

Census of India, 1931

VOL. I—INDIA

Part I—Report

by

J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E., D.Sc., F.A.S.B.,

Corresponding Member of the Anthropologische Gesellschaft of Vienna



To which is annexed

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by

L. S. Vaidyanathan, F. I. A.

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Simla, the 4th June 1933.

To

The Hon'ble Sir HARRY HAIG, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council,
Simla.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit herewith a report on the census of India taken in February 1931. The reports and tables prepared for individual Provinces and States have already been published, since the necessary material is available in detail provincially before it can be compiled for the whole of India. These provincial and state volumes will be found to deal in particular with points which I have been able only to treat in general, and the method I have followed for the most part has been to examine for myself the figures for India as a whole and then to turn to the provincial reports to point a moral or adorn the tale, but the conclusions formed and the opinions expressed are my own.

This India volume consists of five parts, (i) my report (together with that of the actuary, Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan), (ii) the statistical tables for India, (iii) a collection of papers of ethnographical interest, (iv) the social and linguistic maps for India and the Provinces bound separately and (v) an administrative report, the two latter volumes being intended primarily for departmental use. In submitting it, it is my fortunate duty to bring formally to your notice the able series of the 1931 Census Reports already mentioned, which are numbered indeed after this volume but have appeared before it. I have therefore the honour to recommend with confidence to your perusal not this report but the other twenty-seven, and to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. H. HUTTON,
Census Commissioner for India.

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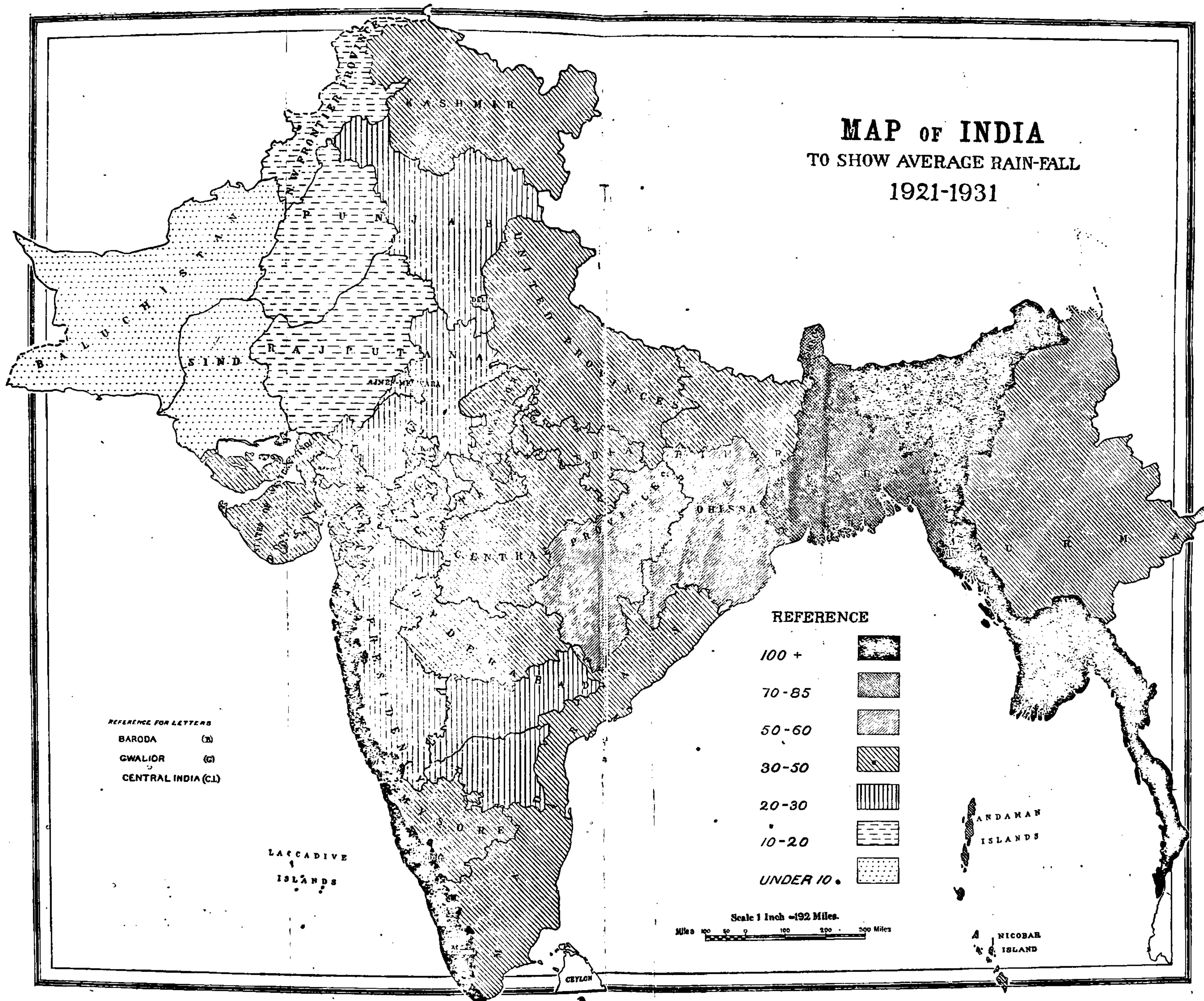
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MAP OF INDIA

TO SHOW AVERAGE RAIN-FALL

1921-1931



REFERENCE FOR LETTERS
 BARODA (B)
 GWALIOR (G)
 CENTRAL INDIA (C.I.)

REFERENCE

- 100 +
- 70-85
- 50-60
- 30-50
- 20-30
- 10-20
- UNDER 10.

Scale 1 Inch = 192 Miles.

Miles 100 50 0 100 200 300 Miles

ANDAMAN ISLANDS

NICOBAR ISLAND

Ceylon

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INTRODUCTION.

At the very outset of this Report I find it incumbent on me to depart from precedent and to begin with acknowledgments, first of all, as is fit, to the people of India themselves whose good sense, good citizenship and general co-operation made the taking of the census possible, but most of all perhaps to that great body of some two million unpaid enumerators by whom the census was actually taken and without whom it could not have been taken, many of whom were out of pocket by the taking and many of whom carried out their work under circumstances of opposition, interference and general unpopularity. The greatest credit is due to them, and that, and a *sanad* of printed paper, is the only reward that most of them have had. The taking of the pecennial census in India involves the co-operation of more than one-sixth of the world's population over an area of nearly two million square miles in a combined response to organised enquiry, and the expense would be prohibitive if all the services rendered were paid. Moreover enumerators' duties were often as onerous physically as they frequently were morally. While city enumerators had generally to take larger blocks than usual since enumerators were harder to come by, those in rural areas often had to cover long distances; in Baluchistan the average enumerator had a block of 836 square miles (in the tribal areas 1,460) in which to find his fifty houses, as a 'village' was often a moving encampment of two or three tents with an average area of 36 square miles to itself.

Acknowledgments are due likewise to the other links in the chain of organisation. Supervisors, Charge Superintendents, District Census Officers, District Magistrates are all part of the necessary machinery and no whit less essential than the enumerator, and in their case the census came as an extra—a piece of gratuitous and troublesome overtime work added to their usual duties in many places already onerous and trying above the ordinary by reason of political agitation. For this census like that of 1921 had the misfortune to coincide with a wave of non-co-operation, and the march of Mr. Gandhi and his *contrabandistas* to invest the salt-pans of Dharasana synchronized with the opening of census operations. The blessing which he gave to the census at the last minute in 1921 was this time wanting, and, though he himself is not known to have issued any advice to boycott the census, it seemed good to some other Congress leaders to do so, as, although they do not seem to have regarded a census as objectionable in itself, the opportunity for harassing government seemed too good to be missed, and January 11th, 1931, was notified by the Congress Committee to be observed as Census Boycott Sunday. This boycott was not, however, taken up with any real enthusiasm and, except in the Gujarat cities of Ahmadabad, Broach and Surat and some smaller municipalities like Ghatkopar and Villaparle, had very little ultimate effect on the taking of the census; but the petty annoyances, resignations and interferences with the preparations for final enumeration very greatly increased the work, the responsibilities and the anxieties of local officers in charge of census work, including as they did not only revenue officers of all grades and village schoolmasters but police, magistrates, paid and honorary, railway officials, forest officers, port officers, ministerial officers in government offices, municipal officers and many others. On the other hand no less trouble was caused in some places by an excess of the zeal on the part of all parties to register as many adherents as possible in view of the possibility of a communal franchise based on the census returns. This was particularly the case in the Punjab, where the exterior castes, badgered first by one party then by another to return themselves as Sikhs, Hindus or Muslims as the case might be, labelled themselves *Ad Dharmi*, or adherents of the original religion, and so added to the number of religions returned in the census schedules. So high did feeling run over the return of religion in the Punjab that disputes as to whether a man was Ad Dharmi or Sikh led to a number of affrays and at least to one homicide. Politics were also troublesome in the borders of Orissa where a pan-Oriya propaganda, carried on to an extent calculated to frustrate its own purposes, engendered a corresponding counter-propaganda, all detrimental to census taking. Special measures were needed in Madras and much additional work caused to the Superintendent of that province and in a less degree also to the Superintendents of

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces. Other provinces experienced the usual difficulties that attend census taking in India. In one the Bhils for instance would not have their houses numbered on superstitious grounds, while in Burma householders objected on artistic grounds. In the Shan States the thirteenth and last survivor of a pre-annexation raid happened to occupy the thirteenth house in a block. As the enumerator inconsiderately refused to rearrange the numbers, he decided that his was up indeed, went forth into the jungle and committed harakiri. In less law-abiding places the disposition was rather towards disembowelling the enumerator than the enumerated, while the effacing of census numbers was a minor difficulty that was particularly troublesome in 1931. Here and there wild beasts interfered instead of wild men, and the Administrator of Bastar State, when inspecting census work on the night itself, was attacked by a tiger, which sprang on to the bonnet of his car, but finding the pace and the radiator too hot for him failed to make an end either of the inspector or his inspection.

Difficulties notwithstanding, the census was taken at the appointed time and a complete return was received from all places except Ahmadabad in Gujarat. The returns for some other towns in Gujarat, *e.g.*, Broach and Surat, were probably defective, but, as received from the municipalities concerned, were ostensibly correct. In the case of Ahmadabad the census was not completed and the number actually enumerated was estimated to be some seventy-five to seventy-six thousand short of the real total; according to the census since taken by the Ahmadabad Municipality itself the deficiency was nearly the double of my estimate. In Burma a rebellion broke out between the preliminary and the final enumeration. It interfered with the latter in at least one district but with the former hardly at all. In the Census Abstract published for Parliament I based my estimates of the error caused in the census enumeration by Congress activities on the very carefully estimated error worked out by the Census Superintendent of Bombay for that province which came to $\cdot 04$ per cent.; this I doubled for the whole of India arriving at a maximum deficiency of $\cdot 085$ per cent. in the Indian figures. If the Ahmadabad Municipality return be accepted and the deficiency be re-calculated accordingly the error still works out at only $\cdot 1$ per cent. for the total population of India. This of course refers to any deficiency caused by the clash of politics with the census. Other inaccuracies, whatever the amount, are likely to be fairly constant from census to census; the error in the numerical count has been put at a maximum of one per mille and is probably less. The Census Commissioner in 1921 estimated the percentage of error in recording sex and religion at about one per cent.; I doubt myself if it is nearly as high as this, but otherwise his estimates probably hold good of this census also. Owing to the Sarda Act however there has been a definite decrease of accuracy in the record of civil condition, and I estimate the error in this respect to be not less than $\cdot 5$ per cent. and probably higher. Fortunately it seems possible to allocate with safety at least the greater part of this error to deliberately inaccurate returns of 'unmarried' instead of 'married' for girls married during 1931 in contravention of the age-limits imposed by the Marriage Restraint Act. Error in classification after the return has been made is quite a different thing from error in record and it is extremely difficult to form any estimate of its extent. The entries in the schedules are copied on to slips, omitting the block, circle and charge numbers and of course the personal names, and are then sorted into sets of labelled pigeon-holes and counted for the figures which constitute the tables. Different colours are used for different religions and each slip is stamped or printed with a symbol to denote sex. These symbols in 1931 were amplified by hand to signify civil condition. It was found quicker to add to the symbol than to have previously marked symbols from which the correct one had to be selected, a course which involved a choice of six according to sex and civil condition for each individual slip. Probably also the practice of altering by hand involves less error than that of selection when the tendency will be for the copyist, who must turn out a minimum number of slips and is paid in part at any rate by outturn, to fill up the wrong slip rather than to waste time by changing it when wrongly selected. In any case there is room for error in slip copying and for error again in sorting, though careful supervision at both stages may keep it down to a very small margin. A certain difficulty and anomaly was also introduced into tabulation by the fact that the Burma figures were tabulated on a different system from that followed in India proper. The method of tabulating by religion has never been found very suitable in Burma and on this occasion was abandoned for tabulation by race in the interests

of that province, but at the cost of some inconsistencies in the presentation of the India figures.

This digression on error has led me aside before making my acknowledgments to the census officers of provinces and states, of whom a list will be found in Chapter I. It seemed to me that their work as a whole was admirable. Several had special difficulties Captain Mallam in the North-West Frontier Province, Mr. Turner in the United Provinces, Mr. Porter in Bengal and Mr. Shoobert in the Central Provinces all experienced difficulties in organising their enumeration on account of political agitation; and Khan Sahib Ahmad Hasan Khan in the Punjab had his trouble when the actual enumeration took place; even in Delhi his enumerators found their house numbers obliterated and their movements obstructed. Mr. Dracup in Bombay had to contend with the most difficult and troublesome situations of all on account of the anti-census campaign in Gujarat. Bombay has a bad reputation for breaking the health of her Census Superintendents. The first Superintendent in 1911 broke down after the enumeration was over and the early death of the 1921 Superintendent must be imputed at any rate in part to the strain of that census. Mr. Dracup managed to carry on till the compilation was almost finished and his reports begun (for the Bombay post involved writing two additional reports, one for the Western India States Agency, the other for the Bombay Cities), but his health could not stand it; he suffered the chagrin of being beaten on the post, and had to make over his material to Mr. Sorley. More provinces than usual were handicapped by similar changes. In Bihar and Orissa Mr. Scotland's health broke down very early in the operations and his work was taken over by Mr. Lacey who had a very uphill task indeed to get his census to synchronize, as he came in at a critical stage which found him unfamiliar with the early part of the work and at which the preparations for enumeration had fallen sadly into arrears as the inevitable result of Mr. Scotland's ill-health. In the North-West Frontier Province Captain Mallam lasted like Mr. Dracup till his report was part written; at the earlier stages he was more than once taken away from his census work for administrative ends and but for these diversions would probably have finished single-handed; as it was, Mr. Dundas had like Mr. Sorley the difficult task of writing a report on a census of which he had seen nothing but the materials collected in the course of operations in which he had taken no part at all. Mr. Shoobert in the Central Provinces and Berar was likewise hampered by being abstracted from his census work for administrative necessities for an inconveniently long period at an early stage of the operations and was delayed by illness towards their close. Rai Bahadur Anant Ram in Kashmir had the disadvantage of not having been in charge of the census from the start of operations and Khan Bahadur Gul Muhammad Khan in Baluchistan was taken away before he had finished to be Wazir-i-Azam of Kalat State and had to write his report while performing the onerous duties of his vizierate. Colonel Cole with Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara, Mr. Porter with Bengal and the City of Calcutta and Khan Sahib Ahmad Hasan Khan with the Punjab and Delhi all had two Reports to write instead of one.

Special difficulties were experienced in Madras and in a lesser degree in Assam and also in Bihar and Orissa and more or less in all provinces as a result of the change in system, which actually took place in 1921 but the full effects of which were not experienced until this census, by which all costs were made debitable to the Central Governments. The local expenses of enumeration, including the travelling allowances of all local officers doing census work in addition to their ordinary duties, and including stationery, stamps and so forth required in mofussil operations, had all been charged hitherto to the expenses of general administration, much the most convenient and economical way of dealing with small items extremely difficult to disentangle from others where no separate organisation existed; and owing to their being merged in general administration no separate record of the expenditure was extant. In 1931 the operations were carried out precisely as before and the methods used by local officers at previous censuses were used again. It was not till afterwards that it was discovered that serious liabilities had been incurred in the matter of travelling allowances to meet which no provision had been made in budgetting. District Officers had little enough time to spare for the census in any case, and the general tendency was in many cases to take the position that this was a central charge, let the central authorities see to it. Moreover, many of the claims were submitted at a date

which though admissible for ordinary audit purposes was so long after the journeys had taken place that any check of the claim was made extremely difficult. Mr. Yeatts in Madras received no fewer than 26,000 unanticipated bills for travelling allowances amounting in all to approximately Rs. 3,00,000, many of them claims received during 1932 for journeys undertaken in 1931. Many of these bills contained claims relating to a whole charge or even taluk, and the actual number of personal claims involved was greatly in excess, of course, of the mere total of bills. By subjecting each bill to the strictest personal scrutiny in the light of the actual expenses probably incurred Mr. Yeatts was able to reduce the total actually paid to Rs. 1,30,000, but it was only by ruthlessly cutting down the claims to the amount by which claimants were likely to have been actually out of pocket, a course of action only made possible by the fact that Mr. Yeatts himself had never drawn more than his actual out of pocket expenses when touring, whatever the rules allowed him to draw above that. Both he and Mr. Mullan in Assam must have incurred no little odium in the course of their pruning of travelling allowance bills for the extent and nature of which they were in no way to blame, as they had not even been in a position to prepare their own budgets, since the provincial budgets for the year of enumeration were all prepared by local governments before superintendents took over charge, and there was in any case no separate record of the very considerable sums spent in this way from provincial revenues in 1921.

It was another of the misfortunes of the 1931 census that it coincided with a fall in revenue and a period of economic depression which made the most rigorous economy necessary and which left me no choice but to cut all expenditure as fine as possible and to goad my Census Superintendents unremittingly in an attempt to finish sooner and spend less. Their responses were loyal and whole hearted, and in almost every province the actual cost of the census per head censused has been appreciably reduced, if those items be excluded which never appeared in the accounts of 1921. These items not only included the travelling allowance of local officers, previously debited to general administration and the provincial revenues, as well as stamps, stationery and other items used in district offices and similarly debited, but also included all pay of officers whether Provincial or Imperial who were deputed to the Census Department, as well as their leave pay earned during their census service, passage contributions and so forth. In some cases the budget of this census has even been debited with the leave pay of officers who served the department in 1921 or earlier but not in 1931 at all. Wages had all increased since 1921 and the cost of printing to the census has been enormously enhanced, in some cases by two hundred per cent. or more, as the result of a change in the method of costing. Under the old method the overhead charges were not debited at all to the census when the printing was done, as most of it is, in Government presses. It will be seen at once therefore that a very large part of the increase in the gross cost of the census, approximately Rs. 48,76,000 in 1931 against Rs. 40,00,000 in 1921, is an increase on paper only. As nearly as can be reckoned the actual net expenditure incurred for the 1931 census which is comparable with the expenditure on that of 1921, excluding items not then charged to the census budget, amounts to Rs. 40,13,000, and when this is reduced to the cost per thousand of persons censused, which is the only fair standard of comparison, the 1931 census comes quite creditably through the test having cost only Rs. 12·8 per thousand persons censused as compared to Rs. 14 per thousand in 1921. The cost of the census of England and Wales in 1921 was £9-5-6 per thousand (about Rs. 124 of Indian money) " exclusive of the expenditure on printing, stationery, maps, etc.", the exclusion of which from the costs of the Indian census would reduce the cost per thousand to Rs. 13·3, while the census of Northern Ireland in 1926 cost over £15-6-4 per thousand inclusive of printing, etc., that is Rs. 202 per thousand as compared to India's Rs. 14 inclusive. The census of India therefore is not only by far the most extensive census operation in the world but, besides being one of the quickest, it is probably the cheapest. Even so the cost is no inconsiderable item at a time when the difficulty of restricting expenditure to the limits imposed by dwindling revenue is so difficult that many countries decided to dispense entirely with the census due in 1931 ; and it was therefore necessary to exercise a very parsimonious economy, and I owe to all Census Superintendents and likewise to their administrative, office and compiling staff not only my acknowledgments for their ungrudging co-operation but also my apologies for driving them at a pace

which has admitted of closing down the department some seven months earlier than usual, and for cutting down their estimates to the finest possible margin compatible with reasonable efficiency. The work of a provincial census officer in India, all done against time, against expenditure, and without holidays, is far from the pleasant occupation which its interest would make it were the need for speed and economy less exacting.

In spite of this there has been no falling off in the quality of the reports which well maintain the high standard set by past series. The Andamans and Nicobars Report reflects Mr. Bonington's lifelong acquaintance with the forests of those islands and their say, little-known inhabitants; Colonel Cole brought to the Rajputana volume a knowledge of the Rajputs and their clans acquired not only regimentally but in the course of several years as Recruiting Officer for Rajput battalions; he also showed a commendable despatch and but for his press would have finished even earlier than he did. The other authors of British India Reports are all executive officers in the Imperial or Provincial services and the outlook of the settlement officer is conspicuous among them throughout the series, from Mr. Mullan's lively volume on Assam (also one of the first to be published) to Mr. Turner's exceptionally full and detailed report on the United Provinces. Their several qualities may frequently be inferred from the excerpts given freely in this volume, and where all have reached a high standard it would seem invidious to discriminate. The reports of Messrs. Bonington, Shoobert and Lacey all contain interesting ethnographical material; Mr. Yeatts' particularly well written volume is noticeable for his treatment of infirmities, and Mr. Porter's for a new attack upon the population problem and for an interesting account of the processes of certain decaying rural industries. In Burma and in Bombay Messrs. Bennison and Sorley have brought to the census the experience gained in the study of social and economic questions, and Khan Sahib Ahmad Hasan Khan has opened the volume on Delhi, new to the series, with a conspectus of the capital's historic past. Among the States and Agencies the Rajputana volume has already been mentioned, as also Messrs. Dracup and Sorley's on the Western India States, another new addition to the series, while Mr. Venkatachar has filled in somewhat of a hiatus in the census accounts of the peninsula with his exceptionally interesting report on Central India.

The States that contribute separate volumes pay independently for their own operations and the total cost of their census. Owing to this fact I was fortunate enough to be spared the unpleasant task of reducing budgets, but the exigencies of the India work compelled me in some cases to keep hurrying their Census Commissioners during the compilation stage, and my acknowledgments are due to the latter no less than to the Census Superintendents in British India for their efforts to comply with an impatience which they may well have regarded as untimely, and which must certainly have been inconvenient at any rate to Rai Bahadur Anant Ram in Kashmir, who had to finish off his census at a time of political and economic disturbance with a depleted and inadequate staff. Of the other states' Census Commissioners Mr. Ghulam Ahmed Khan in Hyderabad and Mr. Rang Lal in Gwalior have approached their subject from the administrative points of view like most of the Census Superintendents in British India, Mr. Khan incidentally adding to our knowledge of the Chenchus, while Mr. Venkatesa Iyengar in Mysore has given another detailed account of processes of declining industries. Mr. Sankara Menon in Cochin has written a thoughtful report as an educationist, a calling unrepresented in the British series. In Travancore Dr. Pillai has to his credit an admirably produced report embodying not only a brief economic survey of the state but a good deal of fresh information as to the vanishing tribes and disappearing industries of a state which is so advanced that he was able to make a useful experiment in compilation by the employment, as in Cochin, of women as sorters and slip-copyists, and very efficient they proved. The outstanding report among the states is again that of Mr. Mukerjea on Baroda who is to be congratulated not only on his admirable presentation of material but on the extreme rapidity with which he produced so comprehensive a volume. His previous experience in 1921 has been put to the best account and I have myself taken advantage of it, particularly in the arrangement of fertility figures. He is also responsible for an innovation in enumeration by *billets individuels* which may very well bear much fruit at the next census of India.

To Mr. Trousdell and Mr. Golder of the Government of India Press in Simla I owe both acknowledgments for their patience and despatch, and apologies for

the inconvenience caused by repeated calls for fresh proofs of altered tables, while I have to thank Mr. Carter of the Government of India Press in Delhi as well as Mr. Golder for much very useful advice and assistance. To Colonel A. J. H. Russell, then Public Health Commissioner, I owe the diagrams of vital statistics and information on several points in Chapter VII. To several others, to more indeed than I can mention here, I owe acknowledgments of some kind for advice, information or criticism. Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan of the Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Company, Bombay, who has contributed the most comprehensive actuarial examination of the Indian age returns yet attempted and the life tables based on them, Dr. B. S. Guha of the Anthropological Branch of the Zoological Survey of India, who carried out for this census a detailed anthropometrical survey of certain castes and tribes and who has contributed his valuable analysis of their physical characteristics to the volume of ethnographical appendices, Colonel R. B. Seymour Sewell, Director of the same Department, Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda and Mr. E. J. H. Mackay, both of the Archæological Survey, have all helped me with information and friendly criticism and to Dr. Guha again I owe the drawings of the Bayana, Sialkot and Nal crania that appear in Chapter XII. Mr. Yeatts has added to my obligation to him by his assistance in proof reading.

My final but far from least weighty acknowledgments are due first to my own office, to whose ungrudging co-operation is due the early completion of the report, particularly to the Superintendent Mr. A. R. Chitnis, to whose statistical experience and careful scrutiny of figures must be attributed whatever degree of accuracy their presentation here can claim, to the head compiler, Mr. F. E. Wright and his second Mr. Mulherkar, who are primarily responsible for the compilation of Part II; and then to my predecessors, to Sir Edward Gait in particular, whose work in previous decades has done so much to simplify mine in this. The conception of the social maps was due to a scheme for a population map of India evolved by Colonel Tandy in 1921 and here modified and adapted to suit small scale maps and a high density of population; the idea of the linguistic maps and the record of bilingualism first occurred to me in the course of correspondence with Colonel T. C. Hodson, now Wyse Professor of Anthropology in Cambridge. The German anthropologist, Baron von Eickstedt, suggested a series of maps which would show the population of each village by caste and religion in coloured points of varying shape and size. The system is an admirable one which would if applied to India give a most valuable and interesting record, but the cost of producing series of maps on the large scale necessary to show every village with its inhabitants by castes or tribes was in itself obviously prohibitive, apart from the time and labour involved in compiling the statistics of caste by villages.

A word of apology is due on the contents of this report. The opportunities of a census of India come if at all but once to most of us, and I am only too conscious of opportunity neglected, for I have left undone that which I ought to have done and I have done much less than I should like to have done. *Res angusta civitatis* is my defence; I should be the first to admit it inadequate, but the imperative necessity for a rigid economy made any departure from and still more any enlargement of the known and familiar paths dangerous as well as extremely difficult. As it was, some of the material actually collected in the enumeration schedules had to be left uncopied and unsorted as a measure of retrenchment, and the industrial statistics of 1921 were not attempted; a tally of horsepower, handlooms and mechanical shuttles is hardly a legitimate part of a population census in any case, and the statistics can be just as well collected at another time by the Department of Industries and Labour by means of the circulation of forms unsynchronised with the census schedules. An attempt to collect a return of the educated unemployed on separate schedules was a fiasco, as though large numbers of the schedules were issued very few were received back; the reasons given are various but apathy was probably the prevailing one. Such as they are, both the reasons for the failure and the figures obtained will be found recorded in Chapter IX. The returns of age are probably more accurate than ever before, thanks to the method of treating the figures advocated by Mr. H. G. W. Meikle, as a result of his actuarial examination of the 1921 returns, and adopted for the first time in 1931. On the other hand the figures of urban population in Gujarat and of civil condition must be admitted to be below the previous standard of accuracy, a degeneration due in the one case to Congress activities and in the other primarily to the indirect influence of the Sarda Act, but also perhaps in some degree to the very same change in the method of sorting and

compiling which has so much improved the return of age unqualified by other factors. In any case the treatment of sociological features of the population of India is much prejudiced by the absence of any general or compulsory registration of births, deaths or marriages; an absence which would go far to nullify social legislation such as that implied in the Sarda Act itself, and to which attention was drawn by the Age of Consent Committee. The difficulties of introducing compulsory registration are no doubt great, but it is not easy to see how social legislation can be really effective without it. Nevertheless some attempt has been made at this census to collect figures for the fertility of females of different social standing and of various occupations in the hope of throwing some much needed light on the rate of reproduction in India. These are censorious days and there were not wanting articles in newspapers of the baser sort to suggest that the figures of fertility were being collected with a view to defaming the people of India. It is possible therefore that critics may be found who will conceive that they detect in Chapters III to VI, or elsewhere in this report, the cloven slots of a considered cloacinity. It is of course impossible to discuss the growth of population without any reference to its health. Those determined to see ill motives will be deterred by no denials, but to those who are not I would offer an assurance (which I hope is not needed) that nothing has been set down in malice. In the first five chapters, except for a page or two on the population problem, I have allowed myself to depart as little as possible from the statistics to be examined (no haunts for Apollo here); in Chapter VI the social movements and legislation of the decade have called for a short digression before returning to the figures in Chapters VII, VIII and IX. In the last three Chapters I have frankly permitted myself, after examining the relative figures, to venture aside to a more speculative treatment of race and religion. What was for long the orthodox view of the history of race and culture in India was brilliantly propounded by Sir Herbert Risley in the Census Report of 1901; the work that has been done since makes it probable that there has been a far greater degree of continuity in the pre-history of India than was then supposed, and certain that India was not characterised, as Sir Herbert believed, by racial or cultural isolation. Much work has to be done before any views on these subjects can claim finality, but certain hypotheses may fairly be advanced on the material accumulated since that census. With the exceptions mentioned I have stayed by my statistics, a valley of dry bones it may be, very far from Helicon, and I no Ezekiel to clothe them with flesh, content if I have played the part of Joab to hope that I may at least escape the unhappy recompense meted out to that early numberer of peoples. At any rate I have made no naughty omission of Levi and Benjamin on purpose, and if some of the tale have gone untold they must be few indeed when the increase alone since 1921 numbers nearly thirty four millions. For the Father of History is proved right again. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλῆθος, he said near twenty-four hundred years ago, πλείστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων and this census has justified him indeed, for it can be once more stated with some confidence that 'of all the nations that we know it is India has the largest population'.

Simla,

June 4th, 1933.

J. H. HUTTON.

APPENDIX I.

Exterior Castes.

N.B.—No attempt has been made here to deal with events that have taken place since 1931.

This term for the Hindu castes hitherto known as "depressed" was originally suggested by the Census Superintendent for Assam and has been adopted in this report as the most satisfactory alternative to the unfortunate and depressing label "depressed class". It has been criticised as being the same term as 'outcaste' only of five instead of two syllables, and it must be admitted that 'exterior' is but old 'out' writ large. At the same time it is here submitted that outcaste, with an *e*, has not unnaturally attracted to its connotation the implications of the quite differently derived outcast, with no *e*. Outcaste correctly interpreted seems to mean no more than one who is outside the caste system and is therefore not admitted to Hindu society, but since in practice the exterior castes also contained those who had been cast out from the Hindu social body for some breach of caste rules 'outcaste' and 'outcast' were in some cases synonymous and the derogatory implications of obliquity attaching to the latter term have unjustly coloured the former, a taint which is not conveyed by the substitution of the word 'exterior', which may connote exclusion but not extrusion.

The instructions of the Government of India for the taking of this census concluded with the following enjoinder :—

"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 that connection the following instructions were issued to the various Superintendents of Census Operations in India :—

"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."

A subsequent instruction ran as follows :—

"I have explained depressed castes as castes, contact with whom entails purification on the part of high caste Hindus. 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 inside a school house but have to remain outside or which suffer similar social disabilities. These disabilities vary in different parts of India being much more severe in the south of India than elsewhere. At the same time the castes which belong to this class are generally known and can in most parts of India be listed for a definite area, though perhaps the lists for India as a whole will not coincide."

The question of the preparation of lists for each province was discussed at a meeting of the Superintendents of Census Operations in January 1931 before the census took place. It was agreed that each province should make a list of castes who suffered disability on account of their low social position and on account of being debarred from temples, schools or wells. No specific definition of depressed castes was framed and no more precise instructions were issued to the Superintendents of Census Operations, because it was realised that conditions varied so much from province to province and from district to district, even, within some provinces, that it would be unwise to tie down the Superintendents of Census Operations with too meticulous instructions. The general method of proceeding prescribed was that of local enquiry into what castes were held to be depressed and why and the framing of a list accordingly. It was decided that Muslims and Christians should be excluded from the term "depressed class" and that, generally speaking, hill and forest tribes, who had not become Hindu but whose religion was returned as Tribal, should also be excluded and in the numbers of the exterior castes given below these principles have been followed. A note on the depressed and backward classes in Assam submitted to the Franchise Committee by the Superintendent of Census Operations for that province affords a very clear example of the way in which these principles were intended to be applied and have been applied by Superintendents of Census Operations, and an extract from it is given towards the end of this appendix.

Both for social and political reasons it is obviously necessary to know the number of these classes not only in India as a whole but also in different provinces. The matter is of importance not only with reference to their representation in the body politic, but also with reference to any social work that is to be done towards raising them from their present backward position to one more nearly comparable with that of more advanced social groups.

The Census Commissioner in 1921 (Census of India, Volume I, part I, paragraph 193) gave what he describes as *minimum* numbers of the Depressed Classes in various provinces, making a total of 52,680,000. This figure he states, must be taken as a low estimate, since it does not include all those who should have been included, and he says, "We may confidently place the numbers of these Depressed Classes, all of whom are considered impure, at something between 55 and 60 millions in India proper". Of the 52½ million for which the Census Commissioner gave actual figures, less than 43½ million were to be found in British India. This figure agrees fairly well with the 42 million odd given as the figure of Depressed Classes by the Franchise Committee of 1919. It is also not greatly at variance with the 44½ million estimated by the Nair Central Committee of 1929 as the figure of Depressed Classes in British India, but it varies very considerably from the Hartog Committee's figure of approximately 30 million. Clearly it is time that some more definite figures were obtained than the estimates hitherto employed. There are however a considerable number of difficulties in arriving at a determined figure.

The definition to be used in arriving at the figure of Depressed Classes is a very difficult matter. The following possible tests are to be considered :—

- (1) Whether the caste or class in question can be served by clean Brahmaus or not.
- (2) Whether the caste or class in question can be served by the barbers, water-carriers, tailors, etc., who serve the caste Hindus.
- (3) Whether the caste in question pollutes a high caste Hindu by contact or by proximity.
- (4) Whether the caste or class in question is one from whose hands a caste Hindu can take water.
- (5) Whether the caste or class in question is debarred from using public conveniences, such as, roads, ferries, wells or schools.
- (6) Whether the caste or class in question is debarred from the use of Hindu temples.
- (7) Whether in ordinary social intercourse a well educated member of the caste or class in question will be treated as an equal by high caste men of the same educational qualifications.
- (8) Whether the caste or class in question is merely depressed on account of its own ignorance, illiteracy or poverty and but for that would be subject to no social disability.
- (9) Whether it is depressed on account of the occupation followed and whether but for that occupation it would be subject to no social disability.

Now it is obvious that several of these tests themselves involve an unknown factor—What is a clean Brahman? What is the line between a high caste and a low caste Hindu, since both adjectives may and ordinarily would have a merely comparative sense? What constitutes pollution or what constitutes the right to use a temple, since here again there are grades from those who must remain entirely outside and not approach a temple at all to those who are admitted to the inner sanctuary? In deciding what is an Exterior Caste, none of these tests can be taken alone. From the point of view of the State the important test is the right to use public conveniences—roads, wells and schools, and if this be taken as the primary test, religious disabilities and the social difficulties indirectly involved by them may be regarded as contributory only. Some importance must be attached to them, since obviously if the general public regards the persons of certain groups as so distasteful that concerted action is resorted to in order to keep them away, persons of those groups do suffer under a serious disability. It is not enough to say that a road is a public road, and that if A considers himself polluted by the presence of B at a distance of 30 yards and no compulsion rests on B to remove himself from the road to let A pass, the disability is A's and not B's, since A must leave the road or be polluted. That is all very well if B and his friends are in such a position as to be able to impose on A the position of being one to leave the road. If, however, it is possible for A and his friends by boycotting B and his friends for certain purposes to bring pressure on B to disregard his legal rights and to conform to A's religious prejudices and leave the road whenever A is seen at a distance, clearly B has in practice no freedom of action in the matter of the road whether his religious scruples are involved or not. This question of the use of roads has been taken as an illustration, but in point of fact the restriction of the use of roads is one which seems to be generally disappearing and has possibly disappeared to such an extent that the question may be ignored as far as British India is concerned. The use of wells, however, is another matter and the disability of the exterior castes varies from not being allowed to approach the village well at all

to the position common in Bengal in which persons of certain castes may not draw water themselves but must await someone of a clean caste who draws water for them at the well. The question of schools is another very real problem for the exterior castes, since in many parts of India if they sit inside the school they would be made to suffer in some other way by the higher castes using the school, and whereas the acquisition of reading and writing at least may be taken for granted in the case of the children of any Brahman, and of other castes as well, it is an exception in the case of the exterior castes, the presence of whose children is disliked in the school by their social superiors and whose children, if they read at all, must sit outside in the sun and dust. It is often argued that untouchability is merely dependent on the occupation, so that an untouchable person or caste abandoning an unclean occupation becomes touchable. This may be true in a literal sense, but it is not true morally, since members of exterior castes who may have abandoned their traditional calling for two or three generations are still liable to be treated as outside the pale of decent society, and their presence is apt to be regarded as an offence by members of interior castes, while they would not be ordinarily admitted to social functions on a footing of equality.

For purposes therefore of deciding what persons are to be included in the numbers of the exterior castes it has been necessary for each province to deal with the problem in its own way and to produce its own list. It is not possible to say generally that such and such a caste is exterior to Hindu society and to apply that dictum to the whole of India. It may be possible to do so in the case of certain castes, such as those of Dom and Bhangi, but it certainly is not the case that a caste which is depressed in one part of India is depressed everywhere. Consequently each provincial superintendent has had to draw up his own list, taking into account the various factors enumerated above, and to reckon as depressed only those castes or classes who definitely suffer from serious social and political handicap on account of their degraded position in the Hindu social scheme. So much is this the position that, in the Central Provinces for instance, the castes to be treated as depressed for purposes of figures in this Report have varied from district to district and no list is possible at all which is applicable to the whole of the province for all the castes concerned. Many castes and tribes who would be included by some, at any rate, of the tests mentioned above have been excluded from the list on the ground that they suffer no tangible disability as a result of their inferiority in the Hindu system. Many primitive tribes for instance are in an ambiguous position by reason of their not really being Hindus at all. Such tribes when they come within the Hindu system often become automatically depressed, largely on account of the fact that they have no prejudices against occupations and food which are taboo to interior Hindus. On the other hand, the socially superior individuals of these identical tribes are very frequently able to get themselves incorporated into the Hindu system as Rajputs or Kshatriyas, though their fellow tribesmen may remain exterior. In some cases, however, a complete tribe has succeeded in establishing its claim to a more or less equivocal twice-born status. In these circumstances, therefore, non-Hinduised hill and forest tribes have been excluded from the total of the Exterior Castes, as until they reach the stage of incorporation in regular Hindu society, they do not really suffer by their potential position in that scheme. Similarly criminal tribes have not been included unless their condition be such that even if they ceased to be criminal by habit or profession and lived as peaceable and law-abiding citizens, they would still be depressed on account of their social position as distinct from their occupational stigma. Again there are numbers of castes who, though they are regarded by interior Hindus as ceremonially polluting and such as from whose hands water cannot be taken, have in many cases such strong caste organisations and include so many individuals of substance and education that they have built up for themselves a strong position which obviates the need of any special measures for their social, political or religious protection. It is these considerations which have caused the Census Superintendent of Cochin State to exclude the Iruvans from the number of those depressed, while the Shahas, Telis and Mahishyas of Bengal and Assam would themselves protest at any such inclusion.

The note on the Depressed and Backward Classes in Assam by the Census Superintendent for that province, which forms an appendix to the Assam Census Report, affords an excellent example of the facts and considerations taken into account in determining what constitutes a depressed caste. In the case of Assam the numbers of the exterior castes are so high in comparison to the total number of interior Hindus or rather the number of interior Hindus is so comparatively small in a province in which the numbers of backward classes and hill tribes is high, that the disabilities attaching to depression are slight compared to those in most provinces, but the factors to be taken into account are the same everywhere. The non-Hindus and the hill and forest tribes included by the Assam Census Superintendent as Backward Classes have been excluded from the figures given in the table below which amount for all India to just a little over fifty million.

These figures are given province by province in this place; tables in a somewhat different form will be found towards the end of this appendix. The total number of exterior castes in British India appears in Table XVII as 39,137,405, the difference being due to the fact that in two provinces the figures in Provincial Table II on which that table is based differ slightly from the figures obtained from the caste table for individual castes.

Caste.	Population.
Aheri	87
Bagri	584
Balai	19,871
Bambhi	5,764
Bansphor	13
Bargi	75
Bhangi	6,976
Chamar	15,914
Dabgar	57
Dhanak	1,680
Garoda	48
Ghancha	90
Kaltelia	393
Kanjar	625
Khangar	2
Kuchband	69
Mahar	31
Meghwal	10
Nat	518
Pasi	49
Raigar	22,601
Rawal	113
Sansi	406
Sargara	782
Satia	71
Thori	2
Tingar	5
Total	76,816

Bhangi	29
Chamar	204
Kori	47
Pasi	232
Total	512

Province—

Bhangi	2,364
Namasudra	170,519
Jaliya Kaibartta	149,074
Tea garden coolie castes	1,233,512
Others	1,839
Surma Valley—	
Bhuinmeli	38,635
Dhobi	22,521
Dugla	9,523
Jhalo and Malo	10,826
Jugi	83,922
Mahara	5,424
Muchi	7,312
Patni	51,408
Sutradhar	12,575
Brahmaputra Valley—	
Brittial Bania	14,348
Hira	16,628
Total	1,830,430

Chuhras	4,533
Kori	477
Pasi	228
Nat	227
Chamar (including Jaiswara)	227
Khatik	19
Shudar	7
Ramdasi	3
Ghasia	1
Total	5,722

1. *Ajmer-Merwara*.—These figures (76,816) differ by 81 from the total found in Provincial Table II for the province where the total of Depressed Classes appears as 76,735. This smaller figure is due to the omission from the Provincial Table of the numbers of 80 Bagris and one Sansi, (total 81) whose religion was dubiously returned as "tribal".

2. *Andaman Islands*.—No return was made by the Census Superintendent and these figures (512) have been extracted by me from his tables as representing castes unequivocally depressed.

3. *Assam*.—Here it will be noticed that the list (total 1,830,430) varies in different parts of the province. Jugis, for instance, are found in both valleys, but are treated as exterior in the Surma valley and not in the Brahmaputra valley. 'Others' in the figures applicable to the whole province do not include any castes not in the list, but merely castes listed for one valley or the other but enumerated elsewhere, of which a separate tally is not now available. Of the total 1,421 are found in the Assam States, the remainder 1,829,009 being in British territory.

4. *Baluchistan*.—Of this total of 5,722, only 20 are found in Baluchistan States, remainder (5,702) being in British territory. In addition to the castes in the above list the following castes appear in the Baluchistan list, figures of which have not been accepted by me, as the exterior position of several of them is at least open to dispute, and it appeared to me that the local net had been cast too wide and I therefore rejected for the India list the following castes which appeared to me to be doubtfully exterior:—

Dhobi	749
Mochi	388
Nai	125
Kurmi	109
Kabirpanthi	56
Kumhar	71
Gadaria	46
Julaha	31
Kohli	28
Teli	21

Total **1,624**

Caste.	Population.	
Bhainmali	72,804	5. <i>Bengal</i> .— Of this total of 6,930,631, 30,822 are found in the Bengal States, leaving 6,899,809 in British districts. Here again a number of names have been added by the Local Government, some of which are also regarded as Exterior by the Census Superintendent. Most of these are primitive tribes whose names I have rejected for that reason. These tribes are marked with an asterisk, and it must, of course, be borne in mind that many of them are actually in the process of being transformed into exterior castes of Hinduism, if they have not already become so. Of the others not so marked some are admittedly doubtful and their inclusion as exterior castes might be justified; others on the contrary appear to me to be such that their inclusion would be entirely unjustified, e.g., Khandait, while Suklis have definitely protested against their inclusion, and the attitude of the Rajbansis has been equivocal. It is understood that the Local Government are also including Kurmis in their list of Depressed Classes, but I do not myself regard this as even a doubtful case. They will not be found in this list. The additional names in the Local Government's list are—
Dom	140,067	*Agaria 230
Halalkhor	876	*Asur
Hari	132,393	*Bhumij 84,447
Kaora	107,908	*Birhor
Kichak	2	*Garo 37,909
Lalbegi	4,965	*Hadi' 14,334
Mehtor	23,278	*Hajang 19,693
Bagdi	987,570	*Ho 23
Bahelia	4,449	*Kandh 1,525
Bauri	331,238	Kastha 2,601
Bhuiya	49,370	*Kaur 1,781
Bind	19,518	*Khaira 38,287
Binjhia	317	Khandait 35,080
Chamar	150,458	*Kochh 81,299
Dhennar	44	*Koda (Kora) 46,789
Dhobi	229,672	Koiri 16,021
Doai	1,960	*Korwa
Dosadh	36,420	Lodha 11,001
Ghasi	5,312	*Mahli 16,262
Kadar	1,078	*Malpaharia 11,782
Kan	66	*Mcch 4,875
Kanwar	133	*Munda 63,107
Kotal	7,651	*Nageshia 2,088
Lohar	50,167	Nuniya 28,100
Mal	111,167	*Oraon 136,427
Mallah	26,252	*Rabha 2,076
Muchi	414,219	Rajbangshi 1,806,390
Musahar	11,714	*Santal 433,502
Naiya	40	Sukli 3,860
Namasudra	2,084,957	Tipara 195,855
Palaiya	43,160	
Pan	1,855	
Pasi	18,925	
Patni	40,766	
Pod	667,731	
Pondari	31,255	
Rajwar	21,337	
Sunri	76,920	
Tiyar	96,413	
Turi	16,199	
Baiti	8,888	
Bediya	7,243	
Beldar	3,139	
Berua	367	
Bhatiya	322	
Damai	6,039	
Gonrhi	5,149	
Jalia Kaibartta	352,072	
Jhalo, Malo	198,099	
Kalwar	13,531	
Kandra	4,724	
Kapali	165,583	
Kapuria	170	
Karenga	9,855	
Khatik	1,157	
Konai	41,058	
Mahar	1,986	
Nagar	16,164	
Nat	7,348	
Raju	56,778	
Shagirdapesba	333	
Total	6,930,631	

Caste.	Population.
Bauri	314,979
Bhogta	66,054
Bhuiya	621,062
Bhumij	266,464
Chamar	1,296,001
Chaupal	2,737
Dhobi	414,221
Dom	269,340
Dosadh	1,290,936
Ghasi	75,579
Ghuauria	1,846
Godra	1,553
Gokha	48,622
Halalkhor	20,742
Hari	115,613
Irika	332
Kandra	155,113
Kanjar	2,566
Kela	9,493
Kurariar	631
Lalbegi	105
Mahuria	2,389
Mangan	184
Mochi	22,863
Musahar	720,051
Nat	9,628
Pan	411,770
Pasi	172,061
Siyal	9,281
Turi	54,041
Total	6,376,257

Caste.	Population.
Agar	6,680
Bhambi	8,729
Bhangi, etc.	79,403
Chambhar	291,811
Dhor	18,277
Khalpa	11,485
Kolcha (Kolgha)	1,114
Koli-Dhor	15,923
Kotwalia	1,418
Mahar	1,264,104
Mang	309,936
Mang-Garudi	4,334
Meghwal	69,797
Timali	68
Turi	1,053
Vitholia	526
Wansfoda	664
Others	13,674
Total	2,098,998

Caste.	Population.
*Audhelia	749
Basor	53,204
*Balahi	33,776
*Bedar	490
*Bahna	6
Chamar	528,039
*Chadar	21,071
*Chauhan	2,026
Dom	4,660
*Dhobi	73,966
*Dhimar	46,071
*Dohor	6,616
*Dewar	1,786
*Dahayat	833
*Dhanuk	3
Ganda	108,843
*Ghasia	45,409
*Holiya	3,439
*Jangam	12
*Kori	30,477
*Katia	24,510
*Kunhar	23,863
*Khatik	11,327
*Khangar	7,650
*Kaikari	2,157
Mahar, Mohra	1,255,703
Mang	101,142
Mehar, Bhangi	30,960
Mochi	6,179
*Madgi	10,070

Carried over .. 2,455,027

6. Bihar and Orissa.—This total (6,376,257) excludes the figures of Rajwar (133,935) which have been included by the Census Superintendent who gives the total number of his depressed classes as 6,510,192. The figure that appears however in his provincial table II is 6,409,337 of which 649,266 appear in the states, the remainder, that is 5,760,071, being in British territory, a figure little higher than that reached by me after excluding Rajwars, and differing from his report total on account of some omissions in the provincial table. The case of the Rajwars in Bihar seems to me to be open to doubt and they do not appear in the United Provinces' list. In my opinion the Franchise Committee was not justified in excluding from the depressed castes Bauri, Bhogta, Bhuiya, Bhumij, Ghasi, Pan and Turi. With the possible exception of Bhumij and Bhuiya these seven cannot be regarded as retaining much, if any, tribal cohesion, and they are outwardly Hinduised. Of the total 6,376,257 in my list not more than 631,864 are found in the Bihar and Orissa States, leaving not less than 5,744,393 in British districts.

7. Bombay.—Of this total of 2,098,998, 318,574 are found in the Bombay States, the remaining 1,750,424 being in British territory.

8. Central Provinces and Berar.—Of this total of 3,071,078, not more than 252,732 appear in the states, not less than the remaining 2,818,346 being in British territory. It will be noticed that an asterisk appears against a large number of castes in the marginal list, and only those castes have been treated as exterior throughout the province against which no asterisk appears. Wherever a caste is asterisked the implication is that in some parts of the province it is treated as Exterior and in other parts it is treated as Interior. Details of this distribution may be obtained from the provincial tables if required. The numbers shown against each caste refer, of course, to the numbers actually treated as exterior and not to the number of the castes found in the province. The Census Superintendent gives the figure of 3,180,075 as the total of the depressed classes in the Central Provinces and Berar, both in Chapter XII of his report and in Provincial Table II and in Appendix II to his

Caste.	Brought forward	Population.
	..	2,435,027
*Mala	..	1,048
*Nagarohi	..	5,970
*Ojha	..	1,718
*Pardhi	..	41
*Pardhan	..	71,906
*Panka	..	204,304
*Rajjhar	..	1,217
Satnami	..	349,847
Total	..	3,071,078

Caste.	Population.
Adi-Dravida	52
Adiya	5
Balagai	130
Holeya	320
Kalloda	2
Kornma	128
Kudiya	549
Lippara	4
Madiga	217
Maleya	123
Medara	41
Muchi	20
Mundala	87
Nale Kanavaru	9
Pale	3,182
Panchama	19,571
Pannikar	5
Paraiyan	340
Samagara	5
Surava	3
Total	24,803

Caste.	Population.
Bawaria	32
Chamar	42,952
Chuhra	17,901
Dagi and Koli	6,928
Dhanak	1,321
Khatik	3,522
Sansi	227
Total	72,883

Caste.	Population.
Adi-Andhra	664,844
Adi-Dravida	1,619,227
Adi-Karnataka	644
Ajila	659
†Aranadan	60
Arunthuthiyar	17,396
Baira	1,879
Bakuda	806
Bandi	553
Bariki	3,695
Battada	558
Bavuri	42,810
Bellara	87
Byagari	8,459
Chachati	5,130
Chakkiliyan	606,775
Chalavadi	3,422
Chamar	140
Chandala	2,113
Cheruman	214,878
Dandasi	44,248
Dovendrakulathan	4,019
†Dombo	79,643
Ghasi	6,081
Godagaji	989
Godari	419
Godda	146
Gosangi	244
Haddi	17,433
Hasla	368
Holeya	49,567
Jaggali	3,020
Jambuvulu	6,701
†Kadan	491
Kalladi	5,737
Kanakkan	22,046
†Karimpalan	2,807
†Kattunayakan	1,581
Kodalo	28,410
Koosa	818
Koraga	4,042
†Kudiya	3,497
Carried over	3,476,422

8. Central Provinces and Berar—contd.

report. In the latter place the total given for British Districts is misprinted as 2,927,936 instead of 2,927,343. As these figures include those returning tribal religions, I have taken as the total of the depressed castes the sum of those returned as Hindu by religion, the figures of which appear here.

9. Coorg.—Of the total (24,803) of these castes Kudiya appears also as a primitive tribe and there is therefore an overlap of 549 between exterior castes and primitive tribes in Coorg, or of 1,089 if the Marratha (540) be included in the former category; for the purposes of these figures it has been omitted.

10. Delhi.—This total (72,883) agrees with that given in Provincial Table II.

11. Madras.—This total (7,299,400) is taken from the Madras Caste Table for 1931, 65,296 being found in the Madras States other than Cochin and Travancore, i.e., in Pudukkottai, Banganapalle and Sandur; the remaining 7,234,104 are found in British territory. The total differs from that given in Madras Provincial Table II by a figure of 34,053. This represents the numbers of the Marathi or Marratha tribe, a caste or tribe found in South Kanara (ifs name has nothing to do with 'Maratha' as ordinarily understood) and described by the Census Superintendent and the district officer as a primitive tribe, but listed by the Madras Government as a depressed caste. In southern India, i.e., in India south of the Godavari, little difference is to be distinguished as a rule in the treatment of primitive tribes and of exterior castes; both alike are regarded as untouchables or pollute at a distance, though the same does not apply to all the tribes in the Agency tract which is to the north of the Godavari. This Marratha tribe however should probably be excluded from the list of depressed castes proper, and I have therefore excluded it in this list, following the caste table and not Provincial Table II, the numbers of which include this tribe. Several other tribes appear in the Madras table both as primitive tribes and as depressed castes. They have been included by the Madras Census Superintendent both in his Caste Table and in Provincial Table II, and their names will be found in the above list marked with a dagger. The total numbers of these tribes involve an overlap between the

Caste.	Brought forward	Population.
		3,476,422
†Kudubi	12,011
Kudumban	827
Kuravan	2,110
†Kurichchan	7,112
†Kuruman	10,447
Madari	6,617
Madiga	612,411
Maila	1,431
Mala	837,718
Mala Dasu	2,399
†Malasar	5,101
Matangi	623
†Mavillan	1,341
Moger	773
Muchi	1,842
Mundala	6,250
Nalakeyava	1,489
Nayadi	520
Pagada	771
Paidi	39,437
Painda	92
Paky	2,017
Pallan	825,224
Pambada	335
Pamidi	424
Panchama	76,574
Paniyan	32,410
Panniandi	54
†Pano	70,527
Paraiyan	1,117,197
Paravan	826
Pulayan	23,378
Puthirai Vannan	74
Raneyar	1,480
Relli	24,239
Samagara	2,018
Samban	557
Sapari	462
Semman	1,198
Thoti	1,639
Tiruvalluvar	207
Valluvan	59,202
Valmiki	4,289
Vettuvan	28,325
Total	7,299,400
Caste.		Population.
Chuhra	5,783
Chamar	227
Total	6,010

refers to exterior castes enumerated in trans-frontier posts which were therefore outside the scope of Provincial Table II, and the correct figure is the one given here.

Caste.	Population.
1. Bawaria	16,120
2. Chamar	941,312
3. Chuhra	454,772
4. Dagi and Koli	181,472
5. Dumna	37,205
6. Megh	22,363
7. Sansi	31,165
8. Sarera	7,983
9. Others (Ad-Dharmi)	75,313
Total	1,766,805

accepted by me for the India figures by 31,818. Of the castes given in my list above 94,347 are found in the Punjab States, 392,999 are found in the Punjab States Agency, and the remainder, 1,279,459, are in the British districts. These figures include all those who returned their religion as Ad-Dharmi the total number of whom is 399,307 in British districts and 19,482 in the States and the Agency together. I have taken for India the figures of the eight castes in the above list and such others who returned themselves as Ad-Dharmi. The Census Superintendent for the Punjab, however, names sixteen castes as "Depressed and Backward". Excluding the 8 castes etc., given by me the other castes named by him include:—

Bagaria	2,282
Dhobi	12,543
Ghosi	1,904
Julaha	53,488
Kahar	62,422
Mahtam	15,482
Od	19,583
Ramdasia	12,235
Total	179,939*

The last two of these castes are regarded by him as quite definitely depressed.

* Total Punjab—includes the States approximately 4,800 and the Agency approximately 32,500.

11. Madras.—contd.

primitive tribes and exterior castes of 194,618 or of 228,671 if the Marratha (34,053) be included. The Marrathas have however been excluded from my figures, though treated as 'Depressed' by the Government of Madras.

12. North-West Frontier Province.—This figure (6,010) exceeds the figure 5,468 appearing in the North-West Frontier Provincial Table II by 542. The explanation is that this figure 542

13. Punjab.—The total figure here arrived at (1,766,805) differs by 82,576 from the figure which is given by the Census Superintendent for the Punjab in his Provincial Table II; this latter figure is 1,684,229, but it does not include all the depressed castes, as Bawaria, Dumna, Megh and Sarera are omitted in Provincial Table II. In Appendix I to Chapter XI the Census Superintendent gives his total figure of depressed castes as 1,798,623, which exceeds the total

Caste.	Population.
Agariya .. .. .	..
Bhuiya .. .. .	..
Bhuiyar .. .. .	..
Chero.. .. .	..
Ghaaiya .. .. .	..
Khairaha	68,044
Kharwar (excluding Banbasi) .. .. .	..
Majhwar (Manjhi) .. .. .	..
Panka .. .. .	..
Parahiya .. .. .	..
Patari .. .. .	..
Kol	76,845
Korwa	467
Banmanu .. .. .	..
Bayar .. .. .	..
Dhangar	78,770
Musahar .. .. .	..
Saun	2,275
Silpkar	313,737
Balahar .. .. .	..
Bansphor .. .. .	..
Dharkar .. .. .	..
Basor.. .. .	109,906
Dom .. .. .	..
Domar .. .. .	..
Aheriya	23,084
Bahelia	45,458
Bandi .. .. .	..
Kabaria	513
Khatik .. .. .	..
Chik	209,668
Pasi (includes Yarmali)	1,459,940
Balai	136
Bhar (excluding Rajbhar)	461,624
Bhil	28
Dhari.. .. .	..
Kingharia .. .. .	..
Pawaria	7,599
Dusadh	73,522
Beriya .. .. .	..
Bangali	12,105
Bhantu .. .. .	..
Karwal or Karauli	108
Habura	1,915
Kanjar (including Sapsra and Sapsaria).	23,311
Sansia	886
Badi .. .. .	..
Bajania .. .. .	..
Bajgi .. .. .	..
Gual .. .. .	..
Kalabaz	34
Nat	37,038
Badhik	1,367
Barwar	4,314
Bawariya (Bauria)	15,956
Sahariya	14,113
Sanaurhiya	31
Gidhiya	191
Bhangi	482,718
Chamar	6,292,398
Dabgar .. .. .	..
Gharimi	657
Dhobi	665,905
Kori	922,357
Mochi	5,752
Arakh	85,907
Kaparia	803
Khairwa	81
Kotwar	64
Tharu	31,578
Total	11,531,145

14. *United Provinces.*—Of this total figure of 11,531,145, 208,864 are found in the States and the remaining 11,322,281 in British districts. In addition to the above the Census Superintendent for the United Provinces includes the following castes (1,288,804) in his list. There is some doubt about the correct classification of the castes in this second list and I have excluded them from my figures :—

Beldar	44,206
Kharot	356
Kumhar	772,945
Luniya	471,297
Total	1,288,804

The castes accepted by me include a number of quasi-aboriginal tribes. In the case of the United Provinces I consider them correctly classified as exterior castes, as with the possible exception of some 200 Korwas they are reported to be completely detribalized and their social position is indistinguishable from that of other depressed castes included.

States.—The total figure for depressed castes in States and Agencies appears in Table XVII as 11,112,942. This figure includes the figures already mentioned of depressed castes found in the states in political relation with the various provinces. The States and Agencies forming census units are dealt with separately below :—

Caste.	Population.
Bhangi	31,018
Bansphor	478
Chamar (including Khalpa)	42,802
Garoda	7,796
Holar	54
Mahar	572
Mang	37
Nadia	622
Shenva	9,643
Thori	56
Turi	1,711
Vankar including Dhed ..	107,988
Others (Arya)	266
Total	203,043

15. *Baroda.*—The marginal list of depressed castes, total 203,043, agrees with the figures given by the Baroda Census Superintendent as depressed in his Appendix IX to his Chapter XII.

Caste.	Population.
Balai	191,194
Basor	43,399
Bbambi	6,560
Bhangi	28,429
Chamar	513,897
Dharkar	4,850
Dher	51
Dom	51
Domar	442
Jhamral	1,519
Mahar	4,885
Mang	1,252
Meghwal	1,373
Total	797,902

16. *Central India Agency.*—The total given above, 797,902, exceeds the total appearing in the Agency Provincial Table II by 58, the reason being that it includes 58 Chamars whose religion was returned as 'Tribal' and who, therefore, appeared in a different column in the Provincial Table. Except in this case and in that of Ajmer-Merwara, in both of which the correctness of the return seems open to considerable doubt, individuals returning a tribal religion have been rigidly excluded from my figures.

Caste.	Population.
Bagri	23,209
Balai	97,828
Barar	1,384
Bargunda	1,931
Basor	13,052
Beria	5,807
Bhangi	27,405
Chamar	415,950
Kanjar	402
Khatik	15,800
Koli	75,351
Total	678,119

17. *Gwalior.*—No return of depressed castes was made in State Table II, and the figures here are taken from Chapter XII of the Gwalior Report

Caste.	Population.
Dher (including Mala, Mahar)	1,076,539
Madiga (including Mang)	1,281,092
Others	115,599
Total	2,473,230

18. *Hyderabad.*—The total in this State is 2,473,230. 'Others' in this list include a number of minor exterior castes, e.g. Bhangi, for which separate totals are not given in the State Tables.

Caste.	Population.
Barwala	5,682
Basith	6,213
Batwal	5,645
Chamar	41,189
Chuhra	1,607
Dhiyar	3,165
Dom	34,329
Gardi	173
Jolaha	40
Mugh	70,030
Ratal	488
Saryara	2,354
Watal	13
Total	170,928

19. *Jammu and Kashmir.*—The castes in the above list (total 170,928) are those reported as exterior by the Census Commissioner for the State, and the numbers are those that appear against the castes named in the State Caste Table. They agree with the numbers of depressed classes given in the State Table II.

Caste.	Population.
Eravalan	541
Irulan	240
Kadan	267
Kanakkan	13,192
Kavera	790
Kootan	228
Malayan	3,185
Nayadi	152
Pulayan	82,043
Sambavan (including Paraiyan)	11,914
Ullatan	778
Valluvan	212
Vettuvan	11,797
Total	125,339

20. *Cochin.*—Here the numbers given (125,339) are those of the castes described as exterior by the Census Superintendent for the State. His State Table II gives the total of depressed classes as 126,652 exceeding the total given here by 1,313. This total refers to the Vadukan caste, and its classification as depressed is erroneous; it was included in the provincial table accidentally and I have therefore omitted it.

Caste.	Population.
Adi-Dravida	966
Alavan	734
Ampattan	305
Arayan	23,380
Bavuri	164
Bharathar	275
Chackaravar	3,536
Chakkiliyan	6,188
Chavalakkaran	1,730
Chayakkaran	2,168
Ilavan	860,863
Ilavathi	6,955
Kaikolan	455
Kakkalan	1,666
Kaniyan	15,652
Kathikkaran	161
Kavathi	2,293
Keralamuthali	1,423
Kuravan	87,071
Marakkan	353
Maravan	14,399
Medara	363
Mukkuvan	596
Nadar	233,982
Nayadi	144
Nulayan	3,129
Pallay	29,860
Panan	3,812
Panikkan	397
Paravan	13,602
Paraiyan	70,684
Pulayan	207,337
Pulluvan	527
Thantan	41,214
Thantapulayan	795
Thontaman	684
Valan	21,172
Vannan	13,433
Varnavar	166
Velakkithalanayar	30,603
Velan	16,253
Veluthadanayar	14,878
Votan	9,496
Vettakkaran	498
Yadavan	8,457
Minos and Unspecified	7,896
Total	1,769,735

21. *Travancore*.—The Census Commissioner for Travancore State gives a list of castes regarded as depressed in that State, the number of which is extracted from his Caste Table and added up amounts to 1,769,735 but the number that appears in his State Table II is 1,787,380. I have therefore accepted for India figure the smaller total obtained from his caste table. The larger total in State Table II includes the hill tribes, probably with justice.

22. *Mysore*.—The real exterior castes of Mysore State are the Holeyas and Madigas, numbering between them 1,000,326, who have been jointly returned at at this census as *Adikarnatakas*.

Caste.	Population.
Holeya }	1,000,326
Madiga }	
Total	1,000,326

In addition the Mysore Government treats as depressed the following four castes:—

Banjara	50,709
Koracha	10,238
Korama	13,607
Vodda	164,876

which accounts for the total appearing in the Mysore State Table II of 1,239,856. It seems clear that at any rate the Banjara and Vodda are not strictly exterior castes and the case of the other two, apparently two names for the same caste, is doubtful; they are more criminal than depressed. For the purposes of Indian figures therefore the total of 1,000,326 is taken for Mysore.

Caste.	Population.
Aheri	1,204
Bagri	10,397
Balai	218,857
Bambhi	162,863
Bansphor	926
Bargi	1,593
Bazigar	372
Bhangi	92,747
Bidakia	63
Chamar	766,643
Duhgar	652
Dhanak	30,733
Dhed	19,907
Garoda	8,099
Ghancha	4,772
Kalbelia	3,740
Kaujar	3,553
Khanger	2,925
Korie	11,303
Kuchband	326

23. *Rajputana*.—The total of these castes (1,565,409), reported as depressed by the Census Superintendent and compiled from figures extracted from his Caste Table, agrees with his total in Provincial Table II.

Caste.	Brought forward	Population.
	..	1,342,275
Mahar	..	5,362
Meghwal	..	23,273
Nat	6,416
Pasi	43
Raigar	..	130,103
Rawal	..	677
Sansi	..	6,719
Sarbhangi	..	23
Sargara	..	31,300
Satia	1,113
Thori	..	17,397
Tirgar	..	708
Total	..	1,565,409

23. *Rajputana*—contd.

Lalbegi	..	23
Mehatar	..	3
Muchi	..	19
Sunri	..	2
Bhuiya	..	3
Damai	..	1,866
Dhobi	..	6
Kalwar	..	96
Lohar	..	11
Total	..	2,029

24. *Sikkim*.—The figures (2,029) are extracted from the Bengal and Sikkim Caste Table and represent the castes returned as depressed by the Census Superintendent. No State Table is published.

Ager ..	..	428
Bhambi	..	1
Bhangi (including Halalkhor)	..	33,422
Chamar	..	47,728
Garoda	..	5,584
Koli Dhor	..	10,435
Kotwalia	..	51
Mahar	..	174,446
Meghwal	..	43,909
Turi ..	..	2,206
Total	..	318,220

25. *Western India States Agency*.—The figures (318,220) agree with those in Provincial Table II and include all castes returned by the Census Superintendent as depressed.

GRAND TOTAL	India ..	..	50,195,770
	Provinces	..	11,091,490
	States ..	..	9,104,230

N.B.—The total here given for provinces includes that of the states attached to them. For separate figures see Table B below. The totals do not precisely correspond to those given in Table XVII of Part II, as the latter figures are taken from the Provincial Table II in the cases of Bihar and Orissa and of the Central Provinces and Berar, in both of which the details do not tally precisely with those given for the whole province.

These then being the numbers of the depressed classes in India some estimate is necessary of their position at the present time, and it has already been pointed out that their disabilities can be roughly divided into two categories. Firstly, that under which they are barred from public utilities, such as, the use of roads and tanks, and secondly, their religious disabilities which debar them from the use of temples, burning grounds, *mats* and some other institutions. In addition to the above, but arising out of the second of these, there are the disabilities involved in relation with private individuals, such as the services of barbers and the admission to tea-shops, hotels or theatres owned by private individuals. A resolution of the Anti-Untouchability Conference of 1929 in Madras regretted "to note that in Restaurants, Coffee Hotels, Hair Dressing Saloons, Water Pandals, etc., notices are hung prominently excluding the untouchables", and the Census Superintendent for the Central Provinces writes "The fact that a sweeper may sit beside a high-class Hindu in a railway carriage or a motor-lorry without any question of his right to do so has not yet made it any more easy in the interior for a touring officer to persuade cartmen of some castes to carry his sweeper from camp to camp. In fact in certain districts it is always essential to employ at least one cartman of humble caste for this purpose".

Theoretically perhaps the admission to Hindu temples would be enough, once it is conceded, to remove all the other disabilities, for the temple is not merely a religious institution but is also in many ways a social one, for the term must be taken to include such buildings as *namgahs* which, as temples do in some parts of India, serve as a village hall or a town hall for the public generally. A temple also contains a school, so that the absence of the right of entering the temple may debar an individual from the possibility of attending the school. In some Hindu temples, such as the Parbati Temple in Poona, the Kalarama Temple at Nasik, the Hajo Temple in Assam, it has been in the past the practice to admit non-Hindus, such as Christians and Muslims to a point to which the untouchable Hindus were never admitted at all. It is however not quite certain how far under present conditions the actual right of admission to a temple would, if conceded, remove the social disabilities of the depressed castes since it

might have the effect of merely driving the higher castes to shun the temples to which the untouchables were admitted. In any case the right varies much in different places. An Iruva or a Thiyya in Malabar must stay 325 feet from the curtain wall of the temple of Guruvayur, for instance, and this wall is 350 feet square with the temple in the centre. Yet the Iruva have not been treated, in Cochin State at any rate, as a depressed caste at all, since though deprived there likewise of temple entry they are otherwise well-to-do and not ill educated.

As regards the civil rather than the religious disabilities to which the depressed classes are at present subjected, the first one mentioned above is the right to use the public roads: up to how recently the use of public roads has been debarred in certain cases may be gathered from the fact that the untouchables of Travancore made an organised attempt in 1924 to obtain the use of roads which skirted the temple at Vaikom. These roads were public roads, maintained by the State for the use of everybody, but on account of their proximity to the temple too closely. Ultimately, as a result of satyagraha, the temple compound was enlarged and the ban on the roads was removed, the roads having been realigned so that their users were no longer within the polluting distance of the temple. In 1926 and again in 1930, a similar case occurred in Travancore in connection with Sachindram Temple which is one of the richest in the State. Here again the depressed classes wanted the right to use a road maintained by public funds and belonging to the State. In the matter of the use of roads generally, however, the depressed castes are no longer in the position in which some of them were when the Mangalore District Gazetteer was written, when the Ande Koragas had to carry a spittoon on the public road, though it has recently been reported that a caste has been found in the Tamilnad, the very sight of which is polluting, so that its unfortunate members are compelled to follow nocturnal habits, leaving their dens after dark and scuttling home at the false dawn like the badger, hyaena or aard-vark. *The Hindu* of December 24th, 1932, writes of them as follows:—"In this (Tinnevely) district there is a class of unseeables called Purada Vannans. They are not allowed to come out during day time because their sight is considered to be pollution." Some of these people, who wash the clothes of other exterior castes, working between midnight and daybreak, were with difficulty persuaded to leave their houses to interview Mr. A. V. Thakkar, who described them as coming only after repeated persuasion and then with "their whole bodies shaking and trembling".

The case of wells has already been alluded to, and is a far more widespread and real grievance than any which may still survive in regard to the use of roads. Generally speaking, if the exterior castes have succeeded in asserting their right to use public wells, the higher castes have given them up. Here again the difficulty about the use of wells will be found to be most prevalent in the drier parts of India where water is scarce. In Assam this difficulty is not worth mentioning and in Bengal where it exists, it is usually got over by water being drawn for the exterior castes by some interior caste Hindu. This arrangement is obviously open to certain drawbacks but it is not so serious as the custom in many parts of upper India and southern India which prohibits the exterior castes from having water at all from the well which is used by interior Hindus. The same applies to the use of dharamshalas and of public burning ghats and the burial grounds in regard to all of which the position of the exterior castes is much the same as it is in regard to the use of wells.

With regard to schools, the Director of Public Instruction for Bombay reporting for the year 1928-29, remarks that admission to schools was not refused to the children of the depressed classes in the schools under the control of any local body except the District Local Board at Ratnagiri, some schools of the District Local Board of the Nasik District and in the Ahmadabad and Surat districts. In the latter districts the students generally used to sit in temples, dharamshalas or private houses and the pupils of the depressed classes were objected to, but the objection was withdrawn on being warned that such schools would lose any grants that they enjoyed from the Government. How far this withdrawal of objection was effective is doubtful, since at any rate in one case the depressed classes at Surat had to withdraw their children from the school as a result of the indirect pressure exerted on them by higher castes. Similarly in some cases the depressed caste pupils find it better to sit outside the school, as if they sit inside they are boycotted and compelled to leave the school. Thus at Kaira in April 1931 some Dheds took their seats with other Hindu boys in the municipal school. Kaira had been one of the centres of Mr. Gandhi's activities and no objection was raised on that day, but when the parents of the interior caste boys heard of it they threatened a boycott of the school and of the teacher if the Dhed boys were allowed to sit with theirs, or even to occupy the same class room, with the result that the next day the Dheds were refused admission to the school premises. On the other hand in Sind and in the central and southern divisions of Bombay it was reported that there were no primary schools managed by the local authorities which refused admission to the depressed castes' children. Similarly in Assam no inconvenience appears to have been experienced by the exterior castes in the matter of school attendance. On the other hand in many parts of India the inconvenience is greater than it is in Bombay. Very few of the exterior castes attend schools nominally accessible to them in

Negapatam, Kumbakonam, Tinnevely, Cocanada, Bezwada and Narsapur and other towns in southern India, though in Madras, Madura, Sivaganga and some other towns a number of exterior castes' children attend schools which are not especially reserved for them and which are not boycotted by the higher castes. In most parts of southern India it is necessary to have special schools for the exterior castes, since it is not yet possible to induce the higher castes to learn in their company. In July 1931, when it was decided to admit exterior castes into all the aided schools, a number of schools had to close and from some other schools the higher caste children were withdrawn. Similarly in Baroda State the abolition of separate schools in November 1931, is reported to have given great resentment to the caste Hindus who in some cases withdrew their children from schools and in others destroyed the crops of the exterior castes or poured kerosene oil into the wells used by them. In Bengal the Rural Primary Education Bill passed in 1930, appears to have been opposed by members representing the caste Hindus, and it is alleged that this opposition was aimed at depriving the non-caste Hindus and also the poorer Muslims from the benefits of literacy. In Cochin State on the other hand much has been done to open all educational institutions to the exterior castes though this has involved in some cases the removal of the school to another site, while cases have occurred of some ill-treatment of the castes now admitted to the schools. Generally speaking, however, during the last decade the exterior castes at school in Cochin have increased in number from some 1,500 to some 14,000 and out of 700 recognised schools only 3 are still reserved to the higher castes, and a Protector of the backward and depressed classes has recently been appointed. Cochin, however, is probably in many ways exceptional.

In regard to the matter of the right to enter Hindu temples, the exterior castes were advised by Mr. Gandhi not to attempt to gain entry by his own method of satyagraha as God resided in their breasts. A temple, however, as has been pointed out, is more than a purely religious institution and the right of temple entry is by some regarded as the key position with regard to the removal of untouchability. The claim to enter temples is not opposed only by high-caste Hindus; even *Justice*, the organ of the anti-Brahman Party, writes as follows:—

“ For many centuries these peoples, most of whom until recently were Animists, were content to worship at their own shrines, and to try to force themselves into Hindu temples is not to make themselves popular. Nor can we think that any grave wrong is done by their continued exclusion they would be better occupied in improving their own condition than in a violent attempt to assert rights which no one had heard of till a few years ago.”

There is on the other hand a definite movement among many more advanced Hindus to remove the ban on the temple entry, a movement which has since the census been given much impetus by Mr. Gandhi's fast and the negotiations following it for the admission of untouchables to Hindu temples generally, and it may be mentioned as an instance of this that 8 temples of a Telugu community in Bombay were reported to have been opened to untouchables in February 1930. On the other hand recent cases of attempts to obtain entry by depressed castes have led to violence. Some 2,000 untouchables collected outside the Kala Ram temple at Nasik on March 3rd, 1930, and a meeting which attempted to bring about a settlement was stoned by the orthodox. Ultimately some 150,000 Mahars and Chamars were reported to have collected at Nasik and the temple had to be closed for about a month to keep them from entering it. The admission of caste Hindus by a private passage ended in violence in which the orthodox were the aggressors, and which was extended to Mahar villages in the neighbourhood where the depressed castes were violently attacked by caste Hindus, their wells polluted and in some cases their houses burned. A similar attempt to force an entrance a year later had similar results, and in December 1931 the same sort of situation arose on an attempt of the depressed castes to bathe in the Ramakund, the sacred pool at Nasik, and again in April over the dragging of the *rath*. Similarly at Singanallur in south India the question of entry to a temple led to a free fight in 1930, and at some other places also. In Nagpur a temple was voluntarily opened to untouchables and in the Dacca Division in Bengal a *satyagraha* of 9 months duration ended in the temple doors being forced open by a band of high caste women who sympathised with the *satyagrahis*. This was in May, but it was reported in October that the temple was deserted by high caste Hindus. One wonders therefore how far the higher castes are likely to make use of a pan-Hindu temple recently endowed at Ratnagiri with a view to providing a common place of worship for all castes.

The prohibition against exterior castes entering the Hindu temples naturally raises the question whether they can really be called Hindu at all. Generally speaking, the answer must be that they are definitely Hindus; they worship the same deities and, though refused entry to the temples, boxes are placed outside, at the limits to which they can approach, to receive their offerings. The degree of Hinduism does, however, vary considerably; thus the Mahars and Chamars in general are very decidedly Hindu, whereas the Chuhra of the Punjab is very doubtfully so, taking a Hindu tone when living by a Hindu village, a Muslim tone in a Muslim village and that of a Sikh in a Sikh village; perhaps the Chuhra should really be described as tribal by religion, and the possibly connected Chodhra of the Bombay Presidency is definitely regarded as a forest tribe rather than a caste. In any case, in the Punjab the question has been

partly solved at this census by the Chuhra returning himself as an *Ad-Dharmi*, that is to say a follower of the original religion. For him it means the customs immemorially observed by his caste or tribe, but of course the term might mean very different things to different peoples. In the Punjab its use as distinct from Hindu (in other provinces the exterior castes have frequently returned themselves as *Adi-Hindu*, *Adi-Dravida*, etc., with a similar implication to that of *Ad-Dharmi*) is probably a political expedient in order to obtain more effective representation on the provincial legislative body, and in spite of the occasional use of the word 'Hindu' with reference to caste Hindus and excluding the exterior castes it must be held that these castes generally are Hindu by religion even if they are not Hindu socially, hence the expression "exterior caste" is suitably applied to castes who follow the Hindu religion but are not admitted to Hindu society.

This social bar tends to foster conversion to the Sikh faith, to Islam, or to Christianity, though even after conversion the social stigma does not vanish at once. This is hardly to be expected. The Mazhbi Sikhs are looked down upon by the Sikhs who are not Mazhbi. The Southern Indian Christians distinguish between the castes of their converts in their seating accommodation in churches, and the dislike of the exterior castes does not immediately disappear when they turn Muslim. At the same time once they are converted it does not take them very long before they can rise in the social scale, and in the case of Indian Christians in southern India a period of about three generations often, perhaps usually, sees them accepted as the equal of previous converts of most castes.

There are other points in which the exterior castes suffer socially. Thus exception is taken to their wearing the ornaments usually worn by higher castes, and in some cases they are not allowed to wear gold ornaments at all. Cases are on record in which Chamars for instance have been beaten for dressing like Rajputs, and the mounting of an exterior caste bridegroom upon a horse for his bridal procession has led to a boycott of the caste in question by the higher caste neighbours. In December 1930 the Kallar in Ramnad propounded eight prohibitions, the disregard of which led to the use of violence by the Kallar against the exterior castes whose huts were fired, whose granaries and property were destroyed and whose livestock was looted. These eight prohibitions were as follows:—

- (i) that the *Adi-Dravidas* shall not wear ornament of gold and silver;
- (ii) that the males should not be allowed to wear their clothes below their knees or above the hips;
- (iii) that their males should not wear coats or shirts or banyans;
- (iv) no *Adi-Dravida* shall be allowed to have his hair cropped;
- (v) that the *Adi-Dravidas* should not use other than earthenware vessels in their homes;
- (vi) their women shall not be allowed to cover the upper portion of their bodies by clothes or *ravukais* or *thavanies*;
- (vii) their women shall not be allowed to use flowers or saffron paste; and
- (viii) the men shall not use umbrellas for protection against sun and rain nor should they wear sandals".

In June 1931, the eight prohibitions not having been satisfactorily observed by the exterior castes in question, the Kallar met together and framed eleven prohibitions, which went still further than the original eight, and an attempt to enforce these led to more violence. These eleven prohibitions were:—

1. The *Adi-Dravidas* and *Devendrakula Vellalars* should not wear clothes below their knees.
2. The men and women of the above said depressed classes should not wear gold jewels.
3. Their women should carry water only in mud pots and not in copper or brass vessels. They should use straw only to carry the water pots and no cloths should be used for that purpose.
4. Their children should not read and get themselves literate or educated.
5. The children should be asked only to tend the cattle of the *Mirasdars*.
6. Their men and women should work as slaves of the *Mirasdars* in their respective *Pannais*.
7. They should not cultivate the land either on *waram* or lease from the *Mirasdars*.
8. They must sell away their own lands to *Mirasdars* of the village at very cheap rates, and if they don't do so, no water will be allowed to them to irrigate their lands. Even if something is grown by the help of rain-water, the crops should be robbed away, when they are ripe for harvest.
9. They must work as coolies from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. under the *Mirasdars* and their wages shall be for men Re. 0-4-0 per day and for women Re. 0-2-0 per day.
10. The above said communities should not use Indian Music (*Melam*, etc.), in their marriages and other celebrations.

11. They must stop their habit of going on a horse in procession before tying the Thali thread in Marriage, and they must use their house doors as a palanquin for the marriage processions and no vehicle should be used by them, for any purpose."

It is not suggested that the eight or eleven injunctions of the Kallar would be taken very seriously by any one but themselves, but they are quoted here to indicate the attitude often adopted towards the exterior castes. Similarly in Bengal the use by a Namasudra bridegroom of a palanquin in a marriage procession led to a disturbance, and other instances could probably be quoted from other parts of India.

Economically the exterior castes in eastern India are generally speaking self-supporting and by no means desperately poor. In western India their position often is that of scavenger or village menial for whose service there is a certain amount of necessity which is recompensed by a traditional provision of certain village lands or by other methods of payment in kind. The trouble frequently is that the number of these menials has become superfluous and they none the less expect to be fed by the village for unwanted services, and if they do not get so fed they steal the grain, no doubt regarding it as theirs by right. In southern India again the exterior castes are generally derived from various classes of cultivating serfs who until recently were tied to the soil. In northern India their economic position varies a good deal, since leather-workers for instance in industrial towns find a ready livelihood, whereas the exterior castes in the agricultural areas, where they can only obtain the worst land and the worst wells, are very often extremely poverty-stricken.

The origin of the position of the exterior castes is partly racial, partly religious and partly a matter of social custom. There can be little doubt that the idea of untouchability originates in taboo. Reminiscences of such a taboo are still to be seen in Burma where gravedigging is a profession involving a social stigma of a kind which will not permit of association with persons of other professions. A comparison of this custom with the position of those who dig graves for the hill tribes in the surrounding areas leaves little doubt but that the repulsion originates in the fear of some death infection, and the underlying idea is not that the person himself is polluted by unclean work but that his mere association with death may infect others with whom the grave-digger comes into contact with the probability of dying. The treatment of washermen all over India as a depressed caste is almost certainly traceable to a similar taboo, the objection perhaps arising from an association with the menstrual clothes of women and consequently an infection which, in the first instance, is magical though it later comes to be regarded merely as a matter of personal cleanliness. The untouchability which has originated in taboo has undoubtedly been accentuated by differences of race and the racial antipathies which seem common to every branch of the human family and have reinforced the magical taboo. An instance of this sort of thing may again be found in Burma, which, as there is no caste in the Indian sense, is useful as providing examples of the process of caste formation. Here pagoda slaves, the status of whom is hereditary, are looked down upon by other classes. In general pagoda slaves have been recruited from non-Burmese races. Large numbers of Arakanese, Talaiings, Manipuris and Siamese have been settled in various parts of Burma by various conquering monarchs as slaves of different pagodas. This racial element is probably to be traced again in the prohibition of the wearing of ornaments by certain castes. Thus in the Naga Hills in Assam in the Ao tribe one of the sub-tribal groups, which is apparently of different origin to the rest of the tribe, is not allowed to wear ivory on both arms. Similar restrictions are found in the Laccadive Islands. The same element probably appears in the practice of hypergamy, and the first step which any section of an exterior caste takes in order to raise its social standing is to deny to other sections the right to marry its daughters though continuing for the time being to take wives from among them. Thus have the Haliya Kaibarttas severed themselves from the Jaliya Kaibarttas and established themselves as a separate caste, no longer depressed, and even so a section of the Namasudras is now attempting to segregate itself. Indeed as between different sections of the exterior castes prejudice is just strong as between the interior castes and the exterior castes generally. The Mahars in Bombay have objected to sharing their counsels and conferences with Chamars, and Mahars and Chamars have unanimously spurned the Bhangi. Similarly in Madras Pallars have objected to being classed with Chaklis whom they regard as no less inferior to them than the Paraiyans though all alike are untouchables to a good caste Hindu. Religion of course with its apparatus of holy vessels, sacred animals and sacrosanct priests has also contributed to the creation of the idea of untouchability, and society in general by its natural dislike of certain unclean occupations and by its very proper antipathy to criminal professions has done much to depress and stereotype the position of the exterior castes.

In 1916 and again in 1920, the Government of India called for a report as to the moral and material condition of the depressed classes and for proposals for their amelioration from all local governments. The records of the consequent reports will be found under *Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department*, Nos. 130—131 of July 1916, 329—341 of August 1920.

During the past decade a good deal has been done particularly in Madras to benefit the exterior castes in various ways. Not only has the Madras Government appointed a Commissioner of Labour entrusted with the task of encouraging the education of the depressed classes and of looking after their economic interests, but many private societies have also been at work. Besides a number of Christian Missions, the Depressed Classes Union, the Poor School Society, the Social Service League, the Andhra Deena Seva Sangam, and the Depressed Classes Mission of Mangalore are some of the institutions working for this object. The Arcot Mission has started an agricultural school and Local Boards have also been spending money towards the same end. In addition to this much has been done by the Self-Respect movement and the Depressed Classes Conference. The actual steps taken by the Government of Madras have been, besides the appointment of a Commissioner of Labour, the insistence on the right of admission of exterior caste pupils into all publicly managed schools, the refusal of grants-in-aid to privately managed schools which do not admit exterior caste pupils, the removal of publicly managed schools from places inaccessible to exterior castes, the opening of special schools and hostels for the exterior castes, the remission of their fees, and the provision of scholarships and of special facilities for the training of exterior caste teachers. On the economic side the Government of Madras has taken steps towards the provision of house sites for the relief of congestion and for purposes of freeing the exterior castes from oppression by their landlords, the organisation and running of co-operative societies, the provision of drinking water by constructing new wells and repairing old, the provision of burial grounds and sanitary requirements for the exterior castes, the assignment of land for cultivation both by reservation for and free assignment to exterior castes of lands not classed as valuable, that is, lands not affected by irrigation projects, and by reservation for exterior castes of lands classed as valuable and assignment to them on payment of market value in easy instalments. As a result of these measures some progress has been made. In 1920, there were 150,000 pupils of exterior castes in schools, in 1930, there were 230,000. Over 100,000 of these were in Christian Mission schools and many of the remainder in schools maintained by the societies mentioned above. Most of these schools are only primary schools, there being only about 2,700 pupils in educational institutions above the primary stage of whom about 50 only were in colleges. Out of 230,000 reading in schools in 1930 about 7,500 were girls. Of the 230,000 only 16,000, however, were reading in ordinary schools not reserved for exterior castes while over 70,000 pupils who did not belong to the exterior castes were reading in schools specially maintained for those castes. As compared with the rest of the population, while about 6 per cent. of the population of Madras was going to school when this census took place, only about 4 per cent. of the exterior castes were at school, and of that total less than 1 per cent. was beyond the primary stage. Economically very considerable sums have been spent by the Madras Government during the past ten years in financing and organising co-operative societies for the acquisition of land for house sites and for the granting of agricultural loans and for purposes of flood relief, rural credit and collective bargaining. In 1920, there were over 14,000 members of exterior castes in about 100 co-operative societies; as a result of the work done during the decade there are now about 2,000 such societies consisting mainly of exterior castes and during recent years new societies have been registered at the rate of over 100 a year. Over 55,000 house sites have been provided and some 300,000 acres of land have been assigned to exterior caste cultivators. But at the time of this census there were still six districts in Madras untouched by the activities of the Commissioner of Labour. In Bombay apart from the work done by private institutions among which the Servants of India Society is very prominent, little has yet been done. A Committee was appointed by the Government of Bombay to enquire into the condition of the depressed castes and aboriginal tribes in the Presidency in November 1928. As a result of the recommendations of that Committee an officer was appointed in 1931, charged with the duty of watching over the progress of and of upholding the rights of the backward classes. In addition to that a Resolution of the Government of Bombay directed the recruitment of members of the depressed classes in the police. It is perhaps significant that the Committee found it necessary to include in their recommendations an addition to the Government Servants' Conduct Rules framed with a view to enforcing polite treatment of the depressed classes by the officials of Government. In regard to the education of these classes in British India generally some information has already been given in Chapter IX. Many of the Indian States have also recognised the necessity for special measures for the uplift of exterior castes, in particular, Baroda, Cochin and Travancore; while in Gwalior and Jaipur action has been taken more particularly in regard to the criminal tribes of which there are considerable numbers in those States. In Jaipur areas of land have been allotted to the criminal tribes and special schools have been opened for the education of their children, and the same has been done in Gwalior.

The occasion of this census, coming as it did at a time when political reforms appeared imminent, complicated the already plentiful difficulties in the way of getting an exact return of number of exterior castes. A number of conflicting forces were at work, as, apart from the natural desire of individuals of exterior castes to raise their own social status by making themselves out to be something other than they were recognised to be by their neighbours, a definite movement was set afoot by the Hindu Mahasabha for the return of all Hindus as Hindu simply

with no qualifications of caste or sect. In 1928 the Hindu Mahasabha itself passed a resolution declaring that the so called untouchables had equal rights with other Hindus to study in schools, and to use wells and roads and temples, and the same resolution called on priests, barbers and washermen to afford their services to untouchables. At this census, however, political considerations probably overweighed all else and many efforts were made to induce untouchables to record themselves as 'Hindus' and nothing else. The exterior castes themselves were, however, generally alive to the fact that their interests required their numbers to be definitely known; at the same time they were not unconscious of the fact that it might be advantageous to them to represent as many castes as possible as being depressed in order to swell their numbers in importance. Consequently, while in the Punjab the All-India Shradhanand Depressed Classes Mission was calling on the exterior castes to return themselves as Arya Hindus instead of, for instance, Achuts or Dalits, the exterior castes' own leaders were calling on their followers to return themselves as *Ad-Dharmi* by religion and not Hindu at all; and in other provinces the associations of the exterior castes were representing as 'depressed' castes which very doubtfully fall into that category and many of which have been excluded on scrutiny. Generally speaking, however, it is believed that the figures for the exterior classes obtained at this census have been accurate on the whole and the methods adopted in different provinces to determine what constitutes an exterior caste have already been referred to, while extracts from some of the Provincial Reports will be found below.

Little information exists as to the actual numbers of these exterior castes who are entitled to a vote under the present constitution of the provinces. Except in the case of Madras, nomination has been resorted to to secure the representation of depressed classes. Four members have been so nominated in the Central Provinces, two each in Bombay and in Bihar and Orissa, one each in Bengal and in the United Provinces and none in the Punjab or in Assam. In Madras ten members were nominated to represent nine specified communities recorded as depressed, while individuals of the exterior castes were not debarred of course from voting in a general constituency if they happened to be qualified as electors. It has been estimated that there are in Madras rather less than 57,000 exterior caste electors in a total of more than 1½ million "non-Mahomedan" voters, that is to say, about 4½ per cent., though the exterior castes form some 16 per cent. of the total non-Muslim population. In Bombay a rough estimate has been made that there are 15,600 exterior caste voters out of a total of 759,000 voters in all the general constituencies, that is, about 2 per cent. of the exterior castes have votes, whereas they comprise over 8 per cent. of the population of the Presidency.

The following Tables A and B will give some indication of the numerical constitution of the depressed castes and of their distribution and comparative literacy. It should be made clear that figures for literacy are available in part only, and the percentage shown as literate is the percentage calculated on that total only for which figures of literacy are available.

TABLE A.

Name of Caste, etc.	Total number treated as exterior.	Locality in which treated as exterior.	Remarks.
Adiya	5	Coorg.	
Ager	7,108	Bombay, Western India States Agency.	
Aheri (Aheria)	24,375	Ajmer-Merwara, United Provinces and Rajputana.	
Ajila	659	Madras.	
Alavan	734	Travancore.	
Ambattan	305	Travancore]	.. .. Barber castes elsewhere not treated as exterior.
Arakh	85,907	United Provinces.	
Aransdan	60	Madras.	
Arayan	23,380	Travancore.	
Arunthuthiyar			Included with Chakkiliyan.
Audhelia	749	Chattisgarh (C. P.).	
Bagri (Bagdi, Badhik)	1,023,127	Ajmer-Merwara, Bengal, U. P., Gwalior, Rajputana.	
Bahelis	49,907	Bengal, United Provinces.	
Bahna	6	Amraoti (Berar).	
Baira	1,879	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Baiti	8,888	Bengal.	
Bojania, etc.	34	United Provinces .. .. .	.. Total recorded 7,876 elsewhere not treated as exterior.
Bakuda	806	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Balai (Balahi)	561,662	Ajmer-Merwara, Central Provinces and Berar (parts) United Provinces, Central India, Gwalior, Rajputana.	

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Name of Caste, etc.	Total number treated as exterior.	Locality in which treated as exterior.	Remarks.
Balagai	130	Coorg.	
Bandi (Kabar)	1,068	United Provinces, S. Kanara (Madras).	
Barar	1,384	Gwalior.	
Bargi	1,608	Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana.	
Bargunda	1,931	Gwalior.	
Bariki	3,695	Ganjam and Vizagapatam (Madras).	
Barwala (Barwar)	9,996	U. P., Jammu and Kashmir.	
Basith	6,213	Jammu and Kashmir State.	
Battada	558	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Batawal	5,645	Jammu and Kashmir State.	
Bauri (Bavari, Bawaria)	721,209	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Delhi, Madras, Punjab, United Provinces, Travancore.	
Bazigar	372	Rajputana	Total recorded 2,734. Not elsewhere treated as exterior.
Bedar	490	Central Provinces and Berar (part)	Total recorded 991,536. Not elsewhere treated as exterior.
Beldar	3,139	Bengal	Total Beldar, Bind, Nuniya, Od and Waddar recorded as 561,926 for India. Only reported exterior in Bengal and Punjab but latter figures not included here. Treated also as depressed by Mysore State.
Bellara	87	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Beriya (Bediya)	25,155	Bengal, Gwalior, United Provinces.	
Berua	307	Bengal.	
Bhambi (Bambhi)	183,917	Ajmer-Merwara, Bombay, Central India, Rajputana, Western India States Agency.	
Bhangi (Lalbegi, Mehtar, Halakhor).	865,453	Ajmer-Merwara, Andamans and Nicobars, Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, United Provinces, Baroda, Central India, Gwalior, Rajputana, Sikkim, Western India States Agency.	
Bhar	461,624	United Provinces	See Rajwar.
Bharathar	275	Travancore.	
Bhatiya	322	Bengal.	
Bhil	28	United Provinces.	
Bhogta	66,054	Bihar and Orissa.	
Bhuinmali	111,439	Assam, Bengal.	
Bhuiya, etc.	738,479	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Sikkim, United Provinces.	Includes Agaria, Chero, etc., in U. P.
Bhumij	266,464	Bihar and Orissa.	
Bidakia	63	Rajputana.	
Bind	19,518	Bengal.	
Binjhia	317	Bengal.	
Byagari	8,459	Bellary (Madras).	
Chachati	5,130	Vizagapatam (Madras).	
Chadar	21,071	Central Provinces.	
Chakkaravar	3,536	Travancore.	
Chakkiliyan	630,359	Madras and Travancore.	
Chalavadi	3,422	Bellary (Madras).	
Chamar (Chambhar, Khalpa, Samagara, Satnami).	11,751,187	Ajmer-Merwara, Andamans and Nicobars, Baluchistan, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, Coorg, Delhi, Madras, North-West Frontier Province, Punjab, United Provinces, Baroda, Central India Agency, Gwalior, Jammu and Kashmir, Rajputana, Western India States.	India total 12,195,516 returned from the Provinces here mentioned.
Chauhan	2,026	Drug (Central Provinces).	
Chaupal	2,737	Bihar and Orissa.	
Chavalakkaran	1,730	Travancore.	
Chayakkaran	2,168	Travancore.	
Chuhra	484,596	Baluchistan, Delhi, N.-W. F. P., Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir.	
Dabgar	1,366	Ajmer-Merwara, United Provinces, Rajputana.	See Munchi.

Name of Caste, etc.	Total number treated as exterior.	Locality in which treated as exterior.	Remarks.
Dahayat	833	Damoh (Central Provinces).	
Damai	7,905	Bengal and Sikkim.	
Dandai	44,248	Ganjam (Madras).	
Devendrakulathan	4,019	Tamilnad (Madras).	
Dewar	1,786	Chhattiagarh (Central Provinces).	
Dhanak	33,737	Ajmer-Merwara, Saugor (Central Provinces), Delhi, Rajputana.	India total (with Kandra, q.s.) 758,671.
Dhenuar	44	Bengal.	
Dhimar	46,071	Central Provinces and Berar (parts).	.. Not elsewhere treated as exterior.
Dhiyar	3,165	Jammu and Kashmir.	
Dhobi	1,406,291	Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Berar, United Provinces, Sikkim.	India total including Vannan (q.v.), Parit and Veluttedan 3,161,426.
Dhor (Dohor)	24,983	Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar.	
Doai	1,960	Bengal.	
Dom (Domar, Dombo, Dumna, Bansphor, Basor, Dharkar, Patni, Wansfoda).	884,403	Ajmer-Merwara, Assam, Baroda, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, Punjab, United Provinces, Central India, Jammu and Kashmir, Rajputana, Gwalior.	N.B.—Hyderabad figures probably included under "Others".
Dugla	9,523	Assam.	
Dusadh	1,400,878	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces.	
Eravalan	541	Cochin.	
Ganda	108,843	Central Provinces .. ..	.. See Pan.
Gardi	173	Jammu and Kashmir.	
Garoda	22,137	Ajmer-Merwara, Baroda, Rajputana, Western India States Agency.	
Ghancha	4,862	Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana.	
Ghasia	132,382	Baluchistan, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Ganjam and Vizagapatam (Madras).	
Ghokha	48,622	Bihar and Orissa.	
Ghusuria	1,846	Bihar and Orissa.	
Gidhiya	191	United Provinces.	
Godagali	969	Ganjam and Vizagapatam (Madras).	
Godari	419	Do.	
Godda	146	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Godra	1,553	Bihar and Orissa.	
Gonrhi	5,149	Bengal.	
Gosangi	244	Chingleput (Madras).	
Habura	1,916	United Provinces.	
Haddi (Relli)	41,672	Ganjam and Vizagapatam (Madras)	.. } No doubt the same caste
Hari (Brittial)	262,354	Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	.. } originally.
Hasala	368	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Hira	16,628	Assam.	
Ilavathi	6,955	Travancore.	
Iravan	869,863	Travancore.	
Irika	332	Bihar and Orissa.	
Irulan	240	Cochin.	
Jaggali	3,020	Ganjam and Vizagapatam (Madras).	
Jaliya Kaibartta	501,146	Assam, Bengal.	
Jambuvulu	6,701	Godavari (Madras).	
Jangam	12	Bhandara (Central Provinces).	
Jhalo Malo	208,925	Surma Valley (Assam), Bengal.	
Jhamral	1,519	Central India.	
Jolaha	40	Jammu and Kashmir.	
Jugi	83,922	Surma Valley (Assam).	
Kadan	758	Madras, Cochin Strictly speaking a jungle tribe, but treated as untouchable.
Kadar	1,078	Bengal.	
Kaikari	2,157	Central Provinces and Berar.	

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Name of Caste, etc.	Total number treated as exterior.	Locality in which treated as exterior.	Remarks.
Kaikolan	455	Travancore.	
Kakkalan	1,666	Travancore.	
Kalbelia	4,133	Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana.	
Kalladi, Kalloda	5,739	Malabar (Madras), Coorg.	
Kalwar	13,627	Bengal, Sikkim.	
Kan	66	Bengal.	
Kanakkan	35,238	Malabar (Madras), Cochin.	
Kandra	159,837	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.	See Dhanak.
Kaniyan	15,652	Travancore.	
Kanjar	30,457	Ajmer-Merwara, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces, Gwalior, Rajputana.	
Kaora	107,906	Bengal.	
Kapali	165,583	Bengal.	
Kaparia	973	Bengal, United Provinces.	
Karenga	9,855	Bengal.	
Karimpalan	2,807	Malabar (Madras).	
Karwal	108	United Provinces.	
Kathikaran	161	Travancore.	
Katia	24,510	Central Provinces.	
Kattunayakan	1,561	Malabar (Madras).	
Kavathi	2,293	Travancore.	
Kavera	790	Cochin.	
Kela	9,493	Bihar and Orissa.	
Keralamuthali	1,423	Travancore.	
Khairwa	81	United Provinces.	
Khanger	10,577	Ajmer-Merwara, Central Provinces and Berar (part), Rajputana.	
Khatik	241,493	Baluchistan, Bengal, Central Provinces and Berar (part), Delhi, United Provinces, Gwalior.	India total recorded, 412,620.
Kichak	2	Bengal.	
Kingharia (incl. Dharhi, Pawaria).	7,599	United Provinces.	
Kodalo	28,410	Ganjam (Madras).	
Kol	76,845	United Provinces	Treated as an exterior caste in United Provinces only, elsewhere as a forest tribe.
Kolcha	1,114	Bombay.	
Koli and Dagi	263,751	Delhi, Punjab, Gwalior.	
Koli Dhor	26,358	Bombay, Western India States Agency.	
Konai	41,058	Bengal.	
Konwar	133	Bengal.	
Koosa	818	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Kootan	228	Cochin.	
Koraga	4,042	Bellary, S. Kanara (Madras).	
Korama (Kuruman)	10,576	Coorg, Malabar (Madras).	
Kori (Koria)	964,661	Andamans and Nicobars, Baluchistan, Central Provinces and Berar (part), United Provinces, Rajputana.	
Korwa	467	United Provinces	Elsewhere treated as a primitive tribe.
Kotal	7,651	Bengal.	
Kotwar	64	United Provinces.	
Kotwalla	1,469	Bombay, Western India States.	
Kuchband	395	Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana.	
Kudiya	4,046	Coorg, S. Kanara (Madras).	
Kudubi	12,011	Madras.	
Kudumban	827	Tamilnad (Madras).	
Kumhar	23,863	Central Provinces and Berar (part).	
Kurariar	631	Bihar and Orissa.	
Kuravan	89,181	Travancore, Malabar (Madras).	
Kurichohan	7,112	Malabar (Madras).	
Lippara	4	Coorg.	

Name of Caste, etc.	Total number treated as exterior.	Locality in which treated as exterior.	Remarks.
Lohar	59,178	Bengal, Sikkim.	Probably refers to the Gurkhal Lohar generally treated as exterior.
Mahar, (Cheruman, Dhar, Holey, Holar, Mal, Mala Mohra, Pulayan, Vankar).	5,447,947	Ajmer-Merwara, Assam, Bengal, Bombay Coorg, Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, United Provinces, Baroda, Central India, Rajputana, Hyderabad, Cochin, Travancore, Western India States Agency.	* With Adikarnataka in Mysore.
Mahurin	2,309	Bihar and Orissa.	
Malla	1,421	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Mala Dam	2,309	Andhraudesh (Madras).	
Malasar	5,161	Madras.	
Malyan	2,185	Cochin.	
Malya	123	Coorg.	
Mallah	29,353	Bengal.	
Mang (Madiga, Matangi, Magh, Maghwal, Madgi).	2,547,537	Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, Punjab, Baroda, Central India, Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Rajputana, Western India States Agency.	Madiga is included with Adikarnataka in Mysore.
Mang Garudi	4,334	Bombay.	
Mangan	184	Bihar and Orissa.	
Maravan	14,399	Travancore.	
Marakkan	253	Travancore.	
Mavilan	1,341	Malabar (Madras).	
Madara (Madari)	7,021	Coorg, Madras, Travancore.	
Moger	772	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Muchi (Mochi, Mnochi)	469,308	Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, and Berar, Coorg, Ganjam (Madras), United Provinces, Sikkim.	India total (including Dabgar and Jinger) 1,036,405 but not everywhere treated as exterior.
Mukkrvan	596	Travancore.	
Mundala	6,337	Coorg, S. Kanara (Madras).	
Munbar	210,535	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces.	
Nadar	223,983	Travancore.	
Nadis	623	Baroda.	
Nagar	16,164	Bengal.	
Nagarchi	5,970	Central Provinces and Berar.	
Naiya	40	Bengal.	
Nale Kanavara	9	Coorg.	
Nalokoyeva	1,469	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Namasdra (Chandala)	2,287,689	Assam, Bengal, Vizagapatam (Madras).	
Nat	61,175	Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces, Rajputana.	
Nayadi	816	Malabar (Madras), Cochin, Travancore.	
Nulayan	3,129	Travancore.	
Ojha	1,718	Central Provinces (parts).	
Pagadai	771	Tamilnad (Madras).	
Paidi	39,437	Ganjam, Vizagapatam (Madras).	
Panda	92	Ganjam (Madras).	
Paky	2,017	N. Circars (Madras).	
Palaiya	43,160	Bengal.	
Pale	2,193	Coorg.	
Palian	256,364	Madras, Travancore.	
Pambada	336	S. Kanara (Madras).	
Pamidi	424	Ganjam (Madras).	
Pan (Panka, Pano, Panik)	668,466	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces (part), Madras.	Total recorded (with Ganda, g. s., and Baraik) 1,241,327.
Panan	2,512	Travancore.	
Panchama	95,145	Coorg, Madras.	
Panikkan	402	Coorg, Travancore.	
Paniyan	32,410	Malabar (Madras).	
Panniandi	54	Tamilnad (Madras).	
Paraiyan (Sambavam)	1,200,126	Coorg, Madras, Cochin, Travancore.	
Paravan	14,428	Madras, Travancore.	
Paradhan	71,906	Central Provinces and Berar.	
Paridi	41	Narsinghpur (Central Provinces).	
Par	1,651,478	Ajmer-Merwara, Andamans and Nicobars, Baluchistan, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces, Rajputana.	
Pod	607,731	Bengal.	
Palluvan	537	Travancore.	

EXTERIOR CASTES.

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Name of Caste, etc.	Total number treated as exterior.	Locality in which treated as exterior.	Remarks.
Pundari	31,255	Bengal.	
Puthirai Vannan	74	Tamilnad (Madras).	
Raigar	162,704	Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana.	
Raju	56,778	Bengal.	
Rajwar (Rajjhar)	22,554	Bengal, Central Provinces (part)	.. Treated as exterior also by Census Superintendent of Bihar and Orissa. Total recorded for India (with Bhar, g. v.) 630,708.
Raneyar	1,480	Madras.	
Ratal	488	Jammu and Kashmir.	
Rawal	790	Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana.	
Relli .. ..	..	..	.. Included in Haddi.
Sansi	39,403	Ajmer-Merwara, Delhi, Punjab, United Provinces, Rajputana.	
Sahariya	14,113	United Provinces.	
Sanaurhiya	31		
Sarbhangi	23	Rajputana.	
Sargara	32,032	Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana.	
Saryara (Sarera)	9,437	Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir.	
Satia	1,184	Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana.	
Saun	2,275	United Provinces.	
Silpkar	313,737	United Provinces.	
Siyal	9,281	Bihar and Orissa.	
Shagirdapesha	333	Bengal.	
Shenva	9,643	Baroda.	
Sunri	76,922	Bengal, Sikkim.	
Surava	3	Coorg.	
Sutradhar	12,575	Assam .. ..	.. A boat building caste; distinct from "Viswabrahmans".
Samban	557	Tamilnad (Madras).	
Sapari	462	Vizagapatam (Madras).	
Semman	1,198	Tamilnad (Madras).	
Tirgar	713	Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana.	
Tiruvalluvar	207	Madras.	
Thantan	41,214	Travancore.	
Thantapulayan	795	Travancore.	
Tharu	31,578	United Provinces. .. ..	.. Treated as a primitive tribe in Bihar and Orissa. Not treated as depressed in Bengal.
Thontaman	684	Travancore.	
Thoti	1,639	Chingleput (Madras).	
Thori	17,455	Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana, Baroda.	
Timali	68	Bombay.	
Tiyar	96,413	Bengal.	
Turi	70,240	Bihar and Orissa, Bengal .. ..	.. A depressed tribal unit.
Turi	4,970	Baroda, Western India States Agency, Bombay.	
Ullatan	778	Cochin.	
Valan	21,172	Travancore.	
Valluvan	59,414	Madras, Cochin.	
Vannan	13,433	Travancore.	
Varnavar	166	Do.	
Velakkithalanayar	30,603	Do.	
Velan	16,253	Do.	
Veluthadanayar	14,878	Do.	
Vetan	9,496	Do.	
Vottakkaran	498	Do.	
Vettuvan	40,122	Madras, Cochin.	
Vitholia	526	Bombay.	
Watal	13	Jammu and Kashmir.	
Yadavan	8,457	Travancore.	
Adi-Andhra	664,844	Madras.	
Adi-Dravida	2,320,571	Coorg, Madras, Mysore, Travancore.	
Adi-Karnataka	644	Madras.	
Tea Garden Coolie castes	1,233,512	Assam.	
Others (Sudra, Valmiki, Ramdasia, unnamed, minor and unspecified).	218,846	Assam, Baluchistan, Bombay, Madras, Baroda, Hyderabad, Travancore, Punjab	

Total .. 50,195,770

TABLE B.

Province or State.	Total Population.	Total Hindu.	Total Exterior castes.	Percentage of Exterior castes on—		Percentage of Exterior castes who are literate.
				Hindu Population.	Total Population.	
INDIA	350,529,557	239,195,140	50,195,770	21	14	1.9
Provinces	271,431,549	177,727,988	39,064,009	22	14	1.6
1. Ajmer Merwara	500,292	434,509	70,816	18	14	2.2
2. Andamans and Nicobars ..	29,463	7,618	512	7	2	?
3. Assam	8,622,251	4,931,760	1,829,009	37	21	3.1
4. Baluchistan (<i>Districts and Administered Territories</i>). ..	463,508	41,432	5,702	14	1	6.9
5. Bengal	50,114,002	21,570,407	6,899,809	32	14	5.0
6. Bihar and Orissa	37,677,576	31,011,474	5,744,393	19	15	0.6
7. Bombay	21,854,866	16,021,221	1,750,424	11	8	2.8
8. Burma	14,647,497	570,953	No return of caste.			
9. Central Provinces and Berar ..	15,507,723	13,338,223	2,818,346	21	18	1.5
10. Coorg	163,327	146,007	24,903	17	15	1.5
11. Delhi	636,246	399,863	72,883	18	11	1.4
12. Madras	46,740,107	41,277,370	7,234,104	18	15	1.5
13. North-West Frontier Province ..	2,425,076	142,977	5,468	4	..	3.6
14. Punjab	23,580,852	6,328,588	1,279,459	20	5	0.8
15. United Provinces of Agra and Oudh ..	48,408,763	40,905,586	11,322,281	28	23	0.5
States and Agencies	79,098,088	61,467,152	11,131,761	18	14	3.1
16. Assam States	625,606	272,890	1,421	1	..	12.9
17. Baluchistan States	405,109	12,249	20	..	..	2.5
18. Baroda State	2,443,007	2,152,071	203,043	9	8	10.3
19. Bengal States	973,336	641,662	30,822	5	3	?
20. Bihar and Orissa States	4,652,007	4,194,878	631,864	15	14	1.0
21. Bombay States	4,468,396	3,921,088	348,574	9	8	2.8
22. Central India Agency	6,632,790	5,852,204	797,902	14	12	0.3
23. Central Provinces States	2,483,214	1,788,401	252,732	14	10	0.5
24. Gwalior State	3,523,070	3,271,576	678,119	21	19	?
25. Hyderabad State	14,436,148	12,176,727	2,473,230	20	17	0.6
26. Jammu and Kashmir State	3,646,243	736,222	170,928	23	5	0.5
27. Madras States Agency	6,754,484	4,323,150	1,960,370	45	29	13.8
<i>Cochin State</i>	<i>1,205,016</i>	<i>780,484</i>	<i>125,339</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>4.8</i>
<i>Travancore State</i>	<i>5,095,973</i>	<i>3,134,888</i>	<i>1,769,735</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>14.9</i>
<i>Other Madras States</i>	<i>453,495</i>	<i>407,778</i>	<i>65,296</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>3.5</i>
28. Mysore State	6,557,302	6,015,880	1,000,326	17	15	1.4
29. North-West Frontier Province (<i>Agencies and Tribal Areas</i>). ..	46,451	13,651	542	4	1	?
30. Punjab States	437,787	383,883	94,347	25	22	
31. Punjab States Agency	4,472,218	1,887,249	392,999	21	9	0.3
32. Rajputana Agency	11,225,712	9,578,805	1,565,409	16	14	0.4
33. Sikkim State	109,808	47,074	2,029	4	2	?
34. United Provinces States	1,206,070	950,724	208,864	22	17	0.2
35. Western India States Agency	3,999,250	3,245,768	318,220	10	8	1.9

The following extracts are taken from the Provincial and State Reports on the subject of the depressed classes.

The treatment of the subject by the Census Superintendent of Assam has already been mentioned as typical of the method adopted in all provinces at this census. He writes as follows:—

Assam.--Under the orders of the Census Commissioner for India a list of depressed and backward classes has to be prepared for every province in India. The invidious task of preparing such a list for Assam has, therefore, been laid upon me and I am compelled, however reluctantly, to assume the functions of a modern Ballal Sen..... "Depressed" as used in India in connection with caste has come to be associated particularly with persons belonging to certain castes in Madras who are unapproachable, whose touch necessitates immediate purification and who are not allowed to read in the schools along with other boys.

There is, I am glad to say, no such degree of depression in Assam; an unapproachable caste is unknown here and boys of all castes are freely admitted into all schools and colleges. Nor are there any difficulties worth mentioning as regards the drawing of water by all castes from public 'tanks' and wells.

Hence I would be loath to apply to any caste in this province an adjective which has come to connote an extreme state of degradation. The expression "depressed castes" does however occur frequently in this note in the extracts quoted from the opinions of various officers. This is merely because these opinions were received before I had decided that I would not use the term in Assam.

The unusual expression "Hindu Exterior Castes" has been invented by me in accordance with the permission given by the Census Commissioner for India to Provincial Superintendents to use any expression which they considered more suitable to local conditions than the hackneyed term "depressed".

To return to our three divisions:—

(1) "*Hindu Exterior Castes*".—This, as I have confessed, is an expression to which I plead guilty. I am by no means proud of it and it is open to many criticisms. I have however asked many Indian gentlemen to give me a better one but they have not succeeded. The expression, as it stands, connotes castes which are Hindu castes but which are outside something and that is really what I mean to imply.

What are they outside? The answer is that they are outside the social pale of Hindu Society; that they are "below the salt"; that they are on the other side of a barrier which prevents them from moving upwards.

But before going further I must define what I mean by "Hindu Exterior Castes".

By this expression I mean castes recognized definitely as Hindu castes whose water is not acceptable and who, *in addition*, are so deficient as castes in education, wealth and influence or, for some reason connected with their traditional occupations, are so looked down upon that there seems little hope of their being allowed by Hindu Society to acquire any further social privileges within—at any rate—the next decade.

By the use of the word "exterior caste" I certainly do not intend to imply that such a caste can never raise itself to a higher level. On the contrary I intend to imply that this can happen, as it actually has happened in the past, and that an exterior caste may in the course of time possibly become what I may call an "interior" one.

It is impossible to lay down any simple test to distinguish members of the Hindu exterior castes in Assam from others. The main test to distinguish "clean" castes from "unclean" castes is whether the water of the caste is accepted by members of the upper castes. A caste whose water is acceptable is known in the Surma Valley as "*jalchal*" and a caste whose water is not accepted may be conveniently defined as "*jal-achal*". In Assam the words "*pani chale*" and "*pani na chale*" are in vogue. But we cannot apply this simple test alone in order to find out which castes are exterior and which are not. It is true that all exterior castes are *jal-achal* but it is not true that all *jal-achal* castes are exterior. For example in the Sylhet district the Shahas are technically a *jal-achal* caste but they are a very wealthy and influential community who are treated with considerable respect in society and by a peculiar social convention are permitted to purchase their brides from the higher castes.

The Shahas are in fact a good example of a caste which though technically unclean have by their own efforts raised themselves to a position in which the upper classes simply cannot afford to ignore them.

I have not therefore classed the Shahas as an "Exterior Caste". One of my friendly critics, Babu K. C. Dutta, Extra Assistant Commissioner, has taken up this point.

"You do not class" he writes "the Shahas as an exterior caste simply because of their education and the wealth and influence they command. Yet they are not *jal-chal*, they are not allowed entrance into the *Thakurghar* of the cleaner castes and the disability is not likely to be relaxed in the next decade. I do not concede for a moment that the disabilities that bar the Shahas are any more pronounced in the case of the less influential and uncultured castes. These exterior castes are suffering from want of education, wealth, culture, in fact, all that contributes to social influence. As soon as they have achieved these, their position will be akin to that of the Shahas—neither clean nor depressed."

The Shahas are, of course, exterior to the extent that they fall on the other side of the great line which divides Hindu Society—the *jal-chal* line—but though this line is still of great importance other things must be taken into consideration.

If, for example, the Patnis and Namasudras could shake off the tradition which associates them with occupations regarded as low (most of them are now cultivators but tradition associates them with fishing and boat-plying) and could acquire, as a caste, a reputation for wealth and culture they would, I admit, be in much the same position as the Shahas are to-day.

This process will, however, take many generations and in the meantime they are, in my opinion, clearly suffering from greater disabilities than the Shahas, the disabilities being the very absence of those factors which have made the Shahas a respected caste.

Thus while the *jal-chal* line is a useful line of division between the upper and the lower castes it is not of much use as a test for determining the "Exterior Castes". Nor does the test of temple entry afford us much assistance.

Generally speaking in the Surma Valley all castes which are "*jal-achal*" are not allowed into the actual *Thakurghar* of temples in which the higher castes worship and are not allowed to assist in the ceremonies by bringing tulsi and flowers with which to decorate the idol. *Jal-achal* castes are however allowed "darshan" and are permitted to come into the compound of the temple. In the Assam Valley where the "*Namghar*" generally takes the place of the temple the same principle holds good but a distinction is made between different classes of *jal-achal* castes. Nadiyals and Banias for example are not allowed at all into the *Namghars* of higher castes whereas Katonis and Suts are allowed in some districts to enter the part not regarded as particularly holy, *i.e.*, they are not allowed to enter the *Monikhut*.

The whole matter being, therefore, so indeterminate how, it may be asked, can I possibly venture to say, with any degree of certainty, what castes are exterior. The only possible method was to find out by local enquiry in each district the general social position of all castes which might be thought to come under the definition of "exterior castes". This is the method I adopted.....

Caste in the Assam Valley is not, as elsewhere, chiefly a functional division; it is really a racial division and functional castes are very few.

Probably for that reason Hinduism in that valley is tolerant towards the tribal communities which have not yet been completely absorbed into its organism. It must, in fact, be extremely difficult for an Assamese Hindu to despise at heart a man whose Hinduism is open to considerable doubt but who considers that he is just as good a man as any Koch or Kalita. In fact people like the Deoris consider that they are much better and don't care who knows it. Nobody can be depressed who hits you with a big stick if you attempt to show your contempt for him.

As a result the only castes in the Assam Valley which can be called exterior are castes which are either traditionally associated with some degrading occupation (such as selling fish) or whose traditional origin is associated with a bar sinister. About some castes in this valley there is, however, no possible doubt. Let us deal with these first.

There is, I consider, no doubt that in the Assam Valley the caste which at this census has adopted the name of Bania and which at previous censuses was styled Brittil-Bania is an exterior caste. Some of the leading men of this community have in fact informed me that their position in society is hopeless and have asked to be classed as a depressed caste.

That this caste is an exterior caste is also the unanimous opinion of all responsible officers whom I have consulted.

Nor is there any doubt about the large class which has now adopted the caste name of Kaibartta—and which was previously known as Nadiyal; nor about the Charals of Lower Assam who now call themselves Namasudras with their offshoot the Hiras. The general opinion about all these castes is unanimous.

Thus the Census Officer, Dhubri, reports:—

"Namasudras or Nadiyals or Jalnas or Charals or Kaibarttas or Doms are considered untouchable by caste Hindus who neither admit them into their places of worship nor take water touched by them"

and the Census Officer, Jorhat:—

"Among the indigenous Assamese castes the following are depressed:—

- (1) Kaibarttas or Nādiyals or Doms.
- (2) Brittil-Banias.
- (3) Hiras or Charals (found in Lower Assam only)".

From Darrang comes further evidence :—

“That Doms, Nadiyals, Namasudras, Charals, Hiras and Brittial-Banias are depressed, is admitted by the members of the community themselves who were consulted,” writes the Census Officer.

In fact in every district of the Assam Valley the opinion is unanimous that the Brittial-Banias and the Kaibarttas (which name may be taken to include Charals, Nadiyals, Hiras and all the other names which from time to time have been applied to various branches of this family) are the most exterior castes in the whole of the Assam Valley.

These castes are socially “outside the pale” and though the Brittial-Banias have worked hard to improve their position and have a considerable number of educated men amongst them they appear to be as far off as ever from any sort of social recognition.

Ancient custom and practice have ordained that members of these castes are to be treated as practically untouchable. It is true that the former necessity of taking a bath if touched by a member of one of these castes has fallen into disuse but a Brahman officer of about 30 years of age has informed me that when he was a small boy he had to take a bath if, by accident, he was touched by one of the hated Doms.

Above these castes came others whose position seemed to me for a long time to be extremely doubtful. They are the Naths or Jugis (known in Upper Assam as Katonis) and the Suts who are also commonly called Borias.

A careful study of the position of these castes has however convinced me that I would be wrong to class them as exterior. The truth about the Naths and the Suts appears to be that they are exterior castes who have made considerable efforts to raise themselves socially and that their efforts are beginning to bear fruit. There is a bar against them but they are beginning to break through it: they are really “superior exterior castes” who are moving upwards. There is, in fact, hope for them. As one Assamese officer has briefly expressed it :—

“All Assamese low castes have a chance of rising in the social scale except the Doms and Haris whose case is hopeless.”

The Suts and Naths do not themselves desire to be classed as depressed or exterior and in fact strongly object to it.

“The Education Department in 1915 provided three general dining halls and four separate rooms and the understanding has always been that the upper caste boys are to dine in the general dining halls and the depressed or backward class boys are to use the above four rooms. For the last two years, there has been a very strong movement for admitting these remaining ‘backward’ caste boys into the general dining hall—there is an overwhelming majority in their favour, only a small minority of about five or six still being in the opposition.”

Professor Sen Gupta has subsequently informed me that the movement referred to in the last paragraph of his note resulted in August 1931 in the abolition of the remaining restriction and that—as a tentative measure—permission was given to the students who had formerly dined in the four rooms set apart to dine in the general dining hall. The Professor thinks it probable that the concession will continue.

This last piece of information, I confess, surprised me. If the concession is allowed to continue it will reflect great credit on the liberal spirit of Professor Sen Gupta’s mess and may, in time, have a far-reaching effect on social custom in the Assam Valley. It does not, however, change my opinion that the Kaibarttas and Banias are definitely “exterior castes”.

On the whole I feel fairly confident that my classification of exterior castes in the Assam Valley is correct.

I only wish I felt as confident about the exterior castes in the Surma Valley.

Conditions in that Valley are very different from those in the Assam Valley. Sylhet is linguistically and ethnologically connected with Bengal and the inclusion of this large district in Assam was originally merely a measure of administrative convenience.

Sylhet and Cachar (which is largely populated by people of Sylhetti origin) are therefore essentially Bengali in their culture. Hence there are many more functional castes than in the Assam Valley where, as I have already explained, caste is largely racial. Moreover, the presence of a large upper caste zamindar class in Sylhet—the arbitrators of social usage—has not tended to encourage any relaxation in the treatment of the lower orders of society. Take for example the case of a M. A. of the Sylhet Mali caste occupying a good Government post. Many responsible Hindu officers have informed me definitely that if such a person came alone to see them in their paternal homes a chair would not be offered to the guest. A *jol-chauki* (small wooden stool) *might* be offered. Even Muslims treat these low castes in the same way. A Muslim Sub-divisional Officer tells me that if a Dhubi friend of his occupying a good position in Government service were to come to his house to see him “I would not offer him a chair. I would simply say “sit down” and the Dhubi would not take a chair.”

Surely if the upper caste Hindus wished to help the lower castes the least they might do is to treat the educated men among the lower castes with the same courtesy as they would extend to an educated Muslim.

The following opinion of a responsible Hindu Government officer is of interest : " Some low caste men by their *submissive attitude* win the hearts of the upper caste men and get partial admission into society. Others claim as of right and get refused. A lot depends on the man himself. If he claims too much he gets badly snubbed. In places where orthodoxy is strong he will not, in any case, get fair treatment. In the towns treatment is more liberal than in the villages. In the villages orthodoxy still prevails. If a Patni is the tenant of a Zemindar he will never get fair social treatment however highly educated he is. Orthodoxy is strongest amongst the Zemindars. But if the low caste man is an executive officer such as a Sub-Deputy Collector or an Extra Assistant Commissioner he would be given better treatment than a non-executive officer, e.g., than a Deputy Inspector of Schools". The above remarks refer, of course, only to private social intercourse. On all social and public occasions the educated Mali or Patni is simply nowhere. He has (if he goes to the ceremony) to sit along with his other caste-men outside the house on the mat provided for their caste, while the higher castes sit inside the house.

Add the following facts :—

- (1) Members of castes like Mali, Patni, Muchi, etc., are not allowed to enter into the temples set up by the higher castes ;
- (2) The upper castes will not take water or food touched by them ; and one begins to realize the dreadful sense of mingled inferiority and hatred which an educated member of one of these exterior castes must feel in most cases towards the higher castes.

The exterior castes themselves are, however, guilty of similar treatment to each other and an exterior caste which considers itself to be on a higher social level than another exterior caste adopts exactly the same attitude as the higher castes do towards the exterior castes. A case which recently happened in Sunamganj illustrates this point. The local ferryman there (a Patni by caste) was prosecuted for refusing to row a Muchi across the river. His defence was that, according to social custom, a Patni could not row for a Muchi and that it has always been the practice, if a Muchi wanted to cross the river, for the paddle to be given to him so that he could row himself across.

After careful consideration and analysis of the evidence I have collected. I have come to the conclusion that the following are the main castes in the Surma Valley which should be classed as exterior. They are arranged in alphabetical order :—

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Dhupi or Dhobi. | 6. Mahara. |
| 2. Dugla or Dholi. | 7. Mali (Bhainmali). |
| 3. Jhalo and Malo. | 8. Namasudra. |
| 4. Yogi (Jugi) (Nath). | 9. Patni. |
| 5. Kaibartta (Jalliya). | 10. Sutradhar. |

There is general consensus of evidence that these castes are exterior throughout the Surma Valley though the position of some of them seems to be much more hopeful in Cachar than it is in Sylhet. I have no doubt that this is due largely to the absence of a Zemindari class in Cachar which is a temporarily-settled district. I have been told by several officers that the Maharas are a *jal-chal* caste and that people of this caste were made 'clean' by some ancient Raja of Sylhet—the idea being that the Maharas used to carry the Raja's palanquin and, as Raja wanted to smoke in it, he had to have as palanquin-bearers people who could attend to his smoking requirements. On the other hand some officers completely deny this story and say that the Maharas are not a *jal-chal* caste. . . . the Maharas are principally to be found in South Sylhet. The Sub-divisional Officer (a Muslim) reported as follows :—

" I have made close and careful enquiries and there is a general consensus of opinion that the Maharas are not *jal-chal* and are a depressed class. The story that Raja Subid Narayan made them *jal-chal* for smoking requirements only, seems to be true. If the Maharas are at all *jal-chal*, they are *jalchal* only in the sense that a man of higher caste can smoke a *huka* filled with water by a Mahara. There is not a single graduate among the Maharas in this subdivision and not even a single matriculate can be found. The Deputy Inspector of Schools reports that the only educated Maharas he has met in the whole subdivision are three persons working as Vernacular teachers in Primary and Middle English Schools. So the Maharas are depressed both socially and educationally.

One gentleman from Karimganj—himself a Nath—has, indeed, no hesitation in including his community among the exterior castes. He writes as follows :—

“ So far as my knowledge goes, amongst the Hindus inhabiting this sub-division the Patnis, Jogis (Naths), Namasudras, Malis, Dhubis and Duglas are to be properly included in the list of depressed classes. The reasons of depression regarding each of these communities are almost the same, namely :—

- (1) The members of these communities are not allowed by the so called high caste Hindus, to enter the temple ; even their shadow defiles the image in the temple.
- (2) The high class Hindus never take any food and water touched or shadowed by these people.
- (3) Brahmins of caste Hindus never agree to officiate as priests in ceremonies performed by these people even if they request them.
- (4) Some of these communities are not allowed to have the same barber who works amongst the high class Hindus to work for them.

In conclusion I beg to say that these are but few amongst the many disadvantages from which these people suffer.”

Previous census reports show that for the last forty years the Naths have been endeavouring to raise their social position by giving up widow re-marriage and refusing food prepared by other castes. In spite, however, of these efforts the Nath community of the Surma Valley is still very much looked down upon and I must, I consider, class them as an “ exterior caste ”.

This classification may seem peculiar inasmuch as I have not classed the Naths (Katonis) of the Assam Valley as exterior. How far the Assam Naths are connected with the Sylhet Naths is a matter into which I intend to enquire further but I doubt whether there is any very close connection. In any case a sufficient explanation of this difference in treatment would appear to be that Hinduism in Sylhet is not so tolerant as it is in the Assam Valley. Even in the Murarichand College caste restrictions seem to be much more closely observed than in the Cotton College. I have received a note on the system of messing in that college and it appears that even the Sahas are not allowed to take their meals in the general dining hall reserved for the upper caste students. In fact the *jal-chal* line is strictly observed there—at least nominally—and the students who do not belong to the upper castes have their meals served to them “ either in their own rooms or in those set apart in the main block or in two out-houses provided for the purpose ”.

Of the Chuhras the Census Superintendent of Baluchistan writes :—

Baluchistan.—“ The Chuhras censused in Baluchistan have returned themselves as belonging to the religious groups named below :—

Column 4 of Schedule, <i>i.e.</i> , Religion.	Column 8 of Schedule <i>i.e.</i> , Caste or Tribe.
Hindu Balmiki .. ..	.. Chuhra.
Hindu Lal Begi .. ..	.. Chuhra.
Musalman Lal Begi .. ..	.. Chuhra.
Musalman Balashai .. ..	.. Chuhra.
Sikh Mazhabi .. ..	.. Chuhra.
Chuhra .. ..	.. Chuhra.

Although these persons without exception are not allowed to drink from wells belonging to real Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs and are not permitted to enter their places of worship, I include them in the figures for the various religions to which they claim to belong giving separately the numbers (Males and Females) of these untouchables in a footnote in each case.”

Madras.—The following extracts are taken from the Census Report for Madras where the Census Superintendent gives as the total number of depressed classes 7,300,000 in round figures, or 15½ per cent. of the population of that province. He goes on :—

“ For reasons already given this figure cannot be taken as an absolute tale of those to whom the peculiar disabilities summed up in the broad term ‘ depressed ’ attach. There are many Christian converts on whom disabilities press no whit lighter than in the untouchable communities they owned before. These are not included, for personal and local and sectarian variations enter too largely for census allocation to be possible. There are other bodies the difficulties of whose life are hardly less than those of any Adi-Dravida but to whom the technical stigma of untouchability does not apply. Such do not figure in the census list. The census total therefore can fairly be termed only an approximation. It is however a good approximation and, as an indication of the general dimensions of untouchability and through it of the depressed classes problem, is absolutely reliable. Whether its approximation is above or below would depend on the point from which approached. If this viewed primarily the existence of heavy social disabilities, the figure 7,300,000 is a minimum, if it considers strict personal polluting power it is a maximum. The general dimensions of seven millions are beyond contest.

The 7,300,000 figures and the discussions above refer of course only to persons enumerated within the province on census night. A third of the emigrants belong to the depressed classes and consequently, were the natural population to be considered, eight millions would have to be taken as the round figure for them instead of seven.

Only one of the communities represented shows an increase at all over the decade and for the Chakkiliyans the caste record seems full and as accurate as any census figures of caste can be expected to be. Apparently the Chakkiliyan is still content with the old name of his community and is practically free from that seeking after new names which has afflicted the depressed as a whole. His fellow leather worker of the north has not escaped the contagion for Madigas have diminished apparently 16 per cent. More pronounced decline however is apparent in their hereditary enemies, the Malas, who have shed a million, while in the south the Paraiyans have dropped 1½ millions and the Totis have practically disappeared. the figures returned for the Adi family. sufficiently account for the above phenomena. The Andhra section (the name seems to have taken on most in East Godavari), now two-thirds million strong, had no returns in 1921 while that year could yield only 50,000 Adi-Dravidas as against 1931's 1,619,000, thirty-two times greater. The drift from the old names is nearly as marked on the West Coast. Holeyas were 92,000 in 1921, 50,000 ten years later. They were 155,000 in 1891 and have declined steadily. The few hundred Adi-Karnatakas do not come near bridging the gap and are in any case a Bellary and Coimbatore, not a Kanara production.

It may be that the emergence of 23,000 Pulayans, a community not recorded from Malabar in 1921, accounts for some of the missing Holeyas. The words are identical, with merely the characteristic substitution of a Kanarese 'h' for a Tamil or other 'p' and it is difficult to see how Pulayans could have vanished in 1921 when they are a well-known feature of the region. On the other hand 98 per cent. of the Holeyas of 1921 returned languages other than Malayalam, which goes against the Pulayan theory. The presence of 16,000 Adi-Dravidas in South Kanara clearly accounts for part of the 40,000 and it is interesting that his term should be preferred to Adi-Karnataka. The preference is understandable when it is remembered that the Holeyas are essentially a Tulu, not a Kanarese, community and that while Adi-Dravida does mean something it is extremely doubtful whether Adi-Karnataka or for that matter, Adi-Andhra, has any even theoretical justification at all.

Even the Oriya depressed are not immune from the general decline, for Bavuris and Haddis show a marked decline in numbers. Ghasis, Chachatis, Kodalos, Medaris and Barikis now appear in the records however in numbers considerably greater than the diminution in Bavuris and Haddis and their emergence is the explanation of the others' decline. Other depressed classes of the Oriya region all show an increase, Dandasi, Relli, Paidi, Pano, Dombo, etc., and the quest for euphemisms has not seriously begun in this area, an indication, as already remarked, of the much less acuteness which attends the whole depressed class question there. Conditions in fact reflect those of north India rather than south. The Dandasi community has of recent years made considerable efforts at reform of its own customs and practices, with success; it has not thought it necessary to discard its rather attractive and sonorous caste title but has wisely devoted its attention to contents rather than label.

There is something infinitely pathetic in the vain idea that a change of name can reverse the stigma of centuries; yet this community would apparently retort to Juliet that all lies in a name. It is a mistake to encourage terms which obscure real social units. That so ugly and clumsy a term as Adi-Andhra should come to obliterate real and lively distinctions as Mala and Madiga is hardly to the good. Communities of such numerical importance and pronounced individuality should be encouraged to retain and develop a pride in their cognomens.

It cannot be said that the social disabilities under which these communities labour are in sight of extinction despite the growth of tolerance and the inevitable effect of the development of communications and of urban life. Distinguished individual effort. is by no means rare but it remains individual. Communities cannot yet be said even to have altered appreciably in outlook. I came across in a Telugu delta district a subordinate officer of the Labour Department occupying the dak bungalow, an unusual thing for such officers, who ordinarily put up with some casteman in the village. His castemen however shied off him, because of his employment, which brought him into constant association with the depressed classes. This man was of no notably exalted caste but a Telaga. It is probable that resentment at special consideration shown to the depressed classes in land assignment and other directions is reflected also in such an attitude, the resentment that the rising of the under-dog never fails to arouse in those who have kept him down, a feature not peculiar to India. It remains however an indication of the true position in the rural areas where the depressed classes are most represented

A peculiar refinement of the untouchability theory was distance pollution. This set out certain castes as polluting not merely on contact but by mere approach. The Nayadis were the backmarkers in this handicapping system and were practically denied ordinary use of public ways. When the system was in full force Nayadi progress must have borne a strong resemblance to that of a malefactor for whom a warrant is out and whose one object is to avoid close contact with his fellow men. A lifetime so spent can hardly produce elevation of thought or desire and a community whose chief aspiration is to avoid notice cannot contribute much to national life. This

remarkable development of the superiority theory was practically confined to the West Coast and of late years has greatly weakened even there, probably more because of development of communications and increase of population than from any conscious realisation that there is in such a system something hardly compatible with claims to culture and advancement. It is probably becoming evident that a person of such rare texture that a presence sixty feet away pollutes him had better seek out some desert island or develop a less fragile purity. The train began the breakdown of this preposterous system ; the bus may complete it.

Contact pollution on the other hand existed and exists all over the presidency.

An instance of the modification and at the same time of the persistence of discrimination is afforded by the river and canal ferries of the Telugu delta districts. According to petitions quoted in a Government Order of 1919 a member of the depressed classes might have to wait for hours before being taken over as he and a Brahman would never be taken together and the Brahman always had priority. In the bigger boats plying on the two rivers and larger canals there is now no such preference ; any person waiting is admitted on board. Depressed classes however have to keep to a different end of the boat from Brahmans. In the cross-river ferries the disappearance is not so complete and an influential Brahman would be taken over in preference to a crowd of depressed classes of prior arrival. In other cases either the Brahman or the depressed class person would hold back to avoid travelling with the other. The extent to which prejudice and preference have scope varies from village to village and with the importance of the Brahman or enlightenment of the depressed. It has been noticed that Christians of depressed class origin make no bones about getting into the boat whether a Brahman is waiting or not. The ferryman occasionally too has prejudices.

On the small canal ferries Brahman precedence is still the general rule, but where the traffic is considerable and the balakats big, as at Nidadavole before the bridge was built, conditions resembled those on the river boats.

The same petition complained that in certain municipalities depressed classes were denied the use of water taps reserved for higher castes, despite circumstances of proximity and convenience. Such restriction if it ever existed as an official practice no longer does.

Despite their lowly status, these communities play a large and important part in the life of the presidency. It is they who furnish the backbone of agricultural labour in the chief ricegrowing districts. In one form or another they have been the victims of an agrestic serfdom wherever they have been. This generally took (and still takes) the form of compulsory advances from their employers which could never be repaid in full and thus tied the borrower to the soil. This was most noticeable in Tanjore but a parallel system of advances produced the same effect in South Kanara. It must be laid to the credit of Ceylon and other estates that they have done more to raise the self-respect of the South Indian depressed classes worker than any other single circumstance. It is possibly for the same reason that emigration is opposed in certain quarters. The Madras Government appointed an officer as Commissioner of Labour and among his particular functions are the attending to the needs of depressed classes. The decade has seen much expenditure on provision of wells for them, of schools, and a most important feature, the buying of house sites for them mainly in the delta areas. A notable example of a breakaway from caste traditions is in the Nambudri who was schoolmaster in a depressed classes school in Malabar. The Nayadi colony of Olavakkot formed to house members of possibly the most contemned community in Malabar has been able to develop its activities more than it anticipated. Recently however some difficulties have arisen through a boycott by other castes of a school which received some Nayadi pupils."

APPENDIX II.

Primitive Tribes.

The purpose of this appendix is not to give an account of Primitive Tribes but to estimate their numbers and distribution, to indicate briefly certain important considerations which bear on their welfare and administration, and to point out where more detailed information is available.

Numbers.

Since 1891 no serious attempt seems to have been made to arrive at the figure of Hill and Forest tribes. The figure given in Table XVII in 1891 was 15,806,914 but it was clearly incomplete, excluding as it did the Musahars (622,034 at that census) and others such as the Dublas and Talavias of Bombay and Baroda (172,052 in 1891). The Census Commissioner in 1921 roughly estimated the strength of hill and forest tribes at 16 million (page 226, Section 194 Census Report, 1921), but his estimate was based apparently on the figures of major tribes of which a number are recorded in Section 87 of his Chapter IV (page 112). He does not mention tribes so important numerically as Bhumij (240,229 in 1921), Kol (328,425 in 1921), Bharia (630,862 in 1921), or Karen (1,220,356 in 1921), and as the percentage of the population laid down as qualifying a caste or tribe to be separately tabulated must have ruled out of tabulation entirely a very large number of small units, he probably failed to realise the very large figure which is composed of broken and scattered tribes small and insignificant individually. At this census special injunctions were given that all primitive tribes were to be tabulated whatever their numbers and irrespective of the percentage proviso for the individual tabulation of castes. It is therefore now possible to give accurate numbers of any identifiable tribal unit, though it is less easy to indicate the extent to which such a unit remains primitive in its habits.

The basic figure indicating the total number of primitive tribes is to be obtained from Table XVII by adding together the total figures of groups I, II and III. This figure amounts to 26,735,339, but some adjustments are necessary. These adjustments cannot be carried out with precision, as so many tribes, particularly in the Bhil, Koli, and Gond groups, fade off into castes wherever they live in the plains or open country as ordinary Hindu villagers, but if certain complete groups be deducted and others allowed to remain, since it is impossible to deal with broken units, and if no attempt made to include a certain number of nomadic tribes whose condition is doubtful and, if properly described as primitive, it is perhaps the result of degeneration rather than failure to rise, tribes such as Banjara, for instance, or Kaikadi, Yerukalas Pardhis or Sansis (*vide* Table XVII group XI, 14), or the Koracha, Korama and Kuruba of Mysore where 12,333 persons have been returned as of tribal religion (apart from their 250,000 fellow tribesmen returned as Hindu), none of whom have been included in the figures here given of primitive tribes, then a reasonably accurate figure can be reached as representing the total population which can properly be described by the term 'primitive tribes'; there will still be inevitably a slight overlap with the figures of the exterior castes given in Appendix I, e.g. in the case of Turi in Bihar and Orissa.

Although this test has by no means been rigidly adhered to, the tribes given in Table XVII relate primarily to primitive tribes enumerated in more than one province; many other primitive tribes will be found in Table XVIII, but while some appear in both, others are likely to be found in neither table and reference for their details has to be made to provincial or state volumes. It is consequently necessary here to add to the basic figure the following:—

Primitive Tribes of Travancore State not included in Table XVII.		1. To group III.— Travancore Tribes .. 20,329 (Plains Uralis have been omitted, Mola-Uralis only (916) having been reckoned here as 'Primitive'; they appear in Table XVII, as also Paliyans (483). Kaniyan in Madras .. 1,470	
Tribes.	Population.	2. To group 3.—Andh in Hyderabad State .. 6,100 Andh in Central Provinces and Berar .. 58,549	
Kanikkaran	6,659	3. To group 6.—Bagata in Madras .. 34,379	
Malankuravan	66	4. To group 7.—Tipara in Bengal .. 203,069 Tipara in Assam .. 4,000†	
Malapantaram	187	5. To group 8.—Khyang in Bengal 1,002	
Malapulayan	254		
Malayarayan	3,182		
Mannan	1,276		
Muthuvan	1,301		
Thantapulayan	795		
Ullatan	5,121		
Vettuvan*	1,322		
Vishavan	166		
Total	20,329		
*Included in Table XVII as a caste under group VI, 2.			
6. To group II.—The following tribes in Assam:—			
Abor .. ..	..	..	14,042
Aka .. ..	..	..	38
Dafla .. ..	..	..	1,600
Deori Chutiya .. ..	..	..	4,000†
Lalung .. ..	..	..	43,448
Mikir .. ..	..	..	129,797
Miri .. ..	..	..	85,038
Mishmi .. ..	..	..	2,234

†Vide Assam Census Report, 1931, page 222. Precise figures have not been tabulated.

7. To group 11.—The following tribes in Bengal—

Bhotia	14,783
Chakma	135,508
Dhimal	376
Khambu	32,601
Murmi	35,224
Lepcha	12,720
Toto	334
Yakka	873
and in Sikkim—	
Bhotia	15,192
Khambu	18,565
Murmi	7,017
Yakka	142
To group 11.—In Assam—Alien Tribes on tea-gardens	53,121*
In Burma—Lolo-Muhao	93,214

These additions add up to 1,028,765 making with the first mentioned figure a total of 27,764,104.

From this total certain deductions clearly have to be made—

1. From group 2 Minas and Meos (1,110,479) and Mers and Merats (139,528) should be excluded. They cannot now be regarded in general as primitive, though the Mina may in some cases retain some primitive characteristics.

2. From groups 2 and 3 the difference between the number returned by Baroda as Primitive and Forest Tribes and the numbers for that State included in these groups. This difference is 230,897, the figure by which the latter exceeds the former.

3. From group 3, 182,235 Kolis enumerated in the Punjab, and 6,934 Kolis in Delhi, a caste in these cases rather than a tribe.

4. From group 8 Meitheis both in Assam (324,432) and Burma (6,113) must be deducted. They cannot be treated as primitive.

5. From group 10 Ahoms (249,434) and Shans (900,204) must be deducted for the same reason.

This makes a total for deduction of 3,150,256 giving a remainder of 24,613,848 as the total population of primitive tribes in India 1931. It is unlikely that this total is understated and its tendency is obviously to decrease rather than increase with the lapse of time.

Of this total number of 24,613,848 only 8,280,347 have been returned as adhering to their tribal religions. The remainders are mainly Hindu, but in certain tribes there are large numbers of Christians, some Buddhists, and a few, like the Tadvis of Khandesh, are Muslims. Table XVIII will show for many tribes not only the respective proportions in 1931 but the change from census to census wherever figures are available.

Religion.

The main figures of distribution can again be obtained from Table XVII where figures for provinces and states are shown in brackets against each group of tribes. Those indicated above are to be added and subtracted respectively and the resulting figures are stated by provinces below :—

Distribution.

Ajmer-Merwara	18,904
Andamans and Nicobars	10,403
Assam	1,678,419
Bengal	1,927,299
Bihar and Orissa	6,681,228
Bombay	2,841,030
Burma	2,206,356
Central Provinces	4,065,277
Coorg	1,089
Madras	1,262,369
United Provinces	400,184
Provinces	21,092,610
States	3,521,238
Baroda	313,273
Central India	1,342,031
Cochin	1,048
Gwalior	281,033
Hyderabad	222,806
Rajputana	802,178
Sikkim	41,257
Travancore	21,728
Western India States	495,834
Total	24,613,848

* N. B.—These figures refer chiefly to tribes from Chota Nagpur and the Madras Agency tracts but exclude any who have returned their religion as Hindu. The latter, that is of course the vast majority, appear in Appendix I as exterior castes.

As a check on these figures we may compare them with those arrived at by Provincial Census Superintendents. Thus the figure here for Bihar and Orissa is 6,681,228 and the figure for primitive tribes arrived at by Mr. Lacey for that province is 5,643,431 in addition to which he records 1,437,667 as the figure of tribes or castes on the border line. Of the total 7,000,000, roughly 2,000,000 have been treated as exterior castes indicating that the overlap in the figure of primitive tribes and of exterior castes in the appendices is not very great at any rate in Bihar and Orissa, which contributes nearly a quarter of the whole. Again the figures for primitive tribes available from the Central Provinces is 4,111,972 (vide *Census Report for Central Provinces and Berar*, 1931, page 359) a figure which embodies Halba (120,754), and Ojha (5,106)

Groups returned from Madras both as primitive tribes and as depressed castes and excluded from the figures given here for Primitive Tribes.

Dombo	79,643
Karimpalan	2,807
Katturayakan	1,581
Kudubi	12,011
Pano	70,527
Total	166,569

not included in these figures. From Madras again the number obtained from the tables is 1,428,938, but this includes 166,569 who are described both as depressed castes and as primitive tribes. They have been omitted here and are covered by the figures in Appendix I.

Administrative Problem.

The total figure of primitive tribes in India may then be taken as 25,000,000 in round numbers, of which about 20,000,000 are in British India of whom again 2,500,000 are found in Burma, for there are in Burma a number of hill tribes who were only partially enumerated at the census. It has already been indicated that their position in surroundings of a more developed culture presents certain problems of administration. As long as a primitive tribe remains in isolation conducting its own affairs according to its own laws and customs it presents no problem except that required to prevent raiding or other forms of aggression on more civilised or less warlike neighbours. For this purpose a military occupation of territory may be necessary and a loose system of political control or administration of some sort which need not involve more than a minimum of interference with tribal customs and the expense of which, if greater, as it normally will be, than any revenue yielded by such an area, is in the nature of insurance. Where communications are meagre or non-existent contact with the outer world will be so slow that the effect of its impact will not be rapid enough for observation and no change will take place in the primitive community except the gradual adaptation and alteration resulting from the intercourse on the fringes of the area inhabited. Changes of this kind involving a very slow change of environment and outlook are familiar enough in India and have been going on for centuries if not millennia. No serious problem arises until this process of slow adaptation is interfered with by a development of communication and a sudden increase of contacts.

Even excise laws, although in many ways to the benefit of primitive tribes, may operate as a hardship, and would be found excessively severe if the very proper restrictions on distilling were extended to *pachwai* and *tari* made for household consumption and forming a very important part of the diet of tribes that cannot grow sugar and are too poor to buy it. For three months in the hot weather the Marias of Chanda live almost exclusively on a very mildly alcoholic beverage, much as the Angami Naga does to a less degree in Assam. Any one well acquainted with either tribe will vividly realise the hardship that might be wrought by bigoted prohibitionists anxious to disallow to others that freedom which they do not value for themselves, and total prohibition is a policy shared by Hindus and Muslims. The prohibition of distilling itself may be a hardship, as for the Gond who must offer to his god liquor distilled by the family of worshippers, but this is probably one of those that must be borne in the interests of the community, like the game laws that prevent a Kachha Naga or a Kuki from offering game at the graves of the dead during the close season, or the troublesome restrictions on homicide which prevent a Wa from fertilizing his crop with the life-essence of a stranger, or the Kondh from doing the same with the *meriah* he has reared for that purpose.

The rapid opening up of communications, involving contact at many points and often the practical settlement of tribal country, entirely alters the aspect of any gradual changes that may have been taking place. Generally speaking it substitutes conflict for contact. Not necessarily, that is, a conflict of arms but of culture and of material interest. Attempts to develop minerals, forests or land for intensive cultivation can only be made at the expense of the tribe whose isolation is thus invaded. The customs which regulate the ownership, usufruct or transfer of land among primitive tribes are generally at variance with those observed by more sophisticated communities, and in the conflict between the two the tribal custom is normally superseded by a code which is neither valued nor understood by the tribe and in the application of which the tribe is deprived of its property, generally in the name of law, either by alienation to foreigners or by transforming the trusteeship of a tribal chief into absolute ownership of a kind quite foreign to the customs of the tribe. This has befallen both the Mundas, for instance and the hill tribes of Chittagong, to mention two instances only, while even in Rajputana a somewhat similar process has been at work. Here an authority thoroughly conversant with

the people and conditions in that Agency states that during the last 25 years there has been a very marked change in the position of landlords from the chiefs downwards :—

“What.....has happened in Rajputana in the last century is a complete departure from the ancient relationship of peasant and chief, wherein the chief has become securely established in 'rights' that were not his a hundred years ago, and the peasant has been deprived both of rights and responsibilities. It would not have been difficult to establish universal franchise a century ago; as a matter of fact it was exercised (and is still exercised in inaccessible places) without being labelled. To day it would be so difficult as almost to seem an impossible task to make the peasant withdraw his watchful gaze from his landlord's activities, just within the borders of the law, long enough to exercise an intelligent vote, let alone a responsible one..... In the century the operation of British law and its influence has set up the ruling chiefs in a security, authority and prestige that never appertained to their position in earlier times, and.....the peasant has been deprived of just so much as has accrued to the other.....Progressively, and at an accelerated pace since Lord Minto's commencement of the policy of non-interference, the common people have been deprived both of authority and responsibility. The British idea of law and application of it has made this process easy and apparently natural.”

A similar application of alien law also usually disturbs the tribal customs of debt. Tribal customs of debt are frequently, perhaps normally, stated in terms of extravagant usury. Such terms however represent less the real customs observed in practice than the ideal which the lender considers ought to be the return, and in point of fact they are qualified by very important considerations. In the first place there is commonly no law of limitation, and the borrower may not expect to repay before the next generation while the lender is very often so placed that there is a moral compulsion to lend under certain circumstances even if no return is expected in his lifetime. Thus it is often the custom for a chief to lend paddy to the most indigent and unprofitable of his villagers in times of scarcity though he knows repayment to be extremely unlikely. In any case when repayment does take place there is normally a settlement by accommodation between both parties which bears little relation to the payment due on a strict interpretation of the law of usury as formally stated by the tribe. It is only natural that tribesmen whose views of debt are dictated by this sort of vague custom are perfectly ready to subscribe without demur to the most flagrantly usurious agreements exacted by foreign moneylenders who intend to invoke a foreign code to compel repayment on the letter of the agreement and at the time when it suits them to do so instead of at such time as the debtor finds himself in a position to pay. Similarly the criminal law of a civilized community is often entirely at variance with what is felt to be just and proper by tribal custom. Afforestation again is a frequent grievance, and in forests which were common property under a tribal regime it becomes a punishable offence to exercise what the tribe regards as an inalienable right. Thus under the Assam Forest Regulations tribal land used for *jhuming* is held to be Unclassed State Forest, and as such at the absolute disposal of Government. It can be taken and its possessors ousted without any sort of compensation. But this land has by the great majority of hill tribes been regarded for many generations as their most valuable real property. Further under a recent regulation it has been held that a man quarrying stone, for his own use, on his own *jhum* land is liable to pay Rs. 10 per month or Rs. 100 a year as a permit fee on the ground that the land from which he takes the stone is Unclassed State Forest, although it may have been the subject of bequest, mortgage, or transfer by sale and purchase for twenty generations, and its boundaries a matter of common knowledge in the village. Indeed a recent case occurred in which a young and inexperienced officer announced, on the strength of this Unclassed State Forest doctrine that he would recognize no individual rights in *jhum* land, and even fined a man for letting land bought by his own grandfather to another man on lease. Such an action would in some tribes have been almost enough to cause a rebellion by itself; but it was in no way inconsistent with the theory that the tribal land is unclassified State forest. In the Madras Agency Tracts again the same attitude has been taken towards *jhum*, there called *podu*, and has been carried to the extent of the prohibition of cultivation, twice bringing the Sawara tribe to the verge of open rebellion. *Dahia* (or *beicar*), as it is there called, is similarly forbidden in the Central Provinces, compelling the forest tribes to cultivate only under the land settlement system which is in many cases unsuited to them. Primitive systems of agriculture are frequently extremely wasteful of forest land and may in hill country prove damaging to adjoining plains on account of denudation, the too rapid escape of rain and consequent inundation below. At the same time wasteful cultivation of this kind is very often the only known means of subsistence. It cannot be abandoned in a day for other methods with which the cultivator, whose knowledge is traditional, is unfamiliar. Again the exploitation of minerals not only involves the taking up of tribal land but generally the introduction of an alien population, usually of an extremely mixed character and not infrequently exceptionally dissolute. This impinges on tribal life in a number of disconcerting ways. Even the invasion of missionaries is liable to produce as much evil as good, if not more, for their conduct and objects are generally in extreme conflict with tribal religion and with tabus of all kinds, and their point of view, readily comprehensible to an alien administration which understands the tribal position very vaguely if at all, and backed as it so often is by influentially vocal societies at a distance, is much more likely to obtain the support of authority than tabus which are on the face of them unreasonable to all except those to whom they are the most vitally important things in life. A similar misunderstanding of the tribal point of view is apt to arise in the case of many customs, and it may be enough to mention that of marriage by a form of capture common to both Bhils

and Gonds, and, although quite familiar to the tribesmen themselves, often capable of being treated by British courts as cases of abduction. It is true that the law would normally require a complaint to move it to action, but it is obvious that a knowledge of the possibility of moving it is likely to encourage complaints from persons who would otherwise have acquiesced contentedly in tribal custom, and to result in a quite unjust punishment of the party complained against for following a law really known to and admitted by the complainant. A Bhil was convicted and sentenced by a British court just about the time of the 1931 census for just such a breach of the penal code in entire accordance with Bhil custom. Apart from laws in themselves their manner of application may be extremely severe on people whose methods of dealing with antisocial actions or persons is entirely different. No apology is required for quoting at length from Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, himself a practising lawyer in Bihar and Orissa courts :

"The British system of administration of justice. . . . has unintentionally produced certain deplorable effects on the moral character of the aborigines. This complicated system of law and legal procedure, which is. . . . suited to advanced districts and people, was naturally not comprehended by the simple aborigines and was not suited to their level of culture. Although the judges and magistrates were inspired with a desire to do justice, very few of them were, or still are, conversant with the languages, customs and mentality of the people. And thus this complicated system of administration of justice has tended to impair the natural truthfulness and honesty of the people in many cases. By repeated painful experience the people have found that under the complicated and cumbrous Procedure Codes and a too technical Law of Evidence which are now in force and which are beyond their comprehension, their native straight-forwardness and veracity is no match for the chicanery and falsehood and the many subtle tricks employed against them by many of their adversaries. And "law-touts" and other petty-fogging "advisers" are not wanting to induce them to adopt the ways of their adversaries. Such advice unhappily they now not unoften follow, though rather clumsily. But, as is inevitable, the expensive system of litigation through one court after another—Courts of Original Jurisdiction, Courts of First Appeal and Courts of Second Appeal,—is ruinous for the poor aboriginal, who, in most cases, cannot fight up to the last, and even those who can, only find themselves in the end utterly ruined through the expenses and trouble of securing ultimate victory. In this way the complicated British-Indian system of administration of justice has more often than not helped in ruining the aboriginals economically and in degrading them morally.

The British system of law and administration has further tended to impair the social solidarity of the tribes and has weakened the authority of the social heads or Panches and the respect they formerly commanded. Until recently, when Government orders validating tribal customary law regarding succession and inheritance were promulgated, the Courts often disregarded the custom against inheritance by daughters and applied to them a Succession Act quite inconsistent with the fundamental social structures and ideas of kinship of the tribes. Until recently when rules against alienation of ancestral lands were promulgated by Government, the ancient tribal custom against such alienation was utterly disregarded, and through such alienation, alien Hindus and Mahomedans were admitted to the villages resulting in the further disintegration of the old village community. The recent restrictions against alienation have come so late, and the people have been now so long accustomed to such transfers, that a large section of the people now feel these restrictions irksome and no longer needed, and subterfuges are often resorted to in order to evade them." *Effects on the Aborigines of Chota Nagpur of their Contact with Western Civilisation—Journ. Bihar and Orissa Research Soc. 1931.*

It is easy to see how a combination of anti-tribal forces is likely to create a condition of excessive discomfort in tribal life, the most serious aspect of which is the complete breakdown of the communal organization. A tribe living in comparative isolation will usually be found to have developed an adaptation to its environment which within certain limits approaches perfection, an adaptation which may have taken many millennia to accomplish, and the breakdown of which may be the ruin of the tribe, for it is likely to proceed at a far greater rate than either the gradual change in physical environment or than the still slower process of adaptation to that change.

In the past the administration of tribal areas as non-regulation districts has in very many cases done much to make the position easier for the tribes affected. However uncomprehending and uncomprehended the administration may have been it was in a position to temper the conflict of interest, and to that position have been due precautions such as the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act, or such as exemption from the provisions of the Indian Succession Act or of the Stamp Act, or restrictions on the appearance of pleaders in courts hearing tribal cases. Even where such exemptions have been made they have often been too half-hearted and too easily nullified. Of some 30 primitive tribes in the Central Provinces only 9 are specifically exempted from the operation of the Indian Succession Act, while in Assam a hillman who subscribes as he must do when in Government service, to the General Provident Fund cannot nominate as his heir his brother or his brother's son according to his own venerated custom but if he has no issue must nominate his wife. This is reasonable no doubt to a Britisher, but is completely at variance with sentiment and custom in the Assam hills, and generally with good and sufficient reason. Similarly the Post Office Savings Bank recognizes Hindu and Muslim law but not tribal custom. It seems more than likely that the incorporation of tribal areas into regulation areas, when such areas are governed by more or less democratic forms of government on the constitution of which the tribes will be placed in an insignificant minority, will bring their interests into direct conflict with the interests of their neighbours under conditions in which the administration of the tribal area will have very little power to modify the severity with which it will react on the tribes. Tribes occupying such an area realize little or nothing of the method in which laws are administered outside it; if they do they have no means of making themselves heard.

The consequence is that a few alien settlers who are able to do so and are wishful to live under the ordinary codes, which give tremendous advantages to traders and others dealing with simple and unlettered men, are likely to succeed (it has under existing conditions often been done) in getting a method of administration extended to a tribal area the disadvantages of which to the tribesmen are completely unappreciated by them until they find themselves irrevocably within its grip. In the process of accommodation it is only too likely that a previously nonhinduised hill tribe may become a mere depressed caste as has happened to the Turis, Koras and Kharias, to mention only three instances from the same part of India,* while the cultivator is deprived of his rights in tribal land and degraded to that of a landless labourer, a process pointed out in the case of Gonds and kindred tribes by the Census Superintendent for the Central Provinces in Appendix III of his report.

In the alternative they may retain a sort of emasculated tribal life, deprived of the customs and festivals that gave it meaning and cohesion, and fall into that psychological apathy and physical decline which has decimated so many tribal communities in the Pacific and elsewhere; and this decline is accelerated in another way by the opening up of communications. Many new diseases are imported against which no immunity has been evolved, since they did not form part of the environment to which the tribe is adapted, and the result is a staggering mortality from which there may be no recovery. The rapidly approaching extinction of the tribes of Great Andaman has largely been due to diseases imported into the penal settlement and communicated to the Andamanese by convicts. The use of distilled liquor, of opium and even of mercury (as a drug) is performing a similar disservice for other tribes and is likewise the result of the improved communications which corrupt good manners. The Durbar of a State known to the writer vetoed the advent of rail communications on the ground that railways were an evil: they only brought in dirt, disease, crime and strangers, and the state was better without,—a judgement in which we may find very much indeed to commend.

Meanwhile the difficulties under which primitive tribes are placed with regard to education have already been pointed out (*vide* paragraph 141 in Chapter IX), and in Bihar and Orissa a memorandum of the Government itself, submitted to the Statutory Commission, states that in the matter of education the aboriginals of that province "as a whole are, relatively to the general population, in a worse position than they were in 1921. They have got a little less than their general share of the big advance made in primary education and decidedly less of the advance in high and middle education". Education in itself is a doubtful blessing in so far as it is apt to unfit them for their environment, but it is probably a necessary weapon of defence for them in the circumstances in which they are placed, perhaps the only one of any permanent value, though the real solution of the problem would appear to be to create self-governing tribal areas with free power of self-determination in regard to surrounding or adjacent provincial units.

It remains to add a list of all papers in the 1931 census series which deal with primitive tribes from one aspect or another. Some of them are collected in part III of this volume but others can only be found by reference to the provincial volumes concerned.

List of passages in Provincial and State Census Reports (1931) bearing on the customs, conditions or welfare of primitive tribes. Items marked with an asterisk appear in Part III of this volume; items marked † are also reproduced but in part only, or in a different form.

References.

Census volume and province, etc.	Chapter or passage to which reference is made.	Subject.	Author.
II. Andaman and Nicobar Islands.	A. Andaman Islands, † Chapter V.	<i>The Aborigines</i>	M. C. C. Bonington.
	B. Nicobar Islands, † Chapters V-VII.	<i>Ethnology, etc., of Nicobarese</i>	Do.
	Appendix A*	<i>The Shompen</i>	Do.
	Appendix B*	<i>Religion of Kar Nikobar</i> ..	G. Stevenson.
III. Assam	Chapter XII, Appendix I(2)	<i>Backward Tribes</i>	C. S. Mullan.
	Appendix A*	<i>Effect on Primitive Tribes of contacts with civilization.</i>	J. P. Mills.
	Appendix B*	<i>Notes on certain Hill Tribes</i> ..	J. P. Mills and others.
V. Bengal	Appendix II*	<i>Notes on the Peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.</i>	J. P. Mills and others.
VII. Bihar and Orissa ..	Appendix V*	<i>The Kurmis of Chota Nagpur</i>	W. G. Lacey.
	Appendix VI†	<i>The Santals</i>	W. G. Lacey and P. O. Bodding.
VIII. Bombay	Appendix B	<i>Notes on the aboriginals and Hill tribes found in the Presidency.</i>	H. T. Soley.

*These instances might be increased indefinitely. Practically all the primitive tribes south of the Godavari river have become mere depressed castes.

Census volume and province, etc.	Chapter or passage to which reference is made.	Subject.	Author.
XI. Burma	Chapter VI, Section 63† ..	<i>Lahu and Kaw marriage customs.</i>	J. H. Talford.
	Appendix C*	<i>Notes on the Indigenous Races of Burma.</i>	J. H. Green.
	Appendix E†	<i>Naga Tribes and their customs.</i>	T. P. Dewar.
XII. Central Provinces and Berar.	Chapter XII, Section 13 ..	<i>Primitive Tribes</i>	W. H. Shoobert and others.
	Appendix III*	<i>Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces.</i>	Do.
XIV. Madras	Chapter XIII†, pp. 360-392	<i>Primitive Tribes</i>	M. W. M. Yeatta and others.
XVIII. United Provinces	Chapter XII, appendix D..	<i>Monographs on certain Castes and Tribes.</i>	A. C. Turner.
XIX. Baroda	Chapter XII, Section 40†	<i>Forest and Primitive Tribes .. s. v. Primitive and Forest Tribes.</i>	S. V. Mukherjoo.
	Appendix IX (Caste glossary).		
XX. Central India ..	Appendix I†	<i>Ethnographic account of the Bhils of Central India.</i>	C. S. Venkatachar.
	Appendix II*	<i>Migration of Castes and Tribes into Central India and their distribution.</i>	Do.
XXI. Cochin	Appendix I†	<i>The Forest Tribes of Cochin</i>	K. Govinda Menon.
XXIII. Hyderabad ..	†	<i>The Chenchus</i>	G. A. Khan.
XXV. Mysore	Appendix X	<i>Some facts regarding four primitive tribes.</i>	M. Venkatesa Iyengar.
XXVIII. Travancore ..	Appendix I†	<i>The Primitive Tribes</i>	N. Kunjan Pillai and L. A. Krishna Iyer.

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N. B.—Figures in clarendon type indicate paragraphs.

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