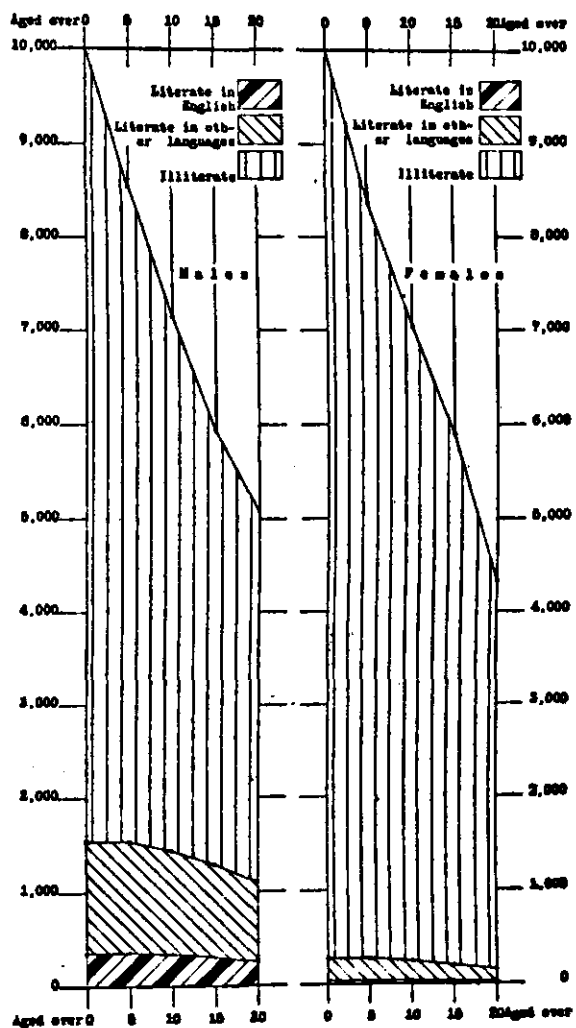
STATEMENT No. IX-9.

Numbers of and over the age shown, total, literate and literate in English, in each 10,000 of the same sex, 1931.

Aged and over.	Males.			Females.		
	Total.	Literate.	Literate in English.	Total.	Literate.	Literate in English.
0 ..	10,000	1,536	844	10,000	272	40
5 ..	8,523	1,536	804	8,364	272	40
10 ..	7,156	1,436	344	7,049	240	36
15 ..	5,959	1,285	308	5,891	198	29
20 ..	5,336	1,098	252	4,869	155	22

DIAGRAM No. IX-9.

Numbers literate, literate in English and illiterate of and over the age shown in each 10,000 of each sex, 1931.



In each sex the population at advanced ages must contain a larger proportion of illiterates since anything like a general diffusion of education is of comparatively recent date. As each successive group of younger people is excluded from consideration it would consequently be expected that the older part of the population forming an increasing proportion of the remainder would tend to reduce the literacy ratios. The ratios are maintained or increased by the numbers who have acquired literacy after the ages excluded, and the variation in the proportions can thus be used as some measure of the extent to which literacy is acquired at certain age periods. Amongst males, for instance, the numbers of and over 10 years of age form 84 per cent. of those of and over 5, but literates and literates in English are 94 and 95 per cent. of those in the corresponding previous age-group. Similarly amongst males at and over 15 years of age the total population is 83 per cent. of that of and over 10, but those literate and literate in English are 90 per cent. of the numbers in the corresponding previous group. The extent to

which literacy is acquired at all ages beyond 20 is not sufficient to counter-balance the effect of the illiterates of advancing years who now form an increasing proportion of the total left for consideration at and over this age.

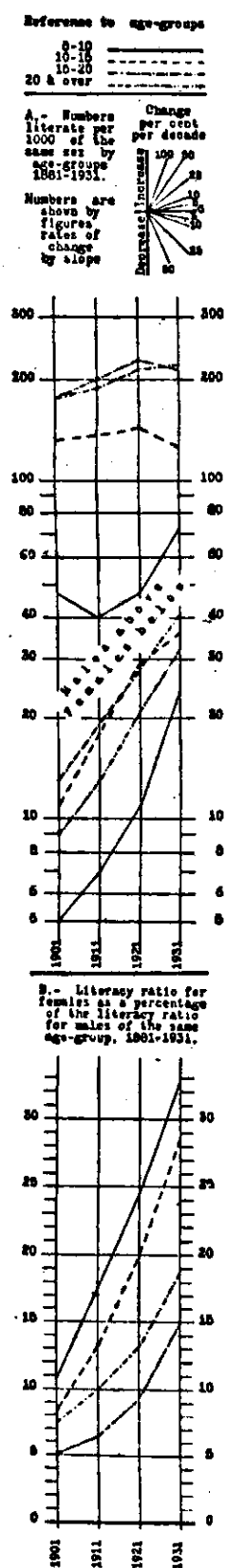
*The English literacy ratio shown in the diagram for Chamar females in 1921 should represent total literacy.

In 1921 an examination of very much more detailed figures than are now available, led to the conclusion that literacy continued to be acquired right up to the age of 27. Up to the age of 20, in the case of males, these conclusions are supported by the figures here discussed, and the age-groups are not compiled at a later date than 20 in sufficient detail to justify any assertion at variance with that made in 1921. Amongst females the figures are similar, but the check comes earlier. The numbers literate at the age of 10 and over are 88·3 per cent. of those literate at ages 5 and over, but the total female population at and over 10 years of age is only 84·3 per cent. of those at age 5 and over. The total number who acquire literacy after 15 years of age does not prevent a decline in the percentage of literate and literate in English which is more rapid than in the total population and at 15 and over the total numbers are 83·5 per cent. of those aged 10 and over, but those who are literates and literates in English form only 78·3 and 75·8 per cent. of the corresponding group including the previous five years.

337. Literacy at age-groups in 1911, 1921 and 1931.—A similar comparison can be made by an examination of the figures representing at each census the survivors of those on the average aged 10 years younger at the previous census with the numbers in these respective age-groups literate in both years. For a satisfactory examination along these lines also it would be necessary to have literacy figures worked out in very considerably greater extension than on the present occasion, and the number of groups to which examination must be confined is comparatively small. Statement No. IX-10 illustrated by diagram No. IX-10 shows the literacy ratios by sexes at the age-groups given in imperial table XIII for the years 1901 to 1931. Those in the age-group 15-20 of 1931 represents the survivors of those in the age-group 5 to 10 of 1921. If two not unreasonable assumptions are made, first that the rates of mortality are approximately the same amongst the literate and illiterate at any age-group and secondly that the extent of lapse from literacy is negligible at these ages the difference in the proportions of those literate in age-group 5 to 10 in any census year and similar proportions for the age-group 15-20 in the succeeding census provide a measure of the extent to which persons in the younger age-group at the beginning of the decade have acquired literacy by its end. By 1911 for every 5 literate in age-group 5-10 in 1901, 7 were literate amongst their survivors and for every 4 who were literate amongst those aged 5-10 in 1911 and 1921, respectively, 7 were literate amongst their survivors after the expiry of ten years. These are the figures for males and the corresponding figures for females are higher. For every 4 females who were literate in the age-group 5 to 10 in the years 1901, 1911 and 1921, respectively, there were amongst their survivors ten years later more than 4 literate in 1911, more than 7 literate in 1921 and almost 12 literate in 1931. With the exception of a decline in the literacy ratio of males of those aged 5-10 between the years 1901 and 1911 there was at every census in both sexes an increase in the proportion literate at each age-group until the year 1931 when males aged 10-15 and 20 and over had a lower literacy ratio than at the previous census. The result is unexpected. There has been during the past decade some falling off in the numbers attending for instruction in the universities, but the degree of education entitling a person to be returned as literate for census purposes is acquired fairly early in the primary school

DIAGRAM No. IX-10.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same age in each sex, 1901-1931.



and in the primary schools there has been a considerable increase in the number of scholars, though principally in the classes below those in which it can be assumed that literacy is acquired. The explanation of the unexpected result has already been suggested in an earlier paragraph. The figures for females do not show any decline in the proportion in any age-group and in every one the increase in the literacy ratio has been both continuous and rapid since 1901, the highest rate of increase being in the age-group 5-10 years old between the years 1921 and 1931.

STATEMENT No. IX-10.

Numbers literate per mille of the same sex and age-group, 1901-1931.

Age group.	Males.				Females.			
	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.
5-10 ..	47	40	46	78	5	7	11	24
10-15 ..	131	136	144	126	11	18	29	36
15-20 ..	176	189	214	219	18	19	28	41
20 and over ..	176	199	225	215	9	13	21	32

338. **Comparative increase at age-groups between females and males, 1911-1931.**—In part B of diagram No. IX-10 points are plotted from the figures in statement No. IX-11 which illustrate the comparative increase in literacy at each age-group between males and females during the same years.

STATEMENT No. IX-11.

Female literacy ratio as a percentage of male literacy ratio in the same age-group, 1901-1931.

Age group.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.
5-10 ..	10.63	17.50	24.44	32.87
10-15 ..	8.33	13.23	20.14	28.57
15-20 ..	7.39	10.05	13.08	18.72
20 and over ..	5.11	6.53	9.33	14.88

As in diagrams No. IX-5 and No. IX-6 the slope of each line gives an indication of the extent to which progress in literacy at each age-group has been more rapid amongst females than amongst males. Of each sex there are more than three times as many males literate as females at the age-group 5-10 and more than six times as many at the age-group 20 and over.

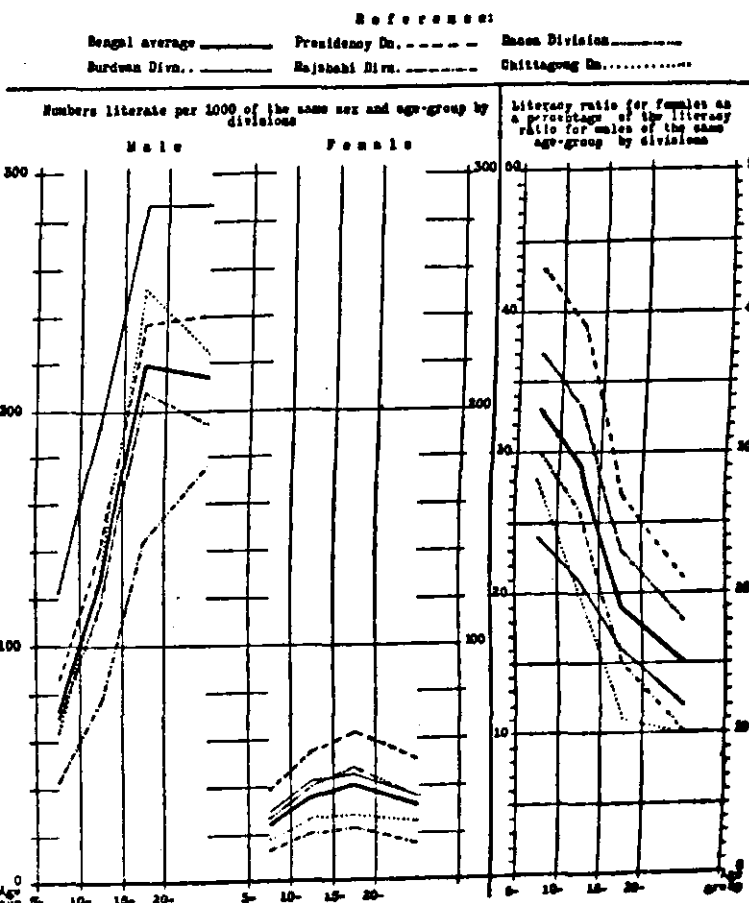
But in 1901 in equal numbers of each sex scarcely one female would have been found literate in the ages 5-10 for every 10 males and little more than one in 20 at the age 20 and over. Female literacy at all age-groups has increased at a very much more rapid rate from census to census than male literacy.

339. **Literacy at age-groups by divisions.**—

Literacy ratios by age-groups are shown for each sex in each of the divisions in diagram No. IX-11 based upon subsidiary table II. Amongst males the variations in each division follow very closely those in the whole of Bengal up to the age-group 15 to 20, but whereas in general there is a smaller proportion of literates at the ages 20 and over there is actually a larger proportion in the Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions and an equal proportion in the Burdwan Division. Burdwan Division is shown to owe its first place in literacy to the fact that it has the highest literacy ratio at all age-groups and the only variations in order occur in the position of the Chittagong Division. Amongst males in the

DIAGRAM No. IX-11.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same age in each sex by administrative divisions, 1931.



Chittagong Division the literacy ratio is lower in the age-group 5-10 than in

Dacca and in the age-group 15-20 it is higher than in the Presidency Division. The fact that education amongst females was taken up with greater enthusiasm at a later date than amongst males is reflected in the curve for females given in this diagram. In each division between the age-groups 15 to 20 and 20 and over there is a decrease in the literacy proportion caused as amongst men by the survival of those who were not given the opportunity of education in youth but much more pronounced amongst females, whilst the very steep increase in the proportions between the ages of 10 to 15 and 15 to 20 in the case of males is very considerably flattened out in the case of females owing to the fact that those who have not acquired literacy at the age of 15 acquire it later in life in a very much smaller proportion of cases amongst women than amongst men. Interest in female education appears to have been aroused earlier in the Dacca than in the Burdwan Division, although the literacy ratio for the whole female population is somewhat less. Between the ages of 5 and 15 also there is a smaller proportion of literates amongst females in Dacca than in Burdwan due presumably either to diminution of effort in Dacca or to increase of effort in the Burdwan Division.

340. **Comparison of ratios amongst males and females in divisions.**—The right hand section of the diagram illustrates the figures given in statement No. IX-12 showing the literacy ratio for females as a percentage of the literacy ratio for males in the same age-group. This illustrates even more strikingly in every division the remarks at

the conclusion of the last paragraph. In every division the ratio for females approaches more closely to that for males at the earlier ages than in any subsequent age-group. In the age-group 5 to 10 amongst an equal number of each sex there will be found in the Presidency Division 43 females literate for every 100 literate males, and even in the Burdwan

Division, where the discrepancy is the greatest, there will be found 24 literate females for every 100 literate males. But by the time the age-group 15 to 20 is reached in the Presidency Division, where the discrepancy is the least, it is greater than in any division except in Burdwan at the age of 5 to 10. The age-group 20 and over continues to include a large number of both sexes who were born before the beginning of the increase in literacy, but even were those now aged between 5 and 10 merely to maintain their present rate of education in the Presidency Division, or to increase it in each sex at a regular rate, by the time of the next census in the age-group 15 to 20 there should be, on an average, nearly twice as many literate females as are now found in that group for every literate male in an equal number of each sex.

341. **Literacy at age-groups by religions.**—The literacy ratios by religions in each age-group are shown in subsidiary table I and illustrated in diagram No. IX-12. At the age of 20 and over the highest proportion of literacy in males is found amongst the Parsis, but at the earlier ages their proportion of literacy is lower than that of the Jews and between the ages of 10 and 20 also than that of the Jains. Christians are at all age-groups returned as more literate than any religion whose numbers are greater. Literacy is in every age-group least amongst those professing Tribal religions, but whereas amongst the Muslims the ratio is lower at the age-groups 15 to 20 and 20 and over than amongst Buddhists the last ten to fifteen years have shown a greater expansion of literacy amongst the Muslims than amongst the Buddhists and in the two earlier age-groups 5 to 10 and 10 to 15, their proportion is higher. The comparative figures for females show few variations in the order of literacy in each age-group from those for males, but both amongst Sikhs and Jains the discrepancy between literacy amongst males and females is

STATEMENT No. IX-12.

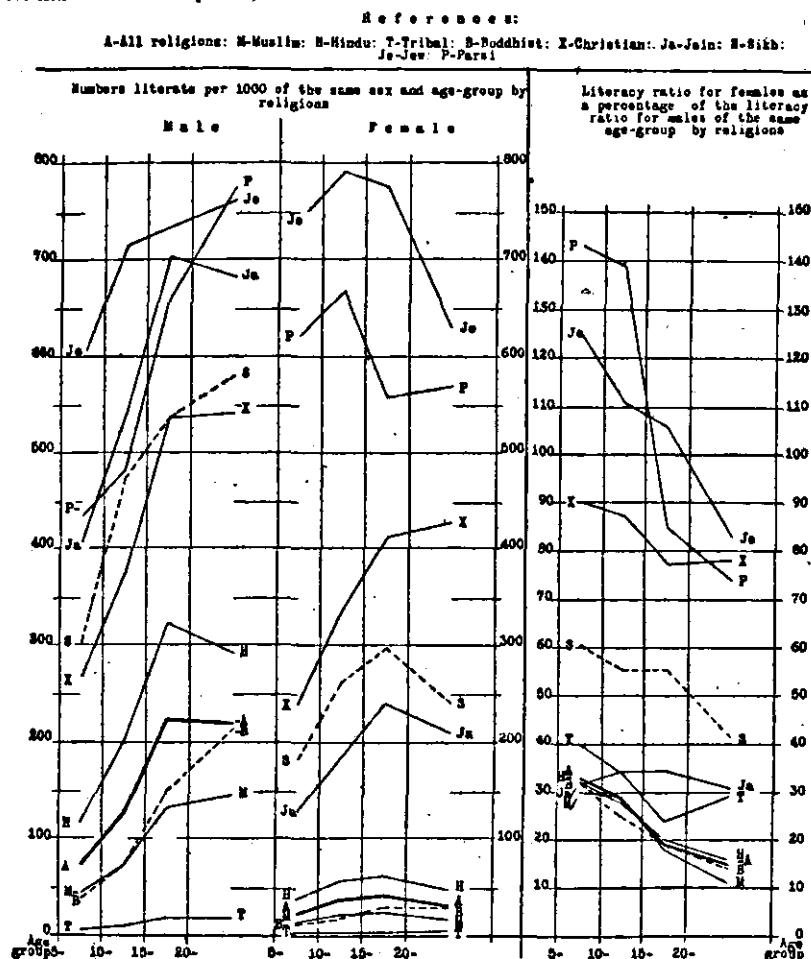
Female literacy ratio as a percentage of male literacy ratio in the same age-group, by divisions, 1931.

Division.	Age group.				
	5 and over.	5-10.	10-15.	15-20.	20 and over.
All Bengal ..	18	33	29	19	15
Burdwan Division ..	14	24	21	16	12
Presidency Division ..	25	48	39	27	21
Rajshahi Division ..	13	30	26	15	10
Dacca Division ..	22	37	34	23	18
Chittagong Division ..	13	28	20	11	10

pronounced. Amongst the major religions the same flattening down of the curve is observable at the later age-groups in every religion as has been commented upon in the previous paragraphs when dealing with divisions.

DIAGRAM No. IX-12.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same age in each sex by religions, 1931.



As amongst males the impetus to Muslim education has resulted in a greater increase in female literacy at ages 5 to 10 and 10 to 15 than amongst Buddhists whom the Muslims have at these ages now surpassed.

342. **Comparison of ratios amongst males and females by religions.**—The right hand section of the diagram, illustrating the figures in statement No. IX-13, reveals features very similar to those in the corresponding part of diagram No. IX-11. Amongst the Jains indeed the impetus to female education is

either less strong at the earlier ages compared with later years, or during the past 10 years there has been a slackening off of the relative enthusiasm with which the education of girls has been pursued compared with that of boys. But in every other religion shown, in an equal number of both sexes of the same age, for every literate male there are more literate females in the age-group 5 to 10 than in any other age-group. The literacy ratio for females is actually higher than for males up to the age of 15 amongst the Parsis and the Jews and even to the age of 20 amongst the Jews. Amongst both these groups, however, and also amongst the Christians, in an equal number of each sex there will be found successively in each advancing age-group a smaller number of literate females for every literate male, and this is a feature of all the religious returns except between the ages 10 to 20 in the case of Sikhs and Jains.

STATEMENT No. IX-13.

Female literacy ratio as a percentage of male literacy ratio at the same age-group by religions, 1931.

Religion.	Age group.				
	5 and over.	5-10.	10-15.	15-20.	20 and over.
All religions	18	33	29	19	15
Muslim	15	30	29	18	11
Hindu	19	32	28	20	16
Buddhist	16	32	25	19	14
Tribal	29	40	33	24	29
Christian	79	90	87	77	78
Jain	81	32	34	34	31
Sikh	45	60	55	56	41
Jew	94	125	111	106	83
Parsi	83	143	139	85	74

343. **Literates who have reached at least the primary standard.**—The Indian Statutory Commission suggested that the possession of a primary school certificate might be considered as a qualification for the franchise, The examination is actually held at the conclusion of the primary course in schools in Bengal and a certificate is awarded on the results of this examination; but it would not be possible to take the possession of this certificate as a test for franchise qualifications for several reasons. At the time when the census was taken this certificate had not been awarded for more than the last three years and there are consequently many who have passed the standard but received no certificate. Moreover, although scholars in primary and middle

vernacular schools may sit for the examination those at the equivalent standard in middle English and high schools do not sit. The prescription of an entrance fee also possibly prevents some scholars from sitting for the examination who would have been entitled to sit and would have passed had they taken it. Although it was not possible, therefore, to obtain any significant figures of persons holding a primary school certificate, it was considered advisable to attempt to obtain such statistics as were possible of persons whose educational qualifications could be compared with those suggested by the Indian Statutory Commission.

344. Method of obtaining the returns.—The primary course ends in all schools at a definite standard and it would have been possible to direct the enumerators to record separately persons who had read in any standard higher than the top class of a primary school or its equivalent class in some other school. Such a consideration, however, would have omitted from the statistics all those persons who had successfully completed a primary education without proceeding to the secondary grade. It was finally decided in accordance with the views of the Local Government to prescribe that all persons should be specially returned who had read in the top class of a primary school or its equivalent in other schools. Persons whose education had reached a similar or higher standard under private tuition or otherwise were also to be returned. The instruction is admittedly liable to criticism. There are no doubt a number of scholars who reach what is now universally known throughout Bengal as class IV without completing the course in that class, and even if they completed it some proportion would presumably fail at the primary school certificate examination held on its conclusion. The inclusion of persons who have reached at least an equivalent standard evidently gives room for a considerable amount of omissions and wrongful inclusions and all that can be said of the statistics presented are that they are the best available in the circumstances. The actual instructions issued to the enumerators were as follows :—

“When any person is recorded in column 16 as literate in any language you must enquire whether he has read or is reading in the top class of a primary school or its equivalent class in other schools or elsewhere.

The equivalent classes were up to December 31st, 1930—

In East Bengal class V of primary schools ;
class V of middle vernacular schools ;
class IV of middle English schools ; and
class IV of high schools :

In West Bengal class V of primary schools ;
class IV of middle vernacular schools ;
class IV of middle English schools ; and
class VIIA of high schools.

From January 1st, 1931, these classes are both in East and West Bengal denominated class IV.

If the person enumerated has read or is reading in one of these classes or in any class higher than these the entry ‘class V’ should be made in his case in column 16.”

The instructions were issued before the renumbering of classes uniformly throughout all types of school in all parts of the province and it is not likely that any confusion resulted from the fact that this redistribution of class-numbers took place as from the 1st January 1931. In compiling the actual figures shown as a supplement to imperial table XIII, persons beyond the age of seven who were returned as literate in English were taken as having achieved at least the primary standard of education and all those specifically returned as having read in class V or its equivalent in any school were added to this number. The figures presented give age-groups to the nearest birthday and no correction has been applied to the figures such as was adopted in order to bring figures in table XIII into quinquennial age-groups for age on last birthday. During the course of compilation the Local Government were not able to express any opinion as to the age-groups which would be most useful for the purposes for which this information would be used ; and it is possible that a more satisfactory grouping would have introduced a division at the age of 21 and shown those aged 21 and over separately. Any such

adjustment would, however, have involved the inaccuracies inevitable in converting age-groups in which the numbers are not determined solely by operation of the forces of mortality, and a separate sort for special age-groups would have resulted in delay and increased expense.

345. The statistics of literates who have reached the primary standard.—The figures obtained by this enquiry are shown in the supplement to imperial table XIII. Ratios have been worked out in detail for all religions, Hindus and Muslims, and these are shown in statements No. IX-14 and No. IX-15 illustrated by diagram No. IX-13. The proportions illustrated are those of and over the age shown in each thousand of each sex. In the whole province amongst those aged 7 and over no more than 1,908,828 males and 223,783 females in British districts are shown as

STATEMENT No. IX-14.

Number per mille of each sex who have received at least a primary education or its equivalent ; All religions, Muslims and Hindus.

Age group.	All religions.		Muslims.		Hindus.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
7-13 ..	43	11	26	5	66	10
14-16 ..	114	19	67	11	170	26
17-23 ..	118	14	72	8	166	19
24 and over ..	100	10	69	5	131	14

STATEMENT No. IX-15.

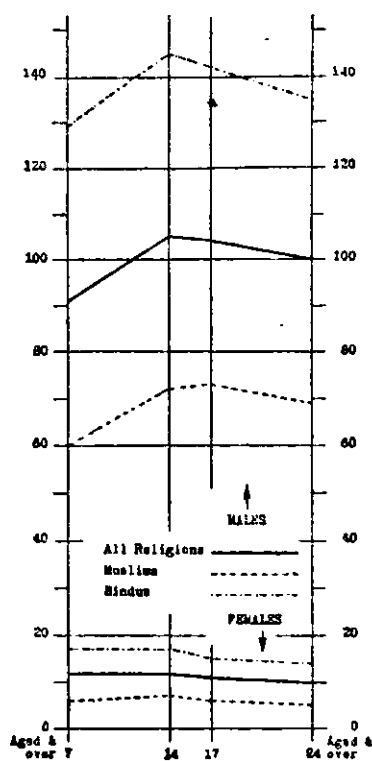
Literates (All religions, Muslims and Hindus) of and over the age shown in each sex who have reached at least the primary standard or its equivalent, with proportionate figures, 1931.

Aged and over.	Total population.			Actual figures.			Proportion per 1,000.		
	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.
7	39,981,772	21,002,782	18,978,980	2,132,611	1,908,828	223,783	53	91	12
14	31,221,254	16,259,549	14,961,705	1,884,303	1,703,640	180,663	60	105	12
17	28,175,494	14,768,234	13,407,260	1,685,101	1,533,474	151,627	60	104	11
24	21,571,122	11,698,047	9,275,075	1,274,850	1,172,407	102,443	59	100	10
7	21,501,319	11,228,841	10,272,478	721,289	680,013	61,276	35	59	6
14	16,378,234	8,457,447	7,920,787	636,262	587,564	48,698	39	69	6
17	14,853,245	7,836,164	7,017,081	570,788	532,239	38,549	39	70	5
24	11,050,449	6,017,078	5,033,371	438,668	415,413	23,255	40	69	5
7	17,659,738	9,344,613	8,315,125	1,346,165	1,297,728	138,437	76	129	17
14	14,197,039	7,467,714	6,729,325	1,191,243	1,079,745	111,498	84	145	17
17	12,940,830	6,829,199	6,111,431	1,062,754	968,093	94,661	82	142	15
24	10,044,629	5,433,964	4,610,665	796,114	730,967	65,147	79	135	14

DIAGRAM No. IX-13.

Numbers who have reached the primary standard of education or its equivalent per 1,000 of and over the age shown in each sex, All religions, Muslims and Hindus, 1931.

(Ages are to the nearest birthday.)



having pursued their education up to the primary standard or beyond. In a great many instances this standard of education is reached, in all religions, between the ages of 14 and 17. The average age at which the primary stage is passed in schools is about 11 years of age both for boys and girls. But if the figures are correct in the absence of any ground for believing that mortality affects those who have passed this standard appreciably more favourably than others it is clear that a considerable number reach the standard at a later age. The figures in statement No. IX-14 show by age-groups the proportion of each sex who have reached this standard. It is reached at an earlier age by Hindu than by Muslim boys. In the age-group 14 to 16 for every thousand Hindu boys there are 170 who have reached the equivalent of the primary standard in their education, and this proportion is greater than at the subsequent age-groups 17 to 23 or 24 and over. Amongst the Muslims, on the other hand, in the age-group 14 to 16 only 67 per mille have reached this standard compared with 72 per mille in the next age-group 17 to 23 and 69 per mille in the age-group 24 and over. A similar difference does not appear in the returns of females. The maximum proportion is reached amongst females of both religions in the age-group 14 to 16. After marriage girls no longer take advantage of the opportunities of education.

346. **Correlation of census figures with returns of the Education Department.**—Throughout this chapter no reference has been made to the returns of the Education Department and it is a matter of considerable difficulty to correlate them with the statistics of census literacy. The increase in the number of scholars receiving education of different classes of educational establishment is of course composed of the increase in each stage of education but principally of the increase in those undergoing education at stages lower than that at which literacy may be taken to be permanently acquired. It is very doubtful whether literacy is permanently acquired before the end of the primary school course is reached, but if it be assumed that it has already been acquired by all scholars who have reached the upper class in the primary school at the average age of about 10 years the proportion of scholars who would be counted literate for census purposes is a very small proportion of the total.

Some estimate of the proportion can be obtained from the published figures of the Education Department. In and after the annual report for the year 1922-23 figures have been published showing the numbers undergoing education of all kinds at each standard or class in the schools. By adding the numbers recorded in each year in each class a proportion can be calculated showing the distribution of pupils between the different classes. For males only receiving ordinary school

education at the primary stage such figures have been obtained and the result of the calculation is shown in statement No. IX-16. Amongst the total scholars undergoing school education as many as 85 per cent. never enter the upper class of the primary school and therefore may be held in general not to have reached the stage of literacy. The figure is considerably higher amongst Muslims where it amounts to 93 per cent. but it is only 77 per cent. amongst Hindus. Even if it be assumed that literacy is acquired at an earlier age, say at the average age of 9 upon entering the next class below the upper standard in the primary school, there would still be on the average 79 per cent. of the students passing through educational institutions who do not proceed far enough to acquire permanent literacy and amongst the Muslims and Hindus the figures would be respectively 89 and 70 per cent. Of those scholars who are enrolled in the first year no more than 29 per cent. amongst Muslims and 40 per cent. amongst Hindus survive to the second class and the average for the whole province is no more than 34. A larger proportion having got into class 2 pursue their studies to the end of the lower primary course but scarcely one-half of those who bring the lower primary course to an end proceed to the next higher standard and considerably less than one-half in the case of the Muslims. On the other hand, the returns do show a considerable increase in the numbers of those reading in classes beyond the stage in which literacy must have been acquired. Amongst males in the upper class of the primary stage in the year 1931 there were 24 scholars for every 10 eight years previously. The increase was greater still amongst the Muslims where there were four times as many scholars in that year as eight years previously and even amongst the Hindus with whom the spread of education begun earlier there were 19 scholars for every 10 at this stage eight years before. A Primary Education Act has now been placed on the statute book but its effectiveness will depend upon the enthusiasm for education of the union boards and their willingness to provide a proportion of the cost of increased education by taxing themselves.

STATEMENT No. IX-16.

Males undergoing primary education—average, April 1922 to March 1931.

Standard.	Percentage in each standard					
	On the total undergoing school education.			On the numbers in the next standard lower.		
	All religions.	Hin-dus.	Mus-lims.	All religions.	Hin-dus.	Mus-lims.
I ..	50	41	60	34	40	29
II ..	17	17	18	68	74	61
III ..	12	12	11	49	55	41
IV ..	8	7	4	88	79	49
V ..	4	5	2			

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Literacy ratios by religion, age and sex.

Religion.	Number literate per mille of the same age and sex.											Number illiterate per mille aged 5 and over.			Number literate in English per mille aged 5 and over.		
	5 and over.			5—10		10—15		15—20		20 and over.		Both sexes.	Male.	Fe-male.	Both sexes.	Male.	Fe-male.
	Both sexes.	Male.	Fe-male.	Male.	Fe-male.	Male.	Fe-male.	Male.	Fe-male.	Male.	Fe-male.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
All religions	110	180	32	73	24	126	36	219	41	215	32	890	820	968	25	43	8
Muslims	68	116	17	43	13	73	21	133	24	146	16	932	884	983	11	20	2
Hindus	180	259	49	118	38	203	57	322	63	292	47	840	741	951	39	68	6
Tribals	9	14	4	5	2	9	3	17	4	17	5	991	986	996	1	1	1
Buddhists	92	166	25	38	12	73	18	155	30	200	30	908	845	975	11	21	1
Christians	438	484	384	268	240	381	333	535	411	544	426	562	516	616	331	363	294
Jains	537	651	199	405	128	539	185	701	240	682	211	463	349	801	118	150	24
Sikhs	474	548	244	304	184	472	261	534	298	581	240	526	452	756	102	124	35
Jews	704	727	680	595	743	714	792	733	776	760	629	296	273	320	528	560	495
Zoroastrians	654	702	584	434	621	481	667	659	558	774	570	346	298	416	543	577	492
Confucians	395	369	520	767	600	746	552	477	625	312	469	605	631	480	196	228	41
Religion not returned	333	475	35	143	200	333	..	636	..	400	28	667	525	965	28	42	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Literacy ratios by locality, age and sex.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number literate per mille of the same sex and age.										
	5 and over.			5—10		10—15		15—20		20 and over.	
	Both sexes.	Male.	Fe-male.	Male.	Fe-male.	Male.	Fe-male.	Male.	Fe-male.	Male.	Fe-male.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BENGAL	110	180	32	73	24	126	36	219	41	215	32
West Bengal	148	252	36	122	29	196	42	287	45	287	35
BURDWAN DIVISION	148	252	36	122	29	196	42	287	45	287	35
Burdwan	123	209	30	95	23	163	35	250	39	236	28
Birbhum	81	150	12	43	8	87	14	182	18	184	12
Bankura	99	185	12	70	8	126	13	224	16	221	13
Midnapore	175	312	34	159	29	244	40	349	42	358	32
Hooghly	160	258	46	139	41	222	57	282	55	283	43
Howrah	207	303	88	170	68	248	93	323	97	337	89
Central Bengal	136	205	51	87	37	140	55	237	63	240	51
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	136	205	51	87	37	140	55	237	63	240	51
24-Parganas	127	207	31	87	23	143	35	224	38	243	31
Calcutta	432	476	333	348	283	462	393	520	398	483	319
Nadia	69	108	26	47	20	78	30	131	35	127	25
Murshidabad	63	107	18	34	13	62	20	127	25	136	18
Jessore	76	127	20	54	14	88	21	151	29	151	20
Khulna	100	168	24	81	17	129	25	199	28	197	24
North Bengal	73	125	16	43	12	77	20	143	22	156	15
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	73	125	16	43	13	77	20	143	22	156	15
Rajshahi	77	127	22	54	16	85	26	150	30	154	20
Dinajpur	74	130	11	42	8	76	13	150	15	163	11
Jalpaiguri	56	92	13	33	11	68	17	107	15	111	12
Darjeeling	126	211	27	64	22	115	33	221	36	263	26
Rangpur	69	120	12	36	10	66	15	131	8	156	13
Bogra	113	191	27	78	24	144	38	223	38	230	23
Pabna	76	117	21	55	15	75	27	139	31	146	19
Malda	38	69	7	19	5	36	9	78	10	91	7
COOCH BEHAR STATE	77	132	14	40	10	73	17	152	19	166	14
East Bengal	101	167	31	67	23	121	35	217	41	200	30
DACCA DIVISION	101	162	36	70	26	118	40	206	48	194	35
Dacca	109	168	46	76	36	122	53	211	63	201	43
Mymensingh	77	119	30	53	21	83	33	134	40	145	30
Faridpur	91	149	30	69	22	119	36	207	46	170	27
Bakarganj	144	244	37	93	24	90	37	320	47	289	39
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	104	183	23	64	18	132	27	252	28	224	23
Tippera	93	165	15	61	12	147	18	287	19	181	14
Noakhali	132	230	31	74	26	136	36	262	35	307	31
Chittagong	104	182	31	65	22	115	35	202	41	238	31
Chittagong Hill Tracts	50	86	6	8	2	20	4	76	6	128	7
TRIPURA STATE	34	59	5	15	2	37	6	116	20	87	5
SIKKIM	35	66	3	5	1	16	2	59	3	98	4
ALL CITIES	414	464	308	335	265	444	366	506	372	474	294
Howrah	356	411	253	310	239	426	285	426	280	414	242
Suburbs in 24-Parganas	249	341	119	204	102	283	141	350	152	371	118
Dacca	422	502	310	303	262	418	398	573	429	644	277

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Literacy ratios by locality, religion and sex.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number of literates per mille of the same sex aged 5 and over.															
	Muslims.		Hindus.		Tribal religions.		Buddhists.		Christians.		Jains.	Sikhs.	Jews.	Zoroastrians.	Confucians.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Both sexes.	Both sexes.	Both sexes.	Both sexes.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
BENGAL	116	17	259	49	14	4	155	25	484	384	537	474	704	654	395	
West Bengal	192	24	268	38	11	1	639	123	697	569	403	451	750	787	..	
BURDWAN DIVISION	192	24	268	38	11	1	639	123	697	569	403	451	750	787	..	
Burdwan	181	19	220	30	8	1	438	4	736	619	359	407	1,000	1,000	..	
Birbhum	119	9	174	14	5	2	750	600	598	490	437	200	..	..	..
Bankura	171	16	198	12	13	..	..	..	406	261	182	..	..	..	..
Midnapore	223	21	327	35	18	1	750	..	664	501	576	457	667	1,000	..	
Hooghly	242	36	263	48	5	1	678	143	639	466	125	..	..	1,000	..
Howrah	214	42	325	97	107	59	753	182	831	805	391	452	..	767	..	
Central Bengal	118	14	276	78	7	1	574	380	603	563	521	483	697	662	368	
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	118	14	276	78	7	1	574	380	603	563	521	483	697	662	368	
24-Parganas	144	13	241	89	5	1	206	85	899	257	105	471	1,000	245	..	
Calcutta	373	140	508	354	148	..	622	422	780	779	582	488	698	713	868	
Nadia	58	6	196	56	22	29	..	..	199	176	241	..	..	..	..
Murshidabad	61	6	166	32	2	..	1,000	200	600	511	463	571	..	..	..
Jessore	75	7	213	41	..	..	..	..	209	139	330	..	..	..	..
Khulna	117	10	218	36	26	..	..	391	445	291	..	..	..	..	..
North Bengal	112	12	148	22	10	1	184	17	256	152	586	326	..	481	..	
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	112	12	148	22	10	1	184	17	256	152	586	326	..	481	..	
Rajshahi	107	14	200	48	8	..	833	..	126	117	500	..	..	..	..
Dinajpur	157	10	109	13	5	2	..	..	160	63	494	833	..	1,000	..
Jalpaiguri	134	20	82	11	16	1	148	12	130	38	374	337	..	281	..	
Darjeeling	289	49	208	18	29	..	188	17	533	372	899	1,000	..	514	..	
Rangpur	99	7	167	21	9	..	458	..	475	421	641	..	..	..	..
Bogra	180	23	246	51	24	11	..	..	391	239	563	..	..	..	..
Patna	72	12	265	48	..	..	..	..	466	308	584	188	..	..	..
Malda	56	4	89	12	3	1	250	..	95	18	359	..	..	..	..
COOCH BEHAR STATE	100	8	148	18	..	..	..	..	410	406	646	..	..	..	..
East Bengal	110	20	311	58	76	46	136	28	339	187	428	538	..	182	810	
DACCA DIVISION	104	23	301	64	128	77	564	290	321	185	428	167	..	..	..
Dacca	109	30	297	75	..	..	..	..	287	253	1,000	188	..	..	..
Mymensingh	86	23	219	53	113	72	1,000	..	350	168	417	..	..	..	..
Faridpur	83	22	266	43	619	303	857	1,000	286	696	..	..	..	..	..
Bakarganj	147	16	482	84	..	..	593	290	864	174	..	..	..	..	..
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	123	15	377	59	6	3	119	13	321	446	1,000	602	..	182	810	
Tippera	78	10	429	29	..	..	229	8	684	416	..	..	..	..	..
Noakhali	201	15	330	89	..	..	191	5	382	166	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong	129	23	337	58	73	41	233	23	830	708	1,000	590	..	182	890	
Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	..	175	10	..	..	68	4	276	84	..	1,000	..	..	..
TRIPURA STATE	23	2	175	17	..	..	26	1	204	23	..	77	..	..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	73	4	55	..	57	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ALL CITIES	364	156	492	329	(Not available)				..	782	782	(Not available)				
Howrah	274	175	444	278	..	..	..	..	845	848	..	..	..	..	..
Suburbs (in 24-Parganas)	225	58	367	124	..	..	..	..	687	640	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca	419	257	554	344	..	..	..	..	393	326	..	..	..	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—English literacy ratios by locality, age and sex, 1931, and by locality and sex, 1891-1921.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Literate in English per 10,000 of the same age and sex.																	
	1931										1921		1911		1901		1891	
	5 and over.		5-10		10-15		15-20		20 and over.		5 and over.		5 and over.		5 and over.		5 and over.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
BENGAL	428	48	145	32	306	58	642	68	495	46	339	23	228	15	157	11	76	6
West Bengal	493	36	179	24	381	42	721	49	550	35	280	16	275	13	199	7	90	3
BURDWAN DIVISION	493	36	179	24	381	42	721	49	550	35	280	16	275	13	199	7	90	3
Burdwan	562	38	188	28	423	47	843	51	623	36	436	24	325	15	234	12	66	6
Birbhum	250	11	55	6	163	12	435	18	287	11	274	5	172	2	109	2	40	..
Bankura	275	7	73	8	183	7	481	13	312	7	265	5	149	2	128	1	37	..
Midnapore	329	18	123	14	264	29	511	23	364	17	164	10	105	5	85	3	33	1
Hooghly	767	37	333	28	668	45	1,035	42	825	36	606	16	421	13	393	7	189	2
Howrah	898	137	402	12	733	145	1,119	184	987	136	799	45	754	62	440	23	277	10
Central Bengal	707	120	252	79	482	134	965	157	812	118	625	68	454	49	335	39	197	24
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	707	120	252	79	482	134	965	157	812	118	625	68	454	49	335	39	197	24
24-Parganas	468	36	161	22	327	42	606	52	525	38	431	23	334	15	287	10	247	15
Calcutta	2,502	1,117	1,729	855	2,574	1,389	2,983	1,439	2,492	1,052	2,819	788	1,931	624	1,401	506	888	339
Nadia	320	26	90	17	211	32	479	45	378	23	331	16	217	5	194	4	69	1
Murshidabad	289	25	77	15	177	27	470	40	346	24	284	10	177	5	124	3	48	2
Jessore	268	18	98	10	207	19	444	32	332	16	201	13	176	3	107	1	41	..
Khulna	394	22	105	15	329	26	606	26	435	23	341	7	190	3	126	2	36	..
North Bengal	222	19	63	14	148	26	346	28	264	17	173	9	97	5	56	3	22	1
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	222	19	63	14	148	26	346	28	264	17	173	9	97	5	56	3	22	1
Rajshahi	237	15	68	9	158	20	411	24	274	13	150	4	92	2	66	1	27	1
Dinajpur	159	11	51	9	113	15	243	16	185	10	129	6	60	1	33	1	15	..
Jalpaiguri	172	23	52	19	109	33	229	29	205	21	126	6	66	3	44	4	23	2
Darjeeling	371	84	132	60	255	106	466	122	432	94	417	143	349	115	150	74	71	7
Rangpur	188	14	60	11	120	19	300	11	230	14	132	6	60	3	34	2	17	1
Bogra	348	29	110	21	277	40	537	44	395	25	249	7	108	1	45	1	12	..
Patna	356	27	86	19	215	42	600	45	440	21	303	9	186	3	109	2	33	..
Malda	137	6	32	8	78	7	204	10	173	5	127	3	66	1	39	..	14	..
COOCH BEHAR STATE	125	16	42	15	99	28	224	30	137	12	138	10	66	3	66	3	25	..
East Bengal	363	36	131	25	282	47	583	57	416	32	264	11	156	4	91	2	29	1
DACCA DIVISION	363	36	131	25	282													

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Ratios of literacy and English literacy by sexes in selected castes and other groups, 1921 and 1931.

A: Calculated on the population of the same age and sex.

Caste or other group and religion.	Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same age and sex.						Numbers literate in English per 10,000 of the same age and sex.					
	1931 Aged 7 and over.			1921 Aged 5 and over.			1931 Aged 7 and over.			1921 Aged 5 and over.		
	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
AGARWALA—Hindu	344	491	117	542	771	123	645	997	98	893	1,338	79
ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	895	893	897	..	..	..	8,630	8,618	8,638	..	..	..
BAIDYA—Hindu	835	777	476	662	822	497	3,454	5,294	1,403	2,958	5,130	708
BAISHNAB—Hindu	165	284	37	142	286	20	217	417	35	118	247	8
BAURI—Hindu	9	14	5	7	12	1	5	9	..	4	7	4
BRAHMAN—Hindu	452	645	216	486	729	192	1,736	2,888	331	1,581	2,792	117
CHAKMA—All religions	45	64	21	..	..	..	77	109	39	..	..	..
<i>Buddhist</i>	44	64	21	58	105	4	77	108	39	15	27	2
<i>Hindu</i>	328	340	273	..	..	..	656	800	..	..	..	..
DOM—Hindu	24	39	8	..	..	..	18	33	3	..	..	..
INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	271	320	212	288	336	233	1,275	1,592	937	1,215	1,535	854
JALIYA KAIBARITA—Hindu	74	122	22	85	123	7	79	133	22	61	114	3
JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	140	24	33	176	328	16	221	396	32	170	326	8
KAYASTHA—Hindu	401	571	209	413	626	175	1,621	2,739	354	1,417	2,560	141
KHAMBU—All religions	204	294	107	..	..	..	88	143	28	..	..	..
<i>Buddhist</i>	244	302	162	..	..	..	222	377	..	..	..	..
<i>Hindu</i>	204	294	107	101	200	3	88	143	29	58	117	..
LEPCHA—All religions	193	211	170	..	..	..	120	150	90	..	..	..
<i>Buddhist</i>	163	165	161	50	93	7	143	176	111	61	92	10
<i>Christian</i>	374	504	260	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Hindu</i>	335	345	..	..	..	..	296	305	..	..	..	..
MAHISHYA—Hindu	186	324	39	..	..	..	252	473	19	..	..	..
"MUMIN" (JOLAHA)—Muslim	89	133	40	52	93	4	141	209	65	25	44	2
NAMASUDRA—Hindu	82	145	15	65	150	7	120	224	9	78	150	2
SANTAL—All religions	9	14	4	..	..	..	3	7	..	..	..	..
<i>Christian</i>	158	187	126	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Hindu</i>	8	12	3	..	..	..	4	7	..	..	..	..
<i>Tribal</i>	6	10	2	6	9	3	3	6	..	1	2	..
SAYYAD—Muslim	273	410	115	246	412	59	754	1,263	168	513	921	51
SHAHA—Hindu	268	438	85	321	576	49	682	1,219	64	573	1,092	19
TIPARA—All religions	49	80	16	..	..	..	92	159	19	..	..	..
<i>Hindu</i>	51	82	16	91	173	8	96	165	20	36	71	2
<i>Tribal</i>	6	6	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

B: Calculated on the total population of the same sex.

Caste or other group and religion.	Numbers literate.						Numbers literate in English.					
	1931 Aged 4 and over.			1921 Aged 5 and over.			1931 Aged 4 and over.			1921 Aged 5 and over.		
	Per 1,000 of the same sex, all ages.						Per 10,000 of the same sex, all ages.					
	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BAGDI—Hindu	19	34	5	21	40	2	12	20	3	15	30	..
BARUI—Hindu	174	284	56	203	356	38	401	721	58	378	716	13
CHAMAR—Hindu	45	63	15	31	50	3	29	38	12	26	42	1
DHOBI—Hindu	81	137	19	78	142	8	88	150	12	79	148	3
GARO—All religions	11	15	5	..	..	..	9	15	2	..	..	..
<i>Hindu</i>	10	14	6	13	22	3	9	16	2	4	9	..
<i>Tribal</i>	60	112	..	16	29	3	..	..	..	16	22	9
GOALA—Hindu	102	165	24	106	181	12	169	293	19	128	227	5
HARI—Hindu	21	36	5	19	36	1	11	18	4	7	14	..
KALU—Hindu	109	193	17	134	248	8	97	177	10	98	183	4
KAMAR—Hindu	149	250	37	179	322	24	257	450	42	218	413	9
KUMHAR—Hindu	97	165	24	102	188	10	150	277	15	116	222	3
MRU—Hindu	2	14	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
MUNDA—All religions	21	33	7	..	..	..	14	24	4	..	..	..
<i>Christian</i>	185	240	119	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Hindu</i>	21	36	6	13	26	..	24	40	7	10	20	..
<i>Tribal</i>	7	11	2	6	12	..	1	2	..	3	5	..
NAPIT—Hindu	116	198	25	135	245	16	187	333	28	163	308	7
ORAON—All religions	16	27	8	..	..	..	6	10	..	..	..	..
<i>Christian</i>	84	132	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Hindu</i>	15	26	2	14	26	1	8	14	..	4	7	..
<i>Tribal</i>	11	19	2	8	16	..	3	5	1	5	10	..
SUNRI—Hindu	127	225	21	166	309	13	180	339	9	176	331	8

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Progress of Education—Literacy ratios by locality and sex, 1881-1931.

Natural and administrative divisions, district and state.	Number literate per mille of the same age and sex.											
	5 and over.											
	Male.						Female.					
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	189	181	161	147	156	137	32	21	13	9	7	4
West Bengal	252	239	216	214	228	197	36	19	13	9	6	3
BURDWAN DIVISION	292	239	216	214	228	197	36	19	13	9	6	3
Burdwan	290	278	270	183	197	161	80	20	15	10	6	2
Birbhum	159	216	193	176	205	161	12	12	7	5	3	2
Bankura	155	237	209	212	214	195	12	11	8	6	4	2
Midnapore	313	218	205	232	221	202	34	13	8	8	5	2
Hooghly	258	248	225	221	277	234	44	32	23	16	10	5
Howrah	283	261	261	240	287	251	89	85	27	14	10	6
Central Bengal	205	232	205	178	175	156	51	38	26	18	16	8
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	205	232	205	178	175	156	51	38	26	18	16	8
24 Parganas	297	252	244	230	245	224	31	24	20	15	22	9
Calcutta	478	530	418	335	345	377	333	271	184	128	100	101
Nadia	168	120	114	120	114	96	24	23	16	10	7	3
Murshidabad	107	142	126	124	122	97	18	18	10	7	4	2
Jessore	127	151	144	126	124	125	20	16	11	5	9	2
Khulna	168	214	176	148	133	118	24	19	13	10	5	3
North Bengal	125	135	114	97	103	89	16	10	6	4	2	3
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	125	135	114	97	103	89	16	10	6	4	2	3
Rajshahi	127	109	109	98	93	78	22	11	6	4	4	4
Dinajpur	130	161	125	114	117	94	11	10	4	3	1	1
Jalpaiguri	92	113	113	80	103	66	13	8	5	4	3	1
Darjeeling	211	211	193	137	151	92	27	25	22	17	8	8
Rangpur	129	121	89	73	79	79	12	7	4	3	2	1
Bogra	191	179	131	112	119	129	27	13	6	3	2	10
Pahna	117	134	118	106	111	99	21	15	9	5	3	2
Malda	66	103	108	86	94	80	7	7	4	2	2	1
COOCH BEHAR STATE	132	169	153	122	122	93	14	11	7	5	3	2
East Bengal	167	159	140	124	140	122	31	19	11	7	5	3
DACCA DIVISION	167	159	140	124	140	122	31	19	11	7	5	3
Dacca	166	167	158	143	145	122	46	29	20	12	9	5
Mymensingh	119	108	100	81	91	79	30	12	7	4	3	1
Fariapur	149	156	113	113	130	112	30	22	12	7	6	2
Bakerganj	244	234	180	171	178	138	37	26	13	10	6	4
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	163	169	152	138	164	159	23	15	8	5	4	5
Tippera	165	190	154	142	160	150	15	18	9	6	4	3
Comilla	230	167	142	126	166	163	31	11	7	4	3	1
Chittagong	152	160	159	140	170	167	31	13	9	5	4	3
Chittagong Hill Tracts	66	113	133	92	..	..	6	5	5	3	..	..
TRIPURA STATE	89	143	81	48	..	..	5	11	9	2	..	..
SIKKIM	66	86	99	108	..	..	3	3	3	2	..	..

Natural and administrative divisions, district and state.	Number literate per mille of the same age and sex.																		
	15-20									20 and over.						15 and over.			
	Male.				Female.					Male.			Female.			Male.	Female.		
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1891	
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
BENGAL	219	214	189	175	41	28	19	13	215	225	199	175	32	21	13	9	167	6	
West Bengal	237	257	256	249	45	26	19	13	237	273	254	241	35	18	12	9	228	5	
BURDWAN DIVISION	237	257	256	249	45	26	19	13	237	273	254	241	35	18	12	9	228	5	
Burdwan	250	232	252	223	39	28	21	16	236	231	231	197	23	19	14	9	190	5	
Birbhum	142	258	216	219	18	20	10	7	184	248	225	198	12	10	7	5	203	3	
Bankura	224	265	236	243	16	15	13	10	221	201	251	241	13	11	8	6	223	3	
Midnapore	349	237	243	258	42	17	12	10	358	274	280	273	32	13	8	8	226	4	
Hooghly	248	281	266	257	55	43	32	22	233	286	248	240	43	32	23	15	260	9	
Howrah	323	315	312	284	97	46	39	19	337	317	312	265	89	35	23	14	287	8	
Central Bengal	237	273	226	209	63	49	35	27	240	275	241	201	51	38	26	17	182	14	
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	237	273	226	209	63	49	35	27	240	275	241	201	51	38	26	17	182	14	
24 Parganas	224	246	272	269	38	33	27	21	243	303	287	258	31	25	20	14	244	19	
Calcutta	520	259	470	425	398	355	260	204	483	540	419	323	319	251	166	108	292	90	
Nadia	131	129	125	140	35	37	25	17	127	149	139	138	25	22	16	10	127	6	
Murshidabad	127	158	147	152	25	25	14	10	136	177	157	152	18	18	10	7	137	4	
Jessore	151	250	156	127	29	25	17	9	151	164	174	155	20	15	11	5	143	9	
Khulna	199	273	208	165	28	27	19	13	197	260	209	170	24	19	12	10	142	4	
North Bengal	143	156	127	110	22	15	8	5	156	173	146	122	15	10	6	4	116	2	
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	143	156	127	110	22	15	8	5	156	173	146	122	15	10	6	4	116	2	
Rajshahi	150	128	110	107	30	14	9	5	154	143	138	118	20	11	6	4	110	3	
Dinajpur	150	186	140	125	15	13	6	4	163	201	100	145	11	9	4	3	128	1	
Jalpaiguri	107	128	118	86	15	12	7	6	111	143	141	99	12	8	5	4	114	3	
Darjeeling	221	196	191	184	86	36	32	21	268	271	245	165	26	23	19	17	175	8	
Rangpur	181	141	100	78	8	10	5	3	156	158	115	94	13	7	4	3	89	1	
Bogra	223	217	146	128	38	19	5	4	230	231	170	141	23	10	5	4	136	2	
Pahna	139	168	142	127	31	23	14	7	146	170	147	134	19	15	9	5	125	3	
Malda	78	110	119	104	10	10	6	4	91	135	137	107	7	6	4	3	106	1	
COOCH BEHAR STATE	162	174	164	134	19	18	9	7	166	201	189	152	14	10	7	5	138	3	
East Bengal	217	195	169	152	41	26	16	10	200	204	178	156	30	19	11	7	158	5	
DACCA DIVISION	206	191	166	148	48	36	18	12	184	194	168	147	35	21	13	8	147	5	
Dacca	211	223	205	194	63	41	29	20	201	205	192	171	43	29	20	13	163	9	
Mymensingh	134	124	118	94	40	16	9	6	145	134	126	104	30	12	7	5	107	3	
Fariapur	207	203	159	137	46	34	19	18	170	187	156	136	27	22	12	7	143	6	
Bakerganj	329	268	215	210	47	37	21	14	289	295	231	200	39	27	14	10	197	6	
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	222	209	178	164	23	21	11	6	224	228	208	182	23	14	8	6	188	3	
Tippera	227	211	189	179	19	26	13	5	181	232	198	178	14	17	9	6	179	4	
Comilla	262	195	172	149	35	15	9	5	307	241	201	178	31	11	7	4	193	2	
Chittagong	292	188	175	162	41	18	11	6	238	219	222	201	31	12	9	6	199	3	
Chittagong Hill Tracts	76	153	112	80	6	6	7	3	123	145	194	130	7	7	6	4	..	..
TRIPURA STATE	115	274	89	53	29	9	11	3	87	162	101	62	5	12	10				

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Part A: Numbers of each sex literate in any language and in English at age-groups.

(NOTE.—Ages are to the nearest birthday. Literates of all ages include those aged 4-6 in addition to the figures shown for other age-groups.)

Reli- gion.	Age-group.	Both sexes.			Males.			Females.		
		Total.	Literate.	Literate in English.	Total.	Literate.	Literate in English.	Total.	Literate.	Literate in English.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.—BENGAL (British Territory and States).										
All religions.	All ages	51,087,338	4,777,447	1,068,440	26,557,860	4,101,993	968,605	24,259,478	675,484	99,935
	7-13	8,931,481	618,194	120,145	4,835,299	486,603	100,994	4,098,192	131,591	19,151
	14-16	3,103,939	396,832	100,884	1,519,779	321,374	93,144	1,584,160	75,458	13,740
	17-23	6,731,817	833,801	221,796	3,130,983	695,513	204,158	3,600,834	138,288	17,608
	24 & over	21,983,009	2,860,339	614,317	11,831,843	2,552,088	566,422	10,051,166	308,251	47,895
Muslim.	All ages	27,810,100	1,597,417	265,881	14,366,757	1,403,305	246,881	13,443,343	194,112	18,780
	7-13	5,174,037	204,325	31,559	2,802,537	103,169	27,974	2,371,500	41,150	3,585
	14-16	1,744,821	127,253	28,986	830,561	101,315	25,343	914,260	25,938	3,643
	17-23	3,645,077	268,560	56,499	1,638,329	226,561	51,771	2,008,748	42,025	4,728
	24 & over	11,182,123	966,926	147,356	6,090,413	894,129	140,723	5,091,710	72,797	6,633
Hindu.	All ages	22,212,069	3,070,697	743,403	11,639,285	2,623,781	684,679	10,572,784	446,916	58,524
	7-13	3,573,531	400,688	81,584	1,935,925	315,420	69,203	1,637,606	85,268	12,381
	14-16	1,293,505	255,437	79,313	657,071	210,267	64,829	636,434	45,170	8,484
	17-23	2,956,725	551,575	158,280	1,431,721	461,559	145,642	1,525,004	90,016	12,639
	24 & over	10,344,883	1,845,244	418,052	5,594,231	1,630,706	393,732	4,750,652	214,538	24,320
Tribal.	All ages	529,419	3,913	208	269,510	3,101	196	259,909	812	12
	7-13	93,452	441	21	48,531	842	21	44,921	99	..
	14-16	30,206	270	20	14,599	207	19	15,607	63	1
	17-23	61,300	635	51	26,775	479	47	34,525	156	4
	24 & over	225,858	2,487	115	122,559	2,005	108	103,299	482	7
Buddhist.	All ages	330,563	25,468	3,092	169,402	22,005	2,923	161,101	3,463	169
	7-13	58,694	2,121	262	31,141	1,692	235	27,553	429	27
	14-16	21,220	1,646	328	10,447	1,365	311	10,773	281	17
	17-23	41,068	3,981	641	18,721	3,304	606	21,347	677	35
	24 & over	138,244	17,481	1,847	72,106	15,507	1,763	66,138	1,974	84
Christian.	All ages	183,148	69,475	52,535	97,333	41,159	30,891	85,815	28,316	21,644
	7-13	29,597	9,345	6,424	15,753	5,335	3,449	13,844	4,010	2,975
	14-16	12,571	5,460	3,558	6,067	2,968	2,142	6,504	2,492	1,716
	17-23	23,865	11,710	8,760	11,779	6,587	5,023	12,086	5,123	3,737
	24 & over	83,268	40,956	32,322	46,728	26,358	19,708	36,530	15,598	12,614
2.—British Territory.										
All religions.	All ages	50,114,002	4,727,750	1,061,601	26,041,698	4,056,354	962,227	24,072,304	671,396	99,374
	7-13	8,760,518	613,335	119,358	4,743,233	482,558	100,337	4,017,285	130,777	19,021
	14-16	3,045,760	393,138	106,127	1,491,315	318,251	92,490	1,554,445	74,887	13,637
	17-23	6,604,372	823,929	220,176	3,072,187	686,003	202,731	3,532,185	137,320	17,445
	24 & over	21,571,122	2,829,318	610,657	11,696,047	2,522,747	562,922	9,875,072	306,571	47,735
Muslim.	All ages	27,497,624	1,586,270	264,629	14,200,142	1,392,859	245,922	13,297,482	193,411	18,737
	7-13	5,123,086	203,317	31,482	2,771,394	162,293	27,907	2,351,691	41,024	3,575
	14-16	1,724,989	126,501	28,886	821,283	100,729	25,250	903,706	25,832	3,636
	17-23	3,602,796	266,737	56,258	1,619,086	224,556	51,542	1,983,710	41,881	4,716
	24 & over	11,050,449	959,414	146,746	6,017,078	886,907	140,125	5,033,371	72,507	6,621
Hindu.	All ages	21,570,497	3,032,909	737,883	11,299,914	2,589,317	679,841	10,276,493	443,592	58,042
	7-13	3,462,699	396,891	80,800	1,876,899	312,209	68,628	1,586,600	84,592	12,202
	14-16	1,256,409	252,479	72,671	638,515	207,772	64,283	617,894	44,707	8,388
	17-23	2,896,001	543,725	156,979	1,395,235	454,498	144,472	1,500,766	89,227	12,507
	24 & over	10,044,629	1,822,226	415,179	5,433,964	1,609,952	390,993	4,610,665	213,174	24,186
Tribal.	All ages	528,037	3,913	208	268,757	3,101	196	259,280	812	12
	7-13	93,156	441	21	48,395	842	21	44,771	99	..
	14-16	30,129	270	20	14,553	207	19	15,576	63	1
	17-23	61,180	635	51	26,713	479	47	34,667	156	4
	24 & over	199,733	2,487	115	109,618	2,005	108	90,115	482	7
Buddhist.	All ages	316,031	25,302	3,085	161,796	21,843	2,917	154,235	3,459	169
	7-13	55,939	2,114	260	29,706	1,685	233	26,233	429	27
	14-16	20,316	1,637	327	9,982	1,356	310	10,334	281	17
	17-23	39,349	3,966	640	18,944	3,290	605	20,405	676	35
	24 & over	132,530	17,346	1,844	68,928	15,375	1,761	63,602	1,971	83
Christian.	All ages	180,380	69,179	52,277	95,920	40,914	30,668	84,460	28,265	21,609
	7-13	29,066	9,320	6,410	15,464	5,315	3,436	13,602	4,005	2,974
	14-16	12,390	5,447	3,847	5,987	2,955	2,131	6,403	2,492	1,716
	17-23	23,528	11,634	8,690	11,635	6,535	4,973	11,891	5,099	3,717
	24 & over	82,196	40,775	32,180	46,189	25,198	19,579	36,997	15,577	12,601
3.—Bengal States.										
All religions.	All ages	973,336	49,697	6,839	518,162	45,609	6,278	457,174	4,088	561
	7-13	170,973	4,859	787	92,066	4,045	657	78,907	814	130
	14-16	58,179	3,694	757	28,464	3,123	654	29,715	571	103
	17-23	127,245	9,874	1,620	58,798	8,910	1,457	68,449	964	163
	24 & over	411,867	31,021	3,660	235,796	29,341	3,500	176,091	1,080	100
Muslim.	All ages	312,476	11,147	1,032	166,615	10,446	989	145,861	701	43
	7-13	50,952	1,008	77	31,143	870	67	19,809	132	10
	14-16	19,832	692	100	9,278	586	93	10,554	106	7
	17-23	42,281	1,849	241	19,243	1,705	229	23,038	144	12
	24 & over	131,674	7,512	610	73,335	7,222	608	68,339	290	12
Hindu.	All ages	841,662	37,788	5,520	339,371	34,464	5,038	302,291	3,324	482
	7-13	110,832	3,797	694	59,028	3,121	575	51,806	676	119
	14-16	37,096	2,958	642	18,556	2,495	546	18,540	463	96
	17-23	60,724	7,850	1,301	36,485	7,061	1,170	24,238	789	131
	24 & over	300,264	23,018	2,873	160,267	21,054	2,739	139,667	1,364	134
Buddhist.	All ages	14,532	166	7	7,606	192	6	6,826	4	1
	7-13	2,755	7	2	1,435	7	2	1,320	..	..
	14-16	904	9	1	465	9	1	439	..	..
	17-23	1,719	15	1	777	14	1	842	1	..
	24 & over	6,714	185	8	3,178	132	2	2,636	8	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Part A: Numbers of each sex literate in any language and in English at age-groups.

Religion.	Age-group.	Both sexes.			Males.			Females.		
		Total.	Literate.	Literate in English.	Total.	Literate.	Literate in English.	Total.	Literate.	Literate in English.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4.—SIKKIM.										
	All ages	100,808	3,270	270	55,825	3,120	207	53,083	150	12
All religions.	7-13	10,150	112	8	9,810	95	8	9,340	17	..
	14-16	7,434	131	21	4,020	125	20	3,414	6	1
	17-23	14,020	540	61	9,900	515	59	7,114	31	2
	24 & over	47,161	2,488	180	24,125	2,392	180	23,030	90	0
	All ages	47,074	1,555	137	24,256	1,480	134	22,810	75	3
Hindus.	7-13	8,580	62	5	4,398	50	5	4,184	3	..
	14-16	3,000	73	11	1,980	72	11	1,620	1	..
	17-23	6,536	302	34	3,422	281	33	3,114	21	1
	24 & over	10,264	1,111	87	5,433	1,067	85	5,031	44	2
	All ages	20,940	610	11	13,357	614	11	13,583	2	..
Tribal.	7-13	4,842	12	..	2,454	12	..	2,388	..	..
	14-16	1,714	15	..	932	15	..	782	..	..
	17-23	2,892	83	1	1,310	83	1	1,582	..	..
	24 & over	11,477	600	10	5,831	604	10	5,646	2	..
	All ages	35,412	922	80	17,978	887	78	17,434	35	2
Buddhist.	7-13	5,088	25	1	2,940	22	1	2,748	3	..
	14-16	2,102	33	9	1,100	32	8	1,002	1	1
	17-23	4,158	116	14	2,130	112	14	2,028	4	2
	24 & over	17,437	748	56	8,741	721	55	8,696	27	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Part B: Numbers literate in any language and in English per 1,000 of each sex at age-groups.

(NOTE.—Ages are to the nearest birthday.)

Religion.	Age-group.	Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex and age.						Religion.	Age-group.	Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex and age.					
		Both sexes.		Males.		Females.				Both sexes.		Males.		Females.	
		In any language.	In English.	In any language.	In English.	In any language.	In English.			In any language.	In English.	In any language.	In English.	In any language.	In English.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL.															
	All ages	84	21	155	36	28	4								
All religions.	7-13	89	13	101	21	32	5								
	14-16	128	34	211	61	48	9								
	17-23	124	33	222	65	38	5								
	24 & over	130	28	214	47	31	5								
	All ages	57	9	98	17	14	1								
Hindus.	7-13	89	6	58	10	17	1								
	14-16	73	16	122	30	23	4								
	17-23	74	16	138	32	21	2								
	24 & over	86	18	147	23	14	1								
	All ages	138	33	226	60	42	6								
Tribal.	7-13	..	..	..	..	..	..		
	14-16	..	..	..	..	..	..		
	17-23	..	..	..	..	..	..		
	24 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..		
	All ages	7	..	12	1	3	..								
Buddhist.	7-13	5	..	7	..	2	..								
	14-16	9	1	14	1	4	..								
	17-23	10	1	19	2	4	..								
	24 & over	11	1	16	1	5	..								
	All ages	77	9	130	17	21	1								
Christian.	7-13	36	4	54	8	14	1								
	14-16	77	16	131	20	27	2								
	17-23	97	16	168	30	21	2								
	24 & over	120	13	215	24	30	1								
	All ages	380	287	423	317	430	252								
British Territory.															
	All ages	84	21	156	37	28	4								
All religions.	7-13	70	14	102	21	33	5								
	14-16	120	35	213	62	49	6								
	17-23	128	32	224	68	38	6								
	24 & over	131	28	210	48	31	5								
	All ages	58	10	98	17	15	1								
Hindus.	7-13	40	6	59	10	17	1								
	14-16	73	17	123	31	28	4								
	17-23	74	16	138	32	21	2								
	24 & over	86	13	147	23	14	1								
	All ages	140	34	231	60	43	6								
Tribal.	7-13	114	23	166	37	58	8								
	14-16	301	53	325	101	72	14								
	17-23	188	54	325	103	60	8								
	24 & over	182	41	297	72	46	6								
	All ages	7	..	12	1	3	..								
Buddhist.	7-13	5	..	7	..	2	..								
	14-16	9	1	14	1	4	..								
	17-23	10	1	18	1	4	..								
	24 & over	12	1	19	1	5	..								
British Territory—concluded.															
	All ages	80	10	135	18	22	1								
All religions.	7-13	88	5	57	8	17	1								
	14-16	80	16	136	31	27	3								
	17-23	101	16	174	32	33	2								
	24 & over	131	14	223	26	31	..								
	All ages	384	290	427	320	335	250								
Christian.	7-13	321	221	344	222	295	219								
	14-16	439	310	494	357	389	268								
	17-23	501	374	563	429	429	312								
	24 & over	496	392	545	424	433	350								
BENGAL STATES.															
	All ages	51	7	88	12	9	1								
All religions.	7-13	28	5	44	7	10	2								
	14-16	63	13	110	23	19	3								
	17-23	78	13	152	25	14	2								
	24 & over	75	9	125	15	10	1								
	All ages	36	3	63	6	5	..								
Hindus.	7-13	20	2	28	2	7	..								
	14-16	85	6	63	10	10	1								
	17-23	44	6	89	12	6	..								
	24 & over	57	5	93	8	5	..								
	All ages	59	9	102	15	11	2								
Tribal.	7-13	84	6	53	10	13	2								
	14-16	80	18	134	20	25	5								
	17-23	129	21	194	32	32	5								
	24 & over	77	9	185	17	10	1								
	All ages	11	..	21	1	1	..								
Buddhist.	7-13	8	1	6	1	1	..								
	14-16	10	1	19	2	1	..								
	17-23	9	1	13	1	1	..								
	24 & over	24	1	41	1	1	..								
SIKKIM.															
	All ages	30	3	56	5	3	..								
All religions.	7-13	6	..	10	1	2	..								
	14-16	18	3	31	5	3	..								
	17-23	39	4	75	9	4	..								
	24 & over	53	4	99	7	4	..								
	All ages	33	3	62	6	3	..								
Hindus.	7-13	7	1	13	1	1	..								
	14-16	20	3	36	6	6	..								
	17-23	46	5	82	9	7	..								
	24 & over	61	6	142	9	5	..								

SUBSIDIARY TABLE.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—Number of Institutions and pupils according to the returns of the Education Department.

Class of Institution.	1931.		1921.		1911.		1901.	
	Number of		Number of		Number of		Number of	
	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
GRAND TOTAL	67,639	2,712,553	53,968	1,946,252	41,448	1,561,932	37,733	1,133,896
Public Institutions	66,006	2,650,457	51,994	1,889,617	38,972	1,510,024	32,885	1,063,992
UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.	67	25,157	51	25,471	59	11,699	54	9,944
Universities	2	1,835	1	1,234	1	115	1	..
Arts colleges—								
For boys	44	17,847	38	19,576	38	9,244	35	7,289
For girls	4	342	3	212	5	60	3	45
Law colleges	8	2,555	8	2,502	11	1,221	13	760
Medical colleges	3	1,302	2	1,480	1	629	1	599
Engineering colleges	1	298	1	338	1	328	1	271
Training colleges	5	184	3	129	4	72	1	10
Commercial colleges	4	653	..	..	..	..	..	..
Veterinary colleges	1	141	..	..	..	..	..	..
SCHOOL EDUCATION—GENERAL	62,774	2,497,358	50,513	1,816,925	36,163	1,419,923	32,484	1,044,491
High English schools—								
For boys	1,075	257,312	888	209,752	487	125,772	405	98,165
For girls	59	14,815	25	4,803	13	1,405	5	523
Middle English schools—								
For boys	1,815	160,496	1,521	124,178	1,122	107,657	775	56,940
For girls	52	6,658	41	6,049	11	1,039	..	..
Middle Vernacular schools—								
For boys	54	3,810	240	12,130	541	34,335	854	46,481
For girls	12	1,270	31	3,143	21	2,308	15	1,017
Primary schools—								
For boys	42,716	1,696,469	35,708	1,181,531	27,872	1,008,142	28,259	802,324
For girls	10,991	416,523	12,069	275,334	6,096	189,180	2,091	44,041
SCHOOL EDUCATION—SPECIAL	3,165	127,942	1,430	47,221	2,750	78,432	427	10,567
Training school—								
Masters	92	2,572	112	2,589	127	2,227	10	575
Mistresses	10	240	13	209	8	128	8	445
Medical schools	9	2,244	3	1,062	10	2,063	7	938
Engineering or Survey schools	2	548	1	302	1	311	1	109
Technical and Industrial schools	142	5,711	4	37	43	1,652	11	540
Commercial schools	28	1,301	15	513	13	570	..	..
Madrasahs	743	69,824	942	27,231	393	15,376	23	2,892
Miscellaneous schools	2,189	45,502	940	15,278	2,155	68,105	367	5,258
Private and unrecognised Institutions	1,633	62,096	*1,974	*56,635	*2,476	*51,908	*4,848	*69,904
For boys	1,278	51,426	1,459	42,946	1,933	41,663	3,862	68,776
For girls	355	10,670	412	8,744	249	4,561	254	1,823

*Includes 92 institutions and 4,892 scholars in 1921, 147 institutions and 4,769 scholars in 1911 and 192 institutions and 5,380 scholars in 1901 for advanced teaching of Arabic and Persian; and 11 institutions and 53 scholars in 1921, 147 institutions and 915 scholars in 1911 and 640 institutions and 4,035 scholars in 1901 for advanced teaching of Sanskrit.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—Literacy by age-groups of Indian (and some other Asiatic) Christians by race, tribe or province and sex.

(NOTE.—Ages are to the nearest birthday.)

Age.	Total.			Literate.			Illiterate.			Total.	Literate.			Illiterate.				
	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.		Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ASSAMESE.																		
7 & over	25	12	13	4	3	1	21	9	12	1,739	1,273	466	752	638	114	987	635	352
7-13	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	276	188	92	138	123	18	138	60	76
14-16	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	171	126	45	34	16	18	137	110	27
17-23	2	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	370	246	84	89	61	28	231	225	56
24 & over	20	10	10	1	1	..	19	9	10	923	678	245	490	438	52	433	240	198
BIHARI.																		
7 & over	62,462	31,294	31,168	29,428	11,997	9,429	42,038	19,287	22,739	827	498	329	53	81	2	774	417	357
7-13	12,238	6,418	5,818	4,761	2,947	1,814	7,475	3,471	4,004	147	109	38	4	2	2	143	107	36
14-16	5,873	2,901	2,972	2,911	1,510	1,401	2,982	1,391	1,571	61	31	30	5	5	..	56	26	30
17-23	10,187	4,681	5,506	3,442	1,767	1,775	6,645	2,914	3,731	148	58	90	13	13	..	135	45	90
24 & over	34,166	17,294	16,872	8,212	5,778	5,439	24,654	11,521	13,138	471	270	201	31	51	..	440	239	201
BHUMIJ.																		
7 & over	21	10	11	4	3	1	17	7	10	358	198	160	16	14	2	342	184	158
7-13	3	4	4	2	3	..	5	1	4	37	50	37	3	2	1	84	48	36
14-16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	20	16	..	..	..	38	20	16
17-23	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	57	23	34	..	..	..	57	23	34
24 & over	12	6	6	1	..	1	11	6	5	178	105	73	13	12	1	165	93	72
BHUTIA.																		
7 & over	37	18	19	10	10	..	27	8	19	5	3	2	4	2	2	1	1	..
7-13	9	4	5	2	2	..	7	2	5	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
14-16	2	2	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17-23	4	1	3	1	1	..	3	1	5	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24 & over	22	11	11	6	6	..	10	5	11	2	2	..	2	2	..	1	1	..
BURMESE.																		
7 & over	8	7	2	7	6	1	2	1	1	1,929	1,031	898	63	62	1	1,866	969	897
7-13	2	2	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	443	231	212	7	7	..	436	224	212
14-16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	165	81	84	4	4	..	161	77	84
17-23	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	313	139	174	18	18	..	295	121	174
24 & over	8	4	2	5	4	1	1	..	1	1,008	580	428	34	33	1	974	547	427
GOANESE.																		
7 & over	407	375	22	122	125	7	275	250	25	2,571	1,461	1,090	803	428	175	1,668	1,053	615
7-13	21	17	4	10	10	..	11	7	4	824	277	247	76	54	22	448	223	225
14-16	13	12	1	12	11	1	1	1	..	172	84	88	46	31	15	126	53	73
17-23	117	111	6	52	48	4	65	63	2	468	250	218	135	87	51	328	193	165
24 & over	266	235	21	58	56	2	168	179	19	1,408	870	539	343	256	87	1,066	614	452
GUJARATI.																		
7 & over	10	8	7	12	8	4	4	1	3	125	67	58	23	21	2	102	48	54
7-13	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	33	16	15	4	4	..	29	14	15
14-16	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	10	4	0	1	1	..	9	3	6
17-23	4	2	2	4	2	..	..	..	..	24	9	15	5	3	2	19	6	13
24 & over	8	5	4	6	5	1	3	..	8	58	36	22	13	18	..	45	28	22
HINDUSTANI.																		
7 & over	708	478	299	229	172	67	539	398	233	34	19	18	32	19	13	2	..	2
7-13	129	71	58	18	15	3	111	55	55	21	13	8	30	13	7	1	..	1
14-16	89	31	28	21	12	9	38	19	19	10	4	6	9	4	5	1	..	1
17-23	161	101	60	52	39	14	109	68	46	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
24 & over	419	275	144	138	107	31	291	166	113	2	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
JEW.																		
7 & over	67	44	23	34	25	9	33	19	14	1,814	928	886	823	549	274	991	377	614
7-13	8	3	5	2	1	1	4	2	2	421	219	202	110	101	69	251	118	133
14-16	6	3	3	5	3	2	1	..	1	149	87	62	77	43	34	72	44	28
17-23	11	7	4	7	6	2	4	..	2	397	220	177	236	168	68	161	52	109
24 & over	44	31	18	26	16	4	24	15	9	847	400	447	348	237	103	597	163	344
KAMIL.																		
7 & over	8	3	3	4	3	1	2	..	2	7	3	4	3	1	2	4	2	2
7-13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1
14-16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17-23	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24 & over	4	3	1	3	3	..	1	..	1	5	2	3	2	2	..	3	2	1
KHARWAR.																		
7 & over	537	309	228	35	35	..	502	274	228	6,388	3,412	2,976	660	543	117	5,728	2,899	2,829
7-13	62	21	41	..	..	..	62	21	41	1,179	500	619	60	32	28	1,118	528	591
14-16	43	18	25	2	2	..	41	16	25	621	240	381	61	39	22	560	201	359
17-23	116	54	62	1	1	..	115	58	62	1,378	634	745	144	98	46	1,235	536	699
24 & over	316	216	100	32	32	..	224	184	100	2,209	1,978	1,231	395	374	21	2,814	1,604	1,210
KNASIA.																		
7 & over	193	114	79	19	11	3	174	103	71	515	311	204	281	168	113	234	143	91
7-13	46	21	25	2	1	1	44	20	24	65	39	26	30	18	12	35	21	14
14-16	25	15	10	..	..	..	25	15	10	29	15	14	20	9	11	9	6	3
17-23	27	8	19	6	7	2	18	1	17	86	38	48	55	30	25	31	6	23
24 & over	95	70	25	8	3	5	87	67	20	335	219	116	176	111	65	159	108	51
KUKI.																		
7 & over	483	237	218	29	25	1	427	212	215	162	108	84	114	78	36	48	39	18
7-13	112	59	53	3	3	..	109	56	53	28	14	12	18	9	8	5	3	3
14-16	29	18	16	..	..	..	29	13	16	11	6	5	8	6	2	3	..	3
17-23	51	18	33	2	2	..	49	16	33	28	17	9	16	11	5	10	6	4
24 & over	291	147	114	21	20	1	240	127	113	99	71	28	72	52	20	27	19	8
LEPCHA.																		
7 & over	1,531	719	812	573	382	211	958	357	601	2,067	4,440	4,227	1,366	832	534	7,301	3,688	3,693
7-13	318	138	174	32	46	37	239	93	137	2,204	1,084	1,120	204	143	61	2,000	941	1,059
14-16	179	91	79	78	50	29	81	41	50	738	356	382	166	84	76	578	272	306
17-23	257	109	148	84	30	54	173	79	94	1,267	556	711	274	150	124	993	406	587
24 & over	762	351	411	328	237	91	464	144	320	4,458	2,444	2,014	728	455	273	3,7		

CHAPTER X

Language

347. **The statistics shown.**—The statistics of language are those presented in imperial table XV. Subsidiary tables compiled from it or similar returns of previous years are printed at the end of this chapter and show—

- I—for each language classified according to groups the total number of persons speaking it as mother tongue and the proportions per 1,000 of the total population in 1931 and 1921 ;
- II—part *a* : the number speaking each principal language group together with the number speaking as a subsidiary language any other language in the groups shown ; and part *b* : the proportion to the total population borne by each of the figures in part *a* :
- III—a comparison of the tribal and language tables showing for selected tribes with a characteristic language the strength of the tribe and the numbers returned as speaking it both as mother tongue and as subsidiary language.

348. **Source of the figures.**—The statistics were collected from the entries made in the general schedule in column 14 for mother tongue and 15 for subsidiary language. The instructions for filling in these columns were as follows :—

Column 14 (Mother tongue).—Enter the language which each person ordinarily uses from childhood in his own home. In the case of infants and deaf-mutes the language of the mother should be entered.

Column 15 (Other languages in common or domestic use).—Enter here any other language or languages habitually spoken by each person in daily or domestic life in addition to his mother tongue shown in column 14.

These instructions were further supplemented by the following additional directions to supervisors :—

The entry in column 14 will be that of a man's genuine mother tongue as first spoken from the cradle. In column 15 may be entered any other language or languages which are commonly used by the speaker. In the case of both Hindi and Urdu speakers " Hindustani " is the proper entry for column 14, but if literate this should be followed in column 16 by the entry " Hindi " or " Urdu " according as the person enumerated writes in a script derived from Sanskrit or Persian.

As a measure of economy the analysis of Hindustani entries between Hindi and Urdu has not been carried out. During compilation blank entries in the schedule in column 14 were filled in with the language of the district unless a clue to the mother tongue used was furnished by the birth place and caste columns. The provision for a return of subsidiary language was an innovation and its results are embodied in part II of imperial table XV.

349. **Limitations of the statistics.**—In all districts a list of the languages found and classified on previous occasions in Bengal was circulated with the instruction that names not appearing in the list should not be recorded in the schedules until they had been checked and verified on a reference to the Census Superintendent. This provision, however, did not prevent the return of a number of puzzling entries of which a note is given below. The actual scope of the operations does not provide for a scientific presentation of figures for different dialects. Such figures as are given for dialects of Bengali and Hindustani do not profess to be either exhaustive or even scientific but merely represent the returns actually received on the schedules. As regards the distinction between Bengali and her sister languages Bihari and Oriya, it is significant that not a single return of Bihari was actually received. It is, however, certain that some part of the returns given as Hindi are really Bihari and they have been treated as such in the classified distribution shown

in subsidiary table I. It is also possible that some part of the returns for Bengali, particularly in the north-west of the province, might have been given with equal accuracy as Bihari in most places where Bengali shades off into Bihari with no very clear boundary lines. The words Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu are used in a sense different from that adopted by Sir George Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India. Sir George Grierson defines Hindustani as—

“ the dialect of western Hindi which exhibits the language in the act of shading off into Panjabi. * * * It is primarily the language of the Northern Doab and is also the *lingua franca* of India capable of being written both in the Persian and in the Nagari character.”

Similarly he confines Hindi to—

“ the form of Hindustani in which Sanskrit words are found and which, therefore, is legible only when written in the Nagari character ”

and describes Urdu as—

“ that sub-variety of Hindustani in which Persian words are of frequent occurrence and which therefore can only be written with ease in the Persian character ”.

In table XV Hindustani includes not only the whole of the Hindustani or western Hindi included in Sir George Grierson's central group in the inner sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Aryan sub-family of languages, but also eastern Hindi falling within the mediate sub-branch of the same sub-family as well as some part of the Bihari language classified by him in the eastern group of the outer branch of the same sub-family. No greater scientific accuracy is claimed for the distinction between Hindi and Urdu than that they represent numbers of persons whose speech would probably be most easily written in a script derived respectively from Sanskrit and Persian.

350. Puzzles of classification—European languages.—Reference has been made to the puzzles of classification raised by the entry in the schedules of returns which were not the name of any known language hitherto recorded. In the case of European languages Belgian, Scotch and Swiss were returned. These have been classified respectively as Flemish, English and French. The classification might almost as well have been French, Gaelic and German. But in the first two cases it would be expected that the correct name would have been entered and in all three it looks very much as if the racial entry had been repeated in the column for language by an enumerator who did not realise that these were not the names of recognised languages and were ambiguous.

351. Indian dialects.—In dealing with the returns for what were evidently Indian languages use was made of Sir George Grierson's index of language names forming appendix three to volume I, part I, of the Linguistic Survey of India. This in many cases suggested a classification which could be confidently adopted. Some of the names not shown separately in the table but included in the language to which they apparently belong are clearly alternative or dialect names such as Bodo, Kachari and Mech, all of which appear under Bodo, or Barai which is a dialect of Koch. Rai and Jimdar similarly are included together on the strength of Grierson's classification.

352. Place names.—There were a number of returns, however, which could not be thus classified with any degree of confidence. These are all faithfully given in the index of language names shown in paragraph four of the title page to imperial table XV and in the statements to which reference is there made. Such returns may be conveniently divided into several groups. In the first place names were given which were evidently place names and not language or even racial names at all. Almora and Yolmo are instances in this class. A reference to the Census Superintendent of the United Provinces elicited the reply that there are no grounds for thinking that a tribe emanating from Almora would speak any particular characteristic dialect and returns under this head have accordingly been shown as Hindi. In the case of Yolmo the language is fairly certainly some form of Bhotia.

Yolmo is the name of a place in Nepal near the Tibetan border and its inhabitants are called Yolmo-ma or Yolmo-wa. They are of Tibetan origin but Nepalese subjects and their religion is said to combine elements of the Pon religion with Buddhism and the observation of Gorkha customs. They are said to have a dialect of their own but their written language is Tibetan and some of them are said to be known in Nepal as Kagate. Kagate is classified by Grierson as Bhotia of Nepal and Yolmo would presumably be classified in the same way as Kagate regarding which there is a note below.

353. Script for language name.—The return of Gurumukhi is clearly a return of the script for the language written in that script and can therefore be confidently ascribed to Panjabi.

354. Caste or tribal names.—A third class of cases comprises the entries which are obviously caste or tribal names from which it is possible to form a reasonably confident assumption as to the language which ought to have been returned. Ghasi, for instance, is the name of a tribe of Chota Nagpur and this return has been included in Hindi. Ghatwali is the title in Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur of the holders of service tenures who act as rural police and mostly belong to aboriginal tribes. It has been assumed that Kherwari is the language which those returning this name are most likely to speak. Lama is given by Grierson as another name for Bhotia of Tibet, but as well as being a generic name for a priest it is also like Tamang the name of a section of Murmis and both Lama and Tamang have been classified as Murmi consistently with Grierson's classification of Tamang Bhotia. Nagesia or Nagasia is a name used in Chota Nagpur as a synonym for Kisan, a small aboriginal tribe allied to the Oraons, and the Census Superintendent of Bihar and Orissa reported that Kisan is used in certain localities as a language name equivalent to Kurukh with which on his information returns of Nagesia have been included. Chik has been included in Hindi since it is the name of a section of Pans who apparently have no dialect of their own and speak the language of the area in which they live. Thus in Bihar they mainly speak Hindi and as the returns of this name were for Darjeeling and those speaking the language thus returned almost certainly came from Bihar and not from Orissa the classification as Hindi appears to be the most likely. Khandait is the name of an Oriya caste and on that account the returns have been included amongst Oriya. Kaur, also given as a caste name, has been taken as a variant of Kauri a synonym for Kora or Koda and included with that dialect. Tharu is given as the name of wild tribe of the Nepal Terai usually speaking a broken form of the speech of its Aryan neighbours and this return has consequently been included in Hindustani. Similarly Pasi though given by Grierson as another name for Parsi and also an unidentified dialect reported to be spoken in the United Provinces is more likely the name of a caste of Bihar and the return has consequently been shown in Hindustani in the absence of anything suggesting that they speak a language or dialect of their own.

355. Apparent mistakes in the returns.—Yet another type of cases is that appearing in the index of language names as Kagti, Gurung (II) and Rongtu. Kagate is given by Grierson as the name of the Bhotia spoken in Eastern Nepal and Darjeeling, but before the language returns were considered returns of Kagate had been found in Darjeeling as a caste name and on enquiry had been classified as Bhotia of Sikkim. A similar classification has accordingly been adopted for the language return in the same region and is most probably proper in the case of Yolmo to which a reference has already been made. The returns shown in the index as Gurung (II) were received in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in the whole of which area the only persons of the Gurung caste returned amounted to no more than three and on an enquiry it was found that except possibly for the three males returned speaking this language it must elsewhere have been an error. It has been assumed without great confidence that the return was wrongly made for Murung or

Mrung and the figures have been included amongst Tipara. A similar difficulty arose from the occurrence in Noakhali, Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts and in Tripura State of Rong as a language name although not a single Lepcha was returned in these areas and it was consequently assumed that Rong was probably a mistake for Rongtu and it was classified accordingly.

356. **Other puzzles.**—Finally there was a class of entries even more doubtful than those already dealt with. In Dacca town a number of persons were returned as speaking Bari and it might have been expected that this was the caste name of the group originating in Bihar who make leaf plates and torches and sometimes sell betel leaves. Upon enquiry, however, the local officers reported that there was no such caste in Dacca and that the word was probably a caste name either of the Barui (betel growers) or Barhi (carpenters) whose language is Bengali and it has been accordingly included as such. An alternative would have been to treat it as a mis-spelling of Bara and include it under that term, but it would be expected that the local officers would have detected this had it been the correct explanation of the word. The entry of Murudi from the Chittagong Hill Tracts proved on enquiry to be probably a mistake for Mru and has been classified accordingly. Hirung at first sight would appear to be intended for Hrangkhoh, Rangkhoh or Rangchal, and a consideration of the language returns discussed below makes it possible that this would have been a more accurate classification than that adopted. Local enquiry in the police-station from which these returns were received however elicited the fact that there were no persons speaking this language there and that the return should have been Khyang. The entry Shyam has been classified as Siamese entirely on assumed probability and might just as reasonably have been given as Shan, another language in the same group. Sikk and Ganjum look very much like mis-spellings of Sikh and Ganjam; but in the area from which Sikk was returned the name Sikh had been correctly spelt and on local enquiry the district officer could not find any clue to the correct ascription of either term. It was assumed that Sikk was an erroneous transcription of Chik, a caste name to which reference has already been made and it was treated accordingly. It was similarly assumed that Ganjum was entered in error for Ganjam, a district of Madras, and that the persons returning it probably spoke Telegu. No better justification for the inclusion of Gajali in Urdu can be offered than the fact that it appears to be intended to describe the language in which *ghazels* are written. Finally fourteen persons who spoke what was described as Madrassi may actually use any one of the Dravidian or Andhra languages and have been left unclassified. These fourteen persons together with 44 returned as speaking Fagle and 41 returned as speaking Yolmo are the only ones for whom no attempt has been made to classify their languages under an accepted term. It has already been stated that since the table was so compiled it appears that Yolmo can be confidently classified as Bhotia either of Nepal or Sikkim. A similar classification would probably be correct for Fagle. The word is a clearly erroneous return and no clue to its correct ascription has been received. Speculations as to what it denotes include suggestions that it is for Pagli (a madwoman) and that it stands for Tag-li or Tag-le which is the name of a section of Gurungs. Neither of these is entirely improbable as a mis-spelling. It is not at all improbable, however, that both Yolmo and Fagle actually refer to the same language since there are no females returned as speaking Yolmo and no males speaking Fagle and the numbers speaking each are roughly the same.

357. **Effect of classification on the accuracy of the returns.**—Some considerable space has been occupied in describing the classification made for doubtful entries but the effect of these classifications is comparatively small. Some of them, such as the names of real dialects or scripts, are certainly correct. Some of the names which are clearly caste names erroneously entered can also be taken with some confidence to have been accurately ascribed and the number of cases in which classification is open to serious

doubt does not involve very many persons or extend to any considerable area. The fact that in the Chittagong Hill Tracts Murung is locally used in some parts correctly for a section of Tiparas and in some others incorrectly as a synonym for Mru has undoubtedly led to some confusion in the returns of these two languages. But in other cases the effect of classification is negligible. It is very much less in any case than the scientific inaccuracies introduced by the impossibility of distinguishing Bihari either from Bengali on the one hand or from Hindustani on the other, from the omission of figures for dialects of languages particularly Bengali and Hindustani and from the inclusion in Hindustani of different dialects or even different languages belonging to all three of the main sub-branches of the Indo-Aryan branch of languages. If it be recognised in what sense Bengali and Hindustani are used throughout the tables, it does not seem necessary to assume that the figures actually given are inaccurate to more than a very slight extent.

358. The arrangement in table XV.—The arrangement adopted in table XV is indicated in a summary form in the title page of the table. It does not profess to follow any scientific classification and the Census Commissioner's sanction to depart from the general principle adopted on previous occasions was received when the greater part of the compilation of the table was completed and when a change would have involved delay and inconvenience. The table shows, first the languages of Bengal and Sikkim and following in succession the languages of neighbouring provinces, of other parts of India, of other Asiatic countries outside India and of Europe. Amongst the languages of Bengal and Sikkim there are somewhat illogically included Hindustani and the languages of Nepal, partly in order to facilitate comparisons with the totals struck at previous enumerations and partly also because Hindustani is to many Bengalis almost a second language whilst the Nepali languages form in Sikkim more than one-half of the total for the state. A scientific classification of the returns is attempted in subsidiary table I and commented on in a later paragraph. The arrangement in part II of table XV is the same as in part I. The awkwardness of the arrangement is offset by the index of names by use of which it is possible to turn at once to any language in either part of the table or any of the supplements.

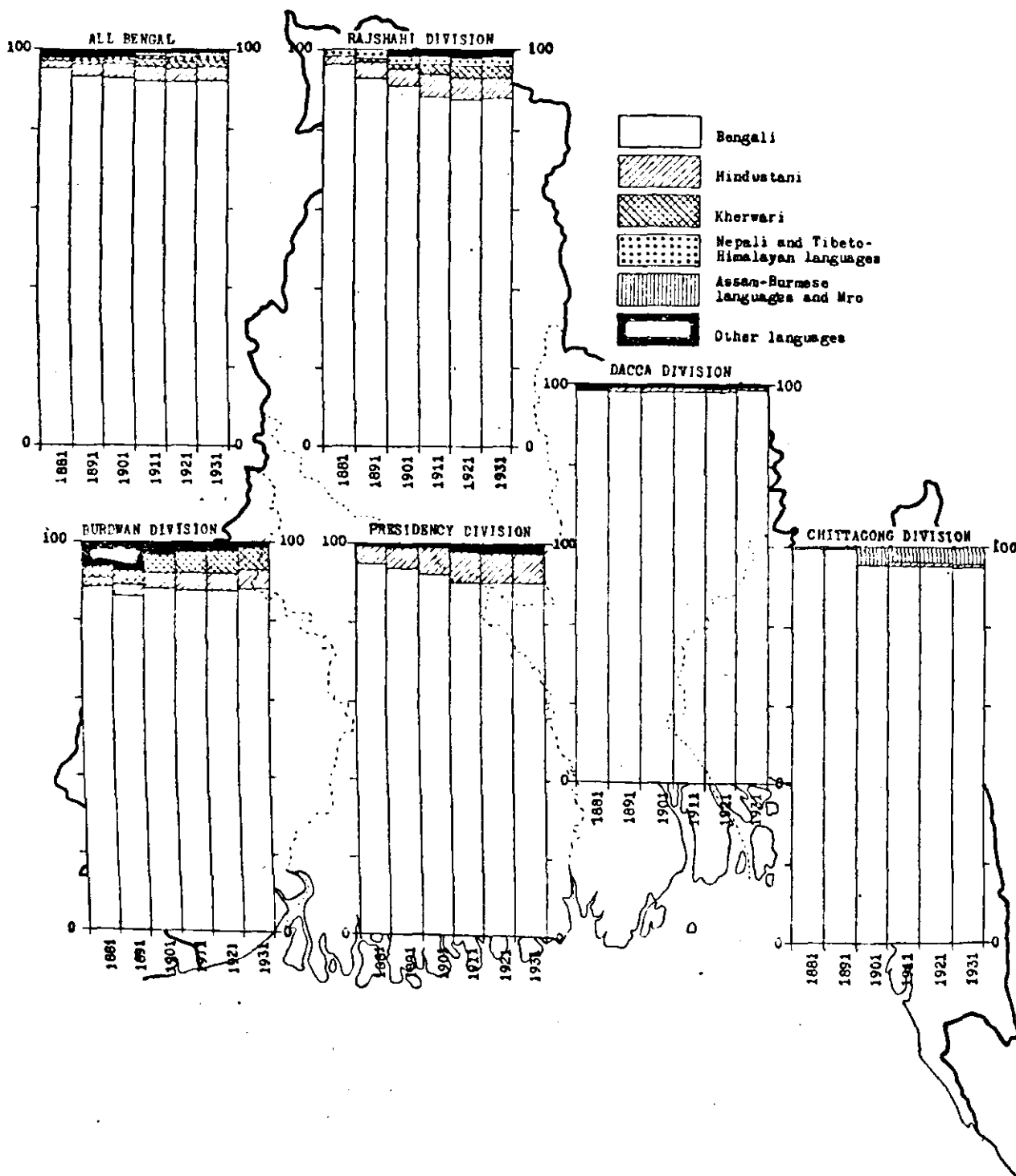
359. Summary figures from census to census : Bengali.—Bengali is the mother tongue of 923 in every 1,000 inhabitants of Bengal and if it be assumed that persons born elsewhere than in Bengal speak other languages than Bengali 955 in every 1,000 of the native born population use Bengali as their mother tongue. At the census of 1881 those speaking Bengali were 954 in every 1,000 of the population and the proportion declined at each successive census until in 1911 it stood at only 919. During the last two decades Bengali has been shown as the mother tongue of an increasing proportion of the population. In the Dacca Division less than 15 persons in every 1,000 speak any other mother tongue than Bengali. In the Rajshahi and Burdwan Divisions where other languages than Bengali have the greatest prevalence, no fewer than 879 and 877 in every 1,000 of the population actually speak Bengali.

360. Hindustani.—Hindustani is the next most prevalent language but less than 4 per cent. speak it in the whole of Bengal and its greatest prevalence in any division is in the Presidency Division, where no more than 77 in every 1,000 use it. Between 1881 and 1911 the number of persons speaking Hindustani in the whole of Bengal was on the increase, the figures being in every 10,000 of the population 204 in 1881, 295 in 1891, 347 in 1901 and 414 in 1911. During the last two decades however the proportions have fallen even more considerably than those for Bengali have risen, so that the falling off in the proportions speaking Hindustani has contributed to an increase not only in those speaking Bengali but also in those speaking other languages.

361. **Kherwari.**—Diagram No. X-1 showing these proportions and illustrating statement No. X-1 permits also comparison of the relative growth of three other groups of languages. Kherwari including the dialects spoken by the

DIAGRAM No. X-1.

Distribution by mother tongue of the population in each division, 1881-1931.



Mundas, Santals and allied tribes, is spoken by 172 in every 10,000 of the population and is most prevalent in the Burdwan Division where 58 persons in every 1,000 speak it. It is comparatively important only in one other Division, Rajshahi, where 29 persons in every 1,000 speak it. Its incidence is of course determined by the extent to which the population contains Munda, Santal and cognate elements and these are greatest in the districts of Burdwan Division adjacent to Bihar and in the Jalpaiguri and to a lesser extent the Darjeeling districts where they contribute to the labour force on the tea plantations. Kherwari has shown a proportionate increase as mother tongue since the census of 1881 when those speaking it numbered only 67 in every 10,000 of the population and when the largest proportion of the population using this language (in Burdwan Division) amounted to only 312 in every

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10,000. For all Bengal in each 10,000 there were speaking it 100 in 1891, 123 in 1901, 165 in 1911 and 172 in 1921 a figure practically the same as on the present occasion. During the last decade the proportion speaking

STATEMENT No. X-1.

Year and division.	Number per 10,000 speaking as mother tongue				
	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Kherwari.	Nepali and Tibeto-Himalayan languages.	Assam-Burmese languages and Mro.
All Bengal	8,536	304	67	26	16
1881					
Burdwan Division	8,854	211	312	..	..
Presidency Division	8,462	447	5	..	..
Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	8,654	198	12	107	14
Dacca Division	8,909	51	..	..	39
*Chittagong Division	8,948	12	..	..	36
All Bengal	8,383	308	100	50	13
1891					
Burdwan Division	8,570	287	378	..	..
Presidency Division	8,320	542	82	..	1
Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	8,284	390	84	204	6
Dacca Division	8,862	102	..	5	27
*Chittagong Division	8,928	22	..	..	47
All Bengal	8,288	347	123	45	64
1901					
Burdwan Division	8,778	394	468	..	..
Presidency Division	8,197	664	27	..	..
Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	8,100	434	119	192	25
Dacca Division	8,839	109	..	..	49
Chittagong Division with Tripura }	8,566	31	2	..	397
All Bengal	8,192	414	165	48	67
1911					
Burdwan Division	8,758	458	519	..	..
Presidency Division	8,913	782	35	1	..
Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	8,811	572	270	308	24
Dacca Division	8,826	128	..	1	42
Chittagong Division with Tripura	8,580	41	8	1	417
All Bengal	8,187	380	172	50	72
1921					
Burdwan Division	8,726	450	557	1	..
Presidency Division	8,035	735	31	2	..
Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	8,737	539	306	316	15
Dacca Division	8,843	105	..	2	47
Chittagong Division with Tripura	8,523	39	5	..	417
All Bengal	8,226	370	172	54	78
1931					
Burdwan Division	8,772	508	577	4	..
Presidency Division	8,010	766	48	5	..
Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	8,788	494	392	235	11
Dacca Division	8,835	71	1	1	38
Chittagong Division with Tripura	8,491	33	4	6	449

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Kherwari in the Burdwan Division and the Presidency Division has increased from 557 to 577 and from 31 to 48 in every 10,000 of the population respectively ; in the Rajshahi Division it has decreased from 306 to 292 in every 10,000, but is still larger than the figure (270) recorded in 1911.

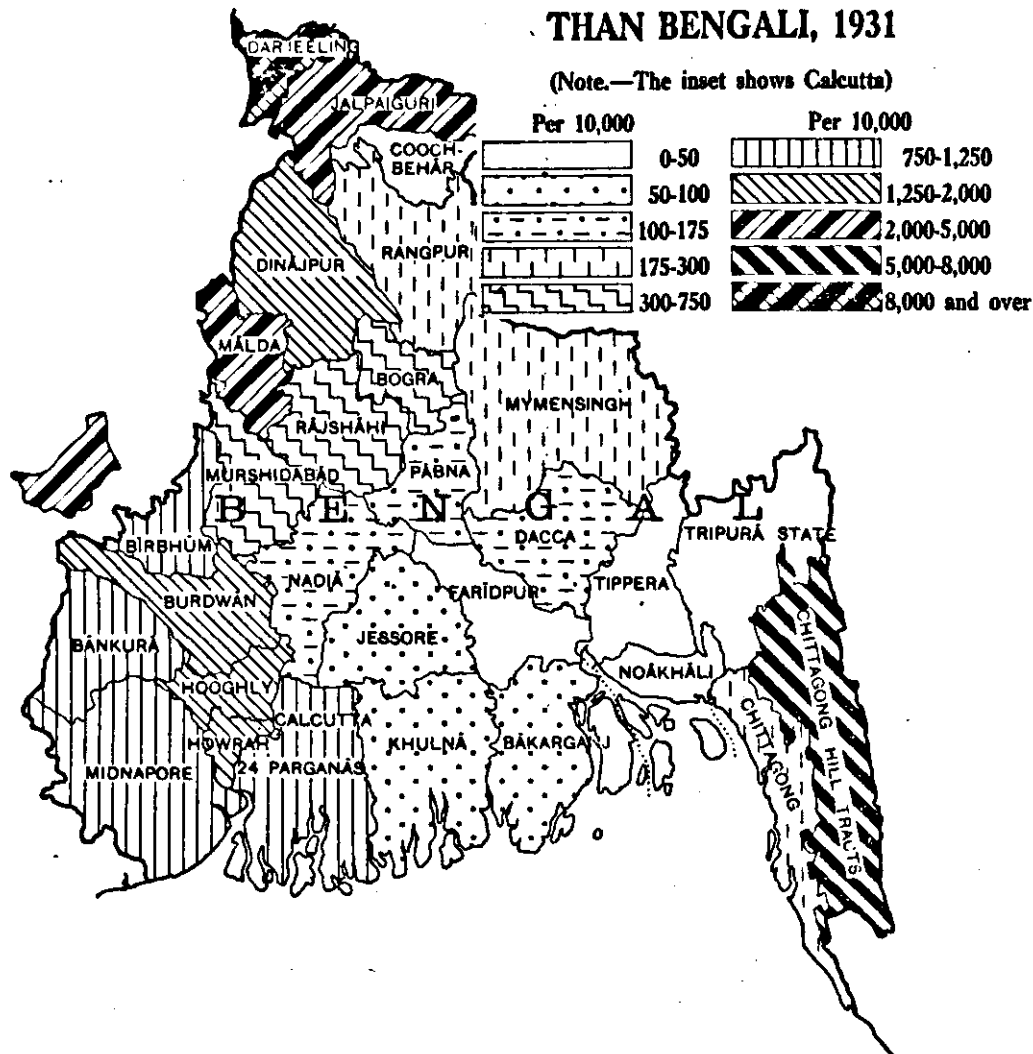
362. **Nepali and Tibeto-Himalayan languages.**—The Nepali and Tibeto-Himalayan languages representing the tongues spoken by Nepalese, Sikkimese, Bhotia and Tibetan immigrants are naturally represented most strongly in the Rajshahi Division, where those speaking them are almost exclusively confined to the Darjeeling district and to a very much smaller extent to Jalpaiguri. In every 10,000 of the total population of Bengal 54 persons speak Nepali or the Tibeto-Himalayan languages and the numbers speaking them are negligible except in the Rajshahi Division where they amount to nearly 24 in every 1,000. Except for the year 1891 which showed a figure of 50 in every 10,000 speaking these languages, their prevalence has increased at the expense, first, of Bengali and later on of Hindustani. In every 10,000, 26 spoke them in 1881, 45 in 1901, 49 in 1911 and 50 in 1921. In Darjeeling the proportion similarly rose per 10,000 from 107 in 1881 to 192 in 1901, to 208 in 1911 and to 216 in 1921.

363. **Assam Burmese languages.**—The Assam Burmese languages are practically confined to the Chittagong Division. Here in every 10,000 of the population 449 speak one of them and their prevalence has increased from 397 in 1901 (the first year for which figures are available of the Chittagong Hill Tracts where those speaking them are principally found) to 417 in 1911 and 1921 and to the figure already quoted (449 per 10,000) on the present occasion. Other languages indicated on diagram No. X-1 but not shown in statement No. X-1 are principally Dravidian languages (including the languages of Madras and also of the Oraons) and Oriya. They are principally found in the Presidency, Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions.

DIAGRAM No. X-2.

NOTE.—Hatchings are not shown in this map for Cooch Behar and Tripura States.

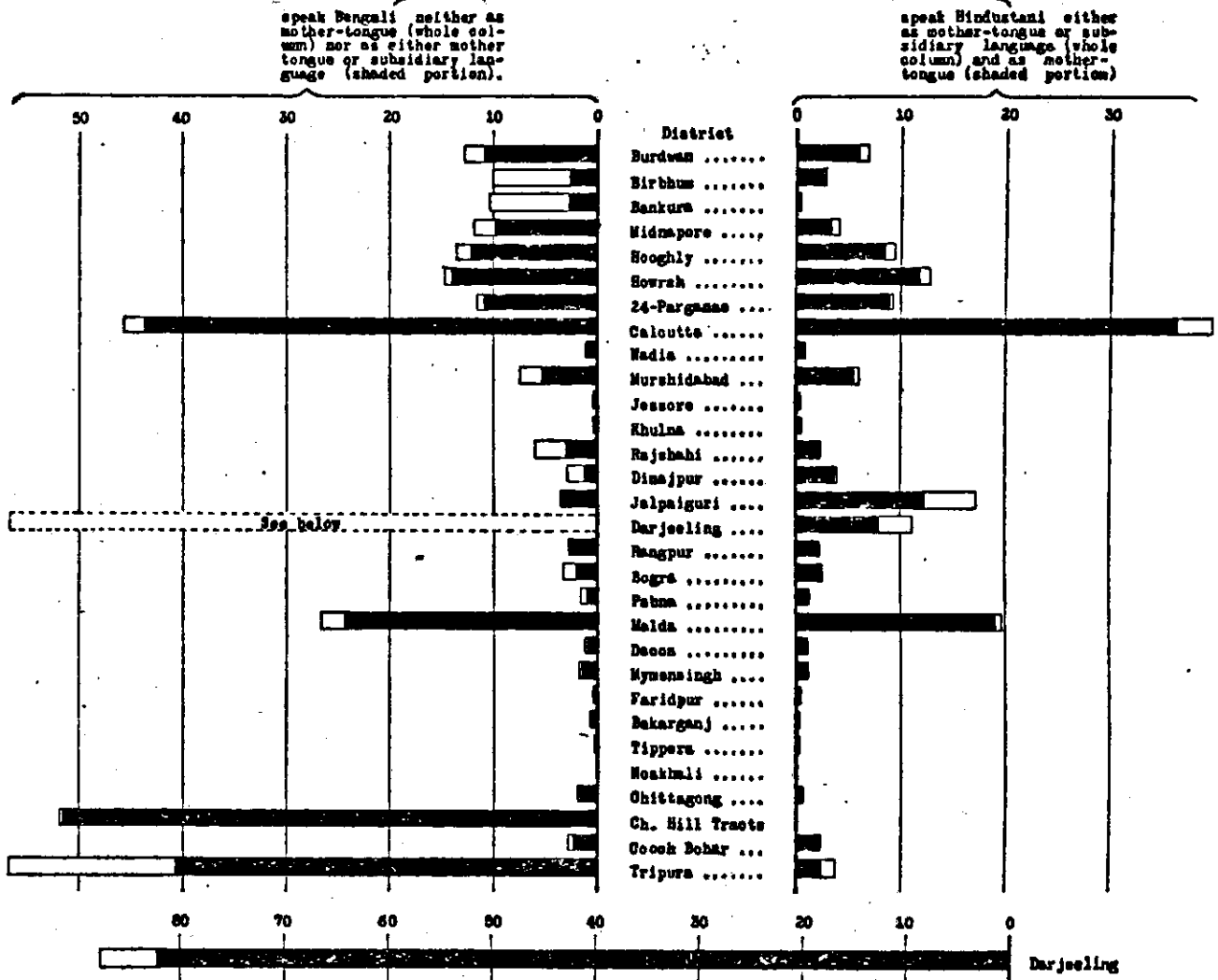
**NUMBER PER 10,000 OF THE
TOTAL POPULATION BY DISTRICTS
SPEAKING AS MOTHER TONGUE
OTHER LANGUAGES
THAN BENGALI, 1931**



364. **Prevalence of Bengali by districts.**—In 1921 less than 85 per cent. of the population spoke Bengali only in the districts of Midnapore, Calcutta, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Malda and the Chittagong Hill Tracts and in the Tripura State. With the exception of Midnapore where the percentage has now risen to 88, these are still the only areas in which the proportion falls below 85. It is more than 99 per cent. in Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Tippera and Noakhali and more than 98 per cent. in Nadia, Pabna, Dacca, Mymensingh and Chittagong. In diagram No. X-2 illustrating column 2 of subsidiary table II-B it has been considered more convenient to show the proportions of those in each district speaking any other language than Bengali as mother tongue. By an oversight the hatching for Tripura State has been omitted; it should be the same as that for Chittagong Hill Tracts. Similarly the hatching for Cooch Behar should be the same as that for the neighbouring district of Rangpur. Tippera, Noakhali, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Khulna and Jessore form a core in which nowhere do more than 63 persons in every 10,000 speak any other language as their mother tongue except Bengali. Speaking generally, the extent to which other languages are prevalent increases according to the distance from this central area, though Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah with Calcutta constitute an area where the prevalence of other languages is rather higher than in Bankura, Midnapore and Birbhum further afield. Darjeeling, where less than 12 per cent. of the population speak Bengali as mother tongue, the Tripura State where the proportions are rather more than 43 in 100 and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where only 48 per cent. use it as mother tongue, are the areas in which Bengali is least prevalent followed by Calcutta where just over 54 people in every 100 speak it.

DIAGRAM No. X-3.

Percentage of the total population who



365. **Comparison of language and birth place figures.**—If a comparison be made for those districts in which other languages than Bengali are most prevalent between the figures illustrated in diagram No. X-2 and those given in subsidiary table IV of chapter III and illustrated in diagram No. III-2 a rough estimate can be formed of the extent to which the native-born population of Bengal in each district speak other languages than Bengali. Making the assumption already suggested above, namely that those persons born outside Bengal and speaking Bengali as mother tongue are negligible in proportion to the total population, a comparison of the figures for persons born in Bengal with those speaking Bengali as mother tongue shows that 51 per cent. of the population in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are native-born but speak some other language than Bengali. Similar figures are 47 per cent. for Darjeeling, 46 per cent. for Tripura State, 22 per cent. for Malda, 14 per cent. for Jalpaiguri, 13 per cent. for Calcutta, 8 per cent. for Dinajpur, 5 per cent. for Burdwan, 4 per cent. for Hooghly and 2 per cent. for Howrah.

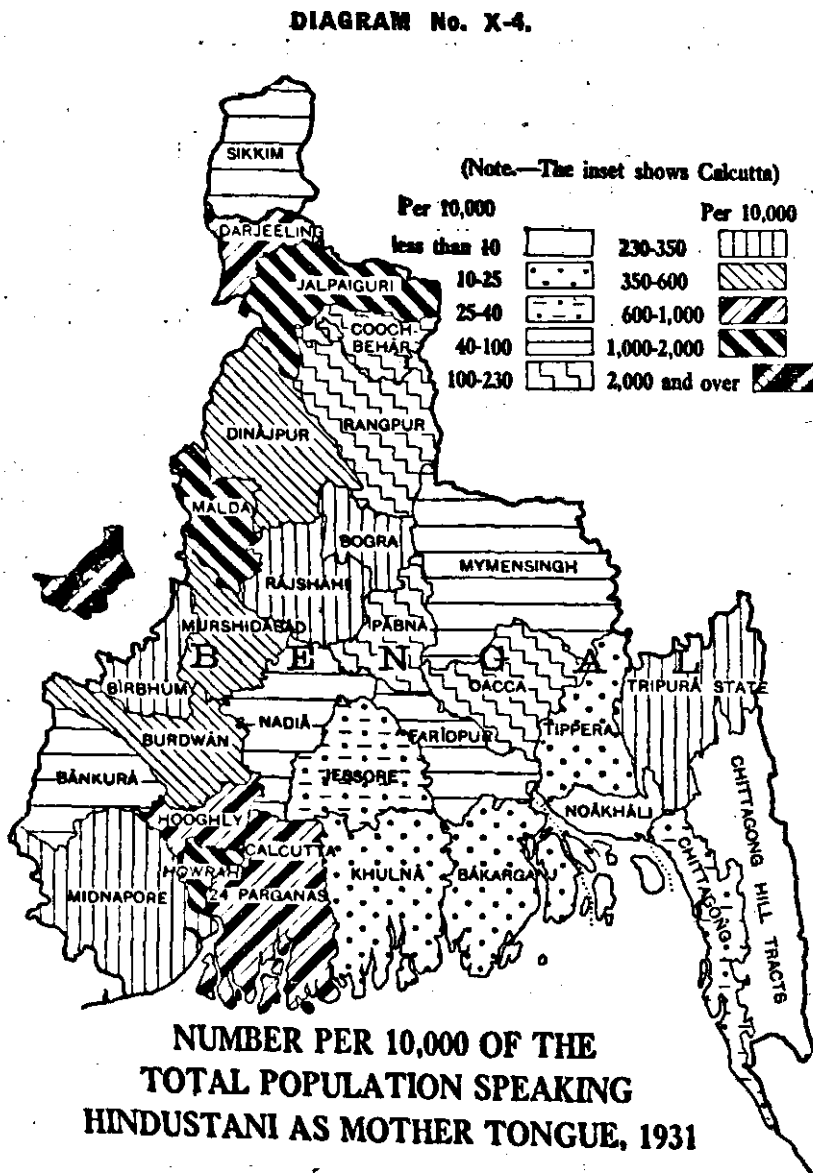
366. **Bengali as a subsidiary language.**—The extent, however, to which Bengali is used by the people of the province is better gauged by taking into consideration also figures given in column 3 of subsidiary table II-B. This shows the extent to which Bengali is used as a subsidiary language in ordinary daily life by those persons not speaking Bengali as a mother tongue. The figures there shown are illustrated in the left hand side of *diagram No. X-3. The shaded portion of the column in this diagram shows in each case the number not able to speak Bengali either as mother tongue or as subsidiary language and the unshaded portion corresponds to the proportion of the population which, though not speaking Bengali as a mother tongue, speaks

* The reader is warned that the shaded portion of the columns for Tripura State and Darjeeling is incorrectly shown and should represent 51 and 88 per cent. respectively.

it as a subsidiary language. The proportions are highest in the Bankura and Birbhum districts, where almost 8 per cent. of the population ordinarily use Bengali though they do not speak it as mother tongue and in Tripura State where more than 6 per cent. of the total population are similarly placed. In the districts of Dacca and Chittagong Divisions the proportions not speaking Bengali as mother tongue are very small and accordingly those using Bengali as a subsidiary language to some other mother tongue are also correspondingly small; but in the Burdwan Division more than 3 per cent., in the Rajshahi Division more than 1 per cent., and in the Presidency Division almost 1 per cent. of the population, though not speaking Bengali as mother tongue, use it as a subsidiary language. It can, therefore, be said that Bengali is used as the ordinary medium of conversation by over 93 per cent. of the total population of the province.

367. **Hindustani by districts.**—Hindustani is spoken as mother tongue by 1,891,337 persons in Bengal who form 370 in every 10,000 of the population. It is spoken by a greater proportion of the population in Calcutta, Malda, Jalpaiguri and Howrah than elsewhere, and in no other district do as many as one person in ten speak Hindustani as mother tongue. In Noakhali and

the Chittagong Hill Tracts there are in every 10,000 of the population only 1 and 2 respectively, who speak Hindustani as mother tongue and in Calcutta, where its use is most prevalent, only 36 persons in every 100 speak it compared with 54 who speak Bengali. The percentage is shown in column 4 of subsidiary table II-B and illustrated in diagram No. X-4. After the four districts mentioned, the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Darjeeling contain the largest proportion of Hindustani speakers; but in no other districts are there as many as 6 per cent. speaking it as mother tongue. Almost all educated Bengalis may be said in a manner to be bilingual in Hindustani, but the



total extent to which its use in ordinary daily intercourse can best be gauged, as in the case of Bengali, is by adding to the numbers using it as mother tongue the numbers using it as subsidiary language shown in column 5 to subsidiary table II-B. These figures are illustrated in the right hand portion of diagram No. X-3 which thus presents a ready means of comparing the extent to which Hindustani is the language of those not speaking Bengali. As a subsidiary language it is most prevalent in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling where in every 10,000 of the population 498 and 331 respectively use it in this way. But it is

extensively used elsewhere as a subsidiary language only in Calcutta where 34 persons in every 1,000 thus use it. It was pointed out in 1921 that as a mother tongue it is principally the language of immigrants, for there is less than 1 female speaking it as mother tongue to every 2 males. Its prevalence in Hooghly, Howrah, Calcutta and the 24-Parganas is due to the industrial areas on both sides of the Hooghly where it is in many cases probably the language of the greatest proportion of the population. The sex proportions amongst those speaking Hindustani are most even in the districts of Malda (108 males to 94 females) and Murshidabad (39 males to 37 females) but in Howrah and Calcutta there are more and in Hooghly and the 24-Parganas there are rather less than 3 males speaking Hindustani as mother tongue for every female. In Jalpaiguri where the proportions are 69 males to 52 females, almost exactly the same as in Malda, the comparatively large proportion of females is primarily due to the encouragement to permanent immigration offered by the tea plantations where labour conditions differ from those in the industrial areas about Hooghly. In Burdwan the proportions are roughly 2 males to every female and almost the same proportion is shown in Dinajpur and Darjeeling. It is, therefore, practically only in Murshidabad and Malda that the language can be described as indigenous to a permanently settled portion of the population.

368. **Kherwari, Tipara, Kurukh, Oriya, Naipali and Arakanese.**—Six other languages are spoken by as many as one per mille of the total population. Kherwari with its eleven dialects—Agaria, Asuri, Bhumij, Birhar, Brijia, Ho, Koda, Korwa, Mundari, Santali and Turi—is the mother tongue of 879,829 persons amongst whom the sexes are fairly evenly distributed. Tipara, the tribal language of the indigenous inhabitants of the Tripura State, is spoken by 191,725 persons of whom 148,298 are found in the Tripura State itself. Kurukh or Oraon is spoken by 185,797 or 3·64 per mille of the total population of whom 105,668 or nearly 57 per cent. are found in the Jalpaiguri district, more than 10,000 being found also only in 24-Parganas, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Darjeeling districts. Oriya spoken by 159,854 is the mother tongue of 3·13 per mille of the total population and is spoken by the largest number of persons in the Midnapore district (45,101) where it is indigenous and the sex proportions of those speaking it are fairly even; in Calcutta, where out of a total of 38,135 speaking this language, 35,400 are males; in the 24-Parganas, where a similar proportion holds and out of the total 27,833 speaking the language, 24,922 are males; and in the Howrah district, where again out of 18,358 persons speaking it the males number 17,080. In Bankura, the only other district in which it might be expected to be at all numerous, those speaking it were returned only as 170. Naipali, spoken by 134,147 persons, is the mother tongue of 2·62 per mille of the total population amongst whom the sex proportions are fairly evenly distributed. It is most prevalent in the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri where 92,970 and 28,878 persons respectively speak it. Elsewhere those speaking it number as many as 1,000 only in Calcutta (3,693 of whom nearly three quaters are males) and in Howrah district (1,904 of whom a similar proportion are males). Arakanese is the mother tongue of 86,554 or 1·69 per mille of the total population of whom 56,180 are found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, 13,485 in Chittagong, 11,975 in Bakarganj and 4,863 in the Tripura State. There are more females than males speaking this language.

369. **Oriya in Midnapore.**—The decline in the numbers speaking Oriya in Midnapore district has been well marked since 1901 and is even more pronounced on the present occasion. The figures for each successive census are given in the marginal statement No. X-2. Several causes have probably contributed to this result. What passes for Oriya in the district is a rather indeterminate speech. It is described in the district gazetteer as Oriya infected by the Bengali spoken across the river Haldi. Grierson, in the *Addenda Minora* to Volume I of the Linguistic Survey of India, endorses the statement that in

STATEMENT No. X-2.

Numbers speaking Oriya in Midnapore, 1901-1931.

		Both sexes.	
		Males.	Females.
1901	..	279,495	143,226 127,269
1911	..	181,801	93,960 87,836
1921	..	142,107	74,197 67,928
1931	..	45,101	23,684 21,417

Contai it is in its skeleton Oriya so modified by the adjoining Bengali as to be called a bengalised dialect of Oriya, and that even in Dantan and Narayangarh where the speech approaches more closely to the dialect of Balasore and is not so much bengalised it is unintelligible to the speaker of true Oriya. It is described both as being—

“ a curious mixture of fairly pure Bengali and fairly pure Oriya ”

and as—

“ not a dialect so much as a mechanical mixture of corrupt Bengali and corrupt Oriya ”.

It is very probable therefore that the language returned as Oriya would often be unintelligible to speakers of Oriya hailing from Cuttack and that it has been indifferently returned at different census enumerations either as Oriya or as Bengali. The fact that instruction in the schools is given in Bengali and that Bengali is the language of the courts tends to extend the range of Bengali and in any case to make it more fashionable to describe the language actually spoken by this name. When the census was being taken a Commission was known to be under contemplation to advise upon the boundaries of a province containing the Oriya people and throughout Midnapore there was a general fear, that if it transpired that a considerable proportion of the inhabitants spoke Oriya, the district might be allotted to the new province when or if it was formed. This fear quite possibly led some persons to describe as Bengali a speech which they would otherwise have returned as Oriya but is most probable that in general there is a genuine assimilation of the mixed Oriya-Bengali of this district to Bengali and that the returns

STATEMENT No. X-3.

Numbers per 100 speaking Oriya in selected police-stations of Midnapore, 1911-1931, compared with the percentage of the population which is Oriya by race, 1931.

Police-station.	Oriya by race.	Speaking Oriya			
		in 1931		in 1921.	in 1911.
		as mother-tongue.	as subsidiary language.		
Narayangarh	11.0	1.6	0.	*	*
Keshlari	12.6	1.0	2.9	*	*
Dantan	28.2	27.0	0.4	34	39
Mohanpur	44.1	3.1	75.8	91	93
Gopiballavpur	12.6	1.3	0.4	55	38
Nayagram	9.5	9.3	0.3	33	35
Contai	17.5	0.6	2.6	*	*
Ramnagar	35.0	1.0	0.6	0	67
Egra	22.4	0.3	2.7	*	0
Pataashpur	11.4	0.8	0.2	*	*

*Not on record.

merely exaggerate what is a real change in the speech of the people. Figures have been compiled estimating the number of persons who are Oriya by race in each police-station of the district. The estimate was made, in the absence of any return of race, upon a classification of all caste returns made after reference to the district officer and local investigation. Many castes (like the Karans and the functional castes Dhopa, Goala, etc.) are neither entirely Bengali nor entirely Oriya and their allocation by race was difficult. The figures are given in statement No. X-3 for those police-stations in which Oriyas are most numerous and probably overestimate the proportions of Oriyas. Even this overstatement however cannot account for the discrepancy in the proportions of those who are Oriya by race and who returned Oriya as their mother tongue or subsidiary language. The figures are comparable only in Dantan and Nayagram police-stations. In Mohanpur, where even in 1921, 91 per cent. of the population returned Oriya and the largest proportion of Oriyas by race is found, the proportion speaking the language as mother tongue now amounts to only 3.1 but an additional 75.8 per cent. use it as a subsidiary language. The proportions have similarly declined from 55 to 1.3 per cent. in Gopiballavpur and from 33 to 9.3 per cent. in Nayagram. In Ramnagar the percentage has increased from nil to nearly 2 per cent. but is still far short of the estimate of those who are Oriya by birth which is 35 per cent.

370. **Philological classification.**—In subsidiary table I the languages returned have been classified according to a philological scheme. The scheme is the same as Sir George Grierson's, adopted at the census of 1921, with minor modifications or alterations suggested or approved by Sir George Grierson himself. So far as the languages of this province are concerned

the modifications in the classification scheme are of relatively no importance and affect only languages which are not spoken by any considerable proportion of the population, such as Kuki, Rongtu, Mro, Siamese and Persian. Of the main families distinguished in Grierson's classified list four are represented in Bengal, namely, the Austric, Tibeto-Chinese, Dravidian and Indo-European

STATEMENT No. X-4.

Families of Indian languages spoken in Bengal.

	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
AUSTRIC FAMILY	.. 896,189	453,834	442,355
Tibeto-Chinese Family	.. 532,298	272,253	260,045
Dravidian Family	.. 228,532	123,281	105,251
Indo-European Family	.. 49,371,617	25,673,767	23,697,850

families, the total numbers speaking which are shown in the marginal statement No. X-4.

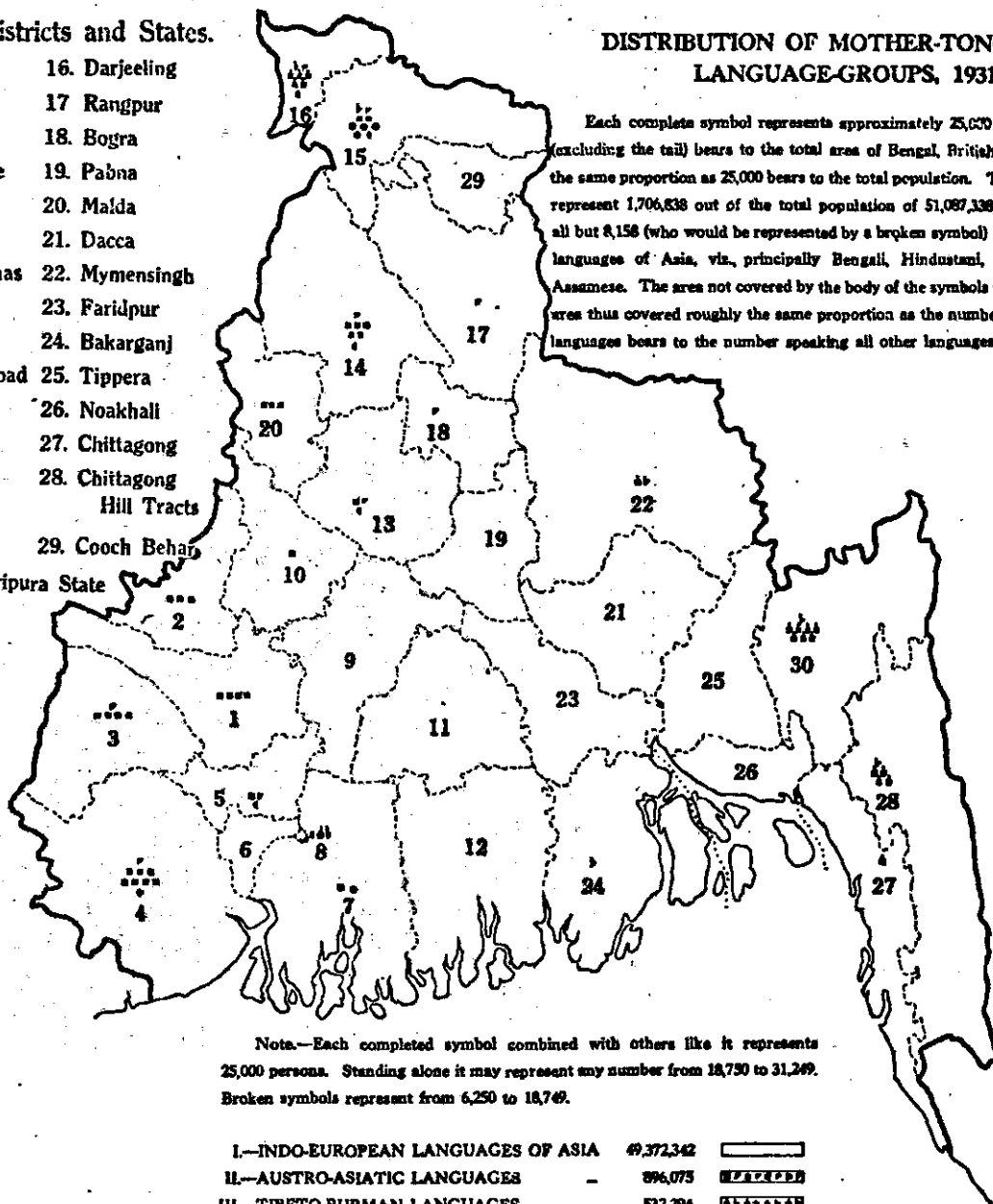
DIAGRAM No. X-5.

Key to Districts and States.

- 1. Burdwan
- 2. Birbhum
- 3. Bankura
- 4. Midnapore
- 5. Hooghly
- 6. Howrah
- 7. 24-Parganas
- 8. Calcutta
- 9. Nadia
- 10. Murshidabad
- 11. Jessore
- 12. Khulna
- 13. Rajshahi
- 14. Dinajpur
- 15. Jalpaiguri
- 16. Darjeeling
- 17. Rangpur
- 18. Bogra
- 19. Pabna
- 20. Malda
- 21. Dacca
- 22. Mymensingh
- 23. Faridpur
- 24. Bakarganj
- 25. Tippera
- 26. Noakhali
- 27. Chittagong
- 28. Chittagong Hill Tracts
- 29. Cooch Behar
- 30. Tripura State

DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHER-TONGUES BY LANGUAGE-GROUPS, 1931.

Each complete symbol represents approximately 25,000 persons and its area (excluding the tail) bears to the total area of Bengal, British districts and states, the same proportion as 25,000 bears to the total population. The symbols together represent 1,706,638 out of the total population of 51,087,338. Of the remainder all but 8,158 (who would be represented by a broken symbol) speak Indo-European languages of Asia, viz., principally Bengali, Hindustani, Naipali, Oriya and Assamese. The area not covered by the body of the symbols therefore bears to the area thus covered roughly the same proportion as the number speaking these five languages bears to the number speaking all other languages.



Note.—Each completed symbol combined with others like it represents 25,000 persons. Standing alone it may represent any number from 18,750 to 31,250. Broken symbols represent from 6,250 to 18,749.

I.—INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES OF ASIA	49,372,342	
II.—AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES	896,075	
III.—TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES	532,294	
IV.—DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES	228,532	
V.—EUROPEAN LANGUAGES	49,937	

371. District distribution by language families.—In diagram No. X-5 overleaf illustrating statement X-5 an attempt has been made to show graphically the relative strength of the principal families of languages found in the province. Five groups have been represented showing No. I* the Indo-European languages of Asia in full, No. II† the Austro-Asiatic languages which

*The figures include 700 persons speaking Armenian and 25 speaking Sinhalese in addition to those speaking Indo-European languages of India shown in statement No. X-4.

†Pale spoken by 114 persons has been omitted but the numbers are so small as to have no effect on the graphic representation.

are the only sub-family of the Austric languages found in Bengal, No. III the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages which includes all those speaking a Tibeto-Chinese language with the exception of 2 persons in Chittagong speaking Siamese, No. IV the Dravidian languages and No. V European languages.

STATEMENT No. X-5.

District distribution by language families.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number of persons speaking languages of *group.				
	I	II	III	IV	V
1	2	3	4	5	6
BENGAL	49,372,342	896,075	532,294	228,532	49,937
West Bengal	8,111,743	498,998	109	27,202	8,430
BURDWAN DIVISION	8,111,743	498,998	109	27,202	8,430
Burdwan	1,471,716	100,020	36	878	2,861
Birbhum	875,795	71,474	11	110	149
Bankura	1,000,182	111,457	..	42	40
Midnapore	2,005,726	178,310	9	12,984	1,992
Hooghly	1,069,575	86,547	51	7,228	566
Howrah	1,088,769	1,190	2	5,965	2,822
Central Bengal	9,983,959	48,680	476	33,252	35,844
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	9,983,959	48,680	476	33,252	35,844
24-Parganas	2,670,116	20,305	149	20,236	2,601
Calcutta	1,150,055	1,272	227	6,624	33,034
Nadia	1,525,607	1,078	92	2,735	113
Murshidabad	1,346,013	22,090	4	2,522	48
Jessore	1,669,540	849	3	758	10
Khulna	1,622,628	3,086	1	377	38
North Bengal	10,591,632	343,813	153,270	165,656	3,544
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	10,591,632	343,813	153,270	165,656	3,544
Rajshahi	1,376,820	36,441	1	15,708	46
Dinajpur	1,599,813	138,390	1	16,738	179
Jaipalguri	793,939	64,463	17,497	106,511	409
Darjeeling	157,538	12,952	134,581	11,947	2,174
Rangpur	2,580,313	8,494	60	5,371	502
Bogra	1,077,739	6,818	..	1,811	60
Pabna	1,441,365	1,202	2	2,977	108
Malda	975,726	74,016	2	4,022	1
COOCH BEHAR STATE	588,579	837	1,178	571	15
East Bengal	20,685,008	4,584	378,439	2,422	2,119
DACCA DIVISION	13,809,609	783	52,536	121	861
Dacca	8,431,166	82	719	81	556
Mymensingh	5,090,364	..	89,671	81	143
Faridpur	2,361,390	670	67	4	49
Bakarganj	2,926,749	1	12,129	5	113
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	6,899,998	1,634	132,921	363	1,257
Tipperra	3,108,956	..	585	13	162
Noakhall	1,706,647	..	13	..	56
Chittagong	1,771,423	492	23,619	370	1,023
Chittagong Hill Tracts	103,070	1,142	108,704	..	6
TRIPURA STATE	165,303	2,197	192,932	1,918	1

* The actual language returns included in each group are as follows :—

Group.	Actual language returns included.
I.—INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES OF ASIA AND AFRICA.	(1) Pashto : (2) Persian : (3) Kashmiri : (4) Sindhi : (5) Marathi (Konkani) : (6) Oriya : (7) Bengali : (8) Assamese : (9) Hindusthani : (10) Rajsthani : (11) Gujarati : (12) Panjabi : (13) Nalpali (Khaakura) : (14) Singhalese : (15) Armenian.
II.—AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES	(1) Palaung : (2) Khasi : (3) Kherwari : (4) Kharia.
III.—TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES	(1) Bhotia : (2) Dhimal : (3) Thami : (4) Limbu : (5) Yakha : (6) Khambu : (7) Rai or Jindar : (8) Hayu : (9) Gurung : (10) Murmi : (11) Sunwar : (12) Magari : (13) Newari : (14) Rong or Lepcha : (15) Kami : (16) Manjhi : (17) Garo : (18) Koch : (19) Bara (Bodo) : (20) Tipura : (21) Maithe (Manipur) : (22) Hallam : (23) Kuki : (24) Banjogi : (25) Lushai : (26) Pankhu : (27) Khyang (Sho) : (28) Khami : (29) Rongtu : (30) Kachin : (31) Burmese : (32) Arakanese : (33) Mro (Mru).
IV.—DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES	(1) Tamil : (2) Malayalam : (3) Kanarese : (4) Kota : (5) Kurukh (Oron) : (6) Malto : (7) Gondi : (8) Telegu.
V.—EUROPEAN LANGUAGES	(1) Greek : (2) Italian : (3) French : (4) Spanish : (5) Portuguese : (6) Welsh : (7) Gaelic : (8) Irish : (9) Russian : (10) English : (11) Dutch : (12) Flemish (Belgian) : (13) Norwegian : (14) Swedish : (15) Danish : (16) German : (17) Estonian : (18) Finnish : (19) Hungarian.

In the diagram are represented all but 8,158 persons speaking other languages than the European family which are foreign to India, namely, the vernaculars of other Asiatic countries and Africa. A full explanation is given with the diagram itself but the reader is warned that, although the surface covered by the symbols is intended to bear the same proportion to the total surface representing the area of the province as is borne by the number speaking each family of languages to the total population, the preponderance of the Indo-European languages principally of the Indo-Aryan branch (mainly composed of those speaking Bengali, Hindustani, Nepali, Oriya and Assamese) is to some extent concealed by the area occupied by district boundaries and the figures indicating district names.

372. **The Austric family of languages.**—The Austric family of languages is classified into two sub-families—the Austronesian and the Austro-Asiatic. Of these only the second is represented in Bengal. Its distribution by groups is shown in the marginal statement No. X-6. Two branches are distinguished in it, the Monkhmer and the Munda, and of the first branch two groups, namely, the Palaung-wa and the Khasi groups are represented in Bengal. Palaung is the language of 842 persons in the

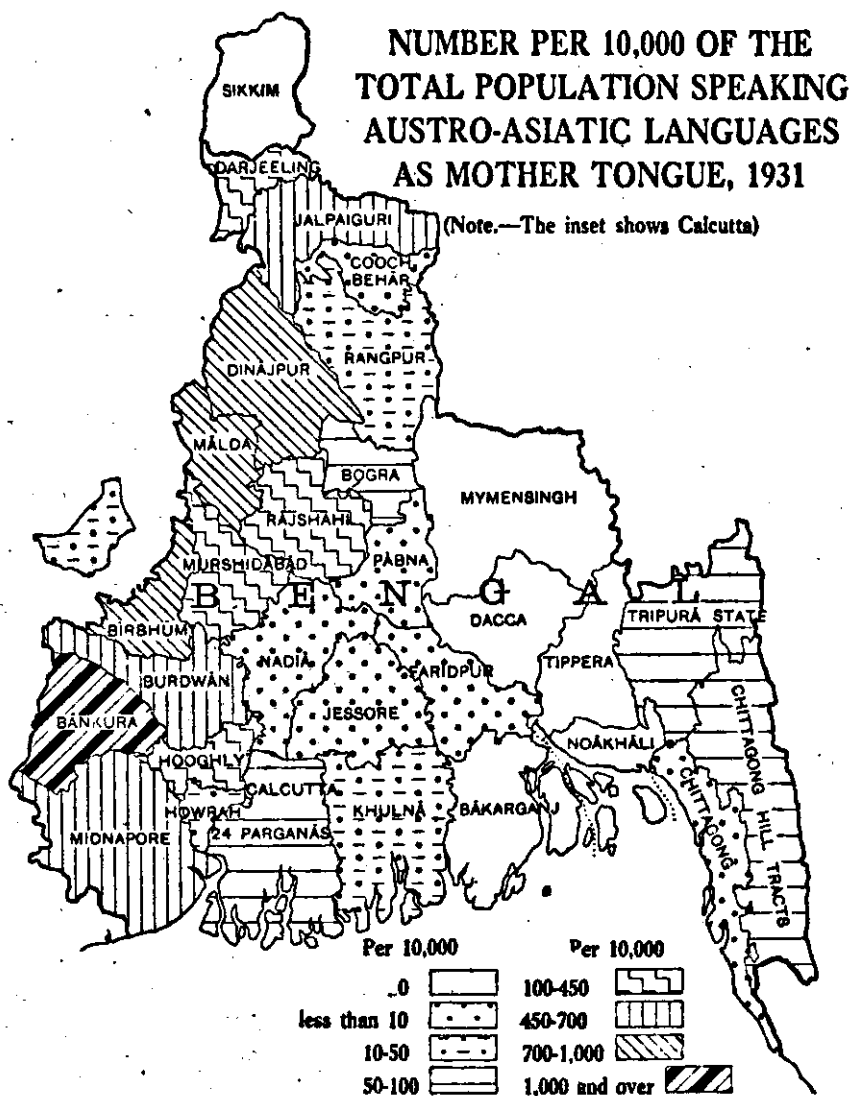
STATEMENT No. X-6.

Groups of the Austric family of languages.

	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
AUSTRIC FAMILY	896,189	453,834	442,355
Austro-Asiatic sub-family	896,189	453,834	442,355
(1) Mon-khmer Branch	1,457	975	482
(a) Palaung-Wa Group	856	547	409
(b) Khasi Group	501	428	73
(2) Munda Branch	884,732	452,859	441,873

Chittagong Hill Tracts and together with Pale spoken by 114 persons, 98 of whom are in the Tripura State, represents the Palaung-wa group. Khasi spoken by 501 persons, of whom 300 are in Darjeeling and 124 in Calcutta, represents the Khasi group of the same branch. The Munda branch is represented by Kherwari and Kharia. Speakers of this sub-family of languages number 896,075. They are principally found in Western Bengal,

DIAGRAM No. X-6.



Dinajpur, Malda, Rajshahi and Murshidabad and more than 98 per cent. of the total speak Kherwari in one or other of its dialects. The proportion which they form to the total population in each district is illustrated in diagram No. X-6. The proportions in Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts are due to those speaking Khasi and Palaung which are not found in the west of the province. But in other districts the hatchings practically represent the proportion of persons speaking Kherwari. They form a greater proportion of the total population in Bankura where they number 10 per cent. of the total population than in any other district and they form as much as 700 per

10,000 only in the strip comprising Dinajpur (791), Malda (703) and Birbhum (754). They are as many as 6 per cent. of the total population only in three other districts, namely, Burdwan, Midnapore and Jalpaiguri and except in Darjeeling where they are over 4 per cent., they are less than 4 per cent. in every other district of the province.

373. The Tibeto-Chinese family of languages.—The Tibeto-Chinese family, apart from the 2 persons speaking Siamese classified in the Tai branch of the Tai-Chinese sub-family, is represented entirely by three branches of the

STATEMENT No. X-7.

Groups of the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages.

	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY	532,296	272,253	260,043
A.—Tibeto-Burman Sub-family	532,296	272,253	260,041
(1) Tibeto-Himalayan Branch	143,802	72,171	71,631
(a) Tibetan Group	14,437	7,698	6,749
(b) Pronominalised Himalayan Group	56,714	28,012	28,702
(c) Non-pronominalised Himalayan Group.	72,651	36,471	36,180
(2) Assam-Burmese Branch	384,699	196,342	188,357
(a) Bora or Bodo Group	246,970	129,800	117,570
(b) Kuki-Chin Group	42,768	19,408	23,360
(i) Meithei Sub-group	19,880	8,585	11,295
(ii) Old Kuki Sub-group	10,370	4,775	5,595
(iii) Central Chin Sub-group	3,471	1,777	1,694
(iv) Southern Chin Sub-group	3,374	1,455	1,919
(v) Unclassed Chin Sub-group	1,895	947	948
(vi) Unspecified Kuki	3,778	1,869	1,909
(c) Kachin Group	1	1	
(d) Burma Group	85,060	47,638	47,422
(3) Unclassed	3,793	3,749	53
B.—Tai Chinese Sub-family	2	..	2
Tai Branch (Tai Group)	2	..	2

Tibeto-Burman sub-family, viz., the Tibeto-Himalayan, the Assam-Burmese and an unclassified branch containing only 3,793 persons speaking Mro who are found exclusively in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Within the Tibeto-Himalayan branch are distinguished three groups—(a) the Tibetan group comprising Tibetan and the Bhotia languages of Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal; (b) a pronominalised Himalayan group; and (c) a non-pronominalised Himalayan group. In the

Assam-Burmese branch four groups are distinguished: the Bodo, Kuki-Chin, Kachin and Burma groups. The figures for those speaking the languages of the Tibeto-Chinese family by sub-family branch, group and sub-group are shown in the marginal statement No. X-7.

374. Tibeto-Himalayan languages.—Amongst the Tibetan group of the Tibeto-Himalayan branch, returns made have been distributed as accurately as possible, but the figures pretend to no great accuracy and no detailed comparison for members of the group can be made with 1921 when they were not separately shown. In Bengal the Bhotia languages are practically confined to Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts in which 14,333 or all but 104 of the total number speaking these languages are found. To the Tibetan group are probably to be allocated also the two puzzling entries, Fagle and Yolmo, to which reference has been made earlier. To the pronominalised Himalayan group belong the languages of the Kirant or Eastern Nepal. The languages comprising the pronominalised Himalayan group in Bengal are Dhimal, Thami, Limbu, Yakka, Khambu, Rai or Jimdar and Hayu or Vayu. Persons speaking them amount to nearly 57 thousand and the sexes are very evenly distributed so that they represent to some extent permanent immigrants. The evenness of sex distribution however does not in the case of Nepali and Bhotia tribes carry with it so strong a presumption of permanent migration owing to the extent to which the women of these countries travel abroad for employment in the same way as the men. Amongst this group Rai or Jimdar with 40 thousand and Limbu with 15 thousand speakers are the most prominent. The total number speaking languages of this group has declined by over one and a half thousand since 1921 and the decline is almost certainly to be attributed to the increasing ascendancy of Naipali or Khaskura over the tribal languages, a condition to which reference will be made later. Amongst the non-pronominalised Himalayan groups the following are represented in Bengal: Gurung, Murmi, Sunwar, Magari, Newari, Rong or Lepcha, Kami, Manjhi and Toto. Sir George Grierson notes in his linguistic survey that the classification of Kami and Manjhi is doubtful and at the present census the Kamis of Nepal both in Sikkim and in Darjeeling district, where the language is principally spoken, made representations that there was so such language as Kami at all and that their tribal language was pure and unadulterated Khaskura. The total

number speaking this group is nearly 73 thousand and is practically the same as in 1921; but it is only those speaking Murmi who have increased in numbers (from 32 thousand to nearly 36 thousand) during the decade and in every other language the numbers have shown a decrease. It is a curiosity that, although the Toto tribe have increased in numbers, not a single individual was returned as speaking the Toto language which has evidently been incorrectly recorded in the returns and included probably with one of the Bhotia languages. In statement No. X-8 figures are given by police-stations for the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts showing the numbers and proportions speaking Tibeto-Burman languages. These represent almost exclusively Tibeto-Himalayan languages of this sub-family. In Darjeeling the proportions are small in all police-stations of the Siliguri subdivision, but approach or surpass one-half in all other police-stations except Darjeeling where the percentage is 40. In Jalpaiguri they are considerable only in Mitiali and Madarihahat.

375. Assam Burmese languages.—In the Assam-Burmese branch the Bara group is represented in Bengal by Garo, Koch, Bara (Bodo or Kachari) Tipura and Rabha, but on the present occasion Rabha was not returned as a language in spite of there being over 3 thousand members of the tribe returned by the tribal name. Tipura, spoken by nearly 192 thousand persons almost entirely found in the Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts with 1,878 in Chittagong district and 567 in Tippera, makes the largest contribution towards this group and those speaking it have increased from 158,734 in 1921. The total number speaking languages of the Bara group is 246 thousand compared with 226 thousand in 1921. This increase is little more than one-half of the increase of those speaking Tipura. Those speaking Garo, Koch and Kachari have all declined in numbers. The Tipura figures are probably inflated by returns of Mrung incorrectly made for Mro. The Kuki-Chin group includes the old Kuki sub-group represented by Hallam and Hrangkol, the Central Chin sub-group represented by Banjogi, Lushei and Pankhu, the Southern Chin group represented by Khyang and Khami, Rongtu representing the unclassified Chin languages and unspecified Kuki. The total numbers speaking the Kuki-Chin group of languages is rather less than 43 thousand compared with nearly 30 thousand in 1921. Meithei or Manipuri is spoken by 19,880 persons of whom all but 344 are in the Tripura State and those speaking it in 1921 numbered only 15,875. Hallam spoken by 3,059 persons in 1921 was on the present occasion returned by 10,370 persons, all found in the Tripura State. Hrangkol returned in 1921 by 671 persons was not returned at all on the present occasion, but a consideration of the returns of Khyang below suggests that some of them (namely, 309 females whose language is shown as Hirung) might more appropriately have been entered as Hrangkol. Banjogi, Lushei and Pankhu representing the Central Chin sub-group are spoken by more than 3 thousand persons. Banjogi and Pankhu spoken by 810 and 83 persons respectively are found only in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Lushei, spoken by 2,578 persons, is the language of 2,000 persons in Tripura State and 539 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and there were also 30 persons returned as speaking this language in the Darjeeling district. Lushei was returned by 2,819 persons in 1921 and those speaking it have accordingly decreased during the decade. Khyang

STATEMENT No. X-8.

Numbers and proportions speaking Tibeto-Burman languages in police-stations of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts.

NOTE.—Figures for police-stations include Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists. Details for other religions were not compiled by police-stations but are given for the whole district after the police-station figures.

District and police-station.	Total population.	Speaking Tibeto-Burman languages.	
		Numbers.	Per cent. of total.
Jalpaiguri ..	933,357	7,406	1
Jalpaiguri ..	84,966	16	..
Rajganj ..	49,287	1	..
Boda ..	72,870	14	..
Nagrakata ..	37,927	212	1
Dhubguri ..	88,848	333	..
Maj ..	82,268	369	..
Mitiali ..	40,199	1,008	3
Alipur Duars ..	78,902	38	..
Kumargram ..	33,046	306	1
Kalchini ..	56,965	319	1
Falakata ..	46,837	54	..
Madarihahat ..	43,282	1,105	3
*Whole district ..	48,323	3,573	7
Darjeeling ..	319,635	133,924	42
Darjeeling ..	42,780	16,979	40
Fulbari ..	17,941	13,458	75
Rangli Rangliot ..	21,595	13,700	63
Sukiapokri ..	14,059	9,023	64
Jore Bungalow ..	20,962	12,800	61
Kalimpong ..	51,509	30,113	58
Gorubathan ..	13,000	6,178	48
Kurseong ..	36,288	17,548	48
Mirik ..	14,259	10,192	71
Siliguri ..	31,408	1,071	3
Phansidewa ..	19,849	114	1
Khoribari ..	20,517	355	2
*Whole district ..	16,368	2,393	16

*District figures for "other religions" for which figures are not available by police-stations.

and Khami are the two languages representing the Southern Chin sub-group of the Assam-Burmese branch of languages. They are found only in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. There were 1,265 persons returned as speaking Khyang and 2,109 as speaking Khami, but the figures of females speaking Khyang are 307 in excess of those of males speaking the same language and the excess is very close to the number (309) returned as speaking Hirung and classified on the local officers' investigation as Khyang; it is possible that a classification as Hrangkol would have been more correct. The numbers shown as speaking Rongtu were actually returned, as has been noted above, under Rong and no such return appears to have been made in 1921. Kachin spoken by a single person in Bakarganj is the only representative of the Kachin group of languages. In the Burma group, Burmese spoken by 8,506 and Arakanese spoken by 86,554 were returned principally in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts and in Bakarganj, but as many as 4,863 persons speaking Arakanese were also returned in the Tripura State. Mro returned in 1921 by 8,583 persons was returned on the present occasion by only 3,793 although the numbers of the caste are 7,404 and it has evidently suffered by the inclusion of entries of Mrung with those of Tipura. In statement No. X-9 figures are given for the number and proportion of those speaking Assam-Burmese languages and Mro in the police-stations of Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts and in the divisions of Tripura State. The proportions are less than half in the Chittagong Hill Tracts only in Rangamati, Barkal, Langadu and Dighinala and in Tripura State only in Dharmanagar, Sonamura, Belonia and Udaipur. In Chittagong they are highest in Teknaf and Cox's Bazar.

376. **The Dravidian family of languages.**—The Dravidian family is represented by languages of three groups; the Dravida comprising Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese and Kota; the intermediate represented by Kurukh, Malto and Gondi; and the Andhra represented by Telegu. Figures for the

STATEMENT No. X-10.
Groups of the Dravidian family of languages.

	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY	228,532	123,281	105,251
Dravida Group	6,282	3,549	2,733
Intermediate Group	189,125	102,521	86,604
Andhra Group	33,125	17,211	15,914

family are given by groups in the marginal statement No. X-10. Kota is given by Grierson as the language of a wild tribe in the Nilgiri hills, lower in position and occupation than the Todas. It was returned by 13 females only, all of whom were in the Birbhum district. Tamil spoken by 5,855 persons was returned by some persons in the majority of the districts of Bengal, but is principally found in Calcutta and Midnapore which have respectively 2,554 and 1,537 persons speaking the language. Malayalam spoken by only 305 persons is practically confined to Calcutta where 236 of those speaking it are found and the remainder are

STATEMENT No. X-9.

Numbers and proportions speaking Assam-Burmese languages and Mro in police-stations of Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts districts and divisions of the Tripura State.

NOTE.—Figures for police-stations include for Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists and for Tripura State Muslims and Hindus. Details for other religions were not compiled by police-stations but are given for the whole district or state after the police-station figures.

District and police-station or state and division.	Total population.	Speaking Assam-Burmese and Mro.	
		Numbers.	Per cent. of total.
Chittagong	1,797,038	23,619	1
Fatikehari	123,988	1,625	1
Raojan	120,924	68	1
Rangania	76,624	627	1
Hathazari	109,935	167	..
Chittagong	51,873	95	..
Double Moorings	57,896	15	..
Pachalala	45,964	61	..
Mirsarai	134,733	60	..
Sitakund	81,010	203	..
Patiya	207,808	232	..
Boalkhal	76,405	82	..
Satkania	187,823	102	..
Banskhali	106,722	10	..
Anwara	78,883	2	..
Cox's Bazar	53,679	4,600	9
Ramu	51,687	3,808	7
Maheskhali	51,000	2,335	5
Kutubdia	22,819	14	..
Teknaf	35,633	6,008	17
Ukhia	32,801	187	1
Chakaria	86,252	2,475	3
*Whole district	2,979	793	27
Chittagong Hill Tracts	212,922	106,392	51
Kotwali (Rangamati)	37,051	2,531	7
Chandraghona	20,498	14,043	69
Barkal	20,623	893	2
Langadu	12,744	5,682	45
Dighinala	15,790	3,588	23
Banderban	14,240	19,371	94
Ruma	7,268	6,894	95
Lama	16,009	14,856	93
Nakhyongchari	7,287	3,721	51
Raingarh	19,352	14,738	76
Mahalehchari	29,536	17,235	58
*Whole district	12,527	11,350	91
Tripura State	382,450	190,831	50
Sadar	107,322	54,100	50
Kailasahar	63,535	38,017	61
Khowai	40,050	24,487	61
Dharmanagar	37,404	6,966	19
Sonamura	27,041	6,730	25
Belonia	21,634	10,054	47
Udaipur	34,314	11,701	34
Amarpur	22,124	20,947	95
Sabroom	11,885	9,399	83
*Whole State	17,141	7,330	43

*District figures for "other religions" for which, figures are not available by police-stations.

principally found in the districts of Western Bengal. Kanarese spoken by 109 persons only is found principally in Chittagong (37), Calcutta (39) and Howrah (19). Kurukh, the most important of the intermediate group of Dravidian languages and spoken by the fifth largest number of persons in the province, is the mother tongue of 185,797 persons principally found in north, west and the southern part of the Central Bengal. The numbers speaking this language have increased from 184,044 in 1921, but they form little more than four-fifths of the number returned as Oraons whose tribal language it is. Malto, the tribal language of the Malers inhabiting the hills near Rajmahal and also used to denote the corrupt Bengali spoken by the hillmen of the Rajmahal hills, is spoken by 3,304 persons, 3,178 of whom are found in the Rajshahi district and the remainder in Northern Bengal. There were 4,997 persons returned as speaking this language in 1921. Gondi, mainly spoken in the Central Provinces but also found in Orissa is spoken by only 24 persons, all of whom are found in the Midnapore district. Telegu spoken by 33,125 persons was returned in 1921 only by 25,052. Nearly one-third of those speaking it are concentrated in the Midnapore district (10,864) and in this district together with the districts of Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas and Calcutta some 75 per cent. of those speaking this language are found.

377. Indo-European family of languages—Iranian and Dardic branches.

—In the Indo-European family, so far as the languages of India are concerned, only the Aryan sub-family is represented. Amongst the branches of this

STATEMENT No. X-11.

Groups of the Indo-European family of Indian languages.

	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY	49,371,617	25,673,797	23,697,820
Aryan Sub-family ..	49,371,617	25,673,797	23,697,820
(1) Iranian Branch ..	5,200	4,660	540
(a) Eastern Group ..	5,200	4,660	540
(2) Dardic Branch ..	63	52	11
Dard Group ..	63	52	11
(3) Indo-Aryan Branch ..	49,366,354	25,669,085	23,697,269
(i) Outer Sub-Branch ..	48,434,959	25,082,933	23,372,028
(a) North-Western Group.	504	380	124
(b) Southern Group ..	3,161	1,941	1,220
(c) Eastern Group ..	48,431,294	25,080,612	23,370,608
(ii) Mediate Sub-Branch ..	661,968	442,263	219,705
Mediate Group ..	661,968	442,263	219,705
(iii) Inner Sub-Branch ..	269,427	163,689	105,538
(a) Central Group ..	135,280	91,782	43,498
(b) Pahari Group ..	134,147	72,107	62,040

sub-family there are represented in Bengal the Iranian, the Dardic and the Indo-Aryan branches. Figures for these languages by groups are shown in the marginal statement No. X-11. The eastern group of the Iranian branch is represented by Pashto and Persian. Pashto spoken by 4,084 persons is the language of a small number in almost every district, the greatest number of whom are found in

Calcutta with its suburbs in the 24-Parganas. There is only about 1 female for nearly 19 males speaking this language, and those whose mother tongue it is are principally the money-lenders commonly known as Kabulis throughout Bengal. Only 1,753 persons returned Pashto as their mother tongue in 1921. Persian shown in the table as a language of Asiatic countries outside India is included in subsidiary table I as one of the languages of India and spoken by 1,116 persons more than 25 per cent. of whom are found in Calcutta and a larger number of the remainder in Murshidabad than in any other district. Kashmiri spoken by 63 persons, more than half of whom are in Calcutta, represents the Dard group of the Dardic branch of this sub-family.

378. Indo-Aryan branch—outer sub-branch.—Within the Indo-Aryan

branch, Grierson distinguishes three sub-branches, an outer, a mediate and an inner. The outer sub-branch is represented by languages of three groups : Sindhi of the north-western, Marathi and Konkani of the southern and Oriya, Bengali, Assamese and Bihari of the eastern sub-groups. Sindhi is spoken by 504 persons mainly found in Calcutta, Howrah, Burdwan, Midnapore and the 24-Parganas. Marathi spoken by 3,161 persons, principally in Calcutta, was returned in 1921 by only 2,651 persons. Konkani is included in the above figures and is shown by Grierson as a dialect of Marathi. Of the languages in the eastern group reference has already been made to Bengali and Oriya. These two languages together with Bihari and Assamese are all derived by

Grierson from a Magadhi *Apabhramsa* and are thus sister languages. No direct figures were recorded for Bihari and on the analogy of 1921 it has been assumed that 60 per cent. of those returning Hindustani speak Bihari and they have been given as the number speaking this language. No attempt can be made to give figures for their district distribution. Assamese spoken by 2,750 persons has increased since 1921 when only 1,079 were returned as speaking it. Those speaking it are found principally in Cooch Behar (852) and Tripura (467). Elsewhere their numbers reach 200 or more only in Dacca (230) and Rangpur (237) and there are as many as 160 in Calcutta, 187 in Jalpaiguri and 116 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

379. Mediate sub-branch.—Eastern Hindi representing the mediate sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan branch in the classification is the language linguistically

“bounded on the north by languages of the Nepal Himalaya * * * and on the west by various dialects of Western Hindi * * * On the east it is bounded by the Bhojpuri dialect of Bihar and Orissa. On the south it meets forms of the Marathi language.”

It is the language predominant in the United Provinces and the entries of Chattisgarhi refer to one of its dialects. It has been assumed, as in 1921, that 35 per cent. of the returns of Hindustani may be taken to be eastern Hindi and it is by this calculation that the figure shown in subsidiary table I has been reached.

380. Inner sub-branch.—Similarly 5 per cent. of the returns for Hindustani have been assumed to represent western Hindi. This language

“covers the country between Sahrind (Sirhind) in the Punjab and Allahabad in the United Provinces”,

an area “which,” Grierson remarks,

“corresponds to the Madhyadesa or mid-land, the true and pure home of the Indo-Aryan people.”

The other languages of the central group of the inner sub-branch, of which western Hindi is one, are Rajsthani, Gujrati and Panjabi. Rajsthani spoken by 19,574 persons is the “language of Rajasthan in the sense given to the word by Todd.” The figures given in the table are almost entirely those of one of its dialects, Marwari, spoken by all except 66 of those returning this language. Of those whose mother tongue it is 7,397 are concentrated in Calcutta. But those speaking it are also found in every district of Western, Central and Northern Bengal. Gujrati is spoken by 6,594 persons and has declined since 1921 when it was returned as the mother tongue of 7,605 persons. More than half of those speaking it, namely 3,883, are found in Calcutta, and the remainder are principally found in Western Bengal, the 24-Parganas and Nadia. Panjabi, which was returned by 4,905 persons only in 1921, is now spoken by 14,545 persons amongst whom there is only one female to nearly four males. Of those speaking the language as mother tongue

STATEMENT No. X-12.

Numbers and proportions speaking Naipali in police-stations of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts.

NOTE.—Figures for police-stations include Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists. Details for other religions were not compiled by police-stations but are given for the whole district after the police-station figures.

District and police-station.	Total population.	Speaking Naipali.	
		Numbers.	Per cent. of total.
Jalpaiguri ..	993,357	29,878	3
Jalpaiguri ..	84,966	964	1
Rajganj ..	49,267	268	1
Boda ..	72,870	13	..
Pachagar ..	34,000	6	..
Debiganj ..	54,819	2	..
Maynaguri ..	78,225	84	..
Nagrakata ..	37,927	2,454	6
Dhubguri ..	86,848	3,166	4
Mal ..	82,268	3,347	4
Mitlali ..	40,190	3,382	8
Pathgram ..	56,823	10	..
Alipur Duars ..	76,802	693	1
Kumargram ..	33,046	2,164	7
Kalchini ..	66,965	6,829	10
Falakata ..	46,837	58	..
Madarihat ..	43,282	3,548	8
* Whole district ..	48,322	2,890	6
Darjeeling ..	319,635	92,970	29
Darjeeling ..	42,780	21,143	49
Pulbazar ..	17,941	4,246	24
Rangli Ranglot ..	21,595	7,610	35
Suklapokri ..	14,050	4,615	33
Jore Bungalow ..	20,962	7,854	37
Kalimpong ..	51,599	19,740	38
Gorubathan ..	13,000	2,540	20
Kurseong ..	36,288	15,140	42
Birki ..	14,269	4,007	28
Siliguri ..	31,406	2,770	9
Phansidewa ..	19,940	652	3
Khoribari ..	20,517	495	2
* Whole district ..	15,398	2,149	14

* District figures for “other religions” for which, figures are not available by police-stations.

9,209 persons are found in Calcutta where there are 73 males speaking it to every 20 females. The sex proportions are less discrepant in Midnapore district where those speaking it number 1,645 and there are amongst them rather more than one female to every two males. There are 883 speaking the language in Howrah district and 860 in 24-Parganas. The Pahari group of the inner sub-branch is represented by Naipali spoken by 134,147 persons found principally in Darjeeling (92,970) and Jalpaiguri (28,878) with 3,693 in Calcutta. Statement No. X-12 shows in each police-station of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts the total population, and the number and proportion of those speaking Naipali. In Jalpaiguri the proportions are highest in Kalchini, Madarihat, Mitiali, Kumargram and Nagrakata. In Darjeeling it is nowhere the mother tongue of half the population but is spoken by more than one-third in Darjeeling, Rangli-Rangliot, Jore Bungalow, Kalimpong and Kurseong.

381. District distribution by linguistic classification.—In subsidiary table II-A. giving the actual numbers upon which subsidiary table II-B is calculated, figures are given for those speaking Bengali, Hindustani, Naipali, Austro-Asiatic languages, Dravidian languages and the two branches of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages found in Bengal. Separate figures are given for those speaking the language as mother tongue and those speaking it as subsidiary language; and a further analysis is given of the numbers speaking each of these seven languages or groups of languages who speak also as a subsidiary tongue any language falling within any other of these seven groups. The figures given in subsidiary table II-A are illustrated in the linguistic map in a folder at the back of this volume. In subsidiary table II-A and II-B as well as in the linguistic map prepared from them languages foreign to India are not taken into consideration. If Persian be counted as a language of India as in subsidiary table I but not in the body of table XV, persons speaking languages foreign to India amount to 1·15 per mille of the total population. No account is taken also of other Indo-Aryan languages than Bengali, Hindustani and Naipali. Those omitted from consideration are spoken by 205,760 persons or 4·05 per mille of the total speaking languages of India amongst whom more than three-fourths speak Oriya and constitute 3·14 per mille of the total in Bengal speaking the languages of India. These tables, therefore, and the map prepared for them represent not the total population but more than 99½ per cent. of those speaking languages of India including Persian. The omission of Oriya affects to any considerable extent only the districts of Midnapore, Howrah, 24-Parganas and Calcutta. Except in Midnapore it is a language almost exclusively of immigrants and in Midnapore itself the language is being bengalised.

382. Extent of bi-lingualism.—Bi-lingualism inevitably occurs more frequently in those places where there is the least homogeneity of mother tongue. In the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions where only 15 and 20 per 10,000 of the total population respectively speak any other language as mother tongue except Bengali, the numbers using any subsidiary language amongst those dealt with in subsidiary table II are as low as 1 in 10,000 in Faridpur and except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are no higher elsewhere than 30 in 10,000. In Rangpur and Pabna, as also in Cooch Behar State in Northern Bengal, where again the numbers per 10,000 speaking Bengali are very high, the proportion of persons with any subsidiary languages is low and the same holds for Nadia, Jessore and Khulna districts. Darjeeling and Sikkim show the greatest extent of bi-lingualism. In Darjeeling nearly 45 persons in every 100 speak in addition to their own mother tongue one of the seven groups of languages dealt with in subsidiary table II and in Sikkim the corresponding proportion is more than 42 in every 100. Bankura and Birbhum have each more than 7¾ per cent. able to speak some subsidiary language and in Jalpaiguri the percentage is 6 or over. * In Calcutta those who are bi-lingual are only 5·4 per cent. and in Midnapore, the district with the next largest proportion of bi-lingualism, the percentage is only 3·1. Elsewhere the figures never rise above 3 per cent. but approach very near to it in Malda.

383. Languages most used as subsidiary languages.—Bengali is naturally the language most commonly used as a subsidiary language throughout the whole of the province. In those languages, however, in which bi-lingualism is prevalent it is not always Bengali which is the language most frequently used in addition to their mother tongue. In Darjeeling and Sikkim, for instance, very many more persons use Naipali as a subsidiary language than Bengali. In Darjeeling for every person using a subsidiary language who takes to Bengali there are nearly 6 who use Hindustani and 72 who adopt Naipali. In Sikkim Bengali is practically negligible as a subsidiary language but nearly 42 per cent. of the inhabitants are able to speak Naipali as a subsidiary language in addition to those who speak it as their mother tongue. In Jalpaiguri, Hindustani is the favourite subsidiary language. Here for every 10 persons adopting Naipali as a subsidiary language 23 use Bengali and nearly 208 use Hindustani. Similarly in Calcutta 5 persons use Hindustani as subsidiary language for every 3 thus using Bengali; but elsewhere, as is to be expected, Bengali is in general more frequently used and for the whole of Bengal only 2 persons use Hindustani as a subsidiary language for every 5 using Bengali. In Sikkim the incidence of the language is in some respects remarkable. Languages of the Tibetan group and Rong or Lepcha of the pro-nominalised Himalayan group may be taken as indigenous to Sikkim and in the aggregate are spoken by rather more than 25 per cent. of the total population. Naipali together with the other languages of Nepal, namely, those in the pro-nominalised Himalayan group and in the non-pronominalised Himalayan group excluding Rong are spoken by almost all the remaining 75 per cent. of the population, but the extent to which Nepali languages are used in Sikkim is not gauged alone by this proportion, for of those speaking languages of the Tibetan group about $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. speak Naipali as a subsidiary language and nearly 5 per cent. of those speaking Rong are also bi-lingual in Naipali, so that of the population of Sikkim in addition to 73 per cent. who speak Nepali languages as their mother tongue, even amongst those speaking languages indigenous to Sikkim itself an additional 12 per cent. speak some form of Nepali language. A Nepali language is therefore in use in ordinary intercourse in Sikkim amongst 85 per cent. of the population.

384. Languages with which some other is most commonly spoken as a subsidiary language.—It is the persons speaking Tibeto-Himalayan languages who are most extensively bi-lingual in Bengal. In Darjeeling amongst those speaking Bhotia tongues five times as many speak some subsidiary language as the number of those without any subsidiary language at all; and even in Sikkim rather more of those whose mother tongue is a Bhotia language are bi-lingual than not. The great proportion of those whose mother tongue is Thami, Limbu, Yakka, Rai or Jimdar, Gurung, Murmi, Sunwar, Magari, Kami, Manjhi and Newari are bi-lingual and in each case the language spoken in addition to their mother tongue is most generally Naipali. Amongst these groups, as amongst the Khambu in Sikkim, there are instances in which several times more are bi-lingual than the number speaking only their mother tongue. Similarly for every three persons in Sikkim speaking Rong as mother tongue with no subsidiary language there are four who speak also some subsidiary language. In the whole of Bengal amongst persons speaking Tibeto-Himalayan languages there are only 11 speaking no subsidiary language to every 89 who are bi-lingual, and in Sikkim the corresponding proportions are almost one to two. Those speaking Austro-Asiatic languages appear to have the next greatest facility or necessity for acquiring subsidiary languages. Throughout the whole of Bengal in every 100 persons speaking these languages there are 33 who are bi-lingual to every 67 who are not. In Birbhum, Bankura, Jessore and Pabna more persons speaking these languages are bi-lingual than those without any subsidiary language, and the relative proportions in Birbhum are as high as 82 to 17. Those speaking Kherwari adopt by preference Bengali as their subsidiary tongue whereas those speaking Kharia more generally use Hindustani. On an average 24 out of every 100 persons speaking a Dravidian language as mother tongue are bi-lingual in one of the other groups of languages dealt

with in subsidiary table II. The highest proportion of those who are bi-lingual amongst the total number speaking these languages occurs in Pabna, but in both Burdwan and Bogra the numbers of those who are bi-lingual and those who are not are almost equal. Anything up to one-quarter or one-third of those speaking Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese are bi-lingual, principally in Hindustani. Amongst those speaking Malayalam there are 5 per cent. who speak Bengali amongst the men: females have an even greater facility, for $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. speak Bengali, whilst a higher percentage than amongst the males are bi-lingual also in Hindustani, the only other language in ordinary use as a subsidiary tongue. More than a quarter, both of the males and females, speaking Telegu are bi-lingual principally in Hindustani. Bi-lingualism is of course encouraged where a small group finds itself amongst persons speaking a different language. Those speaking Oraon, however, number nearly 186 thousand and yet more than 15 per cent. of the men and almost 15 per cent. of the women are bi-lingual in Hindustani. Some few in both sexes are also bi-lingual in Naipali and nearly 10 per cent. of each sex is bi-lingual in Bengali. Bi-lingualism is almost equally current amongst those speaking Naipali and Hindustani. On an average nearly 95 persons in every 1,000 persons speaking Naipali are bi-lingual; 83 of them speak Hindustani, 4 some Tibeto-Himalayan language and nearly all the remainder Bengali. The average of bi-lingualism amongst those speaking Naipali is naturally least in Northern Bengal where Naipali as a mother tongue is more prevalent than elsewhere and it is naturally here also that Bengali is less commonly used as a language subsidiary to Naipali. Of those speaking Hindustani nearly 10 per cent. are bi-lingual principally in Bengali though 0.14 per cent. almost entirely contributed by persons in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, use Naipali as subsidiary language. The highest proportion of bi-lingualism amongst those speaking Hindustani is in the north and east of the province. In Rajshahi 65 out of every 100 persons speaking Hindustani also speak Bengali, a figure comparable only with that of Birbhum where the proportions who are bi-lingual and not bi-lingual are almost equal. Of those speaking Assam-Burmese languages nearly 7 per cent. are bi-lingual and 6.7 per cent. are bi-lingual in Bengali. The proportions are highest in Northern Bengal and in the Presidency Division where they are accounted for by the small numbers found speaking these languages. Those speaking Bengali, as is natural in a country where Bengali is the mother tongue of so large a proportion of the inhabitants, show a smaller ratio of bi-lingualism than those speaking any of the other languages dealt with in subsidiary table II. In the whole of the province only 4 in every 1,000 has command of any subsidiary language, the largest proportions being in the Burdwan Division where they rise on the average to more than 1 per cent. and in one district, Midnapore, to almost 2 per cent. Hindustani, here a mother tongue indigenous to a part of the population, is that most frequently employed and except for a very small use of Austro-Asiatic languages, i.e., principally Kherwari, those speaking Bengali who are bi-lingual in excess of the number using Hindustani as their subsidiary language do not use any of the other languages of India dealt with in subsidiary table II but employ English. The number thus returned as using English as a subsidiary tongue is more than 1 in every 1,000 speaking Bengali and amongst the males is almost 1 in every 500. Amongst those speaking Oriya more than 13 per cent. are bi-lingual principally in Bengali with the exception of a small proportion using Telegu and Hindustani.

385. **Comparison of tribal and language tables.**—The figures of bi-lingualism also help to illustrate the extent to which tribal languages are being ousted by other tongues. Subsidiary table III gives a comparison of the figures in the caste and language tables for certain tribes having a distinctive tribal language. The record of subsidiary languages has made it possible to expand this table, which has also been shown on previous occasions, so as to include a distinction between those speaking the tribal language as mother tongue without subsidiary language, as mother tongue with some other language and as subsidiary language to some other mother tongue. In Bengal the numbers speaking Bhotia languages both as mother tongue and as

subsidiary language are only 107 less than those returned in the caste table as Bhotias of all tribes and all except 239 out of 14,676 speak a language of the Tibetan group as mother tongue. In Sikkim, as might be expected, the number able to speak Tibetan languages is rather larger than the number of those returned as Bhotia by tribe. But here also those speaking Tibetan languages as mother tongue are somewhat less than those returned in the caste table and the figures already discussed showing the high incidence of bi-lingualism particularly in Naipali amongst those speaking Tibetan languages as mother tongue suggest one reason for this deficit both in Bengal and in Sikkim. The Lepchas also number in Bengal comparatively few in excess of those returned as speaking Rong as mother tongue and are actually less than those speaking their tribal language as mother tongue in Sikkim. In Bengal those speaking Murmi as mother tongue are more numerous than those returned as Murmi by caste, but in Sikkim the numbers of the caste exceed those speaking the tribal language who are very small in number. Amongst the remaining tribes with a distinctive language those which have come under the influence of Naipali outnumber the returns for their tribal language particularly where the language is one of the non-pronominalised Himalayan group. In Bengal the Gurungs and Kamis are the most notable instances. There are 13,166 persons returned as Gurung and only 2,753 returned as being able to speak the Gurung language either as a mother tongue or as a subsidiary language. The discrepancy is even greater in the case of the Kamis who numbered 16,180 though the language returns are no more than 148. The process is even more strongly marked in Sikkim than in Bengal where, although the Gurungs number 7,306, only 78 persons returned Gurung as their mother tongue or subsidiary language whilst the Kamis numbered 4,817 but the language is returned by no more than 27 persons. The discrepancy is not so great amongst the Mangars but in Bengal the language is returned as their mother tongue by scarcely more than one-half of those returning Mangar as their caste. A similar condition holds for the Newari language returned as mother tongue by only 7,197 persons, though the strength of the tribe in Bengal is 12,640. In Sikkim the tribe numbers 3,811 but the language was returned only by 2,258. Sunwar was returned as a tribal name in Bengal by 4,427 persons and as a mother tongue by 2,716 of whom only 64 were returned as not speaking also some subsidiary language. The Limbus, Jimdars and Khambus representing those who speak pro-nominalised Himalayan languages appear to be holding most firmly to their tribal language. In Bengal the Jimdars and Khambus number 43,745 and those returning this language as mother tongue number 39,835. In Bengal also the Limbus number 17,643 and their tribal languages was returned by 15,016 persons of whom, however, only 945 used with it no subsidiary language. In Sikkim the figures for Khambus are 18,565 and 18,142 returned Khambu as their mother tongue; and against a return of 10,536 as Limbu by caste 10,487 returned Limbu as their mother tongue. The Garos, Tiparas and Mechhs have not been brought so extensively under the domination of any neighbouring language. There were 12,935 persons returned as Mechhs and the tribal language was returned as mother tongue by 8,794. The caste returns for Tipara were 203,069 and 191,725 were returned under the tribal language. Amongst the Garos only 36 persons less returned the tribal language as mother tongue than the number (38,228) given for the tribe. The Koch, on the other hand, numbered 81,299, but Koch was returned as mother tongue only by 8,159 persons. Reference has already been made to the comparatively high degree of bi-lingualism amongst those speaking Kherwari and Kurukh as mother tongues and both amongst the Oraons and amongst those groups whose tribal language is a dialect of Kherwari the numbers returned are in some cases considerably in excess of the numbers shown as speaking the tribal language. Oraons numbered 228,161 but only 186,883 returned the tribal language as either mother tongue or as subsidiary language and as many as 1,086 of these spoke it only as a subsidiary language to some other mother tongue. The tribal returns for Santals show 796,656, but those speaking Santali as a mother tongue were nearly 32 thousand less than this figure. The proportion is greater amongst the Mundas, Koras and Bhumijis. The Mundas numbered 108,686 but only

79,051 were returned as speaking Munda. The language returns of Kora are 20,439 excluding 51 who speak the language as a subsidiary tongue compared with caste returns amounting to 49,265. The Bhumij number 85,161 but scarcely one person returned Bhumij as his mother tongue or subsidiary language for every nine thus returned. It is possible that there may have been some discrepancy in tabulating the dialects of Kherwari and the tribes whose name is the same as the dialect, and in order to eliminate any such possibility it is perhaps best to consider the total number of those speaking all Kherwari dialects compared with the numbers of all the tribes to whom those dialects are proper. The total of those whose tribal languages are dialects of Kherwari amounted to 1,057,798. The numbers speaking these tribal languages both as mother tongue and as subsidiary language amounted to 881,015 or more than 17 per cent. less than this figure. Amongst these 1,186 spoke the language only as a subsidiary language, and amongst those speaking the tribal languages as mother tongue one person in every three spoke also some other tongue as a subsidiary language. In the case of the Tibeto-Himalayan languages there is no doubt that it is Naipali which is ousting them. Reference has already been made to the allegation of the Kami, that there is no such language as Kami and that their mother tongue and traditional language is Khaskura. Further support for this conclusion is provided by the very high ratio of bi-lingualism in these groups and the fact that the language in which they are bi-lingual was returned almost invariably as Naipali. In the case of the Kukis the figures cannot be analysed with the same confidence since the caste returns include under the single generic name a number of groups speaking languages assigned to different groups under different branches of languages within the classification scheme. In the case of Tiparas also the figures for which have been analysed above, there is some possibility of error introduced by the misuse in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of the term Murung applied not only as it should be to a section of the Tiparas but also to the Mros. For the Mros the language returns are clearly at fault since only one female is returned speaking this language for just less than every 750 males; but both in Tripura and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts these tribes are liable to come to some extent under the linguistic influence of Bengali and in Tripura State at least some few Kukis and a considerable number of Tiparas have adopted Bengali as a subsidiary language.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Languages classified by Groups. Numbers using each language as mother tongue with ratio per 1,000 of the total population, 1931 and 1921.

Language.	Numbers in thousands using the language as mother tongue in—				Numbers per 1,000 of the total population using the language as mother tongue.		Where chiefly spoken.
	1931.			1921.	1931.	1921.	
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	1931.	1921.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL.							
ALL LANGUAGES ..	51,087	26,558	24,529	47,592	1,000	1,000	
Languages of India ..	51,028	26,523	24,505	47,539	998.85	998.9	
AUSTRIC FAMILY ..	896	454	442	830	17.54	17.5	
AUSTRO-ASIATIC SUB-FAMILY ..	896	454	442	830	17.54	17.5	
(1) Mon-khmer Branch ..	1.4	0.9	0.5	0.2	0.03	0.00	
(a) Palaung-Wa Group ..	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.05	0.02	0.00	
Palaung and Pale ..	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.05	0.02	0.00	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.
(b) Khasi Group ..	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.01	0.00	
Khasi ..	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.01	0.00	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Tripura State.
(2) Munda Branch ..	896	453	442	830	17.51	17.5	
Kherwari ..	880	444	436	816	17.20	17.2	North and West Bengal.
Kharis ..	15	9	6	14	0.29	0.3	Jalpaiguri.
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY ..	532	272	260	467	10.42	10.2	
TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY ..	532	272	260	467	10.4	10.2	
(1) Tibeto-Himalayan Branch ..	144	72	72	146	2.81	3.07	
(a) Tibetan Group ..	14.4	7.7	6.7	15	0.28	0.3	
Bhotia of Tibet or Tibetan ..	2.8	1.5	1.3	15	0.05	0.03	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.
Bhotia of Sharpa ..	8.1	4.5	3.6	15	0.16	0.03	
Bhotia of Bhutan or Lhoke ..	1.5	0.8	0.7	15	0.03	0.03	
Bhotia of Sikkim ..	0.15	0.09	0.06	15	0.003	0.003	
Bhotia (others) ..	1.8	0.8	1	15	0.04	0.04	
(b) Prenominalized Himalayan Group ..	56.7	28	28.7	58.3	1.11	1.23	
Dhimal ..	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.01	0.01	Darjeeling.
Thami ..	0.43	0.28	0.15	0.4	0.01	0.01	
Limbu ..	15	8	7	15	0.29	0.31	
Yakha ..	0.8	0.3	0.5	1	0.02	0.02	
Khambu ..	0.1	0.1	..	0.3	0.003	0.01	
Rai or Jimdar ..	40	19	21	41.3	0.78	0.87	
Hayu ..	0.00	0.00	0.00	..	0.00	..	
(c) Non-nominalized Himalayan Group ..	72.7	36.5	36	72.8	1.42	1.53	
Gurung ..	2.7	1.3	1.4	0.7	0.05	0.02	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.
Murmi ..	35.6	18.3	17.3	32	0.70	0.67	Ditto.
Sunwar ..	2.7	1.3	1.4	4	0.05	0.08	Darjeeling.
Magar ..	12	6	6	16	0.24	0.34	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.
Newari ..	7	4	3	8.2	0.14	0.17	Darjeeling.
Rong or Lepcha ..	12	6	6	11	0.23	0.23	
Kami ..	0.1	0.00	0.1	0.6	0.003	0.01	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.
Manjhi ..	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.2	0.003	0.00	Darjeeling.
Toto ..	..	..	..	0.2	..	0.00	
(2) Assam-Burmese Branch ..	384	196	188	332	7.53	6.88	
(a) Bara or Bodo Group ..	248	129	117	226	4.83	4.75	
Garos ..	88	20	18	48.2	0.75	0.91	Mymensingh, Tripura State, Jalpaiguri and Cooh Behar.
Koch ..	8	4	4	11.3	0.16	0.24	Mymensingh and Dacca.
Bara Bodo or Kachari ..	8.8	4.7	4.1	12	0.17	0.25	Jalpaiguri.
Tipura "Mrung" ..	191.7	100.2	91.5	159	3.75	3.34	Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Rabha ..	..	..	..	0.3	..	0.01	
(b) Kuki-Chin Group ..	42.8	19.4	23.4	29.6	0.84	0.62	
(i) Methyl Sub-Group ..	20	9	11	16	0.39	0.34	
Methyl (Manipuri) ..	20	9	11	16	0.39	0.34	Tripura State.
(ii) Old Kuki Sub-Group ..	16.4	4.8	5.6	3.67	0.2	0.08	
Hallam ..	10.4	4.8	5.6	3	0.2	0.08	Tripura State.
Hrangkol ..	..	..	..	0.67	..	0.01	
(iii) Central Chin Sub-Group ..	3.48	1.73	1.75	3	0.07	0.06	
Banjol ..	0.8	0.4	0.4	..	0.02	..	Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Lushai ..	2.6	1.3	1.3	3	0.05	0.06	Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Pankhu ..	0.08	0.03	0.05	..	0.002	..	Chittagong Hill Tracts.
(iv) Southern Chin Sub-Group ..	3.3	1.6	1.6	0.67	0.07	0.02	
Khyang (Sho) ..	1.8	0.5	0.8	0.1	0.03	0.00	Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Khami ..	2	1	1	0.77	0.04	0.02	Ditto.
(v) Unclassed Chin Sub-Group ..	1.9	0.95	0.95	..	0.04	..	
Rongtu ..	1.9	0.95	0.95	..	0.04	..	Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts.
(vi) Unspecified Kuki ..	3.8	1.9	1.9	6.3	0.07	0.13	
Kuki ..	3.8	1.9	1.9	6.3	0.07	0.13	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.
(c) Kachin Group ..	0.00	0.00	..	..	0.000	..	
Kachin ..	0.00	0.00	..	..	0.000	..	
(d) Burma Group ..	95	48	47	77	1.86	1.62	
Burmese ..	8.5	4.9	3.6	20	0.17	0.42	Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Bakarganj.
Arakanese ..	87	43	44	57	1.69	1.20	Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong, Bakarganj and Tripura State.
(3) Unclassed ..	3.79	3.74	0.05	8	0.07	0.17	
Mro (Mru) ..	3.79	3.74	0.05	8	0.07	0.17	Chittagong Hill Tracts.
TAI-CHINESE SUB-FAMILY ..	0.00	..	0.00	..	0.000	..	
Tai Branch (Tai Group) ..	0.00	..	0.00	..	0.000	..	
Siamese ..	0.00	..	0.00	..	0.000	..	
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY ..	226	123	105	217.6	4.47	4.57	
(a) Dravida Group ..	6	3.5	2.7	3.5	0.12	0.07	
Tamil ..	5.8	3.2	2.6	3.5	0.11	0.07	Whole province.
Malayalam ..	0.3	0.24	0.06	0.03	0.006	0.00	Calcutta.
Kannarese ..	0.11	0.08	0.03	0.03	0.002	0.00	Calcutta, Chittagong and Howrah.
Kota ..	0.01	..	0.01	..	0.0003	..	Birbhum.
(b) Intermediate Group ..	180.1	102.5	86.6	189	3.7	3.87	
Kurukh or Oraon ..	186	101	85	184	3.64	3.87	North Bengal, West Bengal and Central Bengal.
Malto ..	3.3	1.6	1.7	5	0.06	0.10	North Bengal.
Gondi ..	0.02	0.01	0.01	..	0.0004	..	Midnapore.
(c) Andhra Language ..	33	17	16	25	0.65	0.53	
Telegu ..	33	17	16	25	0.65	0.53	Whole province.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Languages classified by Groups. Numbers using each language as mother tongue with ratio per 1,000 of the total population, 1931 and 1921.

Language.	Numbers in thousands using the language as mother tongue in				Numbers per 1,000 of the total population using the language as mother tongue in		Where chiefly spoken.
	1931.			1921.	1931.	1921.	
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL—(continued).							
INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY ..	49,372	25,674	23,698	49,004	966.42	966.64	
ARYAN SUB-FAMILY ..	49,372	25,674	23,698	49,004	966.42	966.64	
(1) Iranian Branch ..	5.2	4.08	0.64	2.3	0.1	0.05	
(a) Eastern Group ..	5.2	4.08	0.64	2.3	0.1	0.05	
Pashto ..	4.08	3.84	0.24	1.7	0.08	0.04	Whole province.
Persian ..	1.12	0.82	0.30	0.6	0.02	0.01	Ditto.
(2) Dardic Branch ..	0.06	0.05	0.01	0.06	0.001	0.00	
Dard Group ..	0.06	0.05	0.01	0.06	0.001	0.00	
Kashmiri ..	0.06	0.05	0.01	0.06	0.001	0.00	Calcutta.
(3) Indo-Aryan Branch ..	49,366	25,669	23,697	49,002	966.31	966.60	
(i) Outer Sub-Branch ..	49,435	25,683	23,372	45,155	945.08	848.85	
(a) North-Western Group ..	0.50	0.38	0.12	0.2	0.01	0.00	
Sindhi ..	0.50	0.38	0.12	0.2	0.01	0.00	Calcutta, Howrah, Burdwan, Midnapore and 24-Parganas.
(b) Southern Group ..	3.16	1.94	1.22	3	0.06	0.06	
Marathi ..	3.16	1.94	1.22	3	0.06	0.06	Calcutta, Chittagong, 24-Parganas and West Bengal.
Konkani ..	0.08	0.05	0.03	..	0.0015	..	Calcutta and Midnapore.
(c) Eastern Group ..	48,431.3	25,060.6	23,370.7	45,153	947.99	848.79	
Oriya ..	159.8	125	34.8	298	3.13	6.20	Whole province.
Bengali ..	47,133.8	24,175.4	22,958.5	43,769	922.60	919.69	Ditto.
Assamese ..	2.7	2.0	0.7	1	0.05	0.02	Ditto.
Bihari (60 per cent. of Hindi and Urdu) ..	1,134.8	758.2	376.6	1,084	22.21	22.78	Ditto.
(ii) Mediate Sub-Branch ..	662	442	220	632.3	12.96	13.29	
Mediate Group ..	662	442	220	632.3	12.96	13.29	
Eastern Hindi (35 per cent. of Hindi and Urdu) ..	662	442	220	632.3	12.96	13.29	Whole province.
(iii) Inner Sub-Branch ..	269.4	163.9	105.5	213.3	5.27	4.48	
(a) Central Group ..	135.3	81.6	43.5	120.3	2.64	2.52	
Western Hindi (5 per cent. of Hindi and Urdu) ..	94.6	63.2	31.4	90.3	1.85	1.90	Whole province.
Rajsthani ..	19.57	12.92	6.05	17	0.38	0.35	West, Central and North Bengal.
Gujrati ..	6.6	4.5	2.1	8	0.13	0.17	Ditto.
Panjabi ..	14.54	11.14	8.4	5	0.28	0.10	Ditto.
(b) Pahari Group ..	134.1	72.1	62	93	2.62	1.96	
Eastern Pahari, Khaskura or Naipal ..	134.1	72.1	62	93	2.62	1.96	Darjeeling and Jaipalguri.
Languages Foreign to India ..	59	35	24	53	1.15	1.12	
SIKKIM.							
ALL LANGUAGES ..	109.81	55.83	53.98	81.7	1,000	1,000	
Languages of India ..	109.77	55.81	53.96	81.69	999.6	999.88	
AUSTRIC FAMILY ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY ..	70.07	35.42	34.65	54.43	638.0	666.51	
TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY ..	70.07	35.42	34.65	54.43	638.0	666.51	
(1) Tibeto-Himalayan Branch ..	70.07	35.42	34.65	54.43	638.0	666.51	
(a) Tibetan Group ..	15.13	7.68	7.57	9.64	137.8	117.84	
Bhotia of Tibet or Tibetan ..	0.57	0.30	0.27	..	5.19	..	
Bhotia of Nepal or Sharpa ..	3.5	1.7	1.8	..	31.92	..	
Bhotia of Bhutan or Lhoke ..	0.14	0.09	0.05	..	1.25	..	
Bhotia of Sikkim ..	10.9	5.5	5.4	..	99.36	..	
Bhotia (others) ..	0.007	0.001	0.006	..	0.06	..	
(b) Pronominalised Himalayan Group ..	28.64	14.35	14.29	24.22	260.86	296.67	
Limbu ..	10.48	5.06	5.42	7.2	95.5	88.1	
Yakha ..	0.010	0.014	0.002	0.008	0.16	0.1	
Khambu ..	18.14	9.27	8.87	2	166.2	24.8	
Rai or Jindar ..	..	..	..	15	..	184.1	
(c) Non-pronominalised Himalayan Group ..	20.29	13.61	12.78	20.56	239.43	282	
Gurung ..	0.078	0.007	0.071	0.001	0.71	0.01	
Mirmi ..	6.98	3.56	3.42	6	63.68	73.5	
Sunwar ..	0.68	0.35	0.33	0.5	6.14	6.1	
Mugari ..	0.98	3.56	3.42	3	25.82	36.8	
Newari ..	2.24	1.25	1.00	1.4	20.56	18.0	
Rong or Lepcha ..	18.21	6.68	6.55	9	120.26	114	
Kamli ..	0.027	0.016	0.011	..	0.25	..	
Manjhi ..	0.28	0.13	0.15	0.3	2.39	2.67	
INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY ..	39.70	20.38	19.32	27.4	361.6	333.37	
ARYAN SUB-FAMILY ..	39.70	20.38	19.32	27.4	361.6	333.37	
Indo-Aryan Branch ..	39.70	20.38	19.32	27.4	361.6	333.37	
(i) Other Sub-Branch ..	0.55	0.46	0.09	0.3	5.04	3.17	
Eastern Group ..	0.55	0.46	0.09	0.3	5.04	3.17	
Bengali ..	0.018	0.012	0.006	0.014	0.16	0.17	
Hindustani ..	0.53	0.45	0.08	0.3	4.88	3.0	
(ii) Inner Sub-Branch ..	39.15	19.92	19.23	27.1	356.51	330.2	
(a) Central Group ..	0.28	0.22	0.06	0.1	2.87	1.2	
Rajsthani ..	0.26	0.21	0.05	0.1	2.49	1.2	
Panjabi ..	0.018	0.014	0.004	..	0.16	..	
(b) Pahari Group ..	38.86	19.69	19.17	27	353.9	329	
Eastern Pahari, Khaskura or Naipal ..	38.86	19.69	19.17	27	353.9	329	
Languages Foreign to India ..	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.028	0.36	0.34	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by language and bi-lingualism numbers speaking with it as subsidiary language

[NOTE.—In columns 17, 25, 33, 41, 49, 57 and 65 the figure does not always agree with the sum of figures following it for specific languages owing to (a)

Serial number.	Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number of persons speaking											
		Bengali as		Hindustani as		Nalpai as		Austro-Asiatic languages as		Dravidian languages as		Tibeto-Burman	
		Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	Tibeto-Himalayan branch as	
												Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1	BENGAL	47,133,888	519,207	1,891,337	202,365	134,147	133,397	896,075	2,084	228,532	2,245	143,802	963
2	West Bengal	7,585,061	271,191	437,291	62,121	3,775	7	498,998	1,440	27,202	1,060	51	..
3	BURDWAN DIVISION	7,586,061	271,191	437,291	62,121	3,775	7	498,998	1,440	27,202	1,060	51	..
4	Burdwan	1,873,532	31,610	92,599	13,003	934	..	100,020	43	873	5	28	..
5	Birbhum	651,740	70,851	23,195	2,725	11	..	71,474	60	110	2	7	..
6	Bankura	994,053	86,428	4,692	806	11	..	111,457	9	42	..	..	..
7	Midnapore	2,463,810	60,611	91,741	24,102	673	..	178,310	1,206	12,984	1,024	1	..
8	Hooghly	964,105	14,341	95,361	10,126	242	..	36,547	6	7,228	2	14	..
9	Howrah	936,921	7,350	129,703	10,759	1,904	7	1,190	116	5,965	27	1	..
10	Central Bengal	9,107,721	75,046	774,629	56,319	4,477	3	48,680	110	33,251	139	179	..
11	PRESIDENCY DIVISION	9,107,721	75,046	774,629	56,319	4,477	3	48,680	110	33,251	139	179	..
12	24-Parganas	2,397,511	19,494	242,134	6,847	655	..	20,305	42	20,236	4	92	..
13	Calcutta	648,451	23,675	486,123	40,712	3,693	3	1,272	..	6,623	76	83	..
14	Nadia	1,512,326	1,759	11,589	705	26	..	1,078	81	2,735	50	..	..
15	Murshidabad	1,269,514	28,226	75,826	6,273	52	..	22,090	..	2,522	..	4	..
16	Jessore	1,062,636	1,318	5,006	600	16	..	849	37	758	..	..	..
17	Khulna	1,617,283	674	3,051	1,182	35	..	3,086	..	377	..	..	..
18	North Bengal	9,894,034	130,628	555,987	71,483	122,995	133,334	343,813	530	165,656	1,022	141,347	963
19	RAJSHAHI DIVISION	9,319,476	127,986	543,823	70,846	122,874	133,333	343,276	530	165,655	993	141,344	963
20	Rajshahi	1,342,221	43,324	33,265	1,031	52	..	36,441	..	15,708	977	..	..
21	Dinajpur	1,530,644	27,687	67,266	1,559	282	..	138,800	51	16,738	15	1	..
22	Jalpaiguri	638,658	5,492	120,609	48,943	28,878	2,343	64,463	200	106,511	1	7,406	937
23	Darjeeling	37,444	1,810	25,093	10,599	92,970	130,990	12,952	102	11,947	..	138,924	31
24	Rangpur	2,523,077	3,915	63,362	1,318	495	..	8,494	..	5,871	..	11	..
25	Bogra	1,051,419	12,594	25,107	668	65	..	6,818	..	1,811	..	..	..
26	Pabna	1,422,921	8,323	17,297	302	55	..	1,202	..	2,977	..	2	..
27	Malda	773,094	24,641	201,735	6,526	77	..	74,016	177	4,022	..	..	..
28	COOCH BEHAR STATE	674,556	2,842	12,164	537	121	1	537	..	571	29	3	..
29	East Bengal	20,547,072	42,342	123,430	12,442	2,900	53	4,584	4	2,423	24	2,225	..
30	DACCA DIVISION	13,705,237	16,425	99,410	6,431	743	48	763	..	121	13	119	..
31	Dacca	3,393,844	1,987	35,025	2,343	607	45	82	..	81	13	119	..
32	Mymensingh	5,040,283	11,111	49,189	2,948	87	..	..	..	31	..	..	..
33	Faridpur	2,350,693	215	9,690	309	30	1	670	..	4	..	..	..
34	Rakarganj	2,920,417	3,112	5,506	741	19	..	1	..	5	..	..	..
35	CHITTAGONG DIVISION	6,876,305	2,823	11,210	4,759	1,282	7	1,934	4	384	11	5	..
36	Tippera	3,103,483	377	5,218	1,404	6	2	..	..	13	..	2	..
37	Noakhali	1,706,327	83	285	351	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
38	Chittagong	1,764,105	1,851	5,668	2,933	784	1	492	4	370	11	..	..
39	Chittagong Hill Tracts	102,390	612	45	71	491	4	1,142	..	..	..	3	..
40	TRIPURA STATE	185,539	22,994	12,804	1,252	875	..	2,197	..	1,918	..	2,191	..
41	SIKKIM	18	2	536	253	38,866	45,923	..	..	..	..	70,067	257

Part A : Numbers speaking each principal language group together with the any other language in the groups shown.

(a) exclusion of some subsidiary languages returned and (b) inclusion under the figures of each subsidiary language spoken of those using more than one.]

Languages.		Number of persons speaking as mother tongue.																Serial number.		
		Bengali who also speak as subsidiary language.								Hindustani who also speak as subsidiary language.										
		No language.	Any language.	Hindustani.	Nalpai.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages.		No language.	Any language.	Bengali.	Nalpai.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages.				
Tibeto-Himalayan.	Assam-Burmese with Mru.							Tibeto-Himalayan.	Assam-Burmese with Mru.											
Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
Assam-Burmese branch with Mru as		388,492	1,128	46,945,176	188,712	105,322	414	1,786	77	1	346	1,704,473	186,864	177,994	2,708	261	1,314	338	1	1
		58	1	7,505,665	79,396	46,094	..	1,427	9	..	..	393,734	43,557	42,232	5	12	338	..	1	2
		58	1	7,505,665	79,396	46,094	..	1,427	9	..	..	393,734	43,557	42,232	5	12	338	..	1	3
		8	..	1,362,350	11,176	11,004	..	32	..	..	..	84,888	7,711	7,542	..	10	..	..	..	4
		4	..	849,213	2,527	2,459	..	58	..	..	..	11,472	11,723	11,708	..	2	2	..	..	5
		994,197	756	742	..	9	..	..	..	2,879	1,813	1,813	..	..	..	..	..	6
		8	..	2,416,465	47,345	14,988	..	1,206	9	..	..	79,086	12,705	11,857	..	..	329	..	..	7
		37	..	954,521	9,584	9,310	..	6	..	..	..	91,881	3,480	3,403	..	..	2	..	..	8
		1	1	928,913	8,008	7,591	..	116	..	..	..	123,578	6,125	5,909	5	..	5	..	1	9
		297	..	9,063,905	43,816	37,171	..	107	68	..	..	722,375	52,254	49,300	3	3	21	..	..	10
		297	..	9,063,905	43,816	37,171	..	107	68	..	..	722,375	52,254	49,300	3	3	21	..	..	11
		57	..	2,891,439	6,072	4,432	..	39	3	..	..	236,768	5,366	5,277	..	3	..	..	..	12
		144	..	620,444	28,007	24,151	..	..	6	..	..	416,361	10,762	10,970	3	..	21	..	..	13
		92	..	1,511,516	810	604	..	31	59	..	..	10,834	755	753	..	..	..	..	..	14
		1,262,642	6,872	6,237	..	..	..	..	..	50,343	25,483	25,486	..	..	..	..	..	15
		3	..	1,661,813	823	570	..	37	..	..	..	4,571	435	412	..	..	..	..	..	16
		1	..	1,610,051	1,232	1,177	..	..	..	..	..	3,498	453	452	..	..	..	..	..	17
		11,923	8	9,876,936	17,098	12,218	413	252	..	1	8	479,098	76,889	72,577	2,655	246	955	338	..	18
		10,748	8	9,302,855	16,623	11,934	413	252	..	1	8	467,774	76,049	71,773	2,664	246	926	338	..	19
		1	..	1,341,007	1,214	753	..	..	..	..	..	11,630	21,035	21,025	..	..	..	..	..	20
		1,527,613	3,031	398	..	18	..	..	..	56,756	10,509	10,456	..	38	..	..	..	21
		10,091	8	635,907	2,751	2,580	30	4	..	1	8	116,189	4,500	2,683	319	170	910	337	..	22
		607	..	36,116	1,828	915	383	76	..	..	..	22,240	2,853	480	2,335	26	15	1	..	23
		49	..	2,522,160	917	771	..	..	..	..	..	50,260	3,102	3,092	..	..	1	..	..	24
		1,050,472	947	374	..	..	..	..	..	16,205	8,902	8,901	..	..	..	..	..	25
		1,422,799	122	115	..	..	..	..	..	12,587	4,710	4,709	..	..	..	..	..	26
		706,781	6,313	6,028	..	154	..	..	..	181,897	19,838	19,827	..	17	..	..	..	27
		1,175	..	574,081	475	284	..	..	..	..	..	11,314	840	804	1	..	29	..	..	28
		376,214	1,119	20,498,670	48,402	9,839	1	..	..	..	338	109,266	14,164	13,885	45	..	..	..	..	29
		52,467	171	13,886,760	18,447	5,814	1	..	..	..	..	87,589	11,821	11,614	45	..	..	..	..	30
		600	17	3,390,807	3,037	2,177	..	..	..	..	..	32,992	2,033	1,947	45	..	..	..	..	31
		39,071	70	5,037,620	2,654	2,583	..	..	..	..	..	40,034	8,255	8,256	..	..	..	..	..	32
		67	..	2,349,936	757	397	1	..	..	..	..	9,510	180	180	..	..	..	..	..	33
		12,129	84	2,908,418	11,099	657	..	..	..	..	..	4,153	1,353	1,231	..	..	..	..	..	34
		132,916	946	6,647,339	28,975	3,104	..	..	..	..	338	10,401	815	745	..	..	..	..	..	35
		583	..	3,080,083	17,400	1,361	..	..	..	..	..	4,886	332	319	..	..	..	..	..	36
		13	..	1,702,619	3,408	328	..	..	..	..	..	205	80	57	..	..	..	..	..	37
		23,619	684	1,756,386	7,719	1,350	..	..	..	..	178	5,269	399	305	..	..	..	..	..	38
		108,701	264	101,942	448	65	..	..	..	..	160	41	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	39
		180,831	..	184,650	930	921	..	..	..	..	..	11,278	1,528	1,526	..	..	..	..	..	40
		9	9	6	3	..	..	..	..	252	284	2	282	..	..	..	..	41

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by language and bi-lingualism numbers speaking with it as subsidiary language

Serial number.	Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue.														
		Nai-pall who also speak as subsidiary language.							Austro-Asiatic languages who also speak as subsidiary language.							
		No language.	Any language.	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages.		No language.	Any language.*	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Nai-pall.	Tibeto-Burman languages.	
								Tibeto-Himalayan.	Assam-Burmese and Mru.						Tibeto-Himalayan.	Assam-Burmese and Mru.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
1	BENGAL ..	121,471	12,676	1,017	11,181	10	2	587	..	603,319	292,756	273,551	17,386	1,740	66	9
2	West Bengal ..	2,812	963	35	930	..	..	..	..	277,585	221,413	220,938	349	..	1	..
3	BURDWAN DIVISION ..	2,812	963	35	930	..	..	..	..	277,585	221,413	220,938	349	..	1	..
4	Burdwan ..	621	313	14	300	..	..	..	..	76,434	23,586	23,326	275	..	..	..
5	Birbhum ..	4	7	2	5	..	..	..	..	12,592	58,892	58,866	16	..	..	..
6	Bankura ..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26,949	84,508	84,508	..	..	..	..
7	Midnapore ..	462	211	1	210	..	..	..	..	184,183	44,127	43,963	21	..	1	..
8	Hooghly ..	130	112	6	106	..	..	..	..	26,424	10,123	10,122	1	..	..	..
9	Howrah ..	1,584	820	12	309	..	..	..	..	1,008	187	151	96	..	..	..
10	Central Bengal ..	3,383	1,094	148	1,033	..	..	..	..	38,049	10,631	10,268	338	..	..	..
11	PRESIDENCY DIVISION ..	3,383	1,094	148	1,033	..	..	..	..	38,049	10,631	10,268	338	..	..	..
12	24 Parganas ..	651	104	..	104	..	..	..	..	12,773	7,532	7,292	240	..	..	..
13	Calcutta ..	2,724	969	142	914	..	..	..	..	1,082	190	68	97	..	..	..
14	Nadia ..	19	7	4	3	..	..	..	..	1,010	68	68	..	..	..	..
15	Murshidabad ..	39	13	1	12	..	..	..	..	10,716	2,372	2,371	1	..	..	..
16	Jessore ..	15	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	380	469	469	..	..	..	..
17	Khulna ..	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,086	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	North Bengal ..	113,401	9,594	427	8,603	10	2	587	..	284,325	59,488	41,136	16,685	1,740	65	9
19	RAJSHAHI DIVISION ..	113,395	9,579	414	8,600	10	2	587	..	283,795	59,481	41,131	16,683	1,740	65	9
20	Rajshahi ..	81	21	21	1	..	..	..	..	20,642	15,799	15,733	66	..	..	..
21	Dinajpur ..	256	26	1	25	..	..	..	..	122,027	16,863	16,118	744	..	..	..
22	Jaipalguri ..	22,034	6,844	104	6,088	10	2	579	..	50,570	13,893	876	12,920	74	65	9
23	Darjeeling ..	90,406	2,564	204	2,388	..	..	8	..	8,432	4,520	364	2,590	1,060	..	..
24	Rangpur ..	465	30	9	19	..	..	..	..	8,049	445	440	5	..	..	..
25	Bogra ..	30	35	5	30	..	..	..	..	4,182	2,688	2,636	..	..	..	..
26	Pabna ..	26	29	7	22	..	..	..	..	440	762	755	7	..	..	..
27	Malda ..	47	30	3	27	..	..	..	..	69,458	4,563	4,209	351	..	..	..
28	COOCH BEHAR STATE ..	196	15	13	3	..	..	..	..	536	7	5	2	..	..	..
29	East Bengal ..	1,875	1,025	407	615	..	..	..	..	3,360	1,224	1,209	14	..	..	..
30	DACCA DIVISION ..	689	54	4	46	..	..	..	..	752	1	1	..	..	..	..
31	Dacca ..	575	32	..	32	..	..	..	..	82	..	..	..	..	..	..
32	Mymensingh ..	85	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
33	Faridpur ..	29	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	670	..	..	..	..	..	..
34	Bakarganj ..	..	19	1	14	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
35	CHITTAGONG DIVISION ..	748	536	124	412	..	..	..	..	1,425	209	198	11	..	..	..
36	Tippura ..	4	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37	Noakhali ..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38	Chittagong ..	257	527	116	411	..	..	..	..	310	182	173	10	..	..	..
39	Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	485	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	1,115	27	26	1	..	..	..
40	TRIPURA STATE ..	448	435	278	157	..	..	..	..	1,183	1,914	1,099	3	..	..	..
41	SIKKIM ..	38,651	215	..	210	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Excluding those speaking as subsidiary language some other language of the same group than their mother tongue.

Part A : Numbers speaking each principal language group together with the any other language in the groups shown.

Dravidian languages who also speak as subsidiary language.							Tibeto-Himalayan languages who also speak as subsidiary language.							Assam-Burmese languages and Mro who also speak as subsidiary languages.									
No language.	Any language.*	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Naiipali.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages.	No language.	Any language.*	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Naiipali.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Assam-Burmese languages with Mro.	No language.	Any language.*	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Naiipali.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Himalayan languages.	Serial number.
48	49	50	51	52	53	54	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	
174,308	54,226	19,818	33,359	953	7	..	16,002	127,800	108	1,238	116,506	..	..	..	361,045	27,447	26,185	1,291	12	..	..	..	1
21,428	5,774	1,203	4,502	2	1	..	51	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	56	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
21,428	5,774	1,203	4,502	2	1	..	51	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	56	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	3
441	432	401	28	..	1	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
96	14	7	5	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	5
35	7	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
8,414	4,570	445	4,076	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
6,829	399	242	158	..	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
5,613	357	101	234	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	9
25,898	7,353	5,962	1,083	..	..	..	116	63	..	48	..	..	..	..	262	35	8	14	..	..	..	..	10
25,898	7,353	5,962	1,083	..	..	..	116	63	..	48	..	..	..	..	262	35	8	14	..	..	..	..	11
16,029	5,207	4,642	476	..	..	..	47	45	..	45	..	..	..	..	55	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	12
5,791	332	29	597	..	..	..	66	18	..	3	..	..	..	..	118	26	1	14	..	..	..	..	13
1,954	781	765	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	65	7	5	..	..	..	..	..	14
2,219	303	297	6	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
529	229	228	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
376	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
125,258	40,398	12,003	27,732	951	6	..	13,614	127,733	108	1,189	116,502	..	..	..	9,568	2,355	2,173	303	12	..	..	..	18
124,825	40,260	11,962	27,695	951	6	..	13,611	127,733	108	1,189	116,502	..	..	..	9,497	1,251	1,069	303	12	..	..	..	19
10,110	5,598	5,548	49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
15,396	1,342	1,264	77	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
80,027	25,884	771	25,142	231	..	..	5,059	2,347	1	292	1,254	..	..	..	9,028	1,063	918	246	..	..	..	..	22
8,503	8,444	469	2,291	720	..	..	8,538	125,386	107	897	115,243	..	..	..	452	155	123	57	12	..	..	..	23
5,925	46	46	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	36	38	..	..	..	..	..	24
1,040	771	726	46	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
313	2,664	2,655	9	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
3,511	511	423	82	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27
433	138	161	37	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	71	1,164	1,164	..	..	..	..	..	28
1,722	701	650	42	..	..	..	2,221	4	..	1	4	..	..	..	351,159	25,055	24,003	973	..	..	..	..	29
120	1	..	1	..	..	..	119	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47,793	4,674	4,397	377	..	..	..	..	30
81	..	..	..	..	..	..	119	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	597	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	31
81	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36,578	3,093	2,819	274	..	..	..	..	32
4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	64	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	33
4	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,554	1,575	1,575	..	..	..	..	..	34
301	83	59	18	..	..	..	1	4	..	1	4	..	..	..	136,783	2,133	1,465	923	..	..	..	..	35
11	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	571	12	11	1	..	..	..	..	36
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	37
289	81	57	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22,058	1,561	397	620	..	..	..	..	38
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	1	2	..	..	..	108,143	558	555	2	..	..	..	..	39
301	617	591	26	..	..	..	2,101	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	173,583	16,248	16,141	72	..	..	..	..	40
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24,591	45,476	..	3	37,481	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	41

*Excluding those speaking as subsidiary language some other language of the same group than their mother tongue.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by language and bi-lingualism.

[NOTE.—In columns 17, 25, 33, 41, 49, 57 and 65 the figure does not always agree with the sum of figures following it for specific languages owing to

Serial number.	Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number per 10,000 of the total population speaking											
		Bengali as		Hindustani as		Nai-pali as		Austro-Asiatic languages as		Dravidian languages as		Tibeto-Burman	
		Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	Tibeto-Himalayan as	
												Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1	BENGAL	9,226	102	370	40	27	26	175	..	45	..	28	..
2	West Bengal ..	8,772	313	506	72	4	..	577	2	31	1	..	..
3	BURDWAN DIVISION ..	8,772	313	506	72	4	..	577	2	31	1	..	..
4	Burdwan ..	8,717	201	588	86	6	..	635	..	0	..	..	..
5	Birbhum ..	8,989	748	245	29	..	..	754	1	1	..	..	..
6	Bankura ..	8,950	778	42	7	..	..	1,008	..	..	..	..	..
7	Midnapore ..	8,802	217	328	86	2	..	637	4	46	4	..	..
8	Hooghly ..	8,653	129	856	91	2	..	328	..	65	..	..	..
9	Howrah ..	8,527	67	1,180	98	17	..	11	1	54	..	..	..
10	Central Bengal ..	9,010	74	766	56	5	..	48	..	33	..	..	..
11	PRESIDENCY DIVISION ..	9,010	74	766	56	5	..	48	..	33	..	..	..
12	24-Parganna ..	8,835	72	892	25	2	..	75	..	75	..	..	..
13	Calcutta ..	5,419	198	3,644	340	31	..	11	..	55	1	1	..
14	Nadia ..	9,886	11	76	5	..	..	7	..	18	..	..	..
15	Murshidabad ..	9,262	206	553	40	..	..	161	..	18	..	..	..
16	Jessore ..	9,949	8	30	4	..	..	5	..	5	..	..	..
17	Khulna ..	9,946	4	24	7	..	..	19	..	2	..	..	..
18	North Bengal ..	8,788	116	494	64	109	118	305	..	147	1	125	1
19	RAJSHAHI DIVISION ..	8,738	120	510	66	115	125	322	..	155	1	132	1
20	Rajshahi ..	9,398	803	233	7	..	..	255	..	110	..	..	..
21	Dinajpur ..	8,719	159	383	9	2	..	701	..	95	..	..	..
22	Jalpaiguri ..	6,495	56	1,228	498	294	24	655	2	1,088	10	75	10
23	Darjeeling ..	1,171	57	785	331	2,908	4,099	405	3	374	..	4,191	1
24	Rangpur ..	9,724	15	206	5	2	..	33	..	21	..	..	..
25	Bogra ..	9,678	116	231	6	1	..	63	..	17	..	..	..
26	Pabna ..	9,842	58	120	2	..	..	8	..	21	..	..	..
27	Malda ..	7,336	234	1,914	62	1	..	703	2	38	..	..	..
28	COOCH BEHAR STATE ..	9,724	45	206	9	2	..	9	..	10	..	..	..
29	East Bengal ..	9,750	20	59	6	1	..	2	..	1	..	1	..
30	DACCA DIVISION ..	9,886	12	71	5	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
31	Dacca ..	9,887	6	102	7	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
32	Mymensingh ..	9,925	22	96	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
33	Faridpur ..	9,951	1	41	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
34	Bakerganj ..	9,937	11	19	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	CHITTAGONG DIVISION ..	9,780	4	16	7	2	..	2	..	1	..	..	..
36	Tippera ..	9,980	1	17	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37	Noakhali ..	9,998	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38	Chittagong ..	9,817	10	82	16	4	..	3	..	2	..	..	..
39	Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	4,808	29	2	8	23	..	54	..	..	..	..	..
40	TRIPURA STATE ..	4,328	691	335	33	23	..	57	..	59	..	55	..
41	SIKKIM ..	2	..	49	23	3,539	4,182	..	..	..	..	6,381	23

SUBSIDIARY TABLE

Part B : Proportions to the total population borne by each of the figures in part A.

(a) omission of some subsidiary languages returned and (b) inclusion under the figures of each subsidiary language spoken of those using more than one.]

languages.		Number per 10,000 of those speaking as mother tongue.														Serial number.		
Assam-Burmese with Mru as		Bengali who also speak as subsidiary language.							Hindustani who also speak as subsidiary language.									
Mother tongue.	Subsidiary language.	No language.	Any language.	Hindustani.	Najpali.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages.		No language.	Any language.	Bengali.	Najpali.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.		Tibeto-Burman languages.	
								Tibeto-Himalayan.	Assam-Burmese and Mru.								Tibeto-Himalayan.	Assam-Burmese and Mru.
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
76	..	9,960	40	22	..	..	..	..	..	9,012	988	941	14	1	7	2	..	1
..	..	9,895	105	61	..	2	..	..	..	9,004	996	966	..	..	8	..	..	2
..	..	9,895	105	61	..	2	..	..	..	9,004	996	966	..	..	8	..	..	3
..	..	9,919	81	80	..	..	..	..	..	9,167	833	816	..	1	..	..	..	4
..	..	9,970	30	29	..	1	..	..	..	4,946	5,054	5,048	..	1	1	..	..	5
..	..	9,992	8	7	..	..	..	..	..	6,134	3,866	3,866	..	..	..	..	..	6
..	..	9,808	102	61	..	5	..	..	..	8,615	1,385	1,292	..	..	36	..	..	7
..	..	9,901	99	97	..	..	..	..	..	9,635	365	357	..	..	..	..	..	8
..	..	9,914	86	81	..	1	..	..	..	9,528	472	456	..	..	..	..	..	9
..	..	9,952	48	41	..	..	..	..	..	9,325	675	636	..	..	..	..	..	10
..	..	9,932	48	41	..	..	..	..	..	9,325	675	636	..	..	..	..	..	11
..	..	9,975	25	18	..	..	..	..	..	9,778	222	218	..	..	..	..	..	12
1	..	9,568	482	372	..	..	..	..	..	9,547	453	389	..	..	..	..	..	13
1	..	9,995	5	4	..	..	..	..	..	9,348	652	650	..	..	..	..	..	14
..	..	9,946	54	49	..	..	..	..	..	6,639	3,361	3,355	..	..	..	..	..	15
..	..	9,995	5	8	..	..	..	..	..	9,131	609	823	..	..	..	..	..	16
..	..	9,992	8	7	..	..	..	..	..	8,853	1,147	1,144	..	..	..	..	..	17
11	..	9,983	17	12	..	..	..	..	..	8,617	1,383	1,305	48	4	17	6	..	18
10	..	9,982	18	13	..	..	..	..	..	8,602	1,398	1,329	49	3	17	6	..	19
..	..	9,991	9	6	..	..	..	..	..	8,496	6,504	6,501	..	..	..	..	..	20
..	..	9,980	20	8	..	..	..	..	..	8,487	1,563	1,554	..	5	..	..	..	21
108	..	9,957	43	40	..	..	..	..	..	9,627	378	222	26	14	75	28	..	22
19	..	9,645	355	244	102	20	..	..	..	8,868	1,137	191	931	10	6	..	..	23
..	..	9,996	4	8	..	..	..	..	..	9,419	581	580	..	..	..	..	..	24
..	..	9,991	9	4	..	..	..	..	..	6,454	8,546	8,546	..	..	..	..	..	25
..	..	9,999	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	7,277	2,723	2,723	..	..	..	..	..	26
..	..	9,918	82	78	..	2	..	..	..	9,017	983	983	..	1	..	..	..	27
20	..	9,992	8	5	..	..	..	..	..	9,319	899	861	1	..	24	..	..	28
178	1	9,976	24	5	..	..	..	..	..	8,853	1,147	1,125	4	..	..	..	..	29
38	..	9,987	13	4	..	..	..	..	..	8,619	1,199	1,168	5	..	..	..	..	30
2	..	9,991	9	6	..	..	..	..	..	9,420	580	556	13	..	..	..	..	31
77	..	9,995	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	8,322	1,678	1,678	..	..	..	..	..	32
..	..	9,997	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	9,814	186	186	..	..	..	..	..	33
41	..	9,959	41	2	..	..	..	..	..	7,543	2,457	2,236	..	..	..	..	..	34
195	..	9,957	43	5	..	..	..	..	..	9,273	727	684	..	..	..	..	..	35
2	..	9,944	56	4	..	..	..	..	..	9,364	686	611	..	..	..	..	..	36
..	..	9,980	20	2	..	..	..	..	..	7,193	2,807	2,000	..	..	..	..	..	37
131	4	9,956	44	8	..	..	..	1	..	9,296	704	644	..	..	..	..	..	38
5,106	12	9,956	44	6	..	..	..	16	..	9,111	889	889	..	..	..	..	..	39
4,989	..	9,941	59	58	..	..	..	..	..	8,897	1,193	1,192	..	..	..	..	..	40
..	..	5,000	5,000	3,333	1,667	..	..	..	..	4,702	5,298	37	5,291	..	..	..	..	41

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by language and bi-lingualism.

Serial number.	Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number per 10,000 of those speaking															
		Naijali who also speak as subsidiary language.							Austro-Asiatic languages who also speak as subsidiary language.								
		No language.	Any language.	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages.	No language.	Any language.*	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Naijali.	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages.		
32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47		
1	BENGAL	9,055	945	76	833	1	..	44	..	6,733	3,267	3,052	194	19	1	..	
2	West Bengal	7,449	2,551	93	2,463	..	..	..	..	5,562	4,438	4,428	7	..	..	..
3	BURDWAN DIVISION	7,449	2,551	93	2,463	..	..	..	..	5,562	4,438	4,428	7	..	..	..
4	Burdwan	6,649	3,351	160	3,212	..	..	..	..	7,642	2,358	2,332	27	..	..	..
5	Birbhum	3,637	6,368	1,618	4,545	..	..	..	..	1,762	8,238	8,236	2	..	..	..
6	Bankura	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,418	7,582	7,582	..	..	..	..
7	Midnapore	6,865	3,185	15	3,120	..	..	..	..	7,525	2,475	2,465	1	..	..	..
8	Hooghly	5,372	4,028	248	4,380	..	..	..	..	7,230	2,770	2,770	..	..	..	..
9	Howrah	3,319	1,681	63	1,623	..	..	..	..	8,429	1,571	1,269	302	..	..	..
10	Central Bengal	7,557	2,443	331	2,307	..	..	..	..	7,816	2,184	2,109	69	..	..	..
11	PRESIDENCY DIVISION	7,557	2,443	331	2,307	..	..	..	..	7,816	2,184	2,109	69	..	..	..
12	24-Parganas	3,412	1,588	..	1,588	..	..	..	..	6,290	3,710	3,592	118	..	..	..
13	Calcutta	7,376	2,624	384	2,475	..	..	..	..	8,506	1,494	535	763	..	..	..
14	Nadia	7,308	2,692	1,538	1,154	..	..	..	..	9,369	631	631	..	..	..	..
15	Murshidabad	7,500	2,500	192	2,308	..	..	..	..	8,927	1,073	1,073	..	..	..	..
16	Jessore	9,375	625	625	..	..	..	..	..	4,476	5,524	5,524	..	..	..	..
17	Khulna	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	North Bengal	9,220	780	35	700	..	..	48	..	3,270	1,730	1,197	485	51	2	..
19	RAJSHAHI DIVISION	3,220	780	34	700	1	..	48	..	3,267	1,733	1,199	486	51	2	..	
20	Rajshahi	5,962	4,038	4,038	192	..	..	..	..	5,665	4,335	4,317	18	..	..	..
21	Dinajpur	9,078	922	35	837	..	..	..	..	8,786	1,214	1,160	54	..	..	..
22	Jalpaiguri	7,630	2,370	57	2,108	3	1	200	..	7,845	2,155	136	2,004	11	10	..	
23	Darjeeling	9,724	276	22	257	..	..	1	..	6,511	3,489	281	2,000	1,286	..	..
24	Rangpur	9,394	606	182	334	..	..	..	..	9,476	524	518	6	..	..	..
25	Bogra	4,614	5,386	769	4,617	..	..	..	..	6,134	3,866	3,866	..	..	..	..
26	Fabna	4,727	5,273	1,273	4,000	..	..	..	..	3,661	6,339	6,281	58	..	..	..
27	Malda	6,104	3,896	389	3,507	..	..	..	..	9,383	617	568	47	..	..	..
28	COOCH BEHAR STATE	3,760	1,340	1,674	243	..	..	..	..	9,976	139	93	37	..	..	..
29	East Bengal	6,466	3,534	1,403	2,121	..	..	..	..	7,330	2,670	2,638	30	..	..	..
30	DACCA DIVISION	9,273	727	54	619	..	..	..	..	9,937	13	..	..	..	..	..
31	Dacca	9,467	533	..	533	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
32	Mymensingh	9,770	230	230	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
33	Faridpur	9,667	333	333	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
34	Bakarganj	..	10,000	526	7,368	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	10,000	..	..	..	..
35	CHITTAGONG DIVISION	5,819	4,181	967	3,214	..	..	..	..	6,722	1,278	1,213	67	..	..	..
36	Tippera	6,667	3,333	1,666	1,667	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37	Noakhali	..	10,000	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38	Chittagong	3,378	6,722	1,480	5,242	..	..	..	..	6,301	3,699	3,516	203	..	..	..
39	Chittagong Hill Tracts	9,378	123	123	..	..	..	..	..	9,764	236	228	8	..	..	..
40	TRIPURA STATE	5,026	4,971	3,183	1,764	..	..	..	..	5,335	4,615	4,593	14	..	..	..
41	SIKKIM	9,945	55	..	54	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Excluding those speaking as subsidiary language some other language of the same group than their mother tongue.

Part B: Proportions to the total population borne by each of the figures in part A.

as mother tongue.

Dravidian languages who also speak as subsidiary language.								Tibeto-Himalayan languages who also speak as subsidiary language.								Assam-Burmese languages and Mru who also speak as subsidiary language.								Serial number.	
No language.	Any language.*	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Nai-pali.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages and Mru.	No language.	Any language.*	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Nai-pali.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Assam-Burmese languages and Mru.	No language.	Any language.*	Bengali.	Hindustani.	Nai-pali.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Himalayan languages.		
48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71		
7,627	2,373	867	1,460	42	..	..	..	1,113	8,887	8	86	8,102	..	..	..	9,294	708	674	33	..	..	..	..	1
7,878	2,122	443	1,655	1	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,655	345	172	172	..	..	..	..	2
7,878	2,122	443	1,655	1	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,086	348	172	172	..	..	..	..	3
5,052	4,948	4,593	320	..	11	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
8,727	1,273	636	454	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,500	2,500	..	2,500	..	..	..	..	5
8,338	1,667	1,667	238	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
6,480	8,520	343	3,140	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
9,448	552	335	219	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
9,410	590	169	392	8	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	9
7,789	2,211	1,793	328	..	..	..	..	8,481	3,519	..	2,681	..	..	..	..	8,822	1,178	269	471	..	..	..	..	10
7,789	2,211	1,793	328	..	..	..	..	8,481	3,519	..	2,681	..	..	..	..	8,822	1,178	269	471	..	..	..	..	11
7,427	2,573	2,294	235	..	..	..	..	5,109	4,891	..	4,891	..	..	..	..	9,649	351	351	..	..	..	..	..	12
8,744	1,256	44	886	..	..	..	..	7,881	2,169	..	361	..	..	..	..	8,195	1,805	69	972	..	..	..	..	13
7,144	2,856	2,797	51	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,239	761	543	..	..	..	..	..	14
8,799	1,201	1,178	28	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
8,979	3,021	3,008	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
9,978	27	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
7,561	2,439	724	1,874	57	..	..	..	963	9,037	8	84	8,242	..	..	..	8,025	1,975	1,823	254	10	..	..	..	18
7,561	2,439	724	1,877	58	..	..	..	963	9,037	8	84	8,242	..	..	..	8,836	1,184	988	282	11	..	..	..	19
6,436	3,564	3,582	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
9,198	802	755	46	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
7,570	2,430	72	2,360	22	..	..	..	6,831	3,169	1	394	1,693	..	..	..	8,947	1,053	905	244	..	..	..	..	22
7,118	2,882	308	1,917	603	..	..	..	637	9,368	8	67	8,805	..	..	..	7,446	2,554	2,026	939	198	..	..	..	23
9,914	86	86	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,265	6,735	6,735	..	..	..	..	..	24
5,748	4,257	4,009	248	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
1,051	8,949	8,919	30	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
8,730	1,270	1,051	204	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27
7,584	2,416	1,768	648	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	604	9,398	9,398	..	..	..	..	..	28
7,108	2,894	2,683	173	..	..	..	..	9,982	18	..	4	18	..	..	..	9,334	668	638	26	..	..	..	..	29
8,817	83	..	83	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,168	891	838	53	..	..	..	..	30
10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,950	50	..	50	..	..	..	..	31
10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,220	780	711	69	..	..	..	..	32
10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,552	448	448	..	..	..	..	..	33
8,000	2,000	..	2,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,702	1,298	1,298	..	..	..	..	..	34
7,833	2,167	1,540	392	..	..	..	..	2,000	8,000	..	2,000	8,000	..	..	..	9,849	160	118	47	..	..	..	..	35
8,462	1,538	1,538	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	9,794	206	189	17	..	..	..	..	36
10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,462	1,538	1,538	..	..	..	..	..	37
7,811	2,189	1,840	405	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,839	661	390	262	..	..	..	..	38
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,338	6,667	..	3,333	6,667	..	..	..	9,949	51	51	..	..	..	..	..	39
6,783	3,217	3,061	136	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,844	858	851	4	..	..	..	..	40
..	3,510	6,490	5,349	41

*Excluding those speaking as subsidiary language some other language of the same group than their mother tongue.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Comparison of tribal and language tables.

Name of tribe and tribal language.	Strength of tribe.			Number able to speak the tribal language whether as mother tongue or subsidiary language.			Number speaking the tribal language								
	Both sexes.	Males.	Fe-males.	Both sexes.	Males.	Fe-males.	as mother tongue without subsidiary language.			as mother tongue with some subsidiary language.			as subsidiary language to some other mother tongue.		
							Both sexes.	Males.	Fe-males.	Both sexes.	Males.	Fe-males.	Both sexes.	Males.	Fe-males.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BENGAL.															
Bhotia (all tribes) ..	14,783	8,144	6,639	14,676	7,813	6,863	4,043	2,178	1,865	10,394	5,510	4,884	230	125	114
<i>Bhotia of Bhutan—Drukpa.</i>	2,843	1,423	1,420	1,521	778	743	300	134	166	1,221	644	577	..	..	..
<i>Bhotia of Nepal—Sharpa.</i>	6,862	3,728	3,134	8,167	4,528	3,639	3,132	1,954	1,178	5,035	2,574	2,461	..	..	..
<i>Bhotia of Sikkim—Dengjongpa.</i>	975	461	514	152	95	57	47	29	18	104	66	38	1	..	1
<i>Bhotia of Tibet—Tibetan and unspecified.</i>	4,103	2,532	1,571	4,836	2,412	2,424	564	61	503	4,034	2,226	1,808	238	125	113
Bhumij ..	85,161	42,854	42,807	9,758	4,810	4,948	4,355	2,087	2,268	5,403	2,723	2,680	..	..	..
Garos ..	38,228	19,805	18,423	38,193	20,137	18,056	33,834	17,349	16,485	4,358	2,787	1,571	1	1	..
Gurung ..	13,166	6,031	7,135	2,753	1,333	1,420	868	315	553	1,885	1,018	867	..	..	..
Jimdar and Khambu ..	43,746	20,436	23,109	39,866	19,182	20,684	2,205	844	1,361	37,630	18,328	19,302	31	10	21
Kami ..	10,160	8,955	7,225	148	7	141	22	1	21	126	6	120	..	..	..
Koch ..	81,299	41,704	39,595	6,245	4,266	3,979	7,255	3,617	3,638	904	579	325	86	70	16
Kora (Koda) ..	49,265	25,206	24,059	20,490	10,524	9,966	10,128	5,391	4,737	10,311	5,082	5,229	51	51	..
Kuki ..	16,592	8,898	7,694	3,773	1,869	1,909	3,539	1,633	1,906	239	236	3	..	..	..
Lepcha (Rong) ..	12,720	6,413	6,307	11,948	5,998	5,950	695	329	366	11,248	5,665	5,583	5	4	1
Limbu ..	17,643	9,586	8,057	15,016	7,839	7,177	946	518	427	14,071	7,321	6,750	..	..	..
Mangar ..	24,042	12,254	11,788	12,401	5,570	6,831	1,938	731	1,207	10,279	4,826	5,453	184	18	171
Mech (Bodo or Kachari) ..	12,935	7,039	5,896	8,802	4,736	4,066	7,698	4,117	3,581	1,096	610	477	8	..	8
Munda ..	108,686	56,725	51,961	79,193	40,078	39,115	52,662	26,201	26,661	28,189	13,841	12,348	142	36	106
Murni ..	35,224	17,848	17,376	36,165	18,613	17,552	4,182	2,637	1,545	31,478	15,707	15,771	605	269	236
Newar ..	12,649	7,104	5,536	7,201	3,928	3,273	540	260	280	6,657	3,667	2,990	4	1	3
Oraon (Kurukh) ..	228,161	122,094	106,067	186,883	101,390	85,493	139,885	75,875	64,010	45,912	25,001	20,911	1,086	514	572
Santal ..	796,656	401,606	395,050	766,553	386,411	380,142	518,779	257,103	261,676	245,950	128,209	117,741	1,824	1,099	725
Sunwar ..	4,427	2,153	2,274	2,716	1,297	1,419	64	37	27	2,852	1,260	1,392	..	..	..
Tipara ..	203,069	106,243	97,826	191,726	100,232	91,493	177,511	88,588	88,923	14,214	11,644	2,570	..	..	..
SIKKIM.															
Bhotia (all tribes) ..	15,192	7,720	7,472	15,310	7,701	7,617	7,072	3,338	3,734	8,058	4,223	3,835	168	140	48
<i>Bhotia of Bhutan—Drukpa.</i>	7	3	4	137	85	52	47	33	14	90	52	38	..	..	..
<i>Bhotia of Nepal—Sharpa.</i>	3,645	1,846	1,799	3,504	1,701	1,803	1,310	694	616	2,194	1,007	1,187	..	..	..
<i>Bhotia of Sikkim—Dengjongpa.</i>	10,980	5,576	5,404	10,993	5,536	5,457	5,464	2,476	2,988	5,448	2,997	2,451	81	63	18
<i>Bhotia of Tibet—Tibetan and unspecified.</i>	560	295	265	684	379	305	251	135	116	326	167	159	107	77	30
Gurung ..	7,306	3,798	3,508	78	7	71	72	2	70	6	5	1	..	..	..
Khambu ..	18,565	9,373	9,192	18,142	9,272	8,870	4,129	2,117	2,012	14,013	7,155	6,858	..	..	..
Kami ..	4,817	2,443	2,374	27	16	11	10	8	2	17	8	9	..	..	..
Lepcha (Rong) ..	13,080	6,586	6,474	13,272	6,717	6,555	7,649	3,742	3,907	5,557	2,919	2,638	66	56	10
Limbu ..	10,538	5,102	5,434	10,490	5,065	5,425	3,046	1,508	1,538	7,441	3,556	3,885	3	1	2
Mangar ..	4,104	2,050	2,144	2,780	1,518	1,262	723	336	387	2,057	1,182	875	..	..	..
Murni ..	7,017	3,586	3,431	6,982	3,564	3,418	1,112	418	694	5,870	3,146	2,724	..	..	..
Newar ..	3,811	1,941	1,870	2,258	1,262	990	361	245	116	1,897	1,017	889	..	..	..
Sunwar ..	790	410	380	679	348	331	129	78	51	650	270	280	..	..	..

CHAPTER XI

Religion

386. Introduction.—Detailed statistics by religion are given in imperial table XVI for divisions, districts and states and in imperial table V for towns. Summary figures of the principal religions are given also in imperial table XX for divisions, districts, cities and states, and in provincial table II so far as the necessity for economy has permitted their compilation for police-stations. Religion also forms a basis of classification for the tables showing age and marital condition (imperial table VII) and literacy (imperial table XIII). Subsidiary tables obtained from the census figures of this and previous enumerations and printed at the end of this chapter show—

- I—distribution by religion of 10,000 of the total population by natural divisions, 1881 to 1931, with percentage of variation ;
- II—distribution by religion of 10,000 of the total population by natural divisions, districts and states, 1881-1931 ;
- III—number of Christians by divisions, districts and states, 1881-1931, with percentage of variation ; and
- IV—distribution by religion of 10,000 of the total urban and rural population of natural divisions.

387. Source of the statistics.—The statistics of religion are obtained from column 4 of the census schedule and the instructions to enumerators for filling up this column were as follows :—

“ Enter here the religion which each person professes, as Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Jain, Christian, Buddhist, Parsi and the sect where necessary. In the case of Christians, the sect must always be entered. In the case of aboriginal tribes who are not Hindus, Muslims, Christians, etc., the name of the tribe should be entered in this column.”

These instructions were further elaborated in the directions issued to the supervisors which were as follows :—

“ The answer which each person gives about his religion must be accepted and entered in column 4, but care should be taken not to enter Jains, Sikhs, Brahmos and Aryas as Hindus. If a man says he is a Jain or a Sikh he should be entered as such, even though he also says he is a Hindu. If a Jain desires his sect to be recorded it should be added in brackets after his religion in column 4, e.g., Digambar, Sthanakavasi, Swetambar, Swetambar Terapanthi.

In the case of Muhammadans, in addition to the difference of racial groups (Sayyad, Shekh, Mogal, Pathan) and functional groups (Jolaha, Dhunia, etc.) which are shown in column 8, there are also differences of sect which are shown in column 4, e.g., Sunnis or Shias. As the great majority of Muhammadans in Bengal are Sunnis no entry of sect need be made for Sunnis, and it will be assumed that Muhammadans are Sunnis for whom the sect is not entered. Other sects should be entered in brackets after the religion. Shias are not likely to be found (except in isolated instances) outside Murshidabad, Calcutta, Dacca, Hooghly and 24-Parganas.

Great care should be taken to get a correct return of Christian sects and to eliminate vague entries such as Protestant. In the case of Christians belonging to definite tribes or races the term Indian Christian should not be entered in column 8, but the tribe to which the individual actually belongs.

Instances may be found of aboriginals who have no recognised religion, but adhere still to their old tribal beliefs. For these the tribal name, e.g., Santal, Munda, Garo, Tipara, Lushai, will be entered in column 4, but care should be taken that such an entry is not made for one of an aboriginal tribe who professes Hinduism.”

The provision in the census schedule for a return of sect has not previously been made use of in Bengal except in the case of Christians and to some extent of Muslims. Some note will be given later under each religion of the difficulties encountered in obtaining returns of sects particularly for Hindus and of the extent to which the requirements of economy have restricted the use made of such information as was obtained.

388. **Accuracy of the results.**—During slip-copying and sorting where the schedule was found to contain no entry of religion it was filled up with reference to the name or caste of the person concerned and the religion and sect of other persons on the same page. In the case of Indian Christians where the sect was not shown it was assumed to be that of the mission at work in the district and village of enumeration. The accuracy of the returns of religion for all practical purposes may be taken roughly to be the same as that of the figures of general population by sexes. It cannot be said that in any considerable proportion of cases any person entertains a doubt as to the religious community to which he belongs: and it would therefore be expected that this column of the schedule would present no difficulties to any person called upon to answer the questions on which it is filled up.

389. **Border-line cases.**—There are of course a number of cases on the border of Hinduism and Islam which provide an opportunity for conflicting claims. The Bhagawania or Satya-dharma sect is one of these. It is recruited from both Muslims and Hindus but far from inter-marriage being possible between Hindu and Muslim recruits each social group of the Muslims and each caste of the Hindus keeps its barriers closed against inter-marriage even within the same sect, although converts from both communities will dine together. The Hindus renounce the practice of the daily *ahnik* and *sandhya* devotions and the Muslims do not observe the annual Ramzan fast or repeat the daily prayers (*namaz*), but the recruits from the Brahman caste retain their sacred thread. Muslims are said not to practise circumcision or to eat meat or onions; they shave the head and face and revere the *tulsi* plant or Indian basil, keep the *dol jatra* or *holi* festival and worship Sachimata, bury their dead but with practices like the Vaishnava *samadhi* and not according to Muslim rites, and as with the Hindu members of the sect marriage amongst them is merely an oral agreement between the parties in the presence of the *guru* without the sanctions and formalities of Muslim practice. Some members of the sect were discovered during the enumeration in Jessore but their religion only proves to have been recorded for them in the returns and the only numbers by sect returned were 92 in Khulna (male 49, female 43). There are Nagarchis in Bakarganj of whom one group is entirely Muslim but members of another, following the occupation of drummers, cotton carders and quilt makers, have Hindu names and conform to many Hindu usages. They read the *kalma* at marriage and perform the *jonacha* ceremony at death, but for these Muslim rites they use their own priests and are reported to practise all other customary Hindu ceremonies, to worship images of the Hindu gods, to perform *puja* to Lakshmi, Visvakarma, Saraswati, etc., and to eat no food forbidden to Hindus. In Calcutta and West Bengal Chitrakars or Patuas, generally classed as Muslims, make images and pictures of the Hindu gods and goddesses and do not practise circumcision or the burial of the dead. In Pabna and Mymensingh a group known as Kirtanias exists with mixed Muslim and Hindu names: they are ordinarily regarded as Muslims but are reported to eat no meat and to be in many cases strict vegetarians, to keep no observance of the Ramzan fast or the recital of the daily *namaz* and to have practices consistent with orthodox Hinduism, whilst their musical entertainments themselves could be tolerated amongst Muslims only by a relaxation of strict orthodox disapproval. The numbers of these indeterminate groups, however, are small. Only in the case of Bhagawantias have they been separately compiled, and even here some proportion of the sect will have returned itself as Hindu or Muslim only without specification of sect; whilst the groups not shown separately in imperial table XVII have also been included in the religious community to which each member of the group declared that he belonged.

390. **The religious classification of primitive tribes.**—It is the religious allocation of primitive peoples which presents the greatest difficulty. Their beliefs and those of groups included within Hinduism are alike often vague or vaguely understood and Hinduism is sufficiently catholic to embrace them without thereby notably adding to the incongruities and inconsistencies already existing in the body of tolerated belief and observance. The primitive also

in contact with divergent practices in an area to which he has moved from his own country and the protection of his own gods or spirits takes the precaution of adopting some of the practices of his neighbours with a view to keeping on the right side of the gods who may be powerful there. In Bankura district the census officer at the time of slip-copying noted from the schedules amongst the Santals of the district the increasing extent to which Hindu practices are being adopted as evidenced by the prevalence of distinctively Hindu names and of the practice of child marriage. He found children returned as Santals by religion bearing such distinctively Hindu names as Sabitri, Rajani, Lakshmi, Narayan, Surendra, Jogeswar, Nandalal, Surjyamani, Narendra, Saraswati and Swarnamani, whilst there were instances of both boys and girls returned as married before the age of 7. In Burdwan the district officer reports that Santals in villages with a predominant Hindu population assimilate their usages to those of the Hindus. They revere the *tulsi* plant, observe the *paus parbban* festival, abstain from beef, adopt the practice of daily cleansing floors and courtyards with the wash made from cow-dung (*gobar*) and water and decline food cooked by Muslims. Some adopt the Vaishnava necklace of wooden beads, wear the occipital tuft of hair (*chaitan*) and cremate their dead, and some married women wear the vermilion mark and the even more distinctive iron bangle (*churi*) of Hindu wives. There is thus a natural tendency for Mundas, Oraons, Santals and similar primitive people to adopt Hindu practices in areas where they find on arrival that Hindus are in possession, and amongst both the Oraons and the Santals recent movements of religious reform professedly tribal in character have shown the influence of Hinduism. The Kharwar movement amongst the Santals initiated in 1871 is stated to have been due to the declining belief in the efficacy of the tribal spirits or *bongas* and to the difficulties or inconveniences attending upon conversion to Hinduism, Islam or Christianity. In the practices of this sect Hindu influences are evident in the adoration of Rama, a Hindu god; meticulous observance of the practice of bathing before the first meal; abstention from the flesh of pigs, fowls and bullocks and even from keeping pigs and fowls and from using cows for ploughing; and the refusal to eat in the houses of fellow tribesmen professing other sects. So also amongst the Oraons in the movement initiated in 1914 and known as the Khurukh Dharma or Tana Bhagat abstention from animal food and liquor and condemnation of many of the tribal customs were associated with the renunciation of the belief in nature spirits and with such less obviously religious prescriptions as an exhortation to cease cultivating the fields or to work as coolies under other castes or tribes. Apart from their tendency to absorb the practices of numerous or influential neighbours the primitive tribes are also particularly subject to missionary and proselytising influence both Christian and Hindu and during the last decade numerous converts have been announced as having been "reclaimed" to the Hindu faith by such bodies as the Hindu Mission. In addition to this imperceptible infiltration into tribal belief of Hindu beliefs and customs and the definite conversion of numbers of tribals to Hinduism account must also be taken in considering the figures by religion of the claim advanced by such bodies as the Hindu Mission and the Provincial Hindu Sabha that any religion or belief indigenous to India or characteristic of any part of India is to be considered Hinduism. Under the ægis of these two bodies efforts, of which a summary account is given later, were made to secure a return as Hindus of all members of primitive tribes whatever and it is possible that where these exhortations reached the hands of Hindu enumerators and an

STATEMENT No. XI-1.

Numbers of certain castes returned under tribal religions in Jalpaiguri district.

Baraik	..	4,458	2,519	1,939
Bediya	..	681	299	292
Ho	..	3	2	1
Kisan	..	124	64	60
Mehlor	..	3	2	1
Muchi	..	2	..	2
Musahar	..	70	34	36
Nalya	..	8	6	8

opportunity of modifying them did not occur to the census authorities of the locality, the number of Hindus may have been swelled by the inclusion of some members of primitive tribes who, upon a classification more in harmony with that intended at the census, would have been included amongst tribal

religions. On the other hand imperial table XVII shows that in certain instances groups like those in the margin which might reasonably be

expected to fall amongst Hindus have been returned in Jalpaiguri district under tribal religions. In Sikkim some of the Nepalese groups, such as Rais, Limbus, Gurungs, etc., complained that they had been entered as following tribal religions, although they were really Hindus in spite of the employment of non-Hindu magicians and exorcists (*Phedangbas, Bijuwas*, etc.), but the case was investigated and it was found that there was no reason to believe that there had been any infraction of the general instructions that the religion of each person was to be recorded exactly as he returned it. The comparatively large number appearing for Sikkim under tribal religions for the first time at this census may be taken as being in all probability more correctly shown than if they had been recorded as Hindus.

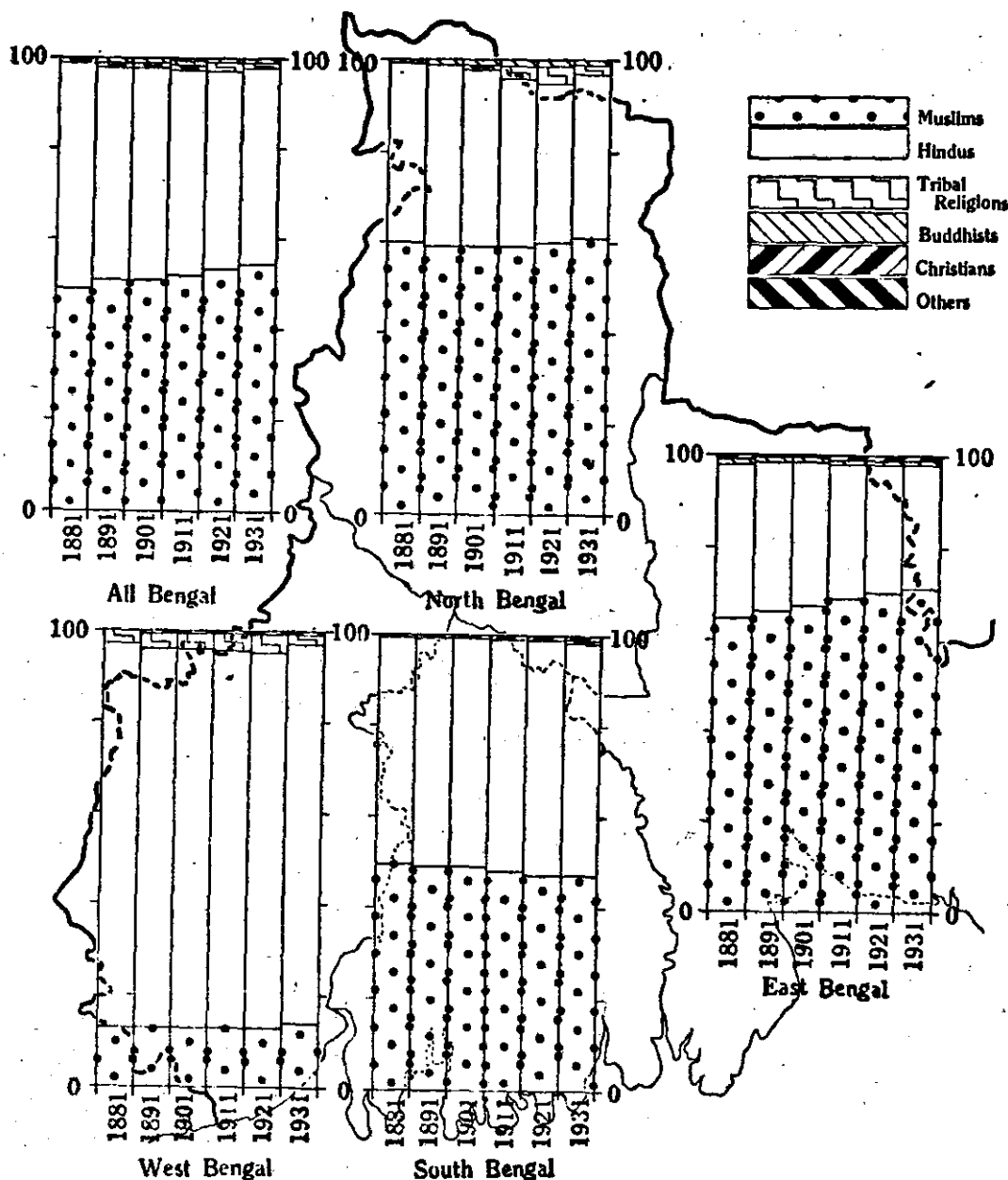
391. Alleged inaccuracies due to communal feeling.—The census was taken at the end of a decade in which communal feeling had been more bitter between Hindus and Muslims than for many years previously and at a time when no member of either of these communities could fail to be alive to the importance in Bengal of the numerical strength of his co-religionists in view of the impending constitutional changes and the question of communal electorates. Numerous allegations were made on both sides during the process of enumeration that enumerators of one community were suppressing details of persons of the other community and fictitiously increasing the numbers of their own. Most of these allegations were not supported by specific details and were consequently incapable of investigation. But in such cases as fell under examination by the local census officers no ground was found in any case for the allegations made. During slip-copying one instance did indeed come to light of a tampering with the returns in the district of Mymensingh. Upon a series of representations by Hindu bodies or individuals alleging that the numerical and literacy returns of the Hindus had been reduced in the sorting office at Dacca in the case of certain police-stations in Mymensingh district it transpired that, in the police-station Iswarganj, during slip-copying, far from there being any reduction in the numbers of Hindus or increase in the number of Muslims, certain slip-copyists had entered (and incidentally got payment for) slips for entirely fictitious Hindus, and had turned 74 Muslim slips into Hindus (male 64, female 10) literate and illiterate. These figures, however, are too insignificant to affect proportions worked out from the religion tables. In one other instance it also transpired that, in Char Jaypara of Dohar police-station in the Dacca district, entirely by oversight about 226 members of Muslim families (males 115, females 111) had failed to secure enumeration at all. Their houses were on the boundary of the next mauza Lata Kholā and the enumerator omitted them in the belief that they fell outside his mauza. Here too the difference in working out comparisons is negligible.

As regards other religions by the nature of the case it is unlikely that any grave errors should have been introduced into the returns and the figures for religion may consequently be taken as being of a comparatively high degree of accuracy.

392. Religious constitution of divisions at successive enumerations.—Subsidiary table I shows the religious constitution of the population at every census from 1881 and the figures in this table are graphically shown in a number of diagrams in this chapter. Muslims contribute more than 54 per cent. of the total population of Bengal and predominate particularly in East Bengal and North Bengal where they form respectively 71 and 60·8 per cent. of the total population. They contribute less than half of the population of Central Bengal and little more than 14 per cent. in West Bengal. They have enlarged their proportion of the population throughout the whole of Bengal by an uninterrupted increase from just less than 50 per cent. in 1881 to their present proportions and in Eastern Bengal have shown from 1881 to the present a corresponding regular increase from 64·5 to 71 per cent. of the total population. In Central Bengal they have declined from 49·5 per cent. of the population in 1881 to 47·2 in 1931 and in North Bengal after a very small decline between 1881 and 1901 when they numbered 59·6 and

59.1 of the population, respectively, they have shown a small increase. In West Bengal they have more than maintained their proportion in a predominantly Hindu area having actually increased it from 13 per cent. in 1881

DIAGRAM No. XI-1.
DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGIONS OF THE POPULATION OF NATURAL DIVISIONS
AT EACH CENSUS, 1881 TO 1931.

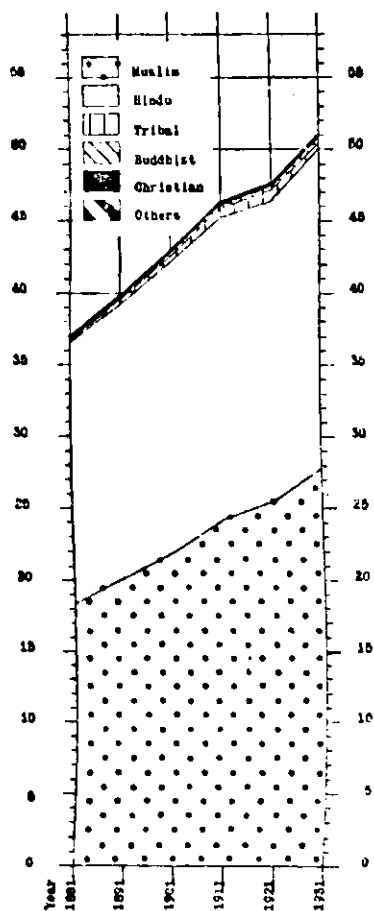


to 14.1 per cent. at the present census. The Hindu proportion throughout all Bengal at present is 43.5 per cent. and their proportionate strength has shown an uninterrupted and gradual decrease since 1881 when they formed 48.8 per cent. of the population or less than 1 per cent. fewer than the Muslims. They predominate overwhelmingly in Western Bengal where their numbers are 82.9 per cent. of the population, a figure showing an increase over the proportion of 1911 (82.3) though at previous enumerations their percentage was higher and was as much as 84 in 1881. In Central Bengal they have more than maintained the proportion of 1881 (49.8) and have shown an uninterrupted increase since that date till they now form 51.4 per cent. of the population. In North Bengal they form 36.4 per cent. of the population, an increase over the figure 35.5 per cent. of 1921, but still less than their proportion in 1911 (37.4) which itself was the result of a continuous decrease from the figure of 40.1 in 1881. In East Bengal they form little more than one-fourth of the total population (27.37 per cent.) and their proportionate numbers have continuously declined from 33.6, the figure of 1881. Diagram No. XI-1 shows graphically the proportionate composition of the population by religions at each census for each natural division and

shows at a glance how inconsiderable is the proportion of other than Hindus and Muslims. It amounts to scarcely more than 1 per cent. and the largest proportion of the population furnished by any other community in any division is the 2¼ per cent. contributed to West Bengal by persons professing tribal religions, who in 1921 numbered as much as 4¼ per cent. of the population in this division. Tribal religions account for nearly 2 per cent. of the population in North Bengal, but here again they number 2 less in every hundred than in 1921. The only other considerable community is the Buddhists in Eastern Bengal where they form nearly 1¼ per cent. of the population, a ratio which has consistently increased from 1 per cent. in 1901. It is mainly accounted for by the Buddhists in Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State who bring up the proportion of Buddhists in that area to 3·4 per cent. compared with 3·1 in 1911 since which date their proportion has regularly increased.

393. **Strength of the main religions at each census, 1881 to 1931.**—
Diagram No. XI-2 plotted from the accompanying statement No. XI-2

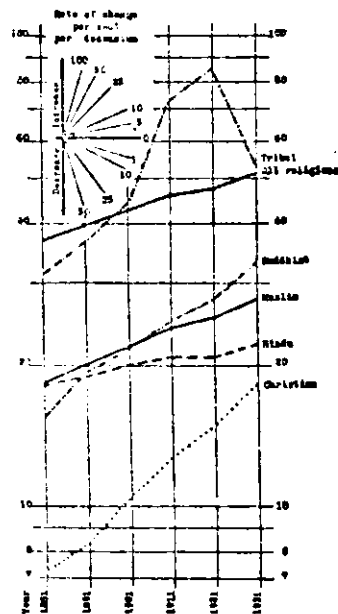
DIAGRAM No. XI-2.
Religious distribution of the population at each census, 1881-1931.
The scale shows millions.



illustrates for Bengal the figures from which are calculated the proportions illustrated in diagram No. XI-1. This diagram shows in cumulation the actual numbers of each main religion since 1881, and in consulting it the reader must bear in mind that slopes above the lowest for Muslims do not represent equal increases in each year because the base from which each religion is measured is not horizontal. The most convenient method of studying the proportionate changes in each religion is perhaps by means of diagram

DIAGRAM No. XI-3.
Changes in religions at each census, 1881-1931.

(Numbers are shown by figures, rates of change by slope. Scale shows millions for All religions, Muslims and Hindus, tens of thousands for others.)



No. XI-3, where an equal degree of slope represents an equal percentage of increase or decrease. This diagram clearly brings out the relatively slower rate of increase of Hindus compared with Muslims. During the decade 1921-1931 the Muslims have increased 9·1 per cent. against the Hindu increase of only 6·7 per cent. and in every decade since 1881 they have shown a greater rate of increase so that they are now 51·2 per cent. more numerous than in 1881, whereas the Hindus are only 22·9 per cent. more numerous than them. Both these communities show the greatest increase since 1921 in the same areas. In Chittagong Division and Tripura State the increases are Muslims 15·7 per cent. and Hindus 10·2 per cent.; in Burdwan Division Muslims 13 per cent. and Hindus 8·4 per cent; and in East Bengal, as a whole, Muslims 11·8 per cent. and Hindus 5·8 per cent. The diagram shows a proportionate increase of Buddhists and Christians which might remain unsuspected on an examination of the proportionate distribution or even of the actual increase in figures from year to year. The increase of Muslims is naturally the major factor controlling the increase of the total population, and the curves for Muslims and All Religions run virtually parallel thus indicating virtually identical percentages of increase. The diagram illustrates very clearly an enormous decrease (37·6 per cent.) during the last decade in the number of primitive peoples who are prepared to

return their tribal religions in place of Hinduism or Christianity. Amongst the Bhumij, Kora, Munda, Oraon and Santal of the west of Bengal and the Garo, Kuki, Mech, Mro and Tipara of the east, the numbers recorded in 1921 and 1931 were 1,344,308 and 1,507,448, showing an increase during the decade of 12 per cent. : but whereas the distribution was in 1921 536,379 Hindus and 807,929 professing tribal religions representing 40 per cent. and 60 per cent. of the total, in 1931 the corresponding figures were 1,014,507 and 492,941, or 67½ and 32½ per cent. respectively. In other words for every Hindu of these groups in 1921 there were nearly two in 1931, but for every two professing tribal religions in 1921 there was just more than one only in 1931.

STATEMENT No. XI-2.

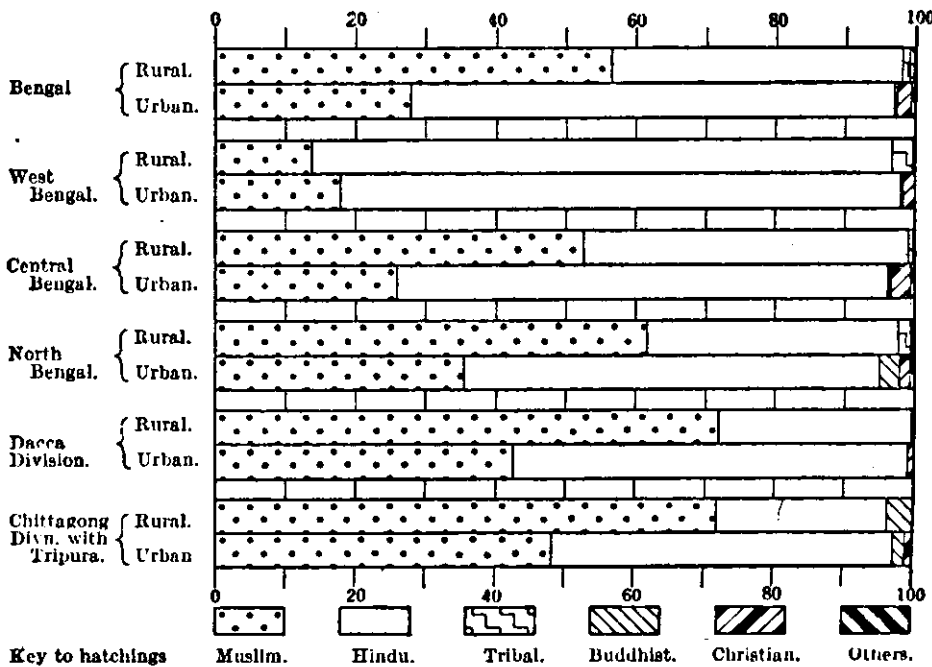
Strength of the main religions at each census, 1881-1931.

Year.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal Religions.	Buddhist.	Christian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1881	18,304,428	18,071,296	313,089	155,106	72,289	10,131
1891	20,174,832	18,978,300	364,820	193,645	82,339	14,632
1901	21,954,955	20,155,674	442,594	216,506	106,596	7,986
1911	24,237,228	20,948,357	730,780	246,866	129,740	12,665
1921	25,486,124	20,812,529	849,045	275,759	140,069	19,930
1931	27,810,100	22,212,069	629,419	330,563	183,007	22,120

394. **Religious constitution of rural and urban areas.**—Subsidiary table IV shows the distribution by religion of 10,000 of the total urban and rural population of natural divisions. From this table diagram No. XI-4 has been plotted which may be compared with diagram No. II-7 of chapter II.

DIAGRAM No. XI-4.

Distribution by religion of 100 of the rural and urban population by divisions.



Hindus everywhere form the great majority of the urban population and in Bengal generally and also in every division except West Bengal they contribute a larger proportion of the urban population than of the rural population. The exception is interesting as being that division in which Muslims are in a

minority and in which alone a larger proportion of the urban population is Muslim than of the rural population. Christians in every division contribute a larger proportion of townsmen than of countrymen. As a general rule every other community contributes a smaller proportion to the urban population of each area than to the rural population. The only apparent exception is the case of Buddhists in North Bengal and is undoubtedly accounted for by the concentration in places like Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong of Buddhists of Sikkimese and Nepalese extraction and to the comparative infrequency with which these Tibeto-Himalayan people reside as cultivators outside the towns. An explanation of the relatively greater proportion in the towns of Hindus than of any other community is no doubt to be sought along two lines. Their literacy ratio is higher and more of them therefore seek such employment as can be found only in towns; and their general standard of living upon the average is higher and they therefore

feel more acutely the discomforts and inconveniences of rural life. The comparative freedom from irksome restrictions which is provided by town life, particularly in the great centres such as Calcutta, is appreciated by many educated Hindus who feel that the relaxation of caste and other religious restrictions there possible is not incompatible in towns with the retention of a considerable degree of orthodoxy. The educated Hindu tends more and more to gravitate to the towns: as a young man his interest in the work of rural improvement is academic, and when he retires his ambition generally is to settle down in some urban area where municipal politics provide more excitement than the monotony of village life and the heart-breaking struggle against its ignorance, prejudice, conservatism and petty faction. The Muslim has hitherto not experienced to the same degree either intellectual dissatisfaction with village life or general improvement in his standard of living, and a larger proportion, therefore, are still content to remain and make their living out of the land, particularly in Eastern Bengal. That they are comparatively more numerous in towns in Western Bengal is no doubt due to the fact that they have not the same opportunity of obtaining agricultural tenancies in districts where Hindus predominate.

395. Muslims in Bengal and other parts of India.—The Muslims of Bengal number 27,810,100 and form 35·4 per cent. of the total Muslim population of India, British Territory and States and no other area contributes anything approaching so large a proportion. In the whole of India Muslims form 22·16 of the total population and only in four regions do they constitute a larger proportion of the total population than in Bengal. Their highest proportion is in the North-west Frontier Province (91·84) and in Baluchistan (87·44), and they form 77·27 of the population of Jammu and Kashmir State and 56·54 per cent. of the population of the Punjab.

396. Distribution of Muslims in Bengal.—Within Bengal they predominate particularly in the Chittagong and Dacca Divisions where they form 73·68 and 70·93 per cent. of the population respectively and also in the Rajshahi Division where they contribute 62·24 per cent. of the population. In the Presidency Division they do not contribute even half of the population, their percentage being 47·20, whilst in the Burdwan Division they amount to only 14·14 per cent. of the total.

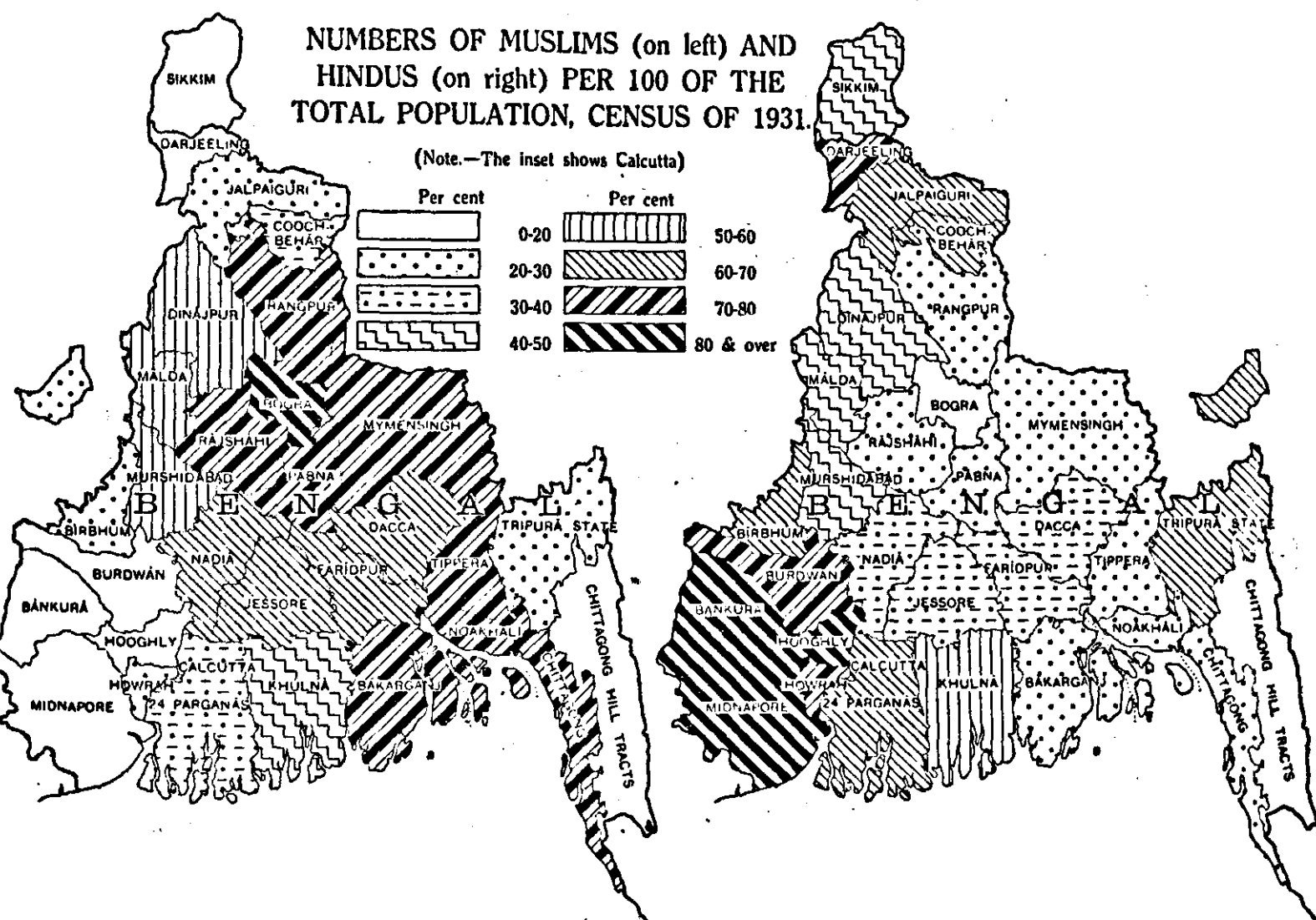
397. Distribution by districts.—Their proportions in the different districts are graphically illustrated in diagram No. XI-5 where their proportions and the proportions of Hindus have been shown side by side to the same scale. They form a fairly solid block of more than 50 per cent. of the population in a band running throughout the whole of Bengal from the districts of Murshidabad, Malda and Dinajpur on the north-west to Bakarganj, Noakhali and Chittagong on the south-east. Their proportion reaches more than 80 per cent. in Bogra, between 70 and 80 per cent. in Rangpur, Rajshahi, Pabna, Mymensingh, Tippera, Bakarganj, Noakhali and Chittagong, between 60 and 70 per cent. in Nadia, Jessore, Faridpur and Dacca and from 50 to 60 per cent. in Dinajpur, Malda and Murshidabad. At the three angles of the province, in Darjeeling (and also in Sikkim), in Bankura, Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore, and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts they form less than 20 per cent. of the population. In the other districts their proportions are from 20 to 50 per cent. Since 1881 their variations in individual districts are comparatively unimportant in the Burdwan Division, where the greatest deviation (in Birbhum) is from 20·5 per cent. in 1881 by a fairly regular increase to 26·7 per cent. in 1931. In the 24-Parganas, Calcutta and Khulna they have lost ground since 1881 although figures for Calcutta show an increase of nearly 3 per cent. of the total population since 1921. In the other three districts of this division they have consistently increased with the exception of a very slight set-back between 1911 and 1921 in the district of Jessore. In Rajshahi as a whole their total proportions have consistently increased since 1901 after having declined by about one per cent. in that year from 1881. The increases are most marked in Rangpur, Malda, Pabna and Bogra

districts where they have increased their proportion of the total population continuously since 1881 in Rangpur from 60·99 per cent. to 70·79 per cent. in Malda from 46·38 per cent. to 54·28 per cent. in Pabna from 72·42 per cent. to 76·9 per cent. and in Bogra from 80·81 per cent. to 83·36 per cent. In Jalpaiguri there is a steady decrease from 35·85 per cent. in 1881 to 23·9 per cent. in 1931, and a similar decrease in the same years from 5·27 per cent. to 2·63 per cent. is shown by Darjeeling. A net decrease in the proportions

DIAGRAM No. XI-5.

NUMBERS OF MUSLIMS (on left) AND HINDUS (on right) PER 100 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, CENSUS OF 1931.

(Note.—The inset shows Calcutta)



is also shown from 78·42 per cent. to 75·79 per cent. in Rajshahi and from 52·55 per cent. to 50·51 per cent. in Dinajpur. In Rajshahi the decrease has been consistent, but in Dinajpur successive decreases up to 1911, when Muslims formed 48·84 of the population, have now been turned into increases to 49·07 per cent. in 1921 and 50·51 per cent. in 1931. In East Bengal the most striking increases in percentage are in Mymensingh from 66·79 per cent. in 1881 to 76·56 per cent. in 1931 and in Tippera from 66·33 per cent. to 75·78 per cent. and with the exception of Chittagong Hill Tracts in every district in Eastern Bengal the proportion of Muslims has steadily increased from 1881. In Sikkim their numbers are negligible and in Cooch Behar and Tripura State they form only 35·34 and 27·12 per cent. of the population respectively. In Cooch Behar their numbers are increasing for the same reason that sends Muslims from the predominantly Muslim district of

Mymensingh into Assam where they go to take up the land which they can no longer find in their own district to support their increasing numbers.

398. **Ordinary tolerance of Muslims.**—It is not likely that the increase in the numbers of Muslims is to any considerable extent due to proselytising or reconversion, and indeed the only conversions of which records appear to be published are from Islam to Hinduism or Christianity. In Bengal the Muslims do not appear to have any active missionary organisations and such associations as they have are social and political like the Majlis Mainul Musalmeen, founded in April 1926 under stress of acute communal feeling particularly in Calcutta, less for religious objects than for “economic, civic benevolent, political and patriotic” purposes. In the country districts of Bengal the Muslim is ordinarily tolerant enough unless communal consciousness has been excited either by the preaching of itinerant *maulvis* and *mullas*, or by some definite clash with practices on the part of other communities repugnant to their own religious feelings. In many parts of the country the Muslim peasant is indeed tolerant of Hindu practices and joins to some extent in Hindu worship. Muslims used to take a part in the famous Janmastami procession at Dacca and even at the present time instances are reported in other parts of the province of specific Hindu practices followed by the Muslims. The use of combined Muslim and Hindu names is not unusual in more than one part of Bengal. In Jessore it is reported that the Muslims revere the *tulsi* plant and *bel* tree and observe the festivals of Jamai Sashthi and Bhratridwitiya. In Bogra in some areas the Muslims observe the Hindu period of ceremonial uncleanness (*asauch*) on the death of parents and at its conclusion shave the head and beard; the women wear the vermilion mark of Hindu wives and the worship of Durga is frequent. It is even reported that there the *navanna* ceremony is universal and that Muslims from great distances travel to the shrine of Gopinath at Gopinathpur to offer fruit and milk and to bathe in a well for the cure of their ailments, whilst at Mahasthan Muslims as well as Hindus mark their iron safes with vermilion on the Dasara day and perform the Satyapir *puja* with offerings of *sinni*. In Jalpaiguri Muslims propitiate the goddess Buri by flinging offerings of rice or fruit (*naivedya*) into the stream. The Buri *puja* is also observed by Muslims in Rangpur particularly during a spell of continuous misfortune or on undertaking any litigation. In Pabna, Manasa or Bisahari is often worshipped by them and they contribute towards the Kali *puja* particularly in time of epidemics, whilst the worship of Sitala, the goddess of small-pox, is almost universal and professing specialists of the disease, calling themselves *kaviraj*, though Muslim, will admit to taking fees for the express purpose of propitiating the goddess. Practices such as the use of turmeric (*gaye halud*) at the marriage ceremony have also been borrowed from the Hindus. Inter-communal borrowing is not confined to the Muslims: the unsophisticated Hindu will render reverence to any manifestation of holiness without enquiring what religion it exemplifies, and *pirs* and *fakirs* or their memory receive veneration and offerings in many parts of Bengal. In Rangpur it is reported that Hindus will extend to elderly Muslims the gesture of touching the feet which is more an act of religious veneration than a punctilio of good manners. This approximation of practices is however discountenanced by the orthodox and efforts are made by preachers of both communities to purge away observances not consistent with strict communal bigotry: even during the census enumeration communal rioting occurred in Rangpur, one of the districts from which some of the instances here cited are drawn.

399. **Sects of Muslims.**—Bengal shows little variation in the sects professed by its Muslims. All except a very small minority are Sunnis and of the remainder, excepting a small number of the Ahmadiya persuasion in Calcutta, whose numbers in the recent census were not ascertained in the interest of economy, such as do not profess the Sunni faith may be taken generally to be Shias, who are found principally in the 24-Parganas, Calcutta Midnapore and Burdwan and also in Murshidabad, Bakarganj, Hooghly and

Howrah. Some few were also returned, but in no case to the number of more than 50 in any district, in Khulna, Dacca, Malda, Rangpur, Birbhum and Nadia.

400. **Hindus in Bengal and other parts of India.**—The Hindus of Bengal number 22,212,069 and form only 9·02 per cent. of all Hindus in India including the Indian states. Their percentage to the total population of Bengal is nearly 25½ less than that borne by all Hindus to the population of India, British Territory and States. Against 43·48 per cent. in Bengal there are 68·24 per cent. in all India, 65·48 in British Territory and 57·20 in Assam, whilst the proportions are even higher in Madras (88·31), the Central Provinces and Berar (86·01), the United Provinces (84·5), Bihar and Orissa (82·31) and Bombay (76·05). They are as many as 85·33 per cent. of the population in Rajputana Agency, 84·35 per cent. in the Hyderabad State and 77·71 per cent. in the aggregate of all states and agencies. The other predominantly Muslim provinces have a very much smaller sprinkling of Hindus than Bengal. Thus the North-West Frontier Province with 91·84 per cent. Muslims has only 5·9 per cent. Hindus. Baluchistan with 87·44 per cent. Muslims has 8·94 per cent. Hindus and the Punjab with 56·54 per cent. Muslims has 26·84 per cent. Hindus.

401. **Distribution of Hindus by divisions.**—The Burdwan Division is the greatest strong-hold of Hinduism in Bengal. Hindus here form 82·85 per cent. of the total population having increased by more than ·78 per cent. from their proportion (82·07) in 1921 in which year they reached the end of a continuous decrease in percentage from 83·96 in 1881. In the Presidency Division they command 51·24 per cent. of the population which represents a small continuous increase from 49·83 per cent. in 1881 with the exception of a slight decrease between 1911 and 1921 from 50·47 to 51·41 per cent. In Rajshahi Division, Dacca Division and Chittagong Division their proportions are increasingly smaller. They form 34·89 per cent. of the Rajshahi Division, where after a continuous decline from 37·83 per cent. in 1881 to 33·71 per cent. in 1921 they have effected a small increase of over one per cent. during the last decade. In Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, however, their proportions have consistently declined from 35·85 to 28·55 per cent. in Dacca and from 28·49 to 22·65 per cent. in Chittagong.

402. **Distribution of Hindus by districts.**—The map shown together with that for Muslims in diagram No. XI-5 illustrates these figures in detail for districts. In Bankura, Hooghly and Midnapore Hindus form over 80 per cent. of the population; in Howrah, Burdwan and Darjeeling their proportions are between 70 and 80; in Birbhum, Calcutta, 24-Parganas, Jalpaiguri and the States of Cooch Behar and Tripura they form 60 to 70 per cent. of the population and in Khulna also they have just a clear majority over all other communities. In Bogra and Chittagong Hill Tracts they form between 16 and 18 per cent. and in all other districts their percentage is less than half of the total population. In West Bengal they have consistently declined in proportion from 80·49 per cent. in Burdwan to 78·62 per cent. and in Birbhum from 77·64 per cent. to 67·17 per cent. After decreasing in Bankura from 87·43 per cent. in 1881 to 86·32 per cent. in 1921 they have in the last decade increased their percentage to 90·99. Again in Midnapore a small decline between 1881 and 1891 followed by less than 0·25 per cent. increase between 1891 and 1901 has been turned into a very small increase from 87·81 per cent. in 1911 to 88·2 in 1921 and to 89·06 per cent. in 1931. In Hooghly the percentage has varied from 80·53 in 1881 to 82·93 in 1931. In Howrah a small decrease from 80·09 per cent. in 1881 to 78·67 per cent. in 1911 has been turned as in Midnapore into an increase during the last two decades to 79·28 per cent. in 1921 and 78·3 per cent. in 1931. In the Presidency Division there are decreases in the proportion in Nadia which shows a continuous decline from 43·88 per cent. to 37·53 per cent., in Murshidabad where there has been a corresponding decrease from 51·74 to 43·01 per cent. and in

Jessore where the percentage has alternately shown decrease and increase in successive decades beginning with a decrease from 39·62 in 1881 to 39·05 in 1891 and where the proportion now is 37·95 per cent. compared with 38·11 per cent. in 1921. Decreases in these districts have been more than made good by the almost continuous increase from 62·02 per cent. to 64·2 in the 24-Parganas broken only by a slight decline in the ratio between 1901 and 1911, in Calcutta from 62·60 to 68·71 per cent. beginning with a decrease to 65·17 in 1891 and 65·05 in 1901, but thereafter continuously increasing, and in Khulna where the increase has been regular from 48·49 per cent. in 1881 to 50·22 per cent. in 1931. In the Rajshahi Division there has been a continuous decrease in the proportions in Rangpur from 38·92 in 1881 to 31·55 in 1921 and 28·77 in 1931, in Bogra from 19·18 in 1881 to 16·64 in 1921 and 16·35 in 1931 and in Pabna from 27·56 in 1881 to 24·06 in 1921 and 22·99 in 1931. In Rajshahi after fluctuating between $21\frac{1}{2}$ and $22\frac{1}{4}$ the percentage has increased from 21·37 in 1921 to 22·81 per cent. in 1931. Similarly in Dinajpur an increase from 47·32 per cent. in 1881 to 47·59 per cent. in 1891 had been reduced to 44·09 in 1921 which has now risen to 45·22 per cent. In Jalpaiguri the increase was continued for three decades from 63·26 per cent. in 1881 to 65·98 per cent. in 1891 and 67·90 in 1901. Two decades of decline followed but in the last decade the proportion has again risen from 55·02 per cent. in 1921 to 67·53 per cent. in 1931. In Darjeeling the decline lasted for yet another decade and the proportion was reduced from 81·71 per cent. in 1881 to 71·2 per cent. in 1921, but has since risen to 74·12 per cent. Similarly in Malda after four decades of gradual decline from 53·37 per cent. in 1881 to 40·63 per cent. in 1921 the proportions have been increased to 42·17 in 1931. In Dacca and Chittagong Divisions except the Chittagong Hill Tracts apart from the increase of 9 per thousand in Chittagong between 1891 and 1901 the proportions have consistently declined in every district. They are no more than 35·86 in Faridpur against 40·08 per cent. in 1881 and 36·25 per cent. in 1921, and are as little as 21·47 per cent. in Noakhali against 25·77 per cent. in 1881 and 22·35 per cent. in 1921. The most notable decreases have been nearly 10 per cent. from 32·35 in 1881 to 22·89 in 1931 in Mymensingh, and in Dacca and Tippera from 40·48 and 33·63 respectively in 1881 to 32·77 and 24·14 in 1931. In all these districts the decrease in the numbers per hundred during the last decade has varied within comparatively narrow limits from about $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts there has similarly been a decline during the last decade of about one from 18·21 to 17·27 per cent. In Sikkim the percentage of Hindus has declined by almost exactly the same figure (24·5) as appears for the first time in the census records under tribal religions for that state; and in Cooch Behar there has been a continuous decline in proportions from 70·94 in 1881 to 64·32 at the present census. In the Tripura State on the other hand a proportion of 10·22 in 1881 had been raised by 1911 to 68·86 per cent. and the decline between that year and 1921 when the figure was 68·22 has been partly recovered in the present year when the figure is 68·4 per cent. In the Tripura State it is to be observed that all religious communities show an increased percentage of the population with the exception of those following tribal religions.

403. **Sects of Hindus, difficulties encountered.**—The attempt to take a return of sects of Hindus was an innovation at the present census and in Bengal was attended with very considerable difficulty. In previous years attention had been concentrated on obtaining the sects of Christians; and in Bengal the Hindu is extremely tolerant of every form of sectarian worship. The difficulties likely to be encountered were anticipated before the enumeration and the instructions circulated to district census officers contained a provision illustrating the main Hindu sects and attempting to deal with the difficult question of eliciting his sect from a person who was or professed himself unable to give it. The instructions are reproduced below :—

“ The Main Hindu sects for census purpose are *Sakta*, *Saiva* and *Vaishnava*; adherents of the *Ganapatya* and *Saura* sects may also be found. An attempt should be made to ascertain

what is the sect of the persons enumerated; in the case of those who have taken *mantras* there should be no difficulty; failing that the family deity may offer a clue to the sect, or the person enumerated may have a preference for the worship of some particular deity; the unqualified entry 'Hindu' should be made only in the case of those whose belief or practice is so indeterminate that no sect can be entered for them."

It is of course only a comparatively small proportion of the Hindu population in Bengal which receives the initiation ceremonies and the occasion is often postponed till comparatively late in life when the feeling arises that it is time to think less of worldly things and more of religion. Even in the case of those who are initiated, though the essential formula of the initiation contains the name of one god and one god only and determines the sect of the *dikshita*, sectarian differences are of so little importance that it is difficult for the individual to remember, if he ever heard aright, the name which the *guru* gave him or the sect of the *guru* himself and it is quite possible that it may never occur to him to find out what it is. It proved that very little help was forthcoming from the private places of worship maintained in many Hindu houses. In some cases deities characteristic of more than one sect have shrines in the same household and receive equal honour, whilst the existence of a family idol does not generally preclude any member of the family from paying equal devotions to the gods of another sect. Apart from the difficulty of discovering a word in Bengali which should convey the meaning of the English word "sect" in the absence of any clearly defined term in general popular use, the majority of Hindus, even when the intention of the question was made clear to them, were unable to give a definite answer to it. Ingenious supervisors and enumerators suggested such criteria as eating or abstaining from meat and fish on the assumption that a man might be taken as a Sakta who ate flesh and as a Vaishnava if he abstained particularly if he ate also no fish. But this criterion brought them up against persons, who, whilst professing Vaishnavism, admitted the eating of flesh: and beyond the criteria at first suggested no other of any assistance were devised. Even an appeal to personal preference generally yielded no result, since the individual questioned professed an equal devotion to all the gods of the Hindu pantheon known to him and ordinarily worshipped in Bengal, and Hindus in the province are not ordinarily kept to the pitch of sectarian bigotry by exclusively sectarian priests. As a result the return of Hindu sects is extremely unsatisfactory and incomplete. Out of a total of no more than 22,212,069 Hindus of all shades of opinion no less than 69 per cent. or 15,327,826 persons distributed more or less proportionately between the sexes were unable or unwilling to return their sect. The classification, therefore, adopted in imperial table XVI, columns 11 to 28, is necessarily unsatisfactory. The main division attempted is between Brahmanic and non-Brahmanic sects, but amongst the very great majority of Hindus who failed to return their sect there is no reason to doubt that most profess, or would prefer to be included amongst, sects classified as Brahmanic in the table.

404. **Brahmanic sects returned.**—Amongst the sect returns actually obtained the proportions are very much what would have been expected. The principal sects in Bengal are undoubtedly the *Vaishnava* and *Sakta* sects in that order, and against 3,565,787 persons returned as Vaishnavas there were 3,276,720 returned as Saktas, a proportion which on general grounds appears to be very tolerably accurate. Only 38,169 persons returned themselves as Saivas and all other Brahmanic sects together amounted only to 1,201 including 382 persons (certainly Madrasis) returned in Midnapore as Adi-Dravidas, 730 persons returned as Sanatanists principally in Burdwan (652) but in small numbers also in Midnapore, Rangpur and Hooghly, 82 persons returned in Khulna under the Satya Dharma sect and 7 persons, 6 in Burdwan and 1 in Jessore, returned as Saura.

405. **Non-Brahmanic sects returned.**—The return of non-Brahmanic sects is also disappointing. Only 2,366 persons in Bengal and 77 in Sikkim

definitely label themselves under non-Brahmanic sects. In Bengal the total is composed of Brahmos (2,165) and Aryas (201) and in Sikkim they are all Kabirpanthis. Brahmos thus returned number in Calcutta 1,554 and in Mymensingh 306, but although schisms within the sect may have accounted for a number of defections, it is not unlikely that a number of persons who would ordinarily describe themselves as belonging to the Brahmo Samaj preferred to return themselves as Hindus only. It is of course possible that political considerations may have contributed to the incompleteness of returns of sect by Brahmos. An apprehension was felt or professed that the separate return of Brahmos and Aryas would lead to their exclusion from the total figure of Hindus and to a consequent weakening in the numerical strength of the community when such questions as communal representation came up for discussion. During the enumeration explanations were circulated expressly stating that Brahmos and Aryas would be included amongst the total for Hindus: but communal solidarity may have induced some Brahmos to conceal their sect in the census returns. The decrease in the number of Brahmos from 3,284 in 1921 to 2,165 in 1931 should therefore be accepted with caution as representing the relative extent to which beliefs characteristic of the Brahmo Samaj were current at each end of the last decade. On the other hand the Arya Samaj shows an increase of over 107 per cent. on its numbers of 1921, viz., from 97 to 201.

406. **Reasons for sectarian tolerance.**—It might have been expected that Bengal as the "land of heresies" would display a well-regulated sectarian system, but whilst Buddhism and Jainism have practically lost all influence in Vanga where they originated, it is significant that the latest considerable development of the Hindu religion which has originated in Bengal, the Vaishnava sect initiated by Sri Chaitanya, began as a revolt against distinctions of religion, sect and caste and has itself probably contributed to the blurring of sectarian differences in the province.

407. **Proselytising activities in Bengal Hinduism.**—The last decade has witnessed the institution of missionary activities amongst the Hindus of Bengal in the foundation in 1925 of a Hindu Mission putting forth as its professed aim (1) to preach and propagate the Hindu religion and culture; (2) to reform and readjust orthodox Hindu society in the light of Hindu ideals; (3) to reclaim all those who or whose ancestors once wandered away from the parent faith of Hinduism; and (4) to unite the followers of all creeds and doctrines of Indian and non-Indian origin into one great religious brotherhood, "spiritualising them with the sole enfranchising ideals of Sanatan Dharma". The mission adopts as its definition of "Hindu" a very much wider expression than is commonly accepted in scientific or general use, viz.,

"all persons who follow a religion or doctrine which had its origin in India or in good faith call themselves Hindus and generally follow or try to follow the fundamental principles, usages and customs of the Hindus as enjoined in the Hindu scriptures."

Such a definition of "Hindu" abolishes as separate religions not only reforming and unorthodox sects of Hinduism such as the Arya and Brahmo Samajists, Vaishnavas, Kabir Panthis, etc., but also Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism, and although it does not seem to have occurred to the mission, it would presumably be claimed that the Zoroastrians are also to be included as Hindus since their faith in its origin derives from elements similar to those which contributed the Aryan portions of the Hindu faith. In Bengal the principal contention of the mission arising out of its definition of "Hindu" is that members of primitive tribes are Hindus whether or not they conform to Hindu belief and practice, and considerable effort was expended by the mission and its workers in order to secure the return of primitive peoples as Hindus. A number of printed pamphlets were issued during the course of enumeration and a reproduction of one of these together with a free translation in English is given on the next page.

লোক গণনা ও বাংলার হিন্দু-সমাজ ।

Census and Hindu Society in Bengal.

বাংলা, আসাম ও বিহার অঞ্চলে লক্ষ লক্ষ সাঁওতাল, গারো, ডালু, বানাই, খাসিয়া, ওড়ং, মুণ্ডা, মিকির, মিরি, মিস্‌মি, লুসাই, কুকী, লালুং, কাছাড়ী, রাভ, মেচ প্রভৃতি নরনারী রামায়ণ-মহাভারতের যুগ হইতে বসবাস করিতেছে। হিন্দুস্থানের উপরোক্ত অধিবাসি-গণ সকলেই মূলতঃ হিন্দু। গত ১৯২১ সালের লোক গণনার সময় ইহাদিগের অধিকাংশকেই “হিন্দু” না লিখিয়া জড়োপাসক (Animist) লেখা হইয়াছে। ইহা দ্বারা এই সকল সরল ও ধার্মিক ভ্রাতা-ভগ্নীদের প্রতি অন্যায় করা হইয়াছে।

আমরা আশা করি আগামী ১৯৩১ ইং জানুয়ারী মাসে লোক গণনার সময় উপরোক্ত হিন্দু নরনারীগণ গত লোক গণনার ঐ ভুল সংশোধন করিয়া লইবেন। তাহারা ধর্ম “হিন্দু”, জাতিতে “ক্‌ষত্রিয়” এবং তাহাদের বংশোদ্ভূতি “সিংহ” অথবা “রায়” লেখাইবেন। যাহাতে এই উপদেশ সর্বত্র সমানভাবে প্রতিপালিত হয় তজ্জন্য বিশেষভাবে প্রচার কার্য চালাইতে হইবে।

হিন্দু মিশনের প্রত্যেক সভ্য, পৃষ্ঠপোষক, ভক্ত, শিষ্য, সেবক যে যেখানে আছেন—কাল বিলম্ব না করিয়া চতুর্দিকের প্রতিবেশী হিন্দুদিগের মধ্যে এই বিষয়ে প্রচারে প্রবৃত্ত হউন।

এই বিরাট বিস্তৃত কার্যের সফলতার জন্য হিন্দু মাত্রেরই আন্তরিক সাহায্য ও সহায়ত প্রয়োজন।

৬ই আশ্বিন—১৩৩৭।

From the days of the Ramayan and the Mahabharat there have been living in Bengal, Bihar and Assam thousands of Santhals, Garos, Dalus, Banais, Khasias, Oraons, Mundas, Mikirs, Miris, Lushais, Kukis, Lalungs, Kacharis, Rabhas and Meches. These inhabitants of Hindustan are fundamentally Hindus. In the census of 1921 they were returned as Animist instead of as Hindus. By this a wrong has been done to our simple religious brothers and sisters.

We hope that during the forthcoming enumeration in January 1931 the above Hindus, men and women, will rectify the mistakes made at the previous census. They should record “Hindu” as their religion, “Kshatriya” as their caste and “Sinha” or “Ray” as their family name. Special propaganda should be undertaken to see that these instructions are carried out uniformly in all places.

Each member, supporter, devotee and disciple of the Hindu Mission wherever he may be should devote himself to giving this matter publicity amongst all his Hindu neighbours.

The sympathy and help of every Hindu is required for the success of this enormously extended undertaking.

Dated, the 6th Aswin 1337.

408. **Interference of the Indian Tea Planters' Association.**—It is no doubt the prominence in discussions relative to impending constitutional changes of the numbers and constitution of the Hindus in this province which led the Indian Tea Planters' Association also to contend that Oraons, Mundas and Santals, many of whom are employed in tea gardens, were incorrectly returned as “animists” at the last census and should have been included amongst “Hindus” and this body actually exhorted its members, upon whom a considerable part of the labour of organising the census devolved, to instruct their enumerators to record the labour population as Hindus, alleging that

“it is an open fact that the coolies of Oraon, Munda, Santal and other tribes follow a Hindu faith and other Hindu rites”.

409. **Suddhi and Sangathan.**—The claim that the primitive peoples in India are really Hindus who have lost sight of their religion conditions the description adopted for the two aspects of the work on non-political lines done by the Hindu Mission. It makes the term conversion strictly inapplicable to the ceremonial inclusion within the Hindu fold of any person of Indian origin; and that branch of the mission's activities which is directed to the conversion of Muslim and primitive tribals is known as “suddhi” or purification, a word intended to indicate that their reception into orthodox Hinduism merely involves a cleansing away of objectionable practices and by inference the least possible interference with accepted tribal belief. The other main non-political activity of the mission is directed to “sangathan” the unification or integration of Hindu society by such reforms as the abolition of untouchability, remarriage of widows, the encouragement of inter-caste and international marriages, the spread of female education and the encouragement of such festivals (*pujas, utsavas and kirtans*) as may be participated in by all classes of the Hindu community. The reports of the mission recount from time to time the numbers of conversions made amongst primitive tribes,

Indian Christians and Bengali Muslims, and the cases in which "*sarvajanin makasagra*" or "*Durga utsavas*" have been celebrated with a view to consolidating the Hindu community. The accounts of conversions are perhaps somewhat optimistic, but the figures for tribal religion show a pronounced decline since 1921, although a comparison with the total figures of selected groups of primitive peoples shows a marked increase during the last decade, and it is therefore clear that there has been a considerable access to the Hindu community of persons who by birth belong to the primitive tribes.

410. **Hindu public opinion on certain social questions.**—An attempt was made during the course of census operations to elicit the views of educated Bengalis upon the present state of Hindu public opinion regarding a number of social questions affecting Hindus. The questions circulated are given in an appendix to this chapter which also contains extracts from two of the answers received. The questionnaire was sent in the first place to members of the provincial services, and in a few instances to other persons who were expected to be interested in the questions dealt with. More than one thousand letters were issued and replies were received from well over one-third of the persons addressed. Some of the replies showed that the letters had been misdirected to persons who were not Hindus and three returns were obtained from persons born outside Bengal whose replies were consequently set aside. After eliminating these items 382 letters remained. They were first divided according to caste into Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayasthas, Namasudras and other castes : and Brahmans who formed the majority of the correspondents were again subdivided according as they came from West Bengal, North Bengal,

	Total.	Orthodox.	Unorthodox.
ALL CASTES ..	382	118	268
Brahmans ..	154	72	86
West Bengal ..	35	10	25
North Bengal ..	13	2	11
East Bengal ..	52	24	28
Central Bengal ..	54	36	22
Baidyas ..	54	13	41
Kayasthas ..	120	21	99
Namasudras ..	12	2	10
Other castes ..	38	8	30

East Bengal or Central Bengal. An attempt was then made to introduce a further division in the replies according as the correspondent described himself as orthodox or unorthodox in belief and practice. This distribution yielded the figures shown in the margin.

411. **Growth of latitudinarian practice.**—Reference will be made elsewhere to the replies received in answer to question No. 4 of the circular touching the essential beliefs or practices considered to distinguish the caste. It is doubtful to what extent the replies received actually represent proportionately the incidence of public opinion amongst the educated classes. Probably very few persons who receive an English education would be able to describe themselves as being strictly and unyieldingly orthodox in both belief and practice. The replies received indicated very clearly that there has been a very great change of public opinion during recent years and the spread of latitudinarian beliefs was recognised by almost all correspondents. Very few approached the attitude of one correspondent of the Aguri caste who, with a generous admixture of metaphors, referring to the "revolution" recently brought about in public opinion in the direction of a more liberal outlook described it as

"...entirely kicking feverishly at every pillar of society and trying ineffectively to bring them down; happily this flood did not muddle the current of my caste people."

There is scarcely any field of Hindu life which has not been modified by recent movements. The spread of education and economic conditions have driven increasing numbers of families to towns where a much greater laxness of observance is permitted than in the villages, and one correspondent noted the significant fact that even in Calcutta itself those who had taken up a residence there some generations ago were more conservative and orthodox in their opinions than other members of the same caste whose migration to the same city was of more recent date. Increasing contact with other countries and the increasing extent to which young men educated abroad on returning home are unable to resume their social life on exactly the same terms as before have also contributed to the adoption of a more tolerant and less rigid attitude in regard

to religious or caste observances. Even the most conservative and orthodox have not been unaffected by these changes and as one correspondent pertinently observes

“the significant point is that society as such will not actually *sanction* a change, though it is getting more and more inclined to *tolerate* it”.

Many correspondents found themselves embarrassed by a request to describe themselves in one or other of the clear cut categories and the division into orthodox and unorthodox, therefore, does not represent any sharp distinction in the views held by persons allocated to each class.

412. No marked divergence of views characteristic of castes.—Similarly the division into castes does not yield a very clearly marked divergence of opinion as between one caste and another. The Brahmans (at least of the higher classes), the Baidyas and the Kayasthas are exactly upon the same level of intellectual attainment and are accustomed to the same degree of culture and refinement in their social life and they form between them all but a negligible proportion of the answers received. Even of the remainder, amounting to no more than 50 out of 382, all were persons of education who were prepared to give to the social questions raised a degree of thoughtful attention probably not given to them by the majority of their caste men. Finally two points are to be noticed. One is that all the correspondents had received an English education and that there was therefore amongst them no representative of those whose education has been entirely upon Sanskritic lines and who may be very learned indeed but are generally very much less liberal or progressive in their views of what is good for society. The second point is that all the correspondents were men and that their opinions therefore do not directly represent the body of opinion amongst their women-folk which on the whole is very much less progressive than their own.

413. Relaxation of caste restrictions.—Powerful agencies are at work for the relaxation of caste restrictions in general, and it may be said that probably the ablest as well as the most vocal agitation is progressive rather than reactionary. Bodies like the Hindu Mission and the Hindu Sabha are professedly committed to the removal of untouchability and to inter-marriage between castes or even between races. Generally speaking orthodox correspondents were opposed to any relaxation of caste restrictions and were in favour of maintaining the doctrine of untouchability, although on this point some liberal influences were detected in the replies received. Instances cited of inter-marriage between castes were rare and in most cases it was not stated whether the violation of social custom had involved suffering and unhappiness to the parties concerned irrespective of the degree to which they were denied recognition by their own societies as a result. In many cases where inter-marriage does take place the parties find it most convenient to adopt themselves into one of the schismatic or reforming sects such as the Brahmo Samaj. In other cases their personality or position in local society is strong enough to live down social disapprobation and after the lapse of time, perhaps in a second or third generation, to resume their place in society. One correspondent pointed out that the generally felt disapprobation for inter-caste marriages applied not only to marriages *pratiloma* but also to the *anuloma* type regarding which very little, if any, disapprobation was expressed in the Shastras. It is probably inevitable that so long as Hindu society remains upon any organisation similar to that now existing, the practical inconveniences and disadvantages arising from the uncertain position in either caste of parties to a marriage between two castes will prevent any widespread toleration of the practice except in those cases where it is customary as for instances in some parts of Eastern Bengal between Baidyas and Kayasthas.

414. Views regarding touch and food tabus.—On the other hand correspondents of every degree of orthodoxy showed a much greater liberality of outlook as regards pollution by contact, eating of prohibited foods and

inter-dining with other castes. Only the most violent reactionaries declared that they felt polluted by contact with "unclean" persons and that they would not on any account dine with members of "unclean" castes. Commonsense and convenience combine to prevent the Hindu from accepting the necessity of bathing and changing his clothes every time he happens to touch a person whose contact conveys ceremonial pollution. Most higher caste Hindus no longer consider themselves polluted by contact with "unclean" castes irrespective of personal cleanliness; the feeling depends upon the occupation and the personal habits and cleanliness of the individual of the lower caste concerned. Even orthodox correspondents subscribed to the statement that pollution by contact as well as untouchability is at present non-existent: but on the other hand the most liberal were also prepared to admit that an important factor was the situation in which the contact took place. At any religious ceremony pollution by contact would be certainly felt and would invalidate the ceremony performed. But the Hindu accepts with resignation the conditions of modern life which throw him in buses or trams or trains into close contact with people whose caste he certainly makes no effort to ascertain but can very reasonably deduce from their appearance. A similar distinction is made in regard to the eating of prohibited foods or foods prepared by improper persons and to inter-dining with other castes. With regard to diet indeed a considerable amount of hypocrisy is acknowledged to exist and although probably no Hindu of any shade of thought would knowingly eat beef or ham, even the orthodox connive at the eating of other prohibited foods, provided that those who indulge in such practices do not make a parade of it and, if necessary, do it clandestinely. Most correspondents even amongst the Brahmans declared that what they principally looked to was not the caste or status of the person preparing the food but his personal cleanliness and the cleanliness of the vessels in which it was cooked and served and there were comparatively few who declared that they would in no circumstances dine with other inferior castes. Even here, however, the progressive section recognise a certain social propriety which excludes members of lower castes from feasts on ceremonial occasions.

415. **Prayaschitta.**—As regards the necessity of performing *prayaschitta* for breaking caste the very widest tolerance was expressed even by orthodox persons. It was categorically stated by many correspondents that the necessity of performing any ceremony in these circumstances was a thing of the past. Instances were indeed cited in which the performance of *prayaschitta* had been demanded by the caste and had been performed by persons who had proceeded to England; one instance was given of a man who had lost caste by going to the war and was not received back into society even though he performed the expiatory ceremony; whilst other instances were given in which refusal to perform it had led to social ostracism or outcasting; but in these latter cases the persons concerned generally found in the course of time that some section of their society was prepared to receive them. When such a question as this arises the tendency is for feeling to be divided and for two groups to show themselves in the society concerned which are respectively in favour of and against pressing a demand for the performance of *prayaschitta*. One instance was cited in which such a split had actually led to the displacing on the local caste society of the elder and more conservative members of the caste in favour of younger men with liberal and progressive views. Such instances however as were cited were almost invariably given from the early youth of the writer, and there can be no doubt whatever that it is only in very rare instances that the performance of this ceremony is demanded from persons who have journeyed overseas to Europe, America, Japan and other countries. Where *prayaschitta* is demanded, its performance is often desired only, as one correspondent expressed it, "to bring down the pride of Europe-returned persons"; and another orthodox Brahman of Central Bengal stated that "for going to Europe a show of respect towards superiors and a propitiatory feast sufficed." Its performance is often, as another orthodox Brahman stated, "a mere formality" and is interpreted as indicating that the person returned from abroad has not as it were "gone native" in the country overseas but has remained a good Hindu whose allegiance to the social customs of

his group is still acknowledged. It is clear that at present only in every rare circumstances would even the most conservative persons in the more educated groups insist upon the performance of this ceremony, unless the demeanour of the returned member was such as to offer violent affront to the susceptibilities of his castemen.

416. **The "pan" system.**—On some social questions opinion is unanimous amongst both the orthodox and the unorthodox. These correspondents who supported the *pan* system were very few indeed, though one correspondent characterised it as neither harmful nor objectionable. Under this system the unfortunate father of daughters to whom it would be disgrace either to leave them unmarried or to marry them into a group socially lower than his own is unable to marry them in his own or a higher group without being subjected to very heavy exactions. The family of the bridegroom demands the payment of a certain sum of money before it will consent to the alliance. If this money were settled upon the girl either as her own property or as "nest-egg" for the newly married couple, though the custom would still probably cause economic hardship, it would presumably be regarded with less distaste. As it is, however, the money does not even go to the bridegroom but is appropriated by his family. It is to some extent astonishing that a practice universally condemned should be almost universally prevalent. It was apparently not known 40 or 60 years ago and the rather indefinite explanation of its origination in "economic conditions" does not seem either to be clear or to account for the ascendancy it has established over the higher castes. On the other hand no father of daughters for whom he will be compelled to pay *pan* if he wishes to get them married, can afford to renounce the contribution exacted from the families in which he seeks wives for his sons; and the habit has established itself so strongly that in some groups, for instance amongst the Baidyas, although the question of contributing is never specifically raised, it is an understood thing that the bride's father shall contribute the amount considered to be appropriate for the occasion and he can be relied upon to do this because failure would be taken as due to inability to meet the expense and he would lose social position thereby. Two circumstances appear likely to contribute in reducing the preference of the practice. One is the fact that young men are now-a-days tending to put off marriage until they have completed their education and feel that they are in a position to support a wife. This is an inevitable consequence of the decay of the joint family system to which some reference will be made later. A second factor is the gradual rise in the age at which girls are married. In both the Kayastha and the Baidya castes it is becoming not unusual for girls to remain unmarried until they are 18 or 20 years old. Some of them have pursued their education to the graduate stage. All of them as the age of marriage is increased resent more and more a system which virtually amounts to their families having to buy them husbands. In their protests against the system they are also joined by young men of their caste amongst whom there is growing a tendency to take a wife of their own choosing on the basis of mutual attraction rather than to be provided for by their families in what their elders consider to be the interest of the family.

417. **Purdah.**—As regards *purdah* also there were comparatively few correspondents prepared to stand out for its rigorous perpetuation. Here, however, there is a strong feeling particularly amongst the old-fashioned or orthodox that it is possible to go too far in relaxation. It is generally stated that *purdah* exists only in a very restricted form both in villages where all the inhabitants are known to one another and also in towns where there is greater freedom of movement. Many thoughtful persons are entirely averse from any such free association of the sexes as is characteristic of Western countries and consider that it would for many years to come lead to abuses of a serious nature. Comradeship between the sexes is foreign to Indian tradition, and is not recommended to the Indian mind by those of its aspects in Europe and especially America which receive the widest advertisement.

418. **The Hindu attitude to child-marriage.**—It is again only the very orthodox and reactionary amongst the educated of all castes who are in favour

of child-marriage, but the term is understood both by orthodox and unorthodox correspondents alike in a very different sense from that which it bears in the West. Kayasthas, Baidyas and some groups of Brahmans assert that child-marriage for many years has not been in vogue amongst them, but in illustration they generally quote the fact that girls are rarely married before the age of 14 or 16. On the other hand amongst the Baidyas particularly there is no doubt that, as is shown in chapter VI, a very large number of the girls are not married until 18 or 20. The tendency amongst young men to postpone their marriage until after they have begun to earn themselves and in some cases until they are in a position to maintain a separate family also naturally tends against child-marriage, since a young man of 25 to 30 who has received the best education which Bengal can give him will probably desire in his wife an intellectual companion more nearly of an age with himself than a young child of ten or eleven years, particularly if he contemplates, as he very often does, establishing his own household in pursuit of his profession at a distance from the rest of the family. Amongst many sections no doubt the recent Child-marriage Restraint Act is tacitly ignored, but the fact that it has continued to be in existence for well over a year without any considerable body of protest indicates that the measure was not premature.

419. Attitude to the education of women.—All sections of Hindu community are in favour of increased education for girls and evidence of this will be found in chapter IX *infra* in the figures for literacy recorded at the present census. The most orthodox, however, in some cases are against sending girls to school and a large number consider that their education should not be continued after their marriage. They would prefer, if possible, that education should be given in the home and that in any case married girls should not be sent to school. Nearly all sections of the community agree that some modification of the curriculum is desirable for girls. They would welcome a course of education which was specifically directed towards their household duties in later life. "Generally," writes one correspondent,

"there should be female education feminine in character so that females may fit themselves efficiently in the household as good mothers, loving sisters and daughters and faithful wives. They should be given general education comprising sewing, cooking, music and other fine arts such as painting, etc. No use wasting time in teaching algebra, higher mathematics, etc."

The raising of the age of marriage and the *pan* system itself have been to some extent responsible for the increased enthusiasm in female education. The marriage price of a bridegroom varies amongst the higher classes according to his university degree or rather according to the discrepancy between his standard of education and that of his bride; and this has made it a sound investment for parents and guardians to have their girls educated as far as their means and time will allow. The statutory raising of the age of marriage has left daughters longer on the hands of their parents and it has made it necessary for them to find some means of keeping them employed and out of mischief.

420. Attitude towards the participation of women in public life.—Opinion is however universally more conservative as regards the adoption of professional careers by women and their increased participation in public life, for instance as members of public bodies. The extent to which they are actually doing this has been noted elsewhere. It is very widely held by both liberal and conservative Hindus that women cannot hope to adopt professional careers and take part in public life without a sacrifice of the sweetness and sanctity of home life. Many of them feel that, in the absence of a tradition behind them, women engaging in public life will find themselves subjected to temptations which they have had no preparation to resist. The adoption of professional work is also felt to be liable to enhance the present existing and increasing unemployment amongst educated young men. Amongst the correspondents who replied to enquiries only a comparatively small number, taken almost exclusively from the Baidya and Kayastha castes, declared unreservedly in favour of women appearing in the professions and in public life. A very large majority of thinking Hindus would welcome

the adoption of careers by widows as a means of ensuring their own independence, but the great majority of them would prefer to see them employed only in teaching medicine and social work amongst their own sex and many would prefer that they should not take even to these professions until comparatively late in life. Probably the feelings of the great majority even of progressive Hindus are represented by the following extract :—

“ We feel that woman’s proper place is in the home and that she is unsuited by reason of her sex, temperament and physical structure to plunge into the rough and tumble of public life. We feel that there is want in the country of women teachers, women doctors and women nurses and to a limited extent we are prepared to admit a certain number of widows of mature age to take to such professions for the benefit of womenkind in general, but their numbers must be limited. But we are opposed to a general participation by women in professional careers or in public affairs.”

On the other hand in Bengal no less than elsewhere *factum valet* and after the part taken by women in civil disobedience and non-co-operation movements reactionary opposition to their taking a greater part in public life is bound to subside sooner or later. Hindu opinion was profoundly shocked when young girls came forward publicly as assassins, but society will now evidently have to accommodate itself to a situation in which women take an increasing part in public life particularly when compulsory widowhood denies them a full outlet for their activities in home life. Even although orthodox Brahman correspondents describe it as “ humiliating,” “ positively harmful ” and “ absolutely ungodly ” and a large number look upon those women who are prominent in public affairs as actuated by a discreditable desire for self-advertisement, the women who have tasted a new freedom are unlikely to content themselves with its withdrawal and society will have to adjust itself to the changed conditions. It is safe to predict that if a further review is taken at the end of the next decade it will be found that under the stimulus of enfranchisement and representation on the legislative bodies women are then taking a very much larger part in public life than could ever be imagined ten years ago.

421. The joint family.—The joint family system was one of the most characteristic institutions of Hindu life but the opinions received were unanimous that certainly in the higher castes it has now begun to break up. In the lower castes and amongst purely agricultural families it remains firmly established. Those, however, who follow the learned professions or adopt clerical occupations are driven afield in search of work and there set up their own establishments. They find it difficult to pool their earnings and the spread of Western individualism makes it irksome for them to remit all that they can save from their own expenses as a contribution to the joint family. In educated circles the joint family is tending to split up into a number of groups which perhaps contribute towards the maintenance of the parent family where it is necessary, and meet on ceremonial or stated occasions to keep up the solidarity of the family without actually remaining in it all the time. The system had many advantages. The joint family when it was bound together by unquestioned loyalty to its head was an admirable substitute for universal insurance : it provided for every member and even secured for those whose abilities were mediocre the certainty of ungrudging maintenance. The position of the Hindu widow has often been painted in the most pitiable colours but in the best type of joint family her practice of the austerity, self-denial, self-sacrifice and service to others which characterise the ideal type of widow invested her with the greatest respect and, if she happened to be the mother of children, her position was of very great honour indeed. Temperament and family tradition of course were largely responsible for the treatment meted out to unproductive members of the family and to those who had the misfortune to be bereaved but the present disintegrative forces are generally recognised as being bound to lead to some deterioration in the position both of the non-earning members of the family and of its widows. The member of a family who has broken away and set up for himself in his profession at a distance earning his living by his own labour and finding a more immediate interest close at hand, resents anything like the necessity for maintaining idle members of his family and is at the same time unable to

regard the incompetent with the same tolerance as they enjoyed before. The widow of such a person, if she is unprovided for, cannot count on the same consideration from her husband's relatives as she might have had if he had been joint with them. It is inevitable that she should attach herself to some relative of her husband's family or to her own family and in neither position is her lot likely to be at all a happy one. Many correspondents commented upon the fact that the presence of a widow in a family was always welcomed because she would cheerfully undertake the drudgery of the family whilst the extreme self-denial expected of a Hindu widow makes her support very little of a burden. But where she is unprovided for and has children there are bound to be heart-burnings on account of differences in the treatment which her children and those of her husband's relatives receive and one correspondent shrewdly remarked that in general the unfortunate widow is treated with more consideration by men than women. It might have been expected that the break up of the joint family and the increasing irksomeness of a widow's life when the joint family has been disintegrated would stimulate the cause of female education, would lead to more widows adopting some means of livelihood and would encourage society to look with more favour upon widow remarriage as a way of providing for them. In many cases indeed it is reported that widows earn something to give them an independence by teaching or tutoring and by sewing and embroidering clothes, but one correspondent noted that contrary to expectation the break up of the joint family system and the increasing hardness of widow's conditions are not leading to any increase in widow remarriage.

422. Opinion regarding widow remarriage.—On this question of widow remarriage also there is considerable divergence of opinion. To the Hindu the relation of husband and wife is sacramental rather than contractual and once it has been established it cannot be severed even upon death except by a desecration. Every Hindu in his heart probably considers that the Hindu widow is capable of realising the finest ideal of womanhood by ascetic self-denial, devotion to her husband's memory, and the self-sacrifice with which she consecrates herself to the service of the remaining members of her husband's family; and there are many, particularly amongst the orthodox, to whom any sacrifice of this ideal appears profoundly repugnant. They would prefer that the ideal should still be attempted even if it involves, as it does in many cases, suffering and almost unbearable nervous and psychological strain upon the widows. There is, however, a large body of progressive thinkers who, finding no shastric injunction in favour of perpetual widowhood, are prepared to favour and even to encourage remarriage of widows. The Hindu Sabha advocates this but with a certain complacent patronage puts it forward as being specially appropriate for the lower castes upon the ground, for which there is apparently very little justification in fact, that they are dying out owing to their failure to find unmarried girls as brides. Correspondents who replied to the questionnaire gave numerous instances of widow remarriages. In all cases they were viewed with displeasure by some portion of the caste, though in many the parties concerned were able to overcome opposition or at least to secure a considerable body of partisans in their support. There are definite organisations for the encouragement of widow remarriage, and since 1927 instances have been reported in Pabna, Mymensingh, Tippera, Dacca, Jessore, Nadia, Chittagong, Malda, Bakarganj, Jalpaiguri and Rajshahi, and the figures discussed in chapter VI show that it has indeed become more prevalent during the last ten years. Nearly all correspondents, however, were in favour of restricting the remarriage of widows to those who have been bereaved before the marriage was consummated or to those at least who were of tender years and some of them thought it necessary to insist that the widow should not be remarried without her own consent, a proviso rendered necessary by the fact that orthodox Hindu law regards women as no free agent but as being at all stages of her life a chattel or rather a ward of some male relative. The rush to marry children before the Child Marriage Restraint Act came into operation resulted, as has been

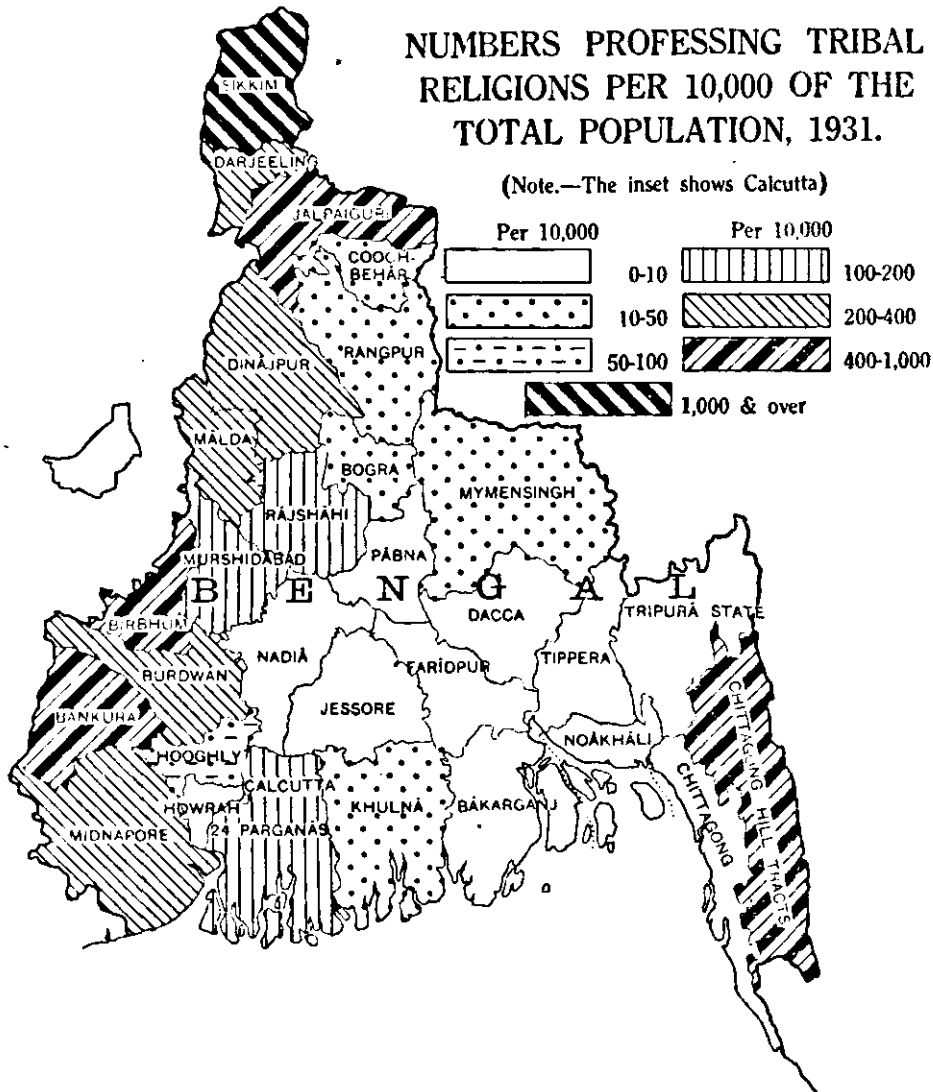
noted in chapter VI, in an enormous increase in the number of girls married at the earlier ages and is bound to cause in succeeding years a large increase in the number of child widows. In the report on the census of 1921 Mr. Thompson estimated the average age of marriage at rather less than 20 for men and about $12\frac{1}{2}$ for women. The Act therefore does not prohibit the marriage of any man over the average age at which they usually marry. But in the case of women the Act renders illegal marriages of girls as much as $1\frac{1}{2}$ years older than the average at which they were being married when Mr. Thompson made his calculations. Whereas therefore the group of men seeking marriage has not been reduced by the Act, the group of women amongst whom they must look for their wives has been very considerably reduced. As a result either the men must postpone marriage till a later age or the deficiency of potential wives must be made good by adding widows to their numbers; the first alternative would almost certainly lead to an increase of prostitution and irregular unions, and it is to be conjectured that Hindu public opinion will consequently more readily adjust itself to the second.

423. **Tribal religions.**—At the present census the term “animist” previously used to describe the religion of aboriginal and primitive peoples has been replaced by the vaguer, but more satisfactory term “tribal religions.” It has been felt that the connotation of the word “animist” is too specific and that a term is more satisfactory which merely indicates adherence to a system of beliefs and practices considered to be characteristic of the tribe without at the same time conveying any suggestion as to their nature. Bengal contributes only 529,419 or 6.29 per cent. of the total number of persons professing tribal religions in all India. Some 29.78 per cent. are contributed by the aggregate of states and agencies and the largest individual contributions are in Bihar and Orissa (24.42 per cent.), and the Central Provinces and Berar (16.11 per cent.), Burma provides 9.1 per cent. and Assam 8.48 per cent. and in all British Territory Bengal therefore occupies the 5th place among the major provinces. Tribal religions contribute only 1.03 per cent. of the population of Bengal compared with a proportion of 2.39 in the whole of India or 2.17 in British Territory.

424. **Variations in numbers.**—The actual numbers professing tribal religions have declined by 37.6 per cent. in the whole of Bengal during the last decade and the decline in numbers comes out clearly in diagram No. XI-2 whilst diagram No. XI-3 shows even more noticeably the percentage decline as well as the decline in actual numbers. During the decade there has been a decline in numbers in every division of Bengal except the Presidency Division. The decline is as much as 52.1 per cent. in North Bengal, 49.3 per cent. in Dacca Division and 30.8 per cent. in the Burdwan Division. But the numbers professing tribal religions have actually almost doubled in the Presidency Division, where the increase is 92.9 per cent. The persons following tribal religions are 1.03 of the total population of Bengal as against 1.79 per cent. in 1921 and 1.58 per cent. in 1911. They form a large proportion of the population (2.75 per cent.) in Burdwan Division than elsewhere, but even in Burdwan Division the proportion has declined from 4.27 per cent. in 1921 to 2.75 per cent. in 1931. With the exception of a decline between 1891 and 1901 from 3.68 to 3.52 per cent. in this division their history from 1881 to 1921 showed a continuous increase not only in numbers but also in their proportion to the total population which was 2.97 per cent. in 1881. Their next largest proportion is in Rajshahi Division where they form 1.88 per cent. of the population as against 4.07 per cent. in 1921, a figure representing the peak of a progressive increase in proportion from 9 per 10,000 in 1881. In the Presidency Division they contribute only 0.58 per cent. of the total population and have continuously increased their proportion since 1881 when they formed no more than 2 in 10,000 of the population. They contribute no more than 0.19 per cent. of the population of Chittagong Division and 0.13 per cent. of the Dacca Division. They are most numerous in Birbhum, Bankura, Jalpaiguri and Chittagong Hill Tracts where they number more than 4 per cent. of the population. They are relatively numerous also in Darjeeling,

Dinajpur, Malda, Burdwan and Midnapore where they form 2 to 4 per cent. of the population and in Rajshahi, Murshidabad and the 24-Parganas where they form between 1 and 2 per cent. They are less than 1 per thousand in Pabna, Nadia, Jessore, Faridpur, Dacca, Tippera, Bakarganj, Noakhali, Chittagong, Howrah, Calcutta and the Tripura State while in the other districts in the province they number no more than 1 to 8 per thousand. Only in the 24-Parganas, Murshidabad, Jessore, Khulna, Rangpur and Chittagong districts have they increased their relative strength of the total population since 1921. Their proportions in each district are illustrated in diagram No. XI-6.

DIAGRAM No. XI-6.

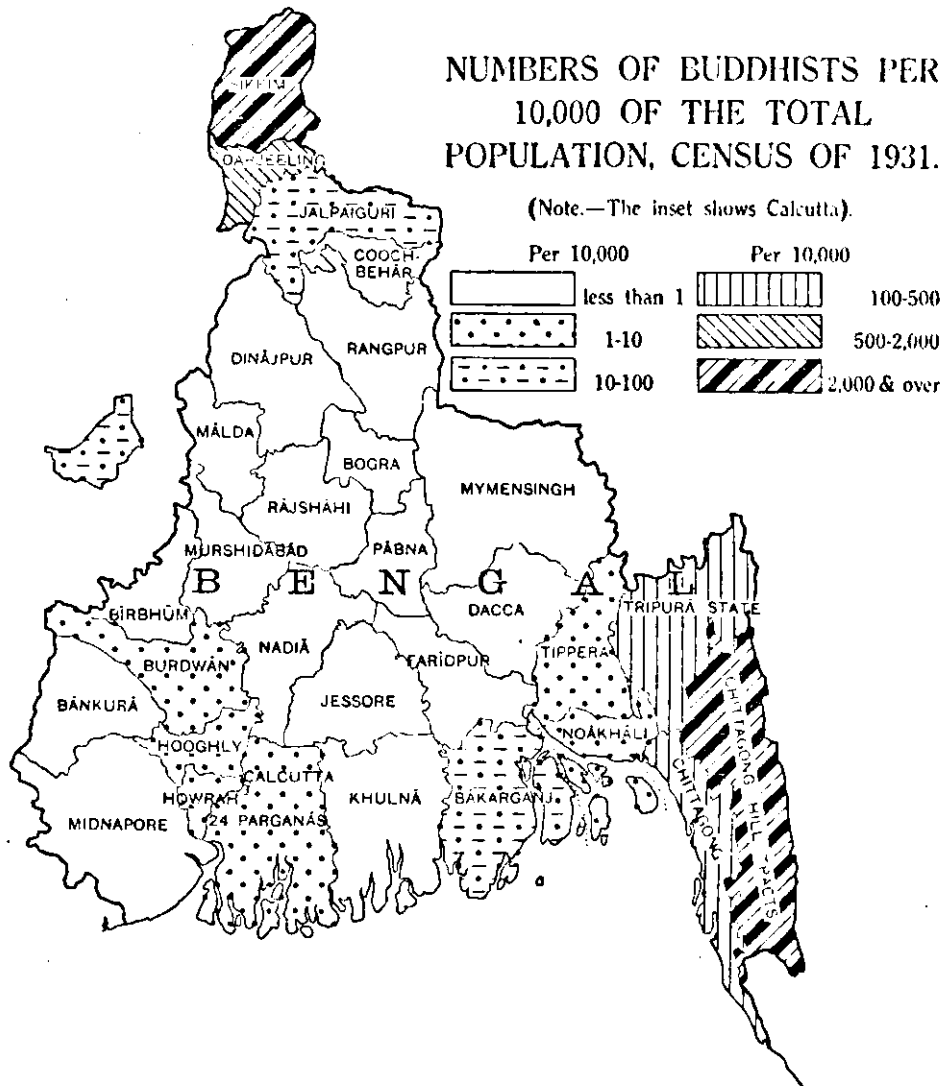


425. **Buddhism.**—Buddhism in Bengal is almost entirely confined to the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts in the north and to Chittagong district and Chittagong Hill Tracts in the south-east of the province. Bengal's contribution to the total of Buddhists in India is no more than 330,563 or 2·47 per cent., but Burma contributes 96·57 per cent., and the contribution of Bengal is the next largest. Buddhists form 0·65 per cent. of the population of Bengal against 84·3 per cent. in Burma, 3·65 in India and 4·68 in British Territory.

426. **Distribution of Buddhists in Bengal.**—The map forming diagram No. XI-7 shows the number of Buddhists per 10,000 of the total population. In Sikkim they form 32·3 per cent. of the total population, a proportion which the gradual infiltration of Nepali settlers professing a Hinduistic faith has continuously reduced from 34·81 per cent. in 1901. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts they form no less than 72·99 per cent. of the total population, a proportion larger than that of 1881 (72·81) which had been reduced by 1911 to 65·77, but had recovered to 68·55 in 1921. They form 18·4 per cent. of the population of Darjeeling where their proportions have consistently increased since 1881 and where there is a General Buddhist Association and 4·2 per cent. in Chittagong. Elsewhere throughout the province only in Jalpaiguri, Calcutta and Bakarganj does their proportion reach as much as from 1 to 10

per thousand. No sects of Buddhists have been separated. That form of religion current in northern Bengal derives from the Lamaistic Buddhism of Tibet and differs from the beliefs in the south-east of the province which more nearly resemble those of Burma. The sectarian differences in the

DIAGRAM No. XI-7.



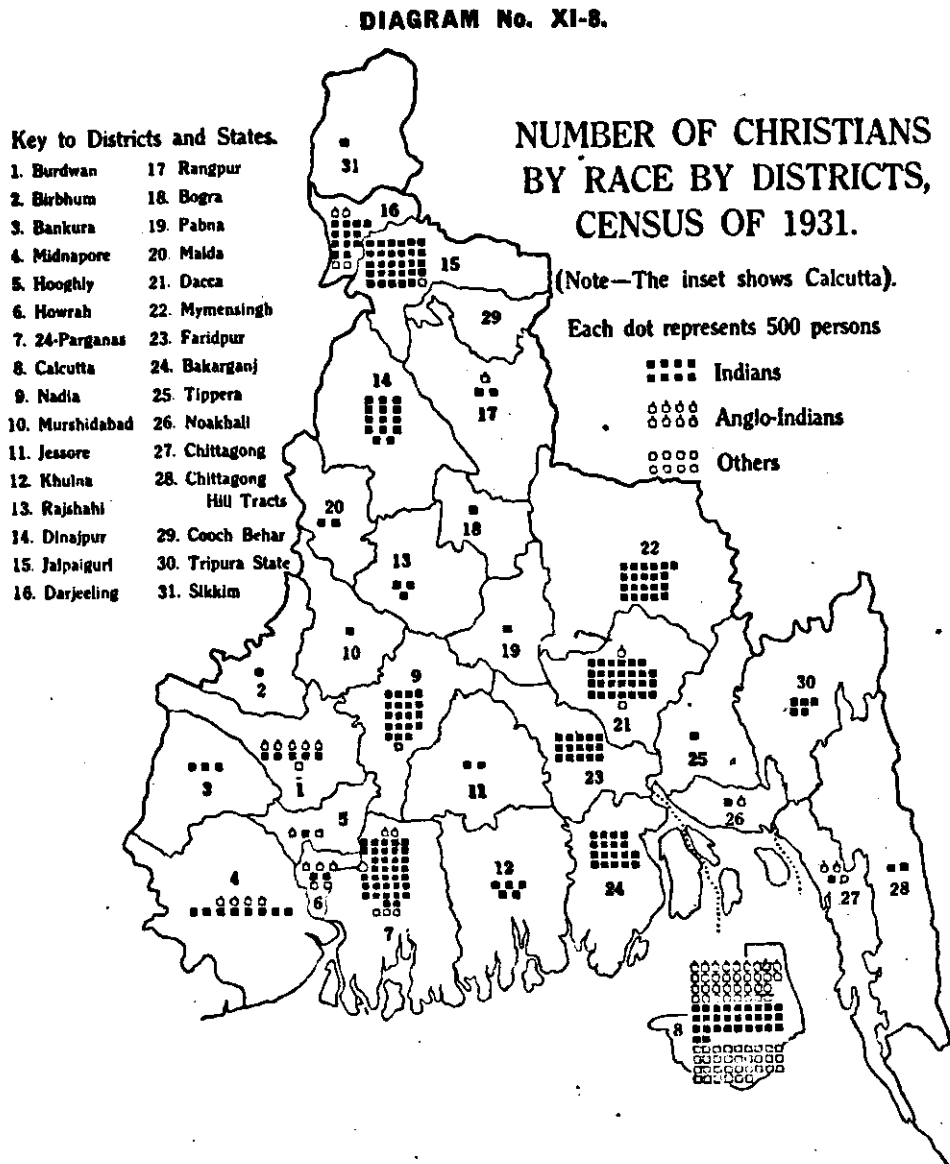
Lamaistic creed in northern Bengal are confined to the priesthood, and although there are even separate orders of priests bearing tribal names such, for instance, as Newar, Tamang, etc., worship at the Buddhist *gumpas* is not confined to the laity of any particular sect or tribe.

427. **Christians.**—The total number of Christians in Bengal is 183,067 and their numbers have shown a fairly regular rate of increase from 1881 when they were 72,289. They form 2·86 per cent. of the total number of Christians in India and a considerably larger proportion is furnished by Madras (28·18 per cent.), the Punjab (6·59 per cent.), Bihar and Orissa (5·43 per cent.), Burma (5·26 per cent.), Bombay (5·04 per cent.), United Provinces (3·25 per cent.) and Assam (3·22 per cent.). In Bengal itself they form no more than 0·36 per cent. of the total population compared with 1·8 in the population of India and 1·42 in the population of British Territory. The population of Madras contains a larger percentage (3·8) of Christians than any other, and Assam with 2·35 and Burma 2·26 per cent. fill the second and third place. They are most numerous in the Presidency Division (81,273) and then in the Dacca Division (41,446) and Rajshahi Division (35,339).

428. **Variations in numbers of Christians.**—Throughout the whole of Bengal their increase during the last decade (22·8 per cent.) has been greater than at any other decade since 1881 except between the years 1891 and 1901 when the percentage increase was 29·5. Except in the Dacca Division where they have increased by 32·1 per cent. in the last decade against 22·2 between 1891 and 1901 elsewhere in every division their

increase was the greatest between 1891 and 1901. Their numbers are now 2½ times greater in all Bengal than they were in 1881 and in the Rajshahi Division there are actually almost 19 times as many of them as they were in that year.

429. **Racial distribution of Christians by districts.**—A map shown as diagram No. XI-8 indicates not only the strength of Christians but also their



racial distribution as Indians, Anglo-Indians and others. Amongst the Indians some groups are included such as Sinhalese which are not actually Indian, as well as some others of Nepalese origin who may not have been born in India. As might be expected no less than 16,863 Anglo-Indian Christians out of a total of 27,573 reside in Calcutta, and for the most part they are found principally in urban areas. Next to the Presidency Division with 17,768 the Burdwan Division with 6,244 contains the largest number of Anglo-Indian Christians. Amongst the Indian Christians also more live in the Presidency Division of whom 17,388 are found in the 24-Parganas and 14,280 in Calcutta. Dacca Division with 40,419 and Rajshahi Division with 31,835 Indian Christians come next in order to Presidency Division. Jalpaiguri has no less than 14,327 Indian Christians and Dacca and Mymensingh 13,567 and 10,603 respectively. Nadia with 9,742, Dinajpur with 6,802 and Darjeeling with 6,104 in West and North Bengal and Bakerganj with 8,769 and Faridpur with 7,480 in the east are the only other districts in which Indian Christians are found in any numbers. On the map they are seen to lie therefore principally in two series of districts running contiguously from north to south, viz., Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Rajshahi (though here no more than 1,483), Nadia, Calcutta and 24-Parganas and again in Mymensingh, Dacca, Faridpur and Bakerganj.

430. **European Christians.**—The great majority of other Christians are Europeans. They amounted in all to 22,955 and scarcely more than 5,200 of these are to be found outside the Presidency Division, most of whom (16,083) residing in Calcutta and its suburbs in 24-Parganas, with 1,542 in parts of the 24-Parganas, 1,232 in Howrah including 822 in Howrah City and 1,213 in Darjeeling.

431. **Christian missions.**—The enumeration took place before the necessity for stringent economy had become apparent and elaborate provisions were made for accurate return of sects of Christians. The instructions issued to local officers were as follows :—

“ Experience has shown that the return of sects of Indian Christians will be very incomplete unless special precautions are taken beforehand. Local instructions should be given as to the way in which the adherents of each mission are to be entered. The correct recording of Christian sects is facilitated by the fact that usually there are only one or two missions at work in each district. The co-operation of the missionaries at work in each district should be asked for and they should be requested to take steps to explain to their converts how they should return themselves. The supervisors and enumerators should also be instructed as to the sects likely to be met with in their circles and blocks. As far as possible the record of all blocks where Christians are numerous should be prepared by Christian enumerators and should be examined by the charge superintendent or other qualified officer who should satisfy himself that the real sect has been entered.”

The names of the missions at work in each district were obtained from the mission workers and a list is given below of the sectarian missions working in Bengal with the districts in which they have branches.

STATEMENT No. XI-3.

Christian Missions at work in Bengal outside Calcutta.

Sect and name of mission.	District in which working.
ANGLICAN	
Church of England Zenana Mission	Burdwan, Howrah, 24-Parganas.
Church of England Mission	Midnapore, Howrah, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Chittagong.
Church Mission Society	Howrah, 24-Parganas, Nadia, Rangpur.
Oxford Mission	24-Parganas, Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj.
St. Andrews Mission	24-Parganas, Mymensingh.
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Mission	24-Parganas.
St. Joseph's Mission	Malda.
BAPTIST	
American Baptist Mission	Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Bakarganj.
Baptist Mission	Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas, Khulna, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Dacca, Faridpur, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Bengal and Orissa Baptist Foreign Mission	Midnapore.
London Baptist Mission	Jessore, Dinajpur.
Australian Baptist Mission	Pabna, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Tippera.
New Zealand Baptist Mission	Tippera.
CONGREGATIONAL	
Free Church Mission of Finland	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri.
INDIA UNITED CHURCHES	
Church of Scotland Mission	Burdwan, Hooghly, 24-Parganas, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling.
Presbyterian Mission	Howrah.
London Mission Society	24-Parganas, Murshidabad.
English Presbyterian Mission	Rajshahi.
LUTHERAN	
Santal Mission of the Northern Churches	Birbhum, Rajshahi, Dinajpur.
Lutheran Mission	Malda.
Swedish Mission	Cooch Behar.
METHODIST	
Methodist Episcopal Mission	Burdwan, Birbhum, Midnapore, 24-Parganas.
Wesleyan Methodist Mission	Burdwan, Bankura, 24-Parganas.
American Methodist Mission	Birbhum.
MINOR AND UNSPECIFIED PROTESTANT	
American Church of God Mission	Howrah, Bogra, Rangpur.
Protestant Mission	24-Parganas.
Christian Mission Society	Nadia.
Seventh Day Adventist Mission	Nadia, Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj.
Indian Baptist Mission	Jessore.
Sindhuria Kuti Mission	Jessore.
Church of the Nazarene Mission	Mymensingh.
Evangelistic Mission	Faridpur.
North-East India General Mission	Chittagong Hill Tracts.
ROMAN CATHOLIC (Latin Rite)	
Roman Catholic Mission	Hooghly, 24-Parganas, Nadia, Khulna, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Darjeeling, Rangpur, Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Noakhali, Chittagong.
Basanti Catholic Mission	24-Parganas.
Congregation of the Holy Cross, Canada	Chittagong.
SALVATIONIST	
Salvation Army	Jessore, Rangpur.

432. Sects of Christians.—The sectarian classification of these missions is given according to an elaborate scheme circulated by the Census Commissioner for India, by which the several hundreds of sects returned in India on previous occasions were classified amongst 15 main divisions. It was originally intended to show a special table corresponding to table XV of 1921 in which Christians were distributed by race and sect. Summary figures by race are included in the fly leaf and supplement No. II to imperial table XVI, but the only sects for which separate figures have been obtained amongst Christians are Roman Catholic, Romo-Syrian, Other Syrian and Others. The inclusion of a separate group for Romo-Syrians is in the nature of a compromise to reconcile the conflicting views entertained as to the allocation of the sect to the Roman or Syrian Church. In order to guard as far as possible against the omission from any of the groups chosen of returns which should be included sorters were directed to include amongst Roman Catholics entries such as the following—Catholics, Church of Rome, Franciscan Friars, Italian, Latin Catholic, Latin Christian, Spanish Mission and St. Francis de Sales; amongst Romo-Syrians such entries as Syrian Catholics and Syro-Roman and amongst Other Syrian such entries as Gregorian Church, Jacobite Church, Mar Thoma, Nestorian, St. Thomas Christian, Syrian and Yugomayam. It is unlikely that all of the above returns were found in Bengal, but this provision ensures that any which were found will have been correctly allocated according to the classification adopted by the Census Commissioner. Actually the returns show that a very small number of Christians in Bengal were returned as Romo-Syrians or other Syrians, and Anglo-Indians contributed more than other races to both of these sects. Roman Catholics numbered 70,578 of whom 46,792 were Indians and 16,295 were Anglo-Indians. Protestant sects of all kinds accounted for 111,949 persons of whom 85,023 were Indians and 15,570 of European or Allied races. The great majority of Christians in Bengal who are Indians or of European and Allied races are Protestants, while the majority of Anglo-Indians are Roman Catholics.

433. Other religions—Jains.—Other religions than those mentioned above amount to no more than 4 in every 10,000 of the total population of Bengal, a proportion which has remained practically constant since 1881. The main contribution is made by Jains who number 9,669. Half of them are found in the Presidency Division in Calcutta (3,185) and Murshidabad (1,018). They are present in greatest numbers after the Presidency Division in Rajshahi, where they number 3,276, the single district of Rangpur contributing no less than 1,414. In other parts of Bengal their numbers are few and Birbhum with 494 and Dinajpur with 465 have the largest numbers after those districts already named. There were nearly half as many again returned as Jains in 1921 as in 1931, and it is possible that the same considerations which may have influenced Brahmors to return themselves as Hindus only made some Jains to give a similar return; but the numbers in 1921 showed an unusually high increase over those of the previous census and were almost double those of 1911 (6,782) and the present returns are more than 42 per cent. in excess of those of 1911. As on the previous occasion the Swetambari Terapanthi sect of Jains were anxious to obtain a return of their numbers and assisted in the census of Calcutta, but amongst the Jains enumerated only 652 returned their sect, 426 being Swetambari, 147 Swetambari Terapanthi and 79 Digambari. There were as many as 2,199 Swetambari Jains in Calcutta alone in 1921. The two Jains returned in Sikkim are of the Swetambari sect and no sect was returned by Jains outside Calcutta except in the districts of Burdwan, Murshidabad and Hooghly.

434. Sikhs.—The Sikh population is somewhat smaller than the Jain amounting to 7,334, of which no fewer than 5,047 are concentrated in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas. The numbers are nearly three times as many as in 1921 when they were very little more numerous than in 1911. Burdwan Division contributes 1,868 mostly from the districts of Midnapore (1,197)

and Howrah (405), where the Bengal Nagpur Railway workshops at Kharagpur and the Bengal Nagpur and East Indian Railway Administrations at Howrah account for their comparatively large numbers.

The majority of both Jains and Sikhs are clearly temporary residents, since the number of males to females is very low in each religion. But in Burdwan and in Nadia and Murshidabad the sex ratios approach for Jains fairly close to the average throughout Bengal, and the Jain community in these places is permanently established. There is less than one female to every four Sikh males, and the largest proportion of females to males amongst the community is found as might be expected in Midnapore, where facilities for bringing their families are afforded to railway employees at Kharagpur. The sex ratio in Calcutta has risen since 1921 when there were only 100 Sikh females to every 365 males and there are now about 100 females to every 327 males.

435. **Jews.**—The Jewish community totalling in all 1,867 is practically confined to Calcutta and 24-Parganas where all but 12 were found, 8 of those being in the Rajshahi Division and 7 of them in the district of Darjeeling. Its numbers have increased by 16 since 1921 but are not yet as high as in 1911 (1,993) or even in 1901 (1,914).

436. **Zoroastrians.**—The Parsis shown as Zoroastrians total 1,520 of whom 1,261 are found in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas and the majority of the remainder in Howrah district which contains 97, mostly settled in the Howrah City itself where they number 84. There are nearly three as many Parsis as in 1921.

437. **Confucians.**—Confucians number 1,447, all except 84 of whom, 76 in Chittagong and 8 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts were returned in Calcutta. The Chinese in such places as Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri have, therefore, been returned in those areas either as Chinese in 47 cases noted in supplement No. I to imperial table XVI, part C, or as Buddhists.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Distribution by religion of 10,000 of the total population by natural divisions, 1881-1931, with percentage of variation.

Religion and area.	Actual No. in 1931.	No. per 10,000 of the total population in						Variation per cent: increase + decrease—					Net variation per cent., 1881-1931.
		1881	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1921-21	1911-21	1901-11	1891-01	1881-01	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
MUSLIM.													
BENGAL	27,810,100	8,444	8,355	8,234	8,110	8,068	4,969	+ 9.1	+ 8.2	+ 10.4	+ 8.8	+ 9.7	+ 51.2
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	1,222,770	1,414	1,344	1,344	1,317	1,290	1,205	+ 13.0	- 4.9	+ 4.9	+ 8.6	+ 4.3	+ 27.7
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	4,771,165	4,720	4,782	4,834	4,882	4,920	4,950	+ 0.6	- 1.8	+ 4.1	+ 4.6	+ 3.3	+ 17.4
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar)	6,840,050	6,083	5,982	5,927	5,908	5,929	5,957	+ 4.7	+ 2.9	+ 8.2	+ 5.3	+ 3.6	+ 27.1
EAST BENGAL	14,067,007	7,103	6,992	6,888	6,748	6,627	6,452	+ 11.8	+ 9.9	+ 14.7	+ 12.4	+ 17.6	+ 87.5
Dacca Division	9,883,280	7,093	6,969	6,834	6,679	6,522	6,362	+ 9.9	+ 9.2	+ 14.1	+ 12.1	+ 15.9	+ 77.8
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	5,133,608	7,121	7,040	7,000	6,880	6,821	6,602	+ 15.7	+ 11.3	+ 15.8	+ 14.4	+ 21.6	+ 109.3
SIKKIM	104	10	3	5	4	..	..	+ 420.1	- 54.5	+ 109.5	..	..	..
HINDU.													
BENGAL	22,212,068	4,348	4,372	4,523	4,700	4,767	4,832	+ 8.7	- 0.7	+ 3.9	+ 6.2	+ 5.0	+ 22.9
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	7,164,441	8,285	8,207	8,233	8,319	8,324	8,306	+ 8.4	- 5.2	+ 1.7	+ 7.1	+ 3.1	+ 15.4
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	5,179,127	5,124	5,141	5,047	5,023	4,998	4,983	+ 6.5	+ 2.3	+ 5.7	+ 5.9	+ 4.3	+ 26.7
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar)	4,101,790	3,643	3,552	3,788	3,921	3,974	4,008	+ 5.6	- 3.2	+ 2.9	+ 4.3	+ 3.2	+ 13.1
EAST BENGAL	5,760,702	2,737	2,848	2,947	3,111	3,227	3,359	+ 5.8	+ 4.6	+ 6.5	+ 6.8	+ 10.0	+ 38.9
Dacca Division	3,958,870	2,835	2,970	3,102	3,265	3,421	3,585	+ 3.8	+ 2.5	+ 5.5	+ 4.9	+ 7.8	+ 26.8
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	1,807,832	2,508	2,601	2,620	2,791	2,831	2,820	+ 10.2	+ 9.9	+ 8.9	+ 11.9	+ 16.6	+ 75.9
SIKKIM	47,074	4,287	6,673	6,674	6,491	..	..	- 13.7	- 7.1	+ 53.2	..	..	..
TRIBAL.													
BENGAL	529,419	103	179	158	103	92	85	- 37.8	+ 16.2	+ 65.1	+ 21.3	+ 16.5	+ 69.1
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	238,115	275	427	405	352	368	297	- 30.8	+ 0.4	+ 18.1	+ 2.6	+ 28.7	+ 84.3
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	58,002	58	32	34	14	11	2	+ 92.9	- 5.2	+ 149.8	+ 32.1	+ 677.0	+ 4,589.2
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar)	201,079	180	385	264	108	44	8	- 52.1	+ 49.0	+ 163.7	+ 156.9	+ 450.3	+ 2,604.9
EAST BENGAL	30,603	14	28	41	20	22	68	- 42.1	- 27.6	+ 126.1	+ 5.5	- 63.8	- 63.8
Dacca Division	17,842	13	27	33	27	31	30	- 49.3	- 9.7	+ 34.7	- 3.5	+ 15.6	+ 31.3
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	12,821	18	28	60	7	1	158	- 27.6	- 48.1	+ 910.0	+ 419.8	- 98.9	- 78.2
SIKKIM	26,940	2,453	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
BUDDHIST.													
BENGAL	330,563	65	58	53	50	48	42	+ 19.9	+ 11.7	+ 14.0	+ 11.8	+ 24.8	+ 113.1
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	306	1	..	..	..	..	1	+ 88.9	+ 37.3	+ 34.1	+ 23.9	- 80.4	- 15.7
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	3,552	8	4	3	3	3	2	- 3.2	+ 42.8	- 14.5	+ 31.6	+ 17.9	+ 83.2
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar)	66,515	50	53	52	51	46	21	+ 14.5	+ 3.7	+ 11.2	+ 16.9	+ 122.6	+ 243.2
EAST BENGAL	260,190	123	112	106	104	104	107	+ 21.7	+ 13.6	+ 15.4	+ 10.0	+ 11.0	+ 85.0
Dacca Division	12,417	9	8	7	7	6	5	+ 19.4	+ 10.0	+ 23.2	+ 18.1	+ 26.8	+ 155.5
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	247,773	844	322	314	317	328	346	+ 21.8	+ 13.5	+ 15.1	+ 9.7	+ 10.4	+ 92.7
SIKKIM	35,412	3,225	3,278	3,289	3,481	..	..	+ 32.2	- 7.4	+ 40.7	..	..	..
CHRISTIAN.													
BENGAL	183,067	36	31	28	25	21	10	+ 22.8	+ 14.8	+ 21.7	+ 29.5	+ 13.9	+ 153.2
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	18,541	21	20	16	11	8	0	+ 10.0	+ 15.9	+ 45.6	+ 49.9	+ 41.5	+ 315.6
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	81,273	81	75	72	70	61	59	+ 14.3	+ 4.5	+ 9.1	+ 20.9	+ 6.3	+ 67.4
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar)	36,511	31	23	16	9	3	2	+ 39.1	+ 47.7	+ 90.5	+ 169.7	+ 78.6	+ 1,788.9
EAST BENGAL	47,742	23	19	17	16	16	14	+ 30.8	+ 19.2	+ 19.3	+ 21.9	+ 20.9	+ 174.4
Dacca Division	41,446	80	25	23	21	19	18	+ 32.1	+ 13.2	+ 20.1	+ 22.2	+ 22.6	+ 168.9
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	6,296	9	8	6	5	5	6	+ 22.9	+ 77.0	+ 12.1	+ 19.2	+ 8.0	+ 214.2
SIKKIM	278	25	45	32	23	..	..	- 25.4	+ 29.8	+ 111.1	..	..	..
OTHERS.													
BENGAL	22,129	4	5	4	3	4	3	- 5.6	+ 49.0	+ 43.7	- 35.8	+ 55.5	+ 102.2
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	3,007	4	2	2	1	1	5	+ 108.1	- 0.8	+ 283.2	- 31.0	- 83.6	- 18.5
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	14,450	14	16	10	8	7	4	- 4.5	+ 59.9	+ 39.7	+ 14.5	+ 64.3	+ 301.2
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar)	4,089	4	5	3	3	4	4	- 21.1	+ 55.1	+ 19.1	- 22.4	+ 6.3	+ 23.8
EAST BENGAL	574	..	1	1	1	5	..	- 64.7	+ 26.5	+ 39.4	- 86.5	+ 2,836.1	+ 144.2
Dacca Division	240	..	1	1	1	1	..	- 80.4	+ 26.3	+ 16.9	- 5.4	+ 297.3	+ 8.1
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	334	..	1	1	..	14	..	- 17.3	+ 27.0	+ 234.7	- 98.4	+ 45,800.0	+ 2,469.2
SIKKIM	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	- 75.0	+ 700.0	- 87.5	..	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by religions of 10,000 of the total population by natural divisions, districts and states, 1881-1931.

Natural division, district or state.	Number per 10,000 of the total population whose religion is											
	Muslim.						Hindu.					
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	5,444	5,355	5,234	5,119	5,068	4,969	4,348	4,372	4,523	4,700	4,767	4,862
West Bengal	1,414	1,344	1,344	1,317	1,299	1,295	8,285	8,207	8,233	8,319	8,324	8,396
BURDWAN DIVISION	1,414	1,344	1,344	1,317	1,299	1,295	8,285	8,207	8,233	8,319	8,324	8,396
Burdwan	1,856	1,851	1,888	1,876	1,921	1,898	7,862	7,799	7,911	7,968	8,030	8,049
Birbhum	2,669	2,507	2,381	2,235	2,127	2,053	6,717	6,865	7,024	7,280	7,436	7,764
Bankura	459	457	454	458	424	444	9,099	8,632	8,696	8,740	8,604	8,743
Midnapore	759	677	680	664	651	652	8,906	8,829	8,781	8,845	8,822	8,878
Hooghly	1,917	1,698	1,688	1,759	1,832	1,937	8,293	8,192	8,108	8,297	8,442	8,553
Howrah	2,127	2,030	2,073	2,059	2,043	1,956	7,830	7,928	7,867	7,908	7,925	8,009
Central Bengal	4,720	4,732	4,834	4,882	4,920	4,950	5,124	5,141	5,047	5,023	4,998	4,983
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	4,720	4,732	4,834	4,882	4,920	4,950	5,124	5,141	5,047	5,023	4,998	4,983
24 Parganas	3,365	3,462	3,613	3,624	3,651	3,733	6,420	6,421	6,269	6,304	6,277	6,292
Calcutta	2,600	2,393	2,698	2,948	2,981	3,178	6,874	7,083	6,750	6,565	6,517	6,290
Nadia	6,177	6,018	5,953	5,895	5,792	5,573	3,753	3,911	3,972	4,056	4,192	4,398
Murshidabad	5,556	5,357	5,197	5,077	4,946	4,809	4,301	4,505	4,684	4,827	4,968	5,174
Jessore	6,196	6,176	6,186	6,124	6,089	6,036	3,795	3,811	3,799	3,871	3,965	3,962
Khulna	4,950	4,976	5,022	5,048	5,129	5,144	5,022	5,093	4,954	4,941	4,863	4,849
North Bengal	6,093	5,982	5,927	5,908	5,929	5,957	3,643	3,552	3,738	3,921	3,974	4,008
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	6,224	6,138	6,093	6,084	6,123	6,179	3,489	3,371	3,553	3,738	3,775	3,783
Rajshahi	7,579	7,654	7,756	7,763	7,873	7,842	2,281	2,137	2,192	2,223	2,124	2,157
Dinajpur	5,051	4,907	4,884	4,957	5,159	5,255	4,522	4,409	4,499	4,634	4,759	4,732
Jalpaiguri	2,390	2,475	2,631	2,902	3,265	3,585	6,753	5,592	6,063	6,790	6,598	6,326
Darjeeling	263	301	358	370	448	527	7,412	7,129	7,141	7,512	7,665	8,171
Rangpur	7,079	6,803	6,578	6,306	6,272	6,099	2,877	3,155	3,340	3,605	3,719	3,392
Pogra	8,330	8,249	8,239	8,182	8,087	8,041	1,635	1,664	1,695	1,804	1,887	1,918
Pabna	7,090	7,593	7,511	7,483	7,339	7,242	2,299	2,406	2,480	2,514	2,608	2,706
Malda	5,423	5,151	5,043	4,807	4,720	4,638	4,217	4,063	4,036	4,982	5,021	5,337
COOCH BEHAR	3,534	3,258	3,079	2,967	2,950	2,898	6,432	6,716	6,908	7,019	7,023	7,094
East Bengal	7,103	6,992	6,888	6,748	6,627	6,452	2,737	2,848	2,947	3,111	3,227	3,359
DACCA DIVISION	7,093	6,969	6,834	6,679	6,522	6,362	2,655	2,970	3,102	3,265	3,421	3,565
Dacca	6,681	6,536	6,396	6,226	6,088	5,910	3,277	3,420	3,554	3,729	3,865	4,018
Mymensingh	7,656	7,491	7,344	7,141	6,902	6,679	2,289	2,427	2,566	2,751	3,011	3,236
Fardpur	6,360	6,346	6,320	6,190	6,098	5,975	3,588	3,625	3,652	3,786	3,882	4,008
Bakarganj	7,163	7,056	6,974	6,829	6,701	6,669	2,765	2,876	2,962	3,115	3,159	3,286
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	7,368	7,260	7,137	7,036	6,956	6,786	2,265	2,387	2,474	2,641	2,765	2,849
Tipperra	7,578	7,412	7,223	7,054	6,867	6,633	2,414	2,579	2,768	2,938	3,124	3,363
Noakhali	7,846	7,757	7,665	7,588	7,533	7,415	2,147	2,235	2,306	2,404	2,457	2,577
Chittagong	7,380	7,281	7,219	7,153	7,109	7,043	2,193	2,298	2,392	2,352	2,343	2,430
Chittagong Hill Tracts	366	421	331	398	464	718	1,727	1,821	926	2,915	2,405	1,997
TRIPURA STATE	2,712	2,703	2,829	2,815	2,898	2,818	6,840	6,822	6,868	6,877	6,870	1,022
SIKKIM	10	3	5	4	..	..	4,287	6,673	6,674	6,491	..	..

Natural division, district or state.	Number per 10,000 of the total population whose religion is																	
	Tribal.						Buddhist.						Others.					
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
BENGAL	103	179	158	103	92	85	65	58	53	50	48	42	40	36	32	28	25	22
West Bengal	275	427	405	352	368	297	1	..	..	..	..	1	25	22	18	12	9	11
BURDWAN DIVISION	275	427	405	352	368	297	1	..	..	..	..	1	25	22	18	12	9	11
Burdwan	243	318	152	137	39	46	1	..	..	..	..	..	38	32	26	19	10	7
Birbhum	602	680	584	496	429	182	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	8	11	10	8	1
Bankura	426	897	841	769	970	812	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	14	9	3	2	1
Midnapore	308	479	516	484	521	453	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	24	17	7	6	17
Hooghly	80	192	195	26	19	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	8	9	8	9	8	7
Howrah	3	6	23	1	8	4	1	1	1	1	..	1	30	35	36	31	29	30
Central Bengal	58	32	34	14	11	2	3	4	3	3	3	2	95	91	82	78	68	63
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	58	32	34	14	11	2	3	4	3	3	3	2	95	91	82	78	68	63
24 Parganas	136	42	49	5	2	..	2	..	1	..	..	2	77	75	68	67	70	63
Calcutta	4	7	1	..	..	..	25	38	26	34	32	36	509	569	527	513	470	526
Nadia	3	13	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	67	68	57	49	46	39
Murshidabad	132	124	105	85	74	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	14	10	11	22	10
Jessore	4	..	8	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	13	7	5	6	2
Khulna	13	7	11	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	15	13	10	8	7
North Bengal	180	385	264	108	44	8	59	53	52	51	46	21	35	28	19	12	7	6
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	188	407	279	114	49	9	63	56	55	54	49	23	36	28	20	12	7	6
Rajshahi	127	200	109	11	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	9	3	3	1	1
Dinajpur	384	652	604	401	69	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	43	32	13	6	13	8
Jalpaiguri	617	1,860	1,152	103	92	55	76	65	80	80	37	8	155	98	65	35	8	26
Darjeeling	218	449	405	138	..	40	1,843	1,838	1,804	1,768	1,814	1,210	294	292	294	182	73	52
Rangpur	32	29	44	20	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	13	8	9	7	9
Pogra	21	78	62	12	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	9	4	2	1	1
Pabna	6	6	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	6	6	3	3	2
Malda	343	778	326	209	258	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	8	5	2	1	1
COOCH BEHAR	23	15	3	4	17	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	11	12	10	10	3
East Bengal	14	28	41	20	22	68	123	112	106	104	104	107	23	20	18	17	20	14
DACCA DIVISION	13	27	33	27	31	30	9	8	7	7	6	6	30	26	24	22	20	18
Dacca	..	..	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	44	46	45	45	42
Mymensingh	34	78	84	74	85	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	9	6	4	2	1
Fardpur	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	29	29	24	20	17
Bakarganj	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	40	36	32	28	25	30	29	28	24	22	20
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	19	26	62															

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Numbers of Christians by divisions, districts and states, 1881-1931, with percentage of variation.

Division, district or state.	Total number of Christians in						Variation per cent: increase + decrease -					Net variation per cent.
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1921-31	1911-21	1901-11	1891-01	1881-91	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BENGAL	183,067	149,069	129,740	106,590	82,339	72,289	+ 22.8	+ 14.0	+ 21.7	+ 29.5	+ 13.0	+ 153.2
West Bengal (BURDWAN DIVISION)	16,541	15,977	13,782	9,403	6,312	4,460	+ 16.0	+ 15.0	+ 45.0	+ 49.0	+ 41.5	+ 315.0
Burdwan	5,440	4,186	3,820	2,900	1,408	910	+ 30.0	+ 9.6	+ 29.1	+ 110.2	+ 54.7	+ 497.8
Hirbhurn	630	468	813	819	522	48	+ 34.6	+ 42.4	+ 0.7	+ 56.9	+ 987.5	+ 1,212.6
Bankura	1,645	1,321	1,012	363	132	56	+ 15.8	+ 40.4	+ 178.8	+ 175.0	+ 135.7	+ 2,837.5
Midnapore	6,089	5,838	4,160	1,974	1,545	740	+ 4.3	+ 40.1	+ 111.0	+ 27.8	+ 108.8	+ 722.8
Hoochly	1,007	866	851	759	633	655	+ 16.3	+ 1.9	+ 12.1	+ 19.9	+ 8.4	+ 53.7
Howrah	3,730	3,198	3,120	2,588	2,072	2,051	+ 16.6	+ 2.5	+ 20.6	+ 24.9	+ 1.0	+ 81.9
Central Bengal (PRESIDENCY DIVISION)	81,273	71,118	68,088	64,416	51,619	48,537	+ 14.3	+ 4.6	+ 9.1	+ 20.9	+ 6.3	+ 87.4
24-Parganas	19,903	18,555	16,027	13,822	12,982	10,192	+ 7.6	+ 15.8	+ 16.0	+ 6.5	+ 27.4	+ 95.0
Calcutta	47,484	39,037	39,551	37,925	28,997	30,214	+ 21.0	+ 1.3	+ 4.3	+ 30.8	+ 4.0	+ 57.2
Nadia	10,042	8,533	9,132	8,091	7,297	6,440	+ 17.6	+ 6.6	+ 12.9	+ 10.9	+ 13.3	+ 56.9
Murshidabad	398	525	413	391	540	470	+ 24.2	+ 27.1	+ 5.6	+ 27.6	+ 14.9	+ 15.3
Jessore	919	2,251	1,272	912	840	474	+ 59.2	+ 77.0	+ 39.5	+ 8.6	+ 77.2	+ 98.9
Khulna	2,467	2,217	1,693	1,275	963	747	+ 11.3	+ 31.0	+ 32.8	+ 32.4	+ 28.9	+ 23.0
North Bengal (RAJSHAHI DIVISION with COOCH BEHAR)	35,511	25,479	17,257	9,058	3,358	1,880	+ 39.4	+ 47.7	+ 90.5	+ 169.7	+ 78.6	+ 1,788.9
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	35,330	25,351	17,167	8,915	3,067	1,832	+ 39.4	+ 47.7	+ 92.6	+ 190.7	+ 67.4	+ 1,828.9
Rajshahi	1,529	1,000	323	351	105	121	+ 52.9	+ 209.0	+ 8.0	+ 234.3	+ 13.2	+ 1,168.6
Dinajpur	6,981	5,090	1,964	770	511	457	+ 39.4	+ 155.0	+ 152.1	+ 52.4	+ 11.8	+ 1,427.6
Jalpaiguri	14,767	8,726	5,501	2,486	357	150	+ 69.2	+ 58.6	+ 121.3	+ 596.4	+ 124.5	+ 9,187.4
Darjeeling	8,280	8,098	7,689	4,467	1,502	842	+ 2.2	+ 5.3	+ 72.1	+ 197.4	+ 78.4	+ 883.5
Rangpur	1,686	1,114	599	453	343	86	+ 51.4	+ 86.6	+ 32.2	+ 32.1	+ 298.8	+ 1,890.4
Bogra	476	401	161	40	15	27	+ 18.7	+ 149.1	+ 302.5	+ 166.7	+ 44.4	+ 1,662.9
Pabna	428	455	500	166	162	114	+ 6.9	+ 9.0	+ 201.2	+ 2.5	+ 42.1	+ 275.4
Malda	1,192	548	430	173	72	26	+ 117.5	+ 27.4	+ 148.6	+ 140.3	+ 170.4	+ 4,484.6
COOCH BEHAR	172	128	90	143	291	48	+ 34.4	+ 42.2	+ 37.1	+ 50.9	+ 506.3	+ 258.3
East Bengal (Dacca AND CHITTAGONG DIVISIONS with TRIPURA)	47,742	39,495	30,819	25,659	21,050	17,412	+ 30.8	+ 19.2	+ 19.3	+ 21.9	+ 20.9	+ 174.4
DACCA DIVISION	41,446	31,373	27,726	23,079	18,885	15,408	+ 32.1	+ 13.2	+ 20.1	+ 22.2	+ 22.6	+ 169.9
Dacca	14,210	13,377	13,194	11,556	10,478	8,799	+ 6.2	+ 1.4	+ 14.2	+ 10.3	+ 19.1	+ 61.5
Mymensingh	10,764	4,123	2,181	1,291	211	151	+ 161.1	+ 89.1	+ 68.9	+ 511.4	+ 39.7	+ 7,028.4
Faridpur	7,537	6,299	5,810	4,641	3,539	2,741	+ 19.6	+ 8.4	+ 25.2	+ 31.1	+ 29.1	+ 174.9
Bakarganj	8,935	7,574	6,541	5,591	4,659	3,717	+ 18.0	+ 15.8	+ 17.0	+ 20.0	+ 25.3	+ 140.4
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	3,700	3,262	2,755	2,443	2,032	1,891	+ 13.4	+ 18.4	+ 12.8	+ 20.2	+ 7.5	+ 95.7
Tippera	537	457	410	292	182	190	+ 17.5	+ 11.5	+ 40.4	+ 60.4	+ 8.5	+ 169.8
Noskhali	795	783	743	682	641	588	+ 1.5	+ 5.4	+ 12.2	+ 8.3	+ 9.0	+ 35.2
Chittagong	1,609	1,361	1,430	1,237	1,191	1,055	+ 18.2	+ 4.8	+ 15.6	+ 3.9	+ 12.9	+ 52.5
Chittagong Hill Tracts	759	661	172	252	18	49	+ 14.8	+ 284.3	+ 31.7	+ 1,300.0	+ 63.3	+ 1,448.9
TRIPURA STATE	2,596	1,860	138	137	133	113	+ 39.6	+ 1,247.8	+ 0.7	+ 3.0	+ 17.7	+ 2,197.3
SIKKIM	276	370	235	135	..	..	+ 25.4	+ 29.8	+ 111.1	..	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Distribution by religions of 10,000 of the total urban and rural population by natural divisions.

Natural division.	Number per 10,000 of the urban population whose religion is						Number per 10,000 of the rural population whose religion is					
	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	Bud-dhist.	Christ-ian.	Others.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	Bud-dhist.	Christ-ian.	Others.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	2,785	6,907	13	42	206	47	5,652	4,147	111	68	23	1
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division).	1,782	8,022	18	2	152	24	1,376	8,313	302	..	8	1
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division).	2,593	7,030	16	17	275	69	5,241	4,657	68	..	33	1
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar).	3,545	5,967	2	239	150	47	6,156	3,577	184	53	28	2
EAST BENGAL (Dacca Division, Chittagong Division and Tripura State)	4,243	5,683	2	2	68	2	7,184	2,765	13	9	29	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	4,287	2,453	3,225	25	..

APPENDIX I

1. Questionnaire for eliciting Hindu public opinion on present-day social problems.

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| <p>1. In what district is your ancestral home ?</p> <p>2. What is your—</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(a) caste (<i>jati</i>) and</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(b) sub-caste ?</p> <p>3. Do you consider yourself to be—</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(a) strictly orthodox, or</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(b) latitudinarian in your beliefs and practice : or</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(c) do you belong to a definitely "protestant" and reforming sect ? (If you belong to a group which does not recognise caste please state so : in that case the words "caste" and "sub-caste" hereafter should be taken to mean "sect" or "group.")</p> <p>4. What essential beliefs or practices do you consider to distinguish your caste from other castes of the same <i>varna</i> and your sub-caste from others of the same caste ?</p> <p>5. What is the attitude of—</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(a) the conservative and</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(b) the progressive or "liberal" sections of your own sub-caste as regards—</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(I) the relaxation of caste restrictions in general and in particular such questions as—</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">(i) inter-marriages with—</p> <p style="margin-left: 60px;">(a) lower and</p> <p style="margin-left: 60px;">(b) higher castes :</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">(ii) inter-dining with other castes :</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">(iii) untouchability :</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">(iv) pollution by contact with unclean castes or by eating prohibited foods or foods prepared by improper persons :</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">(v) the necessity of performing <i>prayaschitta</i> for breaking caste, e.g., by going to Europe, etc. ?</p> | <p>(2) Social questions in general and in particular—</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(i) <i>pardah</i> :</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(ii) child marriage :</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(iii) the "<i>pan</i>" system :</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(iv) widow re-marriage :</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(v) female education :</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(vi) the emancipation of women by the adoption of professional careers :</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(vii) increased participation by women in public life, e.g., as members of public bodies ?</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">How far does any difference of opinion on these points in the sub-caste correspond to differences of education, i.e., are the educated or uneducated members of the sub-caste ordinarily more "liberal" or "conservative" ? Which group is the more influential in your sub-caste ? Are the views on these subjects held by the majority of your sub-caste the same as are held by the majority of the caste as a whole ? Have you noticed any general change in public opinion on these subjects during your lifetime and particularly during the last 10 years ? Have you in your personal experience come across any instances of widow re-marriage, inter-marriage with other castes, refusal to perform <i>prayaschitta</i> in conditions in which it is prescribed, and similar actions forbidden by caste rules : did such occurrences, if within your experience, lead to outcasting, social ostracism or a split in the group ?</p> <p>6. Is the joint family system tending to die out in your—</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(a) sub-caste or</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(b) caste ? What effect if any is a tendency in this direction having upon—</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">(i) the economic condition of "non-earning members" and</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">(ii) the position of widows ?</p> |
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2.—Extracts from replies.

The following are amongst the most interesting replies received to the above questionnaire to which the numerical references refer. They are both by Brahmins and represent respectively the completely progressive outlook and the reasoned view of those who desire to retain as much as possible characteristic of the old system whilst (rather reluctantly) making such concessions as are inevitable to changed times and circumstances. Neither must be taken as typical, for both reveal a more reasoned approach to the problems involved than is commonly made.

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There is some hypocrisy amongst both classes unavoidable in transitional times. Those who are strictly orthodox, would not tolerate widow-marriage or inter-dine with lower castes, or touch the most degraded castes, e.g., sweepers, or eat prohibited food, but in travelling by rail or steamer they have perforce to ignore pollution by contact and in the matter of inter-dining or taking prohibited food at any rate, they have to tolerate heterodox members of their own family—A local pleader with a long topknot known to be the most orthodox member of the bar, sent his son for education in Scotland and he has returned with an engineering degree and is putting up with his father. I know of many such instances. At home the son does not partake of forbidden food, but he does so openly at hotels and restaurants and at the houses of friends, but the father is not socially ostracised on that account. If necessary, he says that his son never indulged in prohibited food even in foreign countries, but as a matter of fact society seldom displays such inquisitiveness and so long as the England-returned youth does not go violently against the orthodox practices at home, nobody asks him any inconvenient questions. In my part of the country, it has been resolved at meetings of orthodox pandits that pollution by contact, even within the domestic circle, should no longer be enforced. At these meetings it has also been held that no *prayaścitta* for admission into orthodox society is necessary for Europe-returned men. This resolution has been facilitated if not actually prompted by the refusal of such men to perform the penance. Hindu society felt that by excluding men with European qualifications it could not stop our young men from going to foreign countries for education, but was simply losing its best men. This suicidal policy led to a strong agitation and now the social ban never weighs with or stands in the way of any Bengali, whatever his caste, when he can scrape together the money for a journey across the seas. One of my brothers, a B. Sc. of London University, was in England for four years just before the war. At first we introduced him in our village home with some degree of hesitation, but gradually he openly dined with us and we were served by our menials without objection and even my cousin, the President of the Vikrampur Brahmin Sabha, had to wink at our lapses. On a recent ceremonial occasion I invited the Brahmin pandits of Vikrampur when my England-returned brother was at home. These pandits saw my brother living in the inner apartments but did not scruple to dine at my place, though they dined all by themselves, and after dinner they plied my brother with all sorts of intelligent questions about life in England, the manners and customs of the English people, and so on and parted with him on the best of terms. The Namasudras (Chandals) are among the most degraded communities, theoretically speaking, among the Bengalis, but on one occasion myself and my other colleagues, all high-caste Hindus, with one exception, dined with a Namasudra colleague at a farewell party, and the gentleman who formed the exception dined in the next room, and I know his son would be glad to go to England, and the father would be equally glad to send him, for finishing his education. Long experience of Hindu social life in various districts of Bengal has convinced me that owing to the absence of a definite creed and the ethnic character of the Hindu religion, the doctrine of *factum valet* obtains to a greater degree in Hindu society than in any other. "Whatever is, is for the best" seems to be the prevalent idea among Hindus, and if any change is introduced in current practices and observances, it has a tendency to persist of its own inertia, to put the matter in a slightly different form, nothing succeeds like success in the evolution of Hindu social rites and practices. Hence we find all sorts of practices, good, bad, and indifferent, jumbled up together, and the process is still going on. The heterodox or liberal Hindu sitting at a social dinner, e.g., a marriage among his caste fellows, has to confine himself to an orthodox *menu* and he has also to take his seat along with his caste fellows. The next day the same man may be seen taking a prominent place among the guests at the house of his Christian or Muhammadan friend. The conservative Hindu does not take him to task for it, nor does the liberal Hindu boast of his performances in an orthodox household. When the family preceptor or *guru* comes on his periodical rounds, he finds his disciple a genuine Hindu of the orthodox type, whatever the private laches of the latter may have been. This sort of camouflage is practised by the conservative and the liberal alike, in order to prevent social disruption, for the tendency is towards the breaking of caste rules in most directions and even the *guru* knows it, but like Nelson, he applies the telescope to his blind eye and professes to see nothing wrong, though he is supposed to be pre-eminently the conservator of domestic morals.

How far these liberalising influences have penetrated the zenana is a point deserving of consideration. It is obvious that you cannot change the manners and customs of one half of the population, leaving them intact in the case of the other half. Owing to the slower progress of education among women, and their essentially conservative instincts, the influences at work among them are necessarily slower in their operation, but this does not mean that the leaven is not leavening the whole mass of Hindu society. Among the higher castes of Hindus in Bengal, female education is going up by leaps and bounds, so much so that the difficulty is now more about schools than about pupils, and this has been accelerated by the passing of the Sarda Act raising the marriageable age for girls. That women have ceased to observe strict seclusion is manifest from the way in which they have openly joined the political movement. In the villages they have always been accustomed to a large measure of freedom, and in the mufassal towns also they are now to be seen freely walking in the streets. Of course large numbers, specially of those who may be said to belong to a past generation, still observe the *purdah* closely. But their daughters have taken their courage in both hands, and think nothing of going out in public. The extreme nervousness and self-consciousness which they betrayed when meeting a person of the opposite sex in the streets, is no longer very conspicuous showing that they are getting used to their newly-formed freedom. As for ancient domestic customs and practices, they too have given up some of them along with their brothers and husbands,

but in this respect the change has not been great, and what is given up in the heyday of youth is often resumed in old age. Ceremonial rites and practices form three-fourths of a Hindu's religion, and as one advances in age the need for some sort of religion is most keenly felt; and to return to what passed for religion amongst one's forefathers is not only to follow the line of least resistance but is the most natural thing for a man or woman to do under the circumstances, unless one is prepared to undergo the painful process of thinking for oneself, for which there can hardly be any enthusiasm in old age.

To come now to the points directly raised in the questionnaire. Under question 5, the first sub-head (i) deals with inter-marriages with lower and higher castes. When I was an M. A. student, one of our professors, an inhabitant of my part of the district, returned from Scotland with a doctor's degree in Philosophy and married a Kayastha lady, though he himself was, like myself, a Kulin Brahmin. I vividly remember the disgust, if not horror, with which I looked upon the offspring of that "mixed" marriage. By and by, my attitude in regard to these matters changed so much that I began to look upon such marriages without any sort of repugnance, and this, I know, is now the prevailing attitude of a very large section if not the majority of my educated co-religionists. I must say, however, that in practice such marriages have never been very frequent, though every sort of legal embargo has now been withdrawn. Where such marriages do take place, public opinion is not in any way affected by the fact of its being in the *Anulom* or *Pratilom* form.

5. (ii) Every Bengali Brahmin inter-dines with the other higher castes in the sense that except in purely social functions, they sit together in the same row and have dinner served to them by a Brahmin, at whose hands no member of any caste can refuse to take his food. At strictly ceremonial functions, the Brahmins sit in a separate row from the other castes. This custom is not however strictly observed in towns, where men of education, position and wealth, to whatever caste they may belong, often sit together at dinner even in ceremonial functions. Here in this town, for instance, Suvarnabaniks form the most wealthy and influential community; many of them are men of light and leading and have been among the foremost in the learned professions. I have often found them invited at social parties on absolutely the same terms as the members of the higher castes. A few among the very orthodox may have refused to dine with them, but their objection was met by seating them in a separate row, so it was practically the conservative section which was excluded from the common table. And I have heard these gentlemen lamenting the good old days and complaining that their own sons had no scruples about dining with the Suvarnabaniks. All this is happening within view of the stronghold of Hindu orthodoxy—the village of Bhatpara, just across the river, which shared at one time, with Nadia and Vikrampur, the leadership in Shastric learning.

5. (iii) and (iv) Untouchability is the obverse of the custom of pollution by contact. Castes whose touch was contamination, and from whose hands the higher castes could not take water, were considered unclean and untouchable. I have seen a Namasudra being hounded out of a bridal assembly where, as a guest, I had asked for a drink and was given soda water, manufactured by a Muhammadan in the provincial town, in preference to the impure water of the village tank. I have also seen Namasudras and other low castes being employed as domestic servants in high caste household and coming into contact with the members of the family in that capacity, and entering the "outer" rooms of the house quite freely, the only exception being the service of cooked food and water, and even as to the latter the exception was not always strictly enforced. Separate pitchers were kept in mufassal Bar Library rooms for the use of Namasudra, Dhobi and other low caste pleaders, but the practice is being abandoned owing to the strong objection of the parties concerned. I have seen Bagdis, Bauris, even Muhammadans being employed as maid servants by high caste families and cleansing clothes and utensils without objection from the neighbours. In fact, any innovation, however bold, may be introduced in the bosom of Hindu society provided it meets with a generally felt want. The time-spirit is also in favour of the unification of Hindu society by reducing caste jealousies to a minimum. At Madaripur, which is a strong Namasudra centre, the local high school had a boarding for high caste Hindus and another for Namasudras. When the Saraswati Pujah came on there was a strong movement for the amalgamation of the two Pujahs, but on the objection of some of the guardians of the high caste boys, it could not take place—I took my stand among the Namasudra boys, and offered flowers to their goddess to the chanting of *mantras* by their priest, and ended by taking sweets and, above all, water at their hands. As I was about to come away, the inmates of the other boarding came in a deputation and entreated me to partake of a dish of fruits and sweets at their hands. They were watching me drinking water at the Namasudra boarding, and I told them that they had seen me lose caste, and should think twice before inviting me. But they seemed ashamed of themselves and said that they would feel themselves humiliated if I were to come away without taking anything in their company. Next day I was invited at a social dinner by some leading pleaders, Kulin Kayasthas of the locality. I repeated to them my exploit of the previous day and warned them of the risk they ran in inviting me. They laughed at my warning, thought it a good joke, and the dinner passed off without a hitch. And yet such is the strong hold that caste has upon Hindu society, that I have seen Namasudra pleaders, the leaders of the Namasudra, revolt against the higher castes, isolating themselves from their caste fellows who are common cultivators and giving themselves a fictitious rank by virtue of their superior education and actually refusing to dine with their kith and kin.

In regard to prohibited food, and food prepared by improper persons, it may be said generally that most educated Hindus in Bengal have an aversion to beef and ham, but fowl is taken openly in restaurants and on board the inland steamers, where of course the cooking is done by Muhammadan *baburchis*. Orthodox Hindus travelling by the same steamer see the "Babus"

enjoying their fill of fowl-curry and cutlets, and bemoan the Kali age and predict that the end of the world cannot be far off, though they half suspect that their own sons are also guilty of the same offence.

(c) I have already said that the performance of *prayaschitta* is seldom considered essential nowadays. The psychological justification of ceremonial penance lay in the fact that by performing that solemn rite the penitent promised to abjure his foreign ways and manners, and was accepted in return as a member of brotherhood by his caste fellows. But the number of young men who have travelled in foreign countries is now so large and so few of them make a large income on their return, that they have perforce to abandon their superior airs and consequently are no longer kept at arm's length by their untravelled countrymen, specially as in their dress and food and conversation they are no longer fond of imitating the Europeans, partly because they are themselves thoroughly permeated by the Swadeshi spirits, and partly also because Europeans would not mix on equal terms with them. The purification ceremony, with all the attendant humiliation of swallowing the five products of the cow, has therefore practically fallen into desuetude.

(2) (i) I have already discussed *purdah* at some length. In rural areas, in places of pilgrimage like Benares and Puri, in health resorts like Madhupur and Deoghar, and in travelling in trains and steamers and also in motor cars and taxis in towns, very little *purdah* is observed. Even in small subdivisional towns the practice is growing up of ladies in groups of twos and threes, or single ladies with a boy escort, visiting friends all by themselves on foot. The sight of a mere man no longer gives a young lady the nervous shock which was painfully evident in our youthful days, and be vies of young ladies in their teens flocking to school or college on foot or in buses are no longer a rare sight in the towns. In many advanced Hindu households, the men and women sit together to dinner, and the father-in-law treats the daughter-in-law as a daughter, and freely converses with her, which is totally against the practice which prevailed a generation ago. On the whole, the *purdah* system is on the wane, and the present national movement had further shortened its lease of life. The veil has been found to be an impediment to free movement, and in the hurry and bustle of town life it can be discarded without attracting notice; and the awakened curiosity of woman will not put up with total ignorance of the outer world around her.

(ii) Among the three higher castes of Bengal, e.g., Brahmin, Vaidya and Kayastha, especially among the latter two, child marriage was rapidly becoming a thing of the past, even before the passage of the Sarda Act. Time was when Kulin girls remained unmarried till a late age, but that was due to the prevalence of polygamy and the artificially high value put upon Kulinism, i.e., high birth, according to certain fixed eugenic standards which had very little to do with real worth in the bridegroom. Latterly the scales had turned in favour of youthful marriages, when there was partial reversion especially in the case of women, to the age prescribed by Manu in his Dharmasastra. When we married eleven or twelve used to be the marriageable age for girls among the higher castes. Among the lower castes, girls were married at a much lower age. The next swing of the pendulum raised the marriageable age for girls to 15, 16, and in some cases, especially among Kayasthas and Vaidyas, to 17 and even 18. This was due to the growing practice of educating girls in response to the growing demand, on the part of our educated young men, for educated wives and also to economic reasons, which made it necessary for our young men to defer marriage till they were able to earn their livelihood, and men between their twenty-fifth and thirtieth years were naturally averse to marrying very young girls. The Sarda Act has merely legalised the practice prevalent among the educated classes in Bengal, though as a matter of fact, if a suitable match is found, marriages do take place every now and then in contravention of the provisions of that Act. The lower castes have not yet taken the Sarda Act very seriously. As to the progressive increase of the age of marriage among men, I may cite the example of my own family. I married at the age of 13, while each of my brothers married at the age of 20 and upwards. My eldest son, aged 27, is yet unmarried, though he is a member of a learned profession. My first two daughters were married at the age of 13, my third daughter at the age of 15.

(iii) At one time bride-price used to be paid, as is still the case among some lower castes, where men outnumber women. Now it is the other way about, and bridegroom-price has become an oppressive taxation on the higher castes. It is sought to be justified by saying that a Hindu daughter inherits nothing from her father, and that an educated young man is entitled to some help from his father-in-law to give him a start in life. If the dower had been settled on the daughter as some sort of provision for her, no objection could be taken to it. But most of it is frittered away in vain display and unmeaning pomp, and is of no good to anybody. Unfortunately in this matter the chivalry and idealism which we associate with our young men in other ways, e.g., famine-relief, rescue-work at bathing festivals and the like, is conspicuous by its absence. At the same time, it cannot be gainsaid that a daughter is entitled to a share in the patrimony and to the extent that the "pan" system helps to redress the inequality between brother and sister it is not without justification.

(iv) The necessity of widow-remarriage is now generally felt, especially by educated Hindus. Since the days of Iswar Chandra Vidya-sagar and his Widow Remarriage Act the idea of widow-remarriage has gripped men's minds and from an abstract proposition it has now come down to the region of practical politics, but even now Hindus have not taken very kindly to the remarriage of any but virgin widows. In our childhood we have seen widows of the lowest classes living with men of the same caste as husband and wife without incurring any social opprobrium, but the practice died down in imitation of the custom prevailing among the higher castes. Latterly it has revived, as newspaper reports would go to show. The activities of the Arya Samaj and the Widow Remarriage Societies have contributed to some extent to this

result. I know of one such society founded by a very orthodox Brahmin, at whose instance some widow marriages have taken place in Tippera and Noakhali. At Noakhali I know a pleader who had married a widow, but the union was not happy. The brother-in-law of a relation of mine, an ex-District Judge, had married a widow, out of pity for her sad case. At first there was some opposition to her admission in the village society, but backed by the powerful support of the Union Board President, a man of strong personality, she succeeded in gaining an entrance within the folds of the *samaj*. She and her husband now pass for ordinary Hindus, and no questions were asked. The abduction of Hindu widows in outlying tracts has also opened the eyes of a considerable section of Hindu society to the urgency of this reform. In spite, however, of frequent lapses from virtue and of repeated proofs that flesh is weak in the face of strong temptations especially when blood is young, Hindus as a whole are very loath to give up their high ideal of female chastity and no educated Hindu would prefer to enter into a matrimonial alliance with a widow, other things being equal, so long as an unmarried virgin is available, though the widow might herself be a virgin to all intents and purposes. At the same time, it must be admitted that widow remarriage would have been commoner had the widows themselves, and the other ladies of the family, not been averse to such remarriage.

(v) I have already referred to the great impetus which the movement for female education has received throughout Bengal, though it is keener in Eastern Bengal than in Central or Western Bengal. The economic and other causes of this movement have also been touched upon. Educated young men, who no longer marry before they are fit to earn a livelihood, naturally do not like an all but illiterate partner, and this is the main cause of the spread of female education. Girls at school cost more in dress and conveyance than boys, and owing to the paucity of outdoor games in girls' schools their health is apt to suffer and in the absence of any vocation except marriage and rearing up of children much of the education they receive in schools has no bearing on their future careers. So long as marriage continues to be the principal vocation of women, this state of things is bound to continue, but before the evolution of a new womanhood, the present transitional stage with all its drawbacks seems to be indispensable.

(vi) and (vii) The professional careers hitherto considered most suitable for women are teaching, nursing and medical practice, e.g., specialising in female diseases. Until a large body of female teachers is available, the teaching profession is not without its dangers, for in out of the way places women teachers cannot live without male protection. Trained nurses are in increasing demand, but though there are female doctors, their services are seldom requisitioned except as midwives; in all serious cases they act under the direction of some male expert. Typists, stenographers, clerks, are not yet recruited from Bengali women; and it does not seem as if Bengali girls would be able to earn their livelihood by following any other profession in the near future. The morals of office girls are suspected in Hindu society, which would not easily tolerate the practice of such professions by well-born Hindu girls, even though in indigent circumstances.

The way in which zenana women have participated in the national movement and gone to jail in large numbers, preached at public gatherings and led public processions in towns and villages and up and down the country side, has been an eye-opener to all of us. This movement has evidently come to stay and women can no longer be shut within the four walls of the zenana. Meetings of zenana ladies have become the fashion in many a mufassal town, and the topics discussed by the womenfolk within the precincts of the zenana, so long considered to be impervious to outside influence, show that it is no longer inviolable, and even the holy of holies has been invaded by the spirit of the age. The monthly journals and Bengali novels dealing with social and sex problem have largely contributed to this result. Woman is no longer content to be a mere understudy of man, and the theory of "*Pati-Devata*" (the godship of the husband) has received a rude check from the democratic doctrine of equality preached by the press and from the platform. It is impossible for society to resist the cumulative effect of all these liberalising influences, and even the most conservative household has to give in to some extent at any rate, to the prevailing ideas which have gained currency in the social sphere. The election of women as members of public bodies is therefore only a question of time, and their participation in such matters as the inspection of jails, and in local self-government and the management of educational and charitable institutions, as municipal councillors and members of the governing bodies of schools and dispensaries has already commenced under the fostering care of the Government.

As might be expected, educated members of the caste are more liberal than the uneducated section, though it is not always the case. There are many educated people, who are quite liberal in some respects and equally illiberal in others. With the majority of educated Hindus of all castes, liberalism in belief goes hand in hand with a strange conservatism in practice. The religious revival and political chauvinism have both contributed to strengthen the forces of reaction and a belief has gained ground that the wisdom of the ancients cannot be improved upon. It is forgotten that in the truest sense it is we who are the ancients of the earth and inheritors of the wisdom of the ages. The cry of "Back to the Vedas" has become the battle cry with a section of the neo-Hindus, and the solidarity derived by the followers of the Prophet from a fanatical adherence to the simple dogma and semi-military ritual of Islam inspires them with a desire to emulate the aggressiveness of the rival faith. Hinduism, as is well known, is perhaps the most tolerant of religions so far as beliefs are concerned, but in matters of practice it is more or less a close corporation. In order to conserve the social organization from further decay, some educated Hindus try to be as orthodox as possible in their religious practices. Not that they always believe whole-heartedly in the efficacy of these practices—their general culture, liberal education, and the deep-rooted toleration of Hinduism all combined make a sincere adherence to superstitious traditions and senseless practices extremely difficult—but sometimes for show and sometimes as a makeshift and to allay the qualms of conscience, they follow these

ritualistic observances for all they are worth. The truth is, in spite of our scientific education, the historical sense and the rationalistic attitude of mind all but ill-developed among us, I have been astounded to hear doctrines and beliefs propounded by educated Hindus which have wellnigh staggered me and which would have appeared childish to any European. But they were laid down with all solemnity by my co-religionists as if they were irrefutable. Liberal and conservative Hindus alike have to observe certain rituals on the occasions of births, marriages and deaths. The liberals may pay only a lip-homage to these observances, but none the less they cannot but perform them, for to ignore them would be to declare themselves beyond the pale of Hindu society. On these occasions, the influence of the conservative section is most felt, and we must include the ladies of the family in this section. In matters of comparatively minor importance, where the breach of social rules and Shastric injunctions is treated in the light of a venial offence, the liberals usually have their way. The views propounded above are held, not only by the educated members of my caste or sub-caste, but by educated members of all the three higher castes in Bengal, subject to the limitations set forth by me. I have seen a tremendous change in social beliefs and practices on the whole during my lifetime which may be said to be almost revolutionary in character. And yet, every now and then, an atavistic reaction takes place in some section or other of the higher castes. A Sannyasin or Sadhu suddenly emerges from obscurity and sweeps everything before him for a while. He propounds some new-fangled doctrine and counts his disciples by the thousand, a not insignificant portion of which is composed of members of the learned professions including men who have received a foreign education. The star sets as suddenly as it rose above the horizon as one of the first magnitude, to be followed by another which replaces it in no time. The metaphysical bent of the Hindu mind, its fascination for occultism and its want of intellectual backbone which makes it averse to free thinking, are among the causes which make the cult of the Sadhu so popular among us. To the same cause, as well as our economic distress and material wants which make us fond of indulging in dreams of future prosperity, may be attributed the growing belief in astrology which like gambling at the races, was not so marked a feature of educated mentality in our youthful days. But apart from these minor signs of the advance of the reign of superstition, the most marked change in the social outlook which I have noticed within the last ten years is in the region of female education and female emancipation. I do not speak of the growth of political consciousness, which is well known to all. There is the spirit of revolt openly manifesting itself among the lower classes for instance. Their placid content has vanished even in the social sphere, and they are no longer willing to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. The first sign of this upward movement is the adoption of the sacred thread, symbol of equality with the Brahmins. The second step, and sometimes the first, is to give themselves "brevet" rank, as Sir Herbert Risley has said, by taking a new caste-name. I have seen Namasudras of Faridpur calling themselves Banerjees and Mukherjees and the like in imitation of the family designation of high caste Kulin Brahmins. The third step is to select some one among themselves as their priest, and to refuse to take rice from any but Brahmins. Lastly, they refuse to do menial work for the other castes and try to establish their right to enter the Hindu temples without let or hindrance. One of the baneful effects of this social upheaval is that the lower castes consider manual labour undignified, and in imitation of the higher castes give up many of their wholesome practices. I have seen in my youth the hunting of boars and eating their flesh practised as a favourite pastime by low caste Hindus, but the same castes, e.g., Namasudras, now aspire to be gentlemen by abjuring these practices and claim equality with the higher castes without conceding the same right to those inferior to them in social status.

Cultivating Brahmins are common enough in Bihar and Upper India and Orissa, as the sacred thread on the person of many of our coolies would go to show. In Bengal, they are to be found within my knowledge in the Bankura district; and in the interior of Chittagong. Brahmins are among the depressed communities, being attached to Vaidya and Kayastha families as priests, messengers and trusted escorts. They are known by the contemptuous epithet of *Sutakandas* (wearers of the thread). It is only during the last ten years that their social position has somewhat improved.

I have already mentioned some of the instances of widow marriage and inter-caste marriage within my experience. I have never seen the *prayaschitta* being performed or social ostracism being practised for its non-performance. I have seen splits in the group which were invariably made up in course of time.

Prior to the Great War, foreign travel, with its attendant connotation of eating forbidden food and food prepared by improper persons, was looked upon with disfavour by the orthodox section of Brahmins and gave rise to a movement for social ostracism which usually ended in a split in the group. Once there is a split, that is, one section takes up the cause of the Europe-returned youth, the battle of social reform in the matter of crossing the *Kala-pani* (black water) is half won, for the seceders cannot all be outcasted and have ultimately to be taken back, when the keenness of the controversy has died down. There was a *cause celebre* at Benares over this question in which the plaintiff was a rich and influential Vaishya, and pandits from far and near were examined by both sides, and the presiding judge was himself a learned Sanskrit scholar. The judgment which he delivered was printed and sold everywhere, and the sea voyage movement received a great impetus from Mr. Sris Chandra Vasu's judgment, supported as it was by Shastric texts and authorities. During the War, Bengalis in large numbers went to Persia and Mesopotamia, and some even went to the Western Front, and they were encouraged by the Government. On their return the question of sea-voyage was solved of itself and nowadays no one of any caste, high or low, is deterred from going to Europe or America by any consideration for the feelings of his caste fellows or his own position in society on his return.

II

5. (i) I do not believe that inter-marriage between different castes is necessary for many generations yet to come. I consider a system of promiscuous inter-marriages to be positively inimical to the betterment of human types which must necessarily be the main objective of social laws. I am definitely against inter-racial marriages.

(ii) I believe inter-dining in modified forms should be accepted though personally I believe that those who can rigidly and rationally practise strict control in the matter are scientifically in a better position and are entitled to respect and not to ridicule. I believe that the principles on which these rules are based are fundamentally sound though in modern conditions some re-adjustment is called for.

(iii) I strongly feel and advocate that untouchability as a social system must go, though personal cleanliness must necessarily be the basis of social contacts.

(iv) As in (iii) for touchability there can be no pollution.

(v) I suggest *prayaschitta* (literally means "change of heart") to be willingly gone through—this is just to acknowledge the supremacy of the group ideas for social well-being. I should not, however, force it if any one is unwilling to perform the specific function but shows by other conduct that he acknowledges this supremacy.

(2) (i) I am definitely against promiscuous mixing of sexes. I would adopt the "not at home" label a little more liberally in Indian life. I am against woman going veiled. They must get about freely but social contacts should not be intimate between man as a class and woman as a class except in cases of relatives or friends of the families. The code very well known and accepted in village life with a little more liberalisation will do—or rather something approximating the early Victorian code of English life. I am of opinion that much that passes for freedom in the world to-day is abject slavery to conventions more tyrannical in insincerity and artificiality than the proclaimed preference for shelter and seclusion. The spiritual growth of man and woman is better ensured when both are permitted to grow in peace and quiet and not perpetually thrust into positions that call forth fresh strain on nerves to readjust oneself.

(ii) Girls normally should be married between the ages of 17 to 21 years. But no artificial age limit is necessary and it should be determined by various circumstances, financial and physical.

(iii) Definitely for prohibition if necessary by law. It is the result of poverty developing into a fetish. With men in their sixties it was almost unknown. In our generation it started vigorously and to-day it is one of the rankest of abuses.

(iv) I believe that widow remarriage should be a personal matter for the widows concerned to decide. A widow who considers marriage necessary should certainly marry without any social obloquy but the widow who prefers to remain under the idealism and does not re-marry is entitled to my utmost homage of respect. She is in the largest majority of cases I have known the finest expression of conjugal fidelity and the most unique product of a mental type almost incomprehensible to the vulgarised mind with extravagant ideas of sexes and senses. I would certainly disapprove any social ban against re-marriage and that has been our attitude in those limited cases where so far re-marriage has taken place.

(v) "Education" needs to be defined. The woman 30 years ago might not have been largely "literate" but were certainly well-educated. Present-day literary education is a necessary evil. If India gets the freedom to plan out her own life the process of "education" must be radically changed. In the meantime the choice of evils decides literary education on boys' syllabus with as much of adjustment to girls' needs as practicable under the present conditions.

(vi) The question of "emancipation" is an absurd idea. There is no bondage save that which poverty imposes on every individual—man or woman. Up to recent times the man as a husband, as a brother, as a son thought it his duty to bear the more strenuous part of the human life securing for the women that rest, shelter and security against an undignified life which is labelled as "freedom" to-day. That rest and security given to the mothers of a race was held and rightly as a physiological and a psychological necessity if the race is to be preserved. With the women was left the definite culture of the race ideals and the traditions, the cultivation of those artistic and humanistic qualities which provided the necessary softening influences on life. Women were no more in bondage than the men. To-day, however, the impoverished homes have raised the question of supplementing the attenuated income of the family; the support so willingly borne by men with pleasure and as a duty is getting to be a burden. The economic independence of all individuals—men or women—is getting to be an imperative problem. I regret very much that a condition has been reached where women must have to be fitted up to earn their living. Professional careers, therefore, must be opened up to meet the situation as a choice of the lesser evil.

(vii) So far we have no public life worth mentioning as such. In my view a subject race can have no public life. The caricature of public life that we see about us is the inevitable consequence of the fundamental fact that a race which is not politically free to plan out its life must continue a maimed existence where every sign of life must be incomplete, imperfect and more a simulation than a reality. Hence women if they join up can hardly improve the situation.

But if India gets a substance of independence women should certainly take part as they did take almost in every sphere of social life (social in the largest sense and including political) in the past in rebuilding the life of the race.

6. (i) (ii) The effect on non-earning members and widow is disastrous specially when there is no "dole" system by the State, no insurance against unemployment, no old age pension and not even thoughts on offering avenues for honest economic life.

The opinion that I have expressed is I think the opinion of the largest number of men in my society and caste. Yes, there have been cases where widow-remarriage was opposed but opposition was outvoted (we participated in the function of the re-marriage of Sir Ashutosh Mukharji's widowed daughter) there was opposition to the acceptance of a England-returned man but the opposition dwindled into a minority (there were two specific cases in my own village and several in town within our social guild). There has been no case of inter-marriage between castes in my society but the inter-marriage between sub-castes definitely opposed in the generation before me and disapproved in the generation when we (I am now 47 years old) were married has been common occurrence, has taken place in several families and even in my family which so far has represented the orthodox Kulinism of the Brahmin group.

CHAPTER XII

Caste, Tribe and Race

Part I—Introductory

438. **The statistics shown.**—The principal statistics discussed in this chapter are those presented in imperial table XVII showing details of race, tribe, caste, nationality or Muslim social group. Figures of variations for selected primitive tribes are also given in imperial table XVIII. Table XIX gives statistics for Europeans and persons of applied races distinguished by nationality as British subjects and others and also for Anglo-Indians. Caste also enters as a basis of classification into such tables as those already dealt with in connection with marital condition, literacy and occupation. At the end of this chapter subsidiary tables are printed showing :—

- I—the numerical and proportionate distribution of the population by districts on a social and religious classification, 1931 ;
- II—the numerical and proportionate strength of selected groups with variations at each census, 1901-1931 ;
- III—the proportions borne by selected castes and tribes (a) to the total population, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931 and (b) to the population in the areas in which they are principally found, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931 ; and
- IV—a classification of the returns of Brahman sub-castes actually made, by natural divisions.

439. **Origin of the figures.**—The statistics of caste, tribe and race were obtained from the entries made in column 8 of the schedule. This column was headed "race, tribe or caste" and entering it up is perhaps the most unsatisfactory and troublesome of all the enquires undertaken during the census. It was presumably intended originally to secure a return of the different castes of Hindu society, and was thence extended to Muslim ethnic, social or functional groups and to the various aboriginal and primitive tribes found in the indigenous population. Its extension to others than Indians introduces immediately a very considerable indefiniteness. The very concept "race" is vague and it might almost be said that as many different racial classifications exist as there are writers on ethnographic subjects. The difficulty is not lessened by the fact that Bengali and the Indian languages current in Bengal have no separate terms for such distinct concepts as "race," "tribe," "nationality" and "caste" and that no terms exist which can be adapted for this purpose without risk of very considerable confusion. In practice the instructions given to the enumerators were made as specific as possible. They were directed to return for Hindus the caste such as Brahman, Kayastha, Shaha, Teli, etc.; for Aryas, Brahmos, Jains and Sikhs the caste of those who recognise caste and the tribe of those who do not ; for Muslims the racial groups (Sayyad, Sekh, Moghul, Pathan) or functional groups (Behara, Jolaha, Kulu) which they profess ; for aborigines the tribe as for instance Santal, Oraon, etc ; for Bhuddhists whether they are Burmese, Maghs, etc.; for Parsis and other Indians such as Christians who have no caste or tribe "Indian" ; and for others than Indians race (*sic*), i.e., whether they are English, Canadian, Anglo-Indian, Goanese, etc. The supplementary instructions issued in explanation of these directions were mainly directed to obtaining an accurate return of Hindu castes and are reproduced below :—

Great care must be taken to see that the real caste name is recorded in column 8 and not terms which come under the following classes and are not true caste names :—

- (a) Mere titles, e.g., Das, Mallik, Pramanik, Mandal.
- (b) Terms indicating occupation only, e.g., Baniya (a functional term applicable to Shahas, Gandhabaniks, Subarnabaniks, etc.), Jaliya (applicable to fishermen who may be Namasudras, Kaibarttas, Malos, etc.), Mehtar (a generic term for several sweeper castes), Thakur.

- (c) Terms merely indicating locality of origin, e.g., Hindustani, Paharia, Nepali, Marwari.
- (d) Terms indicating religion or sect, e.g., Sikh. The Sikh religion is professed by persons of various castes, Rajputs, Jats, etc.
- (e) Other vague terms applicable to more than one caste, e.g., Buna (a designation given to a number of tribes including Bagdis, Bauris, Mundas, etc.), Jangli.
- (f) Names of sub-castes or exogamous and endogamous groups, such as the four groups of Dhobas in Chittagong between which commensality and inter-marriage are rigidly restricted. There are three principal exceptions to this rule: sub-castes of Brahmans should be recorded; Chasi Kaibarttas may be described as Mahishyas and Jalia Kaibarttas as Adi Kaibarttas; and those Rajbangsis who have taken the sacred thread may be shown, if they claim the title of Kshattriya, as Rajbangsi (Kshattriya) but not as Kshattriya. If any doubt arises in other cases it should be referred for orders to the charge superintendents.
- (g) Names taken from the classics which may have stood for classes as they existed centuries ago but are not in common use to-day, e.g., the name of the ancient varna, Vaishya.

The correct spelling of caste names and the care with which they are written are matters of importance owing to the similarity between certain caste names and others, e.g., Mal, Mali and Malo; Chamar, Kamar and Kumar.

The instructions on the household schedules contained a direction for the entry of "race (*sic*), i.e., whether English, French, etc." and for naturalised British subjects of foreign birth the additional entry "British subject" after the entry of race thus interpreted.

440. **Classification of blank entries.**—During slip-copying and sorting where column 8 was found to contain no entry the caste of the head of the family or other occupants of the house was entered in the case of Indians and failing that the occupation was taken as a guide to the caste except where caste was stated to have been specifically repudiated.

441. **Vagueness of the returns for non-Asiatics.**—The unavoidable vagueness of the information which it is sought to obtain results in the case of non-Asiatics very frequently in obtaining from this column no definite information either of the nationality or of the racial affinity of the persons returned, and at the best no uniformity can be achieved.

442. **Difficulty of obtaining accurate figures.**—The return of caste, tribe or race excites the only interest aroused by the census in the general public, and two causes make it difficult to obtain exhaustive and accurate statistics. One is the opposition to the return of any distinctive entries. The other is the reluctance of many persons to give returns for their caste corresponding to the names in current use and familiar to the general public.

443. **Opposition to the return of all caste and similar distinctions, amongst Muslims.**—Opposition to the return of any sectional distinctions whatever was raised by the Muslims upon what were represented as being religious grounds. It was contended that distinctions of caste are repugnant to Islam as a universal and democratic faith. This of course is true. It is also true that such divisions as exist in Islam are largely artificial and they have been held up to ridicule popular in the couplet;

شیدم ہونم سال اول خان شدم سال دگر * غلہ گر ارزان شوم امسال سید می شوم

(Shekh būdam Sál-i-Awwál, Khán Shūdám

Sál-i-diggár

Ghállah gar arzán shewad imsál Sayyad

mi shawam.)

"In the first year I was a Shekh, in the next

I became a Khan;

If crops turn out cheap

this year, I shall become a Sayyad."

Muslim objections actually arise from the awkward poverty in the vernacular to which reference has already been made. The only current word which

can be used to describe the groups actually existing amongst Muslims is *jati* with its associations connoting the whole Hindu caste system and a gradation of religious privilege. It is these associations which offend the Muslim mind. It is not the existence of exclusive groups which is denied but any suggestion that true believers are by birth or social position denied full participation in the benefits of their faith here and hereafter. The Qur'an Sharif itself contains the text (XLIX, 13):

“ O ye men ! verily I have created you male and female and have divided you into classes and communities so that you can distinguish one from another.”

Even if this verse be interpreted as referring to the different religions or races of mankind and not to communities within the fold of Islam the Prophet himself seems to have recognised class distinctions. The **Hadis* records in the Bukhari Sharif and Muslim Sharif that a distinction was drawn between the Muhajerin who had accompanied the Prophet on his *hejira* and the Ansar who received and succoured him in Medina, as for instance in the allocation to the impoverished Muhajerin of the spoils taken from the Banu Nadir. The exclusiveness of existing distinctions was actually emphasised by the group now shown as “ Mumin ” who in a representation which reads very much like a memorial from one of the “ depressed ” classes of Hindus set forth the indignities imposed on them by the more elevated social groups owing to their lowly status in society. The frivolity of the religious argument was exposed when a *mullah* in one district was urging it but abruptly desisted upon the district census officer's shrewd suggestion that he would cancel the entries in the caste column of the schedule if the *mullah* would on his part issue a *fatwa* encouraging inter-marriage between Sayyads and Jolahas. If a word could be reserved for the description of such groups as exist amongst Muslims without carrying the associations of the Hindu caste system pretexts for Muslim opposition on religious grounds would disappear. Some of the groups actually found on the present occasion are shown below with brief notes : some are of doubtful orthodoxy and in some cases it is reported that other Muslims “ refuse to acknowledge ” them socially.

Name of group.	Where reported.	Remarks.
Badiya or Abdal	.. Bogra	.. Circumcisers.
Bajatars	.. Jessore	.. Musicians.
Chunis	.. Bogra	.. .. .
Dal	.. Dacca, etc.	.. The women act as midwives.
Dhawa	.. Bogra and Rajshahi	.. Fishermen.
Duffadh	.. Malda	.. Hooka sellers.
Karindh	.. Jessore	.. Originally hawkers of glass beads and now cultivators.
Katitara	.. Bogra	.. Originally workers in lead foil used to decorate image of Durga : now gold and silver workers.
Kulu	.. Bogra and elsewhere	.. Oil pressers.
Kutri	.. Dacca	.. Masons, hackney-carriage drivers, etc.
Mahifarash	.. Dacca	.. Fishermen.
Manjhi	.. Bogra	.. Fishermen and boatmen said to be a close group but turning to agriculture and claiming the name “ Shekh Israil ” on the analogy of the “ Mumin ” and on the ground that they are the Banu Israil.
Mirshikari	.. Bogra and Dacca	.. Now goldsmiths.
Naliya	.. Bogra	.. Weavers of reed mats.
Pirkhodall	.. Malda	.. .. .
Punjhra	.. Malda	.. Fish sellers.
Rasua	.. Jessore	.. Hawkers of glass ware.
Sanddar	.. Dacca	.. Drummers.
Sandar	.. Bogra	.. Hawkers of glass bangles and tinsel.

444. **Hindu opposition to caste returns.**—Amongst Hindus there is in Bengal a branch of the All-India Varnasram Swaraj Sangha pledged to the maintenance of all caste distinctions including untouchability and therefore definitely against any restriction in the rigidity of caste distinctions. The most active and vocal agitation regarding caste, however, is that of those who desire its abolition. Some time before the census operations began a meeting of the Bengal Hindu Samaj Sammilani in Calcutta found itself considering a resolution that all Hindus should be called Brahmans and invested with the sacred thread ; and in spite of orthodox opposition the resolution was actually carried. Reforming and schismatic sects such as the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj, etc., have generally repudiated caste distinctions, and their ultimate abolition is a principle with such bodies as the Hindu Mission and the Hindu Sabha, to which reference has been made in the chapter on religion. The Hindu Sabha circularised its members calling

*I am indebted for these quotations to Mr. Iskander Ghuznavi.

upon them to withhold details of their caste when asked for it by the census staff; and the professed policy of the Hindu Mission is the same, though the propaganda issued by them suggested that the returns should comprise only the three twice-born *varna* names, any further details of caste being withheld and no person being returned as sudra or under a sudra caste. There is also an association known as the Jat Pat Torak Mandal whose professed object is the abolition of the caste system altogether and in deference to representations from this and similar bodies the instructions for the record of caste were so modified during enumeration as to permit the acceptance of a return of "no caste" from those who "have actively ceased to conform to the caste system and who have accordingly broken it in their marital and commensal relations, but who do not belong to reforming and schismatic communities such as the Arya Samaj, Sikhs, Jains, etc." Actually it is a little surprising to find that amongst 22,212,069 Hindus so few as 29,000 or little more than one in a thousand actually failed to give any return of caste at all, and amongst these a certain number at least must represent persons outcasted or for some reason not entitled to claim membership of any known caste at all.

445. **Inducements to an incorrect return of caste.**—The factors encouraging the submission of inaccurate returns are of various kinds. For political reasons and not necessarily as a matter of conscience an insistence upon communal solidarity often goes with a demand to abolish not indeed the fact but recognition or record of the fact that Hindu society contains within itself so many different groups of divergent interests. Such considerations readily ally themselves with similar convictions of a more religious or philanthropic kind which, while admitting the existence of different castes, lead those holding them to minimise the separatist tendencies of the caste system by inculcating an attitude of general benevolence to all fellow religionists irrespective of the boundaries of caste. It was presumably by a compromise between these considerations and a recognition of the great part played by caste in Hindu life that the Hindu Mission, in its agitations above referred to, after a certain amount of wavering arrived at the policy of urging first that only the *varna* names, Brahman and Kshatriya, should be recorded and that all persons should be recorded as without caste if they could not claim to belong to one of these *varnas*, and as a modification that, if the Vaisyas were also added they too were to be recorded only by their *varna* name. They called upon members of Hindu society not to return sudra castes, not to return themselves as untouchable or depressed and to employ caste names signifying an elevated status in Hindu society. In addition to this agitation not indeed for the complete abolition of returns of caste but for their distortion in a very marked degree there were the usual claims to a change of caste nomenclature such as have distinguished all previous operations.

446. **Claims to new nomenclature—Muslim groups.**—Amongst the Muslims these claims were made chiefly by Jolahas and Nagarchis. The Jolahas now appear as "Mumin" (believer), a name which it is hoped will avoid deterioration into a contemptuous term such as the one it is replacing. The history of the English word "silly", however, suggests that if sanctity itself is not free from misrepresentation mere belief may fare no better. In Tippera the Nagarchis, originally a functional group of drummers deriving their name from the word *nagqara*, agitated to be returned as Shekhs. There was indeed everywhere a vulgar misapprehension that any one who was not a Sayyad, Mogul or Pathan was *ipso facto* a Shekh, and the title was claimed by many who did not even pretend to claim Arab descent to which it should by rights be restricted. There was in some parts a reluctance to return "Bengali" which was authorised for cultivators who did not fall within either one of the four racial groups or some well defined occupational group such as Nikari, Kulu, etc. In any case, however, it is not possible to estimate the accuracy of the group returns of Muslims since the only groups separately recorded are Sayyads, whose returns must inevitably be swelled by persons having very little title to the name as descendants of the Prophet's family.

and "Mumins" whose numbers are likely to be reasonably accurate. It is doubtful whether any group distinctions amongst Muslims in Bengal will ever be of real value and accuracy.

447. **Hindu claims to caste nomenclature.**—Hindu caste claims provided as plentiful a crop as usual and amongst the perennial contentions there also appeared a number of new varieties not previously exhibited at any census. All were as usual to some name implying a superior position in the Hindu hierarchy of social groups. The method by which they were supported is commonly in every case alike. In some cases the *varna* claimed is alleged to be that of the caste concerned merely because in one of the *shastras* the name or function of the caste appears within that *varna*. In other cases a somewhat similar name is seized upon in the holy books and the existing name of the caste is derived by a fanciful etymology as a corruption of the original name, whilst a myth or theory, generally supported by no historical research or evidence, is put forward to explain the fact that the caste (given a respectable affiliation in the *shastras*) finds itself now struggling against a degraded position in the heretical and non-Aryan land of Bengal. In many cases *vyavasthas* are procured from colleges of pandits: but the nature of the reply received generally depends upon the skill with which the question is put. The reply often contrives to be an exercise in the best oracular tradition. The pandits do not profess in any case to go beyond the authoritative statement and exposition of the actual contents of the *shastras* and are prepared upon occasion to admonish the same rebuke as was given by them upon a representation of one caste which asked whether they were amongst the *vahya* class and received a reply giving the quotation relevant with the comment that the groups mentioned therein were the only *vahya* classes mentioned in the *shastras* and that as the name of the caste on behalf of which a reference was made did not occur at all in the holy books it was unprofitable to pursue any further enquiry. In some cases as amongst the Vaidyas and Kayasthas caste claims have been investigated by serious discussion of literary, epigraphic, historical and social evidence, but more commonly literary research fails to reveal any link by which the caste can be associated with the historical group from which it is sought to derive it. Finally claims are supported by allegations that the social customs of the higher castes are practised by those claiming allocation amongst them. The lowest groups and those recently recruited from tribal beliefs declare that they have renounced such practices as the eating of beef or meat and forbidden foods generally and the drinking of liquor; the claim is often made upon the ground that they have adopted social customs such as child instead of adult marriage and the prohibition of divorce and remarriage of widows which many of the progressive and enlightened Hindus are coming to regard as retrograde. Those ambitious to be included amongst the twice-born classes claim that their period of ceremonial uncleanness after bereavement and the ceremonies necessary to regularise marriage and adoption as well as the arrangements for preventing marriage within prohibited degrees are the same as are prescribed for the twice-born classes and that they also practise all the *samskars* proper to the *varna* claimed. It is this last aspect of the case which is evidently the hardest for castes to prove. They here encounter not only the observation of their neighbours but also the conservatism of their women folk who are reluctant to exchange customs which for generations have brought them religious comfort for new practices proper perhaps to the twice-born but probably sinful to others and in any case not sanctioned by tradition. Their priests also are hesitant to elevate their disciples by any change in the ritual at which they will assist: their own status in some cases must necessarily be improved if it can be proved that the castes to whom they minister are not degraded, but on the other hand the pioneers run the risk of being entirely discredited by the Brahman community at large for permitting their disciples to establish the claim to a superior position, and instances are recorded in which the Brahman investing with the sacred thread some initiate of the aboriginal classes has found it most comfortable for himself to disappear thereafter and make the best of the fees he has been able to realise for his services.

448. **Court rulings and the benefits of recognition as twice-born.**—It is at first sight surprising that claims at least to allocation in one or other of the two main groups of twice-born and sudra *varnas* should have been decided so infrequently in courts of law, but civil courts have no jurisdiction to try caste questions unless the suit is in respect of a right to property or to an office. Authoritative decisions in the Privy Council and the High Courts as regards the *varna* of specific castes in Bengal appear to be very rare indeed and I am not aware of any instances except in the case of Vaidyas, Kayasthas and Shahas in which an issue has been raised in Bengal and a decision given upon it that a caste belongs to the twice-born class or the Sudras. The question whether a person belongs to any particular one of the regenerate castes is for all legal purposes immaterial as “the *Shastras* were written for all and equally apply to all” (Gaur’s *Hindu Code*, 2nd addition, page 198). But the difficulty of allocating a caste between the sudras and the regenerate castes is not made easier by the fact that it did not exist at all in earlier times when the caste rules were not rigid but arose only after a degree of exclusiveness had been introduced into the caste groups which was not contemplated in the scriptures themselves by reference to which it is now sought to reach a decision. In the absence of effective help from the text-books the courts have now cut what Gaur describes as the “gordian knot” by formulating for their own guidance a few working rules which though not inflexible have become invariable guides in the determination of such cases and to proceed according to (1) what the caste think of themselves and (2) what others think of them. Apart from the social esteem which it is sought to compel by claiming allocation to one of the regenerate *varnas* the advantages from such a description appear to the observer from without to be of doubtful value. There is indeed a certain convenience in the restriction of the period of ceremonial pollution to less than 30 days imposed upon the sudras. To the more devout of those claiming allocation to the Brahman *varna* it will also appear a very definite advantage to be able to approach the deity direct and without depending upon the intervention of a priest. In aspiring to twice-born status however castes are restricting the latitude of their practices in many ways. Ceremonies without which marriage and adoption are invalid in the case of the twice-born may be pretermitted in the case of sudras who have a wider latitude of choice in both these sacraments since the great rigidity of restriction by prohibited degrees according to *gotra* and *pravara* does not apply to them and they do not lie under any bar to the adoption of such relatives as a son of a sister or daughter or mother’s sister or of any boy whose mother as a maiden the adoptive father could not marry. It would have seemed that the more elastic provisions applicable to sudras in these details as well as the express latitude still existing amongst them as regards inter-caste marriages, divorce and the remarriage of widows would have been considered to be advantageous. It is true that they might be proved as customs of the caste and validated even along with a claim to regenerate status. But it is more likely that such freedom as was previously enjoyed would be discountenanced and that there would be considerable reluctance to admit any customs suggesting a humbler origin.

449. **Method of dealing with claims to caste nomenclature.**—The principles on which caste claims were dealt with in 1911 were laid down by Mr. O’Malley in paragraphs 830 and 831 of his report (1911) and in general the same principles were followed on the present occasion. Changes of caste name were opposed on general grounds because they would conceal the identity of the caste concerned when comparisons were made with the returns obtained on previous occasions. A more serious objection arises from the fact that most of the claims are contentious and imply if they do not actually express a demand to be ranked with one or other of the twice-born *varnas* of Manu. Hindus in Bengal are reluctant to believe that the mantle of Ballala Sena has not descended upon Government or the Census Superintendent and they continue to cherish a touching faith in the power of the census department to give them like the ancient Hindu Kings or like the Maharaja of Nepal to-day an authoritative pronouncement upon claims to inclusion within the three classes of twice-born. Such a role was of course declined. There are

serious practical disadvantages in permitting any caste name to gain currency which is either identical with or includes as one of its members a name of any of the three superior *varnas* of Manu. Amongst the Brahmans, and also amongst such castes as are genuine Kshatriyas or Rajputs (none of which are native to Bengal), the use of one of the old *varna* names is inevitable, but their use alone or in combination with other terms inevitably leads to inaccuracy and confusion for several reasons. In the first place there is always a tendency for the person enumerated to slur over the distinctive part of his caste appellation and return only the more distinguished portion which is the name of one of the three *varnas*. Even if he makes a correct return however of both members of his composite name there is the danger first that the enumerator will either catch and record only the *varna* portion or in the restricted space allotted will be unable to write the distinctive portion at all or legibly, secondly that the copyist transferring to a slip the entry in the schedule will either by design or accident omit to enter the distinguishing portion and thirdly that even if it is entered on the slip the sorter may fail to notice the distinguishing portion and lump together in one indeterminate group all the persons returned as Kshatriya or Vaisya even if some other distinguishing name has been added. For this reason although the Census Commissioner and census officers in other provinces were prepared to admit the entry of names compounded with those of the *varnas* of Manu provided a distinguishing name is added, in Bengal an effort was made to prevent such returns. The only cases in which they were specifically permitted were few and in every case an attempt was made to get the distinctive portion of the name entered first and to show the portion combined with the *varna* name in brackets after it. In other cases however where the change did not involve a contentious claim to status as twice-born under the *varnasram dharma* the claims were allowed. In every case the table contains a reference to the claims to nomenclature made at the present census as well as to most of the various synonyms and alternative appellations returned at this or previous enumerations. Reference has been made already to the claims of Muslim groups. The details of the claims made in specific instances will be referred to in the case of Hindus when dealing with caste groups separately, and are summarised in the accompanying list; it includes mention of the Kurmis and Koiris who approached the Census Commissioner direct with their claim, although no claim was received in Bengal from the members of these castes living in the province :

Caste.	Caste name claimed.
1. Aguri	.. Ugrakshatriya, Kshatriya.
2. Bagdi	.. Byagrakshatriya, Kshatriya.
3. Baidya	.. Brahman, Baidya Brahman.
4. Barui	.. Barujibi, Vaishyabarujibi.
5. Bhuiyamali	.. Vaishyamali.
6. Chamar	.. Satnami.
7. Chashadhoba	.. Satchasi.
8. Dhopa (Dhobi)	.. Valabya.
9. Gop	.. Yadava.
10. Hadi	.. Haihaiya Kshatriya.
11. Jaliakalbartta	.. Mahishya, Rajbangshi.
12. Jhalo Malo	.. Malia Kshatriya, Jhalia Kshatriya.
13. Jogis' Brahmans	.. Brahman only; Rarhi Brahman; Maulik Srotriya Brahman.
14. Kahar (Bawari)	.. Chandravangshiya Kshatriya.
15. Kalwar	.. Haihaiya Kshatriya.
16. Kami	.. Viswa Brahman.
17. Kandra	.. Kodma.
18. Kapali	.. Baisyakapali.
19. Karmakar	.. Viswakarma Brahman, Karmar Kshatriya, Kshatriya-karmar.
20. Kayastha	.. Kshatriya.
21. Khen, Kheyani, Kyen	.. Kayastha.
22. Koiri	.. Koiri Kshatriya.
23. Kurmi	.. Kurmi Kshatriya.
24. Magh (Bengali speaking)	.. Maghadi Buddhist.
25. Mahishya	.. (1) Kshatriya, Mahishya Kshatriya; (2) Devadas.
26. Morangia	.. Chhatri, Morangia Chhetri.
27. Namesudra	.. Namabrahma, Namabrahman.
28. Napit	.. Nai Brahmin, Sabitri Brahmin.
29. Nat	.. Bratya Kshatriya.
30. Oraon	.. Kshatriya.
31. Patika	.. Kayastha.
32. Patni	.. Lupta Mahishya, Mahishya.

Caste.	Caste name claimed.
33. Pod	.. Paundra, Paundra Kshatriya, Padmaraj.
34. Pundari	.. Pundra, Pundra Kshatriya.
35. Rajbangahi	.. Kshatriya.
36. Shaha	.. Baisya Shaha, Sedhubanik, Khandabanik, Baisya Khandabanik.
37. Sankhari	.. Vaisya, Shankhabanik.
38. Sunri	.. Kshatriya, Saundik-Kshatriya, Sondia-Kshatriya.
39. Sutradhar	.. Viswakarma Brahmin.
40. Swarnakar	.. Viswakarma Brahmin.
41. Tanti ("Geneah")	.. Tantubaya.
42. Tiyar	.. Rajbangahi.
43. Yugi	.. Yogi.
44. Vaidik Balshnab	.. Satvata Brahman.

450. **Importance of caste returns.**—The advantages of a return of caste are clear and incontestable. Caste exercises and will almost certainly continue for long to exercise perhaps the most important influence on the private life of the Hindu and it is obviously important in taking a census to obtain an accurate representation of the actual facts. To omit the record of castes or to give a general exemption from recording caste to all who felt disinclined to return it would enormously simplify and cheapen the census operations but would certainly detract from the value of the results. It would conceal the very serious disintegrative force present in Hindu society in the shape of the "depressed" classes and upon any view which seeks for the general amelioration of the community it is important to know as accurately as possible the numbers of separate groups and the stage of social and cultural development which they have reached so far as they can be ascertained from the census returns. Different castes display different standards in education and in such practices as the age at which their women are married or they may be in certain instances particularly liable to specific complaints. In all these cases it is important to have as accurate and detailed a record as possible in order that the improvement of the whole society may be facilitated by knowing at what point to start both in space and in society. Finally the point which tends to loom largest in Indian thought is the fact that different groups claim and are generally considered to be entitled to special representation in the body politic and if not for any other reason, it would still be necessary for purposes of representation to secure an accurate return of those castes entitled to special treatment. All these considerations refer with modification to Muslims, particularly as regards the differences in education, initiative and social practice between various groups of the community. On all these grounds therefore it is clearly important to have as accurate returns as possible.

451. **A proposed modification and restriction of caste returns.**—On the other hand to secure absolute accuracy would involve an expenditure of time and temper as well as of money entirely disproportionate with the results obtained; and as a matter of practical policy what is to be decided is the maximum degree of accuracy which is to be sought without an entirely disproportionate expenditure of time or money and without raising too much opposition and discontentment. It is time to abandon the hope of obtaining at the census absolutely accurate and exhaustive particulars. The agitations which were originally stimulated by the attention concentrated on caste in census returns are growing in volume and will make it increasingly difficult to obtain complete and accurate details. The enquiry however can by no means be abandoned altogether and in some directions it would be of advantage to extend it. There should, for instance, be a clear provision made for the return of race, tribe or nationality and it would be a convenience if the caste column in the schedule could be divided into two, one for tribe, race or nationality and the other for caste or other group. In the first column it is contemplated that all persons would enter both their race and their nationality, race being interpreted in the case of Europeans as nationality by descent, and in the case of Indians the province from which the family of the person enumerated descended. The second column would be reserved for caste proper. The Muslim opposition would be met by a clear heading to the effect that caste was for Hindus only and that for Muslims what was required was a return of racial or functional groups. In view of the very questionable value of any

figures for Muslim groups in Bengal however it is doubtful whether any separate classification would be useful for the purposes of the report unless some particular group actually desired during the census enumeration to have figures of its members separately collected and presented. As regards Hindus in view of the feeling aroused in support of the claim to record the *varna* name as well as or instead of the caste name provision could be made that the commonly accepted caste name should be entered first in the caste column and below it or after it in brackets the *varna* claimed if the *varna* was one of the twice-born groups. It could be clearly indicated that persons not wishing to return their caste at all would be permitted to make a nil return. But emphasis would be laid for administrative reasons upon a correct return of primitive tribes and of the groups treated as depressed classes or known under any other similar appellation for whom it might be officially considered that special political representation should be reserved. Returns of the *varna* name only such as Brahman, Kshatriya or Vaisya would be discouraged, but if they appeared with the caste name ordinarily used they would be accepted without questioning the title under which they were claimed and the prescription that the *varna* name should be recorded in every case would make it possible to get figures, if desired, of the extent to which claims to allocation with one of the twice-born *varnas* has gained currency amongst the castes themselves. This would involve the separate sorting of all castes to the end, and in the case of Brahmans and genuine Kshatriyas where the *varna* and *jati* names are the same there would undoubtedly be a number for whom a distinctive group name had not been returned. This, however, would introduce no very serious complication, since it is not likely that any Brahman would fail to return a sub-caste unless he were amongst the degraded or fallen Brahmans, whilst the Kshatriya caste is itself so vague and indeterminate in Bengal that it is probably hopeless to try to do anything with it. In compilation all the groups would be entered in the registers, but for the purposes of publication tabulation would be undertaken only for a restricted number of castes. It would be necessary for instance to show in full with the various sectional names returned, castes like the Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas, primitive tribes and depressed or scheduled classes; and it might be that other groups also would be considered as entitled to be shown on account either of their numbers or their importance; but it would be an advantage to announce publicly at an early stage of the census enumeration that, apart from the classes already mentioned (which would be specified by name), it was not proposed to tabulate and publish results for any other caste unless a responsible caste organisation applied for it on behalf of the community. In this case and also in the case of the Muslims it would perhaps be advantageous to lay down that for the satisfaction of getting its numbers published the caste would be charged a fee calculated upon its numbers at the last recorded census. The fact that a fee was charged would probably not only stimulate castes to apply for record in the tables but would also encourage the return of accurate figures since the caste organisations would see to it that the returns, if they were to pay for them, were as complete and accurate as possible. The table composed on these lines and obtained in this way would present details sufficiently complete for most important purposes, and its preparation would avoid the inconveniences attendant upon the present attempt to secure absolutely accurate and exhaustive information. It is clear that a number of groups would lay claim to caste nomenclature or caste affiliation superior to that generally conceded to them in society; but for practical purposes this would have no disadvantageous effect and the efforts of the census authorities could be concentrated upon obtaining accurate returns for backward or primitive groups without being compelled to dissipate their energies in dealing with a multitude of claims to new names and recognition of social status.

452. Methods adopted for ensuring as accurate as possible returns of caste.—On the present occasion every effort was made to secure as accurate a return as possible of caste and similar groups. Lists compiled and revised from census to census were brought up to date and distributed to the census agency; in them were separately shown a list of vague and indefinite or ambiguous terms which it was desired to exclude from the census schedules

and an index of the castes and tribes which had been returned in Bengal and neighbouring provinces at some census or other intended for reference in cases of doubtful or difficult entries. It was directed that where cases occurred which were not covered by this index or where petitions were received for change of caste nomenclature reference should be made to the Superintendent and that no orders should be passed in any case without such a reference. It was hoped that in this way full details of caste could be collected and that they would be as accurate as possible when they came to be copied and sorted.

453. Restrictions on sorting and tabulation, and accuracy of the statistics.—Actually during the post-enumeration process the need for strict economy became urgent and as a measure of economy it was decided not only to apply a process of selection to the castes to be shown in the report but also to restrict sorting to those castes chosen. It was determined to obtain particulars of Europeans and allied races and of Anglo-Indians ; but amongst Muslims no attempt was made to distinguish any other groups than the Sayyads and the “Mumins” (Jolahas) who had specifically agitated for separate returns. Amongst the Hindus those groups were selected in the first place which had or approached a membership constituting four per mille of the population in 1921, and to these were added all those groups which appeared to have a claim to special consideration on political grounds as being members of the depressed classes or primitive tribes. The list thus chosen included no fewer than 141 groups compared with a very much smaller number in 1921 ; and in order that imperfect, doubtful or indefinite returns might not result in the omission of any persons who ought to fall within the groups chosen, lists intended to be exhaustive were circulated showing no less than 212 synonyms for the chosen groups and over 640 doubtful or indefinite entries which had been recorded at some census or other by persons who upon enquiry had proved to belong to one or other of the groups chosen. In addition some of the groups actually chosen for presentation in the table were known correctly by names also applied to other castes which it was desired to omit or to show separately. Thus the Gains shown in the table are the Nepali caste of that name and directions were given for incorporating in their correct groups those persons returned under this name who were really the Doms or Bediyas. The word Kisan again is not only a general term for cultivators but is specifically used for Nagesias, Kalwars and Kharias and similar directions given to include in the group shown under this name in the table only Nepalis, viz., those born or enumerated in Nepal, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri or Sikkim. The word Kotal is not only the caste name of a small group described by Risley as “Dravidian” and found mainly in Burdwan and Murshidabad, but also a title of Bagdis, Namasudras, Hadis and other low castes employed as chaukidars and directions were issued for the separation where possible of these returns and their allocation to the correct group. The Manjhis form a true caste in Nepal and the figures given in the table are confined to Nepalis ; but provision was also made for allocating to the correct group those Santals, Bediyas and Bagdis who returned this name as a caste name. Naiya is the name of priests amongst Santals, Bhuiyas and other tribes but the returns included in the table purport to relate only to the iron-working caste found in the Santal Parganas and an endeavour was made to allocate persons so returned in other cases to their proper caste. The returns of Rai which is a title used by several castes were scrutinised and where possible were attributed to their correct caste group unless they belonged to the Nepali caste which is the one purporting to be represented by the figures in the table. Where Kaora was returned for Doms and Koras they were correctly ascribed, and the figures under this name refer to the caste of pig-keepers and labourers principally found in West and Central Bengal. Deputy superintendents at sorting offices collected together doubtful entries amongst the names for which their staff were directed to sort and an attempt was made to classify them to their correct caste. In many cases scrutiny of the other entries in the schedule referring to the persons thus returned such as the birth place, occupation, mother tongue, subsidiary language or other details offered a clue to the classification of the ambiguous entries ; but in some cases it was necessary to refer to the local officers and to obtain a classification based

upon local enquiry at their direction. In any case such a reference was not generally made where the number of doubtful entries under any one term in one district amounted to less than ten. In these cases in order to prevent harassment of the local officers as also for economy of time and expense the doubtful entry was allowed to remain unclassified. But whether an entry was referred to the local officers or not all the classifications actually adopted received my scrutiny and approval. In addition to the further details recorded by persons shown under ambiguous designations it was possible to consider also in many cases the classification made on previous occasions in the same district as a result of special enquiries. It cannot be contended that the classifications adopted were invariably correct. All that can be claimed for these classifications and consequently for the absolute accuracy of the caste figures is that such precautions were taken as were reasonably possible that the best has been made of the returns which could be made in the circumstances, that the numbers thus classified are in every caste very small indeed in comparison with its total strength, and that such errors as may have been thus introduced are entirely negligible when compared with the distortion resulting from deliberately false returns prompted by a claim to superior social position.

454. **Restrictions on sorting were of doubtful economy.**—It will be seen that the restriction of the table in the interest of economy introduced a very considerable amount of additional labour. The sorters instead of continuing their sorting to the end were expected to leave aside all except a certain specified number of entries; but the number of entries with which they had to deal in order to obtain a reasonable accuracy in the figures was over 1,270 in number and it is at least doubtful whether so large a number as this could be sorted any quicker than sorting to the end. On the other hand if the sort had been continued to the end and an attempt had been made to restrict compilation at a later date there would have been an increase in the difficulties of obtaining quickly additional information by which doubtful entries could be classified. The experience of the present census suggests, however, that if any record of caste is made which purports to be at all exhaustive with regard to the groups actually presented it is not only undesirable but probably also uneconomical to restrict sorting. The unfortunate results of such a restriction are clear when it is remembered that they effectively prevent the discovery of any new caste groups developed during the decade except such as have come to the notice of the local census officers and been commented upon by them during the process of enumeration, and as a result of the restricted scope of the caste table on the present occasion there are no details of freshly discovered groups to be presented in this report.

455. **New details shown in the tables.**—On the other hand such figures as are presented in the table can claim in one direction at least a greater accuracy and detail than on previous occasions. In every case details have been given under each caste for those who returned separate religions. Moreover the inclusion of all groups expected to have some importance either on account of their strength or from political considerations has resulted in the inclusion of full details for considerably more groups on the present occasion than in 1921.

456. **Return of sub-castes of Brahmans.**—An innovation of the present census which has also expanded the caste table was the record of sub-castes of Brahmans. The general intention of the Census Commissioner was to obtain sub-castes of the more widely extended groups throughout India, but in Bengal the provision for the record of sub-caste was confined to Brahmans and to the two classes of Kaibarttas now known as Mahishyas and Jalia or Adi Kaibarttas. It was originally also intended to make a distinction between those Rajbangshis who have adopted the sacred thread and those who have not, but at the instance of those who had been invested this distinction was abandoned during the process of enumeration. The provision for the return of sub-castes of Brahmans proved no small embarrassment. No sub-castes had been recorded at the previous census and no authoritative and up-to-date information was readily available from which clear lines of differentiation

could be laid down in Bengal. A list was circulated by the Census Commissioner and after comparison of this list with Risley's account of the Brahmans in his *Castes and Tribes of Bengal* and with Pandit J. N. Bhattacharjee's *Hindu Castes and Sects* suggestions were invited from all district officers for a simple scheme of classification which would secure the most exhaustive and the least misleading results. The replies received served only to reveal the difficulty of making out a satisfactory scheme. In the end the following instructions were issued on this point :—

The record of sub-castes of Brahmans will present some difficulty. It is possible that territorial subdivisions will be given. Such would be either the *pancha gauriya* or *pancha dravira* subdivisions (*saraswat, kanyakubja* or *kanaujia, gaura, utkal, maithil* or *tirhutia, karnati, tailangi* or *andhra, gujrati, dravira* and *maharashtriya*) or other such as *nepali, kashmiri, kamrupi*. The record of such territorial divisions will be of great assistance particularly in the case of persons who are not Bengalis. For all but Bengalis, therefore, an attempt should be made to discover to which of the recognised territorial divisions the persons enumerated belong ; but in addition they should be asked to give also their sub-caste which may be recorded as they themselves describe it.

In the case of Bengalis the important distinction is between the "*sreni brahmans*" and others. The *sreni brahmans* will be differentiated by geographical distinctions only such as *rarhi, varendra* and *vaidik* : *pirali madhyasreni* and *saptasati* or *satsati* Brahmans however may also be recorded under these names, but such distinctions are not required as *kulin, bhanga kulin, srotriya, bansaja, kapa, Agradani, acharjya* (*grahabipra, daivajna, grahacharjya* or *ganaka*) and *maruipora* brahmans should be separately recorded. The *varna* Brahmans should be recorded with the name of the caste to which they minister (e.g., "*namasudrer brahman*") unless they have a distinctive title such as *vyasoktas* who perform the *sradha* of the *kaibarttas* of Midnapore.

In addition to the classes named above there will be a separate record of *bhuinhar* and *bhat* Brahmans and of *tirtha purohits* such as *gayawals, prayagwals, gangaputras, pandas, etc.*

In ascertaining the sub-caste care must be taken not to ask questions likely to give offence to high class Brahmans or to result in the record amongst the three Bengali *srenis* of *patit* or *varna* Brahmans. Probably the least objectionable course will be, when Brahman is returned as the caste, to ask "what is your class (*sreni*)?" *Varna* and *patit* Brahmans will probably then give the correct reply without attempting to claim that they are *rarhi, varendra* or *vaidik*.

The return of sub-castes was disappointing : scarcely more than one quarter of the Brahmans returned any sub-caste at all and a large number of returns actually received were indefinite. Further details of an attempted classification of such returns as were received are given later.

Part II.—Race in India and the origin and present position of caste.

457. **Introduction.**—In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to give as briefly as possible a summary of our existing knowledge as to the racial constitution of the Indian population. The account given has had the benefit of examination by Dr. J. H. Hutton, the Census Commissioner, and Dr. B. S. Guha, the Anthropological Officer to the Zoological Survey of India, and owes to them the foot-notes with their initials : but it is not to be taken that they endorse the summary given, and the reader is referred to the first volume of this series for Dr. Hutton's own opinions and to Dr. Guha's forthcoming analysis of his anthropometric survey for the resolution of difficulties and perplexities still unsolved when these notes were prepared for the press.

458. **Risley's Ethnic types.**—Risley¹ distinguished seven types in the population of India. In Madras, the Central Provinces, Central India and Chota Nagpur the population was taken to be the oldest in India and was termed "Dravidian". Its characteristics were a very dark to black complexion, dark eyes and plentiful hair tending to curl, medium to long heads and noses varying from very broad to fine, the finest being found in Madras. In the Himalayas, Assam, Nepal and Burma a Mongoloid type was distinguished having a dark complexion with yellowish tinge, scanty facial hair, eye-lids often oblique, broad heads (with marked divergences) and fine to medium noses. In the Punjabi Rajputs and the people of Kashmir he classified as Indo-Aryan the fair-complexioned dark-eyed people with plentiful facial hair, long heads and fine to medium noses. Further West he described as Turko-Iranian the strain typified by the Baluchis, Brahuis and Afghans

¹ H. H. Risley—*The people of India* (1908).

with broad heads, fine to medium noses of "portentous length," fair complexions, dark or grey eyes and plentiful facial hair. The remaining three types which he distinguished were regarded as intermixtures of the "Dravidians" with some other strain. In Western India he derived the prevailing type, termed by him Scytho-Dravidian, from intermixture between the "Dravidians" and Scythian invaders: it is fair-complexioned with scanty facial hair, medium to broad heads and noses of medium breadth and is typified by the Maratha Brahmans and Kunbis. He found in the Rajputs of the United Provinces and the population of Rajputana and Bihar a people with light brown to black complexions, a head-form varying from medium to broad with instances of long heads and noses varying from broad in the lower to medium in the higher castes with what he considered to be an intermediate gradation corresponding to social position. This type he derived by intermixture of his "Dravidians" with the Indo-Aryans and he called it Arya-Dravidian. Finally the type found in Bengal and Orissa was explained by an admixture of Mongoloid and "Dravidian" types. The complexion is dark and the facial hair plentiful, the head-form is broad with a tendency to medium length and the nose was described as fine in the higher and medium to broad in the lower castes. Some admixture of the Indo-Aryan type was postulated in the higher castes and the whole was described as Mongolo-Dravidian. It is this only of the seven types distinguished by Risley with which we are concerned in dealing with Bengal.

459. **Criticism of Risley: the hypothesis of an "Aryan" element in Bengal.**—Risley's classification has been subjected to criticism at all points and perhaps those elements from which he derived the population of Bengal have received the most serious and persistent criticism. Further examination has at least shaken the hypothesis that the population of Bengal contains any considerable admixture of the strain of the vedic Aryans. The *shastras* embody no such tradition and the origin claimed for such an element is in the legend of the importation of five families of Brahmans and five of Kayasthas brought to Bengal from Kanauj by Adisura Sena at a definite historical period. This importation has been challenged by Chanda² who has shown first that the genealogies of the Brahman immigrants account for 30-35 generations, but those of the Kayasthas which are all in general consistent with one another account for only 22-25 generations, a circumstance which cannot be reconciled with the two groups having come at the same time, and secondly that some of the earliest Brahman genealogies themselves show the families now alleged to have been introduced by Adisura Sena as actually originating from localities in Bengal before the earliest date at which he can have invited them. Finally on anthropometric analysis the physiological form of even the Radhi, Varendra and Vaidik Brahmans of Bengal shows on the one hand very wide divergence from that of the Brahmans of the United Provinces and Mithila, and on the other a very close resemblance to that of the other classes in Bengal, and Ghurye³ concludes that there is no ground for assuming an intermixture of Indo-Aryan blood such as was postulated by Risley in higher caste groups.

460. **The Mongoloid element.**—The Mongoloid influence also is now being minimised. An unpublished thesis by Prabashchandra Basu⁴ based on an examination of the craniometric and anthropometric data at present available embodies the conclusion that a Mongoloid influence is to be found in the population of India not only in the Chota Nagpur plateau but as far as the Cochin Hills of Southern India. The extent of its influence in Bengal, however, is doubtful. Chanda rejected it on grounds of physiognomy and the absence of legend or tradition from which it could be deduced or supported. The characteristic flat face and epicanthic fold of the Mongoloid as well as his scanty facial hair are not found in the Bengali. A Mongoloid influence was brought in to explain how the "Dravidian" long headedness became broad headedness in the "Mongolo-Dravidian" Bengali. But

² Ramaprasad Chanda—*Indo-Aryan Races* (1916).

³ G. S. Ghurye—*Caste and Race in India* (1932).

⁴ I am indebted to Dr. B. S. Guha for permission to consult and use this thesis.

Guha⁵ has shown that Mongoloid influence cannot account for this factor. The Mongolian tribes found in the Brahmaputra Valley are mainly long-headed. The only broad-headed Mongoloid tribes in Bengal are the Lepcha and Bhotia groups in the north and the Chakmas and allied tribes in the south-east on the outer fringes of the Chittagong division. The main concentration of broad-headedness in Bengal, however, is in the deltaic region, and it decreases towards the north and east as the broad-headed Mongolian tribes are approached. The Bengali broad-heads, again, are characterised by a long prominent nasal skeleton, but amongst the Lepchas and other tribes in the north the nose though long is depressed at the root and never rises high. Ghurye also, without implying that there is no Mongoloid admixture in this part of India, has pointed out that the hypothesis of a Mongoloid intermixture cannot explain the somatic characteristics of the Bengalis and that the published data give us no clue supporting the theory. The influence of the Mongoloid strain upon the population of Bengal must be considered at present to be at least of doubtful extent.

461. **The "Dravidian" element.**—It is however Risley's "Dravidian" type which has undergone the most persistent and disintegrating comment. It represented the "most primitive" element in the Indian population and displayed wide divergences of physical characteristics. Further research has emphasised these divergences and discovered strata not only with different somatic characteristics but also with different cultural affinities. It is now clear that Risley's "Dravidian" type includes more than one racial strain.

462. **A Negrito substratum in Risley's "Dravidians."**—The earliest element which can be traced is the negrito substratum discovered by Guha⁶ in the Anaimallai hills in southern India amongst the Kadirs and with instances amongst the Pulayans and Malsers. Hutton⁷ has given evidence from ethnical, cultural and traditional sources for at least "declining to assume that there is no negrito substratum in the population of Assam." Its existence in both Assam and southern India would be consistent with the conclusion of R. B. S. Sewell⁸ that, whether man originated in the Sahara or in Central Asia or in both places, his immediate ancestors could not have penetrated to India which was then an island with the "Tethys" sea on the north, and that the first human beings in India arrived after the rise of the Himalayas had established connection with Asia and were broad-headed immigrants of a negrito strain coming almost certainly from the north-east.

NOTE.—Giuffrida Ruggieri holds that this Negrito substratum has affected the population all along the south-west Asiatic coast, i.e., from India *via* the Persian Gulf and Arabia to Africa and this might afford support for a theory once enunciated by Keith that the Negroid strains all originated from Africa. I don't say that he still holds it. J. H. H.

463. **The "Munda" element in Risley's "Dravidians."**—Apart from this possible negrito substratum two other very early and one (or two) more recent strains have been distinguished in Risley's "Dravidian" type. One of the early types is that shown by the Mundas, Santals and Oraons and by the Musahar and Chamar of Bihar. Ghurye⁹ gives it the name "Munda" and locates it in Chota Nagpur, West Bengal and Bihar but not in the United Provinces. It is characterised by medium breadth of head and a broad nose and although some of the groups comprising it speak Dravidian and Aryan languages, the Munda group of languages itself is closely related to Mon-Khmer and the type shows cultural as well as linguistic affinities with Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia. This element would be introduced by the second great invasion of India which Sewell considers to have taken place. He holds that it came from the north-east and was "in all probability part of a big movement that has left traces of itself in India, in the Naga Hills and as far afield as Melanesia."

⁵ B. S. Guha—*Man in India* in the *Modern Review*, November 1926.

⁶ B. S. Guha—*Negrito Racial Strain in India* in *Nature*, 19 May 1928 and 22 June 1929.

⁷ J. H. Hutton—*Man in India*, Vol. VII, 256 ff.

⁸ R. B. S. Sewell—*Proceedings of the Indian Science Conference*, 1929, page 337.

⁹ G. S. Ghurye, *loc. cit.*

464. **A Proto-Australoid element.**—The other early element in the "Dravidian" type of Riskey is that described by Ghurye as (a) "Pre-Dravidian." It is located by Ghurye in the jungles of south India and also in western India, in the hilly country of Central India, in Rajputana and in the United Provinces, and is best represented by the Irula, Kadir, Kanikar and Paniyan in the south, by the Bhil and Katkari in the west, and by the Musahar, Pasi, Chamar and other low castes in the United Provinces. The head is long (with a cephalic index generally less than 75) and the nose broad (with a nasal index always greater than 80). Guha¹⁰ describes it as having also a short stature, wavy to curly hair, very dark complexion, round and open eye and orthognathic face. He finds it racially akin to the Veddas, Sakais and Toalas of Ceylon, Malay Peninsula and Celebes and also to the Australian aboriginals. Upon Sewell's hypothesis this very primitive element entered India from the north-west and was composed of the proto-Australoid descendants of Neanderthal man.

465. **Alpine elements.**—The two later elements are both held to have come from the north-west, viz., an invasion of Alpine man from the region of Central Asia and another of the Mediterranean race. Chanda calls the Alpine invaders "non-vedic Aryans" and brings them into India by land from the Takla Makan desert and the Pamirs. Ghurye describes them as Riskey's Scytho-Dravidian renamed "Westerns," a mixed Alpine and Brown race with broad to medium head. He traces them on the western coast from Gujarat to South Kanara, thence inwards to Coorg, Mysore, the Southern Maratha country and through Orissa into Bengal, and since there is no broad-headedness on (b) Chanda's postulated route from Chinese Turkistan until Gujarat is reached he holds that they entered by sea. He cites the Sala, Bant, Vakkaliga, Coorge, Senvi, Prabhu, Nagar, Chitpavan, Mala, Madiga and Holwya as typical of the strain. Guha at one time appeared to doubt the presence of a Mediterranean racial strain and to incline to the view that the Mediterranean affinities of the Dravidian culture to which a brief reference is made below are culture-migrations and imply no racial intermixture. But he agrees with Chanda and Ghurye in finding in the infiltration of Alpine man an explanation of the broad heads and fine noses of the Bengalis. Reference is made elsewhere to the significant analogies between the Kayasthas of Bengal pointed out by Bhandarkar¹¹ and the Nagar Brahmans of Gujarat, Guha emphasises also the similarity of stature, cephalic index and nasal index: and Chanda suggests that in the *padavis* or family names common in Bengal to the Kayasthas, Baidyas, Baruis, Tilis, Tantis, Tambulis and Subarnabaniks and identical with those in use amongst the Nagar Brahmans may be found preserved names of the Alpine tribes which colonised the countries on the fringe of the vedic "midland" from Kathiawar to Kanara and across the Deccan into Bengal.

466. **The Mediterranean strain.**—Ghurye gives the name Dravida to the Mediterranean strain which however he introduces from Mesopotamia or Arabia. He describes it as having a long head (cephalic index less than 75) and medium-broad nose (nasal index less than 77) and finds its typical representatives in the Nayar, Tiyan, Badaga, Agamudaiyan and Vellala castes. Guha points out that broad-heads or fine noses or both are most prominent where the language spoken (as in the Telegu speaking regions) shows most

(a) I do not distinguish between the Munda and the South Indian so called "Pre-dravidian" type excepting the Negrito element that exists in some of them, e.g., the Kadars, etc. B. G.

(b) Chanda forgets Baluchistan. Baluchistan has once been Dravidian speaking and was almost certainly once long-headed, but has since been permeated with round-headedness to the extent of altering the Brahui type. Not a doubt but the Alpines came down the Indus Valley. All the way from Gujarat to Manchuria there is an uninterrupted extension of round-headedness, though I do not suggest it came from Manchuria. J. H. H.

¹⁰ B. S. Guha—*Presidential Address to the 15th Indian Science Congress.*

¹¹ D. R. Bhandarkar—*Nagar Brahmans and the Bengal Kayasthas in the Indian Antiquary*, March 1932, April 1932.

the influence of a Sanskritic speech, and that the Brahmans within each linguistic division, are gifted with finer noses than other castes : and he prefers to account, both for the extent to which Sanskritic influences have been at work and for the degree to which the pre-Dravidian long-headed and broad-nosed type has been modified, by a movement of Alpine man south and east from Gujarat gradually diminishing in strength as it progressed southwards. Slater¹², however, cites the opinion of H. J. Fleure and G. E. Smith by whom the pre-historic skull found at Adichanallur in the Tinevelly district (and described by Guha¹³ as long-headed with a broad depressed nose and prominent cheek-bones much resembling Veddah skulls) is declared to be practically indistinguishable from an early Egyptian type. He also points out significant cultural affinities with Egypt, and also with Minoan Crete in the gold fillets and the markings on pottery found at Hyderabad as well as the prevailing narrow-waisted type characteristic of the bull-leapers of Knossos.

467. Lines of further research.—The revision of Risley's classification which is briefly summarised above in so far as it concerns the population of Bengal calls for further research. The term "Dravidian" should be confined to language and not applied to race. The so-called "Dravidian" and the Alpine or western types require more precise definition : and there is room for further enquiry into the extent to which Sanskritic languages are indebted to Dravidian and Munda for their terms. A classified analysis of the words in classical Sanskrit which are not of Indo-European derivation would illuminate the question of cultural influences and assist in elucidating the position when the Vedic Aryans entered India. In Bengal several lines of extensive study suggest themselves. Scattered accounts exist of "aboriginal" elements in popular worship, of cults with non-Brahman priests and of popular superstitions and tabus ; these should be made exhaustive and their affinities with similar practices analysed. The whole field of women's customs and usages (*Stri-achar*) has been scarcely touched ; its value and interest under critical examination would probably be quite proportionate to the difficulty of obtaining complete particulars. Detailed and extensive anthropometric investigations are required, under trained workers and conducted uniformly both in Bengal amongst all social classes and in the rest of India from which racial coefficients calculated from as many factors as possible can be extracted and compared. All of these enquiries could be supplemented as Hutton suggests by "an exhaustive analysis of blood groups by castes in series of not less than 500 individuals of any caste analysed."

468. Provisional results of the criticism of Risley's classification.—Pending such further enquiries the racial constitution of India on the theories outlined above will contain the following elements. In the south before the arrival of Mediterranean colonists, the population was of Australoid type with a Negrito element. Upon it descended immigrants of the Mediterranean race and the divergent types found in South India and Madras are a result of varying degrees of intermixture between the pre-Dravidian tribes and their Dravidian invaders. The Negrito element present in the pre-Dravidian population would appear to have survived in parts of Assam and to have come from the north-east whereas both the Australoid and the later Dravidian immigrants came from the north-west. From the east (*a*) also will be assumed to have come, possibly second in period of time, the great wave of Munda peoples. At some later date Alpine invaders from Central Asia came from the north-west, spread down on the east coast of India and across (*b*) the Deccan into Bengal where their intermixture with the deposit of the earliest waves of colonists from the north-east and possibly with the "pre-Dravidian" or "Dravidised" peoples who entered India from the north-west can be made to explain the physical peculiarities of the Bengalis and the linguistic affinities

(*a*) If they did it is queer that they should have definitely left traces of their language in the Simla Hill States.

(*b*) Why not down the Ganges valley ?

J. H. H.

J. H. H.

¹² G. Slater—*The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, 1923.

¹³ B. S. Guha—*Man in India*, in *The Modern Review*, November 1926.

between the languages of the outer band in Grierson's classification. It does not appear to be clear whether the Alpine peoples described by Chanda as non-Vedic Aryans and by Ghurye as the western type arrived (*c*) before or after the Dravidian or Mediterranean type. But although Chanda places their arrival after that of the Vedic Aryans it appears more likely (*d*) that all these peoples were in possession when the Vedic Aryans invaded India. Evidence moreover is accumulating to show both that the level of culture which the invading Aryans found was superior to their own and that this culture was widely extended and was shared by peoples whom it has previously been the custom to dismiss in discussing the Aryanisation of India as being mere savage barbarians. Lévi¹⁴ in 1923 examining the occurrence in early Indian literature of significant groups of ethnic names, viz., Pulinda—Kulinda, Mekala—Utkala (with the group Udra—Pundra—Munda), Kosala—Tosala, Anga—Vanga, Kalinga—Tilinga; remarked that these twin groups

"form the links of a long chain stretching from the eastern borders of Kashmir to the heart of the peninsula. The skeleton of this ethnic system is formed by the heights of the central plateau. It participates in the life of all the big rivers of India except the Indus to the west and the Kaveri to the south. Each of the groups makes a twin whole and is linked with another member of the system. In each pair of racial groups the twins have the same name distinguished only by the initial letter This formation is foreign to Indo-European, it is foreign to Dravidian, it is on the contrary characteristic of the great family of languages called Austro-Asiatic including in India the Munda languages often called Kolarian."

He suggested that these names preserve the memory of a great civilization widely extended in India before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans, and that it is time to recognise the existence and accomplishments of the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian population of India. In 1926 Przulski¹⁵ discussing the tribe Udambara mentioned in the *Chandraritti*, showed reason to believe that these people though found so far west as the Punjab were representatives of a Munda race and he has more recently also¹⁶ shown reason to believe that the Salva mentioned in the same quotation and embracing as one constituent the Udambara already mentioned are a Munda people with an extended Empire in north-western India. The recent discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro reveal an advanced civilization analogous with that of Sumer and Akkad. Marshall¹⁷ indeed gives a warning against the too easy assumption that this civilization was the work of the "Dravidian" peoples. Guha also definitely states that it is incorrect to speak of the "Dravidian" origins of the north-western type of skull found at Mohenjo-daro, and he demonstrates that

"there is at present no (*c*) evidence, somatic or achæological, for the view which has lately become fashionable in India and seeks to make the Dravidian man responsible for the Indus civilization as well as that of Sumer."

The suggestion may perhaps be allowed that the (*f*) peoples responsible for this civilization were the type described as Alpine by Chanda and western by Ghurye; and Sewell opines that one or other or both of the Alpine and Mediterranean strains seems to have been connected with it. The¹⁷ examination by Sewell and Guha of the human remains at Mohenjo-daro shows four unmistakable types—Mediterranean, Alpine, Mongolian and Proto-Australoid and amongst the specimens preserved the greater number were Mediterranean. In the later period therefore the population of Mohenjo-daro was apparently scarcely less mixed than now.

(*c*) Certainly after.

J. H. H.

(*d*) Personally I think the Alpines came in before the Rigvedic Aryans (J. H. H.). I agree (B. G.).

(*e*) But lots I think of cultural.

J. H. H.

(*f*) Except the Armenoids no Alpines had made any civilization other than agricultural. The Indus valley was a city type, and its prototype is to be sought in the cities of Mesopotamia when the early civilization was Mediterranean-Armenoid.

J. H. H.

¹⁴ Sylvain Lévi—*Pré-Aryan et pré-dravidian dans l'Inde* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1923.

¹⁵ J. Przulski—in *Journal Asiatique*, March, 1926.

¹⁶ *Ibid*—*un ancien peuple du Penjab Les Salva*, in *Journale Asiatique*, April—June, 1929.

¹⁷ *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, 1931.

469. **“Pre-Aryan” influences on Hinduism.**—In any case it is clear that the old conception of the Indo-Aryan invaders bringing to an India, peopled exclusively by ignorant savages, the benefits of civilization and culture is entirely wrong. They resembled more a horde of barbarian invaders into a country where culture, trade and the arts of peace were all established, whether in the north-west or in the south of India, but where long continued prosperity and peace had rendered the bearers of that culture unable to resist them. The religious beliefs now characteristic of Hinduism, as well as its most typical social customs, cannot be traced to Vedic influence. Chanda showed from the text-books that Saktism and Vaishnavism are both non-Vedic in origin. The cult of the earth-mother from which Sakti worship may be derived has been found to exist in Mohenjo-daro (Marshall—*loc cit*). Both there and in Dravidian India the non-Vedic worship of the *phallus* can be traced to Mesopotomian or Egyptian and Mediterranean influences and serpent worship also is non-Vedic. Pargiter (*loc cit*, page 319) suggests that what the word *brahma* itself originally suggested was

“the magical power, whether incantation charm or what not, by which a man could exert influence over all natural and supernatural beings what anthropologists now call *mana*.”

470. **The formation of castes and the origin of caste.**—It is unlikely that future researches will reveal any factors not already recognised which have been the immediate cause for the formation of a new caste; racial, tribal or national distinctions; differences of occupation leading on the one hand to the formation of separate castes amongst those of the same group who follow different occupations, and on the other hand to the inclusion within one caste of persons following the same occupation in several groups; impurity of descent; peculiarities of social custom or religious belief; and differences of habitat have all been shown to give rise to castes at different times. There is still, however, room for agreement to be reached as to the circumstances in which the fluid accommodating Vedic class system hardened into the rigid exclusion of the caste system as it now exists. Every variety of opinion has been expressed upon the caste system. At one end of the scale is the view that it is the root of nearly all evils in Hindu society, a machinery for exalting the privileges of a single caste and denying to a large number of their fellow men the bare rights of human beings. At the other end of the scale is (a) the astounding theory, perhaps most recently expressed by S. Charles Hill,¹⁸ that it represents an almost ideal organisation of society upon the only basis not involving force which has ever been successful, consciously devised by far-seeing if anonymous legislators possibly as a means of preserving society against some such calamity as drove them from their Aryan home to India. The *varna* class organisation has sometimes been represented as a caste system in itself. But it is generally held that no explanation can be found in the Vedas for the rigidity of the caste system as it now obtains, and it has even been recently said¹⁹ that the consensus of opinion is that the Hindu system of four “castes” (i.e., *varnas*) is not inherited from Indo-Iranian times. It is at least a significant fact that the caste system has been developed to its most logical and most merciless manifestations in Southern India which was never aryanised. Pargiter²⁰ propounded the theory that Brahmanism was a non-Aryan institution already established amongst the peoples in occupation before the Aryans arrived and Slater has more recently suggested that the caste system with its brahmanical hierarchy originated where it is now found in its most characteristic form, viz., in Dravidian India. This theory is still heresy to Indian scholars and is contested for instance by Dutt.²¹ He summarises the most important factors in the development

¹⁸ *Origin of the Caste System in India* in *Indian Antiquary*, 1930, Vol. LIX—51, etc.

(a) A most fantastic view. No legislator could ever enforce a caste system for which usage, belief and custom were not already prepared to the extent of having already developed all the necessary ingredients.
J. H. H.

¹⁹ *Geo Dumézil—La préhistoire indo-iranienne des castes* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1930, p. 109.

²⁰ F. E. Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 1922.

²¹ N. K. Dutt—*The Aryanisation of India*, 1925, and *Origin and Growth of Caste*, Vol. I, 1930.

of the caste system as being (1) the racial struggle between the fair skinned Aryans and the dark skinned non-Aryans; (2) tribal differences specially amongst non-Aryans; (3) the division of labour with a natural tendency to hereditary occupation; and (4) the inherent disinclination to marry outside one's own folk especially when racial or tribal differences are involved. He considers that the "seeds of caste" were a common stock of the Aryan people in all countries and that they grew only in India owing to (1) the absence of a strong political power in Vedic and epic times which might have overruled tribal differences and established nationalism; (2) the cosmopolitanism of Indian religion which went with this; and (3) the spirit of resignation induced by the doctrine of *Karma*. The absence of a strong political power clearly cannot originate a caste system and the existence of similar conditions did not give rise to similar results in medieval Germany, but A. M. T. Jackson²² has shown that the development of the caste system as we know it owes much to the caste jurisdiction of tribal kings. Aryan practice was to establish a member of the royal house in authority over conquered tribes: and one of the tribal king's duties was to enforce caste customs and prevent *varnasankara* or confusion of castes. From as early as we know India was divided into numerous tribal kingdoms and a widely extended caste would thus come under the caste jurisdiction of numerous tribal kings whose rulings would suffer no breach of continuity or conquest and would gradually in different areas establish a body of different caste observances distinguishing what ultimately became different sub-castes or castes. Racial antipathies, however, with tribal differences and a tendency to adopt hereditary occupations or to marry within one's own class exist elsewhere but have created no caste system, and it is difficult to see how any or all of the factors suggested can be accepted as convincing causes. Dutt himself admits as a cause of the caste system the "superiority of *priests and witch doctors* in all primitive peoples" and the "abnormal development of brahmanical rituals ensuring the position of the Brahmans as the custodians of religion and culture." Though he claims that Vedic institutions were "Aryan in the main foundation" he states that they "absorbed more and more Dravidian ideas and practices" as the Aryans advanced further into India, and admits that "in the transformation of the Vedic religion into modern Hinduism the original Aryan basis has been largely buried under non-Aryan superstructure." What is perhaps the latest theory of the origin of caste is that of Stanley Rice²³ who looks for it in a development of totemism. This hypothesis is summarised in the following quotation:—

"In pre-Aryan times then, the Dravidians, having entered India in the time-honoured manner, found there an indigenous population. Possibly by amalgamation with the cults then existing, possibly by introducing one of their own invention, they succeeded in establishing a form of religion accompanied by social customs which were closely akin to totemism. Round this system, from which the conquered aborigines were excluded or into which they were only admitted for the purpose of certain menial services, there grew up exogamous and endogamous conventions based upon the totem clan, until by a natural extension of the idea the clan totem itself became a household god and in some instances the vehicle for the anthropomorphic gods, while the tribe which still preserved the customs relating to marriage, ceremonial purity, taboo, and the like now adopted the name and symbol of the totem. Then came the Aryan invasion, which drove the Dravidians to the south of the Vindhya and the Narbada, but much of the population remained behind and among these the Aryans settled. The notion of caste or of that system which preceded it was foreign to them, but they found it useful, and as usually happens when two civilizations of equal or similar grade meet, they adopted it, consciously or unconsciously, and modified it to suit their own ideas. But as civilization advanced life grew more complex and the needs of society compelled artisans and others to combine or congregate together for mutual convenience. These workers had probably appropriated certain trades according to the original totem clans, but the rules were not rigid and others were admitted. Gradually the rules became more complex; the totem idea disappeared completely; the Nature gods gave place to higher and more metaphysical conceptions. But though caste now became transformed upon occupational lines, the reservations already mentioned persisted and the casteless folk remained without the pale."

Such a theory admittedly leaves much unexplained but it accounts for the religious sanctions of the caste system which are found nowhere else amongst

²² A. M. T. Jackson—*Note on the History of the Caste System* in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1907, p. 509.

²³ Stanley Rice—*The Origin of Caste* in *The Asiatic Review*, 1929, pp. 147, 331.

the analogies with which aspects of the caste system have been compared. Przulski's article on the Salva already cited offers some support for the theory. He there shows grounds for believing the pre-Aryan Salva to owe their name to a totem animal, and even contends that Shastric records (such as the legends of Rishyasringa) and some of the ceremonies of initiation show that totemistic elements can be traced in the Hindu faith.

471. Caste to-day : its influence and tendencies to amalgamation or fusion.—There is some evidence, summarily noted in chapter XI, of a tendency to relax caste restrictions but very little that caste as a social institution is in danger or is ceasing in essential matters to have the same influence as before in Hindu life. There appear to be some movements towards the amalgamation of sub-castes such as that noticed later amongst the Aguri or Ugra Kshatriyas; and amongst Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas instances have been recorded in which inter-marriage has taken place between two groups of the same caste. All the movements which might be interpreted as being in the direction of a fusion of separate castes however are not really of this nature at all. There is for instance no evidence to show that the Sutradhars and other castes claiming to be returned as Viswakarma Brahmans are so far amalgamating as to extend commensal and connubial relations to each of the castes claiming the same name under the same organisation; and it is yet to appear that the movement for calling the members of the milkmen castes by a single name "Yadava" has resulted in any case in the fusion of groups separately existing at the present time. On the contrary the recent separation of the Mahishyas from the Jalia Kaibartas, of the Tilis from the Telis and of the Rajbangshis from the Koches and Paliyas with whom they have affinities, have analogues in the present attempt of a section of Mahishyas in Noakhali to get themselves recorded as a separate caste under the name of "Deva Das" and the aspirations of one group of Shahas (until recently all regarded to be of the same group as the Sunris) who now desire to establish that the members of their sectional organisation alone shall bear the distinctive name "Sadhubanik" and shall be recognised as being distinct and superior to other members of the caste. Many progressive Hindus would be glad to see a very much greater relaxation of caste exclusiveness than is likely to be achieved in the near future and their opinions are probably expressed by the following extract from one reply to the enquiry dealt with in chapter XI:

"Personally I feel like cutting away from this caste bondage but I dare not as I have got to respect the feelings of my parents and others I love and marriage is a problem which we have not been able to solve without the help of social sanction."

There is indeed a possible danger that the recognition of separate interests and a claim to separate consideration by the depressed classes should actually tend to perpetuate caste differences unless the temporary nature of their recognition is emphasised. The attempt to elicit by the questionnaire shown as an appendix to chapter XI information which might throw light on the essential differences of belief and social practice between castes and between sub-castes of the same caste was unsuccessful. The question was perhaps not sufficiently clear: at any rate correspondents tended to emphasise not beliefs or practices distinguishing them from other castes, which indeed many stated that they were unable to define, but details of their social practice which they chose to regard as characteristic. "Faith in God and justice," "love and purity in action, words and thought," "erudition, purity and self-respect," "fear of litigation, fondness for peace, supreme belief in charity as a great virtue and fondness for plainly comfortable life," "plain living, high thinking, cleanliness, literary accomplishments, straightforwardness, moral courage, integrity of purpose, administrative capacity and an aristocratic view of life," "style of housing and dressing, aversion to agriculture, contempt of manual labour as degrading, education and the strict enforcement of moral discipline," "a sense of supremacy above all other castes"—these are amongst the answers received to question 4 of the questionnaire whilst one unorthodox Brahman professed himself unable to find any distinguishing mark "except the vanity of being a Brahman." The replies of course were not all along

these lines and in some cases differences of ritual practice as well as the restrictions upon marriage and an exclusive title by birth were mentioned. But it is clearly as embarrassing for a Hindu to be called upon to give a scientific account of the essential differences between his caste and others as it is for a Christian to be expected to explain similar differences between his sect and another.

Part III.—General consideration of caste and racial figures and of Muslim groups.

472. **A socio-religious distribution of the population.**—The considerations adduced in the preceding part of this chapter show how extremely difficult it would be to attempt a scientific classification of the population by race. An attempt has been made, however, to present a distribution in which the members of primitive tribes are separated from those of other races and the results are shown in subsidiary table I. The social map enclosed in the folder at the back of this volume illustrates this distribution of the population by districts. The primary classification is into Primitive peoples, Hindus, Muslims and Others: but in the case of primitive peoples the numbers professing each religion have been separately distinguished. In the case of Hindus Brahmans and members of the depressed classes are also separately indicated. Amongst the fourth class, Christians and Buddhists have been distinguished. This classification is liable to criticism. It does not profess to be a classification either by race or by religion but is in some measure a kind of combination of both. The only groups which it satisfactorily displays at a glance are Muslims and the total number of primitive peoples. But if the strength of Hindus or of the depressed classes within Hindus is in question it must be remembered that the numbers of primitive tribes returned as Hindus are to be added to those shown under the heading Hindu and a similar consideration applies in the case of Christians and Buddhists.

473. **Primitive peoples.**—The figures for primitive tribes include the groups given below in statement No. XII-1, but by an oversight which was not detected until it was too late to make any alteration in the

STATEMENT No. XII-1.

Principal Primitive Tribes.

1. Agaria.	6. Birhor.	11. Kachari.	16. Korwa.	21. Mech.	26. Rabha.
2. Asur.	7. Brijia.	12. Kaur.	17. Kuki.	22. Mro.	27. Santal.
3. Banjogt.	8. Chakma.	13. Khandi.	18. Lepcha.	23. Munda.	28. Tipara.
4. Bhotia.	9. Garo.	14. Khyang.	19. Lodha.	24. Nagesia.	29. Toto.
5. Bhumij.	10. Ho.	15. Koda.	20. Lushel.	25. Oraon.	30. Turi.

statistics prepared, Binjias, who appear separately as members of the depressed classes, should have been included as Brijias but were omitted. Their numbers are 502 only and have practically no effect upon the proportions. It will be seen that the Munda peoples from Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas together with Bhotia and Sikkimese groups and the hill tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are included amongst those for whom details are shown under this heading. In addition, Garos, Mechhs, Rabhas and Tiparas are also shown, but the tribes whose origin is in Nepal have not been included. The total number returning tribal religions, however, exceeds those members of the 30 groups shown above who were returned under these religions and evidently therefore includes some proportion of the Nepali tribes. The restricted sorting for caste has also introduced what is probably another error. As many as 21 per cent. of the total population of the Chittagong Hill Tracts appear as Buddhists but not under Primitive Tribes whereas it is pretty certain that most, if not the whole, of these persons should have been included amongst the primitive tribes, and the fact that they have been omitted is due to their being returned under names which had not been put on record at any previous census enumeration but which the restricted sort has not made it possible to discover on the present occasion. Such a restriction of sorting in tribal areas was a mistake

STATEMENT No. XII-2.

Excess of all persons returning tribal religions over the members of the principal primitive tribes returning tribal religions.

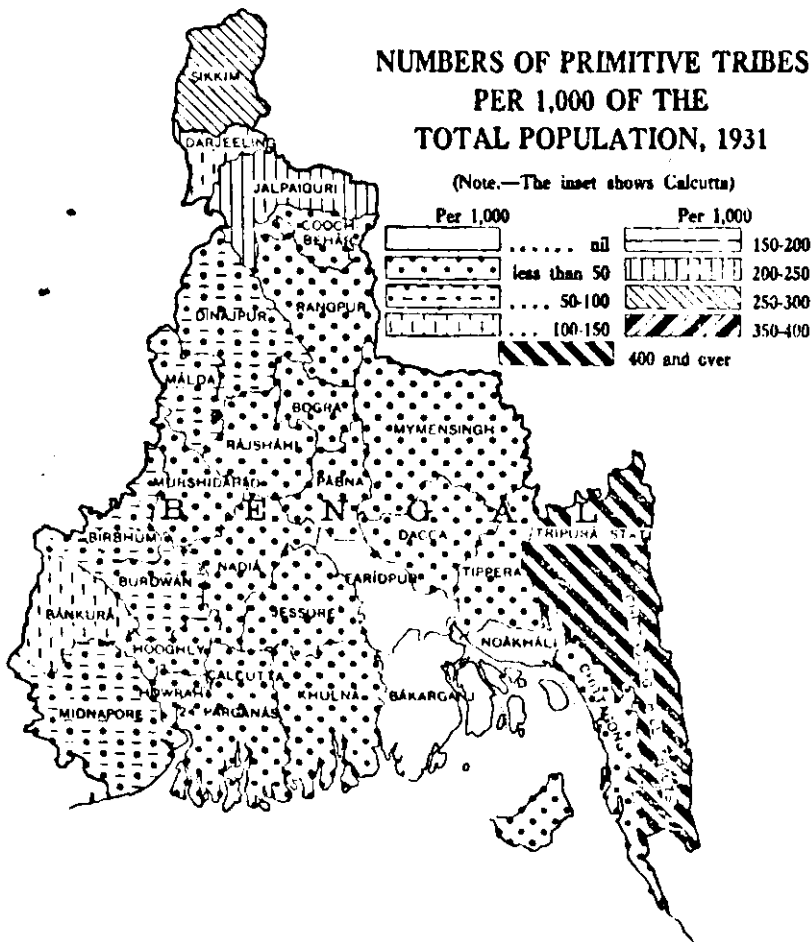
BENGAL	..	30,273
BRITISH TERRITORY	..	20,999
Burdwan Division	..	932
Burdwan	..	138
Birbhum	..	189
Bankura	..	306
Midnapore	..	271
Hooghly	..	28
Howrah	..	..
Presidency Division	..	806
24 Parganas	..	806
Calcutta	..	..
Nadia	..	..
Murshidabad	..	..
Jessore	..	..
Khulna	..	..
Rajshahi Division	..	8,423
Rajshahi	..	367
Dinajpur	..	609
Jalpaiguri	..	7,377
Darjeeling	..	813
Rangpur	..	31
Bogra	..	137
Pabna	..	..
Malda	..	..
Dacca Division	..	17,842
Dacca	..	2
Mymensingh	..	17,394
Faridpur	..	444
Bakarganj	..	2
Chittagong Division	..	998
Tippera	..	..
Noakhali	..	..
Chittagong	..	85
Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	911
BENGAL STATES	..	274
Cooch Behar	..	274
Tripura	..	..

and should not be repeated. The extent to which in each district the figures under tribal religions exceed the numbers of the 30 principal primitive tribes given is indicated in the marginal statement No. XII-2 ; and although it is not possible to give an accurate tribal distribution of the figures it may be taken that in the south-east of the province they are tribes indigenous to the Chittagong Hill Tracts or Assam and in the north they are peoples hailing from Nepal.

474. **Proportionate distribution of the primitive tribes.**—A map, diagram No. XII-1, illustrates the distribution per thousand of the total population of primitive tribes. The hatchings were actually entered on the map to represent the numbers returned under tribal religions amongst the 30 primitive tribes shown prepage. The addition of persons belonging to other groups and professing a tribal religion makes no difference to the hatchings except in the state of Sikkim and in the district of Hooghly. As a representation of the figures shown in the social map the hatching for Sikkim should resemble that of Tripura State and the hatching for Hooghly district should resemble that of the neighbouring districts, Burdwan and Midnapore. The hatchings adopted were chosen to be uniform with those elsewhere used in diagrams Nos. XII-4 and XII-11 showing the proportions of Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas and of the depressed classes and they therefore do not permit the representation of such small differences as could have been shown if it had not been desired to make these three maps uniform for the purposes of comparison one with another. In the districts of Faridpur, Bakarganj and Noakhali the numbers of primitive tribes are less than 5 in 10,000 ;

DIAGRAM No. XII-1.

NOTE.—The hatching for Sikkim should be the same as for Tripura State and that for Hooghly district the same as for Burdwan.



and throughout the rest of the province with the exception of the extreme edges their numbers do not reach as many as 5 per cent. The regions in which

they are principally found from the outer edge of the province with a break between Cooch Behar and Tripura State. In Dinajpur, Malda, Birbhum, Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore their proportion is from 5 to 10 per cent. whilst Bankura forming a salient from Eastern Bihar has as many as 12 per cent. of primitive peoples in its population. At the north extremity of the province and in Sikkim the proportions are higher. There are 50 per cent. in Sikkim, 14 per cent. in Darjeeling and 22 per cent. in Jalpaiguri. Similarly at the extreme south-east of the province the proportions are 50 per cent. in Tripura State and as many as 74 per cent. in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. This last figure actually is certainly an underestimate and the percentage rises to 95 if the Buddhists shown in the map as other than primitive tribes are included amongst primitive tribes, as there is every reason to believe that they should be.

475. **Numerical strength of primitive tribes by divisions.**—The Burdwan Division with nearly 629 thousand primitive peoples contains the greatest number of the five divisions and is followed by the Rajshahi Division with 611 thousand and the Chittagong Division with 188 thousand, which would rise to 232 thousand if the Buddhists not returned as primitive people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts were included. The Presidency Division with 101 thousand and the Dacca Division with 57 thousand contain the least admixture of primitive peoples. The proportionate constitution of the population in each of these divisions is relatively the same as their actual numbers. Thus the Burdwan Division has as many as 7 per cent. primitive peoples in its population and the Rajshahi Division 6, but in the Chittagong Division the percentage is only 3 and it is only 1 in the Presidency Division and less than 1 in the Dacca Division. The total number shown as primitive tribes in British Territory and in Bengal States is nearly 1,782,000, the percentage in each of these cases being 3.

476. **Religious distribution of primitive tribes.**—The religious distribution of the primitive tribes is interesting. If the divisional areas are taken as the unit only in the Presidency Division are there more primitive peoples professing a tribal religion than those professing Hinduism. In this division there are six primitive people professing tribal religions for every four who are Hindus. But in Burdwan Division thirteen are Hindus for every eight who still profess a tribal religion; and in Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions respectively the Hindus outnumber those professing tribal religions by 9 to 5, 20 to 9 and 20 to 6 respectively. Taking the province as a whole there are two Hindus of primitive tribes for every one professing his original tribal beliefs. Figures for districts also similarly show that Hindu beliefs are superseding the original tribal beliefs particularly in Eastern Bengal. Amongst the primitive peoples shown Hindus are those still professing tribal religions 2 to 7 in Birbhum, 1 to 2 in Murshidabad and 24-Parganas, 6 to 8 in Rangpur and as few as 1 to 10 in Khulna. In all other districts, however, Hindu members of the tribe are more numerous than those professing tribal beliefs. In Cooch Behar their numbers are approximately equal; there are 2 to 1 in Burdwan, Bankura, Midnapore and Rajshahi; there are 5 to 4 in Dinajpur, 11 to 7 in Malda and 12 to 5 in Jalpaiguri. In Darjeeling Hindus outnumber those professing tribal religions by 5 to 2; in Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts there are 3 Hindus to every 1 professing tribal religions and there are 5 to 2 in Mymensingh, 9 to 2 in Hooghly, 11 to 2 in Pabna, 5 to 1 in Bogra, 7 to 1 in Jessore and as many as 13 to 1 in Howrah. In Faridpur and Tippera as well as in Tripura State all are Hindus. In Sikkim, however, none were returned Hindus, owing to the fact that the Bhotias and the Lepchas are principally Buddhists whilst any members of the Nepalese groups who returned Hinduism as their religion are included amongst the Hindus and it is only those Nepalis who returned a tribal religion who appear amongst the primitive peoples. Buddhists are found in any considerable numbers only in Darjeeling, Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Tripura State and Sikkim. Complete comparisons of the religious distribution of all primitive peoples in Bengal in previous years are impossible owing to the

absence of detailed statistics in previous reports. But in the case of the Mundas, Oraons and Santals some indication is given later in dealing with these tribes separately of the extent to which they are now exchanging their tribal beliefs for Hinduism. In some cases the relative proportions of the tribe who were returned as Hindus and under tribal beliefs in 1921 and 1931 are practically reversed.

477. **Mundas, Oraons and Santals.**—Amongst those who have been treated as primitive people the most considerable element is contributed by the peoples of Chota Nagpur, amongst whom the principal are Mundas, Oraons and Santals. Their numbers in each division are given in the accompanying statement No. XII-3 as a proportion of the total population in 1921 and

STATEMENT No. XII-3.

Division, etc.	Aggregate number of Mundas, Oraons and Santals per 1,000 of the total population.	
	1921.	1931.
BENGAL	21	22
BRITISH TERRITORY	22	23
Burdwan Division	55	58
Presidency Division	7	8
Rajshahi Division	48	50
Dacca Division	0.2	0.2
Chittagong Division	0.8	0.2
BENGAL STATES	3	5

1931. Not only have they increased in numbers, but they now form 1 per mille more of the total population of Bengal than they did in 1921 and the proportion has decreased only in the Chittagong Division where in any case it is inconsiderable. Of the population in the Rajshahi Division 5 per cent. and of the population of the Burdwan Division nearly 6 per cent. belong to these three groups, and their increase in successive years is illustrated by diagram No. XII-2 where the numbers are plotted for each census year from 1891 to 1931 and their rate of increase can be compared with that of the total population. They numbered 355,258 in 1891, 699,358 in 1901, 903,702 in 1911, 1,013,825 in 1921 and 1,133,503 on the present occasion. The figures here given differ from those of 1911 and 1901 and from those given in the report for 1921 at page 362 owing to the inclusion in the present figures of Christian members of these tribes excluded from the previous report. Their proportions in each district at the last two census counts are given in detail in statement No. XII-4 and illustrated in diagram No. XII-3. On each occasion they formed a larger proportion of the total population than elsewhere in a strip running along the west of the province extending all the way from Darjeeling in the north to Midnapore in the south. The proportions have remained so similar that no difference occurs in the hatchings used to display them in any district except Nadia, Tripura and the Chittagong Hill Tracts where they have increased and Faridpur where they have decreased. But their migration so far afield as the Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts is interesting. Mr. Thompson reported in 1921 that the Hindus amongst Mundas and Santals were about the same in number as on the three previous enumerations and had decreased in the case of the Oraons. This tendency has been reversed owing to missionary efforts and to the natural increase in the numbers of Hindus amongst these three tribes.

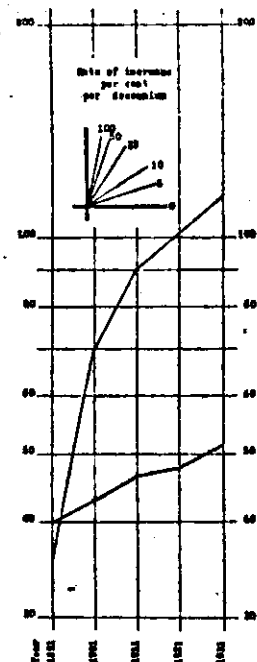
478. **Hill Tribes.**—There are two groups of hill tribes which present a problem of their own distinct from that of the welfare of primitive peoples in the plains of Bengal. Those practically confined in Bengal to the Chittagong Hill Tracts and neighbouring districts are included amongst the primitive peoples illustrated in the social and religious map. Those found in the north of the province include not only the Bhotias, Tharus and Totos there shown but also the tribes with an origin in Nepal. For each of these groups figures are given in the accompanying statements Nos. XII-5 and XII-6. Of

in successive years is illustrated by

DIAGRAM No. XII-2.

Total population (thicker line) and aggregate of Mundas, Oraons and Santals (thinner line) at each census, 1891 to 1931.

NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figures, rate of increase by slope. (The scale shows millions for total population and tens of thousands for Mundas, etc.)



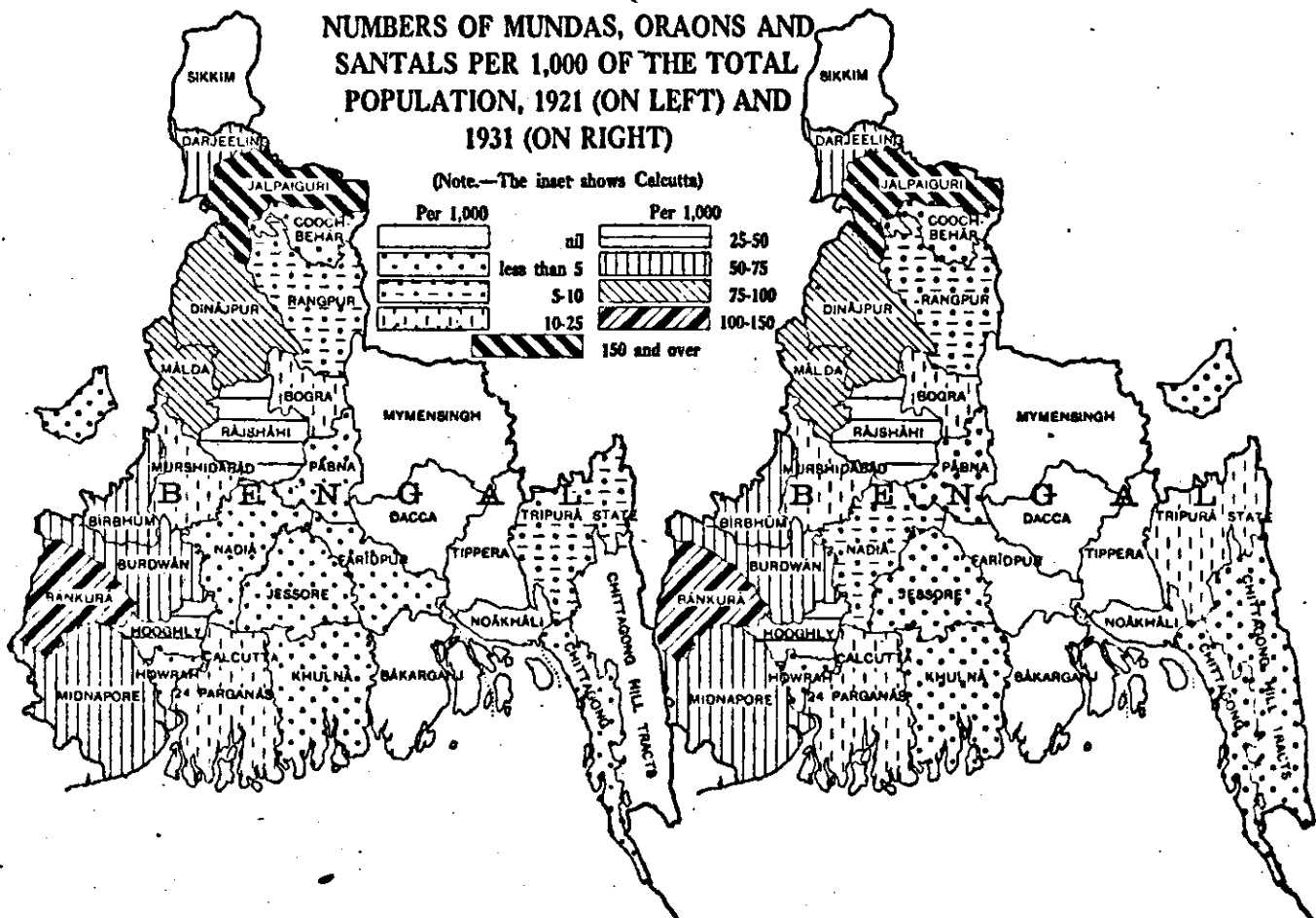
STATEMENT No. XII-4.

District or State.	Aggregate numbers of Mundas, Oraons and Santals per 1,000 of the total population.	
	1921.	1931.
Burdwan	57	66
Birbhum	69	68
Bankura	103	104
Midnapore	60	62
Hooghly	38	39
Howrah	3	4
24-Parganas	12	15
Calcutta	1	2
Nadia	4	5
Murshidabad	17	19
Jessore	1	2
Khulna	1	2
Rajshahi	31	37
Dinajpur	84	90
Jalpaiguri	186	195
Darjeeling	68	68
Rangpur	5	6
Bogra	14	11
Pabna	4	3
Malda	79	75
Dacca	..	..
Mymensingh	..	..
Faridpur	1	..
Bakarganj	..	..
Tippera	..	..
Noakhali	..	..
Chittagong	1	1
Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	1
Cooch Behar	2	2
Tripura	7	10
Sikkim	..	..

these tribes the Tiparas only are shown amongst the depressed classes with whom their inclusion is something of an anomaly. In their own areas and under their own tribal customs no primitive people can be properly described as depressed, but there is a danger that they may suffer racial decay when submitted to the impact of an alien culture which their present stage of development makes it impossible for them to resist or to assimilate without deterioration. It can scarcely be said that there is any such danger in the case of the tribes shown as Himalayan. Those from Nepal are vigorous and expansive and contact with European and Bengali culture over many years has not shown any signs of leading to a decay of vigour in the hill regions to which they are native. Some reference to the figures for these groups is made in a later paragraph of this chapter. It is the tribes of the south-east which call for special consideration. Both in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts and in the

Chittagong Hill Tracts the "non-regulation" administration very considerably lessens the impact of alien cultures, but it is anomalous that the protection thus afforded is to some extent greater in the north where it is reinforced by the nature of the country and by the almost aggressive "nationalism" of the Nepali tribes and where it is very much less needed. To parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, however, access is comparatively easy from the plains of Bengal and those with experience of the district agree that contact with Bengal and an administration directed from Bengal have not always been happy

DIAGRAM No. XII-3.



STATEMENT No. XII-5.

Hill Tribes.

Name of Tribe.	All religions.			Hindu.			Tribal.			Buddhist.			Christian.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
ALL TRIBES	403,720	209,410	194,310	194,727	99,362	95,365	12,957	6,707	6,250	193,379	102,050	91,329	2,657	1,291	1,368
Tribes of the Himalayas.	217,431	111,107	106,324	155,864	79,174	76,490	1,392	771	621	58,393	30,217	29,176	1,982	948	1,037
Bhotia of Sikkim ..	975	461	514	19	13	6	..	..	..	956	448	508	..	..	..
Bhotia of Bhutan ..	2,843	1,423	1,420	309	254	55	3	3	..	2,531	1,166	1,365	..	..	..
Bhotia of Nepal ..	6,855	3,732	3,123	646	382	264	81	38	43	6,128	3,302	2,826	..	..	..
Bhotia of Tibet and unspecified.	4,103	2,532	1,571	470	297	173	..	..	..	3,633	2,235	1,398	..	..	..
Brahman (Nepal) ..	118	85	33	118	85	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Damai ..	6,048	3,053	2,995	6,022	3,034	2,988	0	5	4	17	14	3	..	..	..
Gharti ..	2,187	1,255	932	2,164	1,239	925	16	11	5	7	5	2	..	..	..
Gurung ..	13,011	5,988	7,023	12,893	5,909	6,984	39	22	17	79	67	22	..	..	..
Jmdar ..	11,144	3,138	8,006	11,142	3,136	8,006	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Kamti ..	16,178	8,954	7,224	16,060	8,885	7,175	72	43	29	46	26	20	..	..	..
Khambu ..	32,601	17,498	15,103	32,504	17,445	15,059	..	..	..	97	53	44	..	..	..
Khas ..	226	111	114	161	57	104	27	17	10	37	37	..	..	..	..
Khawas ..	391	310	81	390	309	81	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Kisan ..	2,588	1,456	1,132	2,454	1,383	1,071	128	67	61	4	4	..	2	2	..
Lepcha ..	12,719	6,412	6,307	12,719	6,412	6,307	..	..	..	10,100	5,036	5,064	1,950	929	1,021
Limbu ..	17,623	8,568	8,055	17,486	8,502	7,984	76	38	38	37	19	18	24	9	15
Mangar ..	24,018	12,235	11,783	23,802	12,110	11,692	148	75	73	68	50	18	..	..	..
Manghi ..	449	394	145	399	263	136	37	34	3	13	7	6	..	..	..
Murmi ..	34,911	17,846	17,065	34,911	17,846	17,065	..	..	..	34,498	17,654	16,844	..	..	..
Newar ..	12,627	7,091	5,536	12,473	6,993	5,489	69	39	30	83	58	25	2	1	1
Rai ..	6,273	2,754	3,519	6,200	2,703	3,497	46	33	13	27	18	9	..	..	..
Sarki ..	3,428	1,919	1,509	3,367	1,874	1,493	43	27	16	18	18	..	..	..	..
Sunuwar ..	4,427	2,153	2,274	4,370	2,118	2,252	48	27	21	5	4	1	4	4	..
Tharu ..	482	354	128	425	326	99	57	28	29	..	..	..	..	..	..
Toto ..	334	130	204	330	126	204	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Yakka ..	873	355	518	867	352	515	..	..	..	8	3	3	..	..	..
Tribes of South-East Bengal.	186,289	98,303	87,986	39,063	20,188	18,875	11,565	5,936	5,629	134,986	71,833	63,153	675	346	329
Banjori ..	821	435	386	4	..	4	799	423	376	1	..	1	17	12	5
Chakma ..	126,752	67,496	60,256	43	30	13	..	..	..	126,554	67,366	59,188	155	100	55
Kachari ..	2,947	1,612	1,335	2,946	1,612	1,334	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
Khami ..	1,616	835	781	52	52	..	1,520	755	771	36	28	8	2	..	2
Khyang ..	1,002	518	484	31	24	7	14	..	14	857	494	403	..	..	..
Kuki ..	2,483	1,182	1,301	332	127	205	2,117	1,032	1,085	..	..	..	34	23	11
Lushai ..	1,200	571	629	711	350	361	25	11	14	..	..	..	464	210	254
Mru ..	7,404	3,934	3,470	68	43	25	8	..	8	7,328	3,891	3,437	..	..	..
Tipara ..	42,064	21,720	20,344	34,876	17,950	16,926	7,079	3,715	3,361	109	54	55	3	1	2

BENGAL STATES.

ALL TRIBES	186,876	97,130	89,746	175,751	91,413	84,338	..	..	..	8,756	4,520	4,236	2,369	1,197	1,172
Tribes of the Himalayas.	1,166	473	693	1,165	472	693	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Bhotia of Sikkim ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhotia of Bhutan ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhotia of Nepal ..	7	6	1	7	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhotia of Tibet and unspecified.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brahman (Nepal) ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Damai ..	17	17	..	17	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gharti ..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gurung ..	155	43	112	154	42	112	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Jmdar ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kamti ..	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khambu ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khas ..	40	40	..	40	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khawas ..	25	23	2	25	23	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kisan ..	71	25	46	71	25	46	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lepcha ..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Limbu ..	20	19	2	20	19	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mangar ..	24	19	5	24	19	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Manghi ..	473	262	211	473	262	211	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murmi ..	313	2	311	313	2	311	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Newar ..	13	13	..	13	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rai ..	4	3	1	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sarki ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunuwar ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tharu ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Toto ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Yakka ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tribes of South-East Bengal.	185,710	96,657	89,053	174,586	90,941	83,645	..	..	..	8,755	4,519	4,236	2,369	1,197	1,172
Banjori ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chakma ..	8,756	4,520	4,236	27	26	1	..	..	..	8,729	4,494	4,235	..	..	..
Kachari ..	4	4	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khami ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khyang ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kuki ..	14,169	7,716	6,303	13,535	7,408	6,127	..	..	..	..	..	..	874	398	266
Lushai ..	1,200	571	629	711	350	361	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,785	889	906
Mru ..	7,404	3,934	3,470	68	43	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tipara ..	161,064	83,523	77,462	160,979	83,498	77,461	..	..	..	26	26	1	..	..	..

STATEMENT No. XII-6.

Total number of Hill Tribes by religions in each district.

Division, district and state.	All religions.			Hindu.			Tribal.			Buddhist.			Christian.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
TRIBES OF THE HIMALAYAS.															
BENGAL ..	218,597	111,580	107,017	156,829	79,646	77,183	1,392	771	621	58,394	30,218	28,176	1,982	945	1,037
BRITISH TERRITORY ..	217,431	111,107	106,324	156,664	79,174	76,490	1,392	771	621	58,393	30,217	28,176	1,982	945	1,037
Burdwan Division ..	1,617	1,173	444	1,551	1,115	436	23	23	..	42	35	7	1	..	1
Burdwan ..	185	147	38	174	139	35	..	..	..	11	8	3	..	..	..
Birbhum ..	7	7	..	3	3	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bankura ..	14	14	..	..	..	..	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Midnapore ..	1,002	656	346	997	651	346	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hooghly ..	220	192	28	220	192	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah ..	189	167	22	187	160	27	..	..	..	31	27	4	1	..	1
Presidency Division ..	1,941	1,483	458	1,910	1,459	451	..	..	..	31	24	7	..	..	..
24 Parganas ..	505	438	127	505	438	127	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calcutta ..	1,192	922	270	1,161	898	263	..	..	..	31	24	7	..	..	..
Nadia ..	25	7	18	25	7	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murshidabad ..	106	73	33	106	72	34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jessore ..	2	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khulna ..	51	42	9	51	42	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajshahi Division ..	213,227	108,021	105,206	151,564	76,177	75,387	1,399	748	621	58,313	30,151	28,162	1,981	945	1,036
Rajshahi ..	14	2	12	13	1	12	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Dinajpur ..	451	358	93	428	340	88	10	11	5	7	7	..	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri ..	27,130	16,394	10,732	21,989	12,916	9,073	962	526	437	4,172	2,956	12,22	..	..	..
Darjeeling ..	186,375	91,048	94,327	128,877	62,705	66,172	350	211	179	54,127	27,187	26,940	1,981	945	1,036
Rangpur ..	191	152	39	191	152	39	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bogra ..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pabna ..	19	19	..	19	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Molda ..	46	43	3	46	43	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca Division ..	432	294	138	432	294	138	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca ..	397	249	148	397	249	148	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mymensingh ..	35	45	40	35	45	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong Division ..	164	136	28	157	129	28	..	..	..	7	7	..	..	..	..
Tippora ..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong ..	151	128	23	145	122	23	..	..	..	6	6	..	..	..	..
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	12	7	5	11	6	5	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
BENGAL STATES ..	1,166	473	693	1,166	472	693	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Cooch Behar ..	401	72	329	400	71	329	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Tripura ..	766	401	364	766	401	364	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TRIBES OF SOUTH-EAST BENGAL.															
BENGAL ..	371,999	194,960	177,039	213,649	111,129	102,520	11,565	5,936	5,629	143,741	76,352	67,389	3,044	1,543	1,501
BRITISH TERRITORY ..	186,289	98,303	87,986	139,063	70,188	68,875	11,565	5,936	5,629	134,986	71,833	63,153	675	346	329
Burdwan Division ..	72	57	15	64	57	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Burdwan ..	2	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Birbhum ..	2	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Midnapore ..	23	15	8	15	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hooghly ..	45	38	7	45	38	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Presidency Division ..	548	472	76	548	472	76	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24 Parganas ..	312	271	41	312	271	41	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calcutta ..	236	201	35	236	201	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajshahi Division ..	222	71	151	152	27	125	..	..	..	13	5	8	57	39	18
Jalpaiguri ..	13	5	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	5	8	..	..	..
Darjeeling ..	80	56	24	23	17	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	57	39	18
Rangpur ..	129	10	119	129	10	119	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca Division ..	1,002	531	471	1,002	531	471	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca ..	143	97	46	143	97	46	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mymensingh ..	859	434	425	859	434	425	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong Division ..	184,445	97,172	87,273	137,297	70,101	67,196	11,557	5,936	5,621	134,973	71,828	63,146	618	397	311
Tippora ..	2,741	1,866	1,875	2,740	1,866	1,874	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Nonkhal ..	77	67	10	77	67	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong ..	26,104	14,278	11,826	1,839	830	809	746	382	364	23,710	13,090	10,653	..	..	..
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	155,523	81,401	74,062	128,841	68,838	66,098	10,811	5,554	5,257	111,254	58,762	52,492	617	307	310
BENGAL STATES ..	185,710	96,657	89,053	174,586	90,941	83,645	..	..	..	8,755	4,519	4,236	2,360	1,197	1,172
Tripura ..	185,710	96,657	89,053	174,586	90,941	83,645	..	..	..	8,755	4,519	4,236	2,360	1,197	1,172

in their results. These points are brought out in the notes forming appendix 2 to this chapter. It is out of consideration that, for some time to come, the areas principally occupied by these groups should come under the same form of administration as the rest of Bengal, but it would be a very great advantage if the peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were placed for administration under an area in which similar tribes exist, and when any redistribution of provincial boundaries is ever undertaken it would be desirable to place the Chittagong Hill Tracts with the neighbouring regions similarly peopled in Assam.

479. Number of Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas.—Amongst the Hindus the figures for Brahmans and for depressed classes are further discussed

and illustrated by diagrams in a later part of this chapter. Comment is also made later on the detailed figures for castes making up the total for Hindus so far as they have been extracted. In this

STATEMENT No. XII-7.

Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas.

Division.	Number.	Per mille of total population.	Per mille of Hindu population.
BENGAL	3,116,856	81	140
BRITISH TERRITORY.	3,093,219	82	143
Burdwan Division	746,555	86	104
Presidency Division.	810,702	80	157
Rajshahi Division	205,941	19	55
Dacca Division	818,696	59	207
Chittagong Division.	511,325	75	331
BENGAL STATES	23,637	24	37

place however it is of interest to consider two groups falling within the Hindu total, namely the Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas forming the upper class of Bengali society and the groups which were originally immigrant from Nepal and some of which are now adopting a permanent residence in the province. The marginal statement No. XII-7 shows the aggregate number of Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas in the whole province and in each individual division.

They number 3,116,856 and form more than 6 per cent. of the total population of Bengal. They are most numerous in Dacca and Presidency Divisions, but form a larger percentage of the population in Burdwan than elsewhere. Amongst their own community they are proportionately most numerous in Chittagong and Dacca Divisions. A further statement No. XII-8 attached shows the distribution by districts of the aggregate numbers of Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas and the proportions are illustrated in diagram No. XII-4. They contribute 28.2 per cent. to the total population in Calcutta where they form a larger proportion of the whole than elsewhere. In Bankura, Hooghly, Howrah and Chittagong they form as many as 10 to 15 per cent. of the total population and in the lower delta in the area comprising Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera, Noakhali, Bakarganj, Khulna, Jessore, 24-Parganas and Midnapore they are from 5 to 10 per cent. of the population. They are also 7 to 8 per cent. of the population in Sikkim; but elsewhere in Bengal the proportion is smaller and it is as low as from 1.3 to 1.5 per cent. only in the block formed by Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra and Malda. These figures however are based upon the total population of each district and it is perhaps more significant to consider the proportion of the Hindu population borne by these three groups. Amongst their own community they form nearly 58 per cent. in Chittagong and in the other districts of this division except the Chittagong Hill Tracts their numbers form 25 to 26 per cent. In Calcutta they are 41 per cent. of the Hindu population. Their proportion is consistently highest in the districts of Dacca Division where they number from 18.4 per cent. in Faridpur to 26.5 per cent. in Bakarganj. Except in Calcutta, outside East Bengal they do not form anywhere 20 per cent. of the Hindu population and are between 10 and 20 per cent. only in Pabna (17.4), Jessore (14.1), Howrah (13.4), Nadia, Burdwan, Bankura and Hooghly (between 12 and 13 per cent.) and Khulna (11.8 per cent.). Except in Pabna the smallness of their proportions is very well marked in North Bengal where a large proportion of the Hindus are aboriginals.

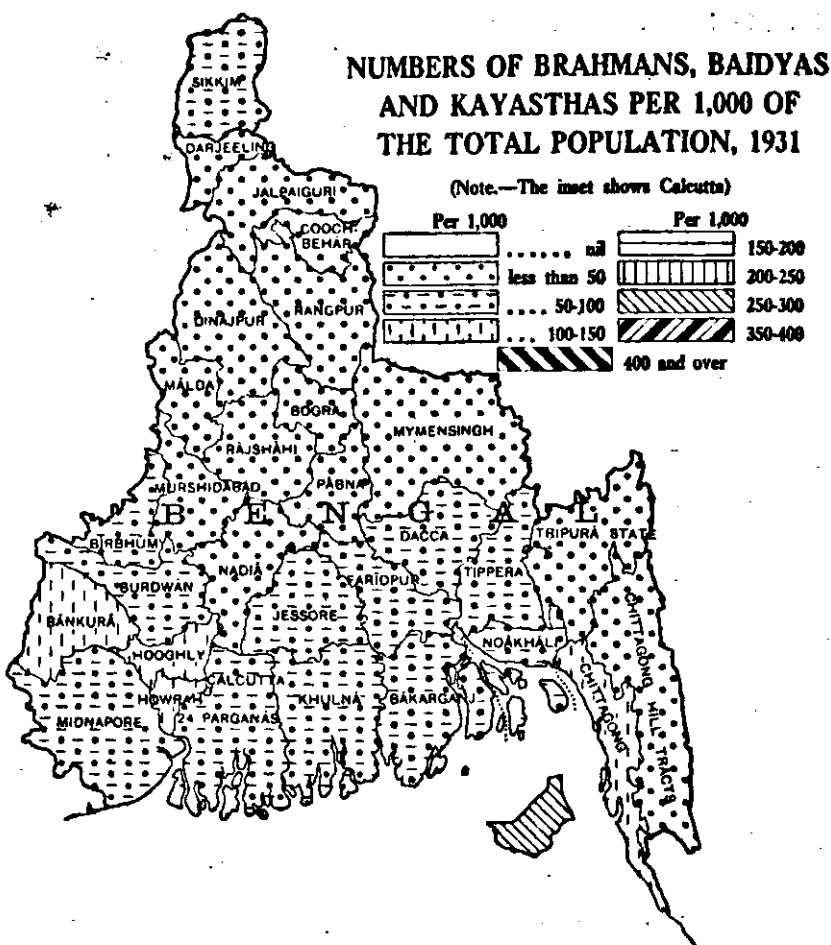
STATEMENT No. XII-8.

Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas.

District.	Number.	Per mille of total population.	Per mille of Hindu population.
Burdwan	154,034	98	124
Birbhum	60,379	64	95
Bankura	125,200	113	124
Midnapore	176,511	63	71
Hooghly	114,720	103	124
Howrah	115,711	105	134
24-Parganas	162,348	60	93
Calcutta	337,232	282	410
Nadia	73,053	48	127
Murshidabad	52,100	38	83
Jessore	89,731	54	141
Khulna	96,238	59	118
Rajshahi	30,472	21	93
Dinajpur	22,438	13	24
Jalpaiguri	18,106	18	27
Darjeeling	10,052	31	42
Rangpur	38,155	15	51
Bogra	14,378	13	81
Pabna	57,757	40	174
Malda	14,583	14	83
Dacca	224,059	66	200
Mymensingh	223,162	43	180
Faridpur	155,550	66	184
Bakarganj	215,025	73	265
Tippera	135,804	60	247
Noakhali	96,904	57	204
Chittagong	226,543	126	577
Chittagong Hill Tracts.	2,069	10	56
Cooch Behar	11,160	19	29
Tripura	12,477	33	43
Sikkim	8,549	78	182

480. **Groups of Nepali origin.**—It is unfortunately impossible to obtain figures for the total number of persons of Nepali origin in the population of 1921, since figures for Nepalese groups were in general then given only for those districts in which they were principally found. Even on the present occasion also the difficulty of obtaining a complete estimate of their numbers is considerable. Apart from the probability that some groups have escaped

DIAGRAM No. XII-4.



detection at previous enumerations and therefore were not sorted for on the present occasion there is a tendency for the Khas and some other groups to return themselves as Chhettris and those who were so returned cannot be distinguished amongst the total claiming Kshatriya as their *varna* and returning it as a caste name. Statement No. XII-9 in the margin, however, illustrated by diagram No. XII-5 shows for the Nepali groups indicated below the statement their numbers and rate of growth from 1891 to 1931. It includes members of the groups shown professing all

religions. Since 1891 their numbers have very nearly doubled but the rate of increase since 1911 has been retarded and the average during the past 20 years

STATEMENT No. XII-9.

Total strength of *selected Nepali groups, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931.

1891	137,225
1901	196,673
1911	243,887
1931	255,503

*Dama, Gharti, Gurung, Jimdar, Kami, Khambu, Khas, Khawas, Kisan, Limbu, Mangar, Manjhi, Murmi, Newar, Sarki, Sunuwar, Tharu, Yakka.

has been less than the average rate of increase for the total population. For Sikkim and for the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in which Nepali groups form more than 2 per mille of the total population the figures are given and illustrated in diagram No. XII-6 overleaf. For this diagram the groups chosen

are the same as are given below statement No. XII-9 with the addition of Nepali Brahmans. In Sikkim their numbers declined from 59 thousand to 53 thousand between 1911 and 1921 but have now increased to 71 thousand. They now form 64.8 per cent. in the population of Sikkim compared with 64.5 in 1921 and 66.8 in 1911. A similar variation is shown by the figures for Darjeeling district. They declined between 1911 and 1921 from 151 thousand to 143 thousand but have now reached 158 thousand, a larger figure than in 1911. Here however the growth of the other elements in the population has resulted in a continuous decrease in the proportion borne by these Nepali groups. In every hundred it was 56.5 in 1911, 50.6 in 1921 and is now only 40.4. On the other hand in Jalpaiguri after falling from 32 thousand in 1911 to 19 thousand in 1921 these groups have made up a part of the way lost and now number 22 thousand forming 22 per cent. of the total population against 20 per cent. in 1921 and 35 per cent. in 1911. As far as Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri are concerned it must be borne in mind that, as has been noted in chapter III, the census was taken at a period when a number of inhabitants of Nepal are temporarily resident in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri who return on the approach of the rains to their own home districts.

DIAGRAM No. XII-5.

Total population (upper line) and Nepales of certain castes at the census of 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931.

NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figures, rate of increase by slope. (The scale shows millions for total population and tens of thousands for Nepalese.)

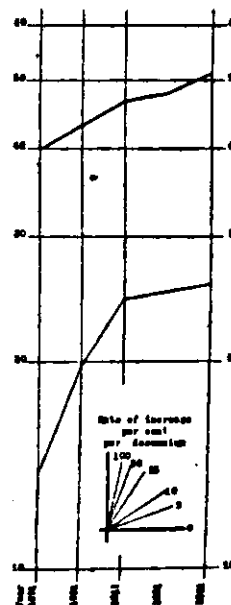
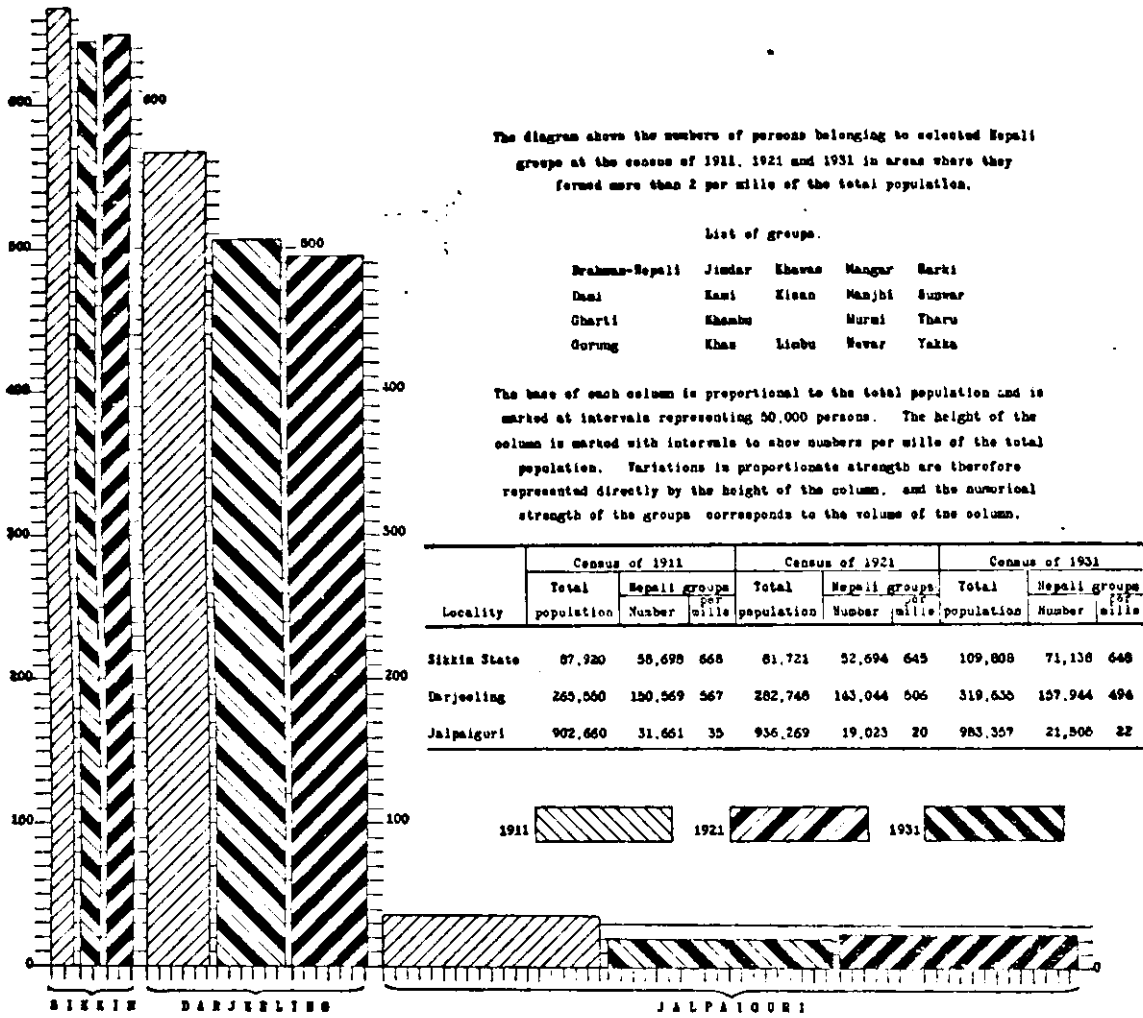


DIAGRAM No. XII-6.

Numbers at the census of 1911, 1921 and 1931 of selected Nepali groups in selected areas.

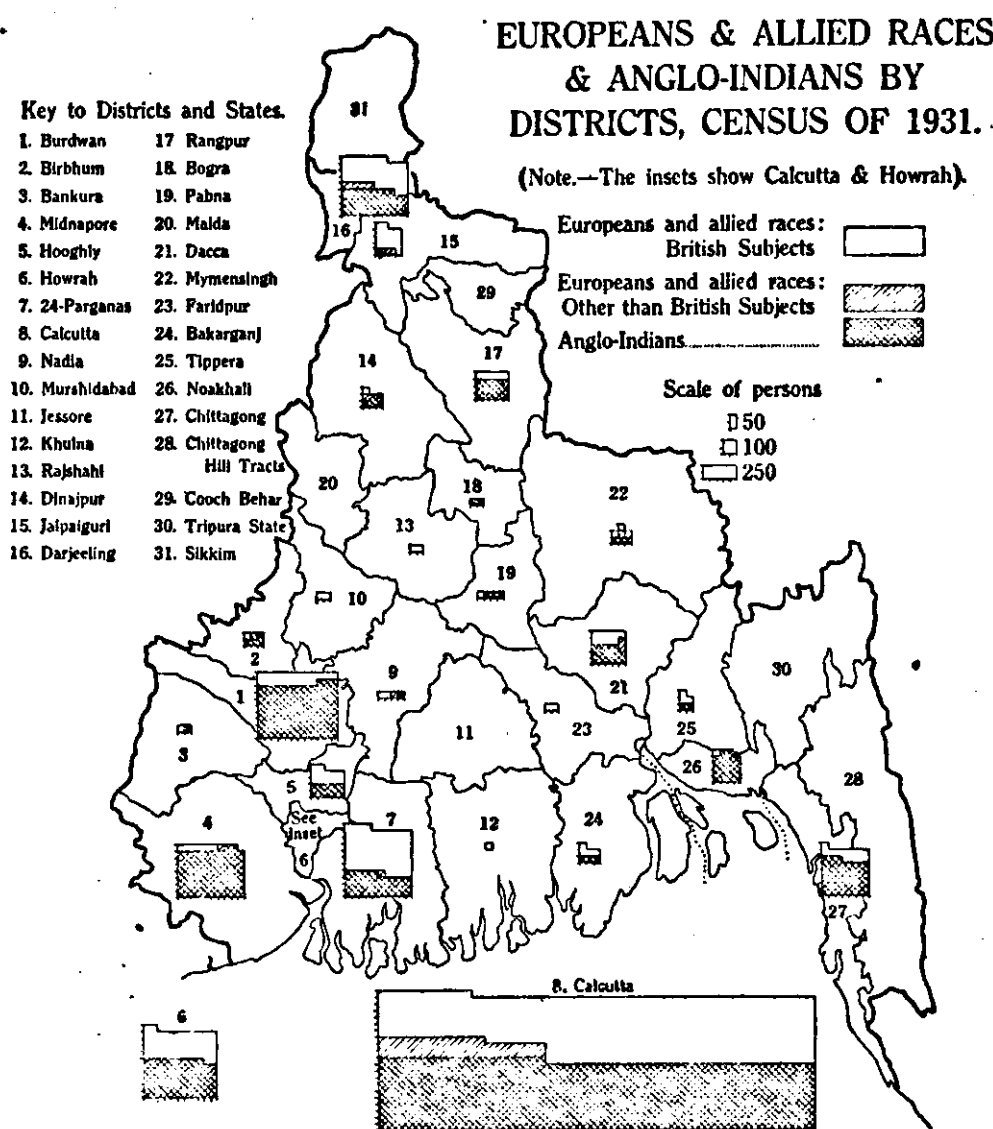
NOTE.—In the descriptive reference the hatching are shown at right angles to their slope in the diagram.



481. **Muslim groups—Sayyad and "Mumin".**—Comment upon the distribution of Muslims has already been made in chapter XI and would be redundant here. The only groups for which figures were compiled on the present occasion were Sayyad and "Mumin" (Jolaha). The figures for Sayyads in 1921 were 140,499 and they have risen to 162,905 on the present occasion, but it is very likely that in both years these returns include a number of persons whose Sayyad descent is a matter of considerable doubt, and who would find it difficult to substantiate a claim to be of the tribe of the Prophet. The figures for "Mumin" on the other hand which also show an increase from 255,164 to 270,292 are likely to be more accurate. This caste was anxious to have its figures separately recorded and the permission to return a new name free from the stigma attaching to that previously used may be reasonably expected to have resulted in obtaining on the present occasion more accurate figures than previously. The largest numbers in any district were returned in Pabna (86,102) where the figure amounted to no more than 11,426 in 1921. In Faridpur on the other hand the number returned was 34,383 as against 49,325 in 1921, whilst a decrease though much smaller in extent was also returned from the district having the third largest "Mumin" population, viz., Jessore where they now number 31,613 compared with 32,143 in 1921. These fluctuations, when it is considered that Pabna is the headquarters of the group organisation from which the principal agitation for a change of nomenclature came, may be taken to suggest that the increase in the numbers of this group returned at the present census would probably have been greater still if all the members of the group had returned themselves under its distinctive name.

482. **Europeans, British subjects and others.**—Details of the distribution of Christians by racial groups will be found in the supplement to imperial table XVI. A further analysis by tribal and similar groups is given for Indian Christians in imperial table VIII and in subsidiary table

DIAGRAM No. XII-7.



VII to chapter IX. Figures for Europeans and Anglo-Indians by nationality and age are given in imperial table XIX. A map forming diagram No. XII-7 illustrates by districts the distribution of Europeans and allied races and Anglo-Indians. The figures for Europeans probably include a number of Anglo-Indians, but during the enumeration their leading men urged upon them the advisability of making a correct return, and the desire to secure electoral advantages under the reformed constitution may be confidently held to have reduced the number of such erroneous returns in 1931. In the whole of Bengal there are 20,904 European British subjects including 9 in Cooch Behar and Tripura. Nearly three-fourths of them are concentrated in Calcutta and outside Calcutta they number as many as 1,000 only in the 24-Parganas (1,688), Howrah (1,204) and Darjeeling (1,089). Their numbers have actually increased during the decade for they numbered 20,016 in 1921 including 4 in Cooch Behar. But in Darjeeling there are now roughly only one-half as many as they were in 1921 and there are less than one-half as many as there then were in Burdwan. The number shown in the 24-Parganas is nearly a thousand less than in 1921 but this difference is due to redistribution of the suburbs about Calcutta and the numbers in Calcutta have increased by 3,500. Outside Howrah in the Burdwan Division they are considerable in numbers only in Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore. In the Rajshahi Division the tea-planting industry accounts for the largest proportion of the Europeans recorded, but in Dacca and Chittagong Divisions they are found in very small numbers and in each case more than half the total number found in the division is concentrated in one district, namely Dacca and Chittagong. Europeans who are not British subjects number 2,126 only including 7 in Cooch Behar and their strength has declined from 2,714 since 1921. Less than 500 of them are found outside Calcutta and of these 124 were recorded in Darjeeling.

483. **Anglo-Indians.**—Anglo-Indians numbered 27,573. None were recorded in Bengal States and the figures represent an increase of over 5,000 from the total 22,250 returned in 1921. Their greatest concentration is in Calcutta where more than half of them are domiciled; and they are most numerous after Calcutta in Burdwan (2,476), Midnapore (1,810), and Howrah (1,581), where industries and the railways provide employment for them. They numbered nearly a thousand in Darjeeling and Chittagong and they are 863 strong in the 24-Parganas but their numbers are not considerable in any other district. One interesting figure is that for Noakhali where their numbers are now given as 441 though they were only 23 returned in 1921. The reason for this extraordinary increase is undoubtedly that many Indian Christians have secured their return as Anglo-Indians. The agitation was raised during the census enumeration and those agitating in many cases bear Portuguese surnames. This however is easily explained by the practice under which for instance slaves of the Portuguese pirates would take the name of their masters and converts the name of the missionary converting them, and whatever remote strain of European blood there may be in them from the Portuguese pirates who infested these parts three or four centuries ago, in dress, habits of life and language they are certainly Bengalis like the Feringhees of Dacca and Chittagong.


DIAGRAM No. XII-8.

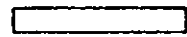




Key to Districts and States. DISTRICT DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED HINDU CASTES, 1931

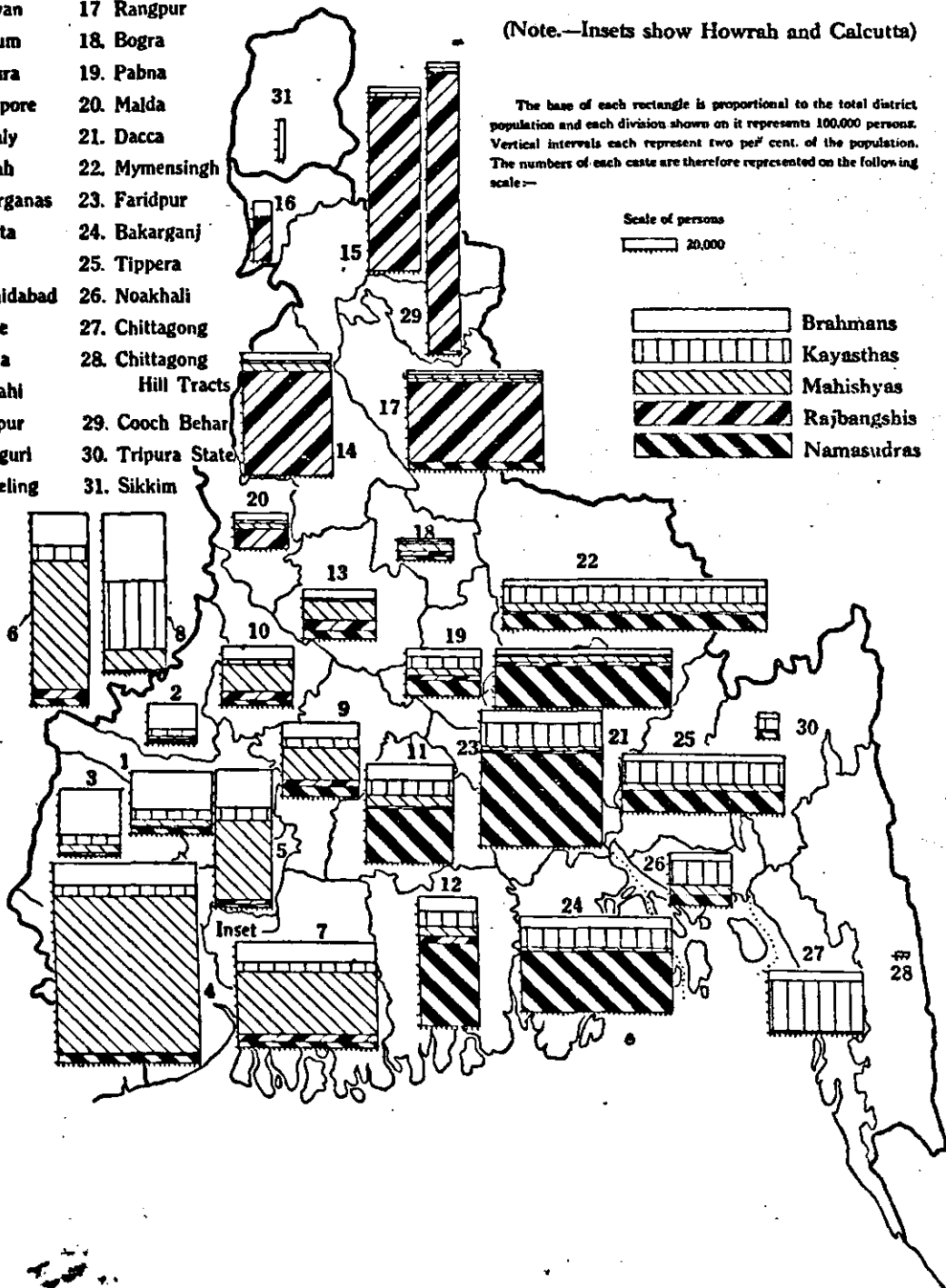
- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Burdwan | 17. Rangpur |
| 2. Birbhum | 18. Bogra |
| 3. Bankura | 19. Pabna |
| 4. Midnapore | 20. Malda |
| 5. Hooghly | 21. Dacca |
| 6. Howrah | 22. Mymensingh |
| 7. 24-Parganas | 23. Faridpur |
| 8. Calcutta | 24. Bakarganj |
| 9. Nadia | 25. Tippera |
| 10. Murshidabad | 26. Noakhali |
| 11. Jessore | 27. Chittagong |
| 12. Khulna | 28. Chittagong Hill Tracts |
| 13. Rajshahi | 29. Cooch Behar |
| 14. Dinajpur | 30. Tripura State |
| 15. Jalpaiguri | 31. Sikkim |
| 16. Darjeeling | |

(Note.—Insets show Howrah and Calcutta)

The base of each rectangle is proportional to the total district population and each division shown on it represents 100,000 persons. Vertical intervals each represent two per cent. of the population. The numbers of each caste are therefore represented on the following scale:—

Scale of persons
 20,000

- | | |
|---|-------------|
|  | Brahmans |
|  | Kayasthas |
|  | Mahishyas |
|  | Rajbangshis |
|  | Namasudras |



484. **General distribution of the five most numerous Hindu castes.**— Before the statistics of each caste are discussed attention is invited to the map forming diagram No. XII-8 which illustrates the distribution by districts of the five most numerous castes in Bengal. The map is so constructed that the area representing each caste is proportionate to the total numbers and the height of the column represents the percentage which each constitutes in the total population of districts. Comment in detail upon the figures and distribution of each caste will be found later, but their general distribution is clearly brought out in the map. The Mahishyas who form the largest Hindu caste in the province are practically confined to the districts of Western Bengal, although a certain number are also found in Northern and Eastern Bengal. Their numbers are proportionately considerable in Pabna, Bogra, Rajshahi and Dinajpur and they are found also in the Mymensingh district and in Tippera and Noakhali. On the other hand the Namasudras who form the second largest Hindu caste in the province are principally numerous in the lower delta in districts like Mymensingh, Dacca, Tippera, Faridpur, Jessore, Khulna and Bakarganj, and they form a considerable proportion of the population outside this area only in Pabna, Nadia, Rajshahi and Midnapore. North Bengal is the area of the Rajbangshis and they form in no district outside North Bengal a proportion of the total population higher than 16 per mille, the figure in Howrah. The figures for this caste given in the tables make them the third most numerous group of Hindus but must be accepted with the

STATEMENT No. XII-10.

Proportions of Brahmans, Kayasthas, Namasudras, Mahishyas and Rajbangshis.

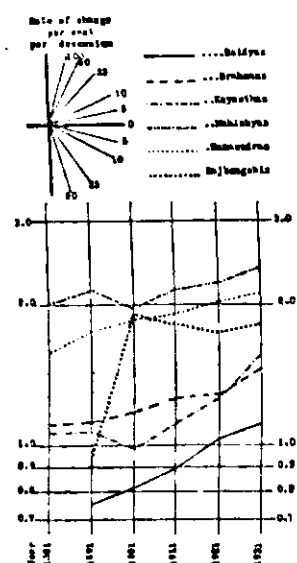
Division, district or state.	No. per mille of total population.					No. per mille of Hindu population.				
	Brahman.	Kayastha.	Nama- sudra.	Mahisya.	Raj- bangshi.	Brah- man.	Kaya- stha.	Nama- sudra.	Mahisya.	Raj- bangshi.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BENGAL ..	28	30	41	47	35	65	70	94	107	81
BRITISH TERRITORY										
Burdwan Division ..	64	21	9	159	9	77	25	10	192	7
Burdwan ..	75	21	9	13	2	95	27	12	16	3
Birbhum ..	49	13	2	6	5	73	20	3	8	7
Bankura ..	93	17	1	18	7	102	18	1	20	7
Midnapore ..	43	20	14	316	3	48	22	15	354	4
Hooghly ..	76	25	6	157	7	91	31	7	190	8
Howrah ..	73	31	12	249	16	98	40	15	318	20
Presidency Division ..	42	35	51	61	11	83	68	100	120	21
24-Parganas ..	40	19	12	122	15	62	30	18	180	23
Calcutta ..	133	134	3	39	2	193	195	5	56	2
Nadia ..	28	18	20	65	10	76	49	53	173	26
Murshidabad ..	26	11	8	55	13	60	25	19	127	41
Jessore ..	22	80	104	22	2	59	79	274	59	6
Khulna ..	28	29	163	20	15	57	58	324	40	30
Rajshahi Division ..	10	8	11	14	113	29	24	31	39	337
Rajshahi ..	14	6	15	37	19	63	25	64	162	81
Dinajpur ..	7	5	2	15	205	15	12	5	34	454
Jalpaiguri ..	9	8	2	2	337	13	12	3	3	499
Darjeeling ..	28	3	..	1	84	37	5	0.2	1	114
Rangpur ..	7	7	14	7	172	24	23	49	24	596
Bogra ..	6	6	8	16	9	39	37	51	98	53
Pabna ..	16	23	30	12	9	70	99	132	52	39
Malda ..	10	4	1	9	40	23	9	3	22	95
Dacca Division ..	18	38	37	12	5	64	133	308	41	18
Dacca ..	20	42	83	9	8	63	128	254	29	24
Mymensingh ..	13	29	28	18	6	56	129	122	78	25
Faridpur ..	23	40	181	8	6	65	112	505	22	15
Bakarganj ..	21	47	121	7	..	77	169	438	24	1
Chittagong Division ..	14	58	24	11	1	63	256	108	46	2
Tippera ..	15	48	41	13	1	61	178	170	53	4
Noakhali ..	11	44	21	19	..	53	207	98	89	1
Chittagong ..	13	103	2	1	..	82	471	10	3	1
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	1	8	..	..	..	8	46	2	..	..
BENGAL STATES ..	10	13	8	3	323	15	29	14	5	487
Cooch Behar ..	9	9	6	3	540	14	15	10	5	839
Tripura ..	11	19	13	3	..	16	26	19	5	0.3

reservation indicated in a later paragraph in which their numbers are specifically discussed. Kayasthas, who are numerically fourth in order, are principally found in the two divisions of Eastern Bengal, in Jessore, Khulna and Calcutta, but the caste is widely spread and, except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and in the districts of the Rajshahi Division, at least 1 in every 100 persons in every district is a member of this caste. The general diffusion of the Brahmans is even more marked. They are principally found in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, but they also, except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and some four districts of the Rajshahi Division, constitute at least 1 per cent. of the total population in every district in the province. A statement, No. XII-10 prepage, shows the proportionate numbers of the members of these five castes throughout the province, both to the total population of all religions and to members of their own community. In the Dacca Division almost one person out of every three Hindus is a Namasudra, and the proportion is considerably greater in the districts of Faridpur and Bakarganj, where almost half the Hindu population belong to this caste. Such a high figure is not met in other districts except Jessore and Khulna. In Midnapore more than, and in Howrah almost one-third of the Hindu population are Mahishyas, and in these two districts together with Hooghly, 24-Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad and Rajshahi, they form in no case less than 12 per cent. of the total Hindus. Of the total Hindu population more than half in Rangpur, and almost half in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur are Rajbangshis, but with the

DIAGRAM No. XII-9.

Numbers of Baidyas, Brahmans, Kayasthas, Mahishyas, Namasudras and Rajbangshis at each census, 1891 to 1931.

NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figures, rate of change by slope. The upward slopes show increase, downward slopes show decrease. (The scale shows hundreds of thousands for Baidyas and millions for other castes.)



exception of the State of Cooch Behar where more than four-fifths of the Hindu population are of this caste, no other district except Darjeeling has as many as 10 per cent. Rajbangshis amongst the Hindu population. The Brahman preponderance is highest amongst Hindus in Calcutta and Bankura. In Chittagong almost one-half and in Noakhali nearly one-fifth of the total Hindu population are Kayasthas, and in every other district of East Bengal, except the Chittagong Hill Tracts, their numbers are at least 11 per cent. of the total Hindu population, a proportion not elsewhere reached except in Calcutta.

485. Variations in numbers since 1881.—The growth of these five castes and of the Baidyas whose numbers are too small to be shown in diagram No. XII-8 is illustrated for each census since 1881 in diagram No. XII-9 plotted from the accompanying statement No. XII-11. Some difference in the classification of Rajbangshis at different census enumerations contributes to the fluctuations in their numbers from year to year, but in general the six castes shown have occupied since 1901 the same relative position in order of numbers. Namasudras and Brahmans show the most regular rate of change during the period from 1881 and Kayasthas since 1901 the most rapid rate of increase, which has in 1931 made them for the first time more numerous than Brahmans.

STATEMENT No. XII-11.

	*1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.
Baidya	.. †..	75,277	81,218	88,796	102,931	110,739
Brahman	.. 1,080,384	1,121,804	1,166,919	1,253,838	1,309,539	1,447,091
Kayastha	.. 1,058,615	1,067,147	984,443	1,113,684	1,297,736	1,558,475
Mahishya	.. 2,009,018	2,132,939	1,952,794	2,137,948	2,210,684	2,381,266
Namasudra	* .. 1,569,208	1,746,710	1,848,483	1,908,728	2,006,259	2,094,957
Rajbangshi	.. †..	942,230	1,898,241	1,808,790	1,727,111	1,806,390

*The population of 1881 is exclusive of the figures for Tripura State for which no record is available.

†Not on record.

‡The figures are for Koch Rajbangshi.

Part IV—Details of Hindu castes.

Brief notes are given below on some of the castes found during the census. District officers were so much preoccupied with more immediate duties that it was not thought equitable to burden them with special enquiries, and such ethnographic details as were brought to light during the enumeration are not sufficient in extent to justify relegation to an appendix and have been included with the statistics. Such matter as is new was either reported by the district census officers or contributed by gentlemen by indebtedness to whom is indicated in the text. The details of caste claims have been given where they were made, but in conformity with the policy announced during the taking of the census no pronouncement is made as to the validity of claims put forward by various castes for inclusion in one of the three higher *varnas* of Manu. Those who desire to pursue further enquiries into these claims will welcome the inclusion of notes by Professor N. K. Dutt, who has already made valuable contributions to the History of Castes and of the Aryanisation of India. The opinions which he expresses are of course his own and are not to be taken as necessarily representing the official view because he has permitted them to appear in this report. References in brackets after the caste name are to Risley's *Castes and Tribes of Bengal* and to previous census reports: R stands for Risley and is followed by the volume and page number; C. R. stands for Census Report and is followed by the year, volume, part and page number.

486. **Aguri (Ugra Kshatriya)** [R. I. 12 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 350].—The claim of this caste to the designation Ugra Kshatriya which appears in Manu is long-standing. In 1921 many of the caste failed to record themselves under the commonly accepted name, Aguri, and were merged with the indefinite group of Kshatriyas. On the present occasion also the term Aguri was objected to by the caste as a vulgarism or slang term but they agreed to return themselves as Ugra Kshatriya (Aguri). To the disappointment of the caste considerations of economy have prevented any special tabulation of their numbers which amounted in 1921 to no more than 68,816 in Burdwan, Bankura, Howrah and Calcutta where it is principally found. There are two sub-castes known as the *jana* and *suta* branches, the first of which adopts the sacred thread and observes ceremonial pollution (*asauch*) on the death of near relatives for twelve days, whilst the Suta Aguris do not adopt the sacred thread and observe a mourning period of 30 days. Efforts are being made for the amalgamation of the two sub-castes; but such amalgamation as is conceded is only upon the terms dictated by the Jana Aguris, namely, that the investiture of the thread and the observation of the restricted period of pollution shall become accepted practices before any inter-marriage is allowed. It is reported that the majority of the Suta branch are conforming with these requirements, but although some of the more educated members of the two sub-castes dine together no instance is reported in which inter-marriage had taken place before the census was held, and in social gatherings the distinctions are observed between the two sects.

487. **Adi Kaibartta (Jalia Kaibartta)** [R. I. 340 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 391 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 498, 511 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 355, 365].—This is the caste shown in previous reports as Jalia Kaibartta. On the present occasion as previously they put forward a claim to be returned as Rajbangshis or Mahishyas and it appears that in one of the subdivisions of Dacca some Jalia Kaibarttas who have actually taken to cultivation were so returned in spite of orders to the contrary. Their numbers have declined from 384,049 in 1921 to 352,072 in 1931, a decrease of 8·3 per cent. They are most numerous in Mymensingh (53,093), Tippera (43,017), Midnapore (45,015), Dacca (31,928), Jessore (26,061), Howrah (19,197), Bakarganj (14,723), Chittagong (23,896) and Hooghly (13,740). Their decline is certainly due to the claim of many of the caste to be recorded as Mahishyas whose numbers have increased by over 170,000 and undoubtedly include a number of persons of the Jalia Kaibartta group who have taken to cultivation and for that or some other reason have secured their return as Mahishyas or Chasi Kaibarttas.

488. **Agarwalas** [R. I. 4].—Complete figures for Agarwalas were obtained only for Calcutta in 1921. They then numbered 6,826 and in Calcutta their numbers have declined to 4,752 at the present census. Throughout the whole of Bengal they number 19,347 and as many as 1,000 or more are found only in Malda (3,286), Jalpaiguri (1,329) and Rajshahi (1,239). In Calcutta some part of their decrease is probably due to the non-co-operation in parts of the city where they were particularly strong. The only district from which no returns at all were received was Dacca. In the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions they are few in numbers and they are chiefly found in Western, Northern and Central Bengal. Amongst those returned 18,128 were shown as Hindus and 1,188 as Jains.

489. **Bagdi** [R. I. 37 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 386 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 509 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 350, 365].—The Bagdis have increased from 895,397 in 1921 to 987,570 in 1931. The increase amounts to 10·3 per cent. compared with a decrease of 12 per cent. between 1911 and 1921 and a stationary population between 1901 and 1911. Their numbers are comparatively few in Northern and Eastern Bengal and they are principally found in Western Bengal where the largest number returned is from Burdwan (185,172). The claim was put forward without very great conviction that they should be returned as Byagra Kshattriya.

490. **Baheliya** [R. I. 145].—Statistics for the Bahelias do not appear to have been collected in 1921. Risley describes them in Bihar as a sub-caste of Dosadh with whom, however, they will not eat or drink and he records that there is a caste of the same name in Bengal who are professional hunters and thus allied to the Bediyas. The numbers returned were 4,449 of whom more than half (2,245) were returned from Mymensingh.

491. **Baidya** [R. I. 46 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 379 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 350].—Baidyas numbered 110,739, an increase of 7·6 per cent. over the figures (102,931) returned in 1921. The increase makes it reasonable to assume that no considerable number have actually been lost to the caste by their adoption to the claim to Brahman status and names including as a component the word Brahman. They are principally found in Calcutta, Bakarganj, Dacca and Chittagong. Probably the most interesting claim to a change of caste nomenclature was that put forward by this caste. In 1901 they had claimed to be returned as Ambastha and thus to secure recognition of their mythical derivation from a Brahman father and a Vaisya mother. Their position amongst the regenerate classes has probably never been contested, but in Eastern Bengal the existence of a custom of inter-marriage between them and the Kayasthas has been established in the Calcutta High Court in the judgment of which the Baidyas were referred to as of the *Vaisya varna*. The contention put forward on the present occasion was that they should be returned as Brahmans, and since the caste, though small, is the most literate and progressive of the Hindu castes with an unusually high standard of learning and culture, the claim was supported not only by distinguished and learned members of the caste but also by a great wealth of argument. It was contended that the members of the caste had been invited to the All-India Saraswat Brahman Conference held at Lahore and received on equal terms with the other delegates. It is certainly interesting that many of the characteristics distinctive of the Brahmans are shown by the Baidyas in their practices. The reading and teaching of the Vedas specifically confined in the Sastras to the Brahmans are allowed to the Baidyas also. They keep *tols* and receive *Brahmottar* gifts in the same way as the Brahmans ; Brahmans do not hesitate to become their students ; and the works of the learned Vaidyas are of the same authority as those of Brahmans. It is alleged that in Assam the caste even now inter-marries with Brahmans and that in parts of Bengal they receive Brahmanical fees, *vidaya*, and are eligible for titles conferred by Government or learned bodies and ordinarily reserved for Brahmans. It is contended that in certain places they act as priests and also as *gurus* or spiritual guides to persons of the respectable classes, and that they have the right of performing *jajna* and worshipping the gods without

the intermediary of Brahman priests. In short it is contended that all the six occupations of Brahmans, viz., reading and teaching the Vedas, giving and receiving alms, sacrificing and performing as priests at the sacrifices of others are all open to Vaidyas, as well as the additional profession of medicine which is their specialty; and it is pointed out that although the medicines prepared by them are technically "cooked" and could not therefore be accepted by high class Brahmans without pollution if offered by any other caste man than their own, no Brahman makes any objection in accepting without consideration of pollution the medicines prepared by physicians of the Baidya caste. The interesting suggestion has been put forward that they are remnants of the Buddhist clergy overthrown by Brahman immigrants in concert with the ruling power (M. M. Chattarji—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1930, page 215 ff.) Professor Dutt's notes printed at the end of this paragraph deal at some length with the status of this caste, and it is unnecessary to offer anything further in elaboration: but what is of interest is the considerations which induce members of the caste to press their claim for recognition as Brahmans. It is contended that all the *sanskars* incumbent upon Brahmans are performed by the Baidyas and that they have the privilege of conducting their own sacrifices and thus do not depend upon any intermediary in access to the diety: their caste being relatively homogeneous and containing no degraded elements such as are included in the general term Brahman is universally respected and would undoubtedly command a greater degree of respect throughout Bengal than the members of some of the sub-castes of Brahmans such for instance as those with whom their own disciples would refuse to eat together. In these circumstances it is difficult to understand what advantage the caste expects to obtain from a change in its appellation, since even the strongest psychological motive, viz., the desire for an enhancement of social position due to recognition in the first of the *varnas* of Manu (such as prompts most other classes to lay claim to such an affiliation) has no force in the case of the caste which already commands universal respect to the extent to which it is enjoyed by the Baidyas.

492. **Baishnab** [R. I. 51 : R. II. 339 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 386 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 509 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 350].—The numbers returned at the present census (337,771) show a decline of 10·7 per cent. from 378,107 given in 1921. A similar rate of decrease (10·8 per cent.) was recorded between 1911 and 1921. The caste is not a closed or determinate one and being referred also to the sect the name naturally includes also members of well-defined castes who as on previous occasions have no doubt returned their actual caste name. Amongst the Baishnabs although the impetus given to the sect by Sri Chaitanya was against the perpetuation of caste differences a group known as the Vaidik Vaishnavas, contending that they were the descendants of the original Brahmans of Bengal, desired to be returned as Satvata Brahmans. They based their claim upon the contention that they wear the sacred thread, practise the Vedic rites and have no marriage with other groups, have an uncontested right to worship in *maths* and temples, have been endowed with *vaishnabottar* lands analogous to the *brahmottar* lands given to Brahmans and have provided religious teachers and *gurus* to members of high caste Hindus. No prohibition for their return as Satvata Brahmans was issued, but the members of this group do not appear to have returned themselves under a distinctive name and presumably are included either amongst the Baishnabs or amongst the Brahmans for whom no special sect return was made.

493. **Barui** [R. I. 71 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 351].—The Baruis claim to belong to the regenerate classes and to be Vaisyas owing to their occupation but the claim put forward on the present occasion by the Sabha was the entirely reasonable and moderate one that the term ordinarily used should be replaced by the alternative *Barujibi*. They number 195,139, an increase of 5 per cent. over 185,870, the figure of 1921. The percentage increase is very similar to that (4·3 per cent.) during the years 1911 to 1921. As in 1921 the largest numbers are found in Dacca which contributed 42,864 or

well over one-fifth of the total : but more than 10,000 of the caste are found also in Jessore (13,373), Khulna (15,035), Faridpur (10,687), Bakarganj (18,983), Tippera (18,664) and Noakhali (12,747).

494. **Bauri** [R. I. 78 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 387 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 509 : C.R. 1921, V(i), 351, 365].—The numbers of this caste in 1921 were 303,054 and they have increased during the decade by 9·3 per cent. to 331,268 in 1931. More than a third of the caste is found in each of the districts of Burdwan (123,864) and Bankura (119,350) and nearly 76,000 are distributed between Birbhum, Midnapore and Hooghly. Their increase contrasts with the decrease (3·4 per cent.) during the decade 1911 to 1921.

495. **Bediya** [R. I. 83 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 443].—Figures for Bediyas were not given in 1921. Their name is given by Risley first to describe a small “ Dravidian ” tribe of agriculturists in Chota Nagpur surmised by him possibly to be a branch which broke off from the Santals and secondly as a generic name of a number of vagrant gipsy-like groups of whom Risley states that it is difficult to say “ whether they can properly be described as castes ”. It is the second of these which purports to be shown in the figures for 1931. Their numbers were recorded on the present occasion as no more than 7,263 and of these 1,012 were recorded in the 24-Parganas and Bogra, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and Pabna each returned a larger number than any other district.

496. **Beldar** [R. I. 86 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 443].—For this group also no figures were compiled in 1921. The term is used as a generic title common to low castes of Hindus employed on earth-work, but an endeavour was made to restrict it to the group described by Risley as a “ Dravidian ” caste of earth-workers and navvies in Bihar and Western Bengal. Contrary to expectation the greatest number was not found in the coal-mining districts, perhaps owing to a more accurate enumeration of castes to whom the name is loosely applied. Malda with 1,322 and Dinajpur with 1,175 contained between them nearly 80 per cent. of the total.

497. **Berua** [R. I. 89].—Beruas form the small cultivating and fishing caste of Eastern Bengal described by Risley as being principally an offshoot of the Chandal tribe. Of the total of 3,135 returned no less than 2,643 come from Chittagong, whilst as many as 2,768 were returned as Buddhists, which suggests that there has been some confusion between the name of this caste and the word Barua used by the Chittagonian “ Bhuiya ” Maghs as a title or name.

498. **Bhatiya** [R. I. 103].—The Bhatiyas are described by Risley as a low mendicant caste in Bengal who live by dancing, juggling and singing. No more than 322 were returned and of these no less than 243 were found in Calcutta.

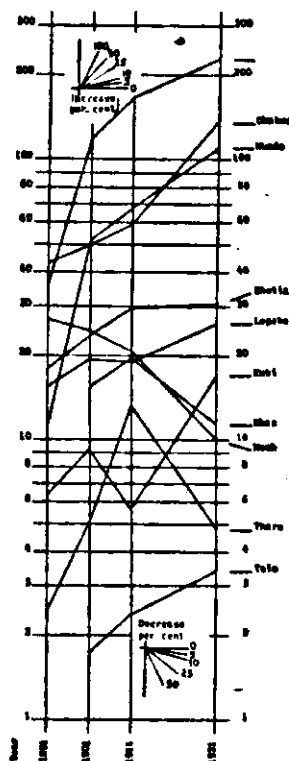
499. **Bhotia of Bhutan (Drukpa, Dukpa)** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 404 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 510 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 362].—**Bhotia of Nepal (Sharpa, Kham, Nag Chhang, Salakha, Shakzang)** [R. I. 459 : R. App. 128 : R. II, 217].—**Bhotia of Sikkim (Dejong-Lhori, Denjongpa, Lhopa Bhotia)** [R. App. I, 38].—**Bhotia of Tibet and unspecified.**—In 1921 no separate details were printed for Bhotias either for the whole province and Sikkim or for the Bhotias originating in different places though some figures were given in subsidiary table III appended to the chapter on Language. On the present occasion figures have been separately shown for the Bhotias of Bhutan, Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet and the corresponding figures for these four groups have been worked out afresh from the unpublished records of 1921 and shown in imperial table XVIII. The Bhotias of Sikkim and Nepal contribute the main portion of the total number of Bhotias recorded, though the greatest portion of the Bhotias of Sikkim were naturally recorded in Sikkim itself and the majority of the Bhotias in British Territory hail from Nepal. Figures for 1921 are available only for the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and the State Sikkim, but those given in part B to imperial table XVIII are for all Bengal

and Sikkim. In the Bengal districts for which figures were available in 1921 the Bhotia population has increased from 27,287 to 29,404; but detailed analysis of the changes in the numbers of each group distinguished are rendered unproductive by the fact that the figures for 1921 clearly include amongst the Bhotias of Tibet a greater number whose origin was unspecified than on the present occasion. As might be expected Bhotias of all kinds are principally confined to Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling in British Bengal. The accompanying diagram No. XII-10 shows the variations in their aggregate numbers at successive census counts.

DIAGRAM No. XII-10.

Numbers of selected groups at the census of 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931.

NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figures, rate of change per decennium by slope. (The scale shows hundreds for Tharus and Totos and thousands for other groups. The curve without a reference is that for Oraons.)



500. **Bhuinmali** [R. I. 105 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 437 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 351, 365].—The Bhuinmalis claimed to be recorded as Vaisya Mali and alleged that they were of the same extraction or derivation as the Malis or Malakars. The contention put forward was that their original habitation was Mallabhum or Malbhum and that they had migrated to Eastern Bengal in order to escape the Mogal invasion. The derivation of their caste name was alleged to be (*Malla*—) *bhuinmali* and they accounted for their degeneration from their previous condition by alleging that economic stress compelled them to adopt whatever professions they could. They laid claim to having the same *gotras* as the Malis and to being served by Srotriya Brahmans, but neither of the rather fanciful name of their caste nor of the accuracy of these last two statements was any evidence adduced and the application was rejected. The figures returned for the caste amount to 72,804 compared with 81,952 in 1921 showing a decrease of 11.2 per cent. But as in 1921 on the present occasion also the figures are misleading owing to the fact that members of this group, which is one of the sweeper and scavenging castes, have contrived to return themselves as Malis under the name claimed by them and have probably been included amongst them. The Malis show an increase of something approaching 50 per cent. over the figures of 1921 and this rate of increase is clearly not an accurate representation of the facts. Bhuinmalis were recorded principally in Eastern Bengal.

501. **Bhuiya** [R. I. 108 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 387 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 510 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—The number of Bhuiyas returned as Hindus has decreased from 59,388 in 1921 to 49,370 on the present occasion, but those returned under tribal religions have remained the same to within one per cent. as were recorded in 1921. The total number of the caste (50,405) therefore shows a decrease of 16.6 per cent. The greatest proportion is contributed by Midnapore (14,726) and Burdwan (9,908) and more than two-thirds of the total number are concentrated in Western Bengal.

502. **Bhumij**. [R.I. 116 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 510 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—The total number of this caste has increased from 79,196 in 1921 to 85,161 in 1931, an increase of 7.5 per cent. And on the present occasion figures have also been distinguished for those who are Hindus and those who follow tribal religions, the latter numbering 690 persons. Like the Bhuiyas they are found principally in Midnapore (45,077—or more than 50 per cent). There are 18,106 in Bankura, but with the exception of the 24-Parganas with 9,899, their numbers are not considerable in any district outside Western Bengal except Jessore, Rajshahi and Pabna in each of which districts they number more than 1,000.

503. **Bind**. [R.I.130].—The figures of Binds were tabulated in 1921 only for the district of Malda where they amounted to 10,437. On the present occasion also their numbers in Malda comprise well over one-half

of the total returns in the whole province and amount to 10,960. The total number in the whole province is 19,518 and there are few districts in which some members of the caste are not found, but in addition to Malda their numbers reach 1,000 or over only in the districts of Hooghly (1,002) and Nadia (1,824). They are a "non-Aryan" caste originating in Bihar and upper India and said by Risley to be employed in agriculture, earth-work, fishing, hunting, making saltpetre and collecting indigenous drugs.

504. **Binjhia** [R. I. 134 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 404].—No figures for this group were recorded in 1921, and they number only 502 in the whole province being found only in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and the Tripura State.

505. **Brahman** [R. I. 141 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 369, 373, 375, 388 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 478, 510 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 351].—The Brahmans numbered in 1921 1,309,539 and during the decade have increased by 10·6 per cent. so that they now number 1,447,691. They form 6·5 per cent. of the total Hindu population and are the fifth largest Hindu caste in the province. They are amongst the castes illustrated in diagrams Nos. XII-8 and XII-9, and they are also distinguished on the social map in a pocket at the end of this volume. Comment has already been made upon the difficulties attendant on the attempt to obtain returns of sub-castes of Brahmans. The actual returns given are shown in alphabetical order in a supplement to table XVII and an attempt has been made in subsidiary table IV attached to this chapter to classify the actual returns made under some scheme. The scheme adopted does not pretend to be an exhaustive or satisfactory classification of the actual castes of Brahmans found at the present day, but it is put forward as the best which can be done with the imperfect returns actually received. The classification adopted was submitted to a number of learned Hindus for whose criticism I have to acknowledge myself indebted. But, as is natural, what struck them and will strike the reader of this report is the unsatisfactory nature of a classification inevitably incomplete owing to the vagueness or ambiguity of many of the returns received. The principle underlying the classification was to make it possible to allocate all the returns given to one or other of the ten groups classified between the *pancha Gauda* and the *pancha Dravida* classes and to relegate such as could not be so classified to a third class giving, if possible, territorial divisions analogous to the main distinctions amongst the Gauda and Dravida classes. The difficulties of classification are evident from consideration of such returns as Marwari, Madrasi, Khandelwala, Kshatriya, Nanakpanthi, etc., some of which are allocated to recognised divisions with considerable diffidence. Similarly returns like Adhikari, Maulik, Misra, Sarma and Srotriya, representing either names or titles borne by members of more than one group or by divisions within more than one sub-caste also defy confident classification. The return Behari has been included amongst Maithila Brahmans merely because Bihar corresponds nearly to the ancient Mithila. Similarly the entry Yajurveda may apply to either Desasthas or white Yajurvedis but appears in its actual position because both these groups are of the Maharashtra. The return of Telingi has been included under Telegu for the same reason that Biharis are shown under Maithila, and similar reasoning has resulted in the allocation of the Saurindhi returns to the territorial division Gaurjara ; but such a return as Madrasi clearly may include both Andhra and Dravida Brahmans and consequently could not be allocated to either. The third division presents a number of problems. It has been suggested that the Acharjya Brahmans should be included amongst the Sakadwipis, and amongst the other entries in this group where it is not doubtful that they may have been wrongly returned or recorded it is possible that some, had enquiry been feasible, would have been found to fall within one or other of the groups given in class one and two. The figures in the subsidiary table are given by natural divisions, but as almost two-thirds of the Brahmans in Bengal returned no sub-caste or made a return which is not sufficiently specific to be of any use, comment upon their distribution by sub-castes would be unprofitable on the information available.

506. **"Gaudadya Vaidik" Brahmins.**—The most vigorous agitation in connection with the entry of caste was provoked by the determination to record sub-castes of Brahmins. An indication is given elsewhere of the difficulties experienced in devising a simple classification for use by the enumerators which would ensure amongst the confusing variety of subdivisions in the Brahman *varna* the return of those descriptions which would yield the most informative results when compiled. The instructions endeavoured to account for all the classes in Bengal which were likely to have any considerable number of members. Both in *Castes and Tribes of Bengal* by H. H. Risley and in Pandit J. N. Bhattacharjee's *Hindu Castes and Sects* there is mention of the Brahmins of the Kaibarttas of Midnapore who appear in both these books under the title "vyasokta"; and it was accordingly laid down that this return, if given, might be accepted. This provision raised a storm of protest from the Brahmins principally settled in Midnapore from amongst whom the priests of the Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahishyas are provided. They contended with what appears to be some truth that they represent the Brahmins who were in occupation before the introduction of the Kanaujia Brahmins by Adisura Sena. The sub-caste numbers amongst its members persons of very considerable erudition and much learning has lately been devoted to cultural and historical or pseudo-historical researches with a view to establishing the actual superiority of the sub-caste. There is, for instance, a "Gauda Research Society" the object of which is to establish the claim of this caste to a pre-eminent social position amongst the Brahmins of Bengal. The myth regarding the caste which has been evolved as a result of these researches is that they were the original Brahman immigrants into Bengal under the five mythical princes Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Sumha, that they remained in Bengal in enjoyment of a pre-eminent social position until, on the revolt of Adisura Sena, they remained loyal to the representatives of the old Pala dynasty and were consequently degraded by Adisura and subsequently persecuted by Ballala Sena. Failure to mention this sub-caste in what is claimed to be its rightful position in such books as Risley's *Tribes and Castes*, Bhattacharjee's *Hindu Castes and Sects* and other books of Brahman castes is put down to partiality and prejudice on the part of the Kanyakubja Brahmins imported by Adisura and their descendants; and their claims went so far finally as to allege that they should be given the first rank amongst the Brahmins of Bengal and that the Kanyakubja and other Brahmins should follow *longo intervallo*. The claim is of course bound up with the social aspirations of the Mahishyas since it is evident that the status of this sub-caste which supplies priests for the Mahishyas and that of the Mahishyas who are their disciples must depend each on the other. The claim to a superior position amongst the twice-born classes clearly cannot be put forward by any caste whose Brahmins are not considered to be "good"; whilst admitted service as priests to the members of a class not admitted to be superior in the Hindu hierarchy at once discredits the claim to any superiority amongst their fellow Brahmins. The arguments upon which superiority is claimed for the Gaudadya Brahmins are not entirely consistent since it is equally argued that since the Rarhi, Varendra and Vaidik Brahmins act as priests for some castes included in Bengal amongst the navasakha, namely, such groups as the Kamar, Kumhar, Napit, Tanti, etc., which in the Punjab are looked upon as menial and "depressed" classes and cannot obtain the service of Brahmins, it follows that the Rarhi, Varendra and Vaidic Brahmins cannot be of superior social position; but at the same time the respectability of the Gaudadya Brahmins is deduced from the contention that Brahmins of these classes associate with Gaudadya Brahmins in the performance of *yajna*, *vrishotsarga*, *tulapurusha*, *mahadan* and "other vedic rites" and by inference the Gaudadya Brahmin must be equal in status to these three classes. Upon a question of social superiority this report makes no pronouncement, but it may be recorded that since 1930 the Gaudadya Brahmins who have been recorded under this name and under the Gauda class of Brahmins in the classified list given in this chapter have received acknowledgment of affiliation to the All-India Gauda Brahmin Mahasabha with headquarters in the United Provinces and the Census Superintendent of the United Provinces reports that there is (theoretical) *connubium*

and commensality between the Gaudadya Brahmans of Bengal and the Gauda Brahmans of the United Provinces : I am not aware however of any instance of inter-marriage. The Gaudadya Brahmans now claim to have 31 gotras and a list was furnished giving 58 titles or surnames said to be current amongst the members of the caste in Bengal and the United Provinces. These lists are reproduced below. The sub-caste is said to be divided into two further subdivisions, namely, *vyasa* whose veda is related to be the *Sama Veda*, Kauthuma branch, and *parashara* who follow the *Kanva* and *Madhyamdi* branches of the *White Yajurveda*. The *parashara* branch is said to be found chiefly in north and east Bengal and in Assam whilst the *vyasa* section is found in western and central Bengal. A discussion of this sub-caste will be found in Professor Dutt's note printed in the appendix to the chapter. The returns given as Gaudiya are almost certainly all of this sub-caste.

Gotras of the " Gaudadya Vaidik Brahmans."

(1) Shandilya. (2) Gautama. (3) Ghritakausik. (4) Hamsha. (5) Kanva. (6) Raghu. (7) Dalvya. (8) Pundarik. (9) Katyayan. (10) Alamyayan. (11) Maudgalya. (12) Sabarna. (13) Bharadwaja. (14) Kashyapa. (15) Batsya. (16) Parashara. (17) Basista. (18) Kanchana. (19) Bishnu. (20) Krishnatreya. (21) Agniras. (22) Shaktri. (23) Kaundinya. (24) Saupayana. (25) Paindava. (26) Shaunaka. (27) Harita. (28) Kautsya. (29) Gargya. (30) Agnibesma. (31) Louhitya.

Titles or surnames of the " Gaudadya Vaidik Brahmans."

(1) Chakrabarty. (2) Mishra Chakravarty. (3) Mishra. (4) Authasanik. (5) Sandhibigrahi. (6) Sandhaki. (7) Bajpayee. (8) Agnihotri. (9) Chandogi. (10) Bhattacharjya. (11) Brahmachari. (12) Danda Pathak. (13) Goswami. (14) Adhikari. (15) Bhatta. (16) Panda. (17) Sauhnik. (18) Acharja. (19) Purohit. (20) Upadhyaya. (21) Pattak. (22) Bedanta. (23) Ghatak. (24) Raj-Raj. (25) Rajpandit. (26) Pandit. (27) Prakarani. (28) Vyasa. (29) Shastri. (30) Gaura. (31) Sagnik. (32) Roy. (33) Halder. (34) Chowdhury. (35) Samaddar. (36) Tarafdar. (37) Kara. (38) Nandi. (39) Munsii. (40) Mazumdar. (41) Kanthavaran. (42) Bhowmick. (43) Saranga. (44) Pati. (45) Datta (in U. P.). (46) Sidhanta. (47) Talapatra. (48) Tripati. (49) Sarbeswara. (50) Sanabighna. (51) Trevedi. (52) Ukil. (53) Seemander. (54) Dandapati. (55) Bhuri-Shresta. (56) Roy Chowdhury. (57) Basista. (58) Patra and others.

✓ 507. **Chakma** [R. I. 168 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 362].—Figures for Chakmas were collected in 1921 only for the districts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State and out of 135,508 recorded on the present occasion 111,858 were recorded in these two areas and all but 6 of the remainder (found in the 24-Parganas) were recorded in Chittagong. Their numbers in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura show an increase of 44 per cent. from 77,590 recorded in 1921, and they are between two and three times as numerous in the whole of Bengal as they were in 1911. Figures by religions are shown on the present occasion and all with the exception of 225 were returned as Buddhists, Hindus numbering 70 and Christians 155. They are amongst the groups for whom variations in numbers at successive census enumerations are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

508. **Damai** [C. R. 1921, VI (i), 363].—The Damais are the tailor caste of Nepal. Figures were recorded in 1921 only for Darjeeling and Sikkim where they then numbered 7,052 and now number 7,417; the total number throughout the province, including Sikkim which contributes 1,866, was 7,931.

509. **Dhoba (Dhobi)** [R. I. 229 & 233 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 390 ; 446 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 497 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 353].—The Dhobas numbered 229,672 representing a small increase on their numbers (227,469) of that of 1921. Their greatest numbers are found in Midnapore where they amount to 32,961 but more than 20,000 are provided also by Bakarganj, Tippera and Noakhali and more than 10,000 by 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Dacca, Mymensingh and Chittagong. The Dhobas of Noakhali laid claim to being Vaisyas and without putting forward any new caste name they desired to be returned under the *varna* name to which they laid claim.

510. **Doai** [R. I. 238].—The Doais are said by Risley to be a tribe probably allied to the Hajangs and Garos of Mymensingh. On the present occasion all except 39 of the 1,960 returned were recorded from Rangpur (1,034) and Cooch Behar (887), and the remainder were found in Bogra and Mymensingh. Their predominance in Rangpur and Cooch Behar suggests that this group is probably allied to or a division of the Koch.

511. **Dom** [R. I. 240 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 437 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 353, 365].—A decrease of 24 thousand was returned in 1921 in the numbers of this caste and a further decrease of some 10 thousand is again recorded during the present decade, their numbers in 1931 amounting to 140,067. They are principally concentrated in the Burdwan division which provides more than two-thirds of the total numbers of the caste and outside the Burdwan division they are found in considerable numbers only in Murshidabad, Chittagong, Calcutta and the 24-Parganas. Some part of the decline in numbers may be due to the return of members of this caste under the generic term Mehtar, but the total so returned is comparatively small (23,281) and it is more likely that on this as on previous occasions the true caste has been concealed.

512. **Dosadh** [R. I. 252 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 390].—Dosadhs numbered 40,121 in 1921 but are only 36,420 strong at the present census. They are shown by Risley as a cultivating caste of Bihar and Chota Nagpur and numbers of them are employed in Bengal as servants and *syces*. Their distribution is irregular. More than 2 thousand of the caste are found in Burdwan, Hooghly, Howrah, Rangpur, Malda and Mymensingh as well as in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas, and their numbers in the last two districts are more than 6 thousand.

513. **Gareri** [R. I. 271].—The Gareri are a caste of shepherds, goatherds and blanket weavers from Bihar. Figures for them were not collected in 1921, but they number 3,524 on the present occasion, principally distributed in Western Bengal and particularly in Burdwan (772), Bankura (510) and Murshidabad (346).

514. **Garos, Hadis and Hajangs**.—Of these three groups the second only, viz., the Hadis, laid claim on the present occasion to any different nomenclature. The claim of the Hadis is to be returned as Haihaya Kshatriyas and it is unfortunate that they have hit upon the same description as has been arrogated to themselves elsewhere by the Kalwars. The Haihayas mentioned in the scriptures were clearly an historical people and it appears that they lived at some time in the Deccan. They were amongst the tribes subdued between 692 and 694 A. D. by king Vinaditya of the Chalukya dynasty and were mentioned by Kalidasa as ruling in southern India. It is even reported that their descendants are still found in the Central Provinces. It is from these people that the Hadis are alleged to have descended. The story put forward is that they were driven east by King Sagara and the fanciful derivation of their name is given as *haihaya* plus *ādi* contracted into Hadi. Of the connection of the Hadis with Haihayas in the Deccan there is of course no historical evidence whilst the derivation of their name is credibly reported to be phonetically impossible since the diphthong *ai* should be changed into either *e* or *i*. Mr. Stapleton, Director of Public Instruction, considers that the name is derived from the Arabic *hod* a border, and means Men of the Marches and that it was given to them by Muslim invaders on arrival in Eastern Bengal.

In a communication regarding the Garos, Hadis and Hajangs the Rev. Victor J. White of Mymensingh reports as follows :—

The order of social standing according to Hindu standards would be :—

1. Garo or Mandais (lowest) ;
2. Dalus : closely connected with Garos ;
3. Koch : called sometimes *gupta kshatriya* ;
4. Banais : superior sort of Koch ;
5. Hadis or Hotris ;
6. Hajangs with 3 sub-castes ;
7. Rabhas with 7 sub-tribes ;
8. Mechs : like Rabhas possess brahmins, washermen and barbers ; and
9. Rajbansis : first among all the broken hill tribes of N. S. Mymensingh.

In all probability the order would be reversed if priority was decided by some other standard than that set by the Hindu social and religious system. No race or tribe of those mentioned above has made the same progress in education and independence as the Garos. The percentage of literacy among the other tribes would be very low compared with the percentage of literacy found among the Garos. Most likely for this reason the Garos have not been so open to the proselytising influence of educated Hindus.

The traditional history of the Garos breathes a fine spirit of adventure, pioneering, war and independence. Some of them were one time reduced to slavery on the plains, and as a protest life was made very uncomfortable for the Bengali inhabitants by the head-hunting expeditions which descended from the hills. Under wise administration these former head-hunters have become more or less law-abiding citizens and are settling down to the more fixed occupations of agriculture. At one time they were undisputed holders of the land over which they roamed, and gradually on this side of the Assam border their legal rights to the land have been reduced by expropriation when rents are in arrear, and under the recent Bengal Tenancy Act by pre-emption when the tenant arranges a transfer of his land rights to another tenant. Added to this is the heavy pressure set up by immigration after lands have been cleared and brought under cultivation by the pioneer Garo farmer.

The Hadis and Hajongs would boast of their social status, but at the same time they are very conscious that their uplift and education has in no way kept pace with that of the Garos.

There is a close racial relationship between the Garos, Hadis and Hajongs. They were all originally animists in religion. The process of proselytising by educated Hindus has made most head-way among the Hadis. An attempt has been made at proselytising among the Hajongs, and a certain stage has been reached in the process. The proselytising effort among the Garos is of a much more recent date and has been accompanied with very little success.

We may state two systems of classification to understand the relative social status of these three races and so estimate the extent to which they have been absorbed into the Hindu system.

- A. The extent to which the individual races have been able to acquire the three essential servants, Brahmins, Washermen and Barbers : and
- B. The order of acceptance of water by individual races from the hands of other races.

(I) In 1900 the Hadis obtained fallen brahmins as their priests, but they had no washerman or barbers up to 1908. In the year 1908 Hadi leaders in the vicinity of Sherpur are said to have approached certain zemindars who provided them with washermen and barbers on the receipt of a large sum of money. The process of absorption was carried a stage further when the name of Haihaya Kshatriya was recognised in 1921 when the subdivisional officer of Jamalpur ordered that their names might be entered in census papers with the new title. Under a movement sponsored by the President of the Sanatan Hindu Samity in 1922, an attempt was made to invest the Hadis with the sacred thread at Jamalpur. This attempt was frustrated by litigation, but later in the same year an investiture ceremony was held in the Mymensingh Town Hall and the Hadis or " Haihaya Kshatriyas " became possessed of the sacred thread. At the investiture ceremony each Hadi had to pay Rs. 6-8-0 for securing a *paita* at the hands of a Sylheti Brahmin, and Rs. 1-4-0 was paid for having the head shaved. In order to test the fact that a rise in social status had been gained, it is said that a Brahman Purohit (priest) accepted a *roshagola* (sweet) and water from the hand of a Hadi. This Brahmin had to proceed to Benares to do *prayaschitta* (purification) and never came back.

Since the success of proselytising efforts among the Hadis by educated Hindus, there has been a more distinct cleavage between them and the Hajongs and Garos to whom they are racially related. Prior to 1912 they accepted water from the hand of Hajongs but since they obtained Brahmins they have ceased to do so.

There is an inferior sub-caste of the Hadis called Bitals. They are the descendants either of Hadi men and women of lower hill tribes or of children of Hadi women by Mohammedans.

A class of Koch or Banai allege they were granted Assamese brahmins, washermen and barbers in 1905. These Brahmins were claimed by the Hajongs but soon left because they were not recognised by the Barendra Brahmins. They also failed to persuade the Hajongs to give up eating pork. The Hajongs have washermen and barbers but no priests recognised by the higher class brahmins.

A further attempt has been made to provide brahmins for the Hajongs, but it is said that of the Rs. 22,000 required, only some Rs. 10,000 has been raised and this stands in the way of the Hajongs being elevated in the social scale.

A good deal of racial rivalry has sprung up between the Hajongs and Garos since the proselytising efforts of the Hindus. The Hajongs disdain to own relationship with the Garos, but on the other hand there is fairly strong traditional evidence that the Hajongs were at one time a subject race to the Garos.

There have been more recent attempts by Hindus to proselytise the Garos, but their efforts have been attended with little success. A few Garos have professed to be Hindus but they revert to their old habits and merely adopt the name of some spirit which is tacked on to their animistic worship.

The Garos have no recognised brahmins, washermen or barbers. Even Christian Missionaries who are working among the Garos in the northern portion of Mymensingh district are not allowed to call the Hindu barber because of the close contact they have with the Garo people. By being cut off from the Hindu religious system, the Garo has developed more resourcefulness and adaptability. He can and will set his hand to any type of work and so is able to retain his independence.

A similar proselytising movement has taken place in the neighbourhood of Rangpur among the Polis. The same story has been told to the Polis as has been told to the Hadis. They were supposed to be Kshatriyas originally who fled from Parasuram and threw away their sacred threads. About 17 years ago an Assamese Brahmin reconferred on them the sacred thread and a considerable charge was made for those attending the ceremony, in order to secure the *paita* and have the head shaven.

The Hadis have lost their independence and the race has been weakened by the adoption of social customs such as the Purdah system (though less strictly enforced), child marriage and degradation of widows. As a class they are mostly agriculturists, and the caste mould is gradually hardening around them preventing them from taking up a wider range of handicrafts and trades.

In religion there has been little advance. The old animistic doubts and fears dominate their religious life. They are still bent on propitiating evil spirits though their pantheon has been added to as followers of Hinduism.

The Hajongs have not changed their social customs a great deal. The women still work in the fields and live a more healthy life in general than the Hadis. Their worship remains much about the same. The old shrines set under the Banyan tree are the scenes of sacrifice and pilgrimage. The totems have been replaced by the *devatas* of the Hindu system.

The non-Christian Garos follow the traditional worship of their forefathers. The social sanctions are still maintained and the law of inheritance is through the women and not through the men. In all probability the stories concerning the *machongs* or motherhood through which descent runs give a clue to the migration of the Garos, and if the stories were sorted out and arranged an interesting account of the Garo race could be given.

As an example the *machongs* with the prefix *chi* such as *chisik*, *chisim*, *chibok*, *chicham*, etc., are related to migrations along some water way. *Chi* means water. One of the *machongs* arose when the Garos were settled at a spring; *sik* meaning spring. Having migrated from there they came to the clear water, *chibok*, and a party branching off met disaster at the black water *chisim*. The *chicham machong* arose owing to scattering by flood.

The matriarchal system dominates Garo history and was no doubt the most providential system for preserving the home and producing a hardy, pioneering and persevering race. The value of the matriarchal system may be called into question now that the plains Garos no longer have forest areas over which to roam and make their own selection and home.

The Garo continues to be dominated by the fear of the unseen and the primitive superstitions still persist. It is not easy to discover just what the Garo does believe concerning the traditional worship. The most popular ceremonies centre round ancestor worship and the liberating of the spirits of the dead about September to October. These ceremonies are attended by a great deal of feasting, drunkenness, dancing and professional wailing. Apart from the Kamal or priest these ceremonies cannot be performed. Sacrifice of fowls also takes a prominent place in their worship and the selecting of auspicious occasions. The sacrifice of cattle has largely been replaced by the sacrifice of fowls.

One interesting feature of their worship of Rishi in the month of Baishak is the almost identical relationship between this worship and that of the Rabhas of the Jalpaiguri district. They split the end of the bamboo and plait it and then place it in the centre of the courtyard. In Jalpaiguri this plaited bamboo is called *serfak* and among the Garos it is called *sriifa*. Sacrifice is made before the *sriifa* and plantain leaves are placed in the house to guide the priest as he enters to propitiate the evil spirit within. Rice and liquor is set out on the plantain leaf and put before the *sriifa* as food for the spirits.

Should the proselytising efforts of the Hindus succeed among the Garos one can readily see a further disintegration among these primitive people. Conversion to Hinduism has gradually led to caste isolation and the barriers set up do not cease as between tribe and tribe, but within the tribes disintegration takes place and further minor divisions are set up which destroy independence and inhibit any concerted action for social, religious and educational and economic uplift. One can well imagine the Garos being divided up into as many castes as they have *machongs* or motherhoods. It is certain the major divisions of *machi*, *abeng*, *awe*, *chibok*, *dual*, *aton*, *megam*, etc., would become fixed and moulded into separated castes.

Mr. Stapleton states that the only animals which Garos will not eat are cats and huluk monkeys, but that they will eat ordinary monkeys and that there is no penalty for killing a cat or a huluk monkey. Like the Nagas they keep cattle only for meat and do not drink the milk or even the eggs of fowls which they regard as excrement.

515. **Garos** [C. R. 1921, V (i), 362, 365].—Figures for Garos were collected in 1921 only for Mymensingh district where they numbered 39,581. In the same district their numbers have now fallen to 34,286. Their total number in the whole province is 38,228 but they occur in other districts than Mymensingh in considerable numbers only in Tripura State (2,143) and Jalpaiguri (1,280). Of the total number 301 were returned under tribal religions and 18 as Christians.

516. **Hadi** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 413 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 362, 365].—The Hadis numbered 14,334 all but 22 of whom are found in the Mymensingh

district in which they numbered 19,016 in 1921. The decrease in numbers is perhaps partly accounted for by the claim of the caste to be returned as Haihaiya Kshatriyas and the fact that it has been impossible to allocate any so returned to their correct caste owing to the fact that same name is also claimed by the Kalwars.

517. **Hajang** [R. I. 238 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 413 : C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 362, 365].—The Hajangs are another caste principally found in Mymensingh where they number 19,623 out of a total of 19,694 in the whole of Bengal. Their numbers were given in 1921 only for Mymensingh where they amounted to 23,121.

518. **Gharti** (R. I. 277).—The Ghartis are the manumitted slaves of the Nepalese freed before the edict of the Government of Nepal promulgated in November 1924 when slavery was abolished in Nepal. Figures for them were not shown in 1921 and they number on the present occasion 2,188. Slaves freed under the edict of 1924 were officially formed into a caste with the name of Siva Bhaktis and it was decreed that they might marry only amongst themselves or with the Ghartis: but there is no indication whether any of these recently liberated slaves, were recorded in Bengal. It is doubtful to what extent it will be possible to confine them within the limits of an artificially created caste, and it is thought that they will possibly be ultimately absorbed amongst the Ghartis. Of the total number of Ghartis recorded at the present census nearly all (2,053) were found in Darjeeling.

519. **Ghasi** [R. I. 277 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 437].—This is given by Risley as a fishing and cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur and Central India who attend as musicians at weddings and festivals and also perform menial offices of all kinds, the women acting as midwives and nurses. No figures were given for them in 1921 and the number recorded on the present occasion was no more than 5,640, more than half of whom (2,378) are found in Jalpaiguri whilst another 1,217 were recorded in the 24-Parganas. Of the total number, 328 returned themselves under the tribal religion and the remainder as Hindus.

520. **Goala (Gopa)** [R. I. 282 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*) 385 : C. R. 1911, V (*i*), 511 : C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 354].—An interesting claim was put forward by the milkmen castes to be returned as Yadava. This is the name hit upon by an all-India association founded in 1924 with a view to encouraging a sense of social solidarity between all castes of milkmen by insistence upon a claim of common origin. The association also proposes to encourage the education of its members and their social welfare. By choosing the family name of Sri Krishna it puts forward an implied claim to kshatriya status which is also urged in agitations for further recruitment of the caste to the army in India. It is unlikely that any effective breaking down of barriers has yet resulted between different milkman castes as a consequence of the institution of this association, but it is interesting as an instance of a movement for the unifying of scattered groups and their elevation by insistence on a common Kshatriya origin in place of the usual procedure which is to claim Kshatriya or other twice-born origin and with it a clear distinction from other sub-castes or parts of the caste. The name chosen is itself unexceptionable because it introduces no possibility of confusion: its only disadvantage is its unfamiliarity in Bengal, and on that ground the members of the community were advised and agreed not to return it without adding the current name of the caste. The Goalas numbered 583,970 in 1921 and in that year they had lost 9·7 per cent. of the figure recorded in 1911 which again was 8·5 per cent. less than that of 1901. On the present occasion their numbers have increased by 2·6 per cent. to 599,283. They are most numerous in the districts of Western and Central Bengal but there are more than 31,000 in Dacca and more than 21,000 in Mymensingh and as many as 14,325 in Malda. The increase suggests that the recent adoption of the name Jadab or Yadava has checked the tendency of the well-to-do members of the caste to return themselves as Sadgops.

521. **Gonrhi** [R. I. 294 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 391].—This is a fishing and cultivating caste of Bihar for which details were not given in 1921. They number 5,149 of whom no less than 3,323 are concentrated in Murshidabad and a further 947 and 393 respectively in the adjoining districts of Malda and Rajshahi.

522. **Gurung** [R. I. 304 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 456 : C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 363].—Figures for Gurungs amounted in Darjeeling and Sikkim to 14,793 in 1921 and are now 18,460 in the same areas. In Bengal their numbers now are 13,166 and of these 11,154 are contributed by Darjeeling. They number 7,306 in Sikkim. Of the total number in Bengal and Sikkim 937 were returned as following tribal religions and 80 as Buddhists.

523. **Halalkhor** [R. I. 310 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 436].—This is a class of sweepers and musicians. Their numbers are small and were not shown in 1921. They amount on the present occasion to no more than 876 principally found in Calcutta (302) and Rangpur (163).

524. **Hari** [R. I. 314 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 391 ; 436 : C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 354, 365].—The figures for Haris are 132,401 showing a decrease of 11 per cent. from the figure for 1921, 148,847. The decrease has been continuous for several decades and as in 1921 is no doubt attributable to the fact that like other sweeper castes many have concealed their true caste whilst some few have possibly been returned under the generic name Mehtar. They are found principally in Western Bengal and in Dinajpur district.

525. **Ho** [R. I. 319 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 391 : C. R. 1911, V (*i*), 470, 511].—Only 26 persons returned themselves under this name. They are a "non-Aryan" tribe of the district of Singhbhum and have affinities with the Mundas : their language is classed as a dialect of Mundari.

526. **Jhalos and Malos** [R. II. 64 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 394 : C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 357, 365].—The claim previously advanced that the Jhalos and Malos should be considered to be Kshatriyas and returned as Jhalla Malla Kshatriyas was again put forward. The geographical origin invented for these castes is in Jalwar and Mallagarh. The actual existence of Kshatriya classes in these two localities in Rajputana has evidently suggested the claim but no evidence whatever is adduced that the actual Jhalos and Malos of Bengal had any historical connection with these regions. The claim was of course disallowed. It was contended on their behalf that they practise kulinism and are able to secure the services of Brahmans and barbers, whilst they also claim to have a system of *gotras*. The caste numbers 198,099 and shows a decrease of 10·4 per cent. from 221,198, the figure returned in 1921, due probably to some extent to the claim to a fresh nomenclature which has possibly resulted in some of them being lost in the ranks of undifferentiated Kshatriyas. They are most numerous in Mymensingh, Pabna, Dacca and Jessore. Their name is liable to be confused both with the Mals and with the Malis, but although up to 1921 the aggregate of Mals and Malos had remained fairly constant since 1901, on the present occasion both groups show a decline and it is unlikely that there has been any extensive confusion between the various names.

527. **Jimdar** [R. I. 347 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 457 : C. R. 1911, V (*i*), 512].—Figures for Jimdars were not separately shown in 1921. They number on the present occasion 11,144 of whom no less than 10,449 are found in Darjeeling. They belong to the Kiranti or "Eastland" group of Nepali tribes together with the Khambus and Limbus, all three of which are becoming rapidly assimilated together, so that the separate figures given for this group are of comparatively little importance. In imperial table XVIII they have been combined together with Khambus as on the previous occasion.

528. **Jogi and Jugi** [R. I. 355 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 381 : C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 354].—The caste numbered 365,910 in 1921 and have increased by 5·1 per cent. to 384,634. They are found principally in East Bengal and particularly in Tippera (84,895), Noakhali (65,779) and Mymensingh (45,488) which three

districts between them contribute more than one-half of the total number. The caste has been described in previous census reports as a sectarian caste. In Rangpur (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1910, Vol. VI, page 131) they are described as :

“ a class of indigenous bards, mostly illiterate, who supplement their earnings by singing the epic (of Gopichandra) and dancing to the accompaniment of vocal and instrumental music. They are believed to be the degraded descendants of a class of Buddhist ascetics—followers of Gorakhnath; and many of their local customs,—their divergence from Brahmanical rites, their adoption of priests from their own caste, their worship of the Buddhist deity Dharma—confirm this view.”

In 1921 their Brahmans wished to have separate returns as Brahmans of Jogis but on the present occasion by an unusual *volte face* they protested against the record of sub-castes of Brahmans which was refused to them in 1921 and desired to be recorded merely as Brahmans. It was claimed that in Chittagong and Sylhet the Brahmans of this caste had a double origin, namely, first by the degradation of *maulik srotriya* Brahmans of the Rarhi group and secondly by advancement of ordinary members of the caste. Of these two groups the first is stated to possess the original *gotra* system of the Rarhi Brahmans and to practise cremation in the disposal of their dead bodies and the second to have only a single *gotra* (*Sib*). It was clear, however, that the claim to be recorded as Rarhi Brahmans could not be granted, but it does not appear that any of the Brahmans of this caste returned themselves under a correct appellation; and it is significant of the uncertainty amongst themselves that the caste society of the same group in Sylhet applied for a separate record of Jugis' Brahmans which of course was unexceptionable.

529. **Kachari.**—Figures for Kacharis were not given in 1921. They number 2,951, almost half of whom are found in Tippera with a fair number also recorded in Mymensingh. Their numbers were 1,810 in 1911 and they have therefore increased by 63 per cent. since that date. All were returned as Hindus with the exception of one shown as Buddhist.

530. **Kahar** [R. I. 370: C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 374: C. R. 1921, V(*i*), 354].—The Rawani Kahars, through an association known as the all-India Chandravangshiya Kshattriya Mahasabha claimed to be recorded as Chandravangshiya Kshattriyas. No local claims to this effect were received. The claim is not new but is clearly one which cannot be admitted with confidence. There are many groups whose claim to be “Kshattriyas of the lunar race” are much older and more familiar and the use of this appellation would introduce confusion into the returns. The Census Commissioner permitted the return provided that the distinctive word Rawani was added also. But as particulars were compiled in Bengal as a whole neither for Kahars nor for Kshattriyas the effect of this agitation upon the caste figures cannot be ascertained.

531. **Kalu and Teli** [R. I. 384: R. II. 305: C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 400, 415: C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 360].—On the present occasion figures for Kalus and Telis have been combined together. Mr. Thompson recorded in 1921 that the figures for Telis and Tilis who were then shown together included a number who should correctly have been returned as Kalus. Separate figures for Kalus have been retained in imperial table XIV for purposes of comparison with those of 1921, but no justification any longer exists for showing Telis and Tilis together and they have accordingly been shown separately in the returns on the present occasion. The total of all the three groups Kalu, Teli and Tili amounts to 503,189 compared with 491,832 in 1921, an increase of 2·3 per cent. during the decade. The distinction between the two groups which has justified the separate returns from Tilis is that the Tilis, whether they were originally the same as the Telis or not, have now renounced all connection with the profession of oil-pressing and oil-selling and claim trade and in particular the sale of betel-nut as their traditional occupation. They are said to be *jalacharaniya* whilst the Telis and Kalus are *jalavavaharya*. They are principally found in Western and Central Bengal, but they are also more than 10,000 in each of the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh and Faridpur.

532. **Kalwar** [R. I. 385].—Figures for Kalwar were not shown in 1921. They are given by Risley as a caste of Bihar occupied in distilling and selling liquor and in trade and as being probably a degraded offshoot of one of the numerous branches of the Banias. Their numbers were returned as 13,540 at the present census of whom 3,683 were found in Calcutta, 2,577 in the 24-Parganas and more than 1,000 each only in the districts of Hooghly and Howrah.

533. **Kamar or Karmakar** [R. I. 388 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 499, 500].—As in 1921 Kamars and Lohars have been separately shown, but the Bengal Kamars or Karmakars and the Kamars of Bihar who are immigrants cannot strictly be distinguished from each other and it is difficult to distinguish either of them from the Lohars; the two words being almost synonymous terms in Bengal. Taking the two groups shown together their numbers are 315,713 compared with 325,005 in 1921. The Kamars have shown an increase from 256,887 to 265,531 and the decrease is therefore entirely contributed by the Lohars whose numbers were 68,118 in 1921, but only 50,182 in 1931. Like the Kamis of Nepal the caste has not yet decided which of the two *varnas* graced by Viswakarma from whom they claim descent shall be claimed by the caste at present. There is an All-India Viswakarma Brahman Society as well as two Bengal societies, viz., the Bangiya Kshatriya Karmakar Sabha and the Bangiya Karmakar Sammilani, and almost every variety of opinion was represented in the petitions received which ranged from a claim to be called Viswakarma Brahman similar to that received also from the Sutradhars and the Swarnakars to the more modest claim to be recorded as Karmakar Kshatriya and even to a protest from other groups against either of these two appellations and the very modest request that for Karmakars not of aboriginal derivation the term Lohar or Kamar should not be used and only Karmakar should be used. It has been pointed out in previous census reports that it is impossible to distinguish between the Kamars who are and those who are not aboriginals and the only guide to the difference which is available is the record of certain Kamars as professing tribal religions. The census returns show Kamars and Lohars separately and it was intended that Lohar should be kept for the group of aboriginal derivation but only 14 of these were returned under tribal religions. This number does not represent all the aboriginal Lohars for there can be no doubt that a number of the tribal blacksmiths returned themselves as Hindus whilst the distinction between Kamar and Lohar must have been fortuitous in most cases. The Census Commissioner permitted the return of Viswakarma Brahman provided the distinctive name Karmakar was also added.

534. **Kami** [R. I. 393].—The Kamis are the artisan and blacksmith caste of Nepal and their claim on the present occasion was to be recorded as Viswa Brahman. During the last decade they had secured a recognition by the All-India Mairh Rajput Conference held at Muttra, but like the corresponding caste in Bengal they do not seem to have made up their mind whether to aspire to Kshatriya or Brahman status, an uncertainty which is perhaps not inexplicable in view of the descent claimed from Viswamitra who was first a Kshatriya and later a Brahman himself. Perhaps the most astonishing contention of this caste was that put forward by the Financial Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, himself a member of this caste, to the effect that Kami shown by Sir George Grierson as a separate language was in fact no language at all and that the mother tongue of the Kamis in Nepal, Sikkim and neighbouring parts was Khaskura pure and simple, a claim which is of course a corollary of the claim to Brahmanical status and Aryan descent, and is analogous to a similar claim made by the Newars. Figures were given in 1921 for this group only in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim State and of the total recorded on the present occasion all except 715 were recorded in these three places. The total numbers are 16,180 in Bengal and 4,817 in Sikkim. In 1921 in the three areas mentioned their numbers were 18,113 compared with 20,282 on the present occasion showing an increase of 12 per cent. Of the total number returned all were Hindus with the exception of 72 professing tribal religions in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and 46 in the same districts returned as Buddhists.

535. **Kan** [R. I. 396].—No figures were given for this group in 1921 and they total only 66 on the present occasion. They are shown by Risley as a very low caste of musicians akin to the Dom.

536. **Kandh or Khond** [R. I. 397 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 472, 511].—The Kandhs or Khonds amounted on the present occasion to 1,525 but no figures were given for them in 1921. They originated in Orissa and are described by Risley as a “Dravidian” tribe living by hunting and rude agriculture. The return of more than one-third of the total number in Tripura State is unexpected.

537. **Kandra** [R. I. 414 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 416 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—Figures were given for Kandra only for Midnapore in 1921. They then amounted to 26,389 but their numbers on the present occasion were returned as only 4,729 and there can be no doubt that the figure for either 1921 or 1931 is inaccurate. They are chiefly found in Contai and Tamruk subdivisions of Midnapore. They claimed to be recorded as Kodmas, possibly because of the fact that the caste at one time got itself into bad odour as a criminal tribe and is the subject of the Bengali gibe (চোরকে চোর চিনে, কান্দ্রাকে পুরাতন চোর চিনে—one thief recognises another, and an old thief recognises a Kandra). The local officers reported that the two castes were identical and they were allowed to return themselves as Kodma, but their number did not justify any extraction of the figures for this caste. Both Kandra and Kodmas are now reported to have the same endogamous groups (Kalindi, Vaishnava, Mechhua, Chandali, Madalbaja and Sankhabaja)—the last two of which were not existent amongst the Kandra in 1901—and they use the same names (Das, Dolai, Jana, Bhuiya, Patra). They live by catching and selling fish, carrying lights in marriage processions and performing dances known as *paikan nach* (derived from *Paik*, the name for a militiaman of the zemindars, a post which they used to fill) at Hindu festivals. Widow re-marriage and divorce are practised : both cremation and burial are in use for dead bodies : and they are served by a class of degraded Brahman priests, though they had none in 1901.

538. **Kaora** [R. I. 420 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 417 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—This caste numbered 107,908 showing a decrease of 2·5 per cent. on the figure (110,652) recorded in 1921. They are principally found in the 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly where almost 90 per cent. of their numbers are concentrated.

539. **Kapali** [R. I. 421 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 355].—The Kapalis who number 165,589 show a slight increase over the figure 158,864 of 1921. They are principally found in the 24-Parganas, Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur, Tippera, Dacca and Mymensingh. The claim advanced by the community to be returned as Vaisya Kapali was new. There is an association with the rather lengthy title of the All-Bengal Vaisya Kapali and their Brahman Mahasabha, but in lieu of adducing any evidence in favour of their claim in the memorial demanding a change of nomenclature, the association merely stated that “after long and deliberate discussion and research from the Shastras, Puranas and other authorities we have come to the conclusion that we are of the Vaisya origin,” and the claim for a change in nomenclature was disallowed.

540. **Kapuria** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 417].—This is a wandering group originating in the Central Provinces who are ostensibly horse dealers. Figures for them were not obtained in 1921 and they number only 170 on the present occasion of whom exactly one-half are found in Midnapore and the remainder (with the exception of 4 in Burdwan) in the 24-Parganas and Calcutta.

541. **Karenga** [R. I. 426].—No figures for the Karengas were compiled in 1921. They are a small caste of Western Bengal described by Risley as “Dravidian,” who make baskets, work as carpenters and do earth work,

and whose special business is the making of cart wheels and wooden articles : the men also castrate goats and bullocks. There were 9,855 returned at the present census of whom nearly half were found in Midnapore and the majority of the remainder in Howrah district.

542. **Kaur** [R. I. 435].—This is another group for which figures were not obtained in 1921. Their numbers on the present occasion are 1,801, and it was expected that the majority of them would be found employed in the tea gardens, etc. They originate in Chota Nagpur and Risley holds the opinion that they are what he calls of "Dravidian" origin. Actually out of 1,801 returned at the present census, 20 of whom were returned under tribal religions, more than two-thirds were found in Mymensingh, where their numbers were 1,229, the next largest number being found in Dinajpur where, however, they did not amount to more than 136.

543. **Kayastha** [R. I. 438 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 381, 392 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 356].—The Kayasthas have increased from 1,297,736 in 1921 by 20·1 per cent. to 1,558,475 in 1931. With the Baidyas and the Brahmans the Kayasthas form the upper class of Bengali Hindu society, and they are the most numerous caste in Bengal. Their greatest numbers are found in Chittagong (184,735), Calcutta (160,630), Mymensingh (151,116), Dacca (144,193), Bakarganj (137,310) and Tippera (133,741). The rate of increase is high but is less than the increase (16·5 per cent.) recorded in 1921. Even so, however, it is probably exaggerated by an increasing number of other castes claiming to be Kayasthas and recording themselves as such. Although no figures are available at the present census for Sudras and Khens, it is probable that increasing numbers of these groups have returned themselves as Kayasthas. Khastas and Sagirdpeshas as well as a group known as Badal in Murshidabad also claim the name; on the other hand, Mr. Thomson's assumption that Baruis had also included themselves does not seem to apply on the present occasion since Baruis have themselves increased by a very reasonable figure of 5 per cent. The Kayasthas are amongst the castes illustrated in diagrams Nos. XII-8 and XII-9.

The claim of the Kayastha caste on the present occasion was to be recorded as Kshatriya. In Bengal in the courts the Kayasthas have invariably been held to be Sudras. Thus the courts have (a) declared valid a marriage between Kayasthas and Tantis on the ground that it was merely between two groups of the Sudra *varna* and (b) found that there is a custom of inter-marriage between Vaidyas (described as Vaishyas) and Kayasthas (described as Sudras). In *Ishwariprasad vs. Raihari Prasadlal* (1926, I. L. R. VI, Patna, 506) the Bengal decisions were discussed and dissented from : but the question affected Kayasthas of Bihar who were differentiated from the Kayasthas of Bengal :—

"The social position, religious observances, customs and manners of the Kayasthas of Bihar are the same as those of the United Provinces and Oudh. Their marriages take place in the Kayastha families of the United Provinces and they dine with each other. They do not marry in the Kayastha families of Bengal and in fact have no concern with the Kayasthas of Bengal in matters social or religious. The Kayasthas of Bihar like those of the United Provinces are governed by the same school of Hindu Law, namely the Mitakshara Law of Benares as distinguished from the Dayabhaga which governs the Bengali Kayasthas."

The judgment established that the Kayasthas of Bihar were (a) Kshatriyas by *varna* and (b) entirely distinct from the Kayasthas of Bengal. The question arose again in a case before the Patna High Court (*Rajendra Prasad Bose vs. Gopal Prasad Sen*—1927, I. L. R., VII, 245). The parties were Bengal Kayasthas governed by the Dayabhaga school and the court held that they were not Sudras. This judgment came up before the Privy Council (*Rajendra Prasad Bose vs. Gopal Prasad Sen*—1930, C.W.N. XXXIV, 1161). The Patna Court had held that in virtue of the parties being of the regenerate castes there was an objection to the adoption of the step-brother of the testator whom the widow was directed to adopt if there were no objection : if there were any objection according to the Shastras she had power to adopt with the permission of the testator's father. As regards the objection of the adoption of the step-brother the Privy Council agreed with the Patna High

Court, and although the case in the Privy Council was decided on another point, viz., that the power to adopt ceased with the death of the testator's father, this decision apparently implies a ruling of the Privy Council that the Bengal Kayasthas are not Sudras. The legal position is at least obscure.

The claim to Kshatriya status was not pressed by the Kasyastha community and there are differences of opinion within the caste itself as to both the expediency and the desirability of making the claim. The Kayasthas of western India include a branch of Prabhu or Brahma Kayasthas and recent investigations suggest that the Kayasthas have at least as good a claim to inclusion within the Brahman *varna* as is generally sufficient to support these agitations. D. R. Bhandarkar many years ago pointed out that the Naga Brahmans of western India at an early period had names (*sarmans* or *amushyayanas*) identical with the names or titles (*padavis*) now borne by the Kayasthas of Bengal. This suggested a hypothesis of ethnic identity and he has recently developed (1) the hypothesis by an examination of their origin, showing first from epigraphic evidence that Brahmans existed in Bihar and Orissa as early as the fifth century A.D. bearing names now characteristic of the Kayasthas of Bengal, and secondly that there are indications that these Brahmans were of the same stock or migrated from the same region as produced the Nagar Brahmans of western India. It is now generally admitted that the Kayasthas as a caste did not come into existence until a comparatively late period and that the word previously indicated an executive, administrative, judicial or clerical officer of government and there seems also to be a fair measure of agreement that the Brahmans, as was natural, contributed a high proportion to the class of Kayasthas and consequently to the various groups from which the caste was formed. Ghurye (2) has recently examined the existing anthropometric data and finds that the differential index calculated by cumulation of a series of factors indicating divergence in a number of specific characteristics suggests a high degree of racial likeness between the Kayasthas and the Brahmans of Bengal and the Nagar Brahmans of Gujarat.

544. **Khambu** [R. I. 459 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 457 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 512 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—Figures for Khambus were compiled only for Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim in 1921. They then numbered 58,572 as against 62,310 on the present occasion. These figures include the figures for Jimdars in both years. The total number in Sikkim is 18,565 compared with 15,667 in 1921 and of the total number there returned 16,061 were shown under tribal religions, 97 under Buddhists and 10 under Christians and the remainder in Sikkim and Bengal were shown as Hindus.

545. **Khami**.—This is a tribe of the Chittagong Hill Tracts where 1,549 of the total 1,616 enumerated were found.

546. **Khas** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 456 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—The Khas numbered 7,236 in the district of Darjeeling and Sikkim in 1921. For the same areas on the present occasion their numbers are 11,142. Their number in 1911 in the whole of Bengal and Sikkim was 19,471 which has been reduced during the last two decades to 11,309, the explanation undoubtedly being that the majority of the tribe now return themselves as Chhattri and have consequently not been included in the returns under this group. In Sikkim 13 of the tribe were returned as Christian and in Jalpaiguri there were 27 returned under tribal religions and 37 as Buddhists; Sikkim contributing another 4 shown as Buddhists. This is one of the castes whose figures in various census years are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

547. **Khatik** [R. I. 477].—This is a caste of vegetable sellers originating in Bihar for which no figures were prepared in 1921. They number on the

(1) *Nagar Brahmans and Bengal Kayasthas—The Indian Antiquary*, March 1932 April 1932.

(2) G. S. Ghurye—*Caste and Race in India*, 1932.

present occasion no more than 1,157, more than half of whom are found in the 24-Parganas (320) and Calcutta (299), the remainder being concentrated almost exclusively in western Bengal.

548. **Khawas** [R. I. 485].—This is the slave caste of Nepal. It is difficult to distinguish them from the Gharti previously mentioned of which caste Risley gives this name as a sub-caste. Only 416 were recorded of whom 387 were returned from Darjeeling. They have now been emancipated by a Nepalese decree of 1924 and the name will disappear either by absorption into the Gharti caste or their consolidation into a fresh caste of Siva Bhaktis which has been specifically invented for them. The new caste name, however, is said to be unpopular, and many of the freed slaves find their liberty irksome as they are now forced to shift for themselves whereas they could always rely before on food and clothing from their masters.

549. **Khen** [C. R. 1921, V(i), 365].—The Khens, principally found in the north of Bengal and Assam, claimed as on previous occasions to be Kayasthas and alleged that their name was really nothing more or less than the Assamese mispronunciation of Sen, the Kayastha name. The claim was disallowed although it is reported in northern Bengal that they are looked upon as Kayasthas of a low class.

550. **Khyang** [R. I. 489].—This is one of the peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Figures were not shown for them in 1921 but they numbered 831 in 1911. Their present numbers are 1,002 and all are found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts with the exception of 2 who have been returned in Burdwan and 29 in Hooghly. The majority of the caste was returned as Buddhists, but 14 were shown under tribal religions and those recorded elsewhere than in the Chittagong Hill Tracts were shown as Hindus.

551. **Kisan** [B. I. 490 : R. II. 122 : C.R. 1901, VI(i), 348].—Kisan is a generic term for cultivator but it was directed that its use should be restricted on the present occasion to persons born or enumerated in Nepal or Darjeeling. The name was given by Gait (1911) as a synonym of the Nagesia tribe and as a title of the Oraons whilst Risley gives it as a sub-caste of Kalwars in Bihar and as a title of the Kharias in Chota Nagpur. They were shown separately in the caste table of 1911 but it is doubtful whether they ought not to have been included amongst the Nagesias or amongst the Oraons or Kharias. Their numbers were returned as 2,659 of whom the greater part (2,124) were found in the Darjeeling district.

552. **Kochh, Paliya and Rajbangshi** [R. I. 491 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 483, 513 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 356, 365. R. II. 155 : R. II. 183 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 382, 397 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 513 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 358, 366].—As early as the beginning of the 19th century Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton whilst noting the contention that these three castes considered themselves distinct, recorded his opinion that they were all originally the same. The identity of their ethnic origin was asserted by Risley and has been accepted by the High Court of Calcutta. So far as I know it has not been contested by any reliable authority, and such differences as exist between them have (when urged) been represented as due to an affinity of the Rajbangshis rather with the peoples of south-west Bengal amongst whom the Kaibarttas are characteristic than with those of Assam and north-east Bengal. On the other hand the claim of the Rajbangshis to be Kshatriyas is very old and was noted by Buchanan Hamilton at the beginning of the 19th century. It has now advanced far beyond the stage at which any evidence in support of the claim is put forward when it is represented, and the caste can rely upon the concessions which it has extorted at successive enumerations in the matter of a record of its name. Like the Mahishyas in the south-west Bengal, however, the Rajbangshis are not yet in a sufficiently strong position to disregard claims made by other groups with whom they have an affinity to

the same dignity of position as they themselves have claimed, and the bitterness of the Mahishyas against the Jalia Kaibarttas is paralleled in northern Bengal by a similar determination on the part of the Rajbangshis that there shall be no admission that the Kochhes or Paliyas have any title to investiture with the sacred thread or inclusion within the Kshattriya *varna*. The more backward and illiterate members of the Rajbangshi caste still maintain practices inconsistent with orthodox Hindu belief and the position which they claim. Divorce is still practised amongst them as well as the system of "companionate marriage" known as *ga goch* in Rangpur or *pani sarpan* in the Terai of Darjeeling. By this practice a young man is received into a family and cohabits with a girl of the household with the view of being accepted as a husband if the arrangement is suitable, and in the meantime he works for his prospective father-in-law. The remarriage of widows is customary and attachments not amounting to formal marriage are also entered into by widows or divorced women. These are mainly of two kinds. In the *ghar dhoka* type the woman betakes herself to the man to whom she has taken a fancy and is accepted by him : in the *dangua* or *pashua* relationship a widow, particularly if she has property, will secure to herself a protector. It is said that this last form of relationship is often adopted with a view to preventing interference by the relatives of the deceased husband with the administration of his property and it is interesting to notice that during the last decade the Calcutta High Court has ruled that Rajbangshis, quite independently of any proof of a custom of remarriage, are governed by the ordinary terms of Hindu Law and consequently a woman upon remarriage loses all title in the estate of her husband and that this is not affected by any differences in the nature of the ceremony celebrated. Practices like this and others at variance with the tenets of Hindu orthodoxy such as the indulgence in prohibited foods and liquors are discarded by the progressive members of the society, and where they are reported the additional difficulty arises that Kochhes and Paliyas also claim to be Kshattriyas and to adopt the sacred thread and that it is increasingly difficult for the observer to distinguish between these and the Rajbangshis. The Rajbangshis have now to some extent regularised the anomalous position in which they found themselves until recently owing to the fact that upon assumption of Kshattriya status they had all adopted themselves into the same *gotra* (Kasyapa) with the result that all marriages amongst Rajbangshis as Kshattriyas would, upon a strict interpretation of Hindu Law, have been invalid owing to their being within the same *gotra*. They have now increased the number of their *gotras* to twelve having in addition to the Kasyapa *gotra*, Sandilya, Parashara, Bharadwaja, Gautama, Savarna, Kapila, Thandi, Batsya, Maudgalya, Atri and Kausika or Viswamitra ; but, even amongst those families which have been invested with the sacred thread, it is apparently only the literate section which claims to belong to any *gotra* and these, when it is necessary to declare a *gotra* at all, plump for the Kasyapa *gotra* as a matter of course.

In 1911, Paliyas were included amongst Rajbangshis, and the total of Kochhes, Paliyas and Rajbangshis was 1,933,836. In 1921 no record of Paliyas was kept and the total of Kochh and Rajbangshi was 1,858,384. All three castes now total together 1,930,852, almost 3,000 less than in 1911. The Kochhes have declined from 131,273 in 1921 to 81,299 on the present occasion, and as has been mentioned already there is little doubt that, in spite of differences of caste nomenclature, it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep returns of Kochhes, who also claim to be Kshattriyas, Kochh Kshattriyas or Patit Kshattriyas and in some cases actually adopt or claim the title of Rajbangshi, separate from those of Rajbangshis proper with whom both they and the Paliyas have ethnic affinities. The small numbers returned in Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Rangpur, and indeed in other districts of northern Bengal in general, where it would be expected to find them in strength and where their greatest numbers were returned in 1911 and 1921, lend support to this supposition. Five-eighths of the total number of Kochhes were recorded in the two districts of Mymensingh (30,792) and Bogra (20,864). In Bogra some of them returned themselves as Patit Kshattriyas and have consequently escaped compilation. More than one

district census officer commented upon the fact that the distinctions between Kochh, Paliya and Rajbangshi were disappearing and that the sub-castes within each group were no longer exclusive. The Paliyas number 43,163. There are no figures for them in 1921 but in 1911 they numbered 172,495.

553. **Rajbangshi.**—The returns under this name were intended to be confined to the Rajbangshis having or claiming to have the same origin as the tribe from which the ruling house of Cooch Behar descends ; but the name is a title claimed also by numerous other groups and it is evident from the returns that the directions issued for restricting the name Rajbangshi to this group were not effective. The true Rajbangshis are practically confined to the districts of Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, Rajshahi and Bogra and the State of Cooch Behar ; but the numbers returned in Bogra were small and considerable numbers were also returned in Malda (42,009), 24-Parganas (40,047), Mymensingh (29,735), Darjeeling (26,969) and Dacca (26,947). In the districts of Western and Central Bengal the returns probably include a number who should rightly have been returned as Tiyars, Kaibarttas and other fishing or boating castes, whilst the fact that as many as 2,019 were returned as Buddhists in Tippera, Noakhalia, Chittagong and Tripura demonstrates that the numbers in Eastern Bengal returned under this name were actually Bengali (i.e., Barua or Bhuiya) Maghs principally found in Chittagong for whom, on the present occasion, no statistics have been compiled. Even in the districts in which the caste is strong the Kochhes and Paliyas who are ethnically allied to the Rajbangshis claim the title Rajbangshi and have probably succeeded in getting themselves returned as such. On the other hand the caste organisation is responsible for what may have been a diminution of the numbers of true Rajbangshis actually returned owing to the fact that at every stage of enumeration, even after I had interviewed large numbers of the caste with their accredited leading men, who had admitted the importance of including the distinctive term Rajbangshi in their caste name, members of the caste were called upon by the caste association to return themselves as Kshattriya only and to refuse information unless this return were actually made. The Rajbangshis are amongst the castes illustrated in diagrams Nos. XII-8 and XII-9. Taking the figures as they stand the numbers are 1,806,390, and they are the 3rd largest caste in Bengal. They were returned as 1,727,111 in 1921. In 1911, excluding Paliyas (172,495) and Desi (78,091) included in their published numbers that caste was 1,554,204 strong. It is however beyond hope that completely satisfactory figures should be obtained for this caste and the allied groups of Kochh and Paliya.

554. **Konai** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 420 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 356].—Figures were returned for this group in 1921 only in Birbhum where they amounted to 15,300 but have now declined to 14,387. The total number returned was 41,058 to which number the largest contribution was made by Murshidabad with 18,755.

555. **Koiris** [R. I. 500 : C. R. 1901, VI (i) 393 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 512 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 356, 365].—The claim of the Koiris to be recorded as Kuswaha Kshattriya was made to the Census Commissioner, but although there were members of this caste in Bengal no similar claim was received from any local body. Complete figures were not extracted for this caste but in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions they numbered 16,010. Figures were given for them in the 24-Parganas and Calcutta only in 1921 : they there numbered 5,739 males and 1,376 females against 5,801 males and 2,038 females in 1931.

556. **Kora** [R. I. 506 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 356, 365].—The figures for Koras were given only for Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore in 1921 but their total number in 1911 in the whole province was 46,497. On the present occasion their numbers are 49,265, and in the four districts for which figures were given in 1921 they numbered in all 39,322 compared with 29,881 in 1921 and have therefore made good the decline recorded in those districts during the previous decade. Over 90 per cent. were returned as Hindus and 2,476 as following tribal religions.

557. **Kotal** [R. I. 514 : C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 356].—Kotals were recorded only in Burdwan in 1921 when they numbered 4,930. On the present occasion their numbers have risen to 6,060 and the total number in the whole province is 7,651, the majority of the remainder being found in the adjacent district of Murshidabad where they number 1,253.

558. **Kuki** [C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 420].—The Kukis numbered in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State 6,133 in 1921 and their numbers in these two areas have now risen to 16,477 whilst their total number in the whole of Bengal is 16,592 compared with 5,563 in 1911. Tripura State contributes all but about 2,500 of the total number, and excluding 608 returned as Christians all were entered as Hindus with the exception of 2,117 returned in the Chittagong Hill Tracts under tribal religions. The large increase in Tripura State is probably due partly to immigration but also to the increased accuracy of the census figures. Figures for their numbers in successive census years are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

559. **Kumhar** [R. I. 517 : C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 356].—The Kumhars have increased during the decade from 284,653 in 1921 to 289,810 in 1931, an increase of 1·8 per cent. compared with the decrease of 2·1 per cent. in the previous decade.

560. **Kurmi** [R. I. 528 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 382, 393 : C. R. 1911, V (*i*), 512 : C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 356, 365].—The returns under this head include both the Bihar cultivating caste and the aboriginal tribe whose name is spelt the same with the exception that the “r” is soft. No attempt was made to distinguish between the two groups. The total number is 194,652 compared with 181,447 in 1921. As in that year considerably over one-half of them are found in Western Bengal and Midnapore actually contributes 85,711 to the total. None appear to have been returned under their tribal religion, although a number belonging to the aboriginal tribe were reported from Rajshahi during enumeration. In Midnapore they are generally known as Mahato, but this is a title also of Koiris and Kochhes and its use was discouraged. As with the Koiris the claim to be returned as Kurma Kshatriyas was received not from any local body claiming that appellation but from an all-India association.

561. **Lalbegi** [R. II. 3 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 436].—The Lalbegi are described by Risley as a class of Muhammadan sweepers and they are amongst the disputed groups claimed as Hindus by such bodies as the Hindu Mission and the Hindu Sabha. The number returned as Hindus on the present occasion amounted to 4,965 principally found in Calcutta (2,433) and the 24-Parganas (1,001).

562. **Lepcha** [R. II. 6 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 394 : C. R. 1911, V (*i*), 512].—Figures for Lepchas were given in 1921 only for Darjeeling and Sikkim where they numbered 18,690 compared with 25,161 on the present occasion. Their numbers have increased both in Sikkim and in Darjeeling, but outside these two areas on the present occasion also less than 650 were recorded in other districts. The total number now in Bengal amounts to 12,720 compared with 9,843 in 1911 whilst the figures for the two decades for Sikkim are 13,060 in 1931 and 9,031 in 1911. The bulk of the Lepchas are Buddhists but 456 in Jalpaiguri and 66 in Sikkim were returned as following tribal religions, 214 in Bengal as being Hindus and 1,950 as being Christians. Variations in their numbers are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

563. **Limbus** [R. II. 14 : C. R. 1901, VI (*i*), 457 : C. R. 1921, V (*i*), 363].—Figures for Limbus in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim in 1921 amounted to 22,721. In the same areas they now number 27,889. The contribution of Sikkim is 10,536 compared with 8,566 in 1911 and the number has risen also in the whole of Bengal from 16,878 in 1911 to 17,643. There is an increasing tendency for the Limbus and the Jimdars and Khambus to amalgamate.

564. **Lodha** [R. II. 21 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 422].—Figures for this group were not presented in 1921 but in 1911 they numbered 7,403 and have increased by 48·6 per cent. to 11,001 on the present occasion of whom no less than 9,820 were recorded in Midnapore.

565. **Luait**.—This name is not found in Risley or previous census reports but was reported to be the name of a caste found in the Bajitpur thana of Kishoreganj subdivision. They are reported by the local officers to be Hindus by religion following the ordinary Hindu rites and customs and having as their principal occupation the preparation of molasses and the sale of fried rice. They are said to be akin to the Modaks but to be untouchable whereas the Modaks are touchable, but further enquiries will be necessary before they can be pronounced to be a distinct caste.

566. **Lushai**.—No figures were given for Lushais in 1921. In 1911 no more than 59 were recorded but the number on the present occasion is 3,036 almost entirely divided between Tripura (1,836) and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (1,144). Surprisingly large numbers of Lushais were returned as Christians, the only other religion returned being 752 Hindus and 25 following tribal religions.

567. **Maghs** [R. II. 28 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 424 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 373].—The term Magh is ordinarily applied to two entirely distinct groups, viz., a Chittagonian Buddhist group and the Arakan Maghs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Chittagong. The Bengali-speaking Chittagonian Maghs petitioned for the use of a distinctive name. The claim of this caste is to Kshatriya status and they trace their descent from the Buddhists of Magadha who are by them alleged to have migrated from their old home on the revival of Brahmanism and the advent of the Mogals. Risley distinguished this group as “Marma-gri” Maghs and the Arakanese as “Jumiya, Roang and Rakhaing”, but the group speak Bengali and a Burmese description of this kind is not used amongst themselves and suggests a Burmese source. They are Buddhists and repudiate caste, but their inheritance and to some extent their marriage ceremonies are governed by the Hindu Law (Dayabhaga or Mitakshara), though they permit marriage with a mother’s brother’s (but not a mother’s sister’s) child.

568. **Mahar** [R. II. 38].—The figures for this caste on the present occasion are 1,986. They are described as an Orissa tribe of basket makers : no figures were given for them in 1921 and in 1911 they numbered 738. Less than one-fifth of the total number were returned outside the district of Midnapore.

569. **Mahishya** [R. I. 375 : C. R. 1901, VI (i) 380 ; C. R. 1911, V (i), 498, 511 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 354, 355].—The Mahishyas are the most numerous caste in Bengal. They number 2,381,266 and have increased by 7·7 per cent. from 2,210,684 in 1921. They are most numerous in Midnapore (883,367) and the 24-Parganas (329,480), but they are found in every district except the Chittagong Hill Tracts and although their numbers have probably been swelled by the inclusion in some parts of Jalia Kaibarttas or possibly Patnis and other fishing castes claiming to have taken to agriculture and to be entitled to the use of this name, there is no reason to believe that the caste has not substantially increased during the last decade. Their distribution is illustrated in diagram No. XII-8 and their growth in diagram No. XII-9. The claim which appeared for the first time at the present census in the case of the Mahishyas was to be recorded as Kshatriyas or Mahishya Kshatriyas. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the history of this caste which is of the same origin and derivation as the Jalia Kaibarttas and was known as the Chasi Kaibartta on first differentiating itself from them. It is sufficient to state that they have succeeded in establishing themselves as a different caste from the Jalia Kaibarttas and that they have secured the official recognition by Government of the caste name by which they appear in the present reports. In 1921 Mr. Thompson included them amongst the depressed classes but they have strenuously protested against that inclusion not only to the Indian Statutory Commission but also subsequently. Their claim to Kshatriya

status rests upon the traditional derivation of their caste said to exist in sacred writings in which they are represented as the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother. In 1901 and so far as I know until the present census they have claimed to be Vaisyas and this is the status which their priests the Gaudadya Brahmans also claim for them. The actual derivation of their original name Kaibartta is now represented as being different from the derivation of the same term applied to the Jalia Kaibarttas. In the case of the Jalia Kaibarttas it is alleged that it derives from the roots *ka* water and *vrit* exist (*ka+vriddhi+ach*) whereas it is contended for the Mahishyas that the derivation of the same word is from an original word *kim* cultivation and *vrit* exist (*kin+vriddhi+an*). The derivation seems to be clearly one which will not be favoured if a claim to Kshatriya status is persisted in. The movement is young and professes to find an identification of the Mahishyas with the *Mahesris* of Maharashtra and the *Maheswaris* of Rajputana. It is not an agitation which has received the considered opinion of the caste association although considerable numbers of printed applications were received from districts all emanating from the same press and evidently distributed to branches of the same organisation. In Noakhali district the claim of a branch of the Mahishya community which had been originally put forward in 1901 again came forward. A number of Mahishyas in this district claim to be recorded as Deva Das. They mainly relied upon the fact that they had succeeded in registering documents under that title and the contentions that there was no inter-marriage or commensality with the other Mahishyas of the locality and that they enjoyed the services of *srotriya* Napits on ceremonial occasions. These contentions were supported by a book entitled *Deva Das Kulachar* which, however, was not published until 1931 and which provides for this community a derivation similar to that alleged in the Shastras for the Brahmans and other *varnas*. It is contended that just as these groups came from different limbs of the Creator so the Deva Das came from His extreme eye-brow. The claim to be recorded as Deva Das was examined by the local officers and it was found that the evidence from registration of documents was inconclusive as the persons were indiscriminately described as Deva Das or Halia Das and similar other terms used by the Mahishyas whilst instances were found still to exist in which members of this community were married to Mahishyas.

570. **Mahli** [R. II. 40.]—No figures for this caste were given in 1921. They are described by Risley as a “Dravidian” caste of labourers, palki bearers and bamboo workers found in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal. They are now found in largest numbers in Jalpaiguri (7,171), Midnapore (3,678) and Dinajpur (3,153), these three districts between them accounting for over 70 per cent. of the total number in the whole province which is 19,106. Their numbers were returned as 15,965 in 1901 and the increase is clearly due to emigration into Jalpaiguri where they numbered in that year only 3,267 or less than half their present numbers. Of the total number 16,202 were returned as Hindus, 1,737 under tribal religions and 1,107 as Christians.

The district officer of Burdwan reported that the Mahlis, although almost completely bengalised, have still retained some of their original dialect terms as follows :—

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|---------|
| (1) Water : Dak দাক্ | as well as | জল। |
| (2) Rice : Daka দাকা | „ | ভাত। |
| (3) Curry : Utu উতু | „ | তরকারী। |
| (4) Salt : Gulun গুলুন | „ | নুন। |
| (5) Hut : Gura গুরা | „ | ঘর। |
| (6) Cow : Dandry দান্দ্রী | „ | গরু। |

He cites also the following expressions used amongst themselves :—

- (1) Dela hijuk se (দেলা হিজুক ছে) meaning “come to me”.
- (2) O kate chalaya (ওকাত্তে চালায়া) meaning “where do you go”.
- (3) Orate chala kana (ওরাত্তে চালা কানা) meaning “go home”.
- (4) Chit mandar (চিট মন্দার) meaning “what are you doing”.

571. **Mal** [R. II. 45 : C. R. 1901, VI (i) 394 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 357, 365].—The figures for Mals on the present occasion are 111,422, a decrease of 5·2 per cent. on the figures of 117,537 recorded in 1921. Two members of the caste were returned as Buddhists in Howrah and 253 under tribal religions but the remainder are Hindus. The figures on the present occasion are an increase over the numbers recorded in 1911, viz., 108,163, and it has already been stated that there is little reason to believe that there has been any considerable confusion between their name and the Malos included amongst Jhalo Malo. More than one-third of the total number were located in Birbhum (40,999), but there were more than 10,000 of them also in Bankura, Murshidabad and Mymensingh.

572. **Mali** [R. II. 45 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 394 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 357, 365].—The number of this caste returned on the present occasion was 79,084 compared with 56,704 in 1921; but, as in 1921, the figures are misleading owing to the claim of the Bhuinmalis to be known by this name and the probability, supported by the decline in the figures of the Bhuinmalis, is that some of them have been returned as Malis. The claim of the Mali caste to Vaisya status was disallowed, but it is possible that some contrived to return Vaisya and thus to reduce the inflation of the numbers of the caste caused by the Bhuinmalis.

573. **Mallahs** [R. II. 63 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 394, 448].—Separate figures for Mallahs were not recorded in 1921 and they were possibly included in the figures for Malos. On the present occasion they number 26,254 compared with 27,142 in 1911. They are found in the greatest numbers in Mymensingh (7,246) and the 24-Parganas (4,035), but more than 1,000 were found in each of the districts of Calcutta, Dinajpur, Hooghly, Rangpur and Malda, and were recorded in every district except Bankura, Faridpur, Noakhali and the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

574. **Mal Pahariya** [R. II. 66 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 516].—Figures for Mal Pahariya were not given in 1921 but in 1911 they numbered 11,739. On the present occasion their numbers have increased to 13,521 and they are mainly found in Northern Bengal principally in the districts of Rajshahi (5,368), Jalpaiguri (2,735) and Dinajpur (1,592) which between them contribute 84 per cent. of the total recorded in the province. There were 469 returned as Christians, 1,270 under tribal religions and the remainder as Hindus.

575. **Mangar** [R. II. 74 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 456 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—Figures for Mangars were returned in 1921 only for Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim where they totalled 26,643. In these three areas they now amount to 27,840 of whom Sikkim contributes 4,194 compared with 3,655 in 1921. Their total number in Bengal has risen from 21,516 in 1911 to 24,042 on the present occasion. There were 68 returned in Bengal as Buddhists and 148 in Bengal and 2 in Sikkim under tribal religion, the remainder being returned as Hindus.

576. **Manjhis** [R. II. 77 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 458].—Manjhis amounted to 922 in Bengal and 338 in Sikkim. Comparison with previous years is made difficult by the fact that figures for them were compiled in 1911 only for Eastern Bengal. The figures shown should represent only the Nepalese caste, but "Manjhi" is very commonly used as a name or title by the Santals, Oraons and a number of other tribes as well as being a functional designation, and it is doubtful whether the returns, at least for Tripura, were confined to the Nepalese caste whilst the same may be said of the much smaller and less doubtful returns in Bankura and Midnapore.

577. **Mech** [R. II. 86 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 483 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363, 365].—Figures for Mechs were recorded in 1921 only for Jalpaiguri district where they numbered 10,777. In the same district their numbers are now 9,510 and their decline in the whole province has been very considerable since 1911 when they numbered 20,730, as they now total only 9,984. The advance of settled cultivation is driving these shy people from Bengal into the less developed parts across the border in Assam. Cultivation and the weaving of fabrics of *muga* and *endi* silk are their chief occupations. The variations in their numbers are illustrated by diagram No. XII-10.

578. **Mehtar** [R. II. 91].—Figures for Mehtars were recorded in 1911 in Eastern Bengal where they numbered 5,714. On the present occasion their numbers in the same area (Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions with the states of Cooch Behar and Tripura) are 6,676. Their total in the whole province is 23,281. The name is not strictly that of a caste but many of the sweeper castes were unable or professed to be unable to give their real caste name and the term had to be adopted during the course of enumeration *faute de mieux*. Their numerical strength is 7,301 in Calcutta and 2,184 in the 24-Parganas and more than 1,000 of the caste are found in other districts, only in Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah, Dinajpur and Mymensingh.

579. **Morangia** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 424].—Details of this group have not been given in the tables. They were reported during enumeration only from the State of Cooch Behar where they are said to have been brought from the Morang in the eastern Terai of Nepal by one of the previous rulers of the state. They claimed to be returned as Kshattriyas, and as they had been previously returned as Morangia Kshattriyas they were permitted to use the same name in the schedules.

580. **Mru** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 424].—The total number of the caste returned is 7,404 of whom 7,328 are contributed by the Chittagong Hill Tracts compared with 8,281 returned as Mrung in 1921. The return of Mrung is misleading since it is actually the name of a group of Tiparas and should not be used at all for Mru, and it is possible that the decline on the present occasion is due to the exclusion from this group of the entry Mrung and its restriction to the Tiparas. The total number of Tiparas has indeed shown an astonishing increase in Tippera, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State from 153,921 in 1921 to 200,533 on the present occasion, and the two contributory causes which may very likely be responsible are first that as was actually reported for parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Mrung was written erroneously for Mru upon the belief that it was a bengalised form of the tribal name, and secondly that in 1921 all entries of Mru were included under Mrung and shown under that name and not as Mru although some portion at least thus shown should have been returned as Tiparas.

581. **Muchi** [R. II. 95 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 388, 449 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 353, 365].—This caste numbered 417,594 in 1921 and has decreased by 0·8 per cent. to 414,221 on the present occasion. The largest number was returned from Burdwan (63,885), Birbhum (45,395), Jessore (37,158), 24-Parganas (33,434), Nadia (30,561), Mymensingh (24,041), Dacca (23,674), Murshidabad (22,448) and Khulna (21,435). Except in Mymensingh and Dacca the numbers of the caste are comparatively small in all the districts of Northern and Eastern Bengal and nearly three-quarters of the total caste are found in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions.

582. **Mundas** [R. II. 101 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 395 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 471, 513 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—The Mundas now number 108,686 of whom 63,107 were returned as Hindus, and 42,321 as following tribal religions. They have increased by 9·4 per cent. from the figure of 1921 which was 99,343. Well over a third are found in Jalpaiguri where they work as tea garden labourers and another one-fifth in the 24-Parganas. The only other district in which they are present in comparatively large numbers is Rajshahi with 12,609. There were 40,574 Hindus and 58,769 professing tribal religions amongst the Mundas in 1921, but on the present occasion these numbers have been roughly reversed and there are 63,107 Hindus and 42,321 professing tribal religions. Their numbers from census to census are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

583. **Murmi** [R. II. 110 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—Figures for Murmis were compiled in 1921 only for the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and for Sikkim. In Darjeeling they numbered 30,450 compared with the present numbers of 33,481. In Jalpaiguri 3,086 were returned in 1921 but this number has now decreased to 1,360. These two districts, however, still contribute between them less than 400 short of the total number returned in Bengal and of the remainder 313 are found in Cooch Behar. In Sikkim the

numbers increased from 6,180 in 1921 to 7,017 on the present occasion. They majority of the group in Bengal (34,498) and in Sikkim (6,993) were returned as Buddhists and of the remainder a great majority were returned as Hindus.

584. **Musahar** [R. II. 113 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 395].—This caste of palki-bearers and field labourers totals 11,784 in Bengal against 11,874 in 1911, no figures being on record for 1921. As in 1911 the great majority of the caste is found in northern Bengal, which contains almost three-quarters of the total number found in the province and the greatest part of this is concentrated in Malda (3,175), Dinajpur (2,916) and Rangpur (1,207).

585. **Nagar** [R. II. 120 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 357].—This is a small group of cultivators amounting to 16,164 of whom 14,356 are found in Malda. In 1921 the only figures given were of Malda district (14,714) and in 1911 figures were shown only for the districts in Eastern Bengal and the numbers in Malda amounted to 18,505.

586. **Nagesia** [R. II. 122].—For this group no figures were recorded in 1921. In 1911 they numbered 1,277 of which all except 2 were found in the two districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. On the present occasion their numbers are 2,291 and again they are practically confined to Jalpaiguri (1,641) and Darjeeling (358).

587. **Namasudra** [R. II. 123 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 395 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 445, 503, 513 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 357, 365].—The figures for Namasudras amount to 2,094,957 compared with 2,006,259 in 1921 showing an increase of 4.4 per cent. They are the second largest caste in Bengal and are amongst the groups illustrated in diagrams Nos. XII-8 and XII-9. They are most numerous in the Dacca and Presidency Divisions, particularly in the districts of Bakarganj, Faridpur, Jessore and Khulna, though they are present in considerable numbers also in the neighbouring districts of Tippera, Dacca and also Mymensingh.

The claim of the Namasudras to be Brahmans has been made from some time but has not been at all seriously contested until the present census. The claim to the name Namabrahma is apparently confined to a small section of the community located in Bakarganj. In Mymensingh the name claimed is Namabrahman and in Khulna the claim was to be recorded simply as Brahmans without distinction. The branch of the society claiming the name Namabrahma approached the Census Commissioner and apparently gave him to understand that they wished to be distinguished from other members of the caste who were not cultivators on the analogy of the Mahishyas in Western Bengal. No such contention was put forward in representations to me that it is in any case ridiculous in view of the fact that the Namasudras are a caste without any specific caste occupation and including groups following a very large number of different occupations. The claim of some groups of the caste to a change in name is viewed with alarm by other portions and a representation was received protesting against the disruptive effect which would be produced if the claim were granted. The more advanced leaders of the caste very rightly consider that claims to change of name are of very much less importance than an effective improvement in the educational and cultural level of the caste and in the development of initiative, self-reliance and a proper self-respect. In parts of the province the Namasudras far from being ashamed of their caste name are proud of it, but it was in Khulna where this characteristic has been reported of them and where they have distinguished themselves by sturdy independent activities for the social betterment of their caste that the claim to the simple name Brahman was encountered. In addition to the synonyms given the term Namasudra includes also the Karals who were discovered during the process of enumeration to be returned under this name in the Magura subdivision, Jessore.

588. **Napit** [R. II. 124 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 358].—The numbers of this caste have risen from 444,188 in 1921 to 451,068 on the present occasion after a slight decrease in the previous decade of 0.7 per cent. between 1911 and

1921. They are evenly distributed throughout the whole of Bengal as indeed is to be expected of a caste whose services are necessary at the *chaula*, *upanayana* and marriage ceremonies of Hindus of all castes when they will consent to serve.

In other parts of India the Napits claimed amongst other names the term Nai Brahman and early secured permission to use this name in returning their caste. Permission had necessarily to be extended also to Bengal for the use of this term, which however was entirely unheard of in most parts of Bengal and was not put forward as a claim by any group of the Napit community until the information had filtered through from the all-India association of the caste to the effect that the permission had been given. Such representations for the use of this name as were received all emanated in print from the same press in Dinajpur district. The claim to Brahmanical status is based apparently upon two contentions, first that they perform the functions performed for the gods by Savita and Adhvaryu, and secondly their presence is essential at the *upanayana* and marriage ceremonies even of Brahmans at which, as the representative of Savita Deva, they claim to receive a certain measure of "adoration." The term invented for themselves by the Napits of Eastern Bengal is Sabitri or Savitri Brahman, but the use of this term was forbidden. If the term Napit is disliked by the caste there is no reason why they should not adopt some such expression as Narasundar, a title which they assume in parts of Bengal and which so far as I know is not claimed by any other caste. I think it is certain that in Bengal, at least, the permission to this caste to return its members as Nai Brahmans has been regarded with ridicule by the majority of Hindu society, and that it has certainly made it more difficult to refuse similar concessions in the case of other castes.

589. **Nat** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 425, 443 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 459].—No figures were given for this caste in 1921. They numbered 9,774 in 1911 but their numbers are now returned only as 7,384 the majority of whom are found in the three districts of Bakarganj (2,620), Tippera (1,223) and Noakhali (1,272).

The name applies to two distinct groups, viz., the Kharwar Nats who are a proclaimed criminal tribe and a group found principally in Eastern Bengal and who are amongst the untouchables and claim to be recorded as Bratya Kshattriya.

590. **Newar** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 452 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 484 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—The Newars have a very complete and complicated caste organisation but no attempt was made to record their separate groups and in Nepal to which they are indigenous the conquering Gorkhas discourage any distinction of caste groups amongst these people and regard them more as a national or tribal entity. They are the original inhabitants of the Nepal valley. Figures were given in 1921 only for Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim. In Darjeeling they then numbered 8,751 and in Jalpaiguri 2,226; their numbers for these two districts are now 10,235 and 2,254, respectively. Their total number in the whole province is very little more than the aggregate of these two districts and amounts to 12,640. In Sikkim their numbers were 2,516 in 1921 and are now 3,811. The great majority of the tribe are Hindus; they returned "Buddhist" as their religion only in 83 cases in Bengal and 29 in Sikkim, and no more than 69 (all in Bengal) were returned under tribal religions.

591. **Oraons** [R. II. 138 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 397 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 472, 513 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—The Oraons number 228,161 compared with 202,442 in 1921 thus showing an increase of 12·7 per cent. Like the Mundas they are most numerous in Jalpaiguri (127,530) where they are employed as tea garden labourers, but they are in considerable numbers also in Dinajpur (18,667), 24-Parganas (16,021), Rajshahi (15,091) and Darjeeling (12,412). In 1921, 64,677 were returned as Hindus, and 137,765 as following tribal religions, but on the present occasion these proportions have been almost reversed for 136,427 were returned as Hindus, and only 83,792 under tribal religions. In accordance with the practice of Hindu Missionaries converts are given titles implying a Kshattriya status and the claim was raised during

enumeration that they should be returned as their caste name. It was represented that they could otherwise point to no distinction from their unconverted and now despised tribesmen and would be denied even the acknowledgment of superiority to them; and they did not seem to be impressed by the argument that if their tribal name were suppressed they would not know even how strong the regenerated members of the tribe are. The line shown in diagram No. XII-10 without an indication of the caste actually represents Oraons.

592. **Pan** [R. II, 155].—Figures for this caste were not obtained in 1921 but they numbered 1,943 in 1911 and their numbers have now declined to 1,855 of whom no fewer than 1,064 are found in Tripura where only 212 were recorded in 1911. In British districts the largest numbers are found in 24-Parganas (312) and Midnapore (270). They are described by Risley as a "Dravidian" tribe and their occupations are weaving, basket making and menial service.

593. **Pasi** [R. II, 166].—For this caste also no figures were obtained in 1921. They numbered 15,043 in 1911 and their numbers have increased on the present occasion to 18,925 more than one-third of whom are found in the 24-Parganas (6,552). The only other districts with any considerable numbers are Howrah (2,756) and Calcutta (2,451). They are described by Risley as of "Dravidian" origin and are a caste of tappers of date and other palm trees and distillers of toddy.

594. **Patni** [R. II, 170 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 358, 365].—Patnis numbered 43,955 in 1921 and their numbers on the present occasion had decreased by 7·3 per cent. to 40,766. The decrease repeats a decrease also recorded during the decade 1911 to 1921 and the variations from district to district are considerable. In Mymensingh where the most notable decrease was recorded in 1921 the figures have increased from 6,008 to 10,419, but in most districts there has been a decrease. The aspiration of the Patnis to use of the name Mahishya is strongly resented by the Mahishya (or Chasi Kaibartta) community.

595. **Pod** [R. II, 176 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 382, 395 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 513 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 358, 365].—The Pods numbered 588,394 in 1921 and have increased to 667,731; over half of the number are found in the 24-Parganas (399,082) and more than a quarter in Khulna (182,526). They are 36,688 strong in Midnapore and 23,183 in Howrah but their numbers do not reach as many as 10,000 in any of the other districts. They again claimed Kshattriya status and the title respectively of Paundra and Paundra Kshattriya.

596. **Pundari** [R. II, 179 ; C. R. 1901, VI (i) 425 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 366].—Figures for Pundaris were shown in 1921 only for Birbhum, Murshidabad and Malda, but although they were 2,514 in Birbhum in 1921 none were there returned under this name on the present occasion: almost half of those returned came from the 24-Parganas (14,597), and Murshidabad contributed rather less than a quarter (7,556). Malda with 4,004 and Rajshahi with 3,484 are the only other districts in which the caste occurs in any considerable number. The claim to the name Pundra Kshattriya again appeared on the present census.

597. **Rabha**.—No figures are on record for this caste in 1921 and they were compiled in 1911 only for Eastern Bengal comprising the Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions where they numbered 734. Their numbers on the present occasion are 3,056 of whom 2,076 or more than two-thirds are found in Jalpaiguri and all except 42 of the remainder in Cooch Behar. They are a section of the Bodo tribe of lower Assam.

598. **Rai** [R. II, 182 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 457.]—This is one of the Kiranti group of Nepali tribes which it is almost impossible to distinguish from Jimdars, Khambus and Limbus. There are no figures on record for either 1911 or 1921 and on the present occasion their numbers were 6,277 of whom the great majority were settled in Darjeeling (4,691) and Jalpaiguri (1,133).

The difficulty of separating them from the other tribes named is illustrated by the fact that no returns under this name were received from Sikkim in spite of a large element in the population formed by the Kiranti group of Nepalese settled there.

599. **Rajput** [R. II. 184 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 398 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 514].—Figures for Rajputs amount to 156,978 but the extreme indefiniteness of the position of any group bearing this name renders it impossible to draw any precise deductions as to the numbers included at this compared with previous enumerations.

600. **Raju** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 426 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 366].—Figures for Rajus were collected in 1921 only in Midnapore, where they numbered 52,091. Their numbers in the same district are now 54,764 : this forms the greater part of the total for Bengal (56,778), and the remainder are principally found in the 24-Parganas (1,906). Their numbers in 1911 were 61,064 and the decrease is naturally greatest in Midnapore which is the headquarters of the group.

601. **Rajwar** [R. II. 192].—Figures for this group were not given in 1921. In 1911 they numbered 22,301 and on the present occasion their numbers are 21,337 showing a decrease since 1911 of 4·3 per cent. They are described by Risley as a "Dravidian" cultivating caste of Bihar, Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur who are probably a branch of one of the aboriginal races. They were returned in the greatest strength in Midnapore (4,561) and Nadia (3,318), but they are comparatively numerous also in Burdwan (2,067), 24-Parganas (1,730), Murshidabad (1,623), Rajshahi (1,394), Rangpur (1,401) and Malda (1,191).

602. **Sadgops** [R. II. 212 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 383, 398 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 358].—The Sadgops number 571,772 showing an increase of 7·2 per cent. over their numbers of 1921 when they were 533,236 strong. The caste had declined in numbers in successive decades from 1901 to 1911 and 1911 to 1921 and the name covers groups in Northern, Western and Eastern Bengal said to be of entirely different origin. They were returned in the greatest strength in Western Bengal which contributed over two-thirds of their number and the adjoining districts of Malda, Murshidabad, 24-Parganas and Calcutta also contributed very nearly one-fifth. The figures include those returned as Satchasis. This is a synonym for Sadgop in Western Bengal, but the Chasadhopas have also adopted it as a name. The inclusion of those returned under it was probably a mistake and it is quite possible that some part of the increase if not all is due to the inclusion of persons who ought to have been classed as Chasadhopas. The returns therefore include persons of three if not of four different castes. (1) There is a small group recognising as Sadgops only a number of families whose origin is traced to the Burdwan district. They claim that commensal and connubial rights are confined within this small group, and that the institution of *kulinism* is peculiar to a section of the caste. They would derive their caste name from (a) *sat* good or (b) *sattrin* (householder) and Gopa (a landlord, keeper of land, keeper of cattle, village official). (2) There are also the Satgoalas who are recruited from the Goalas, as is generally admitted and is claimed by the Goalas themselves for the group known as Satgoala or Satgop in North and West Bengal. (3) There are thirdly the "Satchashis" who in East Bengal are probably Chashadhopas. (4) Fourthly there are "Satgoalas" of East Bengal who may or may not be the same as No. (3).

603. **Sankhabanik** [R. II. 221 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 353].—As on previous occasions the Sankhabaniks claimed to be Vaisyas. The caste is not sufficiently extensive to have been included amongst those whose details have been extracted.

604. **Santals** [R. II. 224 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 399 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 449, 474, 514 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 366].—The Santals numbered 712,040 in 1921 and have now increased by 11·9 per cent. to 796,656. Like the Oraons the proportions returned as Hindus and under tribal religions have changed very

considerably since 1921. In that year only 158,383 were returned as Hindus compared with 553,657 returned under tribal religions. But on the present occasion Hindus number 433,502 and those professing tribal religions were only 352,386 in numbers, so that the Hindus have increased from 22·2 per cent. of the total to almost 54·5. Mr. Thompson reported in 1921 that the Hindus amongst Mundas and Santals were about the same in number as on the three previous enumerations and had decreased in the case of the Oraons. This tendency has been reversed owing to missionary efforts and to the natural increase in the numbers of Hindus amongst these three tribes. The map forming diagram No. XII-3 shows the numbers of Mundas, Oraons and Santals per 1,000 of the total population in 1921 and 1931.

605. **Sarki** [R. II. 238].—The Nepali group Sarki numbered 2,036 in 1921 in the district of Darjeeling where its numbers are now 2,432. The total numbers in the whole of the province are 3,428 and 993 of the remainder not found in Darjeeling were returned from Jalpaiguri. The caste numbered 2,974 in 1911 when there were in Sikkim 281 in comparison with 249 on the present occasion.

606. **Sahas** [R. II. 215, 248 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 383 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 516 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 358] and **Sunris** [R. II, 275 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 516 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 358].—The Shahas have comparatively recently succeeded in separating themselves in census returns and general estimation from the Sunris upon the ground that they do not manufacture or deal in spirituous liquors. They have now given a further demonstration of the fissiparous tendencies of Indian castes and include the two conflicting sub-castes who have taken the distinguishing names of Varendra and Rarhi and are represented by different caste organisations. The claim of both is to be recorded in the Vaisya *varna* but the Varendra Shahas claim to possess a greater purity of blood than the Rarhi Shahas whose professed object through their Vaisya Shaha Mahasabha is to encourage the solidarity of all groups of Shahas whilst at the same time preserving their distinctness from the Sunris. The claim to inclusion within the Vaisya *varna* is not supported unanimously by the caste and protests against it were received from caste members who alleged that the caste does not wear the sacred thread or recite the *gayatri* mantra, that they practise *sagotra* marriage and observe on bereavement the ceremonial period of pollution for 30 days. In High Court judgment (Srimati Raseswari Chaudhurani *versus* Sudhir Chandra Das) in 1925 where the parties were Shahas of the Varendra sub-caste and the validity of an adoption by a widow of her husband's daughter's son was challenged and could have been supported in the case of twice-born classes only by proof of custom, the judges without considering the existence of custom at all held that the adoption was valid upon the ground that there was no doubt that the Shahas were considered as Sudras in Bengal, and it is therefore clear that if the claim to Vaisya status is raised in the courts this judgment will have to be reconsidered before it can be allowed.

The elevation of the Shahas in social position has naturally stimulated the Sunris, particularly those who no longer follow the traditional caste occupation of dealing in liquor, to emulate them and claim a similar social status and the same name. Taking the two groups together the numbers have been increased from 452,233 in 1921 to 497,119 in 1931, but whereas the Sunris have decreased from 92,492 in 1921 to 76,920 the numbers returned as Shahas have increased from 359,731 to 420,199. As on previous occasions Sunris were returned in strongest numbers in western Bengal and Shahas in eastern Bengal and the districts of Pabna, Jessore, Khulna and Calcutta. Economy prevented the collection of complete figures for sub-castes and the Varendra Shahas of Purbba-Banga Vaishya Samity supplied the figures shown below for their sub-caste :—

				SADHUBANIK.		
				Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
Bengal	..	..	..	55,970	28,394	27,596
Mymensingh (Tangail)	..	..	..	14,050	6,826	7,224
Dacca	..	..	..	23,842	11,836	12,006
Dacca City	..	..	..	4,866	2,244	2,422
Pabna	..	..	..	3,031	3,921	4,110
Faridpur	..	..	..	2,656	1,831	1,855
Calcutta	..	..	..	2,443	2,115	828
Nabadwip	..	..	..	262	111	151

The census figures where available are also given but are very much lower than the estimate made by the sub-caste :

SADHUBANIK.				Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
District and subdivision.						
Dacca District	..	..	..	8,393	4,681	3,712
Sadar subdivision	..	..	..	2,289	1,031	1,268
Narayanganj subdivision	..	..	..	963	331	632
Munshiganj subdivision	..	..	..	86	62	24
Manikganj subdivision	..	..	..	5,046	3,257	1,789
Mymensingh District	..	..	..	4,892	1,654	3,238
Sadar subdivision	..	..	..	88	30	68
Jamalpur subdivision	..	..	..	63	..	63
Tangail subdivision	..	..	..	4,100	1,570	2,521
Netrokona subdivision	..	..	..	351	45	306
Kishoreganj subdivision	..	..	..	282	..	282
Faridpur District	..	..	..	950	718	232
Sadar subdivision	..	..	..	177	177	..
Gopalganj subdivision	..	..	..	550	458	92
Madarijore subdivision	..	..	..	171	74	97
Gowalundo subdivision	..	..	..	52	9	43

This group desires to secure for itself the exclusive use of the name "Sadhubanik" and produced an imposing mass of *vyavasthas* and opinions given by learned Brahmans in support of their contention that they are of the Vaishya *varna*. These were all produced during the census operations of 1911 and are commented on in the report for that year (*Report on the Census India, 1911, Vol. V, part I, page 442, paragraph 829*).

As on previous occasions the Sunris also claimed to be Kshatriyas (as well as Shahas and by implication Vaishyas) and in Jangipur subdivision of Murshidabad district one group claimed without offering any justification or proof to be recorded as Saundias.

607. **Sunuwar** [R. II. 281 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 363].—Figures for this tribe in 1921 were shown, for Bengal, only in Darjeeling where they numbered 3,691. On the present occasion in the same district they number 4,055 out of a total for the whole province amounting to 4,427 compared with 4,323 in 1911. In Sikkim their numbers have increased from 695 to 790. The majority of the tribe returned themselves as Hindus both in Sikkim and in Darjeeling where only 23 and 48 respectively were returned under tribal religions.

608. **Sutradhars** [R. II. 287 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 356 : C. R. 1911, V(i) 442 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 359].—The Sutradhars of Kanchrapara as elsewhere claimed to be recorded as Viswakarma Brahman ; but no similar claim was received from other members of the caste in Bengal, and it is very probable that the claim originated from up-countrymen in the railway workshops who had been stimulated to make it by their fellow caste-men in other parts of India.

609. **Swarnakar**.—The Swarnakars also claimed to be recorded as Viswakarma Brahmans.

610. **Tanti and Tatwa** [R. II. 295 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 400 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 506, 516 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 359].—The numbers of these two cognate castes were 319,613 in 1921 and 330,518 on the present occasion so that they have more than made up their decline from the figure of 322,983 recorded in 1911. They were returned in the greatest numbers in Western Bengal and the neighbouring districts of Calcutta and the 24-Parganas where their numbers amounted to more than two-thirds of the total returned in the whole province, but they are also comparatively strong in Malda, Mymensingh, Dacca and Murshidabad.

611. **Tharu** [R. II. 312].—This is a tribe from the foot-hills of Nepal for which numbers were not published in 1921. They numbered 1,317 in 1911 but are now returned as no more than 482 of whom 231 are in Darjeeling district and 159 in Calcutta. Variations in their numbers are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

612. **Tipara** [R. II. 323 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 438].—The Tiparas number 203,069 and were returned outside Tippera, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State, only in Mymensingh. Full figures were not shown for this tribe in 1921, but their numbers in 1911 amounted to 130,025 only,

of whom 94,075 were found in the Tripura State compared with 161,005 on the present occasion. By 1921 the tribe had nearly doubled itself since 1891 and the present figure shows a further increase of 32 per cent., contributed principally by Tripura State where, as in 1921, some part of the increase may be due to increased accuracy in the census returns. It is possible that some of those returned in the Chittagong Hill Tracts as Mrung and included amongst the Tiparas in the results were actually Mrus inaccurately returned by this name; but the total number reported to have been returned as Mrung who were thus included was only 184 in the whole province and this is not enough to have any appreciable effect on the figures.

613. **Tiyar** [R. II. 328 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 397 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 360, 366].—The numbers of this caste had declined from 215,270 to 175,721 between 1911 and 1921 and the present census marks a further decrease of more than 45 per cent. to 96,413. The decrease is probably very largely, if not entirely, due to the claim of this caste to such names as Mahishya and Rajbangshi and to their successful evasion of the restriction on the use of these names.

614. **Toto**.—Figures were not extracted for the Totos in 1921 but they numbered 235 in 1911 and 334 on the present occasion and are amongst those groups illustrated in diagram No. XII-10. The tribe is confined to a small triangular area in the north-west corner of the Alipur subdivision in Jalpaiguri district and particulars regarding it can be found in the reports on the Survey and Settlement Operations conducted in 1889 to 1895 and 1906 to 1916 and in the Gazetteer of the Jalpaiguri district. The district census officer, Jalpaiguri, suggests that the tribe comes from a mixed stock of low caste Bhotias and Mechs, but no traditions of their origin have apparently been elicited from the people if they have any. In the report on the Settlement Operations, 1906-16, it was recommended that steps should be taken to secure the tribe in the undisturbed possession of the whole area occupied by it and to prevent transfers, mortgages, subletting, or "other disturbing practices". Nothing appears to have been done upon this suggestion and although the tribe is apparently not declining in numbers and the area occupied by it is unlikely to attract the cupidity of its neighbours it is desirable that some measures should be taken to prevent the possibility of their extinction. Mr. J. A. Beale, Subdivisional Officer of Alipur Duar, has supplied (with one addition) the following note on the tribe :—

They all live in one *basti* and there are 61 houses in the *basti*. These houses are built on bamboo *machans* (platforms) and have four bamboo walls and a thatched roof; a log is cut into steps for a staircase. Fowls, pigs, etc., are kept below the houses. Each family has a separate house for living in but all members of the family have a common mess.

The men are a sturdy Mongolian type, very like Bhotias, and the women have Bhotia features. Men dress like Bhotias and wear rings, earrings and necklaces of glass and seed beads. The women wear their hair long and dress in *saris* like those worn by plains-women; for ornaments they have three or four gilt bangles, small earrings and necklaces made of glass and seed beads. Some men and women wear home-made leather sandals. The women go about freely to markets and other public places.

The only income of the Totos is derived from the sale of oranges which they grow on the hill sides. They also grow *marua*, *kauni* and vegetables, but only for home consumption. Liquor is made from *marua* and *kauni* is a small round grain. The women make white cloths from the cotton of a few cotton plants grown by them. They purchase red thread from Bhutan but prepare their own black dye from the leaves of certain plants. The diet of the Toto consists of rice, pulse, fish, fowl, beef, pig and vegetables.

The tribe has no written language and that which is spoken by them is unlike any other; but some of their numerals are the same as the Bhotia numerals.

The Toto takes unto himself only one wife. Both widowers and widows may remarry but it is said that divorce is not permitted. The fathers of the bride and bridegroom arrange a marriage. The bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom's father and stays there, and then the marriage takes place. There is no special marriage ceremony, but after a *puja* a feast is given by the bridegroom to all. No expenditure is incurred. Sometimes the bridegrooms give ornaments to their brides, but this is not compulsory. Girls are married at any age after 12 years. There is no ceremony at a birth; nor is there any funeral ceremony. The dead are buried, but not in any particular place set apart for burials.

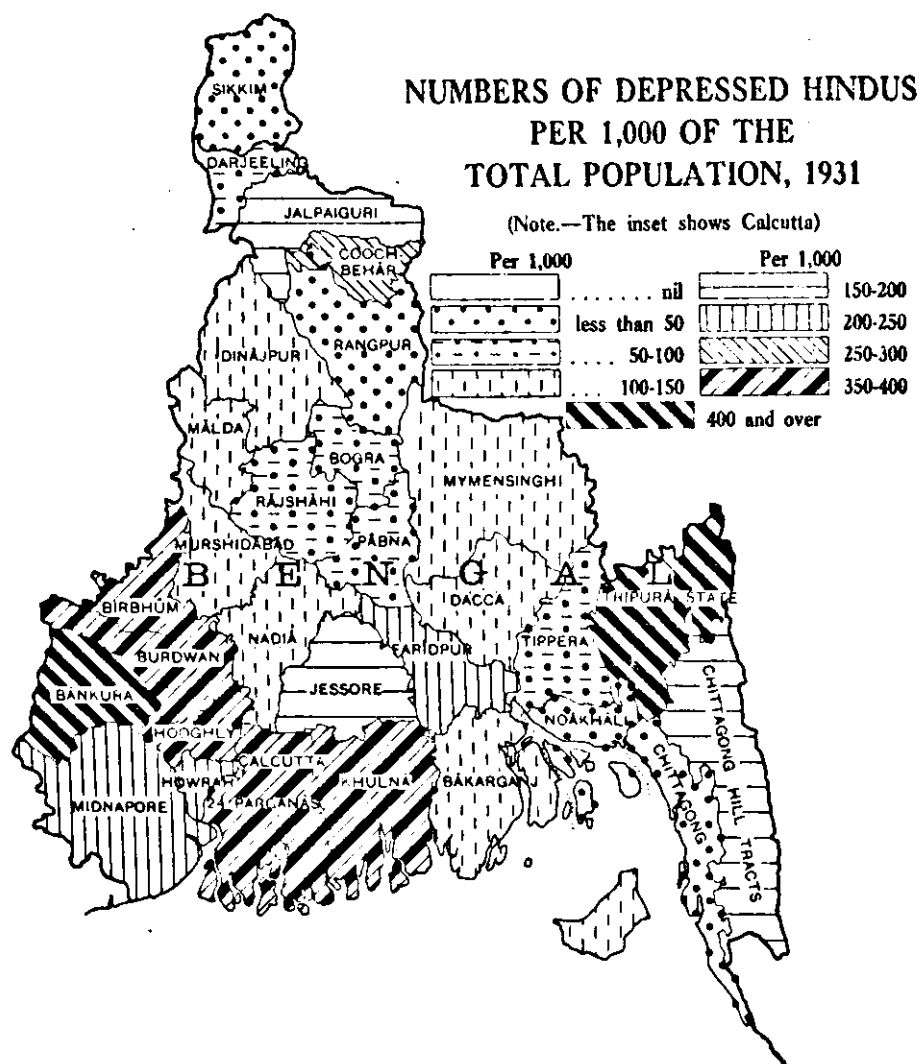
The religion of the Totos consists of the worship of a goddess called Kalswari (not to be confused with Kali). There is no image but a house is set apart for worship. A mound is constructed inside the house and on the mound is placed a large stone in the name of the goddess, and on it is put vermillion. Pigeons, fowls, and even pigs are sacrificed, and offerings of plantains and rice are made. There are two big *pujas*: one in about March and the other just after the rains set in. Special *puja* is made in the case of sickness. The community has two priests who live in separate houses near the house of worship. Besides doing *puja* the priests exercise evil spirits in which the people believe although their names are not known to any but the priests.

Mr. Beale's notes show an interesting divergence from the account of the tribe's religion in the Settlement Report of 1889-1895. It was then said that the tribe had no priests and each man made his own offerings. There were two deities, both of whom are to be propitiated against causing sickness or other troubles. Ishpa, a male god, whose worship consisted in the clearing of jungle from a small square of ground, in placing plantain leaves in the space thus cleared and upon them uncooked *alua* rice over which *eu* (fermented *kauni* liquor) had been poured and in them adding the flesh and blood of the cow, pig or cock sacrificed to him. Chima, a female deity, was worshipped inside the homestead with *alua* rice, hens and *eu*. Goats, hens and pigeons were unacceptable to Ishpa and cocks, pigs and pigeons to Chima.

615. **Turi** [R. II. 333].—This is a small tribe of basket-makers originating in Chota Nagpur principally found in Dinajpur, Malda and Jalpaiguri, which three districts supply between them nearly 70 per cent. of the total number (17,502) found in the province. They numbered 17,666 in 1911 when 1,198 were returned under tribal religions compared with 1,302 on the present occasion.

616. **Yakka** [R. II. 351: C. R. 1901, VI(i), 457].—No figures for this group were given in 1921. They numbered 1,283 in Bengal and 26 in Sikkim in 1911. The figures now are 873 in Bengal of whom all but 23 found in Calcutta are returned in Darjeeling and 142 in Sikkim.

DIAGRAM No. XII-11.



SUBSIDIARY TABLES

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Numerical and proportionate distribution of the

Division, district, city or state.		Primitive Tribes.				
		Total.	Tribal.	Hindu.	Christian.	Buddhist.
1		2	3	4	5	6
BENGAL	No. 1,781,723	528,975	1,056,098	29,457	167,193	
	Per cent. 3	1	2	..	..
BRITISH TERRITORY	No. 1,586,401	527,593	873,283	27,087	158,438	
	Per cent. 3	1	2	..	..
Burdwan Division	No. 628,897	238,118	388,906	1,853	23	
	Per cent. 7	3	4	..	..
Burdwan	No. 121,132	38,264	82,613	243	12	
	Per cent. 8	3	6	..	..
Birbhum	No. 74,139	57,060	16,826	253	..	
	Per cent. 8	6	2	..	..
Bankura	No. 139,063	47,383	91,198	482	..	
	Per cent. 12	4	8	..	..
Midnapore	No. 239,136	86,245	152,104	697	..	
	Per cent. 9	3	6	..	..
Hooghly	No. 50,835	8,857	41,894	73	11	
	Per cent. 5	1	4	..	..
Howrah	No. 4,592	306	4,181	105	..	
	Per cent. 1	..	..	..	..
Howrah City	No. 639	103	479	57	..	
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Presidency Division	No. 101,129	58,662	39,508	2,868	93	
	Per cent. 1	1	..	..	..
24-Parganas	No. 58,421	36,951	16,241	229	..	
	Per cent. 2	1	1	..	..
Suburbs in 24-Parganas	No. 822	714	108	..	..
	Per cent. 1	1	..	..	..
Calcutta	No. 3,175	426	1,693	963	93	
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Nadia	No. 8,313	445	7,802	66	..	
	Per cent. 1	..	1	..	..
Murshidabad	No. 27,353	18,107	9,151	95	..	
	Per cent. 2	1	1	..	..
Jessore	No. 5,058	641	4,417	..	..
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Khulna	No. 3,809	2,092	204	1,513	..	
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Rajshahi Division	No. 611,152	200,597	385,460	21,748	23,347	
	Per cent. 6	2	4	..	..
Rajshahi	No. 56,274	18,106	37,906	261	1	
	Per cent. 4	1	3	..	..
Dinajpur	No. 166,360	67,404	94,187	4,763	6	
	Per cent. 9	4	5	..	..
Jalpaiguri	No. 221,257	60,675	146,208	11,643	2,731	
	Per cent. 22	6	15	1	..	
Darjeeling	No. 46,371	6,963	15,693	3,206	20,609	
	Per cent. 14	2	5	1	6	
Rangpur	No. 15,121	8,253	6,152	716	..	
	Per cent. 1	..	..	..	..
Bogra	No. 13,319	2,294	10,947	78	..	
	Per cent. 1	..	1	..	..
Pabna	No. 5,552	744	4,806	2	..	
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Maida	No. 86,898	36,158	49,661	1,079	..	
	Per cent. 8	3	5	..	..
Dacca Division	No. 57,234	17,398	39,836	..	..
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Dacca	No. 1,931	2	1,929	..	..
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Dacca City	No. 118	..	118	..	..
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Mymensingh	No. 54,454	17,394	37,060	..	..
	Per cent. 1	..	1	..	..
Faridpur	No. 711	..	711	..	..
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Bakarganj	No. 138	2	136	..	..
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong Division	No. 187,989	12,821	39,573	620	134,875	
	Per cent. 3	..	1	..	2	
Tippera	No. 2,857	..	2,854	3	..	
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Noakhali	No. 80	3	77	..	..
	Per cent. ..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong	No. 28,324	1,059	3,544	..	23,721	
	Per cent. 1	..	..	..	1
Chittagong Hill Tracts	No. 156,728	11,759	33,098	617	111,254	
	Per cent. 74	6	16	..	52	
BENGAL STATES	No. 195,322	1,382	182,815	2,370	8,755	
	Per cent. 20	..	19	..	1	
Cooch Behar	No. 2,754	1,382	1,372	..	..
	Per cent. 1	..	..	..	..
Tripura	No. 192,568	..	181,443	2,370	8,755	
	Per cent. 50	..	47	1	2	
SIKKIM	No. 55,121	26,940	4	..	28,177	
	Per cent. 50	25	..	..	25

*Excluding Hindus shown in column 4.
†Excluding Christians shown in column 5.
‡Excluding Buddhists shown in column 6.

population by districts on a social and religious classification, 1931.

Hindus.*				Muallms.	Others.			
Total.*	Brahmans.	Depressed classes.*	Others.		Total.	Christian.†	Buddhist.‡	All others.
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
21,155,971 42	1,447,642 3	7,180,500 14	12,547,829 25	27,810,100 54	339,544 1	153,810	163,370 1	22,564 ..
20,697,124 41	1,438,177 3	7,126,090 14	12,132,857 24	27,497,624 55	332,853 1	153,212	157,593 1	22,048 ..
8,775,535 79	650,590 7	2,309,205 27	3,915,740 46	1,222,779 14	19,978 ..	16,688 ..	383 ..	3,097 ..
1,158,259 73	117,403 7	543,676 35	495,180 31	292,471 19	5,837 ..	5,197 ..	90 ..	550 ..
619,599 65	46,404 5	845,860 38	227,335 24	252,908 27	908 ..	377 ..	19 ..	513 ..
920,456 83	102,939 9	353,675 32	468,842 42	51,012 5	1,190 ..	1,163 ..	1 ..	26 ..
2,340,795 83	119,783 4	535,932 19	1,685,080 60	212,478 8	6,689 ..	5,392 ..	14 ..	1,283 ..
882,167 79	84,167 8	300,846 27	497,154 44	180,217 16	1,036 ..	934 ..	59 ..	43 ..
856,259 78	79,804 7	229,216 31	547,149 50	238,698 31	4,318 ..	3,025 ..	100 ..	593 ..
173,134 77	29,664 13	33,690 16	109,780 49	43,286 22	2,314 1	2,459 1	49 ..	306 ..
5,139,819 51	429,799 4	2,099,447 21	2,811,373 26	4,771,165 47	86,316 1	72,407 1	3,458 ..	14,459 ..
1,726,146 64	107,261 4	812,783 30	806,112 30	913,233 34	21,074 ..	19,734 ..	488 ..	852 ..
49,585 77	8,527 13	12,214 19	38,844 46	12,478 20	1,093 3	815 2	157 ..	18 ..
820,800 69	159,104 13	121,178 10	540,320 46	311,155 26	61,804 5	46,521 4	2,928 ..	12,855 1
568,244 37	43,425 3	155,842 10	366,977 24	944,915 62	10,160 ..	9,976 ..	4 ..	180 ..
580,400 42	35,519 3	181,542 13	368,339 26	761,582 56	1,342 ..	303 ..	12 ..	1,027 ..
629,813 38	37,197 2	305,818 19	286,798 17	1,035,371 62	922 ..	919 ..	.. ..	8 ..
816,416 50	46,303** 3	522,286 32	247,827 15	804,909 50	1,014 ..	954 ..	27 ..	33 ..
3,356,266 31	108,191 1	558,708 5	2,689,369 25	6,640,303 62	60,348 1	13,591 ..	43,167 1	3,597 ..
288,112 20	20,642 2	75,729 5	191,741 13	1,083,105 76	1,527 ..	1,268 ..	19 ..	246 ..
699,645 40	11,668 1	101,075 6	580,902 33	886,728 51	2,704 ..	2,218 ..	5 ..	481 ..
517,807 53	8,665 1	40,060 4	469,082 48	235,951 24	8,342 1	3,124 ..	4,772 ..	446 1
221,320 69	8,791 3	7,610 2	204,919 64	8,391 3	43,553 14	5,074 2	38,334 12	145 ..
740,394 28	18,099 1	87,119 3	635,176 24	1,836,840 71	2,430 ..	970 ..	86 ..	1,424 ..
166,682 16	6,923 1	55,792 5	103,962 10	905,638 83	780 ..	398 ..	.. ..	380 ..
327,561 23	23,308 2	83,755 6	220,498 15	1,111,712 77	829 ..	426 ..	.. ..	403 ..
394,745 38	10,090 1	107,566 10	277,089 28	571,943 54	180 ..	113 ..	5 ..	69 ..
8,319,034 28	253,317 2	1,775,783 13	1,889,834 13	9,833,289 71	54,547 1	41,446 1	12,417 ..	634 ..
1,122,964 33	70,329 2	443,240 13	609,395 18	2,293,396 67	14,286 ..	14,210 ..	55 ..	21 ..
72,906 58	8,465 6	8,242 6	63,199 46	57,764 42	730 ..	693 ..	26 ..	31 ..
1,137,268 22	65,350 1	417,556 8	654,362 13	3,927,552 77	10,988 ..	10,784 ..	5 ..	219 ..
846,353 36	55,443 2	490,637 21	300,278 13	1,507,167 64	7,994 ..	7,537 ..	18 ..	444 ..
812,440 27	62,195 2	424,350 14	325,904 11	2,105,184 72	21,279 1	8,935 ..	12,344 1	....
1,506,870 22	97,230 1	382,949 6	1,028,441 15	5,030,088 74	101,867 1	3,080 ..	96,367 1	329 ..
747,370 24	45,583 1	239,348 8	462,939 15	2,356,009 76	2,399 ..	534 ..	1,861..	....
366,314 22	19,358 1	84,186 5	262,770 16	1,339,055 78	1,270 ..	795 ..	475..	....
388,808 22	32,090 2	58,972 3	297,776 17	1,326,208 74	53,693 3	1,609 ..	51,778 3	311 ..
3,878 2	279 ..	443 ..	2,958 2	8,216 4	44,300 21	142 ..	44,149 21	9 ..
458,847 47	9,465 1	34,410 3	414,972 43	312,476 32	6,691 1	398 ..	5,777 1	516 ..
378,701 64	5,153 1	16,172 3	357,376 60	208,756 25	675 ..	172 ..	1 ..	502 ..
80,146 21	4,312 1	18,238 5	57,596 15	108,720 27	6,016 2	226 ..	5,776 2	14 ..
47,070 43	8,560 8	245 ..	38,265 35	104 ..	7,513 7	276 ..	7,235 7	2 ..

†Includes 7 persons enumerated in the Sunderban Forest.
 **Includes 46 persons enumerated in the Sunderban Forest.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Strength of selected groups with proportion of total population and variations, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

Caste, tribe or Muslim social group.	Actual population.				Percentage on total population of Bengal.				Percentage of variation Increase (+), Decrease (-).			Percentage of net variation.
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1921-31.	1911-21.	1901-11.	1901-31.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Adi-Kaibartta	352,072	384,049	326,655	266,308	-680	-807	-705	-018	-8.3	+17.6	+	23.1
Bagdi	987,670	895,397	1,015,738	1,015,983	1.933	1.880	2.193	2.369	+10.3	-11.8	+	0.0
Baidya	110,739	102,081	88,786	81,218	-216	-216	-191	-189	+7.0	+15.9	+	0.3
Bairahna (Bairagi)	337,771	378,107	423,986	400,971	-661	-794	-915	-932	-10.7	-10.8	+	5.7
Barui	195,139	185,870	178,108	163,827	-381	-390	-384	-382	+4.9	+4.3	+	8.8
Bauri	331,268	303,054	313,654	309,842	-648	-636	-677	-722	+9.3	-3.4	+	1.2
Bhainmali	72,804	81,952	91,973	89,312	-142	-172	-198	-208	-11.2	-10.9	+	3.0
Bhuiya (Hindu)	49,370	59,308	68,075	49,023	-906	-124	-147	-114	-16.9	-12.8	+	38.0
Bhuiya (Tribal)	1,035	1,034	969	28	-902	-902	-902	..	+0.09	+6.7	+	3,300.7
Bhumij	85,161	79,196	90,282	83,841	-166	-166	-194	-195	+7.5	-12.3	+	7.7
Brahman	1,447,691	1,309,539	1,258,938	1,166,919	2.834	2.752	2.707	2.720	+10.6	+4.4	+	7.4
Chamar	150,458	152,372	136,553	132,577	-294	-320	-295	-309	-1.3	+11.6	+	3.0
Dhobi	229,672	227,468	228,052	224,303	-449	-477	-492	-523	+1.0	-0.3	+	1.6
Dom	140,067	150,263	173,991	186,612	-274	-315	-375	-435	-6.8	-13.6	-	0.8
Doesadh	36,420	40,121	45,863	31,008	-971	-984	-998	-972	-9.2	-12.5	+	47.0
Gonia	599,283	583,970	646,438	638,550	1.173	1.228	1.396	1.489	+2.6	+9.7	+	1.2
Hari	132,401	148,847	173,706	180,661	-259	-312	-375	-421	-11.0	-14.3	-	3.8
Jogi and Jugi	384,634	365,910	361,141	342,670	-752	-769	-801	-790	+5.1	+1.3	+	5.3
Kalu and Tell	295,306	..	..	..	-678	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	71,024	95,906	111,562	114,440	-739	-201	-240	-266	-25.9	-14.0	-	2.5
Kamar	265,631	256,887	263,329	..	-519	-539	-568	..	+3.4	-2.4	..	..
Kaora	107,908	110,652	112,281	111,942	-211	-232	-242	-261	-2.5	-1.6	+	0.3
Kapali	165,589	158,864	154,418	143,666	-324	-333	-333	-335	+4.2	+2.9	+	7.5
Kavastha	1,558,475	1,297,736	1,113,684	984,443	3.045	2.727	2.404	2.296	+20.1	+16.5	+	13.1
Koch	81,299	131,273	125,046	64,319	-159	-275	-270	-150	-38.1	+5.0	+	94.4
Kumhar	289,810	284,653	290,709	279,019	-567	-598	-627	-650	+1.8	-2.1	+	4.2
Kurmi	194,652	181,447	176,779	153,953	-381	-376	-381	-359	+7.4	+2.6	+	14.8
Lohar	50,182	65,103	47,033	..	-993	-136	-101	..	-22.9	+38.4	..	..
Mahishya	2,381,266	2,210,684	2,137,948	1,952,794	4.691	4.645	4.616	4.553	+7.7	+3.4	+	9.5
Mal	111,422	117,537	108,163	122,576	-218	-247	-233	-285	+5.2	+8.7	-	11.8
Mali	79,084	56,704	38,858	36,533	-154	-119	-983	-985	+39.5	+45.9	+	6.4
Malo	188,094	221,198	247,533	226,667	-398	-464	-534	-528	-14.9	-10.6	+	9.2
Muchi	414,221	417,594	455,236	416,336	-810	-877	-981	-970	-0.8	-8.3	+	9.3
"Mumin" (Jotaha) (Muslim)	270,292	255,164	282,425	446,973	-528	-536	-609	1.042	+5.9	+9.7	+	36.8
Namasudra	2,094,957	2,006,259	1,908,728	1,848,483	4.100	4.215	4.128	4.310	+4.4	+5.1	+	3.3
Napit	451,068	444,188	447,306	431,922	-882	-933	-965	1.007	+1.5	+0.7	+	3.6
Patui	40,766	43,955	63,447	63,371	-979	-992	-137	-147	-7.3	-30.7	+	0.1
Pod	667,731	688,394	536,568	464,736	1.307	1.237	1.159	1.083	+13.5	+9.7	+	15.5
Rajbangshi	1,806,390	1,727,111	1,808,790	1,898,241	3.541	3.632	3.905	4.427	+4.6	+4.5	+	4.7
Rajput	156,978	125,513	130,221	117,415	-307	-263	-281	-273	+25.1	-3.6	+	10.9
Sadgope	571,772	533,236	550,017	558,689	1.119	1.120	1.188	1.303	+7.2	+3.1	-	1.6
Shaha	420,199	569,731	324,927	..	-822	1.176	-701	-998	-24.9	+10.7	..	..
Sunri	76,920	92,492	119,325	428,215	-150	-194	-251	..	-16.9	-22.5	..	..
Savnd (Muslim)	162,995	140,499	138,343	120,737	-318	-295	-298	-281	+15.9	+1.6	+	14.6
Tanti and Tatwa	330,518	319,613	322,983	312,927	-646	-671	-697	-729	+3.4	-1.0	+	3.2
Tili	224,282	395,926	419,122	403,959	-430	..	..	..	+9.2	-14.1	+	3.8
Tili	207,883	..	..	..	-407	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tiyar	96,413	175,721	215,270	213,511	-188	-369	-464	-497	-45.1	-18.4	+	0.8

*Tells are included in Tills for this year or period.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Proportions borne by selected castes and tribes (a) to the total population, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931 and (b) to the population in the areas in which they are principally found, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

NOTE.—Complete figures for all Bengal are not on record for 1921.

Caste or tribe.	Locality in which principally found.	Per mille of total population in Bengal and Sikkim.				Per mille of the population of areas in which principally found.			
		1931.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bhotia of Bhutan	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0.06	0.15	0.06	..	1.84	0.57	5.54	2.19
Bhotia of Nepal		0.20	0.16	0.10	..	7.34	5.40	5.48	4.05
Bhotia of Sikkim		0.23	0.25	0.20	..	8.45	7.79	9.14	8.10
Bhotia of Tibet		0.09	0.09	0.16	..	3.21	7.21	2.81	6.37
Chakma	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.	2.65	1.26	1.16	1.07	187.88	162.43	151.03	163.84
Damai	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0.15	0.15	0.14	0.10	17.27	19.35	17.09	17.89
Gharti	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0.05	0.10	0.10	0.10	5.88	..	10.44	12.72
Gurung	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0.40	0.37	0.34	0.32	42.99	40.59	44.38	43.25
Hadi	Mymensingh	0.28	0.56	0.52	..	2.79	3.93	5.79	6.68
Khambu	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	1.22	1.31	1.04	0.89	43.77	45.03	48.49	49.94
Kami	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0.41	0.40	0.32	0.24	14.36	13.92	14.67	12.56
Khvang	Chittagong Hill Tracts	0.02	0.02	..	..	4.56	..	2.13	3.33
Khas	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0.22	0.42	0.36	..	25.95	19.85	53.21	48.19
Kuki	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.	0.32	0.12	0.21	0.16	27.08	12.84	14.50	39.74
Lepcha	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0.50	0.40	0.45	0.39	58.59	51.28	53.01	62.87
Limbu	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0.55	0.56	0.54	0.44	19.74	17.47	20.29	21.24
Lushai	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.	0.08	..	..	0.03	5.01	..	..	0.45
Mauzar	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0.55	0.53	0.42	0.38	19.71	20.48	19.59	16.58
Mech	Jalpaiguri	0.20	0.45	0.57	0.67	9.66	11.51	22.35	28.42
Mtu	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.	0.14	0.27	0.25	..	12.31	18.21	29.42	2.52
Murda	All Bengal	2.12	1.45	1.20	0.28	2.13	2.09	1.45	1.20
Murmi	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0.82	0.82	0.77	0.62	29.63	30.53	30.56	30.07
N-war	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0.32	0.27	0.25	0.14	11.54	10.37	9.95	9.64
Oragon	All Bengal	4.46	3.57	2.76	0.86	4.47	4.25	3.58	2.76
Santal	All Bengal	15.56	14.45	12.33	7.77	15.59	14.96	14.48	12.34
Sarki	Darjeeling	..	0.07	0.05	..	..	..	..	..
Sunwar	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0.10	0.11	0.12	0.13	7.01	7.20	7.50	7.32
Tharu	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling	0.01	0.03	..	..	11.28	12.03	13.59	16.83
Tipara	Tippara, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.	3.97	2.80	2.36	2.27	0.24	..	1.12	0.49
Toto	Jalpaiguri	..	..	..	..	54.12	47.76	44.30	40.32
Yakha	Darjeeling	0.02	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.33	..	0.26	0.22

*Not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Classification by natural divisions of the returns of Brahman sub-castes actually made.

Class, TERRITORIAL DIVISION and sub-caste.	Bengal.		West Bengal.		Central Bengal.		*North Bengal.		East Bengal.			
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Dacca Division.		Chittagong Division.†	
									Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Class I—Pancha Gauda	227,663	210,071	115,525	113,814	53,349	46,497	31,771	25,841	27,018	23,919	..	..
1 SARASWATA	288	91	125	77	125	4	38	16	..	..	..	..
2 "Marwari"	23	13	14	13	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..
3 KANYAKUBJA	202,883	190,985	98,388	96,476	51,598	46,110	28,891	24,474	27,000	23,908	..	..
4 Vaidik	14,655	13,594	7,223	6,987	4,225	3,885	1,572	1,043	1,685	1,679	..	..
5 Paschatya Vaidik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 Rarhi	148,979	143,098	81,000	83,590	40,731	36,645	8,910	7,117	18,338	15,746	..	..
7 Pirait	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8 Varendra	81,094	27,985	1,160	1,055	5,330	4,656	17,571	15,774	7,033	6,480	..	..
9 Madhyasreni	2,948	2,573	2,948	2,573	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 Saptasati	9	10	..	..	..	..	9	10	..	..	..	..
11 Kanyakubja—sub-caste not further specified.	5,198	8,725	3,057	2,271	1,312	924	829	530	..	..	..	..
12 GAUDIYA	4,502	3,583	3,565	3,286	897	259	40	39	..	..	..	..
13 Gaudadya	497	380	428	345	69	35	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Gaudadya	69	35	..	..	69	35	..	..	..	..	..	..
15 Vyasoka	428	345	428	345	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16 MAITHILA	3,125	1,739	781	525	282	66	2,062	1,151	..	..	..	..
17 "Behari"	6	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Sakadwip	255	217	249	217	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
19 Maithil—sub-caste not further specified.	2,864	1,519	532	308	276	60	2,056	1,151	..	..	..	..
20 UTKAL	16,846	13,638	15,663	13,407	435	64	742	167	..	..	..	..
21 Dakshinaty Vaidik	814	276	813	276	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Panda	35	28	31	22	..	..	4	6	..	..	..	..
23 "Adhikari"	70	11	45	11	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24 Utkal—sub-caste not further specified.	16,421	13,323	15,274	13,098	409	64	738	161	..	..	..	..
25 TERRITORIAL DIVISION NOT SPECIFIED.	27	58	3	44	12	..	..	..	12	14	..	..
26 "Mantik"	1	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 "Misra"	12	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28 "Sarma"	12	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	14	..	..
29 "Srotriya"	2	42	2	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Class II—Pancha Dravida	213	149	96	60	23	89	89	..	..	..	..	..
30 MAHARASHTRIYA	137	26	39	13	9	7	89	..	..	..	..	..
31 Yajurvedi	24	12	24	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
32 ANDHRA OR TAILANGA	7	1	2	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
33 "Adra"	5	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 "Telegu"	2	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 DRAVIDA	65	50	52	39	13	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 GURJARA	2	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37 Gujrati	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38 "Saurindhi"	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
39 UNSPECIFIED	2	76	1	5	1	71	..	..	..	..	..	..
40 "Madras"	2	76	1	5	1	71	..	..	..	..	..	..
Class III—Other divisions not falling certainly within the first two main classes.	556,367	453,228	171,335	149,801	197,303	131,541	33,127	22,516	101,686	100,694	52,916	48,676
41 KAMRUPI	15	8	1	..	1	..	13	8	..	..	..	..
42 Assami	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
43 KASHMIRI	10	3	3	3	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..
44 NEPALI	85	33	1	..	23	..	81	33	..	..	..	..
45 TERRITORIAL DIVISION NOT GIVEN.	556,257	453,184	171,330	149,788	197,278	131,541	33,046	22,475	101,686	100,694	52,916	48,676
46 Acharyya	9,235	8,350	5,946	5,678	710	605	430	379	2,149	1,688	..	..
47 Acharyya	8,088	7,221	4,401	4,551	710	605	428	377	2,149	1,688	..	..
48 Urahacharyya	1,145	1,127	1,145	1,127	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Joteya	2	2	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
50 Agnikartta (Marulpura)	7	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
51 Agrndaul	908	799	692	624	62	59	65	44	89	72	..	..
52 Barna	4,259	3,606	2,682	2,427	334	252	561	509	682	418	..	..
53 Kapali	12	15	..	..	12	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Bhat	1,948	1,758	1,413	1,204	476	470	23	28	36	56	..	..
55 Bhulihar	12	..	11	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
56 "Chauhan"	14	6	..	..	14	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
57 Daitagna	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
58 "Deval" (Devalya)	1	4	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
59 "Goswami"	140	11	116	11	1	..	..	..	..	23	10	..
60 Jain	85	14	30	11	5	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
61 "Jhafia"	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
62 "Khandelwala"	4	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
63 "Khatriya"	139	101	..	..	..	..	..	..	139	101	..	..
64 "Nanakpanthi"	5	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
65 "Panchali"	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
66 "Trivot"	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
67 Others	539,496	438,507	160,427	139,844	195,641	130,146	31,944	21,492	98,568	98,349	52,916	48,676

*Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar.

†Chittagong Division with Tripura State.

APPENDIX I

The depressed classes

1. **Introduction.**—The notification of the Government of India in which the taking of the census was prescribed contained the following directions :—

“ The Government of India also desire that attention should be paid to the collection of information conducive to a better knowledge of the backward and depressed classes and of the problem involved in their present and future welfare.”

In accordance with this direction the Census Commissioner instructed Census Superintendents as follows :—

“ For this purpose it will be necessary to have a list of castes to be included in depressed classes and all provinces are asked to frame a list applicable to the province. There are very great difficulties in framing a list of this kind and there are insuperable difficulties in framing a list of depressed classes which will be applicable to India as a whole.”

The Government of Bengal was accordingly consulted, but no decision was reached before it became necessary to lay down what classes should be treated as depressed for the purposes of extracting the census figures and it is not yet known whether any list has been adopted as final by the local Government. The classification appearing therefore throughout the census report may differ in some respects from any which may be subsequently adopted by the Government of Bengal.

2 **Meaning of the term “ Depressed classes.”**—The expression “ depressed classes ” is of comparatively recent coinage and is in many respects unfortunate. It does not translate any actual vernacular term in common use in Bengal, nor does it describe any class the members of which can be defined with accuracy. It is a term in itself indefinite. In European countries it is applied to the chronically indigent portion of the population and connotes an economic condition. It can be applied anthropologically in a psychological sense to describe that state of mind engendered in a primitive people when it finds itself in contact with a dominant society based upon principles entirely different from and disregarding the traditionally accepted sanctions of tribal life. This psychological condition has been convincingly put forward as one at least of the elements leading to the depopulation of Melonesia and it has an interesting counterpart in the “ discouragement ” from which Mr. George Bernard Shaw makes visitors to the island die off in contact with the civilization of the ancients in “ Back to Methuselah.” In general use, however, the term in India though not applying to exactly similar strata of population in different parts, is used to describe those members of the community who in common social estimation are considered to be inferior, degraded, outcaste or not fit in any way for social and religious intercourse on reasonably equal terms with members of the clean or higher castes. It represents a problem which arises only within the fold of Hinduism, namely the problem of those Hindu groups who by the accident of birth are denied and never can by any individual merit achieve social consideration or spiritual benefits which are the birthright without consideration of personal merit equally of all persons born into the higher castes.

3. **The criterion of the depressed classes.**—It is, however, by no means a simple matter to devise a satisfactory criterion by which to distinguish the depressed classes. The problem itself being essentially social and religious, the criteria, which have been at various times suggested, themselves depend upon social observance or social precedence. During the census of 1901 the castes in Bengal were distinguished into seven groups upon an elaborate classification. The first group contained Brahmans only as the acknowledged superiors of all other classes in the caste hierarchy. In the second group were placed castes whose respectability was never in question and who are either twice-born or were held to be superior to all other Sudra castes. The third group consisted of the so-called *navasakha*, or nine branches, now indeed containing more than nine groups but all characterised by being held worthy to offer water the drinking of which would not pollute the higher classes. Below this third group were distinguished a fourth containing clean castes with degraded Brahmans; a fifth containing castes lower than group 4 whose water is not usually accepted, a sixth comprised of low castes abstaining from beef, pork and fowls and seventh embracing castes by whom forbidden foods were eaten and who pursue the most degraded occupation as scavengers, etc. In 1911 the Census Commissioner for India directed provincial superintendents to enumerate castes and tribes returned as Hindus who do not conform to certain standards or are subject to certain disabilities, “ leaving the reader to draw his own inferences.” They were asked to prepare a list of all but the minor castes which *quâ castes* :—

- (1) deny the supremacy of the Brahmans ;
- (2) do not receive the *mantra* from a Brahman or other recognised Hindu *guru* ;
- (3) deny the authority of the Vedas ;
- (4) do not worship the great Hindu gods ;
- (5) are not served by good Brahmans as family priests ;
- (6) have no Brahman priests at all ;
- (7) are denied access to the interior of Hindu temples ;
- (8) cause pollution (a) by touch ; (b) within a certain distance ;
- (9) bury their dead ; or
- (10) eat beef and do not do reverence to cow.

The enquiry was intended to furnish material, if possible, from which an answer could be given to the difficult question "who is a Hindu". Up to 1916 in Bengal at least the expression "depressed classes" was unknown. In 1916 however the Bengal Government was invited to prepare a list of the depressed classes and submitted a list including certain criminal tribes and aboriginals and amounting in all to 31 groups. This list was used by the Commissioner for Education in writing his quinquennial report on the progress of education in India for the years 1912-1917. The term thus introduced remained and both the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) and the census report for 1921 contained lists of the depressed classes. In neither of these last instances, however, was any clear criterion set forth to show on what grounds the groups were included. The Indian Statutory Commission without giving any definite criterion, referred to them as the

"lowest castes recognised as being within the Hindu religious and social system..... Their essential characteristic is that according to the tenets of orthodox Hinduism, they are, though within the Hindu system, untouchable—that is to say, that for all other Hindus they cause pollution by touch and defile food and water. They are denied access to the interior of an ordinary Hindu temple (though this is also true of some who would not be classed as 'untouchable'). They are not only the lowest in the Hindu social and religious system, but with few individual exceptions are also at the bottom of the economic scale and are generally quite uneducated. In the villages they are normally segregated in a separate quarter and not unfrequently eat food which would not be touched by any section of the Hindu community."

At a later date the franchise Committee, driven to lay down simple criteria, adopted No. 7 and 8 of the distinctions made in the census report of 1911. For Bengal these distinctions have been elaborated on behalf of the Depressed Classes Association as follows :

- (a) castes from whose hands the three high castes or even the *navashaka* (that is, the caste-Hindus) would not accept water and whose presence either in the kitchen or in the room where water and cooked food are kept would pollute the same according to their estimation ;
- (b) castes who would not be allowed into any public temple and whose presence there would defile articles of worship ;
- (c) castes who would not be allowed to enter or to have their meals inside the dining room of an hotel or eating house run by caste Hindus ;
- (d) castes at whose socio-religious functions Srotriya Brahmans (that is the priests) officiating in such functions in the house of the caste-Hindus would not officiate ; and
- (e) castes who would not be served by the Srotriya Napit (that is the Barber) whose services are necessary in various socio-religious functions, of the Hindus.

4. **Defects of the criteria suggested.**—The difficulty of applying any or all of these criteria is very considerable. They reduce themselves naturally to religious or social disabilities and in not a single instance is there any criterion put forward which *prima facie* ought to attract the attention of the administration on the ground that some incident of citizenship in a free and democratic country is thereby denied to any class of persons. The existence of such disabilities is not denied and will be discussed later but at this stage what is emphasised is the fact that all the criteria hitherto mentioned are entirely matters of social and religious consideration and that, if they involved no civic disabilities, they would be entirely irrelevant to any consideration by Government of the problem of the depressed classes.

5. **Temple entry.**—As regards the prohibition of temple entry, it is at the outset clear that those castes to whom temple entry is denied, in many cases, would have no desire or opportunity to enter them. In many cases indeed by no stretch of the imagination could they be considered to have any claim to enter them, for many places of worship are private or family temples endowed for specific purposes. Entry to the majority of the great public temples in Bengal such as those at Kalighat and Tarakeswar is closed to a very small proportion indeed of the Hindu population. Secondly, during recent years at least, there has been a strong agitation, not uncoloured by political considerations, for a relaxation of the exclusiveness of temple entry. In Khulna, Dacca and Jessore, movements have been successfully instigated for securing the privilege of temple entry in certain cases to groups to whom it had been previously denied and on more than one occasion during the past five years instances have occurred in which *sarvajanin pujas* have been celebrated with the express purpose of including all classes of the community in a common worship. There still apparently exists on the statute book a regulation (No. IV of 1809) section 7 of which prohibits by law entry into the temple of Jagannath at Puri of a number of castes ; but the regulation is almost a century and a quarter old and what is of importance is not the actual regulation but the extent to which public opinion enforces it and upon this point there appears to be no recorded up-to-date information. Vaishnavism, particularly popular in Bengal, has done much to obliterate a rigid insistence upon caste distinctions and in this same temple one of the conditions of worship is that pilgrims may not refuse to accept from the hands of any castes, whatever, the food offered to the diety. In short, disabilities regarding the right to worship or enter into temples are largely conventional or not immune from change and in any case do not properly constitute a title to special consideration in the body politic, so long as they are confined purely to the social and religious life of the community.

6. **Service of Brahmans and Barbers.**—A similar argument holds in respect of the grievance made of the fact that the services of high class brahmans and *srotriya* napits cannot be obtained by some of the lower castes. It does not even follow that these castes are denied the consolation of religion or must go unshorn and unshaved, for if they have no Brahmans of their own these

castes are ready to supply priests from their own ranks and they also obtain the services of barbers and washermen, the other two classes of essential servants in the Hindu polity, even if these are not of the same position as those serving the higher castes. Moreover, here too the disability is one which is not irremovable. The agitation for temple entry and for the abolition of untouchability actually resulted recently in a resolution passed by the provincial Hindu Sabha that a priest, barber and washerman should be attached to each branch association for the specific service of members of the untouchable classes; and it is probably true to say that a sufficiently cultured and wealthy member of any of the untouchable classes, or a sufficiently wealthy and influential group of them can secure the services of a rather superior priest, barber and washerman according to their wealth.

7. **Pollution by touch.**—There is a similar conventionality and flexibility about the very idea of uncleanness and pollution. In Bengal there are no groups which pollute the higher castes by mere propinquity. By touch it is admitted on all hands that members of the higher castes can be rendered ceremonially impure, but the strictness with which this sentiment is observed is definitely being relaxed. It is becoming more a question of personal cleanliness and the character of a man's occupation which decides whether one of the higher castes shall consider himself polluted sufficiently by contact with him to require ceremonial purification. Moreover the exigencies of modern life make it impossible for the highest castes to enquire too narrowly into the caste of persons with whom travel in trains, trams and buses and occupation in cities bring them into contact. Amongst even the higher castes, indeed, it is generally only pollution when engaged in some religious ceremony which is considered to be important and to require expiation. Finally the extent to which members of the higher castes feel themselves polluted differs in respect of the same group from place to place.

8. **Food and drink tabus.**—There is an even greater divergence in different places as regards the food and drink tabus of the higher classes. It is clearly a little unreasonable for anyone to make a grievance of the fact that his presence in the kitchen of a Brahman will spoil the food and pollute the utensils therein if he has no right to be there at all and no title to demand that he should be admitted there. Similarly it is only in social estimation and not in a practical way that those castes suffer, which are not considered fit to offer drinking water to the higher classes, whilst this privilege is far from uniform throughout Bengal. The convenience of the higher castes also results in the existence of a host of exceptions and legal fictions, by which in certain circumstances food or drink can be accepted from inferior castes upon the ground, for instance, that it is not the kind of cooked food which can be polluted or that it does not fall within the class of article which the higher castes may not take at the hands of a lower caste. Amongst the more educated Hindus food and drink tabus are becoming more and more a matter of personal taste. Dining together on public occasions is increasing and in most cases it is probably only on ceremonial occasions that the prohibitions are strictly observed. The prohibitions themselves are no less unsuitable for acceptance as a criterion of social condition from the fact that they are entirely irrational. It is, for instance, an entirely irrational convention which places groups like the wealthy and cultured Subarnabaniks amongst the *jalavyavahariya* classes from whom the higher castes may not accept water. All non-Hindus are in the same position and even members of progressive, cultured and liberal Hindu sects, such as the Brahmos are equally *jalavyavahariya* with the lowest classes.

9. **Civic disabilities.**—These religious and social disabilities, therefore, as such are all first indefinite, secondly, conventional, thirdly, liable to modification in different places, at different times and with different members of the same community and, fourthly, in any case (so far as they are purely social and religious disabilities) in themselves of no interest whatever to the administration. They are properly the object of reform within the community and stress of political interest if nothing else will most probably lead to their amelioration. During 1931 the principal Hindu association passed a resolution in Bengal in which it

“recognises the complete social equality of all castes and emphatically declares that there is no inherent superiority of one caste over the other and supports all efforts to remove inequalities.”

The same association adopted as one of its principles that no caste should be *jalavyavahariya*. These are still probably more the expression of abstract principles than practical rules of conduct, but it is significant that they should have been affirmed. Social and religious disabilities become of interest to the administration only when they are accompanied by a disability to take advantage of administrative conveniences provided not for a class of the community only but for the community at large. In Madras there are groups to whom the use of public roads, public wells, public markets and public burial grounds are all denied. The extent to which the lowest classes in Bengal suffer from similar disabilities is extremely small. They may be considered under three aspects, namely, exclusion from (a) roads, (b) wells and (c) schools.

10. **Exclusion from public roads, wells and schools.**—In Bengal nowhere is any caste excluded from a public road merely on account of the position of the caste. In certain areas the very lowest classes of scavengers, sweepers, etc., are not allowed, as in Malda and Hooghly, to use the public wells, but in most cases the restriction does not exist at all, and where it exists, it is either dependent upon the size or nature of the well or is overcome by some form of adjustment between the classes. In some districts, for instance, members of the sweeper classes are not allowed to use *kacha* wells but may use masonry wells, or they are excluded from wells with a diameter less than a certain distance (say 6 feet) but are permitted to use larger wells than these. In some cases the higher castes, in a manner of speaking take the disability upon themselves and voluntarily leave certain wells exclusively to the lower castes; or the lower castes, when they wish to draw water, will not let down their own vessels or touch the vessel used for drawing

the water by higher castes but will wait beside the well till one of the higher castes fills their vessels. As regards schools the Calcutta University Commission (Chapter X, section viii, page 221) came to the conclusion more than ten years ago that

"although children may belong to the lowest classes of the Hindu social system or be outside the pale of caste altogether there is no difficulty of their being admitted to primary schools."

In Malda, it is reported that, children of the untouchable classes would not be allowed to attend schools; and some difficulty is reported from Nadia in getting their children admitted. In schools founded by institutions for a particular purpose it is of course possible that the conditions of entry may restrict admission to members of the higher castes. Elsewhere, however, if any disabilities exist at all, they are generally confined, as in parts of Rajshahi and Jessore to the requirements that a child of the untouchable classes shall sit on a separate seat from the higher caste boys. In most cases children of a sweeper caste would be admitted into a *pathsala* or a primary school as a matter of course and, as was reported in Howrah district, no caste could object to sitting with them and learning lessons. In Bankura district, indeed, boys of the Muchi and Dom castes have carried through their course of education without any objection whatever being raised by the higher castes with whom they received instruction. Moreover a society for the improvement of the backward classes has for many years done much for the depressed and educationally backward classes by the establishment of a large number of schools intended for them. The Depressed Classes' Association also maintains a very large number of schools, principally for their own members to which, however, there is no exclusive restriction of admission. These schools are both primary and secondary and are to be found in many districts throughout the province.

11. **The problem of political representation.**—As a social question, therefore, the problem of the depressed classes is primarily one for Hindu society to tackle for itself. As an administrative problem demanding the cognisance of Government, social and religious disabilities are unsatisfactory as a test of the classes to be included whilst the extent to which the depressed classes are denied participation in the advantages and conveniences maintained by the administration is so small as to be negligible. For the administration, in fact, the problem of the depressed classes in Bengal practically does not exist, save in so far as special measures are necessary to improve their economic condition and standard of education. The prominence which it acquires is largely due to the questions raised in comparatively recent years as regards separate representation in the legislatures for members of these classes. For Bengal at least, therefore, the attempt to treat any social usage or any civic disability as a clear criterion by which to distinguish the depressed classes is bound to fail and some other distinction must be sought. It is necessary to retain the untouchables since the Census Commissioner has explained depressed classes as

"castes contact with whom entails purification on the part of the high-caste Hindus."

He added

"it is not intended that the term should have any reference to occupation as such but to those castes which by reason of their traditional position in Hindu society are denied access to temples for instance, or have to use separate wells or are not allowed to sit in schools but have to remain outside or have to suffer similar social disabilities."

The question of preparing lists of the depressed classes for each province was discussed at a meeting of the Superintendents of Census Operations in January 1931. As a result of this discussion the Census Commissioner announced

"for the purposes of the census of India I propose at present to retain the term depressed classes to indicate untouchables, whether of the milder or of the more severe degree of untouchability."

It was decided also that Muslims and Christians should be excluded and that generally speaking the hill and forest tribes who had not become Hindu but whose religion was returned as tribal should also be excluded.

12. **A. Untouchables: (i) Sweeper and scavenging castes.**—As to the sweepers and scavenging castes there would be general agreement. In statement No. XII-a shown in the

Name of caste.	STATEMENT NO. XII-a.					
	Sweepers and scavenging castes.			Bengal States.		
	Bengal, British districts.			Bengal States.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
All castes below	477,199	247,589	229,610	5,094	2,507	2,587
Bhuijnall ..	69,903	35,314	34,489	3,001	1,480	1,541
Dom ..	138,926	70,773	68,153	1,141	511	630
Halalkhor ..	879	502	374	..	..	..
Hari ..	131,652	67,213	64,639	541	311	230
Kaora ..	107,967	56,901	50,966	41	36	5
Kichak ..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Lalbegl ..	4,965	3,489	1,476	..	..	..
Mehtor ..	22,908	13,895	9,518	370	189	181

margin their names are given with their total numbers in Bengal (British Territory) and Bengal States. The detailed notes on caste distribution contain a reference to the accounts in Risley's "Tribes and Castes" and in previous census reports in which these castes are described. The total number of persons recorded in British Bengal under names of scavenging castes is 477,199, of whom 247,589 are males and 229,610 females. In Bengal States their number is 5,094 (male 2,507, female 2,587). All these castes pursue degraded occupations and so far as is known it has never been suggested on any view that, if a separate category of depressed classes is formed, they have not the first claim to inclusion within it.

13. (ii) **Other untouchables.**—The sweeper castes, however, are not the only groups which would be covered in Bengal by the definition of the Census Commissioner. The castes shown in statement No. XII-b would certainly be included. This statement contains a number of castes of very different origin.

Chamars and Muchis who are tanners or workers in leather, Dhobis who are washermen, Sunris who are dealers in liquor and Patnis and Tiyars who are boatmen and fishermen are all well-recognised functional castes following occupations regarded with contempt by Hindu society. Namasudras, Pods and Pundaris are castes representing the inhabitants of parts of the delta in very early times. Many of the groups are of aboriginal origin or allied to aboriginal tribes. Possibly the Bagdis and Bauris of western Bengal and the Marches of Bihar might be thus described. Certainly it would be correct to apply the description to other groups. Thus the Dalus, Doais, Hadis and Hajangs are all allied to the Garos, a tribe from the Garo hills, found in Mymensingh district and neighbouring parts. The Kochh with the allied group, the Paliyas, are the original inhabitants of Cooch Behar and neighbouring regions. The Bhuiyas, Binds, Binjias, Dhenuars, Kurariars, Mahlis, Malpaharias and Rajwars are all similarly to be found originating in Chota Nagpur and Bihar, and the term Lohar is intended to refer not to the Kamars or Karmakars of either Bengal or Bihar but to members of aboriginal groups from these regions who have taken to iron work and often even call themselves Kamars or Karmakars. Bahelias, Dosadhs, Ghasis, Kadars, and Pans also come from Bihar and the origin of the Kandhs is to be sought in Orissa. Groups like the Kotals, Mals, Naiyas and Pasis are described as "non-Aryan" or "Dravidian" by Risley. Many of these groups are found in comparatively small numbers in Bengal and their small numbers have resulted in their being omitted when previous lists of "depressed classes" have been under preparation. The total number of groups included in this statement amounts in British districts to 5,654,653 of whom 2,919,171 are males and 2,735,482 are females. Added to the numbers in statement No. XII-a they give totals for the untouchables of 6,131,852 in all or 3,166,760 males and 2,965,092 females. In Bengal States the number of this group is 22,376 (male 12,771, female 9,605).

14. **An ad hoc criterion for the depressed classes.**—An attempt has been made to show that untouchability itself does not involve disabilities of a nature to attract the special interest of the administration. The position would, perhaps, be more clearly stated if it were put somewhat differently. The untouchables claim the special consideration of Government not *quâ* untouchable, and governmental responsibility for them arises not from their social and religious disabilities, but from other conditions. These conditions would remain even if untouchability were removed. If it were possible to imagine caste Hindu society undergoing a universal change of heart and effectively admitting untouchables to all the privileges which are now denied them on religious grounds, they would still remain in poverty and ignorance and both their conditions of life and their mental outlook would still be deplorable. If every untouchable were forthwith invested with the sacred thread and given the status of a Brahman it would be a very long time before the class unaided could derive any benefit from its elevation. A spectacular removal of untouchability, if it were effective, would still leave the ex-untouchables in conditions entitling them to special consideration. In the terms of His Majesty's Instrument of Instructions to the Governor of the Province it would still be true that

"from their lack of educational and material advantages they rely specially upon the protection of government and cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon joint political action."

Moreover they would not be and are not now the only classes "relying specially upon the protection of Government" for the same reasons. Other groups also, from poverty, ignorance, apathy, inertness and lack of ambition induced by generations of inferiority and the suppression of initiative or from tradition and environment or from the primitive level of their general development and the stress of contact with a different culture are not in a position to avail themselves on equal terms of the advantages offered by the administration and are in danger of having their interests neglected or subordinated to those of classes more fortunately situated.

STATEMENT NO. XII-b.

Name of caste.	Bengal, British districts.			Bengal States.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
All castes below	5,654,653	2,919,171	2,735,482	22,376	12,771	9,605
Bagdi ..	987,333	498,675	490,658	237	117	120
Bahella ..	4,449	2,214	2,235	..	..	..
Bauri ..	330,993	164,040	166,953	245	105	80
Bhuiya ..	49,226	27,539	21,687	144	72	72
Bind ..	19,160	10,365	8,795	358	201	157
Bhijnhia ..	203	102	101	114	55	59
Chamar ..	148,661	98,439	55,222	1,797	1,063	734
Dalu ..	..	(Not extracted.)	..	..	..	..
Dhenuar ..	44	21	23	..	..	..
Dhobi ..	228,667	120,316	108,351	1,005	541	464
Doal ..	1,073	552	521	887	438	449
Dosadh ..	35,928	24,238	11,690	492	373	119
Ghasi ..	5,222	2,822	2,400	90	71	19
Hadi ..	14,334	8,154	6,180	..	..	..
Hajang ..	19,693	10,066	9,637	..	..	..
Kadar ..	1,078	619	459	..	..	..
Kau ..	28	24	4	38	13	25
Kandh ..	850	598	252	675	404	271
Kochh ..	80,002	41,030	38,972	1,297	674	623
Konwar ..	133	78	56	..	..	..
Kotal ..	7,651	3,852	3,799	..	..	..
Kurariar ..	..	(Not extracted.)	..	..	..	..
Lohar ..	49,953	25,928	24,025	214	138	76
Mahli ..	16,262	8,211	8,051	..	..	..
Mal ..	111,154	54,078	57,076	13	13	..
Mallah ..	25,901	16,085	9,216	351	257	94
Malpahariya ..	11,781	6,081	5,700	1	1	..
Muchi ..	411,819	220,103	191,716	2,400	1,570	830
Musahar ..	11,515	6,379	5,136	199	93	106
Naiya ..	3	3	..	37	17	20
Namasudra ..	2,086,213	1,062,612	1,023,601	8,744	4,791	3,953
Paliya ..	43,160	22,862	20,298	..	..	..
Pan ..	791	530	261	1,064	731	333
Pasi ..	18,628	12,051	5,977	297	153	144
Patni ..	39,209	20,115	19,175	1,476	714	762
Pod ..	667,731	339,072	328,659	..	..	..
Pundari ..	31,255	17,354	13,901	..	..	..
Rajwar ..	21,315	11,274	10,041	22	13	9
Suiri ..	76,779	39,914	36,865	141	86	55
Tiyar ..	96,376	48,685	47,790	38	7	31

For these also Government has a special responsibility and that responsibility becomes more prominent if the form of government is increasingly democratic unless it provides some safeguard that these interests will not be overlooked. The list of depressed classes has consequently been extended to include such groups as appear at the present time to be included on these grounds. The criterion is incidentally identical with that suggested in a memorandum to the Franchise Committee by the Hon. Mr. E. A. B. Blunt, O.B.E., C.I.E., I.O.S. He offered the following *ad hoc* definition as a standard of decision:

"A depressed class is one whose social, economic and other circumstances are such that it will be unable to secure adequate representation of its political views or adequate protection of its interests without some form of special franchise concession."

The remaining classes included in the list thus extended may be divided into two: one containing the Hindus of groups of aboriginal derivation (amongst whom Christians and Buddhists also may be found as well as persons professing tribal religions) and the other comprising such groups as on the criterion suggested appear to be entitled to have special franchise concessions.

15. **B. Aboriginal tribes.**—The groups of aboriginal derivation shown in the accompanying statement No. XII-c are those given in subsidiary table I to chapter XII as primitive peoples with the exception of the Hill Tribes. No entirely satisfactory justification can be offered for

STATEMENT NO. XII-c.

Groups of aboriginal derivation not included in statement No. XII-b.

Name of group.	Bengal, British districts.			Bengal States.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
All groups below	867,109	445,255	421,854	169,200	87,909	81,291
Agaria ..	230	159	71	..	..	..
Asur ..	..	(Not extracted.)	..	..	..	..
Bhumij ..	83,995	41,700	42,295	452	240	212
Birhor ..	..	(Not extracted.)	..	..	..	..
Garo ..	35,519	18,478	17,043	2,393	1,161	1,232
Ho ..	19	15	4	4	..	4
Kaur ..	1,864	887	777	117	1	116
Koda (Kora) ..	48,617	28,778	22,839	172	131	41
Korwa ..	..	(Not extracted.)	..	..	..	..
Lodha ..	10,964	5,736	5,228	37	24	13
Mech ..	4,798	2,694	2,104	77	52	25
Munda ..	61,043	32,086	28,957	2,064	1,190	874
Nagesia ..	2,017	1,177	840	71	38	33
Oraon ..	135,412	72,641	62,771	1,016	646	369
Rabha ..	1,138	660	478	638	483	455
Santal ..	432,761	218,920	213,841	741	395	346
Tipara ..	34,876	17,950	16,926	160,976	83,498	77,481
Turi ..	16,058	8,379	7,680	140	50	90

putting some groups with a claim to come into this category within the class shown in statement No. XII-b, and comment has already been made on those groups shown within the earlier statement which might as well or almost as well have been included in statement No. XII-c with others to which they are allied. If a distinction is required it must be twofold—first that in general the numbers of the groups shown in statement No. XII-b are smaller and secondly that the groups are on the whole more extensively hinduised than those shown in this statement, and have consequently been more completely absorbed in

the general body of Hinduism. Amongst the Hadis and Hajangs, for instance, hinduisation has gone so far as to result in a claim to Kshatriya status and the same is true of the Kochh. It may be said of all primitive peoples that in general no question of the depressed classes arises amongst them so long as they remain under their own tribal beliefs and customs, but we are concerned now only with the Hindu members of the tribes and there is no doubt that, although they are now-a-days given conventionally the status of Kshatriyas by the Hindu missionaries who convert and initiate them, the Hindu converts of these groups of aboriginal derivation do not step into the social position associated with the Kshatriya status and that both before conversion and afterwards in contact with other Hindus a pronounced sense of social inferiority is developed. The list here given includes the majority of the Mundari and Oraon peoples, viz., the Agaria, Asur, Bhumij, Birhor, Ho, Koda, Korwa, Munda, Santhali and Turi and the Oraons; the allied Nagesias; the Garos; the Bodo groups, Mechh and Rabha; and the Tiparas.

16. **C. Other depressed classes.**—Statement No. XII-d contains a number of castes which may not be definitely or universally untouchable but are of very low status in Hindu society. The term Bediya includes a number of wandering gypsy-like tribes some with criminal proclivities.

STATEMENT No. XII-d.

Other depressed classes not included in statements Nos. XII-a to XII-c.

The Kharwar Nats and the Kapurias also have criminal leanings. Kandras who have now adopted the name Kodma were at one time a group with criminal leanings and originated in Orissa. Dhamis, Gonrhis, Kalwars, Karengas, Khatiks and Nagars, also are not indigenous to Bengal. The Bhatiyas are mendicants. Some of the groups given, such as the Jhalo-Malos who are boatmen and fishermen and the Kapalis whose traditional function is jute-weaving are able to secure the services of washermen and barbers and these as well as the Jalia Kai-barttas who are fishermen

Name.	Bengal, British districts.			Bengal States.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
Total	1,198,044	623,235	574,809	7,267	3,888	3,384
Battl ..	8,888	4,766	4,122	..	..	..
Bediya ..	6,891	3,529	3,362	352	169	183
Reidar ..	3,139	1,828	1,311	..	..	..
Berua ..	387	177	190	..	..	..
Bhatiya ..	322	147	175	..	..	..
Damal ..	6,022	3,034	2,988	17	17	..
Gonrhi ..	5,149	1,778	3,371	..	..	..
Jalya Kalbarta ..	348,859	181,830	168,529	2,213	1,176	1,037
Jhalo, Malo ..	197,789	101,846	95,943	310	262	48
Kalu and Tejl ..	293,224	150,161	134,063	2,682	1,204	878
Kalwar ..	13,383	8,877	4,506	148	87	61
Kandra ..	4,890	2,453	2,237	34	14	20
Kapal ..	193,880	85,866	78,314	1,903	876	1,027
Kapuris ..	170	98	72	..	..	..
Karenga ..	8,855	4,949	4,906	..	..	..
Khatik ..	1,157	762	395	..	..	..
Konal ..	41,958	20,922	20,136	..	..	..
Mahar ..	1,791	938	853	195	65	130
Nagar ..	16,151	8,004	8,147	13	13	..
Nat ..	7,348	3,796	3,552	..	..	..
Raju ..	86,778	29,318	27,460	..	..	..
Shagirdpeha ..	333	156	177	..	..	..

aspire to a caste nomenclature pronouncing them to be of the twice-born classes. A similar claim is made for the second group, found principally in Dacca, which is included with the Kharwar Nats amongst those shown as Nats. The total number of persons in British districts included in this category is 1,188,044 of whom 623,235 are males and 564,809 females. In Bengal States the number is 7,267 (male 3,883, female 3,384). In spite of social ambitions their present position in society and in some cases their small numbers entitle them to special consideration.

17. **Comparison with previous lists.**—A comparison with the groups included in the various lists at any time prepared in Bengal is afforded by statement No. XII-f printed at the end of this appendix. Groups included for the first time in 1931 are in general castes or tribes who have been overlooked previously owing to the small numbers or the fact that they are not indigenous in Bengal. The accompanying statement No. XII-e shows the principal groups, included in 1921 and now omitted, regarding whom some controversy may arise. The entry Kaira in the list of 1921 appears to be a mistake. No figures were given for the group anywhere in the report for that year and it does not appear to be mentioned in any ethnographic book of reference. After the census was held an enquiry was made in Midnapore where they are stated to be found but none were discovered. The entry is probably a misprint for Khaira and this group is given in Risley's *Caste's and Tribes of Bengal* as (a) a cultivating sub-caste of Bagdis

and (b) a synonym of Koras. In the census report for 1901, vol. VI, part I, page 392, comment is made on the difficulty of distinguishing between Kora, Kharia and Kharwar. It is probable that they should have been included in the number of some one or other of the depressed classes and that their appearance under a separate name is an omission of classification. In any case they are entitled to be included as depressed classes but the omission was not detected until it was too late to alter the list. Similarly Nuniyas and Suklis should be included: the Nuniyas may not offer water to higher castes and their Brahmans are said to be degraded but they are not excluded from the courtyards of temples. On the other hand they appear in the classification of 1901 in the same group as Sunris and Tiyars who are shown as depressed on the present occasion. In the same classification Suklis, similarly, come with the Bagdis and Namasudras. The Mahishyas or Chasi Kaibarttas have themselves protested against inclusion. A demand to be included should not be admitted without careful examination, since the object of admitting a group is that it may be in position to get its interests considered and this object would be jeopardised for other groups by the admission of a numerous caste with interests different from those of other depressed classes. On the other hand no caste should be included which prefers to be excluded. Khandaits, the swordsmen of Orissa and now a cultivating class, rank with the Karans as being of twice-born rank. Kurmis are "clean sudras" and were ranked in 1901 (Census Report, vol. VI, part I, pages 373-374) in the higher sub-group in that class in which also the Koiris appear. There is some difficulty about the Kurmis since the same transliteration covers both an aboriginal group and a caste of Bihar spelt with an almost indistinguishable difference of one letter. The aboriginal group probably predominates in Bengal, but in 1929 they were reported to be not untouchable and after the census those in Bankura and such as could be found in Midnapore were consulted and declined to be included with the depressed classes. Khandaits in Midnapore and Koiris both in Midnapore and the 24-Parganas when consulted after the census similarly declined inclusion. The Kasthas were shown in 1901 in the same group as the *navasakh* and they also prefer exclusion. The Kalitas (Khens or Khyans) are a respectable cultivating caste although in 1901 it was reported that their position with the *navasakh* is not assured. They claim to be Kayasthas and enquiries during the census enumeration showed that they are generally regarded as such by other castes for instance in Rangpur and Jalpaiguri. There seem therefore to be good grounds for excluding all these groups.

18. **Exclusion of the Rajbangshis.**—The Rajbangshis present a more difficult problem. The Franchise Committee (1931) noted in their report that this caste had asked for exclusion from the depressed classes, but the name is claimed by what are several distinct castes and it is not certain to which the persons really belong who made this request. The name should be restricted to the group with racial affinities to the Kochh and Paliya castes and the leaders of this group have claimed inclusion. They could point with reason to their racial identity with these other two depressed groups, but this is probably the last thing they would do, for they claim to be very much superior to them and to have established their position in the Kshattriya *varna*. Their claim to inclusion confers no title to be included for the reason which has already been noted, viz., that inclusions must be scrutinised to prevent the danger that they may swamp the general interests of the genuine depressed classes. As early as 1901 they were reported as being "to some extent *jal-chal*", i.e., considered of sufficiently elevated social status to offer water to the higher castes and their position has by no means deteriorated since then. It does not follow that all the *jalavyavahariya* castes are depressed, but it is certain that no caste can be depressed which is *jal chal* or *jalacharaniya*. The claim to be included within the depressed

STATEMENT No. XII-e.

Some castes included in the list of depressed classes in 1921 but not in 1931.

NOTE.—Figures for those castes marked with an asterisk are not for all districts.

Name of caste.	Bengal, British districts.			Bengal States.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
All castes below	1,801,712	957,529	844,183	321,260	167,546	153,714
*Kastha ..	2,600	1,366	1,234	1	1	..
*Khaira ..	38,154	18,763	19,391	133	114	19
*Khandait ..	34,328	26,602	7,666	752	596	156
*Koiri ..	16,021	11,407	4,614	..	..	..
Kurmi ..	193,176	106,278	86,898	1,476	1,090	386
*Nuniya ..	28,100	17,499	10,601	..	..	..
Rajbangsh ..	1,485,473	773,651	711,822	318,898	165,745	153,153
*Sukli ..	3,660	1,903	1,957	..	..	..

classes is indeed clearly incompatible with an insistent demand to be given the consideration of the second twice-born *barna* and can only be interpreted as evincing a desire to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. In the Rajshahi Division where they are most numerous it will be seen from statement No. XII-10 in the body of the chapter that they form more than a third of the total Hindu population and in the districts where they are chiefly found (Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Rangpur) their proportions are between 45 and 60 per cent. These figures are probably an underestimate owing to the success with which it is claimed by the caste that they contrived to get themselves recorded as Kshatriya without any qualification. Both their present social position and their numbers in the areas to which they are practically confined justify their exclusion.

19. **Distribution of the depressed classes by districts, etc.**—The necessity of compiling the list of depressed classes before any decision of Government was reached upon the castes to be included makes it doubtful to what extent the list shown in this report will be of use. Any list, however compiled, is bound to become out of date, and the more rapidly the object of recognising a special group of depressed classes is achieved the more rapidly will the list be antiquated. The object of recognition is not to perpetuate differences but to give the depressed classes a chance of surmounting them and taking a place on equal terms with others of the community, and as each caste progresses it must be withdrawn from the list and throw in its lot with the rest of the Hindu community. In the statements printed at the end of this appendix and numbered XII-g and XII-h figures are given both for groups in the list prepared for the report and so far as they are available for castes shown in statement No. XII-e. Groups not shown in the list for this report and the totals including them are shown in italics. The tables show both the numbers and also the proportion of the depressed classes in the total population and amongst Hindus. The district distribution as a proportion of the whole population is shown in the accompanying diagram No. XII-11 where the same scale is used as in the similar diagrams (Nos. XII-1 and XII-4) in the body of the chapter illustrating the distribution of the primitive tribes and the upper classes. As a proportion of the total population the depressed classes are most numerous in the districts of Western and Central Bengal and in the two Bengal States. It is, however, a proportion of the Hindu community that their numbers are of most interest. They form 37 per cent. of the Hindus throughout Bengal. They are more than half the Hindus in six districts (Burdwan, Birbhum, Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj and the Chittagong Hill Tracts) and in Tripura. They are less than a quarter only in 6 districts (Calcutta, Dinajpur, Darjeeling, Rangpur, Noakhali and Chittagong) and in Cooch Behar. They consequently form between a quarter and a half of the Hindu population in nearly 60 per cent. of the districts of the province. They are most numerous in the Dacca Division. Here are mainly concentrated the Namasudras who contribute more than a fourth of the total number of the depressed classes. A comparison between the relative strength of the depressed classes and the Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas who form the upper classes of the community is facilitated by the two diagrams giving their proportionate strength in each district but is perhaps most easily effected by comparing statements No. XII-7 and No. XII-8 in the body of the chapter with statements Nos. XII-g and XII-h at the end of this appendix. Only in Calcutta (where literates and the upper classes tend to gravitate) and in the predominantly Muslim districts of Noakhali and Chittagong are there more of the upper classes than of the depressed classes and in most districts the discrepancy is very considerable. Where aborigines are found in numbers the excess is particularly marked. Thus there are more than ten times as many of the depressed classes as of the upper classes in Jalpaiguri and Malda, more than nine times as many in Dinajpur and more than six times as many in Birbhum. The excess of more than fifteen times as many in Tripura is due to the numbers of Tiparas, and it is doubtful whether in the State in which they are indigenous it is proper to consider them depressed in the sense in which the word can be applied to them in British districts.

STATEMENT

Groups shown as depressed classes in the—				Groups shown as depressed classes in the—			
Census Report of 1931.	Census Report of 1921.	Calcutta University Report, 1917-19.	List of Bengal Government, 1916.	Census Report of 1931.	Census Report of 1921.	Calcutta University Report, 1917-19.	List of Bengal Government, 1916.
A.—Untouchables.				A.—Untouchables.			
(i) Sweepers and scavengers.				(ii) Other untouchables.			
Bhainmall Dom	Bhainmall Dom	Bhainmall Dom	Bhainmall Dom	Kadar	..	..	..
Halalkhor	..	..	..	Kan	..	..	..
Hari	Hari	Hari	Hari	Kandh	..	..	..
Kaora	Kaora	Kaora	Kaora	Koch	Koch	Koch	Koch
Kichak	..	..	..	Konwar	..	..	..
Lalbegi	..	..	..	Kotal	..	..	..
Mehtar	..	..	..	Kurariar	..	..	..
				Lohar	Lohar	..	..
				Mahli	..	..	..
				Mal	Mal	Mal	Mal
				Mallah	..	..	..
				Malpahariya	..	..	..
				Muchi	Muchi	Muchi	Muchi
				Musahar	..	..	..
				Naiya	..	..	..
				Namasudra	Namasudra	Namasudra	Namasudra
				Patiya	..	..	..
				Pan	..	..	..
				Pasi	..	..	..
				Patni	Patni	..	..
				Pod	Pod	Pod	Pod
				Pundari	Pundari	..	..
				Rajwar	..	..	..
				Sunri	..	Sunri	Sunri
				Tiyar	Tiyar	Tiyar	Tiyar

STATEMENT

Aggregate numbers and proportions of the

Division, district or state.	Numbers of depressed								
	Total population.			Total Hindu population.			List of 1931.		
	Both sex.	Male.	Female.	Both sex.	Male.	Female.	Both sex.	Male.	Female.
BENGAL	51,087,338	26,557,860	24,529,478	22,212,069	11,639,285	10,572,784	8,390,942	4,342,320	4,048,622
BRITISH TERRITORY	50,114,002	26,041,698	24,072,304	21,570,407	11,299,914	10,270,493	8,187,005	4,235,250	3,951,755
Burdwan Division	8,647,188	4,452,882	4,194,307	7,164,441	3,884,470	3,479,971	2,699,911	1,374,737	1,324,874
Burdwan	1,575,899	814,891	760,898	1,238,872	630,304	599,568	626,950	321,150	305,800
Birbhum	847,554	472,687	474,867	636,425	317,380	319,095	362,689	178,822	183,867
Bankura	1,111,721	557,074	554,647	1,011,654	506,326	505,328	445,064	222,068	222,996
Midnapore	2,799,093	1,417,026	1,382,068	2,492,989	1,282,749	1,230,240	688,185	345,689	342,476
Hooghly	1,114,256	592,130	522,125	924,081	489,398	484,863	343,243	179,954	163,289
Howrah	1,098,857	599,075	499,792	860,440	469,368	391,077	233,500	127,054	106,446
Presidency Division	10,108,229	5,475,366	4,832,863	5,179,127	2,835,998	2,343,129	2,201,082	1,167,960	1,033,122
24-Parganas	2,713,874	1,464,953	1,248,921	1,742,387	945,206	797,181	631,785	439,643	392,142
Calcutta	1,196,734	814,948	381,786	822,293	547,846	274,447	123,061	85,743	37,318
Nadia	1,025,622	788,886	740,747	574,046	294,404	279,642	183,639	94,750	88,889
Murshidabad	1,370,677	699,448	687,194	889,551	294,703	294,848	194,183	95,559	96,624
Jessore	1,671,164	871,446	799,718	634,230	328,807	307,423	334,461	172,944	161,477
Khulna	1,626,148	851,651	774,497	818,620	427,032	389,588	533,953	279,281	264,672
Rajshahi Division	10,668,066	5,549,437	5,118,620	3,721,726	1,961,799	1,759,929	979,750	510,148	489,604
Rajshahi	1,429,018	741,205	687,723	326,018	171,347	154,071	118,391	62,274	56,117
Dinajpur	1,755,432	924,092	831,340	793,832	422,240	371,592	196,659	103,494	93,165
Jalpaiguri	983,357	533,819	449,538	664,015	360,721	303,294	185,371	98,580	86,791
Darjeeling	319,835	170,131	149,504	236,913	126,585	110,328	28,611	16,290	12,315
Rangpur	2,594,765	1,356,594	1,238,191	746,546	394,730	361,816	94,328	50,439	43,889
Bogra	1,086,419	557,174	529,245	177,629	94,526	83,103	72,445	37,793	34,652
Pabna	1,445,656	739,027	706,627	332,367	168,030	164,337	122,098	60,293	61,805
Malda	1,053,766	527,305	526,461	444,406	223,619	220,787	161,847	80,977	80,870
Dacca Division	13,884,104	7,122,397	6,741,707	3,856,870	2,030,613	1,928,257	1,883,950	964,529	918,430
Dacca	3,432,577	1,743,517	1,689,060	1,124,893	569,529	556,364	469,829	235,780	234,019
Mymensingh	6,130,282	2,867,194	2,463,068	1,174,328	619,114	555,214	478,980	254,688	224,292
Faridpur	2,382,215	1,206,348	1,155,867	847,064	426,748	420,316	509,523	257,686	251,937
Bakarganj	2,939,050	1,505,338	1,438,712	812,585	416,222	399,363	425,827	216,475	209,152
Chittagong Division	6,826,414	3,441,616	3,384,798	1,549,243	787,035	759,398	422,603	217,878	204,725
Tippera	3,109,735	1,595,640	1,514,095	750,724	384,341	366,383	242,712	125,793	116,929
Noakhali	1,705,719	858,818	847,901	366,391	187,188	179,293	84,918	44,000	40,918
Chittagong	1,767,038	872,888	824,150	392,352	195,407	196,945	62,427	31,255	31,172
Chittagong Hill Tracts	212,922	114,270	98,652	36,776	20,999	16,677	32,546	16,840	15,706
BENGAL STATES	973,336	516,162	457,174	641,662	339,371	302,291	203,937	107,070	96,867
Cooch Behar	599,886	313,230	277,656	389,073	201,513	178,560	17,707	10,175	7,532
Tripura	382,460	202,932	179,518	261,589	137,858	123,731	186,230	96,896	89,335

STATEMENT

Numbers of the depressed classes

NOTE.—Figures for those castes

A.—Untouchables.

(i) Sweeper Castes.

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	Total all untouchables.							
		Total all untouchables.			Total sweeper castes.			Rhinmall.	
		Both sex.	Male.	Female.	Both sex.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1	BENGAL	6,159,322	3,182,038	2,977,284	482,293	250,096	232,197	36,774	36,030
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	6,131,852	3,166,760	2,965,092	477,199	247,569	229,610	35,314	34,489
3	Sardwan Division	1,961,515	996,887	964,628	241,606	123,479	118,127	1,149	1,272
4	Burdwan	498,588	258,826	244,972	87,093	29,179	27,914	18	16
5	Birbhum	306,826	159,872	155,953	60,953	20,327	30,626	1,086	1,187
6	Bankura	316,465	157,350	159,135	20,839	10,511	10,327	..	..
7	Midnapore	379,065	191,719	187,346	49,106	24,949	24,157	2	..
8	Hooghly	270,718	141,147	129,571	27,680	14,173	13,507	27	41
9	Howrah	189,824	102,173	87,651	26,938	14,340	11,596	16	28
10	Presidency Division	1,881,120	985,293	885,827	119,755	64,392	65,363	2,537	2,839
11	24-Parganas	756,737	395,990	360,747	72,500	38,626	33,874	49	29
12	Calcutta	86,035	67,838	28,197	17,801	11,093	6,708	27	1
13	Nadia	133,992	68,733	65,259	7,378	3,726	3,652	798	801
14	Murshidabad	144,984	71,714	73,270	16,199	7,826	8,373	1,197	1,739
15	Jessore	256,279	133,242	123,037	3,774	2,066	1,718	384	209
16	Khulna	493,093	257,776	235,317	2,103	1,065	1,038	82	60
17	Rajshahi Division	474,273	250,050	224,223	67,633	35,128	32,505	14,951	14,234
18	Rajshahi	87,283	35,239	32,044	6,611	3,575	3,036	2,196	1,937
19	Dinajpur	80,337	48,814	41,528	21,714	11,202	10,512	3,849	3,845
20	Jalpaiguri	33,877	19,389	14,488	5,439	2,956	2,483	708	440
21	Darjeeling	6,950	4,251	2,699	1,353	872	481	22	23
22	Rangpur	77,606	41,292	36,314	10,225	5,182	5,043	2,798	2,681
23	Bogra	47,958	25,318	22,640	6,042	2,987	3,055	1,381	1,531
24	Pabna	70,147	35,049	34,108	7,106	3,716	3,390	3,135	2,944
25	Malda	80,115	39,798	40,317	9,143	4,638	4,505	862	828
26	Dacca Division	1,539,200	783,311	755,889	27,171	14,339	12,833	11,761	10,917
27	Dacca	364,368	181,321	183,045	11,150	5,678	5,472	5,131	5,157
28	Mymensingh	329,001	174,453	154,548	7,025	3,911	3,084	2,481	1,952
29	Faridpur	454,332	228,965	225,367	5,336	2,814	2,522	2,482	2,249
30	Bakarganj	391,601	198,572	192,929	3,660	1,905	1,755	1,067	1,559
31	Chittagong Division	275,744	141,219	134,525	21,034	10,252	10,782	4,918	5,227
32	Tippera	174,732	90,140	84,592	5,497	2,704	2,793	2,312	2,472
33	Noakhali	67,193	34,279	32,914	3,531	1,694	1,837	1,634	1,785
34	Chittagong	33,587	16,645	16,942	11,959	6,819	6,140	951	966
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	232	155	77	47	35	12	19	4
36	BENGAL STATES	27,470	15,278	12,192	5,094	2,507	2,587	1,460	1,541
37	Cooch Behar	13,483	7,892	5,591	2,964	1,570	1,424	847	795
38	Tripura	13,987	7,386	6,601	2,100	937	1,163	613	746

A.—Untouchables.

(ii) Other untouchables.

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	Total other untouchables.									
		Total other untouchables.			Bagdi.		Bahella.		Bauri.		
		Both sex.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32		
1	BENGAL	5,677,029	2,931,942	2,745,087	496,792	490,778	2,214	2,235	164,205	167,033	
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	5,654,653	2,919,171	2,735,482	496,675	490,658	2,214	2,235	164,040	166,953	
3	Sardwan Division	1,719,908	873,408	846,501	374,582	374,407	128	28	158,654	161,595	
4	Burdwan	441,505	224,447	217,058	91,753	93,419	50	17	61,380	62,484	
5	Birbhum	245,872	120,545	125,327	42,854	44,665	7	..	18,380	18,618	
6	Bankura	295,647	146,839	143,808	45,148	44,514	..	..	58,884	60,516
7	Midnapore	328,959	166,770	163,189	76,721	76,839	..	..	7,110	6,633
8	Hooghly	241,038	126,974	110,004	79,450	76,790	60	..	12,735	13,259	
9	Howrah	163,688	87,833	76,055	38,656	38,180	11	11	215	65	
10	Presidency Division	1,761,365	930,901	830,464	109,443	104,676	531	567	3,937	3,972	
11	24-Parganas	634,237	357,304	320,873	51,621	48,158	95	37	506	468	
12	Calcutta	78,234	56,745	21,489	2,579	2,786	23	11	22	158	
13	Nadia	126,614	65,007	61,807	20,611	19,443	169	261	1,069	1,036	
14	Murshidabad	128,785	63,888	64,897	19,877	20,398	175	213	2,002	1,998	
15	Jessore	252,506	131,186	121,319	10,897	9,996	69	45	247	243	
16	Khulna	490,990	250,711	234,279	8,858	3,895	..	..	91	71
17	Rajshahi Division	406,840	214,922	191,718	5,457	5,388	415	522	555	575	
18	Rajshahi	80,572	31,664	29,008	1,584	1,565	..	..	37	38
19	Dinajpur	68,623	37,612	31,011	420	423	1	..	126	100	
20	Jalpaiguri	28,438	16,433	12,005	213	134	..	..	8	13
21	Darjeeling	5,597	3,379	2,218	16	16	..	..	..	..
22	Rangpur	97,381	36,110	31,271	163	148	23	18	1	1	
23	Bogra	41,918	22,331	19,585	517	576	6	..	..	..
24	Pabna	63,041	32,233	30,808	1,725	1,631	68	62	16	5	
25	Malda	70,972	35,160	35,812	819	896	317	442	367	420	
26	Dacca Division	1,512,029	768,973	743,056	7,125	6,136	1,136	1,109	163	117	
27	Dacca	353,216	175,643	177,573	1,375	1,077	..	..	63	50
28	Mymensingh	321,976	170,512	151,464	3,908	3,432	1,136	1,109	100	67	
29	Faridpur	448,996	226,151	222,845	1,823	1,580	..	..	..	..
30	Bakarganj	367,841	196,667	191,174	19	47	..	..	..	..
31	Chittagong Division	254,710	130,867	123,743	68	51	4	9	731	694	
32	Tippera	169,235	87,436	81,799	24	14	4	9	..	..
33	Noakhali	63,662	32,585	31,077	8	6	..	..	..	..
34	Chittagong	21,628	10,826	10,802	36	31	..	..	720	690
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	165	120	65	..	..	..	..	11	4
36	BENGAL STATES	22,376	12,771	9,605	117	120	..	..	165	80
37	Cooch Behar	10,489	6,322	4,167	106	101	..	..	..	..
38	Tripura	11,887	6,449	5,438	11	19	..	..	165	80

No. XII-h.

by categories, by districts.

marked with an asterisk are not for all districts.

A.—Untouchables.

(i) Sweeper Castes (concluded).

Dom.		Halalkhor.		Hari.		Kaora.		Kichak.		Laibegl.		Mehtor.		Serial No.
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
71,284	68,783	502	374	67,524	64,869	56,937	50,971	2	..	3,489	1,476	13,584	9,694	1
70,773	68,153	502	374	67,213	64,039	56,901	50,966	2	..	3,489	1,476	13,395	9,513	2
56,200	54,918	80	124	42,033	40,472	20,370	18,884	..	..	280	124	3,357	2,533	3
17,789	17,111	48	31	10,263	9,869	337	314	..	..	72	35	642	539	4
17,972	18,306	..	..	11,218	11,105	27	4	..	..	..	..	26	24	5
7,014	6,901	..	..	3,459	3,391	1	..	..	..	..	..	37	35	6
7,728	7,451	..	..	12,562	12,476	3,688	3,552	..	..	54	51	915	627	7
4,198	4,009	32	34	2,940	3,128	6,292	5,792	..	..	5	30	679	473	8
1,489	1,140	..	59	1,593	503	10,025	9,022	..	..	159	8	1,058	836	9
7,422	6,702	271	96	3,493	3,348	36,531	32,232	..	..	2,610	903	9,522	4,193	10
1,826	1,226	..	..	2,507	2,376	32,852	28,950	..	..	556	445	1,336	848	11
2,214	1,543	236	66	590	483	1,499	1,408	..	..	2,000	433	4,527	2,774	12
700	767	8	11	1,632	1,643	326	211	..	..	10	..	252	214	13
2,820	2,764	..	6	3,534	3,615	..	..	..	..	7	13	268	236	14
302	311	18	8	177	183	1,094	966	..	..	38	2	43	39	15
60	91	9	5	53	43	760	747	..	..	5	10	96	82	16
3,103	2,855	95	118	14,518	13,586	..	..	..	..	611	364	1,950	1,518	17
149	109	12	..	980	705	..	..	..	..	63	152	175	133	18
557	475	22	16	6,174	5,667	..	..	..	..	..	..	600	509	19
849	639	..	..	986	1,095	..	..	..	..	..	..	413	309	20
79	32	..	..	330	218	..	..	..	..	304	144	137	59	21
700	706	61	102	1,221	1,223	..	..	..	..	5	2	397	329	22
140	138	..	..	1,325	1,282	..	..	..	..	..	..	141	104	23
153	109	..	..	202	166	..	..	..	..	139	96	87	75	24
476	447	..	..	3,300	3,230	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
997	777	58	39	36	11	..	..	..	..	79	44	1,424	1,046	26
851	202	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	65	36	131	77	27
838	303	..	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,100	829	28
243	208	..	..	8	11	..	..	..	..	5	8	89	65	29
65	64	56	36	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	104	77	30
3,051	3,101	..	..	2,139	2,222	..	..	2	..	2	11	142	231	31
325	277	..	..	28	20	..	..	..	2	..	2	37	22	32
17	16	..	..	20	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	33	33
2,708	2,808	..	..	2,091	2,199	..	..	..	..	2	9	67	158	34
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	8	35
511	630	..	..	311	230	36	5	..	..	..	..	189	161	36
281	280	..	..	290	219	..	..	..	..	..	..	152	130	37
230	350	..	..	21	11	36	5	..	..	..	..	37	51	38

A.—Untouchables.

(ii) Other untouchables (continued).

Bhulya.		Bind.		Binjhia.		Chamar.		Dhenur.		Dhobi.		Doal.		Serial No.
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	
27,611	21,759	10,566	8,952	157	160	94,502	55,956	21	23	120,857	108,815	990	970	1
27,539	21,687	10,365	8,795	102	101	93,439	55,222	21	23	120,316	108,351	552	521	2
18,925	14,889	814	545	..	..	21,962	11,951	..	..	39,200	27,245	..	..	3
5,923	3,943	181	58	..	..	4,106	2,178	..	..	2,041	1,910	..	..	4
630	579	..	2	..	..	2,165	2,210	..	..	907	855	..	..	5
2,110	2,038	..	2	..	..	109	96	..	..	1,977	1,983	..	..	6
7,475	7,208	15	13	..	..	1,411	1,303	..	..	16,781	16,180	..	..	7
1,643	779	542	460	..	..	5,735	3,181	..	..	2,310	1,984	..	..	8
1,144	142	70	10	..	..	3,436	2,983	..	..	5,164	4,333	..	..	9
3,981	3,017	2,112	1,694	..	..	44,707	21,635	21	23	21,199	16,512	..	..	10
1,197	1,004	414	202	..	..	17,200	8,746	..	..	8,325	6,252	..	..	11
1,112	327	152	201	..	..	18,920	5,947	9	..	7,463	3,789	..	..	12
796	811	993	829	..	..	667	442	..	..	1,584	1,547	..	..	13
49	69	536	462	..	..	2,972	2,777	21	14	1,121	959	..	..	14
827	804	2	..	..	..	1,363	1,308	..	..	1,415	1,763	..	..	15
..	2	13	..	..	..	2,985	2,417	..	..	1,291	1,202	..	..	16
4,304	3,801	6,945	6,486	102	101	12,773	9,134	..	..	4,899	4,165	544	521	17
1,168	1,095	495	430	..	..	2,382	2,347	..	..	949	892	..	..	18
507	498	164	113	..	..	1,101	458	..	..	366	314	..	..	19
1,154	792	76	52	1	..	904	379	..	..	855	201	..	..	20
21	26	..	..	101	101	307	326	..	..	171	38	..	..	21
77	33	147	30	..	..	2,535	1,482	..	..	416	195	525	509	22
120	79	43	22	..	..	2,421	1,561	..	..	187	114	19	13	23
..	..	470	429	..	..	1,273	760	..	..	604	631	..	..	24
1,262	1,278	5,550	5,410	..	..	1,900	1,821	..	..	1,761	1,720	..	..	25
194	120	461	35	..	..	12,748	11,048	..	..	33,548	31,274	8	..	26
118	90	..	..	..	..	5,044	4,119	..	..	7,403	6,891	..	..	27
45	30	79	35	..	..	5,737	5,365	..	..	8,358	7,855	8	..	28
36	..	882	..	..	..	1,285	1,101	..	..	4,941	4,506	..	..	29
135	60	33	35	..	..	682	461	..	..	12,851	12,022	..	..	30
1	..	32	35	..	..	1,849	1,456	..	..	31,566	30,215	..	..	31
7	..	..	..	..	..	1,515	1,218	..	..	12,407	10,937	..	..	32
115	58	1	..	..	..	114	139	..	..	12,437	11,881	..	..	33
12	2	..	..	..	..	219	97	..	..	6,685	7,382	..	..	34
72	72	201	157	55	59	1,063	734	..	..	31	15	..	..	35
5	..	67	9	..	..	673	253	..	..	145	88	438	449	36
67	72	134	143	55	59	390	431	..	..	396	381	..	..	37

STATEMENT

Number of the depressed classes

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	A.—Untouchables.									
		(ii) Other untouchables (continued).									
		Doshdh.		Ghaal.		Hadl.		Hajang.		Kadar.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1		47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
1	BENGAL	24,611	11,809	2,893	2,419	8,154	6,180	10,056	9,637	619	459
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	24,238	11,690	2,822	2,400	8,154	6,180	10,056	9,637	619	459
3	Burdwan Division	5,846	2,497	138	88	..	..	..	..	87	68
4	Burdwan	1,878	1,073	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	16
5	Birbhum	80	69	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	Bankura	4	2	12	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
7	Midnapore	35	31	24	16	..	..	..	..	82	52
8	Hooghly	1,770	645	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	Howrah	2,079	677	102	62	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	Presidency Division	11,142	4,240	1,074	1,044	..	..	..	..	..	..
11	24-Parganas	4,898	2,020	601	616	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	Calcutta	4,789	1,635	118	39	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	Nadla	384	46	355	389	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	Murshidabad	947	624	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	Jessore	51	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16	Khulna	73	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17	Rajshahi Division	5,032	3,339	1,584	1,227	..	..	51	2	529	391
18	Rajshahi	385	280	..	..	..	..	..	..	58	57
19	Dinajpur	607	169	82	115	..	..	10	..	471	334
20	Jalpaiguri	475	185	1,228	869	..	..	..	..	..	..
21	Darjeeling	106	64	84	86	..	..	28	2	..	..
22	Rangpur	1,398	691	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..
23	Bogra	237	186	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	Pabna	374	231	68	58	..	..	..	..	..	..
25	Malda	1,452	1,533	102	99	..	..	..	..	..	..
26	Dacca Division	2,029	1,600	..	..	8,154	6,158	9,989	9,634	3	..
27	Dacca	520	298	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28	Mymensingh	1,316	1,220	..	..	8,154	6,158	9,989	9,634	3	..
29	Faridpur	96	82	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	Bakarganj	88	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	Chittagong Division	148	14	48	44	..	..	22	16	1	..
32	Tippera	140	7	..	..	..	..	..	16	1	..
33	Noakhali	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34	Chittagong	8	7	46	44	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	..	..
36	BENGAL STATES	373	119	71	19	..	..	..	..	..	..
37	Cooch Behar	378	93	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38	Tripura	..	26	71	19	..	..	..	..	..	..

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	A.—Untouchables.									
		(ii) Other untouchables (continued).									
		Mal.		Mallah.		Malpahariya.		Muehl.		Musnhar.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1		71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
1	BENGAL	54,091	57,076	16,942	9,310	6,082	5,700	221,673	192,546	6,472	5,242
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	54,078	57,076	16,685	9,216	6,081	5,700	220,103	191,716	6,379	5,136
3	Burdwan Division	32,816	34,185	2,391	757	128	82	78,842	74,669	915	555
4	Burdwan	804	598	353	87	120	55	33,218	30,637	270	313
5	Birbhum	19,579	21,367	5	1	..	..	22,432	22,943	128	112
6	Bankura	6,116	6,629	..	..	..	..	5,981	5,617	..	..
7	Midnapore	4,204	4,158	10	10	8	7	4,287	4,165	..	..
8	Hooghly	1,768	1,321	1,353	525	..	..	9,045	8,701	244	32
9	Howrah	346	112	670	134	..	..	3,829	2,906	273	98
10	Presidency Division	9,954	9,688	6,888	1,717	179	351	86,136	71,843	612	475
11	24-Parganas	227	137	2,773	1,262	..	..	18,216	15,188	267	40
12	Calcutta	326	38	2,282	40	..	..	10,422	2,521	37	29
13	Nadia	616	872	450	157	8	..	15,602	14,859	62	54
14	Murshidabad	8,498	8,315	266	230	170	351	11,093	11,385	208	323
15	Jessore	62	190	21	8	..	..	19,565	17,593	33	29
16	Khulna	230	226	94	20	..	..	11,238	10,197	5	..
17	Rajshahi Division	3,140	2,873	4,098	2,978	5,774	5,287	22,768	17,149	4,604	3,919
18	Rajshahi	217	199	551	303	2,452	2,271	4,261	4,436	91	85
19	Dinajpur	1,010	833	1,244	910	506	686	4,211	2,579	1,573	1,343
20	Jalpaiguri	222	96	339	54	1,295	991	1,315	509	235	66
21	Darjeeling	48	..	39	30	1,004	701	137	19	141	93
22	Rangpur	109	234	758	444	85	35	5,431	3,657	707	500
23	Bogra	..	..	352	366	75	80	1,697	1,293	169	134
24	Pabna	..	..	502	195	..	..	2,964	2,698	121	120
25	Malda	1,534	1,511	918	766	407	523	2,082	1,958	1,597	1,578
26	Dacca Division	6,673	6,867	3,509	3,733	..	..	28,529	24,864	54	30
27	Dacca	..	..	18	..	..	..	11,790	11,884	..	..
28	Mymensingh	6,585	6,684	3,518	3,733	..	..	13,303	10,738	44	21
29	Faridpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,182	1,570	..	..
30	Bakarganj	88	173	68	..	..	..	1,254	672	10	9
31	Chittagong Division	1,495	3,473	121	31	..	..	3,798	3,701	194	157
32	Tippera	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
33	Noakhali	1,480	3,454	111	14	..	..	3,219	2,837	26	12
34	Chittagong	..	..	..	..	..	..	235	139	..	..
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	15	19	10	17	..	..	339	163	162	139
36	BENGAL STATES	13	..	257	94	1	..	1,570	830	93	106
37	Cooch Behar	..	..	231	58	1	..	1,328	530	44	13
38	Tripura	..	..	26	36	..	..	242	291	49	98

No. XII-b (continued.)

by categories, by districts.

A.—Untouchables.

(ii) Other untouchables (continued).

Kan.		Kandh.		Koch.		Konwar.		Kotal.		Lohar.		Mahl.		Serial No.
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	
37	29	1,002	523	41,704	39,595	78	55	3,852	3,799	26,066	24,101	8,211	8,051	1
24	4	598	252	41,030	38,972	78	55	3,852	3,799	25,928	24,025	8,211	8,051	2
..	276	408	..	..	3,067	3,072	16,411	18,731	2,425	2,210	3
..	3,024	3,036	2,507	2,254	407	374	4
..	1	11	1,475	1,434	332	277	5
..	276	402	..	..	30	21	12,185	12,348	..	..	6
..	12	6	1,019	969	1,699	1,833	7
..	965	648	78	13	8
..	260	88	15	13	9
24	4	560	244	35	..	63	53	791	727	1,458	610	108	117	10
..	..	478	228	..	..	..	..	100	..	614	232	7	..	11
20	..	76	18	35	..	..	..	8	5	465	94	38	..	12
..	..	6	..	..	..	68	58	68	54	231	197	..	..	13
..	586	668	3	2	..	104	14
..	52	2	..	..	15
4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	98	82	..	..	16
..	..	38	8	19,816	18,916	..	..	24	..	5,723	4,317	5,078	5,424	17
..	..	2	..	700	593	..	..	24	..	206	163	298	270	18
..	3,221	2,942	..	..	..	..	302	124	960	856	19
..	417	592	..	..	..	..	3,673	3,147	3,282	2,987	20
..	65	57	..	..	..	..	937	481	121	128	21
..	..	86	8	3,228	3,295	..	..	..	..	232	39	47	50	22
..	10,364	10,000	..	..	..	..	141	188	73	62	23
..	15	15	..	..	..	..	32	14	..	..	24
..	1,406	1,424	..	..	..	..	210	211	897	1,071	25
..	20,424	19,479	15	..	..	..	283	199	..	..	26
..	4,404	4,269	..	..	..	..	20	3	..	..	27
..	15,817	14,975	15	..	..	..	63	41	..	..	28
..	160	154	..	..	29
..	203	228	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
..	379	178	..	2	..	..	73	169	..	..	31
..	188	156	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	32
..	191	22	..	2	..	..	68	160	..	..	33
..	1	..	..	..	34
..	35
13	25	404	271	674	623	..	..	..	..	138	76	..	..	36
..	..	7	1	640	590	..	..	..	..	84	21	..	..	37
15	25	397	270	34	83	..	..	..	..	54	55	..	..	38

A.—Untouchables.

(ii) Other untouchables (continued).

Naiya.		Namasudra.		Pallya.		Pan.		Pasi.		Patni.		Pod.		Serial No.
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	
20	20	1,067,403	1,027,554	22,862	20,298	1,261	594	12,804	6,121	20,829	19,937	339,072	328,659	1
3	..	1,062,612	1,023,601	22,862	20,298	530	261	12,651	5,977	20,115	19,175	339,072	328,659	2
..	..	37,242	37,639	..	..	271	163	4,538	1,730	239	118	35,647	34,403	3
..	..	7,489	7,320	..	..	12	..	973	438	35	26	31	0	4
..	..	823	864	..	..	..	..	54	46	6	7	2,403	3,616	5
..	..	458	432	..	..	..	..	14	7	..	..	..	..	6
..	..	18,653	18,535	..	..	165	105	238	125	12	13	19,391	17,297	7
..	..	3,283	3,241	..	..	..	..	1,202	413	50	8	1,618	1,502	8
..	..	6,536	6,638	..	..	94	58	2,055	701	127	56	11,204	11,979	9
..	..	268,072	247,743	33	..	229	92	8,998	3,188	3,891	3,468	362,138	293,888	10
..	..	15,958	15,329	..	..	224	88	4,285	2,267	461	289	199,384	199,698	11
..	..	2,201	1,607	..	..	5	4	1,885	566	63	69	1,389	676	12
..	..	15,605	14,907	33	..	..	..	185	132	1,110	964	1,239	1,153	13
..	..	5,654	5,683	..	..	..	..	131	160	801	764	1,237	1,337	14
..	..	90,198	83,909	..	..	..	..	80	53	846	798	4,560	3,974	15
..	..	138,466	126,808	..	..	..	..	32	10	480	583	95,376	87,150	16
3	..	58,164	57,864	21,229	18,950	70	6	845	383	3,411	3,691	299	298	17
..	..	10,700	10,042	23	9	..	..	..	..	425	416	50	32	18
..	..	1,935	1,817	17,841	15,668	1	..	68	10	239	261	..	..	19
..	..	953	720	66	84	..	..	4	3	10	9	..	..	20
..	..	24	18	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	21
..	..	18,069	18,250	..	..	4	..	242	125	986	909	..	..	22
..	..	4,716	4,418	220	115	..	..	18	8	258	313	..	..	23
..	..	22,098	21,907	..	..	5	..	71	53	1,349	1,559	..	..	24
..	..	603	692	3,079	3,074	..	..	142	188	144	134	240	236	25
..	..	611,277	600,899	1,694	1,265	20	..	848	571	3,383	3,582	..	..	26
..	..	140,360	144,822	304	236	..	..	456	256	1,709	1,418	..	..	27
..	..	78,763	66,776	1,290	1,019	20	..	390	315	5,426	4,993	..	..	28
..	..	214,641	213,057	..	..	..	..	..	..	778	610	..	..	29
..	..	179,518	176,014	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,450	1,536	..	..	30
..	..	86,857	86,295	6	93	..	..	126	100	3,318	3,442	..	..	31
..	..	66,411	60,986	3	..	..	..	45	22	1,806	2,047	..	..	32
..	..	18,278	17,517	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,503	1,895	..	..	33
..	..	2,115	1,780	3	93	..	..	81	84	1	..	..	..	34
..	..	58	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
17	20	4,791	3,953	..	..	731	333	153	144	714	762	..	..	36
..	..	1,963	1,803	..	..	..	..	55	30	122	124	..	..	37
17	20	2,828	2,150	..	..	731	333	98	114	592	636	..	..	38

STATEMENT

Number of the depressed classes

A.—Untouchables.

(H) Other untouchables (concluded).

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	A.—Untouchables.							
		(H) Other untouchables (concluded).							
		Pundari.		Rajwar.		Sunri.		Tiyar.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
	1	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102
1	BENGAL	17,354	13,901	11,287	10,050	40,000	36,920	48,592	47,821
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	17,354	13,901	11,274	10,041	39,914	36,865	48,585	47,790
3	Burdwan Division	..	..	4,156	3,623	31,079	29,818	10,640	11,562
4	Burdwan	..	..	1,195	872	6,337	5,618	275	323
5	Birbhum	..	..	170	199	7,003	7,223	191	229
6	Bankura	..	..	246	174	12,713	12,155	902	907
7	Midnapore	..	..	2,336	2,225	2,707	2,724	2,117	2,321
8	Hooghly	..	..	97	82	1,201	950	1,813	1,486
9	Howrah	..	..	112	71	1,068	848	5,342	6,236
10	Presidency Division	13,050	10,204	3,948	3,879	8,660	8,213	22,016	20,463
11	24-Parganas	8,560	6,028	980	750	1,970	1,370	17,964	16,456
12	Calcutta	..	..	751	117	1,486	750	133	142
13	Nadia	339	211	1,550	1,768	949	844	266	478
14	Murshidabad	3,893	3,663	425	1,198	1,489	1,024	1,696	1,576
15	Jessore	251	302	242	46	148	98	217	249
16	Khulna	4	..	..	..	648	527	1,740	1,582
17	Rajshahi Division	4,077	3,502	2,354	2,037	1,776	1,499	6,540	7,144
18	Rajshahi	1,936	1,498	686	703	291	184	992	1,097
19	Dinaipur	..	..	109	27	345	243	192	188
20	Jalpaiguri	..	..	26	3	199	119	13	..
21	Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	26	26	..	..
22	Rangpur	..	..	828	573	64	25	48	20
23	Bogra	..	..	46	30	52	41	50	43
24	Pabna	54	37	35	129	23	3	366	361
25	Malda	2,037	1,967	624	567	776	868	4,879	5,435
26	Dacca Division	221	195	811	497	366	336	9,389	8,601
27	Dacca	4	..	219	178	304	310	1,537	1,677
28	Mymensingh	217	195	592	319	52	25	7,639	6,755
29	Faridpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	180	155
30	Bakarganj	..	..	..	..	..	..	33	14
31	Chittagong Division	..	..	8	5	13	..	..	..
32	Tippera	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..
33	Noakhali	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
34	Chittagong	..	..	5	5	6	..	..	..
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	BENGAL STATES	..	..	13	9	86	55	7	31
37	Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	27	..	..	..
38	Tripura	..	..	18	9	59	55	7	31

B.—Classes of aboriginal derivation.

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	B.—Classes of aboriginal derivation.							
		Koda (Kora).		Lodha.		Mech.		Munda.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
	1	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123
1	BENGAL	23,909	22,880	5,760	5,241	2,746	2,129	33,276	29,831
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	23,778	22,839	5,736	5,228	2,694	2,104	32,086	28,957
3	Burdwan Division	20,640	19,700	5,067	5,213	..	..	1,994	1,461
4	Burdwan	7,580	6,430	21	8	..	..	156	100
5	Birbhum	3,932	4,028	..	..	..	..	81	82
6	Bankura	2,665	2,664	..	..	..	..	128	137
7	Midnapore	4,813	4,870	4,952	4,863	..	..	730	890
8	Hooghly	1,453	1,675	634	329	..	..	359	120
9	Howrah	197	33	60	8	..	..	540	152
10	Presidency Division	415	399	65	15	15	..	3,415	3,307
11	24-Parganas	34	52	17	10	..	..	1,485	1,416
12	Calcutta	23	25	46	4	15	..	232	42
13	Nadia	14	..	2	1	..	..	778	909
14	Murshidabad	293	265	..	..	..	..	190	268
15	Jessore	51	57	..	..	..	..	668	590
16	Khulna	..	..	..	..	..	..	62	82
17	Rajshahi Division	2,719	2,700	..	..	2,679	2,104	25,162	23,428
18	Rajshahi	105	99	..	..	..	..	3,494	3,456
19	Dinaipur	964	871	..	..	..	..	2,159	2,436
20	Jalpaiguri	..	..	..	..	2,495	1,939	14,341	18,442
21	Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	181	165	2,218	1,559
22	Rangpur	..	..	..	..	3	..	217	178
23	Bogra	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,564	1,418
24	Pabna	..	..	..	..	..	..	230	218
25	Malda	1,041	1,730	..	..	..	..	939	721
26	Dacca Division	3	..	..	..	..	..	1,366	598
27	Dacca	..	..	..	..	..	..	828	319
28	Mymensingh	3	..	..	..	..	..	356	139
29	Faridpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	138	80
30	Bakarganj	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	60
31	Chittagong Division	10	40	4	..	..	..	149	163
32	Tippera	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
33	Noakhali	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34	Chittagong	10	40	3	..	..	..	146	163
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
36	BENGAL STATES	131	41	24	13	52	25	1,190	874
37	Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	52	25	6	2
38	Tripura	181	41	24	13	..	..	1,185	872

No. XII-h (continued).

by categories, by districts.

B.—Classes of aboriginal derivation.

Total, Castes of aboriginal derivation.			Agaria.		Bhumij.		Garo.		Ho.		Kaur.		Serial No.
Both sex.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
108	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	
1,036,309	533,164	503,145	159	71	41,940	42,507	19,034	18,275	15	8	888	893	1
867,109	445,255	421,854	159	71	41,700	42,295	18,473	17,043	15	4	867	777	2
388,758	190,610	192,142	49	19	33,938	35,154	9	8	15	4	..	..	3
82,528	43,666	38,832	..	..	1,059	1,396	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
18,324	8,450	8,374	..	..	63	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
91,198	45,176	46,022	..	..	9,008	9,098	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
152,179	74,196	77,983	44	5	21,928	22,925	9	2	15	4	..	..	7
41,848	21,908	19,945	5	..	1,794	1,715	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
4,181	3,195	986	..	5	84	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
39,484	19,997	19,487	49	..	5,949	5,497	122	10	..	..	87	83	10
15,929	8,876	7,553	..	..	4,987	4,521	103	12	..	..	..	..	11
989	804	185	46	..	17	14	4	2	..	..	87	23	12
7,802	3,781	4,021	..	..	285	263	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
9,143	4,680	4,463	..	..	35	36	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
4,417	2,258	2,164	..	..	625	663	15	1	..	..	..	..	15
204	103	101	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
363,881	189,029	174,861	13	17	1,591	1,451	622	434	..	..	99	143	17
37,908	19,989	17,917	..	..	786	725	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
94,178	47,962	46,216	..	9	..	..	2	..	..	..	44	92	19
144,928	75,975	68,953	..	..	162	105	606	424	..	..	..	..	20
15,451	8,736	6,715	18	8	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	51	21
8,013	3,183	2,850	..	..	..	..	14	10	..	..	..	41	22
10,947	5,696	5,251	..	..	142	131	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
4,797	2,529	2,268	..	..	519	489	..	..	..	..	..	11	24
49,861	24,970	24,691	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
39,054	20,600	18,454	..	..	247	175	17,718	16,588	..	..	988	871	26
1,786	1,185	601	..	..	125	80	15	..	..	..	..	..	27
36,421	18,941	17,480	..	..	66	53	17,701	16,585	..	..	658	571	28
711	399	312	..	..	56	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	29
136	75	61	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	80	..	30
36,932	19,022	17,910	51	44	7	18	4	..	..	..	18	49	31
1,429	742	687	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	36	32
3,400	1,777	1,623	47	40	7	18	4	..	..	..	..	4	34
32,193	16,503	15,600	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
169,200	87,909	81,291	..	..	240	212	1,161	1,232	..	4	1	116	36
1,364	723	641	..	..	..	..	125	125	..	..	..	..	37
167,836	87,186	80,650	..	..	240	212	1,036	1,107	..	4	1	116	38

B.—Classes of aboriginal derivation.

Nagesia.		Oraon.		Rabha.		Santal.		Tipara.		Turi.		Serial No.
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	
1,215	873	73,287	63,140	1,143	933	219,315	214,187	101,448	94,407	8,429	7,770	1
1,177	840	72,641	62,771	860	478	218,920	213,841	17,950	16,926	8,378	7,686	2
85	27	5,216	1,400	..	..	128,837	128,806	..	..	228	359	3
..	..	341	287	..	..	34,366	30,312	..	..	173	293	4
..	..	37	31	..	..	4,329	4,230	..	..	8	23	5
..	..	5	2	..	..	33,370	34,121	..	..	..	..	6
..	..	277	331	..	..	41,410	44,078	..	..	18	10	7
..	..	2,939	547	..	..	14,647	15,527	..	..	22	32	8
25	27	1,569	202	..	..	715	588	..	..	5	1	9
5	4	4,583	4,248	1	..	4,543	4,441	..	..	781	539	10
..	..	1,172	795	..	..	189	371	..	..	389	376	11
..	..	72	13	..	..	41	..	..	..	221	61	12
..	..	2,069	2,254	1	..	632	594	..	..	102	67	13
5	4	945	878	..	..	3,110	2,945	..	..	86	35	14
..	..	825	306	..	..	533	512	..	..	8	..	15
..	..	..	..	..	..	88	19	..	..	..	..	16
1,147	599	82,589	56,809	828	468	84,677	80,915	..	..	7,139	6,493	17
..	..	4,504	3,974	..	..	10,656	9,207	..	..	404	456	18
..	..	2,609	2,600	..	..	39,782	37,903	..	..	2,402	2,305	19
918	598	40,333	42,583	626	468	9,241	8,508	..	..	1,256	686	20
184	169	4,629	3,496	..	..	1,446	1,212	..	..	63	54	21
..	..	666	544	..	..	1,958	1,923	..	..	264	195	22
60	42	1,231	1,173	..	..	2,221	2,117	..	..	488	370	23
..	..	1,637	1,407	..	..	84	125	..	..	48	29	24
..	..	930	1,032	..	..	19,239	19,020	..	..	2,171	2,188	25
..	..	160	134	..	..	305	286	115	105	..	..	26
..	..	127	107	..	..	90	95	..	..	..	..	27
..	..	33	27	..	..	9	..	115	105	..	..	28
..	..	..	..	..	..	205	190	..	..	..	..	29
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	30
..	..	91	182	31	10	658	293	17,835	16,921	286	299	31
..	..	8	12	31	10	..	..	686	629	..	..	32
..	..	83	170	..	..	399	216	822	673	266	299	33
..	..	..	..	..	..	169	77	16,827	15,519	..	..	34
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
38	33	646	369	483	455	395	346	83,498	77,481	59	90	36
84	15	19	17	438	455	4	2	..	..	1	..	37
4	18	627	352	..	..	391	344	83,498	77,481	49	90	38

Number of the depressed classes

C.—Other depressed classes.

(1) In the list for 1931.

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	Total, list of 1931.								
		Total, list of 1931.			Bairi.		Bodiya.		Beldar.	
		Both sex.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
	1	196	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144
1	BENGAL	1,195,311	627,118	568,193	4,766	4,122	3,698	3,545	1,828	1,311
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	1,188,044	623,235	564,809	4,766	4,122	3,529	3,362	1,828	1,311
3	Burdwan Division	349,338	181,234	168,104	2,309	2,090	887	862	161	46
4	Burdwan	45,824	23,828	21,996	686	686	190	239	76	12
5	Birbhum	39,040	19,500	18,540	114	121	169	171	..	..
6	Bankura	37,381	19,542	17,839	157	172	198	140	..	..
7	Midnapore	166,921	79,774	77,147	448	453	280	202	14	..
8	Hooghly	30,677	16,904	13,773	418	291	68	50	28	29
9	Howrah	39,495	21,686	17,809	486	367	75	50	43	4
10	Presidency Division	281,478	152,670	128,808	1,624	1,364	870	838	305	218
11	24-Parganas	59,119	35,277	23,842	260	175	514	498	6	6
12	Calcutta	26,037	17,101	8,936	28	2	49	12	179	205
13	Nadia	41,845	22,236	19,009	513	463	109	90	8	7
14	Murshidabad	40,056	19,165	20,891	352	324	85	82	18	..
15	Jessore	73,765	37,489	36,276	372	303	106	156	..	..
16	Khulna	40,656	21,402	19,254	99	87	7	..	..	..
17	Rajshahi Division	141,596	71,076	70,520	610	436	1,750	1,649	1,466	1,048
18	Rajshahi	13,202	7,046	6,156	68	53	105	46	..	..
19	Dinajpur	12,144	6,718	5,428	15	13	123	86	742	433
20	Jalpaiguri	6,566	3,216	3,350	..	..	289	272	6	..
21	Darjeeling	6,210	3,309	2,901	12	..	..	..	..	..
22	Rangpur	10,709	5,984	4,725	13	3	489	475	4	1
23	Bogra	13,540	6,779	6,761	8	..	440	629	..	..
24	Pabna	47,154	21,815	25,339	233	208	286	235	..	..
25	Malda	32,071	16,209	16,862	266	159	13	16	708	614
26	Dacca Division	305,705	160,618	145,087	30	36	22	23	2	..
27	Dacca	103,677	53,274	50,403	30	36	6	..	2	..
28	Mymensingh	113,558	61,294	52,264	..	..	..	..	..	..
29	Fariapur	54,460	28,222	26,258	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	Bakarganj	33,980	17,828	16,162	..	..	16	23	..	..
31	Chittagong Division	109,927	57,637	52,290	193	206	..	..	..	..
32	Tippura	66,551	34,901	31,650	193	206	..	..	..	..
33	Nonkhall	17,725	9,721	8,004	..	..	..	..	..	..
34	Chittagong	25,440	12,833	12,607	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	211	182	29	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	BENGAL STATES	7,267	3,883	3,384	..	..	169	183	..	..
37	Cooch Behar	2,860	1,560	1,300	..	..	169	180	..	..
38	Tripura	4,407	2,323	2,084	..	..	..	3	..	..

C.—Other depressed classes.

(1) In the list for 1931 (continued.)

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	Total, list of 1931.							
		Kalwar.		Kandra.		Kapali.		Kapuria.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
	1	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166
1	BENGAL	8,964	4,567	2,467	2,257	86,242	79,341	98	72
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	8,877	4,506	2,453	2,237	85,366	78,314	98	72
3	Burdwan Division	2,542	1,301	2,120	2,199	2,478	2,157	51	38
4	Burdwan	200	81	4	9	514	506	4	..
5	Birbhum	405	342	..	..	1	..	..	..
6	Bankura	4	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
7	Midnapore	80	51	2,116	2,190	164	143	47	38
8	Hooghly	630	384	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	Howrah	1,173	442	..	..	1,798	1,508	..	..
10	Presidency Division	4,470	2,160	333	38	33,282	30,061	47	34
11	24-Parganas	1,771	806	333	38	8,087	7,168	7	30
12	Calcutta	2,478	1,205	..	..	289	164	40	4
13	Nadia	4	1	..	..	3,183	3,617	..	..
14	Murshidabad	211	129	..	..	6	6	..	..
15	Jessore	6	9	..	..	10,237	9,462	..	..
16	Khulna	..	..	..	..	11,480	10,244	..	..
17	Rajshahi Division	1,650	872	..	..	5,121	5,354	..	..
18	Rajshahi	134	79	..	..	1,335	1,130	..	..
19	Dinajpur	350	237	..	..	116	118	..	..
20	Jalpaiguri	361	100	..	..	276	652	..	..
21	Darjeeling	101	34	..	..	21	14	..	..
22	Rangpur	251	84	..	..	374	617	..	..
23	Bogra	124	65	..	..	631	618	..	..
24	Pabna	45	35	..	..	2,309	2,167	..	..
25	Malda	284	238	..	..	59	38	..	..
26	Dacca Division	215	163	..	..	36,377	33,976	..	..
27	Dacca	10	..	..	..	15,365	14,853	..	..
28	Mymensingh	205	183	..	..	8,132	6,942	..	..
29	Fariapur	..	..	..	..	8,068	7,654	..	..
30	Bakarganj	..	..	..	..	4,812	4,527	..	..
31	Chittagong Division	..	..	..	..	8,108	6,766	..	..
32	Tippura	..	..	..	..	7,748	6,472	..	..
33	Nonkhall	..	..	..	..	360	294	..	..
34	Chittagong	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	BENGAL STATES	87	61	14	20	876	1,027	..	..
37	Cooch Behar	87	61	..	..	53	46	..	..
38	Tripura	..	..	14	20	823	981	..	..

No. XII-b (continued).

by categories, by districts.

C.—Other depressed classes.

(1) In the list for 1931 (concluded).

Barua.		Bhatiya.		Damal.		Gonrl.		Jalia Kaibarta.		Jhalo, Malo.		Kalu and Toll.		Serial No.
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	
177	190	147	175	3,051	2,988	1,778	3,371	182,506	169,566	102,108	95,991	160,365	134,941	1
177	190	147	175	3,034	2,988	1,778	3,371	181,330	168,529	101,846	95,943	159,161	134,063	2
		5	15			88	5	47,079	45,264	1,112	539	87,689	74,294	3
						30		4,550	4,418	410	336	17,044	15,658	4
		2						363	334	5		11,300	11,299	5
								2,343	2,343	191		16,289	14,721	6
		9	6			2		21,895	23,120	54		23,363	20,921	7
			9			55	4	7,679	8,061	414	136	7,535	6,776	8
						1	1	10,249	8,948	38	66	6,148	4,919	9
	31	142	169	2	31	913	2,789	24,987	22,739	33,648	39,126	39,118	29,203	10
	81	4	6			213	41	4,950	4,318	2,009	1,064	14,081	7,897	11
		105	188	2	31	62	21	2,088	1,608	736	185	10,750	5,114	12
		6	15			80	9	1,272	1,119	10,618	9,379	6,479	5,605	13
		25	15			605	2,718	891	835	1,785	1,713	4,926	5,005	14
		2	1			3		13,322	12,739	12,027	12,199	1,418	1,408	15
								2,464	2,060	5,875	5,588	1,464	1,274	16
	173	151		3,003	2,932	766	570	13,311	12,482	24,925	27,324	8,391	6,638	17
						251	142	1,826	1,522	2,861	2,396	602	558	18
								3,439	3,186	667	739	1,188	572	19
				213	170			1,803	1,457			768	699	20
	178	151		2,788	2,762	2		41	30			346	61	21
								3,068	2,728	960	236	474	231	22
								1,914	1,915	2,808	2,808	229	173	23
				2				1,185	1,116	14,781	18,883	508	362	24
						513	434	535	529	2,448	2,173	4,096	3,962	25
				29	25			56,484	51,505	41,489	36,989	24,159	20,819	26
				29	25			16,496	16,482	12,513	12,236	8,828	7,821	27
								28,336	24,757	18,565	15,258	5,026	4,846	28
								4,303	3,922	9,431	8,744	6,420	5,938	29
								7,329	7,394	971	731	3,290	2,218	30
	4	8						39,489	36,539	2,181	968	5,894	6,116	31
								11	1					32
								11		22,376	20,641	1,601	582	33
										4,933	3,973	381	3,302	34
										12,000	11,896	107	255	35
										180	29			36
				17				1,176	1,037	262	48	1,204	878	37
								1,052	948	140	31	59	84	38
				17				124	89	123	17	1,145	844	39

C.—Other depressed classes.

(1) In the list for 1931 (concluded).

Karenga.		Khatik.		Konat.		Mahar.		Nagar.		Nat.		Raju.		Shagirdpesha.		Serial No.
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	
4,949	4,906	762	395	20,922	20,136	1,003	983	8,017	8,147	3,796	3,552	29,318	27,460	156	177	1
4,949	4,906	762	395	20,922	20,136	938	853	8,004	8,147	3,796	3,552	29,318	27,460	156	177	2
4,093	4,079	330	128	7,154	7,275	840	823	32	102	40	30	26,068	26,068	166	177	3
3		69	28	22	9			9	2	17	12					4
		14	7	7,121	7,266	5				1						5
441	420															6
2,149	2,167	54	24			885	823	23	100	17	14	26,068	26,068	156	175	7
	9	24	5							5	4					8
1,500	1,483	169	13	6												9
859	827	389	230	10,274	9,507	3		895	719	5		1,217	761			10
778	825	232	88	859	119							1,174	732			11
74	2	157	142	84	14	3			29			27	19			12
				9,381	9,374			885	690			16	19			13
																14
																15
																16
																17
		43	39	3,484	3,354	2		7,091	7,314	273	338	33	13			18
				240	219											19
								19		26	80	89	18			20
																21
																22
																23
		13	10	630	563											24
				2,419	2,311					17	4					25
				1	205	267				7,042	7,314	35	98			26
																27
								47	17			1,793	1,535			28
																29
												430	278			30
																31
								47	17			1,863	1,257			32
								48	13	26	12	1,888	1,648			33
								6		26	12	603	620			34
												653	619			35
								40	13			427	410			36
																37
						65	130	13								38
						65	180	13								39

STATEMENT

Number of the depressed classes

C.—Other depressed classes.

(H) Included in the list of 1921 but not in 1931.

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	Total, including those of 1921 not included in 1931.						
		Total, including those of 1921 not included in 1931.			*Kastha.		*Khaira.	
		Both sex.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	
1	BENGAL	2,122,972	1,125,075	997,897	1,367	1,234	18,877	19,410
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	1,801,712	957,529	844,183	1,366	1,234	18,763	19,391
3	Burdwan Division	237,571	125,441	112,130	1,366	1,234	18,709	19,366
4	Burdwan	14,527	8,743	5,784	..	..	1,341	1,310
5	Birbhum	5,029	2,547	2,482	..	..	..	..
6	Bankura	64,532	26,380	23,452	..	..	12,793	14,165
7	Midnapore	111,615	64,572	57,043	1,366	1,234	2,065	2,234
8	Hooghly	20,371	12,752	7,819	..	..	2,503	1,657
9	Howrah	30,997	20,447	10,550	..	..	..	..
10	Presidency Division	188,000	110,432	77,568	..	..	61	25
11	24-Parganas	77,998	47,295	30,703	..	..	..	..
12	Calcutta	23,843	19,102	4,741	..	..	..	..
13	Nadia	19,541	10,592	8,949	..	..	39	..
14	Murshidabad	30,109	14,290	15,819	..	..	..	..
15	Jessore	11,303	6,120	5,183	..	..	22	25
16	Khulna	25,206	13,033	12,173	..	..	..	..
17	Rajshahi Division	1,294,626	679,031	615,595	..	..	..	..
18	Rajshahi	33,334	17,006	16,328	..	..	..	..
19	Dinajpur	368,080	192,298	175,782	..	..	..	..
20	Jalpaiguri	332,918	179,306	153,612	..	..	..	..
21	Darjeeling	27,602	15,106	12,496	..	..	..	..
22	Rangpur	448,666	232,339	216,327	..	..	..	..
23	Bogra	12,381	6,497	5,884	..	..	..	..
24	Pabna	17,203	9,010	8,193	..	..	..	..
25	Malda	54,412	27,469	26,973	..	..	..	..
26	Dacca Division	78,564	41,201	37,463	..	..	..	..
27	Dacca	28,438	14,857	13,581	..	..	..	..
28	Mymensingh	34,029	17,765	16,264	..	..	..	..
29	Faridpur	14,960	7,738	7,222	..	..	..	..
30	Bakarganj	1,237	841	396	..	..	..	..
31	Chittagong Division	2,851	1,424	1,427	..	..	..	..
32	Tippera	1,685	894	791	..	..	..	..
33	Noakhali	257	97	160	..	..	..	..
34	Chittagong	909	433	476	..	..	..	..
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	BENGAL STATES	321,260	167,546	153,714	1	..	114	19
37	Cooch Behar	319,984	166,590	153,394	..	..	..	..
38	Tripura	1,276	956	320	1	..	114	19

N. B.—Figures for Asur, Birhor, Dalu, Korwa and

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

No. XII-h (concluded).

by categories, by districts.

C.—Other depressed classes.

(ii) Included in the list of 1921 but not in 1931 (concluded).

*Khandait.		*Kolri.		Kurmi.		*Nuniya.		Rajbangahl.		*Sukti.		Serial No.
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	
27,258	7,822	11,407	4,614	107,368	87,284	17,499	10,601	939,396	864,975	1,903	1,957	1
26,662	7,666	11,407	4,614	106,278	86,898	17,499	10,601	773,651	711,822	1,903	1,957	2
10,235	8,820	4,348	1,456	60,244	57,874	4,231	1,992	24,561	24,626	1,704	1,763	3
136	23	1,432	597	2,606	1,555	1,299	766	1,929	1,533	..	..	4
3	1	39	34	300	199	93	18	2,112	2,240	..	..	5
3	..	6	3	10,113	10,451	..	..	3,465	3,833	..	..	6
3,257	3,011	185	19	41,679	44,032	75	54	4,241	4,698	1,704	1,763	7
1,304	150	1,344	475	2,231	604	1,537	774	3,393	4,159	..	..	8
6,032	635	1,402	338	3,315	1,033	1,277	380	2,421	2,164	..	..	9
16,422	3,846	7,051	3,155	20,631	11,162	10,297	5,753	56,771	53,433	199	194	10
9,886	2,782	3,249	1,729	9,463	5,981	3,468	1,255	21,274	18,773	155	163	11
6,085	996	2,552	309	7,392	2,336	1,860	348	1,173	841	40	11	12
..	..	122	73	2,274	1,681	492	209	7,665	6,986	..	..	13
..	..	1,033	1,044	848	845	1,002	923	11,347	13,007	1	..	14
363	47	14	..	863	183	3,475	3,018	1,378	1,910	3	..	15
282	21	26	..	291	236	..	..	12,434	11,916	..	..	16
..	..	8	3	20,530	13,903	2,921	2,856	665,372	698,833	..	..	17
..	..	..	..	3,808	2,997	..	..	13,108	13,331	..	..	18
..	..	..	..	4,811	2,901	..	..	187,487	172,881	..	..	19
..	..	8	3	1,342	351	37	9	177,919	153,249	..	..	20
..	..	..	..	465	167	1	..	14,640	12,329	..	..	21
..	..	..	..	2,669	1,023	..	..	229,670	216,304	..	..	22
..	..	..	..	1,538	1,356	33	41	4,926	4,487	..	..	23
..	..	..	..	2,433	1,795	..	..	6,577	6,398	..	..	24
..	..	..	..	3,464	3,313	2,850	2,806	21,155	20,854	..	..	25
..	..	..	..	4,449	3,359	..	..	36,747	34,104	..	..	26
5	..	..	..	1,003	488	..	..	13,854	13,093	..	..	27
..	..	..	..	2,311	1,978	..	..	15,449	14,286	..	..	28
..	..	..	..	1,049	892	..	..	6,689	6,330	..	..	29
..	..	..	..	86	1	..	..	755	395	..	..	30
..	..	..	..	424	600	..	..	1,000	827	..	..	31
..	..	..	..	186	997	..	..	708	494	..	..	32
..	..	..	..	10	68	..	..	87	92	..	..	33
..	..	..	..	228	235	..	..	306	341	..	..	34
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
596	156	..	..	1,090	386	..	..	165,745	153,153	..	..	36
696	156	..	..	895	243	..	..	166,695	153,151	..	..	37
..	..	..	..	195	143	..	..	50	2	..	..	38

Kurariar have not been extracted.

APPENDIX II

Notes on the Peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

The essay here printed is by Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S., now Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam, and is based on the notes which he made during a short stay in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1926. Mr. H. R. Wilkinson, C.I.E., I.C.S., at one time Deputy Commissioner of the Hill Tracts, makes the following comments :—

My recollections date from the years 1920-1922 and must be regarded merely as the impressions of a layman. Where they differ from Mr. Mills' statements, the latter should for obvious reasons be preferred.

The district known as the Chittagong Hill Tracts has more in common with the neighbouring Lushai Hills than with the Chittagong District. But its generous river system provides natural means of communication with Chittagong and the sea. The tendency therefore has been for these hill people, especially those living anywhere near the big rivers, to come more and more into contact with and thus assimilate the customs of the people of the Regulation District. This tendency has been aggravated and accelerated by the inclusion of the district in Bengal; the Commissioner is at Chittagong and for administrative purposes the people look to Chittagong. Although pleaders are not allowed in the Hill Tracts, the people have easy access to the legal profession at Chittagong and the influence of the litigious spirit which prevails in Chittagong District cannot but begin to make itself felt among the hitherto unsophisticated people of the Hills. This is particularly the case with the Chakmas, partly because of their geographical situation but also because the Chief himself would appear to have encouraged the imitation of Bengali habits.

Originally the Chiefs were tribal and not territorial but now they exercise whatever power they have over the Circles called after their names and corresponding now to the three subdivisions. The Chakma Circle is served by the Karnaphuli and its tributaries, which are navigable to the small boats in use in most parts of the Circle. Motor boats now ply regularly between Chittagong and Rangamati and can go a good way beyond that. The Chakma Chief has house property in Chittagong Town and, like the other Chiefs, and in the district. The natural approach to the Hill Tracts is through the Collectorate.

The Chakmas are fair of complexion and to me show distinct traces of Mongolian origin. I am surprised at what Mr. Mills says about their language and religion. I thought that they had a definite language of their own but that it was gradually merging itself into Bengali—Chittagonian Bengali. Similarly I should have said that they were officially Buddhists though with decided animistic tendencies and had always been so and that contact with the people of the plains and the efforts of the Chief to ape the manners of the educated Bengali had resulted in a certain tinge of Hinduism being noticeable in their attitude. The establishment of a High School in Rangamati has created a demand for professional employment.

In times of famine and distress they are extremely reluctant to take up any relief work and for the ordinary Public Works Department road work a staff of Sonthal coolies has to be regularly employed. I think it is pride rather than laziness, which prevents them from taking to this kind of work. Similarly, I think I am right in saying that the Forest Department find it very difficult to obtain the services of Chakmas in Forest villages. My impression also is that it is the Chakmas who have taken most kindly to the imported plough cultivation in place of the indigenous system of *ghuming*; but this of course is due in part at least to the fact that they are more likely to occupy land suitable for plough cultivation.

I came across the Mros very little as I was not long enough in the Hill Tracts to visit their area in the south-east of the district and they themselves are very retiring and clannish. They show very little effect of the influence of the plains.

Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, I.C.S., who succeeded Mr. Wilkinson was assassinated before Mr. Mills' essay was shown to him, and it is consequently impossible to give his comments. Some notes are added however, which were put together by Babu S. S. Chaudhuri, B.J.C.S., and footnotes marked A.S.H. are details supplied by Mr. A. S. Hands, I.C.S., who succeeded Mr. Stevens.

Notes on a tour in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1926 by J. P. Mills, I.C.S.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts form the hinterland of the District of Chittagong, the long boundary between the two districts following the base of the hills. Marching with the Hill Tracts to the North is the State of Tripura, and to the East of and behind them are the Lushai Hills and the Arakan District of Burma. Even since the days of the Mogal conquest the inhabitants of the Hill Tracts have paid tribute, first in cotton and later in money to the paramount power which held the coastal belt of plains. Indolent and unwarlike however they were never able to protect themselves from Lushai and Kuki raiders and in order to safeguard those from whom we received tribute we took on and administered this hinterland from 1862. It now forms a district of the province of Bengal. Its administration has always presented peculiar problems and it was while on deputation in connection with one of them that I was able to record the notes on which this paper is based.

Save where it borders on the Lushai Hills and Arakan the district contains no hills of even a respectable height, and the bulk of its inhabitants are valley folk, hugging the rivers which provide their chief means of communication. The ranges which run through the district are low and remarkably straight, often only a few hundred feet in height and rarely exceeding two thousand. All are of soft sandstone and laterite and there is no supply of stone such as could be put to any cultural use. Many of the valleys are so broad and flat that as one looks across the rice fields one might almost imagine oneself in the plains of Bengal. Others are a mere jumble of laterite and sandstone hillocks, with here and there a few plots of ground level enough for the plough. The rivers, save where they emerge from the higher ranges, meander over sandy

beds. The Karnaphuli, for instance, the main river of the district, is navigable for Bengali boats for 85 miles from Chittagong up to Subalong. Here some short rapids where the river runs over a low outcrop of rock form an obstacle. Above them again the stream is navigable for many miles. The scenery, as one travels by river, is varied. Sometimes high banks of mud are all one sees on either side. In other places steep, heavily wooded cliffs of sandstone run down to the water. The rainfall is heavy and the climate exceedingly unhealthy for much of the year.

In this area the Lushai-Kuki tribes from the North and races of Burmese origin from the South have met face to face. The result has been continual contact and intermingling, and the consequent culture-borrowing has resulted in great uniformity throughout the area. Besides this the long plains border and the rivers which have always given the Bengali trader easy access to the very heart of the district have laid a thick layer of foreign culture over the Indonesian substratum. Yet each tribe still presents its own peculiarities if one looks for them. When I entered a Kuki or Mro house I could imagine myself in the Naga Hills; in the house of an educated Chakma I was in Bengal; in the house of a Southern Magh I was in Burma.

Few areas offer a richer field to the ethnologist but we still await the detailed accounts we long for. Such accounts can only come from those who have lived among the people. A casual visitor like myself can only record what the eye sees; beliefs and social systems must remain hidden from him. It is in this area that the cultures of Assam and Burma meet and such monographs as those published by the Government of Assam would supply many invaluable links. Two officials at any rate, Captain Lewin and Mr. Sneyd Hutchinson, have in the past gained some knowledge of the people by long residence among them, but the books of both only leave us asking for more. Dr. Reibeck is the only trained ethnologist who has ever visited the people of the Hill Tracts and he lacked both knowledge of the language and capable interpreters and did little more than collect specimens of handicraft.

Save the Lusheis, Chaks and Kukis I saw a little of all the tribes inhabiting the Chittagong Hill Tracts. For the sake of brevity I will confine myself to my own observation and refrain from quoting information already available in the few books on this area. For the paucity of the information I can give I am not entirely responsible. Partly, it is true, it is due to the hurried way in which I had to tour. But partly one can justly blame the goods of the Bengali trader which, brought by river almost to the doors of the Hill Tracts folk, have ousted almost every indigenous article. This process is aided by the almost unbelievable indolence of the people. The cotton crop is an unfailing source of cash and even I have known hillmen buy baskets from Bengalis rather than make them from the countless bamboos near at hand; while the highest ambition of a Chakma is to obtain a grant of land and immediately sublet it to a plains man, living himself in complete idleness on a slave of the crop. As the Maghs and Chakmas are the most numerous of the Hill Tracts tribes I will describe them first.

Maghs.—These are essentially valley folk and I saw no village which was not on the bank of a stream. They are almost certainly of Tai origin, their ancestors being the Tai Long (Greater Tai) who were driven out of China towards the south and south-west.* The earliest home, however, of which they have any definite traditions is Arakan, whence they migrated early in the 17th century into what is now Cox's Bazar subdivision. There they split up. Some migrated further into Bengal proper, while two bodies entered the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The first to arrive were the Southern Maghs, under the leadership of the Chief of the Phru family of the Ragretsa clan. They occupied the territory drained by the Sangu and its tributaries in the south of the Chittagong Hill Tracts District. Later the Northern Maghs, under the Chiefs of several clans of which the Palangsa was the most important, moved north along the coast, and settled for a long time on the Sitakund range, to the north of Chittagong. Having *jhumed* that country out they turned east, and crossing a narrow belt of plains, entered the low hills along the Tripura border in the north of the Chittagong Hill Tracts District. There they settled, finding the country empty save for a scattered Tippera population. This migration did not come to an end till early in the 19th century, and the longer sojourn of the Northern Maghs on the coast of Bengal has caused them to lose many of the Burmese characteristics which the Southern Maghs still retain.

Magh villages usually contain from about 10 to fifty houses, but are generally small. They are invariably built on the banks of streams. The houses are flimsy structures of bamboo on bamboo piles and consist of two main rooms, each with a separate door opening out on to the big sitting-out platform, and a small store room at the back. The climate is too hot for a fire even to be necessary for warmth, and for cooking a hearth is built in the corner of one of the main rooms. It consists of a bed of clay and three clay cylinders on which the cooking pot rests. These are obviously substitutes for hearth stones in a country where nothing but laterite or soft sandstone is to be found. The eaves of the house are low and stretch far out over the sitting-out platform, which invariably faces the East. It is under these eaves that the family sits during the day, retiring inside at night to sleep on mats in the breeze which blows through the thin bamboo matting walls of the house. The sitting-out platform is railed round and the only approach to it and so to the house is up a notched log, which is either pulled up or reversed at night.

In villages in which the houses are arranged to form a street there is often at one end of it a roofed platform on which the men sit and talk. This is probably a survival of the *morung* found in Assam. In one Northern Magh village (Maischari) I saw on the ground near one or

* Vide *Le May An Asian Arcady*, page 4.

two of the houses rough, low, strongly built huts, just high enough for a man to crawl into. I was told that they were used as shelters during hurricanes. Most villages boast a little Buddhist temple, which is always built well apart from the other houses.

On the site on which it is proposed to build a new house a pole is set up, and to the top of it is fixed a model of a bow with an arrow on the string and pointing skywards, the idea being that evil spirits are thereby frightened off.

Though the Maghs are now Buddhists they admit that they were once head hunters. Only faint memories of those days remain and I could learn no details. They say that after the heads were brought in they were welcomed by the women and were then buried, but where and in what position I could not ascertain.

The tribe is divided into endogamous clans (*Osa* or *Sa*) with descent in the male line. A clan is usually named after the stream or place near which the original ancestor is said to have lived. The Northern and Southern Maghs each contain their own group of clans, and a village, unless big, is usually inhabited by the members of one clan only. A man may marry any woman of his own clan who is not a near blood relation. Marriage outside the clan used to be strictly forbidden and I was told that members of different clans would not even eat together in the old days. Now, however, these restrictions have been greatly relaxed and marriage outside the clan is by no means uncommon.

The language is Arakanese, a dialect of Burmese. There are slight differences of dialect between the Northern and Southern Maghs. Burmese characters are used. In figures the Magh is short and sturdy. The face is broad and rather Mongolian and the complexion a sallow brown. The men usually have a straggling moustache and occasionally a beard.

By the men of the Northern Maghs Bengali *dhoties* are now worn, but most of the Southern Maghs wear Burmese dress—a silk *lungi*, a jacket and a white *puggaree*. Often instead of a *puggaree* a man will twist a jaunty piece of coloured silk round his head. The dress of a woman varies little throughout the tribe. She wears a long silk skirt, striped horizontally, of which the predominating colour is usually red. When there are no strangers about this is often the only garment of both young and old, but in public a piece of lined, home woven silk is bound over the breast or tucked into a black string tied round the body about them. A dark coloured jacket is also worn by some. A white *puggaree* is worn, sometimes with embroidered ends.

Many individuals of both sexes have the teeth blackened with a certain sap but the custom is not universal. Tattooing is commoner among the Southern Maghs than among the Northern. Men are tattooed on their arms and women on the backs of their shoulders and of their hands. The only "patterns" I saw were words in Burmese characters. The operation is done by Maghs learned in the art who come up from Cox's Bazar in the cold weather, and the instrument used, I was told, is a little bamboo holder into which three ordinary needles are fitted like a nib. The word to be tattooed is marked on the skin and pricked over with the tattooing instrument. This is operated by the right hand and guided against the side of the forefinger of the left. The sap of a certain tree is finally rubbed into the perforated skin.

Popular though the recently introduced plough is among the Maghs *jhuming* is still carried on. The method, which is the same among all the tribes I saw in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, differs somewhat from that with which I am familiar in Assam. The jungle is cut in the early spring and is burnt as soon as it is dry. Three crops are then sown simultaneously in drills—vegetables, rice and cotton. These come to maturity in that order and are gathered in turn. Land is only sown once and is then abandoned for a term of years, instead of being sown twice as in Assam. During the hot weather the villages of the valley tribes are abandoned and the whole population moves up to the *jhums* till after the rice harvest. The grain is stored in round matting bins in the houses and not in separate granaries. For hoeing little adze-shaped hoes of Bengali manufacture are used. Nearly all Maghs use the Bengali husker, which is worked with the foot. Only in one or two villages did I see rice being husked by hand with a pounding pole in a cavity hollowed out in the end of a short log, bobbin shaped and set up on end on the ground near the house. A single Bengali pounder is usually shared by several households and is kept in a shed specially built for it. The houses are too flimsy for any pounding to be done in them. The winnowing fan is a circular tray of bamboo matting.

Lungis and jackets are usually bought, but skirts and head cloths are woven at home. Silk thread is bought but cotton thread is home-spun. The cotton is seeded in a machine with little rollers working reverse ways, identical with that used by Thado and other Kukis in Assam. It is then ginned with a bow, the string of which they twang not with the finger, as Nagas do, but with a smooth piece of wood shaped like a penholder with a blunt end. This bow-twanger I found used by all the tribes I saw in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In Assam I have only seen it among the old Kukis. After being ginned the cotton is rolled into "sausages" round another thin piece of wood and the thread spun with a simple spinning machine. This machine, too, I found throughout the Hill Tracts, save among the Mros. The loom is of the simple tension type, and boat-shaped shuttles of wood or horn are used.

Though no Magh blacksmith was at work in any village I visited I was told that *daos* and knives are still made in a few places. The bellows, my informant told me, are of the type found in the Naga Hills, and consist of a pair of upright bamboo cylinders, with pistons padded with feathers laid with their tips downwards. Handsome silver pipes are made by Maghs. Wood-carving appears to be a lost art. The only good specimen I saw was an old musical instrument called a "crocodile harp", which was carved in the shape of that reptile.

When matches are not used fire is produced by the method used by the Kacharis and Old Kukis in Assam and all the other tribes I saw in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. A piece of bamboo about a foot long is split in two. On the outside and near the middle of the half used a notch is cut deep enough to perforate it. A thong of bamboo or cane is pulled backwards and forwards across this notch by the operator, who meanwhile holds the piece of bamboo firmly on the ground with his foot. The friction against the edge of the hole scrapes a fine dust off the thong. This dust is forced through the hole and lies in the trough of the inner side of the bamboos. As the heat increases it smokes and finally glows.

The Maghs nowadays have no weapons save guns and *daos*. Tradition definitely states however that they used to have both crossbows and upright bows, as well as spears. I was also shown an ancient square leather shield. For killing birds pellet bows are used and long blow guns. Nooses are used for snaring. Fish traps are generally of the Bengali pattern but conical traps lined with cane thorns are still occasionally to be seen. The only toys I saw were stilts, used by little boys.

The feathers of the Great Indian Hornbill were used as fans and ornaments in the old days. I never saw any carving of this bird. The earth from its nesting hole is, however, used as a medicine. Another medicine one sees in houses is a species of fungus which is dried and ground up and made into an ointment for sore nipples.

The official religion is Buddhism and yellowrobed priests are to be seen everywhere especially among the Southern Maghs. But many primitive elements remain. The belief in evil spirits is strong and charms are plentiful. On the outer walls of houses are put little saucers inscribed with texts in Burmese. Inside the houses, over and on either side of the inner doors, are pointed pieces of bamboo marked with transverse black lines. These are known as "crocodile teeth." Exactly similar charms are put outside their doors by the Nagas of the unique village of Sembhor in the North Cachar Hills, and very similar wooden ones by Kachha Nagas of the Maruonngmai group in the same area.

When a man falls ill it is often thought that an evil spirit has captured his soul and is holding it to ransom. A small offering to appease the spirit and buy the soul's release is then made on the path, as among Nagas. To cure headache a little grid of bamboo strips is set up on a stick outside the village.

When a child is born the navel string is cut with a bamboo knife. Steel may on no account be used. Nor may the mother, during the days of her uncleanness, use any spoon other than a gourd one. The afterbirth is buried in the clay of the hearth and dug up again after three days. A small portion is then kept in a hollow bamboo and the rest thrown away. These customs are most strictly observed even in the household of the Bohmaung, the Chief of the Ragretsa clan and leading Magh of the district. Nor the least enthusiastic followers of ancient ways are his sons, graduates of Calcutta University.

The bodies of the dead are burned on the banks of streams. For their spirits lamps are lighted under pipal trees and offerings made for seven days. These offerings are made on the anniversary of the death till the heirs get careless. All offerings to the dead must be made with the left hand. I saw two types of what might be called funeral monuments. One, of which I saw several examples, is a mound of earth in tiers, like a wedding cake, revetted with bamboo matting. On the top are placed some pots and a lamp. Another type I saw at Patag in the Northern Magh country. In a field in front of a little Buddhist temple was an area of beaten earth fourteen yards square and fenced round. In this were set up thirty high poles, each of which was surmounted by a pagoda-like ornament of paper with hanging decorations of pith. There was a lamp at the foot of each pole and another at the top attached to a pulley by which it could be lowered to be lighted. Above the pulley was a roughly carved wooden bird, which I was told was a paddy-bird but which looked remarkably like a hornbill. The lamps are lighted in honour of the dead, to whom offerings of rice, milk, etc., are made for a period of thirty days while the crops are ripening—clearly a fertility rite.

The bulk of the property of a dead man goes to his sons. One-half goes to his eldest son, one-eighth to his daughters and the rest to his other sons equally.

Chakmas.—All the tribes of this area resemble each other so closely in many points of culture that having dealt with the Maghs at some length I shall be able to describe the other tribes more briefly.

If a Chakma be asked the origin of his tribe he either denies all knowledge of the matter or repeats like a parrot an incredible and purely modern story of descent from an ancient and noble Hindu race. Kalindi Rani, the great chieftainess who flourished in Lewin's time, knew only of some half-dozen previous chiefs. The present chief, second in succession after her, signs himself "45th Chakma Raja", so greatly has the length of his ancestry increased in recent years. To describe how the Raja reached his present position would be of no interest from the ethnological point of view. Suffice it to say that a supreme chief has no place in the ancient polity of the tribe, and that he is nothing but the descendant of tax farmers aggrandized by the paramount power.

The name "Chakma" is derived from the Maghi word *chaok*, meaning "of mixed origin", and the Chakmas are undoubtedly in the main the descendants of Maghi women and Mogal soldiers. There is a small tribe known as Chaks in the southern portion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Unfortunately I had no opportunity of visiting them and of ascertaining how they are related to the Chakmas proper.

Despite their mixed origin the tribe is now very uniform and presents several features that merit description. They migrated from what is now Cox's Bazar subdivision in Chittagong towards the end of the 18th century and now inhabit the middle reaches of the Karnaphuli. They are by far the most bengalised tribe in the district. Even their language is a dialect of Bengali, though one section of the tribe is said to have spoken Maghi till recently. The script in common use is Bengali, but the ancient script, which is still used by the more conservative members of the tribe, is of the Burmese type and is considered by Sir George Grierson to be closely allied to the ancient Khmer script.

In appearance they resemble Bengalis and their features show little trace of their partially Mongol origin. The dress of the well-to-do men is Bengali, but the poor men often merely wear a rag pulled between the legs and tucked into a string round the waist in front and behind. The dress of the women is distinctive. They wear a long dark blue skirt to the ankles, with a broad red band near the edge. Till puberty the upper part of the body is bare. Later a broad strip of embroidered silk is usually worn over the breasts. Bengali ornaments are worn in the nose and ears, and silver rings on the ankles. A flat silver band is worn round the neck. The hair is done in a bun at the back.

All the villages I saw were on the banks of streams. A few rich men have brick houses after the Bengali style, but the ordinary houses are exactly like those of the Maghs, with the platforms similarly facing east. The villages are small and often contain members of more than one of the many clans (*goza*) into which the tribe is divided. In the old days each *goza* was endogamous and was under the control of a headman, called in the modern dialect a *dewan*. In order to increase their own power however the chiefs set out, about a hundred years ago, to lessen that of the *dewans*, by making all relations of *dewans* into *dewans* and so turning an office into a class. This tended to break up the clan system, a tendency which was accelerated when Government, for purposes of administration, divided the country into *mauzas* with fixed boundaries, each under a headman. These headmen have been steadily acquiring the power which the *dewans* used to have, and the tendency is for an endogamous *mauza* to be substituted for an endogamous clan. That is to say a man may nowadays marry any girl of his own *mauza* not nearly related to him, but is expected to provide an extra lavish marriage feast by way of a fine if he marries a girl of another *mauza**.

In so far as they can be said to have a religion at all the Chakmas are now Buddhists. In the 18th century many of them adopted the religion of the Moguls to whom they paid tribute and the chiefs of that time had Muhammadan names. Then a reaction towards Hinduism seems to have set in, bringing with it the Hindu names which are now almost universally adopted. The Hinduism prevalent was however of a very half-hearted type, and Kalindi Rani decided that something definite must be done. After considering the advantages and disadvantages of various creeds she is said to have given orders that the tribe was to adopt Buddhism. Buddhists they therefore are to this day, though I must confess that I only once saw a priest in their country.

The chief's womenfolk and those of one or two other families are kept purdah. This custom only originated in the time of Kalindi Rani, who went purdah one day herself in order to avoid an interview with Lewin on the morrow. It is not in accordance with Chakma tradition and is much disliked by the better elements among the people.

Underlying their Buddhism is a belief in animism. One often sees offerings to spirits on little platforms, and on one such platform at Toyichakma I noticed little squares of thread exactly like those placed on Angami women's graves. They also release scape-goat chickens for illness, just as the Semas and other Nagas do. They swear on a tiger's tooth, a stream or withering leaves, and they told me that they sometimes settle disputes by the diving test.

Their method of cultivating and preparing rice is exactly similar to that of the Maghs, save that I never saw a rice husker other than of the Bengali pattern. The women weave their own skirts and breast cloths on an ordinary Indonesian tension loom. Shuttles are rarely used. The only one I saw was of a type found both among the Tipperas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Kolang Kukis of the North Cachar Hills. It consisted of a piece of bamboo prettily ornamented with a pattern scratched on it and open at one end only. In the side was a small hole for the thread to pass through. At first sight the problem of getting the thread through this small hole from the inside is a difficult one. In reality it is quite simple. You unwind about a foot of thread and put the bobbin with this loose end into the shuttle. Then you blow hard in the open end and the pressure of air forces the thread through the hole. All the other instruments of spinning and weaving are exactly similar to those of the Maghs.

The children play a game with the seeds of the sword *bean* similar to the Naga game, and pellet bows are very popular.

Tipperas.—At least two very different sub-tribes of the district are classed under the general name of Tipperas. Many inhabit the Mong Raja's circle, which marches with Hill Tripura. It is a country of low hills and sluggish streams, and until the Maghs came the Tipperas were apparently the only occupants. They are very Bengalised, the men wearing *dhotis* and

*At Nauyarchar, 20-7-28.—System of marriage by which a Chakma who cannot pay the price of a wife, gets another man to buy one for him agreeing that after marriage they will live at the benefactor's house and serve for a period of years. This case was an agreement to work for five years to repay marriage expense of Rs. 300, i.e., one month's work equals Rs. 5. The period and the rate may vary in different cases. The price of the girl in this case was Rs. 60, ornaments Rs. 90 odd, drummers Rs. 8 and the balance for clothes for the girl and a general feast. It is analogous to the *ghar jamai* system, but I could not find that it had any special name. The married couple have broken this agreement by bolting after doing 6 months' work.

puggarees, and the women dressing exactly like Chakma women. I saw very few in the old fashioned dress—a piece of cloth pulled through a string round the waist, long hair and leaves in the ears. A home-spun cotton cloth, with broad white and dark blue stripes is occasionally worn. The houses are exactly like Chakma houses, and the villages, which are small, are sometimes on the top of the ranges and sometimes in the valleys. The religion is Hinduism and no stranger may enter their houses unless he removes his boots. A conspicuous feature inside is the main post with bunches of ears of rice, tied to it, being the first fruits of successive years. In every way their material culture appears to be identical with that of the Chakmas. They seem to know few folk tales, but they believe that the marks on the moon are trees.

A more primitive and interesting section of the tribe is scattered about the Banderban circle in the South of the district. They are said to be the descendants of Tippera slaves taken to Arakan long ago. The men wear white waist clothes of which the black embroidered ends are left hanging down at the side. The corners are decorated with cowries. Above they wear white home-spun jackets. Their heads are shaved at the sides and back like those of Nagas and small *puggarees* are worn, with the ends hanging down over their right ears. In the lobes of the ears are cylinders of bamboo, from which hang crescent-shaped ornaments of silver. Small blue and white beads are immensely popular, and both men and women load their necks with strings of them. The *dao* is carried pushed through the waist-cloth at the back.

The women wear a skirt of black and grey, with brown and black edges. Before marriage they usually cover their breasts with a narrow, tight strip of red and brown cloth, with cowries at the corners. The hair is worn in a big bun at the back. Armlets of black beads are often worn above the elbow. Through the top of the ear a spiked ornament of silver is worn, and through the lobe a crescent-shaped ornament.

Though nominally Hindus they readily admit strangers to their houses, which resemble those of Kukis. A house consists of one big room, with sliding doors and a narrow verandah at either end.

Their methods of cultivation and their industries are identical with those of the Maghs. For weaving they sometimes use a tubular shuttle of the Chakma pattern. Birds are shot with a short blow-gun.

The Khyengs.—The chief home of the Khyengs is in Arakan, and of the few there are in the Chittagong Hill Tracts I was only able to see the two small villages of Arachhari and Kukiyachhari, close together on low, steep hills at the Northern end of the Bandarban Circle. I was very much struck by the negroid features and curly hair of some of the men, but from such scanty evidence it would be unfair to draw any inference. They claim to have inhabited the country from time immemorial. Those whom I saw had long been under Magh and Chakma influence and their culture presented few distinctive features. *Dhotis* are now common, but the more conservative men still wear a narrow white cloth with red ends, pulled through a string round the waist. The hair is done after the Mro fashion, that is to say in a bun on the left side of the head, with a bone pin stuck in it. The women wear a skirt and breast cloth of white with narrow red lines, and a large white *puggaree*, with red embroidered ends. The houses are on piles, and each consists of one large room with a kitchen at the back. By religion they are Buddhists and, unlike Chakmas and Maghs, are divided into exogamous clans. All property goes to sons, the youngest of whom gets the greatest share. Their relationship terms seem to show traces of a former dual division.

Kukis.—In the Southern portion of the district only Bonjugi Kukis appear to be found, but in the Northern portion the majority are Pankhos, with a few Bonjugis. As their villages are invariably on the top of the ranges, where my work did not take me I was unable to see nearly as much of them as I could have wished.

Mr. Rowlands in a private note, says that the Bonjugis came from a village called Daun on the Koladan, while the Pankhos came from Pankhua, three miles from where the Lunglet-Thaka track crosses the Koladan. Some figured memorial stones are said still to exist there, which would probably well repay investigation. The two tribes are closely akin and will inter-marry, often even inhabiting the same villages. They speak slightly different dialects.

The Bonjugi men wear a narrow white waist-cloth, a white jacket, and a very narrow white home-spun *puggaree* with embroidered ends. The hair is done in a tight bun on the top of the head and ornamented with a metal pin. Strings of small cornelian beads are worn and also enormous beads—sometimes dark red, and sometimes yellow—of a very light substance which is said to be amber. The women wear a white skirt with red lines in it, and, when strangers are about, a cloth of similar pattern thrown over the upper part of the body.

I was able to visit Basanta, a Pankho village containing a few Bonjugi houses, near Subalong in the Northern portion of the district. The men wear a small white apron and a white coat ornamented with a little embroidery round the bottom at the back. Some men do their hair in a bun at the back, while others—usually young men—pile it up over the forehead into a sort of horn. Into this horn a well-dressed man pushes, base down, a small triangular ornament of steel pins, embellished with a red tassel at the "apex." The beads worn are similar to those of the Bonjugis. Women wear a white skirt with narrow red lines and usually leave the upper part of the body bare. Round the waist they wear strings of beads and rings of brass wire. The latter may once have been their sole dress, as very small girls wear such rings as their only garment. Large plugs of bone or bamboo are worn in the ears.

The houses are on piles and are big and well built. There is one main room, with an open porch in front and a sitting-put platform at the back. A man who has sacrificed *mithan* (*gayal*) sets up in front of his house a large forked post with a *mithan* head carved on it. The skulls of animals sacrificed are exhibited on a rack propped up against the centre post of the living room.

The loom is of the ordinary Indonesian type, and for a shuttle a stick with an enlarged conical head is used. Both Pankhos and Bonjugis have bamboo flutes, but not, apparently, the gourd "bagpipes" found among Thados and other Kuki tribes in Assam.

The Mros.—Of all the tribes I saw the Mros interested me most. They are often spoken of as Mrungs, a term which is not only erroneous, but liable to lead to serious confusion, as it is properly applicable to one of the Tippera clans.

The Mros say they are immigrants from Arakan. Those I saw inhabit the Southern portion of the Bandarban Circle in the South of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where their villages are hidden away in a tangle of low steep hills drained by the Sangu and its tributaries, some situated on low spurs just above the streams and others on the tops of ridges. The people, especially the women, have the reputation of being very shy, but I found no difficulty in taking such photographs as I wanted. Certainly they are suspicious of strangers and keep themselves very much to themselves, and to this and an innate conservatism may be attributed the remarkable way in which they have retained their primitive characteristics, in spite of their proximity to their plains and their constant contact with Bengali traders.

They are of medium height and light build and one is struck by the almost entire absence of Mongolian traits in their features. Their costume is of the lightest. The men wear a narrow white or red cloth, which is wound round the waist, pulled between the legs from the front and tucked in at the back. In addition a home-spun coat is sometimes worn. The hair is done in a bun on the left side of the head and through the bun a bone pin is stuck. A *puggaree* is sometimes worn. Large rings of white metal are worn through the lobes of the ears. Young men often wear round the waist a narrow girdle of beads very prettily worked in a flower pattern. The teeth are often stained black. The women wear nothing by day but a very short dark blue skirt, edged with white beads. This reaches half way down the thigh and is open down the left side. It is tucked into a narrow silver girdle, and over it a belt of scarlet beads is worn. At night both sexes wear very thick cotton cloths.

All clothes are removed for bathing, and both sexes bathe together unembarrassed and with perfect propriety, the left hand providing such covering as is required.

The villages usually contain between ten and twenty houses.* These are large and well built. The roofs are slightly log-backed. They are on piles and the only approach is up a notched log. Inside they consist of one large room and a store room at the end. This latter is regarded as the women's room and no stranger may enter it. There is a sitting-out platform at the end of the house.

A man who has given the full series of feasts of merit may build an extra large house and may set up by the side of it four or five long bamboos. Forked posts are not put up. The series of feasts is (1) fowls, (2) a pig, (3) a dog and (4) bulls, buffaloes or *mithan* (*gayal*) up to three in number. A plain upright post in the middle of the village marks the place of sacrifice. In some villages, but not in all, a small pointed stone is set up at the foot of the post for every animal sacrificed. In one village I passed through the sacrificial post was very high, and was surrounded at a distance of some feet by a circle of lower posts notched at the top. When a feast is to be given rafters are fitted from these side posts to the centre post and the whole roofed over, so that the ceremonies can take place under cover.

A Mro if asked his religion will say he is a Buddhist, but to the observer the only traces of Buddhism visible are charms occasionally placed on houses and the practice of burning the dead. Their real religion is animism. The religious affairs of a village are run by an old man called a *sera*, who may be of any clan and who also acts as exorcist. For epidemics a pig and a dog are sacrificed and a series of sabbaths called *to-ung* observed, for the nine days of which no one may descend to the ground from the verandah of his house.†

Hutchinson (Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, page 165) says the tribe is divided into five "septs," the Dengua, the Premsang, the Kongloi, the Naizar and the Gharoo Gnar, meaning respectively the cultivated plantain tree, the cockscomb plant, the wild plantain tree, the jack tree, and the mango tree. I am afraid I omitted to make enquiries on this precise point, but I was told that the tribe was divided into a number of clans—evidently subdivisions of Hutchinson's septs. They are exogamous, but not mutually so. For instance in Bali village I found the following clans—Shimlung, Chingnao, Nirincha and Shitnma. All are exogamous, but, though a Shimlung man may marry a Chingnao woman, a Chingnao man may not marry a Shimlung woman. For this I could obtain no explanation at all. Large clans are divided

*6-12-28—*Tain valley*.—I found some Mro forest houses at Amtoli (Tain valley). The Mros call them *liku*. They are put up for taking refuge in when there is a storm. They do not appear to be kept up permanently, but are put up when it looks as though there is dirty weather coming. The ones I saw were made two months ago. This strikes me as curious because the Mro houses are the most solidly built of all, the support being of stout logs instead of bamboos and much of this fencing being made of whole bamboos. Of course the Mro village is usually perched on an exposed ridge, but then so are *jhum* houses very often. The peculiarity of Amtoli para (Lengsa Karbari) is that it is right down on the level bank of the Tain. The *liku* were out in a sheltered grass space outside the villages. They say that for villages on the hills, the *liku* are erected in a sheltered place at the foot of the hill. (A. S. H.)

†The Mros do not do puja at the funeral house of a woman who has died before her child is 3 years old. The Khumis make no such distinctions. (A. S. H.)

into sub-clans, called *kuchis*. In such cases a man may marry a woman of his own clan provided she is of a different *kuchi*. Property descends to the sons, the youngest getting the largest share.

At birth the navel cord is cut with a steel knife and hewn with a piece of bamboo. The baby is immediately laid on a plaintain leaf. The funeral customs show clearly, exactly as they do at Semkhor in the North Cachar Hills, that the practice of burning the dead is a comparatively modern one. Every village has its burning place near a stream and usually close to pipal tree. The body is burned and the calcined bones are removed and placed in a little house on piles a few yards further back from the stream. To the sides of the house are fastened bamboos festooned with tassels of bamboo shavings, and in the house are put with the bones food, drink, pots, and bits of rag for clothes. All vessels, whether of pottery or brass, are broken. The finer ashes, left where the man was burned, are also treated as if the spirit of the dead man were there too. Over them is laid a piece of cloth. This is pegged down at the edges and on it are laid a *dao*, a hoe, etc. Over this another cloth is laid and by them are placed pots of food and drink. Finally a little lean-to shelter is built over the heap, with the open side towards the east.

As far as I know the method of cultivation is identical with that of the other tribes of this area. The winnowing fan, however, is of the sugar scoop type that Nagas use and not of the round type used by all the other tribes I saw in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. I saw no Bengali *dhan*-pounders. All were of the primitive round type.

The loom is identical with that found among the other tribes of the district, but the Mros alone spin against the right thigh after the Naga fashion.

The tribe must take a heavy toll of jungle animals and birds. For leopards and tigers box-traps with drop doors are made, identical in pattern with those found in the Naga Hills. Very long fences are built across the line which rats must take going backwards and forwards between the cleared fields and the jungle. These fences are impenetrable save at the gaps which are left every few yards. In each gap there is a fall trap. Birds are both speared with nooses and caught in nets stretched between bamboo poles on saddles which they are in the habit of crossing.

The Mros are a musical race and use both bamboo flutes and "banjos" made by cutting out and lifting thin strips of the outer layer of a piece of bamboo. The favourite instrument however is a gourd "mouth-organ" which closely resembles that made by Thado Kukis in Assam. The instruments are made in pairs, of which the two harmonise. The players walk at the head of a procession of dancers. The step is very slow and solemn and the feet are pointed as they touch the ground. This is the only dance the tribe has, and there is only one tune for it, and that a singularly monotonous one.

Notes on the Chaks, compiled by Babu S. S. Chaudhuri, B.J.C.S.

The Chaks trace their previous abode at Chakyandong in Koladain hill in Arakan, where there were, it is said, about 11,000 families who lived under a chief of their own. There were signs of 10,000 houses made of bamboo and 1,000 houses made of wood at Chakyandong for a long time. When the Chakmas, another hill tribe, migrated to Chittagong Hill Tracts from Burma, they also came with them and settled in Nakhyongchhari side of this district (Chittagong Hill Tracts). The Chakmas advanced further towards the north and they were left behind in these places. Little is known of their migration previous to this. There is a story as to how the Chaks were left behind by the Chakmas which runs as follows :—

When the Chaks began to cook their curry with *Chingri* fish they were asked to follow the Chakmas who were ready beforehand. But as the *Chingri* fish, which turns red by cooking, could not be made white, they thought that the cooking was not complete as the fish still contained blood, so they cooked the curry on and on but the fish did not turn bloodless, i. e., white. The Chakmas seeing their delay left them behind and they settled in these places.

At present there are only a small number of Chaks, not more than 100 families in the district, who are found in Nakhyongchhari, Baisari, Pagali (near Reju) and Bakkhali mauzas. Thus it appears that the Chaks came from the south to this area.

The following are stories current amongst the Chaks :—

Earthquakes.—There were 4 disciples under a priest who used to cook their food. These disciples were so selfish that they always took the best curries for themselves while the priest was supplied with all the remaining bad things. After their death the 4 disciples went into hell and as punishment they had to bear the earth on bamboo poles on their shoulder. They were placed on the four directions north, south, east and west. As they cannot bear the earth on the same shoulder for a long time they are required to change their shoulder. And it is at the time of changing their shoulders that earthquake begins.

Rainbows.—Once there was no water in the locality anywhere except in the house of a blacksmith. A brother and a sister being very thirsty went to the house of the blacksmith to drink water. When they asked for some water, the blacksmith told them that if they could live like a husband and wife he could give them water. In order to quench their thirst they were compelled to live as husband and wife and then drank water and died soon afterwards. After their death they became rainbows and appear in the sky occasionally. Still now two rainbows are seen at the same time. The bright one is the sister and the faint one is the brother.

Eclipses.—Tha-O the great Snake gave a half-pice to the sun. As the sun did not repay it the great snake began to devour him and when the sun promised to repay it he was allowed to go. Hence the origin of the eclipse of the sun.

Note on the Maghs of Cox's Bazar.

Regarding the Maghs of the Cox's Bazar subdivision, Babu Manindra Kumar Sen, district census officer, Chittagong, has furnished the following notes for information supplied by Rai Sahib Bipin Bihari Rakshit :—

They live in raised huts or wooden houses built very close to one another. Groups of houses form one *mahalla* with one elected *mahalladar* at its head. This *mahalladar* is an aged and respectable person and wields autocratic powers and his wish is regarded as law by every one residing in his *mahalla*. All disputes between themselves are decided by *mahalladars* and they hardly resort to the law courts, except at the express direction of the *mahalladar*. Inter-*mahalla* affairs are settled by the *mahalladars* of different *mahals* concerned. By nature they are meek, peaceful and ease-loving and are terribly afraid of the law and its agencies. All of them belong to the same sect, with Buddhism as their common religion. They maintain several *Keyangs* (temples of Buddha) which are occupied by celibate priests and their disciples who live on cooked food, sent to them by the villagers. Each *Keyang* situated in a solitary place contains a good many images of Lord Buddha. Some of the images are adorned with costly ornaments. The celibate priests are recruited from the villagers after the performance of a ceremony called the *Maishang* ceremony. The family feels proud and happy if it can supply a *Maishang* in the *Keyang*.

Polyandry or polygamy is not in existence. Widow-remarriage is in vogue. Divorce is rare and its incidents are governed by the Burmese Buddhist law which is in force in Lower and Upper Burma. No sexual indulgence with outsiders is allowed before or after marriage. System of courtship is unknown. Marriage is generally settled by the parents of the parties in consultation with their relations (numbering on each side not less than 7 persons). Consent of the bridegroom or the bride is not essential. The marriage ceremony is simple and does not entail much expenditure. The bridegroom's party will visit the bride's house with some ornaments and sweets and in presence of the invited gentlemen of both the sides, the guardians of the bridegroom will make them over to the guardians of the bride; this will mean an engagement or preliminary contract for marriage. On the day of marriage the priest will go to the bridegroom's house and bless him with some *mantras*. The same priest will then visit the bride's house and bless her with similar *mantras*, and on the same day the priest will again bless the couple in the house of the bride in presence of their grand-father or grand-mother or grand-uncle or grand-aunt. This being over the bridegroom and the bride will take a meal from the same dish. After the meal the wife will walk round the husband seven times saluting him as her husband on each round. They will then live in the bride's house for seven days as husband and wife and on each of those seven days the husband will present flowers to the wife. On the eighth day the newly-married couple will visit the *Keyang* and there they will take a vow before the priest that they will never separate. Thus the marriage is completed. No document of any kind is required.

A note on some of their festivals and social customs is given below :—

(a) *Boat festival*.—This takes place on the full-moon night in the month of Aswin. They make religious offerings in the *Keyang* during the daytime and at dusk they flock to the bank of the river. They prepare small toy boats with pieces of wood and cloth and paper and gorgeously decorate them with lace and coloured papers. Inside the boat they carefully place lit candles and get them afloat in the water. They shout, sing and clap their hands as those toy boats float down the stream with the current. It is Lord Buddha, they say, sailing through the dark world with light.

(b) *Water festival*.—This takes place on the last day of Chaitra. It is a gala day for the youths and children. They (both male and female) come out in the street in batches with buckets and syringes and throw water at one another; one batch fights the other with water, running, chasing, retreating, attacking; shouts of joy and loud laughter ring through the air. Other people than the Maghs are also attacked with water when passing along the street. Every one takes it in good spirit. This resembles to certain extent the *dol jatra* of the Hindus. Seniors rarely take part in this festival.

(c) *Buha Chakra*.—This comes off on the full-moon day in the month of Magh. Of all the festivals this seems to be enjoyed most by the Maghs. It lasts for 3 or 4 days. A *buha* (labyrinth) is constructed of bamboo fencing on fairly large block of land, with two gates, one of entrance and the other of exit. Once you enter the labyrinth, you have to go round and round by several zig-zag ways laid between bamboo fences and the labyrinth is so skilfully constructed that you cannot come out of it unless you have traversed the whole area of the land enclosed. Inside the labyrinth there are 4 or 5 pedestals on which are placed beautiful images of Lord Buddha. In course of moving along the labyrinth the people halt before each image and salute it and place a lighted candle at the foot of the image invoking the Lord's blessings. The gate of entrance is dark and the gate of exit is well lighted. During this festival there are pantomime and puppet shows, and *watcha* dances (dance of the Buddhist professional girls) are also performed.

(d) *Phungyi burning ceremony*.—This is perhaps the most expensive ceremony of the Maghs. When a Phungyi dies (a priest of high class) they preserve the dead body in a bier in the *Keyang* for a period of one year. During this time all the *mahallas* contribute money and big wooden cannons are prepared and loaded with gunpowder. On the appointed day all the Maghs of all the *mahallas* flock to the cremation ground and arrange the cannons in a row with a flag of each *mahalla* flying over its cannon. With pomp and ceremony, in a well-adorned

bier, the dead body is brought into the cremation ground in procession, followed by the Magh musical concert party. The bier is then placed on a well decorated hut built high up in air like the Persian tower of silence. Cannons are then discharged from a distance of about 400 yards towards that hut amidst shouts and uproar. The cannon-ball that touches the hut or passes very close to it receives tremendous cheers and the fortunate *mahalla* to which that cannon belongs, feels itself proud and happy. They run up to the cannon and bring the empty cannon back dancing and singing round it all the while. After all the cannons have been discharged one after the other, the hut is set on fire with various combustible substance and with the bier is soon burnt into ashes.

The Maghs, except the poor and children, are burnt with pomp and ceremony. The corpse is placed in a beautiful coffin and is carried along the street in a big procession of both sexes followed by a musical party.

The Maghs have very little contact with the people of other religions. They live secluded among themselves. They are very conservative in manners and habits and are still unaffected by Western civilisation. The males often take to trading and brokery. The poor Maghs catch fish in the sea and live on fishing. Some of them, like so many drônes, live idly at home upon the income of their wives who earn a good deal by weaving silk cloths and *lungis* which they send to various trade centres through brokers. The women are active and industrious like ants and work from morning till night, weaving, cooking and doing sundry other works. They do not like cultivation of any kind.

Most of the Maghs, males and females, learn the Maghi language. Very few are reading in high English schools and colleges and they do not seem very anxious for English education. By nature they are truthful, simple and sincere and seldom litigate against one another. They distrust other communities and resent outsiders' meddling with their affairs.

APPENDIX III

Notes on the Kayasthas, Namasudras, Baidyas, Vyasa or Gaudadya Brahmans, Kaivarttas and Mahishyas, Patnis, Shahas and Telis and Tilis by N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

Káyastha.—Káyastha is a comparatively new word in the Sanskrit language. It cannot be traced earlier than the third century A. D. The Vishnusmriti is such a mixture of old and new writings that the occurrence of the word once (VII, 3) in that book does not help us to determine the age of its first appearance. It was unknown in the days of the grammarians Páṇini and Patanjali as otherwise such a peculiar word would not have been left unnoticed by them. Kautilya's Arthashástra and the Inscriptions of Asoka which give a detailed account of the administrative system of the Maurya period do not mention Káyastha. The earlier Smriti works down to the time of Manu's Dharmashástra which was compiled in its present shape some time between B. C. 200 and A. D. 200 do not contain any reference to Káyastha either as an officer or as a caste. Probably the first mention of the word occurs in the Yájñavalkyasamhitá (I, 336), which may be dated in the third century A. D. But in that book, too, it occurs only once and is not mentioned in the list of castes formed by crosses and degradation from the four original *varṇas*. Amara, who wrote his famous lexicon in the fifth century A. D., is entirely silent about it.

Secondly, the Indian pandits were apparently in difficulty in finding a derivative meaning of the word Káyastha. Various fanciful derivations are given, the most popular one being from the root *Káya*, body. Ignoring the very old and widely current story of Brahmá having created the whole of mankind, divided into four *varṇas*, from the four different parts of his body. Some of the more recent writers in order to derive the word and the caste Káyastha put Him again to work and make Him create a new being from his *Káya* or body (Padma Purána, Srishtikhanda). Others not liking to interfere with the traditional story of creation got hold of the fables of Parasuráma and obtained the birth of Káyastha from the body of a fugitive Kshatriya queen, who was spared by the all-killing Bráhmaṇa warrior at the intercession of a Bráhmaṇa sage on condition that the new born child should give up the professions of his Kshatriya parents (Skanda Purána Renukámáhátmyam). The Káyastha seems to be an incongruous element in the social structure of the Hindus as based on the writings of the Dharmashástras and the earlier Puráṇas and it required a good deal of ingenuity on the part of later writers to give a plausible derivation both to the name and the caste.

Thirdly, the Káyasthas have from the beginning been systematically abused in the most scathing language such as has fallen to the lot of no other class of officers anywhere in the world. The very first mention of the word in the Yájñavalkyasamhitá associates the Káyasthas with rogues, thieves, and robbers, from whom the king should always protect his subjects. This sentiment runs throughout the whole later Smriti and Pauráṇic literature and is echoed not only in some of the well known dramas but also in the historical work of Rájatarangiṇi where Kalhana uses even stronger language to describe the cruel, deceitful and perfidious character of the Káyasthas (IV, 90 ; 629 ; VIII, 131). Of course the occupations of a Káyastha whether as a revenue collector or as a scribe had something to do with their unpopularity, but that is only a part of the explanation. Moreover, from the inscriptions of the Gupta and later times we find the Káyasthas to be respectable and useful members of society, quite unlike their portraiture in the pages of contemporary literature. It reminds us of the Jews in mediæval Europe who were portrayed in the darkest colours not always because of their conduct but often because of their alien race. In India, too, we find a parallel in the Sákadvipi Bráhmaṇas, who owed not a little of their degraded status in society to their foreign origin. Káyasthas, like Bráhmaṇas, were often the recipients of grants of land from kings, as we learn, for instance, from the Gurmah plate of Jayádityadeva.

The abovementioned facts raise a strong suspicion that the early Káyasthas were non-Indian in origin and that it was just before the time of the Imperial Guptas that they obtained a permanent place in the body-politic of India. The two or three centuries immediately preceding the first appearance of Káyastha in Indian literature witnessed a succession of foreign invasions of India after the downfall of the Maurya Power and the rule of a considerable part of Northern India by Greek, Scythian, Parthian, and then Kushan Kings. The Scythians and the Kushans were steeped in Hellenico-Iranian culture before they finally succumbed to Indian influences. It was at this period of contact between Persia and India that several old Persian words found their way into the Indian language. It is not unlikely that some highly trained revenue officials from Persia and Hellenic lands may have been employed by these Indo-Parthian and Kushan monarchs, as by the Moghul Emperors in later times, for administering their Indian territories, and that all these high officials may have been known to the common people as Khsháyathiyas, meaning rulers in old Persian. Soon that word was adapted to the Indian tongue and sanskritized into Káyastha. That trained and efficient officers from Persia and Hellenic lands were employed by Indian rulers even in earlier day is

evidenced by the presence of a Persianized Greek, Tushápha the "Yavana", as governor of Surástra under Asoka Maurya, as is known from the Girnar inscriptions of Rudradamana. How quickly these foreigners were Indianized is proved from the names of the later Kushan and Saka rulers as also from the conversion of Dharmarakshita the Greek who according to the Chronicles of Ceylon, was sent by Asoka as a Buddhist missionary to Aparántaka, in Western India, of Menander or Milinda, King of Kabul, and of Helicdorus the Greek who as a devout follower of Vishnu set up a Garuda pillar in about B. C. 140. When the cultured Greeks and Persians were Indianized those who continued as princes and soldiers were merged in the Kshatriya community, while those in the civil service became Káyasthas. The civil servants of Asoka's government were known as Rajukas, Purusas and Yuktas, but we do not know whether they formed any community of their own. Very likely not Chandragupta's chief officer in Surástra was a Vaisya, Pushyagupta. The existence of a Káyastha clan called Sakasena lends colour to the suspicion of foreign elements in the Káyastha community. Recruitment from all classes, particularly from Bráhmaṇa and Kshatriya castes, swelled the number of Káyastha officers to meet the growing demands in all parts of Northern and Western India, and the group which was at first functional became gradually solidified into a caste. Southern India lay too far away from these influences and did not develop a well-marked Káyastha caste.

This caste, however, was recruited from diverse sources, at different times and in different circumstances in different parts of India and consequently was never homogeneous. Barring the name and function, there is very little of community between the different branches of the caste in different parts of India. It cannot be shown that the Káyastha caste originated in one place and then migrated in different directions. The foreign and aboriginal origin of a large number of castes and sub-castes of modern India need not surprise the reader. If we remember how vast India is, how well-peopled it was at the time of the Aryan invasions, how certain sections of the pre-Aryans had arrived at a fairly high degree of culture, how impossible it was for the Aryans to come in very large bodies through the difficult routes from Central Asia or beyond, and how India has received even within the last three thousand years successive streams of invaders who have permanently settled in the country, the wonder is that so much, and not so little, of present day India in population and culture can be traced to the Rigvedic Aryan*.

A good deal of confusion has arisen on account of the identification of the Káyasthas with the Karāṇas in more recent writings. Karāṇa is an old word in the Sanskrit language dating from Vedic times when it meant clever, skilled (adjective) and an assistant (noun). Karāṇika is mentioned in Kautilya's Arthashástra. In the Smṛiti literature Karāṇa represents a mixed caste produced by the union of a Vaisya father and a Sudra mother. Amara, the lexicographer, also gives this meaning to the word. Karāṇa also meant a legal document, as in Manu VIII, 51-52, and Karāṇika, a keeper of records or accounts. Finally Karāṇa came to mean a clerk, and when Káyastha also finally assumed the meaning of a writer (*aksharajivi*, as in Hemachandra) it was naturally sought to make the two synonymous, though the original difference was not entirely forgotten. Thus according to Medini Karāṇa in the neuter gender means Káyastha, but in the masculine gender the issue of a Vaisya-Sudra union. Curiously, although Karāṇa is the older of the two words and more frequently mentioned in the Smṛiti literature, all the abuses and vilifications are in most cases reserved for the Káyastha and seldom for the Karāṇa. The occurrence of the designation Karāṇa-Káyastha in several inscriptions proves that the two were not identical. The Ajayagarh Rock Inscription of the Chandella King Bhojavarman also mentions a Káyastha family, Vástavya, which had been pursuing the occupation of a Karāṇa. A distinction is made between a Káyastha and a Karāṇádhyaaksha (accountant) and an Akshapatalika (record-keeper) in the Rámganj copper-plate inscription in Bengal. From inscriptions like the Nidhanpur charter of Bháskaravaman in the 7th century A. D. and that of Dhod in Rajputana in the 12th century we come across Karāṇikas who are definitely stated to be Bráhmaṇas by caste.

Now what were the functions of the Káyastha caste? Formerly the Káyasthas formed what is nowadays known as the Civil Service. Thus they were to be found as collectors of revenue, settlement and survey officers, bench-clerks, accountants and auditors, secretaries to the king, particularly as ministers of peace and war (*Sandhibigrahika*), and sometimes as chief administrator of a Division (*Uparika*) and judges. It was an account of such wide functions and powers and not because merely of their profession as writers that they were so much dreaded by the people. The Káyastha is found as a bench-clerk in Vishnusmṛiti VII, 3, as well as in the court-scene of the drama Mrichchhakatika Act IX. In Aparárka's commentary of the Yájnavalkyasamhita Káyastha is explained as a tax collector (*Karádhikṛita*). From the Dámodarapur copper-plates of the Imperial Gupta times, the copper-plate inscriptions of the Kings Dharmáditya and Gopachandra and of the prince Vainyagupta in Eastern Bengal, and the Khálimpur grant of Dharmapála it is known that the Káyasthas formed the majority in the superior cadre of the district and divisional officers without whose knowledge and permission no transfer of landed property could take place. In the Rájatarangini the civil officers were mostly Káyasthas, who were sometimes appointed as prime ministers and even military commanders. "With his mind merged in greed the King took for friends the Káyasthas who carried off all property of the subjects while delivering only the smallest fraction of what they realised" (IV, 629). "At that time the Mahattama Sahela, the Káyastha, was Commander-in-chief of the King's army, as well as lord of the Gate" (VII, 1319). "The King then made the Káyastha Gauraka prime minister" (VIII, 560).

*Professor D. R. Bhandarkar seeks to connect the Kayasthas, especially of Bengal, with a tribe or race called Nagar coming from the districts near the Manasa lake in Tibet.

Kshemendra, too, refers to the Káyasthas of Kasmir in the 11th century as officials only and never as a caste. Káyasthas are described as occupying the posts of prime minister and minister of peace and war (Narmamálá I, 6-8 ; II, 143) and of chief-justice (Kalá-Vilása V, 5).

What are then the component elements of the Káyastha caste ? Besides the descendants of many Greek, Iranian and Saka rulers and administrators many Indian Kshatriyas must have entered the civil service by giving up their military profession as it was not possible, except rarely, to unite the qualifications of the two branches of government, military and civil, when the administrative system had become very much developed and complicated.* The author of the Udayasundari Kathá, Sodhdhal by name, who was a member of Balava-Káyastha clan and lived in the 11th century, traces his descent from Káláditya, brother of the Balavi King Siláditya. The Balavis ranked as Kshatriyas in the 7th century as we know from the accounts of Hiuen Tsang. But probably a larger percentage of recruits to the Káyastha caste was contributed by the Bráhmaṇas, who with their superior intellectual equipment could easily excel in the work of manipulation of figures and drafting of documents and who were sometimes preferred by the Kings even to Kshatriyas because being generally dissociated from feudalism and military service. They could not easily assume independent power. In Mediæval Europe, too, the Church supplied a large percentage of officers in the Civil Service. Many of the Dhárma and Niti-shástras direct that the responsible posts in the state should be given mainly to Brahmanas and then to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, but never to Sudras (Manu VII and VIII ; Sukraniti II).

At a time when the Káyastha community had not crystallised into a hide-bound caste, a Kshatriya or a Brahmana could become a Káyastha without losing his original caste, though some blemish would be attached to him on account of his profession. It is probably with reference to this state of things that the Saurapurána, Ch. 19, forbids the invitation to a funeral feast of those Bráhmaṇas who are engaged in the duties of a Káyastha, astrologer, physician and professional soldier. This flow of Bráhmaṇa recruits continued even when the Káyastha caste was definitely formed but they no longer retained their original caste. The Nidhánpur charters of Bháskaravarman in the 7th century contains the names of several revenue and accounts officers in Bengal who were Bráhmaṇas by caste. In the Rájatarangini we meet with numerous instances of Bráhmaṇas engaged in the duties of a Káyastha. "About that time there died by strangulation that rogue of a Káyastha, the Bráhmaṇa Sivaratha, who had been a great intriguer." (VIII, 2383). "Sahelaka of the Purohita Corporation obtained the position of 'prefect of property' by securing a doubled revenue and became in time Mahattama". (VII, 1106). "The great mass of them (Káyasthas) was undoubtedly Bráhmaṇa by caste, corresponding to the present Kárkuns of Kasmir" (Stein Rájatarangini, Int. Ch. I, p. 19). Even now we find in the Poona, Nasik and Satara districts of the Bombay Presidency some families who call themselves Káyasthas but who have not yet given up their Bráhmaṇhood. To avoid confusion they are sometimes called Káyastha-Bráhmaṇas. The Vaisyas, too, though to a smaller extent, must have contributed their share in the formation of the Káyastha caste. From the Chandraprava of Bharatamallika we know of several Vaidya families whose members adopted Káyastha professions and became Káyasthas. On account of the presence of powerful non-Aryan communities in Eastern India some of whom by virtue of superior physical power established rulership and eventually became Kshatriyas* the infusion of Sudra or non-Aryan blood into the Káyastha caste through a Kshatriya medium has not been small. How Sudras and non-Aryan princes could become Kshatriyas is a matter of history. That the predominant elements in the Káyastha caste came from Bráhmaṇa and Kshatriya sources may also be assumed from the fact that the Káyasthas observe *gotra* and *pravara* restrictions in the matter of marriage with as much rigidity as the Bráhmaṇas and Kshatriyas. This is not the case with other castes, like the Navasákhas in Bengal, who, though bearing Bráhmaṇical *gotras* often marry in the same *gotra*. Further, the very close affinity between the Bráhmaṇas and the Káyasthas of Bengal in their head-form and structure of the nose as distinguished from those of the Upper Gangetic valley on one hand and of the lower castes in Bengal on the other, points to some close relationship between the two castes at the source.

Bengal is pre-eminently the land of Káyasthas. No other province in India can compare with Bengal as regards the number and importance of the Káyastha community. In the 16th century Bengal was ruled by a number of semi-independent and independent princes called Bhuiyás, most of whom were Káyasthas. It was only when the Moghul governors broke up the Káyastha fiefs and distributed them among more pliant Bráhmaṇas in the 17th and early 18th centuries that the political importance of the latter began to increase. It is no wonder that Abul Fazl, the Court historian of Akbar, was led to state that the Káyasthas had been ruling in Bengal for about two thousand years. The modern Káyastha community of Bengal must have absorbed the greater percentage of the descendants of the old ruling dynasties of the country, Sena, Pála Gupta, Varmá, etc., which may be one of the reasons for such a sweeping statement of Abul Fazl. Curiously enough unlike in the upper provinces the Káyasthas are not spoken of with any disrespect in Bengal. On the contrary, though they are regarded as Sudras by the Bráhmaṇas the expression Bámun-Káyeth is often used to denote the upper classes in society as distinguished from the other castes, just like Bráhmaṇa and Rájanya in the Vedic literature. The Brihaddharma Purána which gives a true picture of the social organisation of Bengal in mediæval times assigns the place of honour to the Karana of Káyastha in the list of non-Bráhmaṇa castes in the country, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas being non-existent in the Kali Age, and describes him as not only an expert in the art of writing but a skilful administrator (*rájakáryeshu kushalá*).

*For a fuller account of the nature of Aryan conquest and colonisation in the different parts of India, vide the writer's *Aryanisation of India*, Chs. IV and V.

Why is there no Kshatriya caste in Bengal? It is because firstly the non-Aryan communities in Bengal, like the Pods, Bágdis, Chandálas, Kaivartas, etc., were too numerous and powerful to be thoroughly subdued and absorbed by the thinning stream of Aryan warriors from the Upper Gangetic valley. From time to time Aryan Kshatriyas, either singly or in small bands, came and established themselves in different parts of the country, but they did not long remain unmixed with the non-Aryan ruling classes of the place. Secondly, the Rajputs, the Normans of mediæval India, who rose to power in almost all the parts of Northern and Western India after the Huna Cataclysm of the 6th Century, and who are regarded as their forefathers by most of the Kshatriya ruling clans in modern India, were shut out from Bengal by the indigenous Pála Kings for more than four centuries until the sovereignty passed into the hands of the Muslims. But for the appearance of the Rájputs the Kshatriya caste could have hardly succeeded in resisting the attempts of the Bráhmaṇa legislators to abolish the two intermediate *varnas* between the priestly and the Sudra, as they have done in Bengal. This resuscitation of Kshatriya power in mediæval India left Bengal untouched. Thirdly, Bengal, thanks to her predominantly non-Aryan population, was ever a land of heresy. Jainism and Buddhism claimed Bengal as their own. The long rule of the Buddhist Pála Kings very much loosened the ideas of caste and was the principal cause of the abandonment of the Bráhmaṇical thread by those Kshatriyas and Vaisyas who were associated with the court. It must have been at this time that the Káyasthas who depended entirely upon the court became mostly respecters of Buddhist principles and threw away the sacred girdle, the insignia of Bráhmaṇical orthodoxy.

In Bengal we find the Káyasthas well-established in society in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. From the inscriptions of the period it is learnt that the Káyasthas formed a large percentage of the officials in the country and that no transfer of landed property could take place without their knowledge and permission. The names in these inscriptions do not always appear to be genuine compound words, but seem to show that family surnames were coming into use at this time. Thus we meet with names like Chiráta-datta, Jaya-datta, Mati-datta, Gopa-datta, Jaya-nandin, Sthánu-nandin, Vijaya-nandin, Guṇa-chandra, Ghosa-chandra, Siva-chandra, Soma-ghosa, Vihita-ghosha, Sám̐ba-pála, Vipra-pála, Pátra-dása, Naya-sena, Bandhu-mitra, Dhriti-mitra, Vasu-mitra, etc. From this alone however it cannot be concluded that the Káyastha caste had been definitely formed at this time in Bengal. The surnames in these inscriptions, even if they are treated as such, are not clearly indicative of caste. Thus the names with the ending of *mitra* in the Dámodarapur inscriptions are not those of Káyasthas but of Vaisyas, though the surname of *mitra* is at the present time borne only by Káyasthas in Bengal. The surname of *datta* might have been borne by Bráhmaṇas as well as Káyasthas. The Nidhánpur charter of Bháskaravarman contains the names of several Bráhmaṇa donees with some of the abovementioned surnames. I think that these name-endings are not caste surnames but family surnames which eventually developed into caste surnames some time later. Recruitment to the Káyastha caste from other castes continued for a long time after caste surnames had been definitely established, and that is why, as contrasted with other castes, the Káyasthas have about one hundred surnames which are as it were one hundred doors through which admission could be effected into the community, sometimes even from avowedly non-Aryan stock. Many of these would have found room in the Kshatriya caste had it continued in Bengal. In this respect the Káyasthas fulfilled in Bengal the functions of the Kshatriyas of the other provinces of Northern India.

If it can be proved that caste surnames like Ghosha, Mitra, Datta, have been in use among the Káyasthas of Bengal since the fifth century A.D., one more nail will be driven into the coffin of the story of the coming of five Káyasthas with five Bráhmaṇas of Kanauj to the court of King Ádisura towards the close of the 10th century. The principal argument against that legend is that while the Bráhmaṇa descendants of the five immigrants count 35 or 36 generations the Káyasthas count only 25 or 26 generations from their Kanauj ancestors, a difference not to be accounted for by any stretch of imagination, and also the discovery of Bráhmaṇas in Bengal in the 6th century from the inscriptions of Bhásak ravarma, who from their description cannot be differentiated from some of the so-called descendants of the five Bráhmaṇas of Kanauj. Besides, in the inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries none of the Bráhmaṇa families claim descent from any of the five immigrants from Kanauj. Further, the wide difference in the head and nose form of the United Provinces Bráhmaṇas and of the Bráhmaṇas of Bengal and the closer physical relationship between the Bráhmaṇas and the higher class non-Bráhmaṇas of Bengal do not support the theory of unmixed descent of all Rádhi and Varendra Bráhmaṇas from Kanauj ancestors. Immigration there must have been of Bráhmaṇas and Káyasthas from the west and the south but certainly not in the way it is generally described in the common genealogical records. Thus, for instance, the Khálimpur charter of Dharmapála informs us of the existence of Lálá (Gujarat) Bráhmaṇas in Bengal who were honoured by Náráyaṇavarman, a feudatory chieftain.

The origin of Kulinism also among the Káyasthas is shrouded in mystery. High born Káyasthas are mentioned in the inscriptions, but few of them have the modern Kulin surnames. From the introduction to the Nyáyakandali of Sridhara we learn that in the 10th century one Pándu-dása of Bhuririshti (in the district of Hooghly) was "the headmark of the Káyastha community," while the surname Dása is of an inferior order among modern Káyasthas. It seems probable that the foreigner Sena Kings finding it difficult to destroy the influence of the Pálas so long as the Káyastha hereditary administrators of districts and collectors of revenue remained loyal to their old masters, succeeded in winning over a small section of them, and that Kulinism was conferred upon them as a reward for their desertion of their Pála masters and Buddhist religion. At first they must have been a very limited number, but after the downfall of the Sena Kingdom there was little restriction upon all those who bore the surnames of the

original Kulin families claiming Kulinism for themselves. This happened in a practically wholesale fashion in West Bengal where there was little Sena influence left after the Muslim conquest of Nadia. But in East Bengal the process was very much checked by the presence of Sena and other Hindu rulers for a long time, and hence we find the number of Kulins even among those bearing the surnames of Ghosha, Vasu, Guha and Mitra to be very limited there. The Káyasthas of Northern Bengal could not be influenced by the Senas and so the Kulinism of the Senas is not to be found among them.

Namasudra.—The Namasudras of Bengal are not an occupational caste. They are found in various "humble" occupations as cultivators, fishermen, boatmen, carpenters, etc. They are regarded as "untouchables" by the higher castes of Bengal, and only a generation ago were known by the name of Chandála. No doubt they are a somewhat backward community with a rather low level of culture, who cannot point to any intellectual eminence or historical distinction among their forefathers in the immediate or distant past. But from their occupation as farmers and their observance of ceremonials imitating the higher castes of Bengal, together with the progress they are making in the field of education, they are justified in rejecting the name of Chandála for their community. The Chandálas of the Dharmashástras were men who lived outside the pale of civilization and settled life, and found maintenance from the most despised occupations.

Though the word Sudra was often loosely used by ancient writers to denote all those who did not belong to the three higher *varṇas*, there was always a distinction between those who had come or were coming under Aryan influences, the Sudras proper, and those sometimes called the fifth *varṇa*, who were too savage and unclean to be amenable to Aryan culture and practices, the Nishádas, Chandálas, Pukkasas, etc., of the Dharmashástras. Among the Sudras too, there soon developed a distinction between those who followed the ideals and imitated the practices of the higher castes (न्यायवर्तिनः), the "good" Sudras, and those who were semi-Aryanized and were as it were in the outer ring of the Bráhmanical society, the untouchable Sudras. The promotion of the Namasudras from the status of Chandálas to that of untouchable Sudras is quite natural and is the consequence of the improved culture and way of living they have adopted. And in the present state of things they can well claim to be regarded as "good" Sudras. It was with the object of emphasizing the fact that they were no longer Chandálas that they adopted the name-ending of Sudra, though they were ordinarily called Namas.

In pre-Muslim India when the system of caste had not become so rigid as in modern times, such a group of virile men as the Namasudras are at the present day might have established rulership over a considerable area and mixed in peace and war with the acknowledged Kshatriyas and Bráhmaṇas of the neighbourhood. The Bráhmaṇa legislators would have called the ruling families of the community at first Vrátya Kshatriyas and then good Kshatriyas, and admitted some of their tribal priests even into the Bráhmaṇa order, and increasing intermixture of blood would have lessened the distinction between these *novi homines* and those of real Aryan descent. Unfortunately for the Namasudras, they had not become sufficiently advanced to establish such a position of their own before the Muslim conquest. As this natural process of caste promotion had been stopped by the restriction of opportunities and as the intermediate *varṇas* have disappeared in Bengal, the Namasudras longing for a higher social status have begun to set up claims for recognition as Bráhmaṇas. The assumption of the new name Namabrahma is but a natural reaction against the Bráhmanical policy of keeping down the mass of people in a state of "depression," and especially when birth alone, and not merit or occupation, is the determining factor in caste.

As regards the claims of the Namasudras that they had formerly been Bráhmaṇas who were degraded because they stuck to Buddhism longer than other castes and who were given the name of Sudra by the jealous Káyasthas, they are not supported either by history or tradition or anthropometry. In fact, from their large number, their main occupations of cultivating and fishing, their traditional lack of higher culture, their original name of Chandála, their cephalic and nasal forms, and their habitat in the easternmost fringe of Aryávarṭa, it may well be assumed that they, like the Kaivartas, Pods and Bágdis, are the descendants of the natives of Bengal who were gradually Aryanized but whose tribal organizations could not be broken up. It is not unlikely that some Bráhmaṇa priests and Kshatriya adventurers and Vaisya farmers and artisans might have contributed their blood to the community so as to produce a mixed strain. The present number of the Namasudras, large as it is, is only a moiety of their actual number as undoubtedly a large percentage has dropped off by conversion to Islam. It cannot be believed that Bengal, which was regarded as a semi-Aryanized country by the writers of Dharmashástras, contained such a large number of Bráhmaṇas at the time of the Pála Kings. Secondly, conversion into Buddhism by groups did not involve any change in caste occupations, and a particular community might be lowered for the sake of its creed but could not even in those days be forced to adopt the professions of a low caste like the Chandálas and fishermen who were despised equally by the Bráhmaṇas and the Buddhists. It might have been possible in the case of individuals but not of a numerous community like the Namasudras, particularly if they had been of real Bráhmaṇa descent. Thirdly, how have two or three million men come to lose all memory of their great past and all trace of higher culture if they had been in possession of a high status in society, say, one thousand years ago, i.e., before the period of Hindu renaissance in Bengal? There is no tradition to this effect recorded either in the Sanskrit or vernacular literature of Bengal. Fourthly, do they show any similarity in physical appearance with the Bráhmaṇas with whom they claim caste affinity more than any other non-Bráhmaṇas caste in Bengal? Rather, the contrary is the case, as is known from a comparison of their cephalic and nasal indices.

To avoid the conflict of claims as to whether they are Sudras or Bráhmaṇas and to keep up the homogeneity of the caste in outward appearance, it might be better to drop the name-ending of Sudra or Bráhmaṇa altogether and call the caste by the name of Nama only, as is universally used in the spoken language of the eastern districts of Bengal. The name Nama, unlike the words Kaivarta and Chandála, does not carry any humiliation with it, not being associated with any particular occupation of a mean character.

Vaidya.—The word Vaidya in the early Sanskrit literature denoted a learned man or one versed in the Vedas, and was not associated with any profession. In the Vedic literature the word for a physician is Bhishak and not Vaidya. Even as late as the time of Manusamhitá the term Vaidya was rarely used to mean a physician, who was generally known as Bhishak and Chikitsaka. The word as used in the Asvalayana Grihya Sutra IV, 9, cannot be interpreted to mean anything else than "learned." So also is the reference about the sage Vasistha as a Vaidya in the Rámáyana, Ayodhyakánda, 77. No one can believe that the expression *Dwijeshu Vaidyah Shreyamsah* in the Mahábhárata, Udyogaparva, Ch. VI, 2, speaks of the medical men as being the most honourable among the Bráhmaṇas. Here the word Vaidya is used in its original sense as a learned man. An almost verbatim reproduction of the above passage occurs in the law-book of Manu (I, 96-97) which speaks of the Bráhmaṇas as the most honourable of men and of the learned men, *Vidyánsah*, as the most honourable among the Bráhmaṇas. The Mahábhárata, on the contrary, contains many passages (e.g., XII, 36, 28 ; XIII, 90, 13-14) which regard the medical profession as an ignoble one, the pursuit of which, like the selling of liquor, degrades a Bráhmaṇa from his rank. According to the Charakasamhitá the physicians are called Trija or thrice-born not because of their superior status among the twice-born but because after their ordinary initiation as twice-born the Vaidyas are initiated into the mysteries of the science of medicine. It is not possible to agree with those who seek to prove from the abovementioned passages that the medical men were always Bráhmaṇas and that they occupied a position of high honour among the Bráhmaṇas.

In Rigvedic times the physicians were no doubt respectable members of society. "In Rig. X, 97, 22, we find Bráhmaṇas exercising the functions of a physician without dishonour. 'With Soma as their sovereign lord the Plants hold colloquy and say : O King, we save from death the man whose cure a Bráhmaṇa undertakes.' Diseases were believed to be caused by the displeasure of gods or possession by demons; hence a physician had to be well-versed in *mantras* for propitiating gods and driving away demons as well as in the science of medicine. The physicians were generally Bráhmaṇas, and, like the witch doctors in primitive societies, were held in high respect, so much so that many gods, such as Asvins (I, 116-16), Varuna (I, 24-9), Rudra (II, 33, 4-7), are frequently called physicians. That different occupations did not impart any blemish even to Bráhmaṇa families is indicated in IX, 112, 3, where the rishi sings, 'I am a poet, my father is a physician, my mother a grinder of corn. With our different views, seeking after gain, we run as after cattle.' The Ribhus were supposed to have been skilful artisans who were exalted to divine honours (I, 161, 1-5). Some of the descendants of the great sage Bhrigu were expert chariot-makers (X, 39, 14)." (Origin and Growth of Caste in India by the writer, Vol. I, pp. 59-60).

By the time of the Dharmashástras a great change had occurred in the status of the physicians. As early as the time of Vasistha's law-book (before B. C. 300) a Bráhmaṇa who practised the profession of a physician was regarded as degraded (III, 3). The Vishnusmriti (L. I. 10) prescribes a penance of living on milk only for seven days for the offence of taking food from a physician, and forbids the invitation to a funeral feast amongst others of a physician and an astrologer (LXXXII, 7-9). According to Atrisamhitá (378), a physician and an astrologer, however learned, must not be honoured. Similar passages are to be found in the Mahábhárata and many of the law-books, old and new.

It is not easy to trace the causes of the degradation in the status of physicians from the Vedic literature itself. One cause no doubt is that according to the Bráhmaṇical conceptions of the time no profession could stand side by side with the priestly one, and that a physician even though of Bráhmaṇa descent, must rank lower than a priest. Secondly, with the growth and elaboration of the ideas of cleanliness and ceremonial purity a medical man who had to come in constant contact with the sick, the dying and the dead, could not but incur a little of impurity for himself, and thus drew upon his profession some stigma and social degradation.

From a comparison of the standard of living of the Rigvedic Aryans with that of the pre-Aryans in the Indus valley with their highly developed knowledge of sanitation as revealed in the archæological discoveries at Mahenjo-daro and Harappá we may suppose that the science of medicine was more developed among the latter than among the Rigvedic folk. When mixture took place between the Aryans and the non-Aryans in the plains of India the medical science of the latter did not die out, but was adopted by the former though after some resistance. The Atharvaveda, the bible of the physicians in India, which contains a large amount of this non-Aryan knowledge and belief, was not readily accepted by the orthodox Aryans and was not generally regarded as one of the Vedas even as late as the time of Kautilya's Arthashástra and Manusamhitá. In the medical profession of the later Vedic period, therefore, we may hope to find a large number of non-Aryan families who had been in possession of the knowledge of herbs and charms for many generations before the coming of the Aryans. It is known how in the 2nd century B. C. the Greeks, though conquered by the Romans, furnished the greater part of the skill and knowledge of medicine at Rome and transmitted their science to the children of their conquerors. The close association of the physicians and the Sákadvipi or astrologer Bráhmaṇas in many passages of the law-books lends colour to the supposition that, like the Sákadvipis who are undoubtedly of non-Vedic origin, the Vaidyas, too, must have been dealing with a science of non-Vedic or mixed origin and have contained

among them a large percentage of men of non-Bráhmānical blood. The story of the origin of the Vaidyas as given in the Brahmavaivarta Purāna (Brahmakhaṇḍa, X, 126-32), fanciful as it is, points to a relationship between the physicians and the *vedadharmaparityaktāh* astrologers as social groups distinguished from the traditional social divisions of Vedic society. It is probably to this, more than anything else, that the low status of the Vaidyas in the Dharmashāstras is due. It is difficult to say when Vaidya, which was at first a functional name, became the name of a caste, but it is certain that the caste was not formed in the same way and at the same time in different parts of India. Even now a Vaidya caste as we find it in Bengal does not exist in Upper India. But the tendency towards the formation of a medical caste can be traced as early as the time of the Mahābhārata. There is mention of a caste by name Vaidya (Anushasana, 49, 9), which is said to be formed by the union of a Sudra male and a Vaisya female. If any significance be attached to this statement we may suppose that the Sudra or non-Aryan medical men, referred to above, were gradually mixing their blood with the Vaisya community and were given a recognised position in society. Then followed intermixture between these Vaidyas and the Vaidyas belonging to the Bráhmaṇa community, as was bound to happen when they together formed a functional group receiving knowledge at the common fountain and when marriage restrictions were not very strict. What became of the issues of such mixed unions? Naturally the general mass of them would receive their training in the profession of their parents and become physicians by occupation. As regards their caste, whatever may be said in the Dharmashāstras about the issues of mixed marriages and the formation of mixed castes, one is inclined to think that the children of such mixed marriages in earlier times generally, but not always, took the rank of their father. Thus the children of a Bráhmaṇa physician by a Vaisya or a pseudo-Vaisya wife were recognised as Bráhmaṇas while those of a Vaisya father by a Bráhmaṇa woman remained Vaisyas. The Dharmashāstras prefer to put the children of such mixed unions in a separate compartment and call them Ambasthas who are to be medical men for treating patients of all good castes including Bráhmaṇas. *Had this dictum of the Dharmashāstras been rigidly followed we would have found the existence of an Ambastha caste extensively spread over the whole of India, like the Vaidya caste in Bengal, especially as another dictum, referred to above, degrades all members of the Bráhmaṇa community following the profession of medicine from the priestly order. As a matter of fact the Vaidya functional group, consisting of Bráhmaṇas, Vaisyas, etc., developed into a caste only in some parts of India, and received the name of Ambastha to indicate the mixture in blood which had taken place and for the determination of their position in the hierarchy of caste as intermediate between Bráhmaṇa and Vaisya. In the United Provinces at the present day Bráhmaṇas, Káyasthas and others are found following the medical profession, for generations without losing their original caste. Amara defines the word Vaidya as pertaining to medical profession while by alluding to the Ambastha he probably indicates that wherever a medical caste is formed it is to be looked upon as mixed caste†.

On account of various reasons as discussed in the writer's note on Káyastha the development of caste took a peculiar turn in Bengal, and one of the results was the formation of the Vaidya caste in its present shape. From its birth it fell under the category of Ambastha as defined in the law-books. There is no doubt that Bráhmaṇa, Káyastha and other castes have contributed their blood to the formation of the Vaidya caste in Bengal. The name Ambastha of the Dharmashāstras was found a suitable appellation for the new-born caste with its mixed blood and profession of medicine, though the name Vaidya also remained side by side. The close relationship between the Vaidyas and the Káyasthas in Bengal up till recent years is revealed in the genealogical records of the Vaidya community. Numerous instances are cited of inter-marriages between the two communities and of Vaidya and Káyastha families of recognised position springing from a common stock. If this was the case with Vaidya Kulin families with whom the genealogists mostly deal we may assume a freer intermixture of blood among the non-Kulins and even the Vaidya author Bharatamallika writing in the 17th century did not express disgust at this intercourse. The Brihaddharma Purāna, which deals specially with the social institutions of Bengal of about five hundred years ago, treats the terms Vaidya and Ambastha as synonymous (Uttara XIV, 41). The Vaidya genealogist Bharatamallika in the 17th century and the Vaidya leader Rájá Rájballava in the 18th century identified their caste with the Ambastha and claimed for themselves the rights and privileges of the twice-born Ambastha. This claim was persisted in by Vaidya scholars and leaders up till the close of the last century.

On the other hand, attempts were made by Bráhmaṇa legislators and interpreters of law to reduce the status of the Vaidyas and make them Sudras on the plea that in the Kali age there were only two *varṇas*, Bráhmaṇa and Sudra. Thus the Brihaddharma Purāna (Uttara, XIV, 44) directs the Vaidyas to observe the duties of a Sudra, *Sudradharmān*. Rughunandana, too, in his *Suddhitatvam*, classes the Ambasthas or Vaidyas as Sudra. The result was that many of the Vaidyas gave up the right of initiation as twice-born and began to observe the

* देश्यायां ब्राह्मणाज्जातोऽम्बुष्टो हि मुनिसत्तम ।

ब्राह्मणानां चिकित्सायं निर्दिष्टो मुनिपुङ्गवे ॥

इति पराशरः ।

†This subtle distinction between function and caste is hidden in the passage quoted from Shankha-sambhitā in the Shabdakalpādruma :

वेदाज्जातो हि बन्धः स्यादम्बुष्टो ब्रह्मपुत्रकः ।

thirty days' rule for impurity like ordinary Sudras. But fortunately for them their profession required them to be learned in Sanskrit, and so the right of studying religious literature and of teaching language and medical science could not be taken away from them. Moreover, as teachers and physicians they continued to enjoy the right of receiving gifts. These circumstances to a certain extent stood them in good stead. Then there came in the middle of the 18th century a great revival in the Vaidya community under the leadership of Rájá Rájballava and taking their stand on well-known dicta of the Shástras they pushed their claim for recognition as Ambasthas with the right of initiation and fifteen days' rule for impurity. When, however, this claim was resisted by Bráhmaṇa pandits a section of the Vaidyas changed their ground and began to argue that if in the Kali age there were only two *varṇas*, the Vaidyas with their right of studying and teaching and of receiving gifts were more like Bráhmaṇa than Sudra.

Of late some of the Vaidyas in Bengal have begun to set up claims that they are full-fledged Bráhmaṇas and are not in any way to be regarded differently from the acknowledged Bráhmaṇas of the land. It is no doubt true that the Bráhmaṇas of Bengal are not a homogeneous caste and have received admixture of non-Aryan blood. But there is one thing in their favour which is not possessed by the Vaidyas, viz., the right of acting as priest for others at religious ceremonies. Since the Vedic times the Bráhmaṇas have practically monopolised this function, and this function alone distinguishes a Bráhmaṇa from a non-Bráhmaṇa. The right of teaching could not be similarly monopolised as we come across references to non-Bráhmaṇa teachers in the Upanishads, Buddhist Suttas and Játakas and even in some of the Bráhmaṇical law-books. The exercise of the priestly function among semi-Aryanized aborigines would in course of time enable even non-Aryan priestly families to get recognition as Bráhmaṇas but the door to Bráhmaṇhood was closely barred against all who did not follow the priestly profession, whether Aryan or non-Aryan. The argument over *gotra* and *pravara* in support of claim to pure Aryan or Bráhmaṇa blood is not convincing as this sort of registration originated long after the barriers of caste had been established and as a good deal of confusion has arisen on account of the dictum that the non-Bráhmaṇas have to accept the *pravaras* of their Bráhmaṇa priests. The question of surname is another *cul-de-sac*. The existence of common surnames among the Káyasthas, Vaidyas and mercantile classes only makes confusion worse confounded. Then, again, it is well known that there are several Vaidya and Káyastha families who can be traced to common stocks. In the *Chandrapravá* of Bharatamallika we find accounts of a ruling chief, Chandrasena, some of whose sons became Káyasthas by caste while others remained Vaidyas. There is no historical evidence to prove that the descendants of Vallálasena have become Vaidyas. The Sena Kings called themselves Brahmakshatriyas and not Vaidyas in their inscriptions, and must have merged themselves in the ruling Káyastha caste for want of a local Kshatriya caste. It may be admitted, if any reliance be placed upon the confused genealogical records of Vaidya families, that some members of the Sena family might have adopted the profession of medicine and thereby found their way into the Vaidya caste. Lastly, it is to be noted that the practice of inter-marriage between Vaidyas and Káyasthas which had been in existence for centuries has resulted in a confused mixture of blood in the Vaidya community while the Bráhmaṇas in Bengal have at least for the last seven hundred years avoided intermixture with non-Bráhmaṇa blood.

It would have been well if Hindu society could be reorganised on the four-fold *varṇa* system of the Rigvedic age, but the mixtures and ramifications have been so widespread and deep-rooted that the task is absolutely hopeless at the present day. Unless the other castes recognise them as priests at religious ceremonies the Vaidyas after centuries of un-Bráhmaṇical living and intermixture with other castes cannot hope to get their recognition as full-fledged Bráhmaṇas. It is true that many members of the Bráhmaṇa community remain in possession of their premier rank in society in spite of their abandonment of priestly occupation and character while the Vaidyas as a class with their high culture and mode of living are relegated to an inferior position but that is a fault inherent in the system itself in which birth and not merit is the basis of caste.

Vyása or Gaudádya Vaidika Bráhmaṇa.—The word Vaidika is used to denote the descendants of those Bráhmaṇas who according to tradition came with their Vedic knowledge only recently, about seven or eight hundred years ago, when the Vedic religious rites had been nearly forgotten by the Bráhmaṇa priests then in Bengal. The majority of the Bráhmaṇa community in Bengal, the Rádhis and Várendras are not called Vaidikas, though they are associated with this or that branch of the Veda. Theoretically, every Bráhmaṇa, being supposed to be a descendant of one or other of the *rishis* or *seers* of the Veda and belonging to this or that branch of the Veda, may call himself a Vaidika. But in Bengal on account of peculiar circumstances the name Vaidika is borne by a particular class of Bráhmaṇas as stated above, and to avoid confusion the word should be used in the restricted sense. Of course, Vyása Bráhmaṇas are described as Vaidikas in some documents of comparatively recent date in the district of Midnapore, which for a long time had been a part of Orissa and not Bengal. The term Vaidika might have been in occasional use for some time past among the influential Cháshi Kaivarta disciples of the Vyása Bráhmaṇas because probably they sought thereby to exalt the status of their own priests, and this was possible only where, as in the district of Midnapore, the Cháshi Kaivarta community was particularly strong and the social system of Bengal proper had made little headway. As a matter of fact, no other community in Central, Northern and Eastern Bengal has accepted the name Gaudádya Vaidika for what they call Vyása or Parásara Bráhmaṇa, nor can the expression be traced in the ancient or mediæval literature of Bengal.

The word Gaudiya or Gaudádya might have been sometimes used in the district of Midnapore, probably to distinguish the local Bráhmaṇas from the Oriya Bráhmaṇas of the neighbourhood. Gauda or Eastern Gauda represented in the time of the Pála and Sena Kings roughly the province of Bengal. The non-Bengalis in Muslim times who did not understand the distinction

between Rádhis and Várendras, Vaidikas and Vyásas, would lump them all together and call them by the territorial name of Gaudiya as they nowadays use the expression Bengali Bráhmaṇa.

The Bráhmaṇas of Northern India are traditionally divided into five territorial groups, viz., Sáraswata, Kányakubja, Gauda, Maithila, Utkala*. The places of origin respectively are in *proper order* from west to east —(1) the region of the river Saraswati in the Eastern Punjab, (2) the territory of Kanauj, (3) Gauda in Oudh, (4) Maithila or North Behar, (5) Utkal or Orissa. The indigenous Bráhmaṇas of Bengal are neglected in this classification because they were not regarded as sufficiently pure and orthodox at the time when these social groupings were made. Bengal was not only a partially Aryanized country but was the stronghold of the two heretical religions, Jainism and Buddhism. The great majority of the modern Bráhmaṇas of Bengal choose to trace their origin from Kanauj. Bengal was no doubt called Gauda or rather Eastern Gauda in the time of the Pála Kings, but it would be rash to think that the sub-caste of Gauda Bráhmaṇas originated in Bengal. According to the Puráṇa Uttara Kosala was also called Gauda, the capital of which was Srávasti (Kurma Puráṇa I, 20 ; Linga Puráṇa I, 65). In the Brihat Samhitá of Baráhamihira the territory of Gauda is placed along with Matsya, Panchála, etc., in the middle division of India (XIV, 3). References to Gauda Bráhmaṇas in Pauráṇic literature do not necessarily point to the indigenous Bráhmaṇas of Bengal, as is believed by some modern scholars. In fact no historical connection can be traced between the Gauda Bráhmaṇas of Upper India and the early Bráhmaṇas of Bengal so as to warrant any belief in their common origin as distinguished from the other subdivisions of the Bráhmaṇas of India. Up till the census of 1921 no Gauda Bráhmaṇas of the United Provinces or the Punjab admitted kinship with the Vyása Bráhmaṇas of Bengal, and there is no case of inter-marriage on record to prove the social relationship between them.

It must be admitted that in Gupta and earlier times, i.e., long before the traditional date of immigration of the five Bráhmaṇas from Kanauj Bengal contained a large number of Bráhmaṇas many of whom were learned scholars and well versed in Vedic rites and practices. The copper-plate inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. in Bengal support this view. Now if the Rádhis, Várendras and Vaidikas are the descendants of the later immigrants as they claim to be, what has become of the earlier Bráhmaṇas of Bengal? The Vyásas no doubt are a section of the indigenous Bráhmaṇas of Bengal. But a larger number like the Saptasatis have imperceptibly merged themselves in the ranks of the new-comers, as we know from many Kulajis or genealogical records.—The Vyásas being the priests of lower castes could not do so. There is no evidence to show that the Vyása Bráhmaṇas occupied a high social status in the Pála or Gupta times, and there is no history or tradition connecting the Vyása Bráhmaṇas with the priests of the Pála or Gupta Kings of Bengal. The tracing of connection through *gotras* and *pravaras* alone is deceptive. Even the Sákadvipi Bráhmaṇas, who are traditionally known to have come from outside India, possess many *gotras* and *pravaras* in common with the Rádhis, Várendras and Vaidikas of Bengal. We know from the Kulaji books that the Vyása Bráhmaṇas have been acting as priests to lower castes (*antyajas*) at least for the last four hundred years, and we are not yet in possession of any reliable evidence to prove that they served as priests to higher castes in the time of the Pála and Sena Kings of Bengal. It is therefore natural to conclude that the Vyása Bráhmaṇas have been associated with the Kaivartas from the beginning and that the earlier priests to higher castes have, with some exceptions, been merged in the modern Rádhis, Várendras and Vaidikas of Bengal. The story of the degradation of the Vyása Bráhmaṇas as a class from being priests to higher castes to their present status by the Sena Kings is an invention of recent years which is not supported by any reliable documentary evidence.

The name Vyása is significant. The sage Vyása of the Mahábhárata was the illegitimate son of the Brahmana sage Parásara by a fisherwoman, and hence might well be looked upon as the patron-priests of the fishing community or the Kaivartas. The priests of the Kaivarta community may therefore be appropriately called Vyásas of Parásaras, two names by which they are known generally throughout Bengal. Bráhmaṇas they are without doubt, because they act as priests for others, perform ceremonials according to Hindu scriptures, and follow Bráhmaṇical practices in life. Moreover, they use Bráhmaṇical surnames which are not challenged by others. Their defect is that they cannot act as priests to the higher castes of Bengal and that they are comparatively backward in Sanskrit education, and hence they are generally looked down upon by the other Bráhmaṇas of Bengal, a fact which was observed by the well-known genealogist Nulopanchánana about three hundred years ago.

The Kaivartas, Pods, Chandálas, Bágdis, etc., being in the main descended from the pre-Aryan natives of the country one may reasonably suppose that some of the aboriginal priests became later acknowledged as Bráhmaṇas and came to form a mixed race with the new Bráhmaṇa settlers who acted as Aryan culture-bearers in a particular locality. These priests of the mixed blood were regarded as "degraded" Bráhmaṇas, and they attached themselves as priests to their respective tribes and were seldom allowed to act as priests for others. That this supposition is not baseless is proved by the currency in the Pauráṇic literature of various stories (often fanciful) about the creation of Bráhmaṇas from out of non-Aryan communities. Thus, for instance, the Skanda Puráṇa, Sahyádrī Khanda (Uttarárdha, I, 35), describes how the warrior sage Parasuráma conferred Bráhmaṇhood upon a select number of Kaivarta families who became priests to the Kaivarta caste.

* सारस्वताः कान्यकुब्जा गौडा मैथिलोत्कलाः ।

पञ्च गौडाः समाख्याता विन्ध्यशोत्तरवासिनः ॥

It may be that in those troublous days when revived Hinduism was trying to wipe away Buddhism and when the foreigner Sena Kings were introducing changes in the social system with a view to extinguish the Pála influence in Bengal, some high priestly families tarrying to bow to the changed conditions in the country found themselves degraded and eventually had to descend to the rank of priests to lower castes, but they were only exceptions. No evidence has yet come to light to show that such has been the case with the Vyása Bráhmaṇas as a class. On the other hand, the story, fictitious or otherwise, of the promotion in social status by King Vallálasena of a section of the Kaivarta community who gave up the profession of fishermen and boatmen and took to agriculture, is quite in the natural order of things, and we have not to travel far to seek the cause of distinction in status between the fishing Kaivartas and the cultivating Kaivartas at the present day. Change of profession leading to the elevation of a community and adoption of a new or modified caste-name is a common occurrence in India. For a fuller discussion of this question the reader is referred to the writer's note on Kaivarta.

Kaivarta and Máhishya.—In Bengal to-day there are two classes of Kaivartas, Cháshi and Jálíka or Jálía, who may be regarded practically as two separate castes. The occupation of the former is mainly agriculture, which was at one time looked upon as a noble profession belonging to the Vaisya community of the Vedic age, but which on account of various causes came to be despised and gradually fell to the share of the Sudra folk (*vide* the writer's *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. I, pp. 97-101; 142-147). The occupation of the Jálía Kaivartas is to catch fish, a profession which from the time of the Vedas had ever belonged to non-Aryan outcastes, to men who were primitive savages hunting and fishing for a livelihood and knowing no art which makes for settled life of culture. The passage in Parásarasamhitá (II, 9) which describes cultivation of the soil as more sinful than even fishing is only a rhetorical statement made with the object of emphasising the duty on the part of farmers of making gifts to Bráhmaṇas, as is clear from the subsequent verses. As a matter of fact, farming has always been regarded in Bráhmaṇical and Buddhist literature as a much nobler profession than hunting and fishing.

The Cháshi Kaivartas nowadays call themselves by the name of Máhishya and claim that they had always been different from the Jálía Kaivartas with whom they had nothing in common except the name. Facts, however, do not seem to support this claim. First of all, the name itself. The prefixes Cháshi and Jálía are added only to make the distinction in function between the two classes, and are not parts of the name. In fact, these prefixes are not to be found in use in Sanskrit law-books and Puráṇas. The common name Kaivarta is suggestive of a common origin of the two sections unless there be any strong evidence to the contrary.

Secondly, the close similarity in the distribution of the two communities over the several districts of Bengal and the racial affinity between them as revealed by anthropometric evidences cannot be easily explained away.

Thirdly, the general belief of the higher caste people of Bengal about the common origin of the two classes of Kaivartas in support of which various stories are told, the fact that service as priest to either of the two communities is regarded as degrading by the Rádhi, Várendrá and Vaidika Bráhmaṇas of the country, and the claim of the Jálía Kaivartas based on tradition that in the past they formed one community with the Chási Kaivartas, are strong evidences against the theory of separate origins of the two groups.

Fourthly, nowhere in the ancient Sanskrit literature, legal, mythological or otherwise, do we find any mention of two classes of Kaivartas. According to Amara, Kaivarta and Dhivara are synonymous terms, and no one has yet disputed the meaning of Dhivara to be a fisherman, and the caste is placed by the lexicographer in the category of things pertaining to water. Manu knows only of one class of Kaivartas, an unclean caste (X, 34), and so also other writers of Dharmashástras like Angiras (I, 3) and Atri (195). Some scholars seem to discern a distinction between Kaivarta and Dhivara in one passage in Brahmavaivarta Puráṇa (Brahma, X, 111-112), (1) which can hardly stand any examination. Evidently, the word Dhivara in the second and third lines is used by the author as a synonym of the word Kaivarta and not to mean a different caste. This passage occurs in the course of an account of the formation of different castes by crosses and the degradation of several of them from their original status for some faults. The list is given in a serial order. Now if Dhivara and Kaivarta had been, according to the author, two different castes, he would have first accounted for the origin of the Dhivara as apart from the Kaivarta before explaining the cause of his degradation. But he has not done so in the whole long list. Again, according to the order observed by the author, we would expect to find in verse 112 the name of a new caste formed from a man or a woman of the caste created in the previous verse, i.e., the Kaivarta. Here also the synonym Dhivara is given to denote the connecting link between Kshatriya and Rajaka and in the subsequent verse the connection is traced between Rajaka and Koáli. Further, what is the significance of the word "degraded" unless we are informed of the original status of the caste concerned by reference to its extraction? In this passage the Kaivarta is shown to be of good parentage and hence the necessity of explaining the cause of his degraded status. The truth is that the author knew that the words Kaivarta and Dhivara were perfectly interchangeable according

(1) दक्षदीर्यं वैश्यां कैवर्तः परिकीर्तितः ।

कली तीवरसर्गात् धीवरः पतितो भुवि ॥

तीवर्यां धीवरात् पुलोवभुव रजकः स्युतः ।

रजकां तीवराच्च कोयालोति वभुव ॥

to both legal writers and lexicographers and therefore only avoided repetition and ensured smoothness of language and rhythm by using two words to signify the same thing. In Manu X, 11, for instance, two words Kshatriya and Rájan are used to denote the same caste and not two different castes.

Fifthly, the Kaivartas seek to identify themselves with the Máhishyas on the ground that as according to writers like Gautama (IV) and Yájnavalkya (I, 92) the union of a Kshatriya male and a Vaisya female produces the Máhishya while according to authorities like Brahmavaivarta Purána the same union produces the Kaivarta, therefore the two castes are identical. The present writer has discussed the trustworthiness or otherwise of these lists of mixed castes produced from the unions of the four *varnas* directly and indirectly in his book *Origin and Growth of Caste in India, Vol. I, Ch. I*. A few examples here will serve to illustrate the fancifulness of these lists. The caste Pukkasa is derived from Nisháda-Sudra union by Manu, X, 18, from Vaisya-Kshatriya by Vasistha, XVIII, and Vishnu, XVI, and from Sudra-Kshatriya by Gautama, IV, while Amara identifies Pukkasa with Chandála who is born of a Sudra-Bráhmaṇ union (Sudravarga, 12 and 55). The offspring of a Vaisya-Kshatriya union is, according to Manu, X, II, and Yájnavalkya, I, 94, a Magadha, but according to Gautama, IV, a Dhivara. As the Rájput is said to be produced from the union of a Kshatriya father and Vaisya mother (Brihad-dharma Purána, Uttara, XIII, 34), can he therefore be identified with the Máhishya of Yájnavalkyasamhitá and the Kaivarta of Brahmavaivarta Purána? The traditional professions of the Máhishyas—singing, dancing, star-reading and protection of crops (Kulluka on Manu, X, 6)—do not tally with those claimed by the Cháshi Kaivartas in Bengal.

Sixthly, as against the abovementioned claim of the Kaivartas, there are certain facts which require consideration. If the Cháshi Kaivartas had been Máhishyas in origin how did they come to acquire the name of Kaivarta in Bengal, a name which they do not deny, while a similar phenomenon is not evident in any other part of India? Besides, the name Máhishya is a comparatively recent one in Bengal which can hardly be traced in the ancient accounts of the province as referring to an extensive caste. We hear of the Kaivartas in the time of the Pála and Sena Kings but not of Máhishyas. There is almost unanimity of opinion among scholars that the Brahmavaivarta Purána and the Brihad-dharma Purána in their present shape were composed about the 14th or 15th century A.D. and that they give a good account of the religious beliefs and social institutions of Bengal of the time. The Brihad-dharma Purána gives a list of about 40 mixed castes, but Máhishya is not included in the list. Similarly silent is also the Brahmavaivarta Purána with its long list of mixed and degraded castes. Both the books, however, refer to the Kaivartas as a degraded or unclean caste. From this too, we may conclude that there was about five centuries ago no caste in Bengal known as Máhishya which was worth notice. A caste which to-day represents one of the numerically largest communities of the province could not certainly be ignored in a fairly exhaustive list of castes. Further, nowhere in the standard Dharmashástras and Puránas and old lexicons are the two words Máhishya and Kaivarta used as synonyms unlike Dhivara and Kaivarta which have represented the fisherman caste at least for the last two thousand years, whatever might be their distinction in earlier times.*

If on the strength of the statements in the Brahmavaivarta Purána and Padma Purána concerning their origin from Kshatriya-Vaisya union the Cháshi Kaivartas of Bengal have sought to change their name into Máhishya, then the claims of the other Kaivartas, like the Jálías and Pátnis, for a similar designation cannot be denied, because there is no indication in those passages that a particular class, and not the whole Kaivarta community, was meant. If, on the contrary, the Cháshi Kaivartas base their claim of superior social status on their present profession of agriculture and their assimilation of the Bráhmanical ideals of life, whatever might have been their origin in the distant past, they will certainly stand on stronger ground. It is not unknown how various aboriginal tribes and foreign races have found their way into the hierarchy of caste and their descendants can be traced in Bráhmaṇa and Kshatriya not to speak of Vaisya and Sudra folds.

One difficulty in the way of Jáliya Kaivartas and the Pátnis for recognition as Máhishya is that they still stick to professions, fishing and boating, which are said to belong to non-Aryan outcastes according to the Dharmashástras and Puránas. Moreover, the adoption of the name Máhishya by both the Cháshi and Jálía Kaivartas will necessitate the addition of prefixes before the caste name to distinguish the fishing and agricultural groups and is sure to be resented by the latter who are trying to dissociate themselves entirely from their original extraction and occupation. If the name Máhishya be given to the agricultural Kaivartas there is no necessity for retaining the prefix Jálía to distinguish the fishing Kaivartas.

*The word Kaivarta or Kevarta seems to be the Sanskritized form of the word Kevatta or Kewata which was probably the name of some aboriginal tribe, like the Nisháda, Pukkasa, etc., whom the Aryans encountered in the valley of the Ganges. The original form of the word is retained in the early Buddhist literature (e.g., Dighanikáya, Brahmajálasutta) and in Asoka's Inscriptions, and survives in modern times as the name of a sub-caste of fishermen, the Kewat. The elasticity of the Sanskrit language is such that even foreign words can be easily derived from Sanskrit roots and by a little change in a vowel or a consonant made to appear like genuine Sanskrit words. The orthodox derivation of the word Kevarta from the root *Ka*, water, does not dispel the suspicion that it was an after-thought to give a Sanskrit look to a non-Aryan word. From a tribal name Kevata or Kaivarta became a caste-name of a functional nature. At the time when the Kaivartas were first met by the Vedic Aryans they were in a very primitive stage of culture and their main occupation was hunting and fishing. Manu (X, 34) appropriately points out relationship in race between the Kaivartas and the Nishádas, another of the aboriginal tribes of Northern India. The Mahábhárate (Anushásana, Chs. 50 and 51) makes the two words Kaivarta and Nisháda synonymous. It is when a section of the Kaivartas advanced in culture, gave up their hunting and fishing life and settled as cultivators of the soil that their status was improved. Hence, probably we find that in more recent writings like the Brahmavaivarta Purána the Kaivartas are derived from respectable parentage though still with a stigma of degradation.

Pátni.—The Pátnis are a sub-section of the Kaivarta community, and at present stand intermediate between the Jália and Cháshi Kaivartas. The original professions of the Kaivartas were those of a fisherman and a boatman, while in later times a section of them gave up their traditional occupations and took to agriculture. Now the Pátnis combine the professions of a boatman and a cultivator, and thus cannot be called either pure Kaivartas or Cháshi Kaivartas. In fact, they form a community of their own distinguished from the two larger divisions of the Kaivarta people. By adopting a newly-coined name *Lupta Máhishya* they acknowledge their inferiority in status to the full-fledged Máhishyas and at the same time show their intention of elevating their position and will in course of time claim equality with the cultivating Kaivartas. The transition will be rendered easier when the Pátnis have abandoned altogether the work of the ferryman and devoted themselves entirely to agriculture, thereby making the word Pátni meaningless as a caste name and the folk indistinguishable from the Máhishya Kaivartas. The name Pátni is a peculiarly provincial word which does not find a place in the Sanskrit language and hence it is difficult to ascertain from references in the Dharmashástras the status of the caste as compared with that of the Kaivartas in general. As matters stand at present the Pátnis can well claim that they are more like the cultivating Kaivartas who have assumed the name of Máhishya in Bengal than like the despised fishing Kaivartas of the Dharmashástras, and that as such they are entitled to assume a name to show their near relationship with the Máhishya-Kaivartas without at the same time being connected with the boat, seeking to establish absolute identity with them. Like the Cháshi Kaivartas, the Pátnis, too, have fortified their claim to be called Máhishya by securing *Vyavasthá*s from well-known pandits.

Sáhá and Shundi.—The word Sáhá is borne as a title or surname by many persons among the mercantile classes in Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces. It is derived from the Sanskrit word Sádhu, meaning a money-lender and a trader,* through the intermediate forms, Sáhu, Sáwoo and Sáh. Both the words Sáhá and Sádhu are to be found in use as a title or surname among different trading classes in Bengal. Thus there are Sáhá and Sádhu families among the Gandhabanik, Sankhabanik, Tili, Tánti and Shundi castes. In this respect Sáhá may be compared with the titles of Rái, Chaudhuri, Majumdár, etc., which are borne by men of different castes, high and low, with the difference that the former is used only among the mercantile castes.

Sáhá or Sáwoo is at the same time the name of a caste in Bengal, the members of which are nowadays found in mercantile, agricultural and other pursuits. There are many families who use the titles or surname of Prámánik, Poddár, Dás, etc., but belong to the Sáhá caste. A man may therefore have the surname of Sáhá but not belong to the Sáhá caste whilst another belonging to the Sáhá caste may have a surname like Dás or Poddár. The Sáhá caste is regarded in Bengal as being of a lower order, and good Rádhi, Várendra and Vaidika Bráhmaṇs do not ordinarily take water from a Sáhá's hands or serve as priests to him. The priests of the Sáhá community form a caste of their own, and are looked down upon by the ordinary Bráhmaṇs of the country, and they cannot act as priests to the higher castes. In this respect the Sáhás occupy a lower position than the Gandhabaniks, Sankhabaniks, blacksmiths, barbers, potters, betel-dealers, etc., who are called Navashákhas, and whose touch does not impart impurity to a Bráhmaṇ's drinking water. Like the Suvarṇabaniks of West Bengal, the Sáhás of East Bengal with all their wealth and influence and in spite of their orthodox mode of living are assigned a back seat in the hall of Bengal castes by the Bráhmaṇ leaders of society.

The inclusion in earlier census figures of Sáhás and Shundis in one group has of late excited some controversy. The traditional occupation of a Shundi, viz., the making and selling of spirituous liquor, is one of the most despised in Hindu society. There are many high caste Hindus, especially in West Bengal, who do not make any distinction between Sáhá and Shundi in everyday language and are not even aware whether any distinction exists between the two classes. In Eastern Bengal, the general currency of the expression *Sáwoo-Suri* reveals a subtle distinction between the two though they are coupled together to form one group. The problem which faces the historical inquirer is whether the Sáhás are only a section of the general Shundi caste who have been seeking for several centuries to elevate their social status by taking to a strictly Vaisya profession and dissociating themselves from those who still cling to their original occupation or are fundamentally different from the Shundis, who, however, are trying to worm their way up into the higher community by taking advantage of their Sáhá surname. It is worthy of note that the Shundis, at least those who aspire to higher social status, choose to be called Sáhás by caste, but do not claim community with the Gandhabanik or Sankhabanik Sáhás. Is it likely that the present Sáhá community has gathered recruits both from above and below?

If the occupation of a caste be the sole determining factor in the matter of social gradation, the Sáhá caste of Bengal, at least those of them who are associated with trade and banking, must be given the status of the Vaisya. We know that some of the functions which belonged to the original Vaisya *varṇa*, such as tilling the ground and tending cattle, became in later times dishonourable and gradually came to be associated with Sudra *varṇa*. But no blemish was at any time attached to the profession of trade, if only some forbidden articles were not dealt in. It is also known that by the time of the later Dharmashástras the status of the Vaisyas in general had sunk much lower in the estimation of the law-makers and had come very close to that of the Sudras who correspondingly had risen somewhat higher.† From Alberuni's account

“साधुर्वाहं पिबे चारो सज्जने चाभिधायत” — इति मेदिनी ।

† For a fuller discussion of this subject reference may be made to the writer's *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*.

we learn that at least in some parts of India in the 11th century A.D. the distinction between the Vaisyas and the Sudras was very slight, and that the study of the Vedas was forbidden to both classes (Sachau I, p. 101 : II, p. 136). Moreover, as sea-voyages came to be forbidden by the Dharmashāstras many of the Vaisya merchants had either to give up their foreign trade or be degraded in social rank to the level of the Sudras. Further, in some parts of the country, as in Bengal, the mercantile classes were converted in large numbers to Buddhism and Jainism, and remained for centuries estranged from Vedic practices and Brāhmanical influence. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Brāhman legislators, especially of Bengal, began to assert that the Vaisya *varṇa* had ceased to exist in this Kali age and that even the mercantile classes, not to speak of the farming and pasturing folk, must be ranked as Sudras. A distinction was of course made between those who were respectful to Brāhman and their laws and who did not transact business in "bad" articles, and those who delayed to give up their heretical faith and who were dealers in "bad" commodities. The former were called "good" Sudras whose touch was not impure to a Brāhman and who could be served as priests by good Brāhman, and the latter became "untouchables" in society. On account of other causes* the Kshatriya community, too, had been reduced to Sudra status in Bengal. Hence the dictum has obtained currency that in the Kali age there exist only two *varṇas*, Brāhman and Sudra. The result is that many castes in Bengal to-day are regarded as belonging to the Sudra *varṇa* whose forefathers were of higher orders. They abandoned the use of the sacred thread either through the influence of Buddhism and Jainism or through compulsion by Brāhman and Brāhmanical princes on the strength of the above dictum after the fall of the Buddhist Pāla Kings. Gradually other rules of conduct fit for the Sudra, such as thirty days' impurity and offering of uncooked food to deities, were fastened on them. If any one ventured to resist he was assigned a still lower status in society as an "untouchable" Sudra.

The origin of the Sāhā caste in Bengal is obscure. Moreover, it is not clear what were the goods in which they traded. Some say that they were dealers in paddy and rice only, but the genealogical records of some Sāhā families show that they dealt in spices and precious stones as well. A caste of rice-dealers is very rarely mentioned in the Dharmashāstras. Neither in the Brihaddharma Purāna nor in the Brahmavaivarta Purāna which contain fairly exhaustive lists of castes in Bengal about five or six centuries ago is there any reference to the Sāhā or Sādhu caste. In the Vallācharitam the rice-dealers are called not Sāhās or Sādhus but Tandulinas, who are ranked as "good" Sudras (Ch. XIX, 6). It is strange that an important community like the existing Sāhā caste in Bengal is not even mentioned in old literature as distinguished from the recognised mercantile groups like the Gandhabaniks, Suvarṇabaniks, Sankhabaniks, etc. This fact may lend force to those who argue that the Sāhās were in the past the same as the Shundis, whose name is frequently met with in the books referred to above, though some of them might not be following the profession of a liquor-seller. There is evidence, however, that at least some of the Sāhā families have not originated from the Sundi caste.

Unlike some other castes of Bengal, the Sāhās have not invented any story of the immigration of a number of families from the west *at one time* from whom all the members of the Sāhā caste claim their descent. This makes their old genealogical records more trustworthy from the historian's point of view. The Kulakārikā of the Sāhā Tāmolin family of Kirtikholā in the district of Pabna contains a tradition that the ancestors of the family came from Western India in the time of Emperor Asoka. One of the genealogical books of the Sāhā community, the Laghujātichandrikā, states that a number of Vaisya trading families being unable to endure the oppression of Emperor Shahjehan left his capital and scattered in different directions. One batch found their way into Bengal and settled in the Varendra country. The Prāmāniks of Belkuchi, on the other hand, trace their residence in Bengal from at least as early as the time of the Sena Kings. A number of Sāhā families of Sylhet claim descent from Vaidya and Kāyastha ancestors during the reign of King Subidnārāyana in the sixteenth century A.D. These facts prove that the present Sāhā caste is not homogeneous, but contains an admixture of blood from different communities and from different parts of India. There are many families who are known not to have a noble origin, but their endeavour is to wipe away their antecedents and not to keep them on record.

It is probable that many Jaina merchants were degraded to Shundi status by Brāhman law-makers during the period of Brāhmanical renaissance in Bengal. Shaundika was a term of abuse which was sometimes applied by bigoted Brāhman to the Jaina. In the Prabodhachandrodaya the Jaina is caricatured as a drunken sot, low-born and vulgar-tongued. The genealogical records of some Sāhā families contain a tradition that at one time the ancestors of most of the Sāhās professed a non-Brāhmanical faith. The long centuries of name-association between the original Shundis and the degraded Jainas are likely to have led to greater intermingling between the two classes with the result that some of the latter sank to the position and occupation of liquor-sellers while some of the former gave up their profession and managed to mix their blood with the Jaina Shundis. When the latter were eventually reconverted into the Brāhmanical creed the name Shundi persisted and since then on account of growing class consciousness there have been attempts from time to time to widen the gulf between the two classes. At the present time even among the recognised Sāhā families of Eastern Bengal whispers are heard that such and such were Shundi in origin and that some others had Shundi connections. That such a controversy about the confusion of Sāhā with Shundi has its roots deep in the past may be gleaned from the family records of the well-known Sāhā Prāmāniks

*Vide the writer's note on Kāyastha.

of Belkuchi. *The allusion therein to the curse pronounced by the sage Shukra upon spirituous liquor (Mahabhārata, Adi, Ch. 76) and the claim that the ancestor of the family, Sályé Sáhá, had nothing to do with liquor but followed the profession of an Arya, raise a suspicion that there were disputes about the matter for which a pronouncement in favour of the party concerned had to be obtained from a certain Sena King.

It is mainly on account of the diverse origins of the Sáhá families of Bengal and of their juxtaposition in relation to the liquor-selling Shundis that there are a comparatively large number of subdivisions in the Sáhá community. The two broad divisions are Várendra and Rádhi, though curiously enough the majority of the Várendra and Rádhi Sáhás are found in the districts of old Vanga or East Bengal. While the Sáhás proper are numerous in Eastern Bengal and few in the western districts, the case is exactly the reverse with the Gandhabaniks and Suvarnabaniks. This geographical distribution of the mercantile communities leads to the supposition that the original differences between the various trading groups were not very great, most of them being regarded as Vaisyas, and that the later differences in status were in a large measure due to the respective part they played in the long conflict between the heretical faiths and revived Brahmanism. Thus it is not unlikely that some of the Sáhás of Eastern Bengal and the Gandhabaniks of Western Bengal may have been descended from a common stock and that the separation took place not more than one thousand years ago. Tradition is not wanting to show that the forefathers of some of the Sáhá families of Eastern Bengal traded in those articles which are nowadays regarded as the monopoly of the Gandhabanik caste.

The Várendra Sáhás on account of their greater solidarity and class consciousness have been trying for a long time to avoid contact with the liquor-selling Shundis, and look down upon the Rádhis who, they state, have received a large admixture of Shundi blood. There are, however, instances known of inter-marriage even in recent times between Várendra and Rádhi, and there are families who are alleged to have once belonged to the Rádhi group but now claim to be Várendra. Their cry which is sometimes heard nowadays that the two sections are not the subdivisions of one caste but two separate castes for which two different names should be used, does not seem reasonable. On that ground the Kayasthas of Sylhet and some other districts, who inter-marry with Vaidyas and Sáhás, would have to be given a new caste name to distinguish them from others who are strictly endogamous. Besides, the territorial names of Várendra and Rádhi to distinguish the two sections, as among the Brahmans and the Kayasthas, indicate that they belong to one caste subdivided into two groups. Further, in many places the Várendra Sáhás and the Rádhi Sáhás are served by the same priests of the Sáhá community.

To distinguish those who are Sáhás by caste from those who only bear the title of Sáhá but belong to other castes, the name Sádhubanik has been suggested for the caste. There may be some objections to this name. In the first place, it was never used to denote any particular caste in the old literature of the country. Secondly, the word Banik meaning a merchant may be joined with a word like Gandha, Sankha, Suvarna, etc., to specify the particular branch of trade in which the Banik is engaged. Sádhu is almost a synonym of Banik unless it means a money-lender only, in which case there is nothing to indicate that the Sádhubaniks are a caste of grain-dealers, as many of them claim to be. Thirdly, if the word Sáhá be objectionable because it is used as a title by others than Sáhás by caste, the same objection applies to the word Sádhu, which is largely used as a title by the Gandhabaniks and others.

Teli and Till.—The term Teli is used in Bengal nowadays to denote two distinct classes of men, one whose profession is trade, and the other associated with oil-pressing. The former class is regarded as belonging to the Navasákha group, whose touch does not pollute a Bráhmaṇa's drinking water and whose priests are "good" Bráhmaṇas, while the oilmen are treated as an unclean caste whom ordinary Bráhmaṇas would not serve as priests. The latter are often called Kalits from the name of the oil-mill to mark the distinction between the two classes of Telis. This distinction has been in existence for several centuries as we find reference to two castes, Tailika and Tailakáraka, in the Brihaddharma Purána (Uttara, X, 38, 41), the Tailika being classed as a good mixed caste who lived by selling betel-nut, and the Tailakáraka or oil-extractor being called an unclean caste. The Brahmavaivarta Purána (Brahma, X, 18), too, places the Tailakáraka in the group of unclean castes.

It is not an uncommon phenomenon in Hindu society for a section of a caste, generally of a lower order, to abandon their traditional caste profession adopting one which is regarded as "nobler" by Bráhmaṇa law-writers, and gradually form a caste of their own separate from the parent stock. We know how the Sadgopas, Cháshi Kaivartas, Madhu-nápitás, and Cháshadhópás have come to form distinct castes in Bengal. It seems that the Teli traders have originated by a similar process from the oilman caste, though this separation must have begun

*The quotation is as follows :—

तथाहि सेनराजोवाच—

इत्यजगुरुशापान्ते राजिका कृषिकारुडि ।

वारिन्द्रा अयार्धधर्मैव विशद्रेव न संशय ।

सैत्यस्य सौकुलइव सात्ये साहा वभूव ह ।

साधुत्वसा जगद्विद्यः धर्मनिष्ठा परा गतिः ।

This is the reading of Mahamahopadhya Dr. Bhagvat Kumar Goswami Shastrī from the original manuscript.

several centuries ago. The very name Teli as is used in Bengali or Tailika as written in the Brihaddharma Purāna is suggestive of such an origin. The trading Telis have sought to distinguish themselves from the oil-pressing Telis by adopting a comparatively newly-coined word Tili, which, however, is not recognised by the other castes in general. The word was not known to the old lexicographers, Sanskrit or Bengali, and obviously cannot be derived from the word Tulā or weighing scales. The weighing scales are not a monopoly of the betel-dealers in Bengal as the Tilis claim to be in their origin. Of course, there are tribal names like Jhalla, Bhila, Khasa, etc., which do not lend themselves to derivation in an intelligible way from Sanskrit roots but this is not the case in general with functional names, like Gandhika, Tailika, Rajaka, Charmaka, etc. Nobody has yet suggested that Tili comes from the name of any aboriginal tribe or is a word borrowed from foreign vocabulary.

Though in comparatively recent times Tailika has come to mean a different caste from Tailakāraka, it was not so in earlier times. About two thousand years ago Tailika (Vishnu-smṛiti II; Manu III, 158) was one of the degraded communities like the wine-sellers, washermen, etc., whose food could not be taken by a Bráhmaṇa and there is no indication that it denoted anything else than the oilman. Kulluka commenting on the above passage of Manu gives the meaning of Tailika as an oil-presser and evidently was not aware of any secondary meaning. The later difference between Tailika and Tailakāraka was an artificial one devised to mark the distinction in profession between the two sections of the same caste. A plausible theory is that one section became dealers in Tila or sesamum seed from which oil was extracted and the other section remained as the extractors of oil. Now as industries fell into lower estimation than trade on account of the growing contempt of the conquering Aryans for menial labour and the increasing association with Sudra or slave labour in the industries, and other causes (*vide* the writer's *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. I, pp. 97-101), the trading Tailikas rose higher in social status than the oil-pressing Tailikas or Tailakāraka. This was a development which occurred only in Bengal where owing to the absence of the intermediate Kshatriya and Vaisya *varṇas* various classifications had to be devised to meet the claims of many functional groups. But how the betel-nut trade fell to the portion of the Tailikas in the time of the Brihaddharma Purāna is not known. At any rate it was a later acquisition as otherwise some more appropriate word than Tailika would have been chosen to denote the sellers of Gubāka or betel-nut. The Tailikas afterwards gradually extended their field of business and nowadays are to be found trading in various articles other than sesamum-seed and betel-nut. If any Vaisya order be recognised in the social organisation of Bengal the Tilis from their mode of living, their profession and their connection as disciples with the Bráhmaṇas of the land may well claim to belong to it.

APPENDIX IV

A note on the indigenous dances of Bengal

The following notes have been supplied by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., who has been responsible for arousing an interest in dances of this kind which has led to their adoption by the Education Department as a form of physical exercise for school instruction. The dances described by Mr. Dutt seem to be of aboriginal or of Vaishnava origin, and before accepting his conclusion that the Raibishe dance for instance is a martial exercise it would be desirable to examine the dances described in comparison with tribal dances amongst the people with racial affinities to the castes now performing them, and to dispose of the possibility that the dances themselves are merely the linear descendants of the original tribal festival dances. Mr. Dutt's descriptions, however, are the only ones of which I know and are of interest not only in themselves but also as suggesting lines of further comparative study, whilst it is clearly an admirable thing that a form of recreation should be popularised which provides physical exercise through dance-forms free of the associations commonly attaching to dancing in Bengal.

Note on the folk-dances of Bengal by G. S. Dutt, I.C.S.

Jāri.—The Jāri dance and song is prevalent in some of the Eastern Bengal districts, particularly Mymensingh, and is confined to Muslim villagers.

The dancing and singing are performed by a group of adults who usually form themselves into a ring; there is a precentor—the *Boyati*, as he is called, who leads the song from outside the ring. All the dancers except the *Boyati*, wear sounding bells round their ankles, and as the *Boyati* sing they mark time with their left feet and then take up the song in chorus. Vigorous movement is not commenced till after the song has progressed to a climax. The scheme of dancing lends itself to an infinite variety. The simplest and most common is that in which the dancers as they stand in the ring with their faces inwards, make a light hop on their left feet, and simultaneously raise the right feet in a sharp sideways kick to the right. They repeat this movement round and round in a ring formation at the same time waving the red handkerchiefs which they carry in their right hands with sharp downward movements of the hands: Then they step back into their original position. All the time they hold the ends of their wearing cloths—*dhoties*, in their left hands. At times the dancers, while keeping up the ring formation, form themselves into pairs, the two dancers of each pair stand face to face and step simultaneously forwards and backwards and then step past each other forming themselves in to form fresh pairs with their neighbours.

There are various other complicated schemes of dancing which, as well as the simpler ones, are remarkable for perfect symmetry and rhythm, the briskness of footwork and the vigour of body and arm movements.

The songs sung either have reference to the tragic historical events in the desert of Karbala in Arabia connected with the life of Imam Hussain, as the meaning of the word "Jāri" (mourning) indicates, or breathe sentiments of religious harmony and goodwill. The tunes are melodious and pathetic and constitute a very suitable vehicle for the expression of the sentiments of the songs.

The *Jāri* dances and songs are associated with the annual *Moharram* festivals of the Muslims and an air of religious solemnity attaches to them.

Baul.—The *Baul* song and dance are confined to the Hindus and may be found in all parts of Bengal. The singing and dancing are performed either solo or in groups to the accompaniment of the *Ektara* or the *Ānandalahari* (popularly known as the *Gabgubāgub*) and in some cases, the *karatāli* and the *Dubki* as well.

The *Baul* dance, while lacking the variety of formations appertaining to the *Jāri* dance, has many points of similarity with it. Its most striking feature is a spirit of joyous abandon and a fluidity of rhythmic movement which is in complete accord with the sentiments of the songs.

The word "Baul" means "mad", that is "mad after the eternal spiritual truth". And the songs invariably preach the unreality of mundane existence and their message is that of religious toleration and universal brotherhood.

Baul dancing and singing are not associated with any particular occasion or festivity, and are performed sometimes as a pastime for the performers themselves, but more often as a profession for earning a livelihood.

Kāthi.—The *Kāthi* dance and song is practised in Birbhum by the so-called depressed sections of the Hindu society and mainly by the Bauris.

An even number of men—usually adults—dance to the accompaniment of the *Mādal*. They stand in a circle each carrying two short sticks—one in either hand. The man who plays on the *Mādal* remains outside the ring and sometimes at its centre. At the commencement the dancers sing in chorus and each keeps on hitting the left hand stick with the right hand one at regular intervals and in perfect time. Then, as the dance begins each alternate dancer forms a pair with his right hand neighbour and strikes with his left hand stick the right hand stick of his partner on his right. Each man then strikes his left hand stick with the right hand one. Different pairs are then formed—those who formed pairs with their right hand neighbours now form pairs with the left hand neighbours, and strike the left hand sticks of their partners with their own right hand ones. The process is repeated and all the while the dancers keep moving

along the ring in an anti-clockwise direction. The whole system is in accordance with a simple but regular and symmetrical scheme ; the steps are brisk and graceful and the body movements are very lively and in entire unison with the sound of the sticks which produce a pleasing rhythmic effect. The scheme includes many variations of which the most interesting is that in which a player falls flat on the ground on his back as if wounded, and yet keeps on dancing round and round in that position, striking his sticks against those of his neighbours who keep up the round progression of the ring.

In its origin it was very likely a war dance and the sticks are symbolised swords and shields. The fashion in which the sticks are wielded indicates parrying with swords.

The songs sung with this dance are simple ditties dealing with the simple joys and sorrows of the peasants and often striking a pathetic note.

The name is obviously derived from the fact that the dancing is performed with *kāthi* (sticks) in hand.

The *kāthi* dance and song are not associated with any particular occasion or ceremony and the players perform them both as a pastime for themselves and for the edification of the spectators.

Rāibeshe.—Of all forms of folk dance in Bengal the Rāibeshe is undoubtedly the most interesting. It is found in some of the Western Bengal districts, e.g., Birbhum, Burdwan and Murshidabad. It is practised by the *Bāuris* and the *Domes* of the Hindu community.

The dancing is performed by a group of men to the accompaniment of the *Dhol* (a type of indigenous drum) and the *Kānsi* (gong). The dancers wear brass anklets called *Nupurs* on their right legs and are usually adults though they occasionally include youths of tender age. This dance is one of the manliest and most vigorous folk dances extant in any country in the world and is marked by a remarkable dignity, orderliness and rhythm. The scheme of dancing is absolutely free from all traces of effeminacy and vulgarity, and displays a high order of symmetry and an innate sense of discipline in the dancers.

The dancing is punctuated by occasional yells, and the whole atmosphere is one of warlike excitement. But with all the vigour and virility introduced into the dancing, and the excitement under which it is performed, there is that restraint which is the criterion of all true art.

The dancing takes various forms and is in the nature of military exercises. At times the performers stand in a file or form a column and press forward with a singular orderliness ; at times again, they form a ring and with slightly bended knees, hop forward alternately joining and extending the knees imitating the gesture and movement of a horseman. The movements are such that all the muscles of the body are brought into prominence and play during the dance. Sometimes the dance is performed in pairs, one man supporting another on his shoulder, the dancer on the ground performing the usual movements of the dance while the dancer on his shoulder also performs the same movements with his arms and hands in a standing posture.

The dancing has as its counterpart a complete system of acrobatics which are remarkable for dignity, and the daring, valour and artistic grace with which they are executed, and which, like the dancing itself, are performed to the accompaniment of rhythmic beats of the *Dhol* and the stirring gong of the *Kānsi*.

From its nature it seems obvious that the *Rāibeshe* was a war dance in its origin. The *Rāibeshes* appear to have been the spearmen in the infantry of ancient Bengal from the earliest times ; and references have been found to *Rāibeshe* soldiers in ancient Bengali literature.

In "Kabikankan Chandī," an epic poem of Mukunda Ram Chakrabarty who lived from 1544 to 1608 A.D., the following passages occur :—

(1) বাজন হুপূর পার, বীর ঘটা পাইক ধায়,
রায় বাঁশা ধায় ধরশান ।

(1) "Footmen with bells round their waists and sounding anklets round their ankles press on—the *Rāibeshes* also rush forward."

(This passage occurs in the description of King Shalibahan's march.)

(2) বাজন হুপূর পার, বীর মুঠা পাইক ধায়
রায় বাঁশ ধরে ধরশান ।

(2) "Footmen with sounding anklets march on with closed fists, the *Rāibeshes* carry their *Rāibansh* (lances) in their hands."

(3) সোণার হুপূর পার, বীর বেরাপাকে ধায়
রায় বাঁশ ধরে ধরশান ।

(3) "The *Rāibeshes* wearing golden anklets march with great speed in rings and circular formation, and carry their *Rāibansh* (lances) in their hands."

[These two passages occur in the description of the march of the King of Kalinga which then included the southern part of Rarh Country (West Bengal) and Orissa.]

(4) শত শত বাজে ঢাক, পাইক ধায় লাখে লাখ,
কার কেহ নাহি শুনে বাণী ।
রায় বাঁশ তবকী, ফরিকাল ধায়ুকী,
আগুদলে কনক নিশাণী ॥

(4) "Thousands of battle drums are beating, millions of footmen rush forward ; in the turmoil of battle nobody pays any heed to others ; the *Rāibeshes*, musketeers and archers participate in the struggle, the golden standard bearers go ahead."

(5) যুগলী করিয়া, ধায় রায় বাঁশিয়া,
কেহ ধায় কিগারে নেজা ।

(5) "The *Rāibeshes* form themselves into rings and press forward, some brandish their javelins as they advance."

[These two passages occur in the description of the conquest of Guzrat by the King of Kalinga, which then included the present Rarh Country (West Bengal) and Orissa.]

The following passage is found in "Annada Mangal", a poetical work of Bharat Chandra Rai Gunakar, a famous Bengali Poet who lived from 1712 to 1760 A.D. In describing Raja Mansingh's expedition in the 16th century against Protapaditya of Jessore, the poet writes :

- (6) আগে চলে লালপোষ খাস-বরপার ।
সিপাই সকলে চলে কাতারে কাতার ॥
তবকী ধাঙ্গকী ঢাগী রায় বেশে মাল ।
দকাদার জমাদার চলে সদীয়াল ॥
- (6) "Soldiers in red uniforms and the personal guards (of the Raja) march ahead in columns. Musketeers, archers, shieldmen, *Rāibeshes*, Mals (probably soldiers recruited from Mallabhumī in Bankura) and cavalry men follow."

The passage quoted below is from Ram Prasad Sen Kabiranjan who lived from 1718 to 1775 :—

- (7) কোটি কোটি তীরন্দাজ,
যেথা বিকে একন্দাজ,
রায় বাশে কেহ নহে টুটা ।
- (7) "There are millions of expert archers who never miss their mark and there are the *Rāibeshes* who are not behind-hand in the use of their *Rāibansh* (spears)."

The next passage is from "Dharma Mangal", a famous Bengali book by Manik Ganguly who lived from 1694 to 1748. The passage occurs in the description of the court of a Raja in the 11th century.

- (8) রায় বেশে রাউত বসেছে রণসাজে ।
- (8) "*Rāibeshes* and cavalry soldiers are assembled in martial uniforms."

The following passage is from "Dharma Mangal" of Ghanaram Chakrabarty who lived in the latter part of the 17th century. The passage occurs in the description of the scene of attack of Maynagarh by Mahamada Patro in the 11th century :—

- (9) রনভূয়া, মল্লভূয়া, মগধ মগধ মিয়া,
এক লক্ষ সেনা সঙ্গে ধায় ।
ধাঙ্গকী বাছকী ঢাগী, রায়বেশে ফারিকালি,
রাহত মাহত সমুদায় ॥
- (9) "The Ranabhuya and Mallabhuya soldiers (probably recruits from Ranabhumi and Mallabhumī), soldiers from Magadha (modern Behar), archers, musketeers, *Rāibeshes*, soldiers on chargers and elephants,—altogether a hundred thousand strong march forward."

The name *Rāibesheshe* was applied to the lancers the handles of whose weapons were made from a particular kind of tough bamboo called *Rāi* (king) *Bānsh* (bamboo).

The *Rāibeshes* were soldiers in ancient days and their dance was a war dance, but in recent years the only demand for these dances was on the occasion of weddings in Hindu families. With the decline in public taste in this country, dancing as a martial and manly art and as a vehicle for the expression of pure joy fell into disfavour, and the *Rāibeshes* dancers, who belong to what is called the lower and depressed classes of society, and who, being in a state of poverty and semi-starvation, were obliged to cater to a corrupted public taste, grew long hair and adopted women's dress as their dancing apparel. In consequence of this, their style of dancing underwent, in many instances, a regrettable deterioration, inasmuch as it often became distinctly effeminate and sometimes suggestive of vulgar ideas, in imitation of "nautch" girls. But fortunately this deterioration has not been universal and a few troupes of *Rāibeshes* dancers are still to be found who have preserved the old traditional dance in its purity of style and manliness of form. The degree of corruption and degeneration is to my mind directly proportional to the length of time that has intervened between their military ancestors and the present day dancers. And this view receives support from the fact that the *Rāibeshes* dancers of Rajnagar and the neighbouring villages in Birbhum where a line of Muslim kings reigned till comparatively recent times, have been found to have completely escaped the degrading influences.

It may be mentioned that according to a competent observer the *Khuttack* dance of the Pathan soldiers bears some similarity to the *Rāibesheshe* dance.

Other folk dances of Bengal are the *Kirtan Dance* practised by Hindu villagers of all classes in connection with the worships attached to the Krishna cult and the Chaitanya cult; the incense dance and *avalār* dance of Faridpur (which are ritual dances), the *sloka* dance of Faridpur, the *jhumur* dance of West Bengal and the *vrata* dances still practised by Hindu women even of the highest and most respectable castes, particularly in East Bengal on the occasion of festivals, weddings, and rituals or "vratas."

ANNEXURE

The Sadhubaniks

The Sadhubaniks represented their case to Government. While Government do not intend to give any authoritative decision on the point it has been decided that the grounds of their claim which have been vouched for by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Bhagabat Kumar Shastri, M.A., PH.D., who was consulted should be noted in the annexure. It may, however, be noted that Mr. Bhagirath Chandra Das, Secretary of the Baishya Saha Mahashabha, contends that all the Sahas as distinct from the Sunris should be known as Baishya Sahas and that the sections who claim to be Sadhubaniks are not really distinct.

The Sadhubaniks rest their claims on the following among other grounds :—

(1) The term "Saha" was used to designate a profession and not a caste or sub-caste. Thus there have been Saha-Sankhabaniks, Saha Gandhabaniks and even Saha Telis. There are analogous cases in other spheres. Compare the use of the title Goswami. There are Brahmin Goswamis and Vaidya Goswamis and even the Brahmin Goswamis belong to many different sub-castes and classes, the Rahris, the Barendras, the Baidik, the Srotriyas and Kulins. Again designations such as Roy, Dutt, etc., do not signify a particular caste or sub-caste. There are Brahmin Roys, Vaidya Roys, Teli Roys, Brahmin Dutts (e.g., in the Upper India) Kayastha Dutts, Suvarnabanik Dutts, Gandhabanik Dutts.

(2) The Sadhu Banik Sahas settled in Barendra as is indicated by the designation Sadhu Banik Barendra Sahas. Other Saha families also settled in the Rahr and Barendra and have therefore been called Rahri or Barendra Sahas but it does not follow that all the Saha families belong to one Saha community of the same caste. If the Sadhu Banik Barendra Sahas had belonged to the same caste stock as the other Barendra Saha families there would have been inter-marriage which is not the case.

(3) Though this sub-caste does not observe the characteristic rules of the Vaishyas, namely, the investiture ceremony and the recitation of the Gayatri to which the twice-born castes are admitted, the reason is found in the degradation of all non-Brahmin castes which was decreed about a thousand years ago by reascendant Brahmanism specially in Bengal, echoes of which are heard in the interpolated texts of the Smritis : "Juge jaghanye Dwejati Brahuana Sudra Eba Cha" "যুগে জঘন্যে দেজাতী ব্রাহ্মণঃ শূদ্র এবচ" "there are in this accursed age only two castes, Brahmin and Sudra". Thus Sudra practices were authoritatively enjoined in the case of all non-Brahmins, including the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. Add to this that the other twice-born castes, namely, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas themselves discarded some of their cherished caste privileges so much so that when the Sen Kings were reigning in Bengal, the twice-born non-Brahmins were practically indistinguishable from the Sudras. Even the Brahmins of Bengal were hardly recognisable as Brahmins. The whole story of Adisura and the five Brahmins points this way and the prevalence of Buddhism and Jainism in those days accounts to a great extent for degeneracy and degradation of the twice-born castes in Bengal. Hence, if the Sadhu Baniks were originally Vaisyas the discontinuance of Vaisya rites only signifies that they lost or surrendered some of their rights under a new Brahmanical ukase and partly under Buddhistic and Jaina influences.

(4) The positive evidence for their Vaisya origin is—

- (a) The distinctive title of Sadhu Banik which is still retained. Their old family horoscopes show them to be "Sadhukulodbhaba" "সাধুকুলোদ্ভব" "sprung from the Sadhu family". Sadhu means a Vaisya who specially carries on the money-lending business, which is their traditional profession.
- (b) They have kept themselves completely separated communally from the Rahri or Barendra Sahas.
- (c) The evidence of the "Salhe Saha" inscription proves that their ancestor Salhe Saha was a Vaisya.
- (d) They have retained their purity of habits and have always been noted for their religious disposition.

Thus, though they do not claim to have observed all the Vaisya rites through the ages they claim recognition of their Vaisya origin.