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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901.

VOLUME XIII.

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CENTRAL PROVINCES.

31010

PART I.

REPORT.

BY

R. V. RUSSELL, I.C.S.,

SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS.

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CENSUS OF 1901.

CENTRAL PROVINCES REPORT.

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CENSUS OF 1901.

CENTRAL PROVINCES REPORT.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY (CENSUS PROCEDURE).

THE fifth general census of the Provinces was taken on the night of the 1st March 1901, ten years and three days after the preceding one. The date selected was five days before the full moon, so that there should be enough light for the enumerators to complete their rounds. In several districts of the Central Provinces, however, there was no moon, and a heavy fall of rain. This is the third occasion on which a special officer has been deputed as Census Superintendent, the census of 1891 being conducted by Mr. Robertson, and that of 1881 by Mr. Drysdale. In 1872 and 1866 the proceedings were directly controlled by the Secretariat.

2. The Superintendent's appointment was created eleven months before the census, in April 1900, at a time when the famine of that year was at its height. It was consequently essential to avoid, as far as possible, the imposition of extra labour on district officers, whose time was already more than sufficiently occupied with the control of relief measures. The Settlement Commissioner, on being approached on the subject, agreed to make the services of the Land Record Staff available for census work in all districts, except five tahsils of the Chhattisgarh Division where settlement was in progress. The effect of this decision was to greatly diminish the burden of the preliminary preparations. In 1891, the services of Patwaris and Revenue Inspectors could be utilised only to a small extent, and the agency generally employed was the Police. In consequence of this, the whole area of districts had to be sub-divided *de novo* into census circles, to correspond with the boundaries of those of out-posts and station-houses, which were the units of census charges. The supervisors appointed did not know the areas over which their duties extended, and had to be taught them, and to be supplied with maps. On this occasion, as the work was to be done by the Land Record Staff, the Patwari's circle was naturally selected as the basis of local sub-division and the Patwari was appointed supervisor.

3. There were, as in 1891, three grades of census officers—the charge superintendent, the supervisor, and the enumerator, and the local areas under their jurisdiction were called the charge, circle, and block. The block is the unit of census organisation, its size being determined by the number of houses and their distance apart, which one man can conveniently visit, for the purpose of conducting the final enumeration, between the hours of 7 and 12 on the census night. The circle consists of as many blocks, and the charge of as many circles, as can be conveniently controlled by one supervising officer. In the Central Provinces the average size of a block

was 32 houses, or 160 persons. There were altogether 74,943 blocks in the Provinces. The census circles, as already stated, were as a rule except in towns coincident with those of Patwaris. Where there was a large village of 2,000 or more inhabitants, it was sometimes made a separate circle with an additional supervisor, usually a schoolmaster. There were altogether 6,823 circles in the Provinces, the average number of blocks to a circle being 11 and of persons 1,740. Like the circles, the census charges were adopted ready-made from the sub-divisions of Revenue Inspector's circles already in existence for the purposes of famine relief. The famine circle officers were made census charge superintendents, and thus the preparations commenced with nearly the whole of the superior staff already appointed and on the spot. In towns the arrangements were under the control of municipal committees, and in those which were the head-quarters of districts or tahsils, the services of clerical and other officials were utilised for census work. There were altogether 815 charges in the Provinces, the average number of circles to a charge being 8 and of persons 14,568.

4. The successive stages of preparation may be summarised as follows.

The preliminary measures.

First, the division of the circle into a suitable number of blocks of the size stated above, and the writing up of the circle list, which contained a list of the blocks, the number of houses in each, and the names and occupations of persons selected to act as enumerators; this part of the work was usually completed some time in July. Secondly, the appointment of enumerators and the writing up of the block list, in which all the houses in each block were entered and numbered in serial order, the description of each house and the name of the head member of the household being shown in the list; this was done during the rains, during which the block lists were also to be checked as far as possible. Next, the painting on to each house of the number given to it in the block list, which was supposed to be done immediately after the rains, but in some districts was not completed until December; and lastly, the preparation of the preliminary record of the census. This was almost everywhere written up at first on blank paper and after being inspected was copied into the books. The rough copies were prepared by about the end of January, and during February were thoroughly checked by officers of all departments. As a rule the preparations proceeded punctually and smoothly, and without causing any considerable extra trouble to Deputy Commissioners, up to the period of the preliminary enumeration; and this result is undoubtedly due to the fact that, for the first time on this occasion, the conduct of the enumeration was entrusted to Patwaris and Revenue Inspectors as an integral part of their work; and the fact that they should have been able to cope successfully at the same time with the local administration of famine relief and the preparations for the census, superimposed on their ordinary duties, and so far as I am aware without detriment to these latter, cannot but be regarded as a valuable testimony to the high degree of efficiency attained by this Department. I must not omit to place on record the care and trouble taken by Mr. Gardiner, the officer in charge of the Nagpur Jail Press, in the supervision of the printing and despatch of forms. The census work, undertaken locally for the first time on this occasion, was no inconsiderable addition to the ordinary duties of the press, and it was punctually and successfully carried out. During the two months before the census all the indents were as a rule complied with on the day after receipt, and a great burden of anxiety was thus removed.

5. In spite of the pre-occupations of famine work many Deputy Commissioners and Assistant and Extra-Assistant Commissioners took a keen personal interest in the preparations for the census and the inspection of the books. Thus Mr. Mayes in Bilaspur expended four days of his own time in holding conferences for the instruction of the census staff. Mr. Standen in Betul also himself held conferences and issued some supplementary instructions, which were partially adopted and recommended for general use. Mr. Maw in Damoh personally checked the books of most charges, and the other gazetted officers of Damoh District, Mr. Higgins, Dr. Quinn and Mr. Gisborne-Smith, were also good enough to participate in the work. Mr. Robertson in Jubbulpore, Captain Macnabb in Raipur, and Mr. Moss King in Saugor were other Deputy Commissioners who did a considerable amount of personal supervision. Of Assistant Commissioners, Mr. Nelson in Mandla was keenly interested in the work, and Mr. Bell and Mr. Blennerhassett in Jubbulpore, Mr. Batchelor in Nagpur and Mr. Khan in Chanda should also be mentioned; and among Extra-Assistant Commissioners especially Mr. Kutubuddin in Hoshangabad and Mr. Bose in Seoni, and also Mr. Sunderlal in Saugor, Mr. Rangaya in Damoh, Mr. Ratnaparkhé in Narsinghpur, Mr. Hira Lal in Balaghat and Raipur, Mr. Baikunath Pujari in Sambalpur, and Mr. Ranade in Bhandara. The Seoni district report, written by Mr. Bose, contains some interesting material. In Damoh the census led to the arrest of a notorious dacoit. He had been wanted by the Police for some time and a reward offered for his apprehension; on the night of the census he happened to be passing through a village, where he was seen and duly enumerated; his answers to the questions awakened the suspicion of the female kotwal of the village, and next morning he was taken into custody and made over to the Police. In Damoh also the zeal of the census staff was again evidenced by the enumeration of the god Mahadeo as a householder in the village temple, and his occupation as subsistence on contributions from the tenants; but the similar case which occurred in 1891 of the Queen-Empress being entered as the proprietor of the Seoni cattle-pound was not repeated; nor was my ingenuity taxed to prescribe a course of action for the enumerator in the event of a deaf and dumb traveller arriving at the village serai at 12 o'clock on the census night.

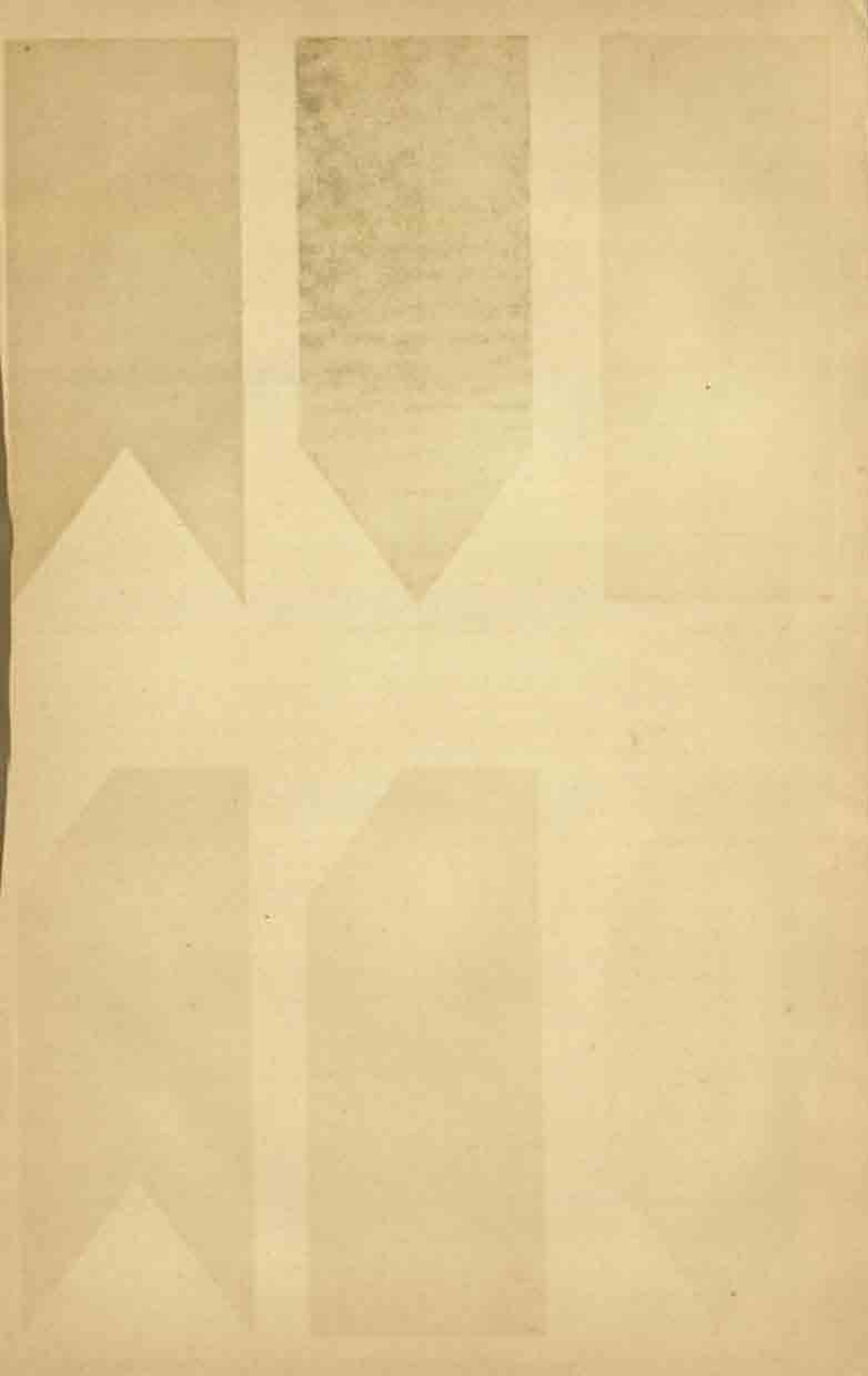
6. Under the directions of the Census Commissioner the preliminary totals had to be reported within six days of the census. The Central Provinces¹ was, it is believed, the only province from which all the returns were actually received in Calcutta on the 7th March; and considering the large areas over which the operations extended, and the difficulties of communication, this result is distinctly creditable to Deputy Commissioners and local census officers. The extent to which the final figures of population arrived at in the census office differ from those at first reported is shown in the annexed statement. There is a large difference in three areas—the Mandla Tahsil of Mandla, the Chanda Tahsil Zamindaris, and Kalahandi. In Mandla it is reported that the mistake was due to the carelessness of the Extra-Assistant Commissioner in charge at head-quarters, who wrote down one return as 2,000 instead of 20,000. In Chanda and Kalahandi the difference is due to the totals of the preliminary enumeration having

¹ All the returns for the N.W. Provinces were despatched by the 7th, but one telegram was not received till the 8th.

to be reported in the first instance as those of the census itself could not be collected in time. The final figures should, of course, be larger than those taken six weeks earlier, by the excess of births over deaths during the interval, and also by the inclusion of travellers, some of whom would be omitted at the first enumeration. The increase was considerably greater than was anticipated, but from one point of view it is satisfactory as testifying to the completeness of the census. In Sambalpur also Mr. Sloccock informed me that he had had the returns of the preliminary enumeration compiled, and that those of the census exceeded them by 15,000. A list showing the date and hour on which the telegrams announcing the results were received by me is annexed to this chapter. The efforts made by the Feudatory States to submit their returns in time are particularly creditable, and conspicuous among them is Mr. Gayer's achievement in Bastar. The final figures of this State only differed from those first reported by 43, and the State has an area of 13,062 square miles and is without railways or telegraph lines. The telegram announcing the results was despatched from Jaipur Vizagapatam, about 40 miles from Jagadapur, on the early morning of the 7th March. In Chanda and some other districts there was a fall of over three inches of rain on the census night, and this is probably the reason why final totals could not be received from the Zamindaris. As an instance of the trouble which the efforts to report the results in time entailed on some officers, I think it will be permissible to subjoin the following extracts from a report made by Mr. G. A. Khan, Assistant Commissioner, Chanda, to the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Coxon:—

'I was in charge of the Brahmapuri Tahsil. Brahmapuri, the head-quarters town, is over seventy miles from Chanda by road. On the night of the 1st March it was raining heavily. Written agreements had been taken from the enumerators that immediately after the census was finished, they would proceed during the night to the supervisor's village with their books, in order that the circle summaries might be made up by the morning of the 2nd. But most of the enumerators were Banias, and it was feared that, being of a lazy and sedentary disposition, they would prefer to go to bed instead of repairing to the supervisor's head-quarters. However, it was found that they all acted up to their agreements, though many of the nalas were in flood and Dhimars had to be called up to ferry them across. Consequently the charge summaries of my Tahsil were all posted on the 2nd. On the morning of the 3rd, however, the Nagbhir Charge Superintendent arrived in Brahmapuri, and I found out that with culpable negligence he had sent his charge summary registered. This meant that it would be left in the Brahmapuri post office on the 3rd, which was Sunday, and would not arrive in Chanda till the 6th or 7th. The only thing to do was to get the letter out of the post office and despatch it by a messenger. On going to the post office, I found that it was shut up and the postmaster had gone home to a village about two miles off. I rode out to his village and brought him back with me. He gave me the summary, and it being then the afternoon, I rode with it myself to Talodhi, about twenty-two miles, and from there sent it on by a Police Constable with a note to the Thanedar of Mul, to forward it on, so that it would be received in Chanda by midday on the 4th. I then went back to Brahmapuri and arrived there at 11 at night.'

This account dimly recalls the carrying of the good news from Ghent to Aix





Hindu Male Married.



Mahomedan Male Unmarried.



Animistic Male Widowed.



Jain Female Unmarried.



Christian Female Married.



Christian Female Widowed.

7. As recommended by Mr. Robertson, in his report, the abstraction and tabulation of the census figures was on this occasion done in local offices instead of in one central office at Nagpur. Four offices were established, and the books of districts and states were divided between them according to the languages in which the record was made. There were two offices for Hindi, one at Jubbulpore and one at Raipur, one for Marathi at Nagpur, and one for Oriya at Sambalpur. All the books of the Jubbulpore and Nerbulda Divisions and Makrai State were sent to Jubbulpore; those of the four Marathi districts of Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, and Chanda to Nagpur; those of Balaghat, Raipur, and Bilaspur and the seven Hindi-speaking Feudatory States to Raipur, and of Sambalpur and the seven Oriya States to Sambalpur. Roughly, the Jubbulpore and Raipur offices had each about four millions of population to deal with, and the Nagpur and Sambalpur offices about two millions.

8. The abstraction and tabulation of the returns was done on what is called the slip system. This was devised by a German scientist, Professor von Mayr, some thirty years ago, and is now used in several Continental countries, but was introduced into India, with some improvements by Mr. Risley, for the first time at this census. It consists in writing all the particulars for each person enumerated on a little oblong slip of paper; these slips are then made up into bundles and sorted for one table after another, according to the particulars recorded in the census. Three of these, religion, sex, and civil condition, were, as devised by the Census Commissioner, shown by the shape and colour of the slips themselves. Colour was used to indicate religion. In the Central Provinces slips of five colours were employed—brown for Hindus, half-bleached for Animists, magenta for Mahomedans, yellow for Jains and other minor religions, and pink for Christians and any other terms, such as Agnostic, which might be entered by Europeans and Eurasians. Sex was shown by cutting off the right-hand top-corner of the slip; civil condition by a complete slip for married persons, one with the two lower corners cut off for unmarried, and one with a triangular piece cut out from the lower end for widowed; those for females being distinguished in each case by cutting off the top right-hand corner. There were thus five colours and six shapes, or in all thirty different kinds of slips. Specimens are shown on the diagram annexed. The slips for the Central Provinces were prepared in the Nagpur Jail, being first cut in complete oblongs by a press guillotine, and then to the other shapes required by packing them in bundles of five hundred under a pattern plate and lopping off the edges with a sharp chisel. It is believed that the Nagpur Central Jail and the Yerrowda Jail, Poona, were the only two which managed to produce slips in the shapes originally recommended by the Census Commissioner.

9. Three particulars as described above being shown by shape and colour, the others were copied from the books on to the slips in pencil; sect, age, caste, birth-place, language and occupation were entered on the main slips, of which one was written up for each person enumerated. Each slip-writer sat on the ground with a set of pigeon-holes containing thirty compartments in front of him: in these were placed a number of slips of each shape and colour. Taking an enumeration book, he then proceeded to select a slip of the proper kind according to the religion, sex and civil condition of each person entered, and to write on it the other particulars.

required. For tabulation the slips of a whole tahsil were taken at the same time, and distributed by census circles among a gang of sorters. Each sorter had a set of pigeon-holes containing thirty compartments, into which he sorted the slips for each table in a prescribed order, first by religion and sect, then by birth-place and language, then by caste, then by age and civil condition, and lastly by occupation. After the first sorting by religion and sect had been done and each sorter had the slips of each religion and sect made up into bundles, these were redistributed among the gang so as to bring all slips of each religion and sect to one or more sorters. In this way the slips were sorted for the birth-place, language and caste tables in order that the castes belonging to each religion and sect might be known, which was effected by the sorter simply writing the name of the religion or sect to which his slips belonged at the top of the tabulation register, on which he recorded the results of his sorting for the subsequent tables. After the caste table, when the slips were in bundles by caste, these were again redistributed so as to bring all the slips of certain selected castes to one or more sorters. The slips were then further sorted for the last two tables, age and civil condition and occupation, and the sorters who had the slips of the prescribed castes, wrote their names at the top of their tabulation registers, which thus gave these tables in certain cases by caste. The two processes of redistribution by religion and sect and by caste may be illustrated by supposing that a large number of incomplete packs of playing-cards were mixed together, and it was desired to separate them first into separate packs and then into suits, several persons being engaged on the work. A bundle of mixed cards would be given to each person and he would sort out the cards belonging to each different pack by the devices on the backs. He would then count the number of cards belonging to each pack and enter the totals in a register as follows:—Pack No. 1 (green) 5; Pack No. 2 (yellow) 39; Pack No. 3 (blue) 15; and so on. All the registers would then be collected and the entries of the green pack found in those belonging to each person or sorter abstracted on to a separate slip and added up. The number of cards belonging to each pack would thus be ascertained, and this would correspond to the tabulation and compilation of one census table. Suppose, further, that it was desired to ascertain the number of cards of each suit both altogether and in each pack separately. Taking the registers containing the entries, some one would collect from each of the sorters all the green cards which he had and give them to one sorter, and similarly for the other packs. Each sorter would then sort his cards into the four suits, count the number of cards in each suit, and enter in another register, Green pack—spades 10, diamonds 9, clubs 7, hearts 8. When this process had been completed and the registers again collected, the entries for each suit would be abstracted on to a separate sheet and added up, and the necessary information would be obtained. If it be supposed that the different kinds of packs represent one of the particulars recorded at the census, such as religion, and the suits another such as caste, the process described is exactly analogous to that of census tabulation and compilation under the slip system, only that one or two hundred thousand slips are dealt with at a time, and that, except in the age and civil condition table, the entries to be distinguished in each process of sorting are usually very numerous.

10. The slip system has several advantages as compared with the old system of abstraction by ticks on to sheets divided into compartments.

Comparison of the slip system with the old system.

According to this every table had to be abstracted separately, and the abstraction sheets must in some cases have been very complicated. In the age, sex, and civil condition sheet, 106 compartments would be required, being the product of two

sexes, three civil conditions, and seventeen age periods, and it must have been extremely difficult to get the abstraction done correctly. Each abstractor would have to have one of these for each separate religion, and in the case of every entry he would have first to take the proper religion sheet and then to select out of a hundred and six compartments in the sheet the one corresponding to the age, sex, and civil condition of the person to be abstracted. Under the slip system the slips are sorted by sex for the first table, religion, and the bundles of male and female slips are kept separate in all subsequent tables. For age and civil condition each bundle is first sorted by shape into the three civil conditions, and subsequently each of these into the seventeen age periods. Another disadvantage of the tick system is that only one book could be abstracted at a time, and in such tables as caste and occupation, where a large number of different entries would be contained in a single block, the subsequent process of tabulation or adding up the separate entries on each sheet was extremely complicated. Under the slip system, when the abstraction is finished, no more notice need be taken of single blocks and all the entries of one caste and one occupation contained in several thousand slips could be counted and tabulated together. The advantages of the system are, it will be seen, contingent on dealing with large quantities of slips at the same time. It saves the process of copying out and adding up enormous numbers of small totals, which is necessary when, as under the tick system, every table is prepared separately for each block.

11. The only other scheme of census tabulation which is a serious rival of the slip system is that of the electric tabulating machines invented by Mr. W. Hollerith. The method pursued is to take for each person a card marked out into various compartments, in which holes, numbers or abbreviations corresponding to the enumeration particulars recorded are marked by means of a key-board punch, presumably a machine something of the same nature as a type-writer, only that it makes holes instead of writing letters. The punched cards are then passed one by one through an electric tabulating machine which records the numbers of each group in the tables according to the holes in the cards. The population of Cuba, about a million and a half persons, was tabulated in 5 months and 3 days in this manner, the total cost of the census being equivalent to eleven and a quarter lakhs of rupees. The population of Austria, consisting of 24 millions, took two years to tabulate by the same process. In Austria twelve tabulating machines and 220 key-board punches were used, the cost of one machine being, it is thought, about £400. It is clear that electric machines cannot be compared with the slip system as far as India is concerned. In the Central Provinces, working on the same scale as Austria, 6 machines would be required to tabulate the population of 12 millions in two years, and their initial cost would be Rs. 36,000. By the time the key-board punches and cards had been obtained the expenditure would probably amount to half the total cost of the census on machinery alone.

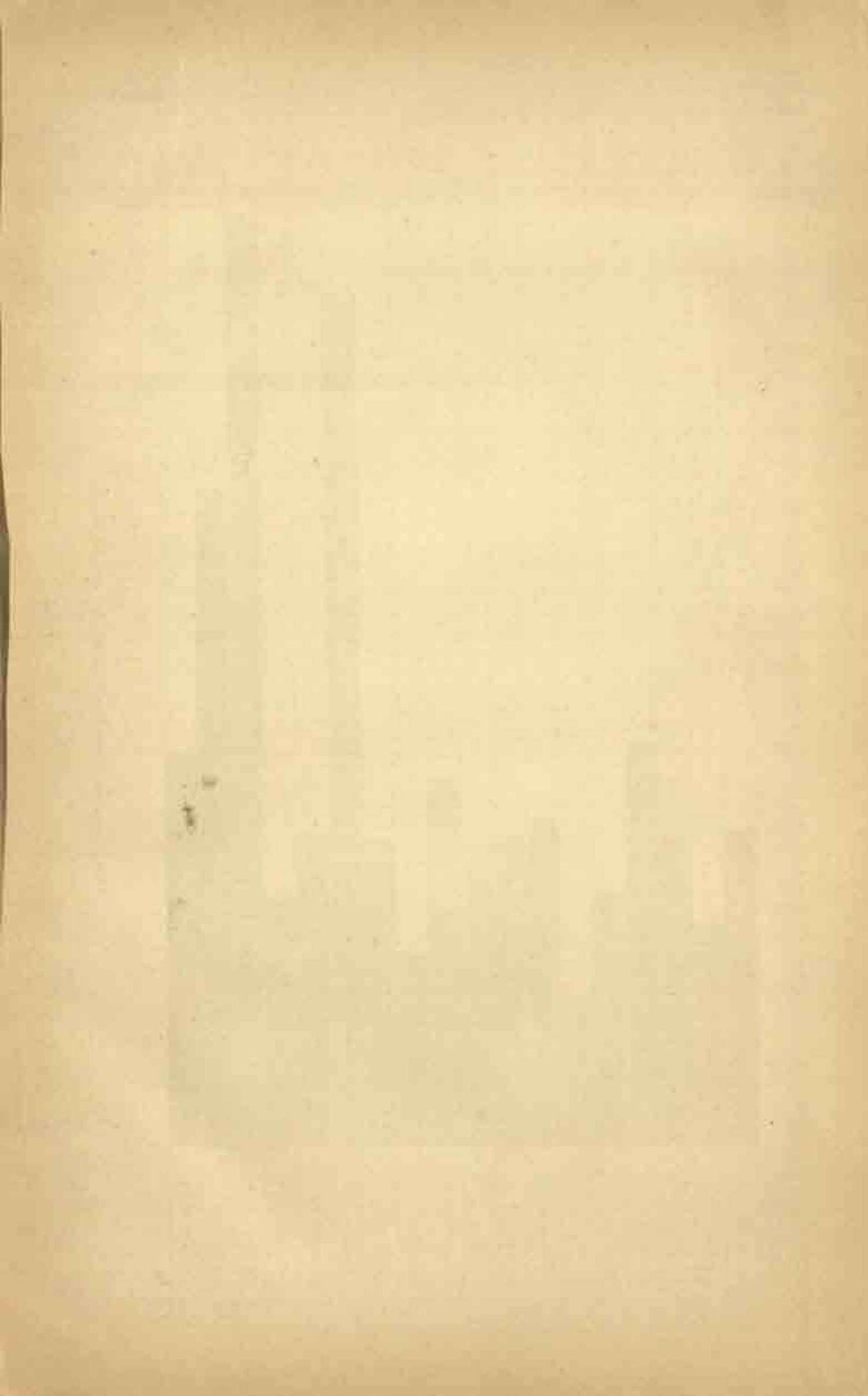
12. The Deputy Superintendents of Census were as follows:—Alzal Ahmed, Clerk of Court, Khandwa, for the Jubbulpore office; Ganpat Giri, Head Clerk, Bilaspur, for the Raipur office; Raghunath Parshad, Excise Inspector, for Sambalpur, and Laxman Rajaram, Naib-Tahsildar, for Nagpur. All the Deputy Superintendents of Census worked as hard as they could, and performed their duties satisfactorily. The best was Raghunath Parshad, whose tables were prepared at once with great rapidity and accuracy.

STATEMENT I.—Showing the difference between the Provisional and Final Totals.

District or State.	Provisional Totals.	Final Totals.	Difference (+) or (—).
<i>Districts.</i>			
Saugor	470,393	471,046	+ 653
Damoh	285,138	285,326	+ 188
Jubbulpore	686,485	686,585	+ 100
Mandla	297,454	317,450	+ 19,996
Seoni	327,217	327,709	+ 492
Narsinghpur	313,829	313,951	+ 122
Hoshangabad	449,197	449,165	— 32
Nimar	327,042	327,035	— 7
Betul	285,324	285,363	+ 39
Chhindwara	408,105	407,927	— 178
Wardha	385,483	385,103	— 380
Nagpur	751,584	751,844	+ 260
Chandla	580,390	601,533	+ 21,143
Bhandara	663,576	663,062	— 514
Balaghat	326,704	326,321	— 383
Raipur	1,442,776	1,440,556	— 2,220
Bilaspur	1,011,512	1,012,972	+ 1,460
Sambalpur	829,823	829,698	— 125
British Districts	9,845,045	9,876,646	+ 31,601
<i>States.</i>			
Makrai	13,021	13,035	+ 14
Bastar	306,544	306,501	— 43
Kanker	103,471	103,536	+ 65
Nandgaon	126,444	126,365	— 79
Khatirgath	137,542	137,554	+ 12
Chhuikhadan	26,366	26,368	+ 2
Kawantia	57,521	57,474	— 47
Sakti	22,301	22,301	—
Raigarh	124,911	124,929	+ 18
Sarangath	80,018	79,900	— 118
Bansa	123,289	123,378	+ 89
Rairukhol	26,888	26,888	—
Sonpur	170,633	169,877	— 756
Patna	277,506	277,748	+ 242
Kulshadi	336,661	336,629	— 32
Feudatory States	1,983,496	1,996,383	+ 12,887
Central Provinces	11,828,541	11,873,029	+ 44,488

STATEMENT II.—Showing the date and hour on which Telegrams announcing the Provisional Totals from Districts and States were received.

District or State.	Date.	Hour.	Name of Deputy Commissioner or Superintendent of Feudatory State.
Narsinghpur	2nd March 1901	11-5 P. M.	Mr. E. A. DeBrett.
Jubbulpore	3rd March 1901	1-47 A. M.	Mr. B. Robertson, C. I. E.
Sarangath	Do.	11-45 A. M.	S. Atwarani, Superintendent.
Sakti	Do.	12-30 P. M.	Andradh Patnaik, Diman.
Wardha	Do.	4-28 P. M.	Mr. S. M. Chitambar.
Nimar	Do.	5-8 P. M.	Mr. W. M. Crawford.
Nagpur	Do.	5-20 P. M.	Mr. A. L. Saunders.
Chhuikhadan	Do.	8-32 P. M.	Abbas Khan, Superintendent.
Balaghat	4th March 1901	4-48 P. M.	Mr. H. F. Hillier.
Saugor	Do.	5-50 P. M.	Mr. R. C. H. King.
Seoni	Do.	8-20 P. M.	Mr. A. Mayne.
Khatirgath	Do.	8-21 P. M.	Khan Bahadur Maulvi Mahmood Hassan, Diman.
Nandgaon	Do.	8-40 P. M.	Rai Bahadur Gujral Sing, Diman.
Damoh	Do.	9-3 P. M.	Mr. W. N. Max.
Bilaspur	Do.	9-3 P. M.	Mr. H. R. Mayes.
Mandla	Do.	9-9 P. M.	Mr. L. E. P. Gaskin.
Kanker	5th March 1901	8-23 A. M.	Durgaprasad, Diman.
Makrai	Do.	9-10 A. M.	Munshi Ramchand.
Hoshangabad	Do.	9-15 A. M.	Mr. A. S. Womack.
Rairukhol	Do.	10-53 A. M.	Darabhi Puri, Diman.
Bhandara	Do.	12-40 P. M.	Mr. R. G. Pootin.
Raigarh	Do.	5-25 P. M.	Munshi Ramdaran Ghose, Diman.
Sambalpur	Do.	7-12 P. M.	Mr. F. S. A. Slocock.
Kamaridha	6th March 1901	7-30 A. M.	T. Sambiah, Superintendent.
Sonpur	Do.	11-59 A. M.	Dhobandhu Patnaik, Diman.
Betul	Do.	8-35 P. M.	Mr. B. P. Standen, C. I. E.
Chandla	Do.	8-47 P. M.	Mr. S. W. Cowen.
Raipur	Do.	8-50 P. M.	Capt. D. J. C. Macnab.
Chhindwara	Do.	9-2 P. M.	Mr. L. A. G. Clarke.
Bansa	7th March 1901	6-9 A. M.	Tikait Satchidanand Das.
BASTAR	Do.	6-56 A. M.	Mr. G. W. Gayer, Administrator.
Patna	Do.	10-57 A. M.	Panda Baijwanath, Diman.
Kulshadi	Preliminary Enumeration		Rambriksha Mitra, Superintendent.



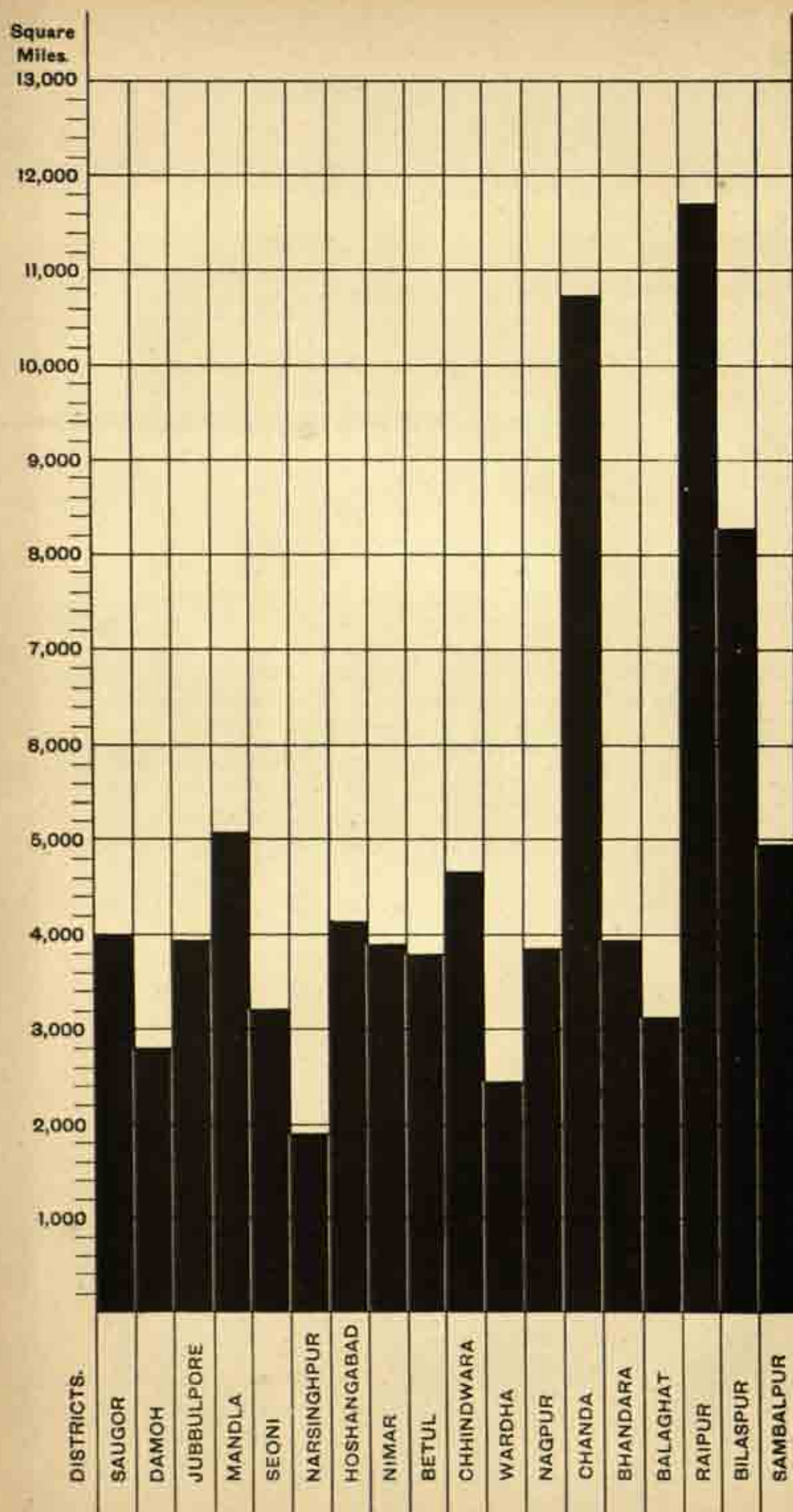


Diagram comparing the Areas of Districts.

CHAPTER II.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION.

13. The population of the Provinces is now 11,873,029, showing a decrease of 8·3 per cent. on 1891. British Districts contain 9,876,646 persons, or 83 per cent. of the population, and Feudatory States 1,996,383 or 17 per cent. In 1881 the population of the Province was 11,548,511. The area of the Provinces is now 115,894 square miles. Since 1891 it has changed by 42 square miles, due to corrections in survey. British Districts contain 75 per cent. of the area of the Provinces and Feudatory States 25 per cent. In 1891 the Central Provinces contained 7 per cent. of the area and 4·5 per cent. of the population of India. Including Berar and the North-West Frontier Province the Central Provinces is sixth of the Provinces in India both in area and population. It is larger both in area and population than Berar, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province, larger in area than the United Provinces, and larger in population than Burma. The annexed statement shows the area and population of the ten Provinces according to the figures published in the Census Tables:—

Province.	Area.	Population.
Burma	258,195	10,491,733
Bengal	189,837	78,493,410
Bombay	188,745	25,444,235
Madras	143,221	38,623,066
Punjab	133,741	24,754,737
Central Provinces	115,894	11,873,029
United Provinces	112,243	48,493,879
Assam	56,243	6,126,343
Berar	17,709	2,734,016
North-West Frontier Province	16,466	2,125,480

14. The following statement shows the population and area of the four Administrative sub-divisions, divisions and their proportion to the total of British Districts:—

	Population.	Percentage of British Districts.	Area.	Percentage of area of British Districts.
1. Jabulpore Division	3,081,916	21	19,003	22
2. Nerbudda Division	1,383,441	18	18,322	21
3. Nagpur Division	2,778,063	28	24,121	28
4. Chhattisgarh Division	3,283,385	33	25,013	29

The average area of a revenue division in the Central Provinces, excluding

	Average population.	Average area.
United Provinces ...	5,209,565	11,343
Bombay ...	4,628,897	30,740
Bengal ...	8,304,985	16,798
Punjab ...	2,033,034	9,721
Burma ...	1,156,452	21,066

Feudatory States, is 21,654 square miles, and the average population 2,469,162 persons. The average areas and populations of divisions in some other Provinces are given in the marginal statement. A division in the Central Provinces is therefore generally larger in area but smaller

in population than in other Provinces. The Chhattisgarh Division is the largest both in respect of area and population, and the Nerbudda Division the smallest.

The largest district in the Provinces in point of area is Raipur, 11,724 square

District.	Area in square miles.	District.	Population.
*1. Raipur ...	11,724	11. Raipur ...	1,440,556
2. Chanda ...	10,749	2. Bilaspur ...	1,012,972
3. Bilaspur ...	8,341	3. Sambalpur ...	829,698
4. Mandla ...	5,047	4. Nagpur ...	751,844
5. Sambalpur ...	4,648	5. Jubbulpore ...	680,535
6. Chhindwara ...	4,631	6. Bhandara ...	663,062
7. Hoshangabad ...	4,020	7. Chanda ...	601,531
8. Saugor ...	4,007	8. Saugor ...	471,046
9. Bhandara ...	3,965	9. Hoshangabad ...	449,165
10. Nimar ...	3,929	10. Chhindwara ...	407,927
11. Jubbulpore ...	3,612	11. Wardha ...	385,101
12. Nagpur ...	3,240	12. Seoni ...	377,799
13. Betul ...	3,216	13. Nimar ...	327,005
14. Seoni ...	3,206	14. Balaghat ...	326,521
15. Balaghat ...	3,139	15. Mandla ...	317,450
16. Damoh ...	2,831	16. Narsinghpur ...	313,951
17. Wardha ...	2,428	17. Betul ...	285,393
18. Narsinghpur ...	1,916	18. Damoh ...	285,326

mile, and the smallest Narsinghpur, 1,916 square miles. The marginal statement * shows districts arranged in point of area. Raipur has also the largest population in the Provinces with 1,440,556 persons, Bilaspur is second with 1,012,972 persons, Sambalpur third with 829,698 persons, and Nagpur fourth with 751,844 persons. The smallest district in population is Damoh with 285,326 persons, next to this Betul with 285,363 persons, next Narsinghpur, 313,951 persons, and then Mandla, 317,250 persons. The marginal statement † shows districts arranged in point of population. The average area of a district in the Central Provinces is 4,812

	Average population of a district.	Average area of a district.
Bengal ...	1,557,184	3,149
United Provinces ...	979,868	2,127
Bombay ...	771,483	5,124
Madras ...	1,726,325	6,441
Punjab ...	732,976	3,600
Berar ...	459,002	2,951
Burma ...	250,991	4,681

square miles and the average population 548,703 persons. Averages of area and population for some other Provinces are given in the marginal statement. The average land revenue demand per district in the Central Provinces is Rs. 4,79,524 and per head of population about 14 annas. The 15 Feudatory States occupy an area of 29,435 square miles and have a population of 1,996,383 persons, being about a quarter of the area and a sixth of the population of the Provinces. The largest is Bastar with an area of 13,062 square miles, and the smallest Sakti, 138 square miles. The largest State in point of population is Kalahandi, 350,529 persons, and the smallest Makrai, 13,035 persons. The average area of a Feudatory State is 1,962 square miles, and the average population 133,092 persons. There are 51 tahsils in British

Statement showing average area and population of tahsils in each division.

Division.	Average area.	Average population.
Jubbulpore ...	1,452	160,147
Nerbudda ...	1,421	137,188
Nagpur ...	1,508	170,504
Chhattisgarh ...	2,779	364,801

Districts, or rather less than 3 to a district. The average area of a tahsil is 1,698 square miles, and the average population 193,660 persons. The size of tahsils varies greatly between the west and east of the Provinces, as shown by the averages for each division in the marginal statement. The figures for the Jubbulpore, Nerbudda, and

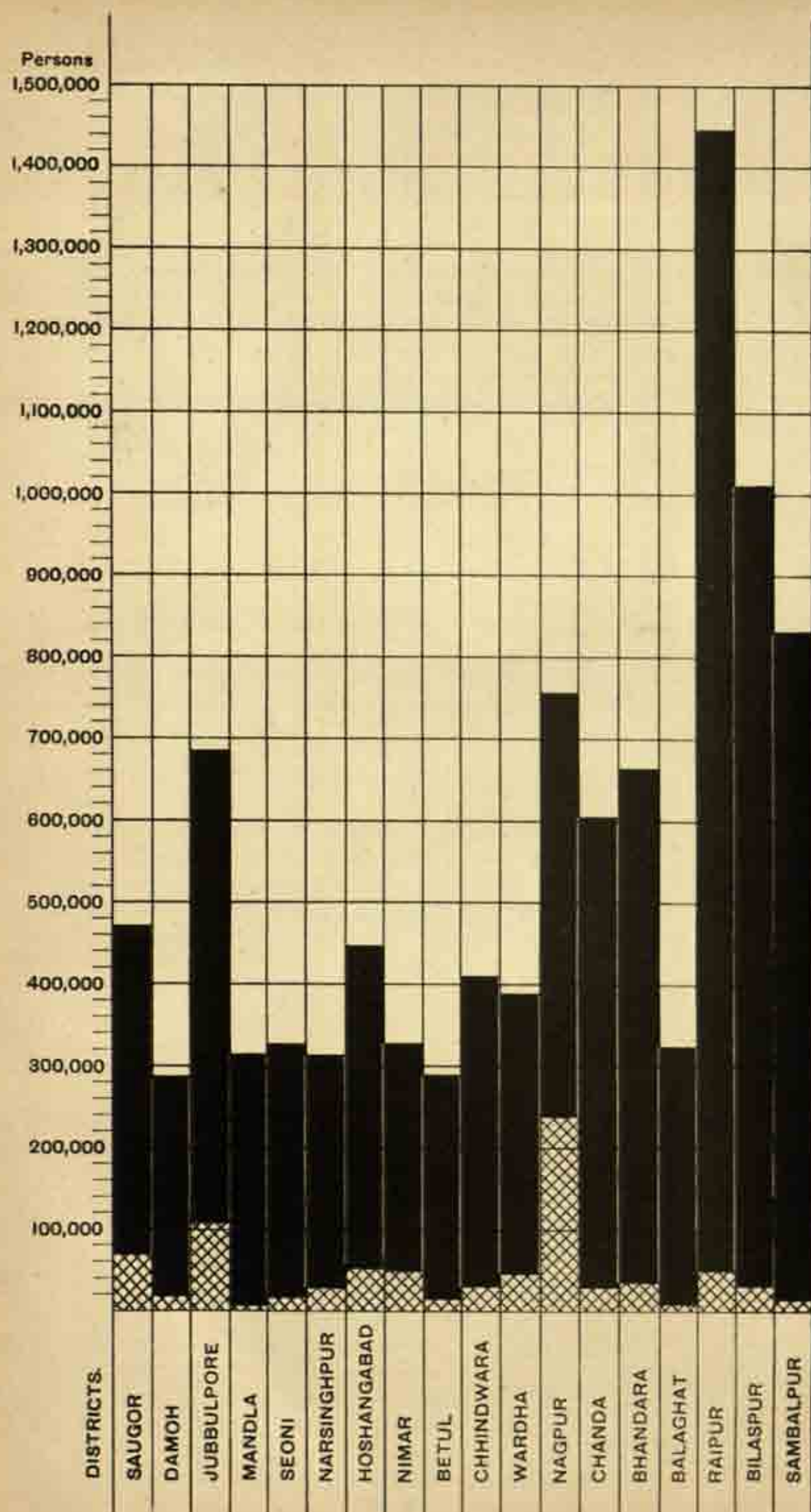
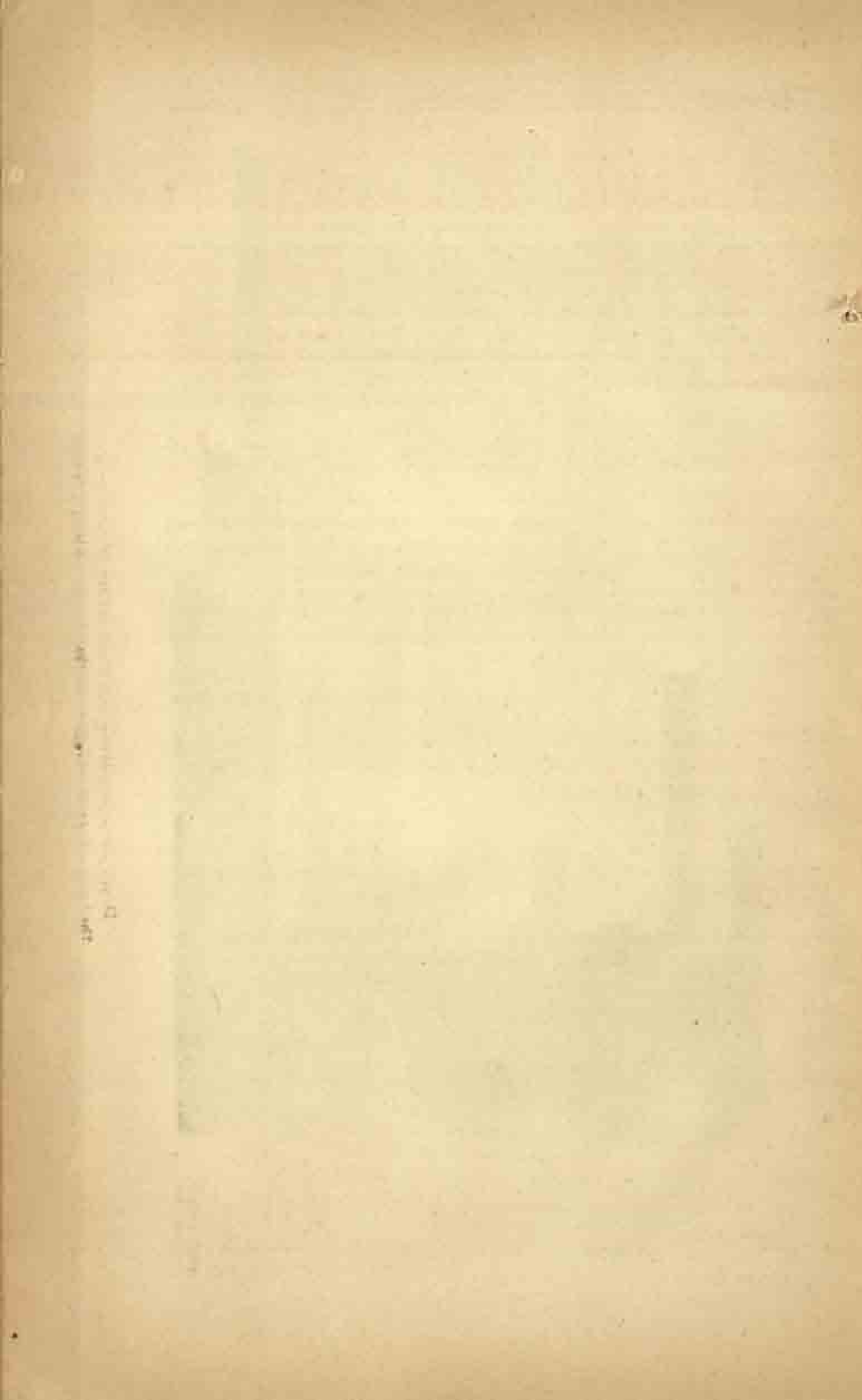


Diagram comparing the Population of Districts.
The hachured spaces represent the urban Population in each District.



Nagpur Divisions do not differ very materially, but the average tahsil in Chhattisgarh has more than double the population, and nearly twice the area of that of any other division. The largest tahsil in the Provinces in point of area is Raipur, 5,802 square miles, and the smallest Seoni-Malwa, 490 square miles. The largest in point of population is also Raipur Tahsil, 564,102 persons, and the smallest Sironcha, 51,148 persons.

The density of population per square mile for the Central Provinces is 102 persons, being 114 persons for British Districts and 68 persons for Feudatory States. In 1891 it was 125 for British Districts, and there is thus a reduction of 11 persons.

15. The natural divisions of the Province have been fully described in the last Census Report, and also in the two famine reports.

Natural Divisions. Nothing more than a list of them need therefore be given. This is as follows:—

I.—*The Vindhyan Plateau*.—Saugor, Damoh and the Murwara Tahsil of Jubbulpore.—The drainage of this area is north to the Ganges and Jumna.

II.—*The Nerbudda Valley*.—The rest of Jubbulpore, Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad and Makrai.

III.—*Nimar*.—The northern part of Nimar is in the Nerbudda Valley, and the Burhanpur Tahsil in the valley of the Tapti, being separated by the western extremity of the Satpura Range. But the country is broken by small hills and forests and is more sparsely cultivated than the rest of the Nerbudda Valley, and the district is usually therefore taken as a division by itself.

IV.—*The Satpura Districts*.—Mandla, Seoni, Betul, Chhindwara, and the Baihar Tahsil of Balaghat.—These are situated on the plateau of the Satpura Range which occupies the Central part of the Provinces.

V.—*The Maratha Districts*, or those of the Nagpur Plain lying in the valleys of the Wardha and Wainganga.—Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, and the Balaghat Tahsil of Balaghat.

VI.—*The Chhattisgarh Plain*.—Raipur, Bilaspur, and the seven Chhattisgarh Feudatory States comprising the upper basin of the Mahanadi.

VII.—Sambalpur and the seven Oriya Feudatories in the middle basin of the Mahanadi.

16. The above seven divisions can be reduced to five by including Nimar either in the Nerbudda Valley or Satpura Division, and combining the Oriya country and Chhattisgarh. But whether five or seven are taken they do not serve very well to distinguish the

Remarks on Natural Divisions.

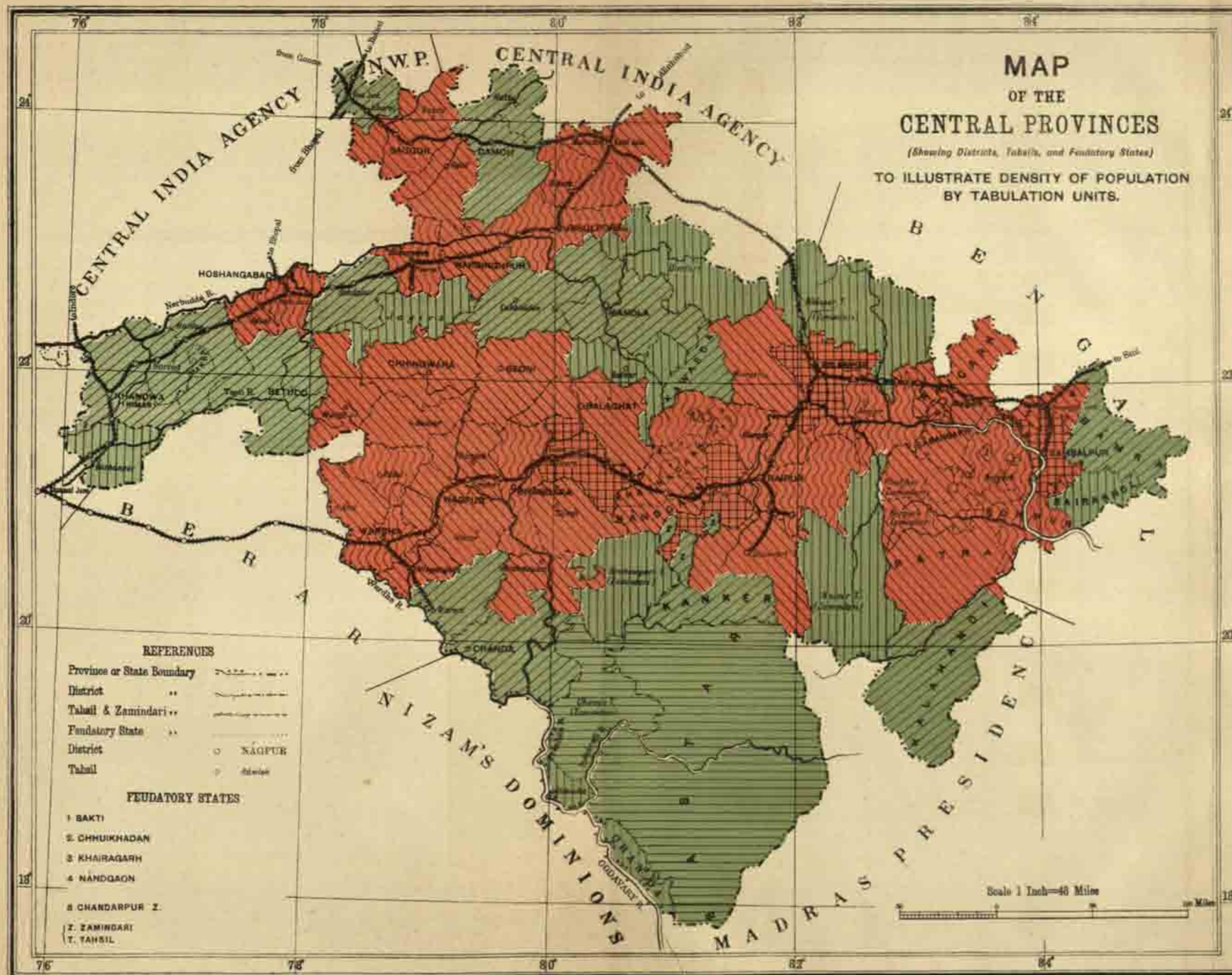
physical features of the country, and in the case of ethnical and linguistic distribution the want of correspondence is still more apparent. The greater part of the Sausar Tahsil of Chhindwara, called the Zerghat, lies below the plateau of the Satpuras and more correctly belongs to the Maratha country. In Chanda perhaps only the Warora Tahsil and the Khalsa of the Brahmapuri Tahsil should strictly be included in the Nagpur Plain. A large proportion of the population of the Chanda Tahsil is composed of Telugu castes, and the country itself is more sparsely populated and densely wooded than the rest of this division. The Zamindaris of the Chanda and Brahmapuri Tahsils should perhaps properly be constituted into one division, with Bastar, Kanker, the Raipur Tahsil Zamindaris and the greater part of Kalahandi as the area occupied by the expanse of hill and plateau country, which on the north-west nearly touches the Satpuras, leaving only the slight break of level land between Dongargarh and Ambargarh-Chauki, and goes south and east till, in Kalahandi, it merges into the Eastern Ghats. This tract and the Satpuras form the two natural fastnesses which the Dravidian tribes have preserved for the most part free from the encroachments of the Aryan invaders.¹ Extending on the west to the lower Wainganga and the Pranhita, the hill country follows on the north, the line of the Mahanadi, running up to within a short distance of the river and taking in the Raipur and Janjgir Tahsil Zamindaris, until, after enclosing Chhattisgarh on the south, it again approaches through Phuljhar and Sarangarh the northerly extension of the Satpuras, which runs down into Raigarh and separates Chhattisgarh from the Oriya Country on the east, as it has been seen to do from the Maratha Country on the west. The north-eastern corner of Chanda, which forms the Ambargarh-Chauki Zamindari, really belongs to Chhattisgarh; while the Balaghat Tahsil, like the Multai and Sausar Tahsils of Betul and Chhindwara,¹ forms a meeting place of the immigrants from the north and the Marathas from the south. From the eastern boundary of Bhandara, the Satpura Range or its extensions runs round Chhattisgarh to the north, and takes in the Bilaspur Tahsil Zamindaris, which should perhaps strictly be included in the Satpura Division, until it merges in the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The four States of Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan, and Kawardha, and the Drug Tahsil Zamindaris of Raipur, and Pandaria in Bilaspur lie along the foot of the hills, for the most part in open country. From Bilaspur the hilly country comes closer to the Mahanadi in Raigarh, and with the belt of jungle comprised in the Northern Zamindaris of Sambalpur forms the boundary on the north side of the river between the Oriya Country and Chhattisgarh. The Chandarpur and Phuljhar Zamindaris of Sambalpur and the Raigarh and Sarangarh States show in their caste and language tables that they are the meeting place of the Oriyas and the people of Chhattisgarh. East from them the Sambalpur District and Sonpur and Patna States lie in the valley of the Mahanadi, while Raïrakhol and Bamra run up from the valley to the Chota Nagpur Plateau.

17. The *Gazetteer* describes the formation of the Provinces from west to east as consisting of a plateau and a plain, succeeded by a

The history of the Province in connection with its physical features.

larger plateau and a larger plain, that is to say, the Vindhyan Districts and Nerbudda Valley, the Satpuras, and the Nagpur-Chhattisgarh-Oriya Country, which extends along their base. It seems desirable to add to this a fifth division consisting of the expanse of hill and plateau

¹ Central Provinces Gazetteer.



REFERENCES.			
Class.	Number of persons per Sq. Mile.	Mark.	District or State.
<i>Below Average</i>			
I	0—30		Chanda Taluq Zamindari & Bastar.
II	30—60		Dindori, Burhanpur, Chhindwara, Jagir, Sironcha, Brahmapur, Taluq Zamindari, Raipur, Raipur Taluq Zamindari, Bilaspur Taluq Zamindari, and Raikhol.
III	60—102		Kharai, Ganol, Hattia, Mandla, Lakshadon, Hada, Sahaspur, Khandwa, Harsod, Betul, Chanda, Warora, Drug, Taluq Zamindari, Makrai, Konker, Kawardha, Bampara, and Kalahandi.
<i>Above Average</i>			
A	102—150		Saugor, Relli, Banda, Morwara, Seoni, Narasingpur, Seoni (Malwa), Multai, Chhindwara, Santar, Arvi, Hinganghat, Nagpur, Ramtek, Umcer, Brahmapur, Sakeli, Balaghat, Dhamtari, Mungeli, Sambalpur Taluq Zamindari, Phuljhar Taluq Zamindari, Bargarh Taluq Zamindari, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Raigarh, Saragarh, and Patna.
B	150—200		Jubbulpore, Sihora, Gadarwara, Hoshangabad, Wardha, Katol, Bhandara, Raipur, Simga, Janigar, Chhukhadan, Sakli, Sonpur, and Bargarh.
C	200—250		Tirora, Drug, Bilaspur, and Sambalpur.
D	over 250		Chandrapur Zamindari

above described and including the Chanda Zamindaris, parts of Bastar, Kanker and Kalahandi, and those Zamindaris of Raipur and Bilaspur, and parts of those of Sambalpur which are south of the Mahanadi. Between the physical structure of the Provinces as thus shown and their history and ethnical constitution a comparatively close connection can be traced. The plain country was the seat of the ruling dynasties, and the borders on all sides were held in feudal tenure by subordinate chiefs, who were responsible for the maintenance of order among the wilder Dravidian races within their jurisdiction, and for the protection of the richer and more settled lowlands from predatory inroads from without. These rulers have in most cases become Zamindars and Feudatory Chiefs of the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Districts and the Jagirdars of Chhindwara. Most of the Chanda and Wainganga Zamindars¹ and those of the Khaloti² or low country between Nagpur and Chhattisgarh and the Jagirdars of Chhindwara held under the Gond dynasties of Deogarh, Mandla, and Chanda, and later under the Marathas. The other Chhattisgarh Zamindars³ and those of the Kondwan⁴ were generally subordinate to the Haihaihansi dynasty of Ratanpur. The Sambalpur Gurhjat Chiefs⁵ were the feudatories of the Maharajas of Patna and Sambalpur. Kanker, Kalahandi and Bastar, which are also reckoned among the Chhattisgarh Zamindars, probably occupied a more independent position, and Bastar would appear in all likelihood to have been until recently a separate dynasty with tributary chiefs of its own, the Bastar Raja accounting himself a descendant of the rulers of the ancient kingdom of Telingana in the Deccan, from which his ancestors, expelled by the Mahomedans, fled across the Godavary and took up their position at Jagdalpur.⁶ It will thus be seen from the names given in the notes that the Zamindaris formed frontier marches or border lines on each side for the protection of the plains. Similar fiefs seem to have existed in parts of the Vindhyan Districts under the Gond Garha Mandla dynasty,⁷ but the holders were ousted by the northern invaders, who entered and took possession of these and the Nerbudda Valley, and the more open parts of the Satpura Plateau. The Nagpur Plain, formerly divided between the Gond kingdoms of Deogarh and Chanda, fell to the Marathas, who not only conquered it, but settled in all the open country. Chhattisgarh, protected on both sides by ranges of hills and peopled many centuries back by Hindu immigrants from the north, remained comparatively unaffected either by the Oriya immigration on the east or the later influx of Marathas on the west. For though the Marathas conquered and governed the country for a period, they did not take possession of the land. The aboriginal tribes retired before the Aryans to the two great tracts of hill and forest above described, where they still form the majority of the population.⁸

¹ Some of them in the plain country are of more recent origin and probably were merely patels or revenue farmers.—*Mr. Craddock's Note on the Zamindaris.*

² *Khaloti Zamindars*.—Khatigarh, Nandgaon, Chhuikhadan, Gaudal, Silheri, Barbaspur, Lohara, Thakurtola.—*Appendix A to Sir Richard Temple's Report on the Zamindaris, 1861.*

³ *Chhattisgarh Zamindars*.—Pandaria, Kawardha, Sahaspur, Pendra, Matia, Uprora, Kenda, Chikuri, Kurba, Champa, Lala.—*Ibidem.*

⁴ *Kondwan Zamindars*.—Bhatgaon, Bilalgarh, Katangi, Kauria, Purpuri, Surumar, Narra, Deori, Fingriwar, Gundurdehi, Khojji, Madanpur.—*Ibidem.* Mr. Hira Lal tells me, however, that the name Kondwan is not known locally.

⁵ *Gurhjat Chiefs*.—Raigarh, Bargarh, Sakli, Seragarh, Phuljhar, Buzasambar, Kharlar, Bindranawagarh. These were originally 18, but some have been left with Chota Nagpur and the Orissa Mahals.—*Ibidem.*

⁶ Sir Richard Temple's Report on the Zamindaris, page 4.

⁷ *Vide* articles Chichgarh and Deori in the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*.

⁸ Since writing the above I have received the proof of the map showing distribution of population, in which the two plain divisions marked in red where the population is above the average, and the three hill divisions marked in blue where it is below the average, can be roughly discerned.

18. Thus, though a fairly complete division of the Provinces is possible, both ethnically and geographically, this would fail to correspond in several cases with the boundaries of districts; and as statistics are, of course, compiled on the basis of these latter, it is difficult to form natural divisions in which the main characteristics of any particular tract will not be obscured by the inclusion of statistics which properly belong to a different kind of country. Under these circumstances, for density of population a somewhat minute sub-division has been taken, while in other cases, where it is only necessary to bring out the broad distinctions between different parts of the country, mixed districts like Chanda and Balaghat have been left out.

The density of population by natural divisions is shown in Statement II, which also gives the units grouped in each division. The plain country of Chhattisgarh has the highest density in the Provinces with 170 persons to the square mile, and Sambalpur District, excluding Chandarpur, is next with 162 persons. The Nagpur Plain has a density of 161 persons and the Nerbudda Valley 145 persons, the Vindhyan Districts 114, Nimar 83, and the Satpura Districts 78. The density of population must, as pointed out by Mr. Robertson, depend in an agricultural country in the first place on the proportion of the whole area of land which is fit for cultivation, and, secondly, on the degree to which the area under cultivation approaches the arable limit.¹ Ordinarily a plain district will have a larger percentage of area available for cultivation than a hilly one, and a heavy rainfall increases the percentage by enabling crops to be grown on the lightest soils.

In 1891 the proportion of cultivated to total area was about 47 per cent., both in Chhattisgarh and the Nerbudda Valley. It is now 38 per cent. in Chhattisgarh and 44 per cent. in the Nerbudda Valley. Rice districts generally appear to support a higher specific population than spring-crop districts, the cultivated area per head of population being about an acre and a half in the south and east of the Provinces as against two acres in the northern districts. The average outturn of rice per acre is taken as 1,080 lb. uncleaned = 650 lb. cleaned, while that of wheat is 570 lb. and of jua 570 lb. But it is believed that rice-eaters require a larger quantity of the uncooked grain than consumers of wheat. There is a proverb, 'Wheat will take you there and back; khichri will take you there; but if you have only got rice don't start on a journey.'²

Since 1891 the variations in density depend principally on the extent to which different areas have been affected by the successive failures of crops of the last decade. In the six Chhattisgarh States excluding Bastar, the density has fallen from 139 to 109, or by 30 persons, while in the Vindhyan Districts it has decreased from 135 to 114, or by 21 persons. In Nimar the number of persons per square mile has increased from 72 to 83, or by 11 persons. Taking single districts, the Nagpur District has the highest total density with 196 persons and Jubbulpore the next highest with 174 persons. Chanda and Mandla have the lowest with 56 and 62 persons respectively. Drug Tahsil Khalsa³ has the highest density of any tahsil with 209 persons, while the Chanda Tahsil Zamin-daris have only 10 persons to the square mile.

¹ Central Provinces Census Report, 1891, page 16.

² *Roti kake main dum jana;*

Khichri kake main marul puram;

Bhat kake mera nazuk khana

More kharid karin nahin jana.

³ In the tahsil figures of density, the population of the seven cities, Nagpur, Jubbulpore, Saugor, Kamptee, Burhanpur, Raipur and Khairwa, is excluded from the tahsil figures, and this is also done in the map showing distribution of population. Including cities, Nagpur Tahsil has the highest total density with 329 persons per square mile, and Jubbulpore Tahsil the next highest with 214.

19. Density of population has of course an intimate connection with famine administration as is pointed out in the Famine Report of 1897. The direct expenditure on famine relief depends on the total population of the area distressed, the price of grain, and the severity of distress as measured by the percentage of population which has to be brought on relief. But the difficulties of administration and the expenditure on the supervising staff depend only partly on the above causes, and principally on the area over which relief operations have to be extended, the relative difficulties of communication, and the manner in which the population is distributed over this area, that is, the number and size of villages, and the distances between them. Under these circumstances it is instructive to note that the density of population for the whole Province is only 102 persons per square mile, which is equivalent to saying that on an average the residents of one square mile of territory would be contained in a small village of 20 houses, and that from one of such villages it would be necessary to travel rather over a mile in any direction before arriving at another one. The average density is of course diminished by the inclusion of the large and sparsely populated area of the Feudatory States; but the density of British Districts is only 114 persons, and therefore, if the Feudatory States are excluded, there would, in the same manner, only be one village of 23 houses per square mile of territory instead of 20 houses. Over 35,764 square miles or 41·3 per cent. of the area of British Districts, the density of population is under 100 persons, and over 10,394 square miles it is under 70 persons. The return of houses shows that in Nimar the average is only 17 houses per square mile, in the Satpura Districts 16 houses, in Chanda excluding the Khalsa of two tahsils 8 houses, and in the Raipur and Bilaspur Zamindaris only 9 houses.

20. The above figures have been given to show how large the area of the Province is in proportion to its population, which of course is not evenly distributed in the above manner, but in towns and villages of varying size. The total number of towns and villages in the Provinces is 46,237. The average number of persons in one collection of houses is therefore 257. 15,341 villages, or 33 per cent. of the total number, contain less than 100 inhabitants or 20 houses, and 89 per cent. less than 500 inhabitants or 100 houses. The total number of villages in British Districts is 34,236, and the average number of persons to one town or village 288. The average amount of total area for every town or village is 2·5 square miles, or excluding the area of Government forests 2·1 square miles. The average amount of cultivated area in British Districts is 576 acres. Excluding the urban population the average number of persons to a village in the Central Provinces is 238, in British Districts 265, and in Feudatory States 161. The size of villages in British Districts of the Central Provinces is smaller than in any other Province of India, except Burma, where in 1891 the average number of persons was 232. The average number of persons to a village in some other Provinces in 1891 is shown in the marginal statement.

Bengal	...	...	209
Bombay	...	...	624
United Provinces	...	...	424
Punjab	...	...	532
Benar	...	...	439

21. The size of villages varies according to the nature of the country: they are large in open and well-cultivated areas and small in tracts of hill and forest. The reasons are probably that

The size of villages.

in these last only small quantities of arable land are found in one place, and any great extension of cultivation from a single village is therefore prevented; and also that where the soil is fertile and the crops yield a good return, the proprietors and tenants amass capital and can break up fresh land, which in time leads to an increase of population supported from the land. Another reason for the small size of villages in hill and forest districts is that these are peopled to a large extent by the non-Aryan tribes, who are morally incapable of sufficiently sustained exertions to overcome, further than to an extent which will yield them a bare subsistence, the obstacles presented by the less fertile nature of the soil and the natural growth of shrubs and trees by which it is encumbered. The tribes are also to some extent of naturally nomadic tendencies, and a visitation of epidemic disease or the presence in the neighbourhood of a man-eating tiger or panther frequently furnishes sufficient reason for the desertion of a village site. The necessity for mutual protection against marauding forays has been assigned by Mr. Robertson as a reason for the collection of the people in large villages in the open country. Now that this motive for concentration on a single site no longer exists, while the area of cultivated land has increased, hamlets have in many cases sprung up at a distance from the main village owing to the desire of the cultivators to live near their fields and to avoid the necessity of a long journey to them. In some cases, also, the impure castes, especially Gandas, Chamars and Mehras, have a hamlet of their own either adjoining the main village or at a little distance from it. The districts with the largest villages in the Provinces are Wardha and Bhandara, where the average is about 380 persons or 76 houses. But this number is exceeded in the khalsa of both tahsils of Sambalpur, where there are over 400 persons or 80 houses, and is nearly equalled in the khalsa of the Raipur and Drug Tahsils of Raipur and in the Janjgir Tahsil of Bilaspur. As a rule villages are larger in rice than in spring-crop districts, probably owing to the fact that the cultivated area per head of population is greater in the latter, which means that longer distances have to be travelled to the outlying fields from the central site. In the hilly country the average village falls below 40 houses, *e. g.*, in Mandla it is 34, in the Chhindwara Jagirs 26, and in the Raipur Tahsil Zamindaris 30. In Bamra there are only 24 houses to a village and in Rairakhol 16.

22. The total number of villages in British Districts is 34,179 as against 34,303 in 1891, or a decrease of 124. The numbers in most districts show a slight falling-off on last census, probably owing to a more strict interpretation of the rule that the settlement mauza should be taken as the village, and that detached hamlets should be included in it, and perhaps in some few cases owing to the desertion of village sites. On the other hand there are some increases which it is difficult to explain. In Saugor 106 more villages are returned and in Mandla 67. The last increase is no doubt due to the formation of new ryotwari villages. The increase in the combined total of Hoshangabad and Nimar is 84, resulting probably from the colonisation of the Charwa tract. Betul has an increase of 40 villages, Chhindwara of 10, and Bhandara of 18. The large decrease of 160 in Sambalpur must be attributed to the omission of hamlets which were previously separately counted. The total number of villages in Feudatory States is 11,983, being an increase of 1,582, the falling-off in some of the Chhattisgarh States being more than counterbalanced by heavy increases in the Oriya States. Only inhabited villages are given in the census returns, and the numbers therefore

Variations in the number of villages.

are considerably less than those entered in the Administration Report, and which are based on the revenue returns. The reason is that the latter include as villages all areas which are separately assessed to revenue, though in several cases there is no village site and no resident population. The total number of villages thus calculated is 37,382 for British Districts or an excess on the census returns of 3,203.

23. Of large villages containing from 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants there are 931 in British Districts and 70 in the Feudatory States.

Large villages.

* Such villages are of importance not only on account of their size, but also as indicating by their prevalence in any particular tract a commercial and industrial development, which is wanting in places where villages are small.¹ As a rule the size of a purely agricultural village must be limited to the number of persons required for the cultivation of the land which is within an accessible distance from the village site. When this limit is reached hamlets will be thrown off or a fresh village formed. In the case of large villages therefore part of the population is usually non-agricultural. The districts in which these villages are most frequent are those of the Nerbudda Valley and the Maratha Country, Jubbulpore, Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad, and Nimar, and Wardha, Nagpur, Chanda, and Bhandara. Wardha and Nagpur are also the districts with the largest number of towns or places containing over 5,000 persons, Wardha having five towns and Nagpur twelve. It is explained in the last Census Report that the large villages were the weekly market towns or 'kasbas,' of which there was one to each circle of ten or twelve villages; some small amount of trade was carried on in them, and the population, not being limited to agriculturists, was more numerous than that in the adjoining villages. Some of them were also pargana head-quarters and the residence of kamaishdars or pargana officers under the Maratha Government. These brought with them a retinue of servants and followers, who in turn attracted a number of artisans, grain-sellers, and others to provide for their wants, and thus the nucleus of a town was formed. In the Nerbudda Valley the number of large villages may be partly due to the fact that, as mentioned above, these were centres in which the people collected for mutual protection when threatened with an incursion of Pindharis or other free-booters. At the present time the location of a Tahsil head-quarters produces a proportion of non-agricultural population, and hence increases the size of a few villages. Trade tends to concentrate along the line of rail, and villages at railway stations form depôts for the collection of produce from surrounding areas, and in this manner increase in importance. In some of them also there is a considerable colony of railway servants. In most other cases the population of large villages is partly composed of weavers or brass-workers, who produce for a certain area of country the cotton cloths and eating and drinking vessels, which, next to food, are the principal wants of the agricultural population. The industry of hand-weaving is, however, on the decline, and such villages would not be likely to increase in size. Generally there seems to be a tendency for the non-agricultural population to collect in the larger towns at the expense of the larger villages and smaller towns. Since 1891 the only class in which the number of villages has increased is the lowest,

* Central Provinces Census Report, 1891, page 25.

those with a population of under 200, while in all other classes the number of villages has decreased. This result is no doubt principally caused by the decline in population. But in the highest class, that with a population of 5,000 and over, though there is a decrease in the actual number of towns, there is a substantial increase in the total number of persons resident in them; and it seems probable that this is a sign of the tendency of trade and industry to concentrate in large centres. In the case of cotton-weaving, the most important village industry, such a tendency is known to exist owing to the displacement of hand-woven by machine-made cloth. Before, however, passing to urban statistics it will be desirable to consider briefly the figures for houses.

24 To define what constitutes a house is the great difficulty of the preliminary census instructions, and in this Province, to judge from the criticisms received, no finally satisfactory solution has yet been arrived at, if, indeed, any such is possible. The definition adopted was the standard one prescribed by the Census Commissioner as follows:—‘A house is the dwelling-place of one or more families with their dependents and servants, having a separate main entrance from the common way space or compound. In the case of a number of huts inside an enclosure, families messing together should be counted as one household, and those messing separately as separate households. Any building in which any one usually sleeps at night should be counted as a house. Houses temporarily empty owing to their inmates being absent on relief-works should be counted.’ Criticisms on the instructions were invited in the district reports and were freely forthcoming. One report remarked: ‘The definition though . . . is still somewhat ambiguous, misleading, and confounding.’ The same writer goes on to say: ‘On the whole it is safe to trust the matter to the discretion of the supervisor and his enumerator, who, if left to themselves, will call a spade a spade.’ But whether they would agree as to what should be called a house is a point on which, in view of the diversity of opinion among Deputy Commissioners, it seems permissible to entertain some doubt. Nor does the author of the report himself appear in reality to rely so implicitly on the intelligence of the census staff; for he remarks elsewhere in the report: ‘Printed instructions for such people are waste paper and labour lost; they require to be orally instructed and dictated to, line upon line and precept upon precept’; and in conclusion he offers a fresh definition which would extend to about a page of print. Another report objects to the use of the word ‘*ghar*’ as a translation of house, on the ground that it really means household; but as it is practically a return of households that is wanted, this is not a very serious criticism. The principal difficulty arises in the case of the Chhattisgarh enclosure or ‘*bara*,’ which is described in the last Census Report. In some cases there are families or persons inside an enclosure who live in separate huts and mess together; in others they live in the same building and mess separately. Instances of houses in towns where the ground floor may be occupied as a shop, and the upper story by a separate family or even two, with a staircase sometimes inside and sometimes outside the house, also arose and presented difficulties. It is frequently no easy matter, especially in villages, to say what is a common way, owing to the irregular manner in which huts are constructed. One reference as to whether a man who lived outside the village under a tree, and cooked and slept there, should be counted as a householder, caused some hesitation, the point being that unless he was considered to have a

house he could not be included in the preliminary enumeration. Finally, he was allowed by fiction to have a house. On the whole the definition seems to be fairly satisfactory, and to have yielded a correct return of houses, or parts of houses separately occupied by families or their servants. The objection to a '*chulhawar*' definition or that of the family joint in food as the household, which is advocated by some officers, is, that it would necessitate showing as separate households all private servants who slept on the premises, but took their meals apart from the family; and there is no object in obtaining such a return. On the whole it seems doubtful whether any improvement can be made on the present definition; and it is very undesirable, except for substantial reasons, to make alterations which would have the effect of preventing comparison of the returns of successive enumerations, as the deductions from such comparisons are really the most important results of census statistics. The number of families in a house had under the rules to be entered in a separate column of the block list. It is probable that the distinction was not strictly adhered to, and there was some confusion between houses and families; but the number of cases in which two families live under the same roof with only one main exit, is apparently very small.

25. The total number of houses returned as occupied is now rather less than two and a half millions. There is a decrease of about 100,000 since last census; allowing the rough average of five persons to a house ordinarily adopted, the decrease should have been about 200,000 in order to correspond with that of the population, and the difference is probably principally due to the inclusion of unoccupied houses. The lists were in many cases prepared at a time when numbers of people were absent from their villages on famine-relief works. The average number of persons per house for the Provinces is 4·8 as against 5 in 1891 and 4·3 in 1881. In 1881 all huts inside an enclosure were counted separately and this led to a reduction of the average. The number varies from 4·3 in the Nerbudda Valley to 5·4 in Bastar. It is on the whole low in the west of the Provinces and fairly high in the east. But this last fact may be due to the sub-division of enclosures having been carried further in Chhattisgarh. It was pointed out by Mr. Robertson in 1891, that the average strength of the household tends to rise where the number of young children is high in proportion to the total population. This was especially the case in areas principally populated by the Forest tribes, who in 1891 were increasing at a faster rate than the general population; and also in Chhattisgarh and the Oriya Country, to which the same remark applied. At the present census, however, the proportion of young children depends principally on the famine history of different districts during the last decade, though the fact that the percentage of children under 10 to the total population is considerably smaller than in 1891 may have had some effect in reducing the number of persons to a house. It is noticeable that the number of houses has increased by 34 per cent. in Nimar and 14 per cent. in Sambalpur. The total number of families, which was also shown in the block list, only exceeds the number of houses by 160,000 or 6·5 per cent., and if the returns were accurate, this would be the number of cases in which two families lived in the same house. But the difference varies so greatly in different parts of the Provinces as to indicate that the distinction between families and houses has only been imperfectly

made. In Sambalpur the number of families exceeds the number of houses by 11 per cent., and this is perhaps the nearest approximation to the correct figures.

26. In the definition of a town at this census were included all municipalities, all cantonments, and all other places with a population of 5,000 or over, except such as might be excluded by the Census Superintendent on the ground that they were merely overgrown villages possessing no urban characteristics. In 1891 it was not compulsory to include all municipalities and cantonments, and some of the smaller ones were omitted, as also some places of over 5,000 persons but of which the population was considered to be mainly rural. It is, however, by no means easy to decide on such grounds what places should be excluded; and as some of the municipal towns are really more rural than urban, I have thought it simpler to include all places with a population of 5,000 or more. Capitals of Feudatory States have also been included, both because they seemed to deserve to come into the list on account of their intrinsic importance, and because, being the head-quarters of the State administration, they must include a considerable non-agricultural population, probably as great proportionately as that in many of the smaller towns. The inclusion of a few small places does not materially affect the returns, provided that the same places are taken for purposes of comparison. The list of towns as thus drawn up contains 75 names. Of these 48 are municipalities, 2 cantonments, and 16 places with a population of over 5,000. Nine capitals of Feudatory States with a population of under 5,000 are also shown. There are altogether seven cantonments in the Provinces, five of which—Jubbulpore, Saugor, Raipur, Sambalpur and Pachmarhi—adjoin municipalities and have been amalgamated with them, and two—Kamptee and Asirgarh—do not adjoin municipalities.

27. The total number of places with a population of over 5,000 in the Provinces is 58—52 in British districts and 6 in the Feudatory States. At last census there were 65 such places. During the decennial period, 14 towns, *viz.*, Deori, Betul, Jagdalpur, Kawardha, Binka, Hatta, Lodhikhera, Sindi, Armori, Chimur, Nawargaon, Mohari, Rajim, and Jharsogra, have dropped below 5,000, and 7, Etawah, Itarsi, Mungeli, Katol, Raigarh, Deogarh, and Sarangarh, have increased above it. There are 16 towns with a population of 10,000 to 20,000 as against 13 at last census. During the interval Murwara, Arvi and Raj-Nandgaon have come into this group. Above 20,000 there are, as at last census, 6 towns—Nagpur (127,734), Jubbulpore (90,316), Saugor (42,330), Kamptee (38,888), Burhanpur (33,341), and Raipur (32,114). The total population of places with over 5,000 persons is 837,720, or 7·1 per cent. of the total of the Province, as against 814,994, or 6·3 per cent., in 1891; and of places with over 10,000 persons 590,587, or 5 per cent. of the total, as against 513,306, or 4 per cent., in 1891. There is thus an increase of 22,726 persons residing in

Statement of towns with a population of 10,000 and over.

1. Nagpur	...	...	127,734
2. Jubbulpore	...	...	90,316
3. Saugor	...	...	42,330
4. Kamptee	...	...	38,888
5. Burhanpur	...	...	33,341
6. Raipur	...	...	32,114
7. Khandwa	...	...	10,401
8. Bilaspur	...	...	18,007
9. Chanda	...	...	17,803
10. Harda	...	...	16,300
11. Umar	...	...	15,943
12. Hoshangabad	...	...	14,940
13. Morwara	...	...	14,137
14. Bhandara	...	...	14,023
15. Damoh	...	...	13,335
16. Sambalpur	...	...	12,870
17. Hinganghat	...	...	12,602
18. Seoni	...	...	11,864
19. Narsinghpur	...	...	11,233
20. Arvi	...	...	10,676
21. Watara	...	...	10,626
<i>Feudatory States.</i>			
22. Raj-Nandgaon	...	...	11,004

places of 5,000 and over, and of 77,281 persons residing in places of 10,000 and over. The percentages of actual increase in urban population are :—

1872 to 1881	...	15
1881 to 1891	...	9
1891 to 1901	...	9

28. The increase in urban population may be attributed to several causes.

Causes of the increase in urban population.

It is partly due to the growth of urban industries : there are 59 factories and mills working in the Province as against 16 in 1891. Trade, by which is meant the combined total of imports and exports, is also growing :—

		Total traffic.
		Rs.
1890-1891	—	7,79,57,974
1900-1901	—	12,65,57,752

These figures are not strictly suitable for purposes of comparison, because a large import of food-grains was a special and abnormal feature of the year 1900. But the trade of the previous year 1898-99 also showed an increase of over three crores on 1890-91, while the total of 1890-91 was about a crore in excess of the previous year. Generally, therefore, it seems correct to say that the inter-censal period has been marked by a large development of rail-borne traffic. Trade is also tending to accumulate in large towns to the detriment of small towns and large villages. The number of places with a population of between 2,000 and 5,000 is 188 as against 221 in 1891, and that of places with a population of between 5,000 and 10,000, 36 as against 46. The process of collection and distribution is in the hands of larger capitalists, and business is becoming more centralised. Higher education is being extended and more students go to the large towns in order to obtain it. Litigation is increasing, and with it those classes who are supported by litigation, pleaders and law agents, are both becoming more numerous and are obtaining a larger share of the wealth of the country. Owners of land are becoming more educated, and as a result acquire a taste for a more intelligent class of society and at the same time for a more luxurious and civilised manner of life, which they satisfy by going to live in towns instead of in their villages. The Nagpur Settlement Report remarks (paragraph 146) that most of the wealthy Brahman malguzars live in Nagpur, Umrer and Ramtek, and some of them had never seen their villages previous to the settlement inspection. It is probable also that landed property is becoming more concentrated in the hands of large holders. All the above factors tend to swell the numbers of the comparatively wealthy circle of urban society, which has wants to be satisfied and means with which to satisfy them ; and who thus cause an increase in the classes of servants, traders, and artisans living in towns. The occupation table does not altogether bear out this statement, because though the population and the wealth of large towns is increasing, that of the Province generally has naturally decreased owing to the successive failures of crops ; and the numbers of those classes who provide for the superfluous, and not for the essential, requirements of life will tend to vary in the same manner. The increased wealth of

Nagpur	...	9
Jubbulpore	...	7
Bachampur	...	3
Raipur	...	35
Khandwa	...	24
Bilaspur	...	70
Chanda	...	10
Harda	...	20
Umer	...	5
Hoshangabad	...	11
Murwara	...	49
Bhandara	...	5
Damoh	...	14

Hingnaghat	...	15
Narsinghpur	...	10
Arri	...	24
Warora	...	6
Wardha	...	10
Chhindwara	...	0
Dhamtari	...	36
Pandhurna	...	9
Rantek	...	15
Tumari	...	7
Soni (Malwa)	...	11
Katol	...	60
Etawah	...	61

towns is, however, sufficiently shown by the results of the last triennial revision of income-tax and pandhri, in which the increase of the assessments of many towns was remarkably high, though on the Province as a whole there was only a slight difference. The percentages of increase for a number of towns are shown in the marginal statement.

29. The percentage of urban population in each district is shown in the marginal statement. It varies from 2 in Mandla to 32 in Nagpur. In six districts,—Saugor (15), Jubbulpore (16), Hoshangabad (12), Nimar (16), Wardha (11), and Nagpur (32),—the urban population is over 10 per cent. of the total, and in the remaining districts it is under 10 per cent.

Urban population of districts.

Saugor	...	15
Damoh	...	5
Jubbulpore	...	16
Mandla	...	2
Soni	...	4
Narsinghpur	...	8
Hoshangabad	...	12
Nimar	...	16
Batal	...	4
Chhindwara	...	7
Wardha	...	11
Nagpur	...	32
Chanda	...	5
Bhandara	...	5
Balaghat	...	3
Raipur	...	3
Bilaspur	...	3
Sambalpur	...	2

30. Thirteen towns have an increase of population of over 30 per cent. as shown in the marginal statement.

Variation of population in towns. Increase over 30 per cent.

Towns.	Increase.	Percentage on previous Census.
British Districts—		
Raipur	8,355	35
Bilaspur	7,815	70
Murwara	4,677	49
Dhamtari	3,425	36
Katol	2,753	60
Etawah	2,430	61
Itarsi	2,079	87
Pachmarhi	1,197	66
States—		
Raigarh	2,212	49
Deogarh	3,139	122
Khairagarh	1,203	35
Ranikhet	1,540	65
Sakti	564	46

Of these eight are railway stations and centres of trade. Raipur (32,114) is gradually assuming the position of the chief depôt for the trade of Chhattisgarh, a great deal of which formerly went to Raj-Nandgaon. There is also an increased railway population and more Government business. As at last census it is the sixth town in the Provinces in point of population. Bilaspur (18,937) is an important railway junction, and has some trade, though the stations of Bhatapara and Akaltara on each side divert a considerable quantity. At this census the railway population, amounting to 2,561 persons, has been included in the town for the first time. There is also an increased number of European and respectable native residents who, for reasons given above, produce an increase of population largely in excess of their own numbers. The population of Bilaspur has about quadrupled since 1872. It is now the eighth town in the Provinces, in 1891 it was only sixteenth. Katni-Murwara (14,137) is an important railway junction, having four lines running into it. Its lime-works are well known; three European and about twelve native firms are engaged in the industry. It is the thirteenth town in order of population. Dhamtari (9,151) has advanced in importance owing to the recent opening of the railway. The increase in Katol (7,313) is principally due to the inclusion of the suburb of Budhwara on the opposite side of the river; it is also a depôt of the cotton trade. Etawah (6,418) includes the important railway junction of Bina, and is a depôt for trade, for which it is probably to some extent taking the place of Khurai. Itarsi (5,769) is also a railway junction

and a depôt for the wheat trade. Pachmarhi (3,020) is the summer residence of the Administration, and the number of Europeans who live there in the hot weather has considerably increased, thus producing a larger permanent population of servants, shop-keepers and others. Sambalpur (12,870) should correctly be included among the towns with a growth in population of over 30 per cent. At this census the Deputy Commissioner excluded a number of hamlets containing over 5,000 inhabitants which do not really belong to the town. If these are deducted from the population of last census, for purposes of comparison, the result is an increase of 37 per cent. Sambalpur must naturally be a prosperous town, as it is the centre of trade for most of the Sambalpur District. Raigarh (6,764) is a railway station and has a certain amount of trade. Deogarh (5,702), the capital of Bamra, has more than doubled in size owing principally to a number of foreign traders having settled in the town. The Raja of Bamra has a printing press, an Oriya newspaper, and some saw-mills for the timber trade, but the latter are not in Deogarh. Kanker (3,906) has some trade, and this town and Khairagarh (4,656) probably owe their increased population in part to the strengthening of the State administrative staff, and the more pretentious style of living of the ruling families. It may be noticed that out of fifteen capitals of Feudatory States nine have an increase in population of more than 10 per cent., which is probably partly due in all cases to the reasons here given.

31. Nineteen towns have an increase of between 10 and 30 per cent.

Increase between 10 and 30 per cent.

Towns.	Increase.	Percentage of increase on last Census population.
British Districts—		
Khandwa	3,812	24
Chanda	1,628	10
Harda	2,744	20
Hoshangabad	1,445	11
Damoh	1,002	14
Hinganghat	1,606	16
Arvi	2,061	24
Wardha	1,550	19
Ramtek	1,148	15
Soni (Malwa)	752	11
Arang	1,240	22
Burha (Balaghat)	1,085	21
Murgel	1,152	22
Bolpur	552	11
Chhindwara (Narsinghpur District)	402	11
States—		
Raj-Nandgaon	2,214	23
Sarangah	834	19
Bhawani Patan	917	26
Rampur	176	12

declined by 2,368 persons, partly owing to the inclusion in 1881 of a floating population engaged on the construction of the Bhopal State Railway. It is said not to have much trade, but there is a brass-working industry. The increase in Damoh (13,355) is partly due to the inclusion of suburbs. Wardha (9,872), Arvi (10,676), and Hinganghat (12,662), all show a substantial increase, the visitation of the plague having apparently not appreciably affected the prosperity of Wardha or Hinganghat. All three towns are depôts for the cotton trade, Wardha having six mills and ginning factories, Arvi eight, and Hinganghat eight. Ramtek (8,732) is said to be famous for its *pān* gardens; silk and cotton cloths are also manufactured. Arang (6,499) is little more than an agricultural village,

as shown in the marginal statement. Khandwa (19,401) is the seventh town in the Provinces. It is noticeable that it is only during the last decade that this town has begun to improve. Between 1881 and 1891 it was almost stationary. It has seventeen ginning factories, six cotton presses, and a considerable quantity of miscellaneous trade. Chanda (17,803) is the ninth town in the Provinces. Cotton-weaving and dyeing are among its industries, and it is also a depôt for the collection of grain and hides. Harda (16,300) is the tenth town in the Provinces. Three ginning factories have recently been established, and there is some trade in wheat. Hoshangabad (14,940) is the twelfth town in the Provinces. Between 1881 and 1891 it

but a number of land-owners and money-lenders live there, and it has a bazar where grain changes hands and is sent to Raipur. Mungeli (5,907) and Burha (Balaghat) (6,223) are both rising places with a certain amount of trade. The increase of 552 persons in Badnur is almost exactly counterbalanced by a drop of 521 in Betul; the distance between the two places is only three miles, and it would seem that the former town is gradually depriving the latter of its non-agricultural residents, those who are able to make the choice preferring to live at the district head-quarters.

32. Nineteen towns, including three in the Feudatory States, have increased

Increase under 10 per cent.

Towns.	Increase.	Percentage on previous census.
British Districts—		
Nagpur	10,720	6.
Jubbulpore	5,835	7.
Burhanpur	1,089	3.
Umreer	763	5.
Bhandara	675	5.
Narsinghpur	1,013	9.
Warora	608	6.
Chhindwara	763	8.
Pandhurna	732	9.
Tumsar	550	7.
Sohagpur	114	1.
Saoner	226	3.
Mohgaon	165	3.
Mandla	371	7.
Mowar	215	5.
Sausar	78	2.
Feudatory States—		
Sempur	139	2.
Dongargarh	181	3.
Chhikhandan	14	1.

in population by under 10 per cent. Nagpur (127,734) has 10,720 persons more than in 1891. Between 1881 and 1891 the increase was 19 per cent., and would probably have been larger during this decennial period but for the removal of the head-quarters of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway to Calcutta and an outbreak of plague in 1899 and 1900. The actual number of deaths was not large, being only 946; but it is probable that there was a certain amount of emigration. Nagpur is gradually depriving Kamptee of whatever commercial importance it still retains. During the decade the population of the latter town has fallen by 4,271 persons or nearly 10 per cent., who have probably simply migrated to Nagpur. There are now two mills employing 4,468 operatives and four ginning and cotton-pressing factories with 367 operatives. In 1891, Nagpur was the twenty-third city in India in order of population. Jubbulpore (90,316) has increased during the decade by 5,835 persons. There are mills for cotton-weaving, the extraction of oil, and flour-making, and Messrs. Burn and Company's pottery works are well known. There has also been an increase in the number of European residents. Burhanpur (33,341) is the fifth town in the Provinces. It is supposed to be a decaying town, but continues to grow, though at a slow rate. During the last decade it has gained 1,089 persons, as against 2,235 between 1881 and 1891, and 714 between 1872 and 1881. There are four cotton-ginning factories, a glass-manufactory, and cotton and silk weaving, besides the well-known gold and silver lace industry. Warora (10,626) has only obtained an addition of 608 persons during the decade; between 1881 and 1891 the increase was 25 per cent., due to the development of the coal industry. The output of this colliery for 1900 was 131,584 tons as against 142,673 in 1891. Umreer (15,943) has 763 more persons than in 1891; the increase during the previous inter-censal period was 933 or a little more. No industry is reported except the well-known one of silk-bordered cloths. The other places in this group are for the most part either district head-quarters or railway towns, both of which classes are tending to increase in importance for the general reasons given above. Bhandara (14,023), Narsinghpur (11,233), Chhindwara (9,736), and Mandla (5,428), are instances of the former class—Bhandara and Narsinghpur being also railway towns—and Tumsar (8,116) and Sohagpur (7,420) of the latter. Mowar (4,799) and Saoner (5,821) are small but flourishing towns

of the Nagpur District off the railway. Mowar has a considerable amount of trade, and in Saoner there are a number of cotton-weavers and dyers.

33. Twenty-one towns have decreased in population as shown in the marginal statement. Saugor (42,330) has long ceased to be a growing town,

Towns with a decrease of population.

Towns.	Decrease.	Percentage on previous census.
British Districts—		
Saugor	2,344	5
Kamptee	4,271	10
Sambalpur	1,701	12
Seoni	112	1
Pauni	503	5
Garhakota	1,017	11
Gadarwara	647	7
Narkher	530	6
Khapa	1,768	19
Khurai	260	4
Sihora	203	4
Ratanpur	910	14
Kalmeshwar	581	10
Mohpa	302	5
Aahli	661	11
Kelod	59	1
Deoli	442	8
Deori	1,326	21
Betul	521	10
States—		
Jagdalpur	282	6
Kawardha	977	18

though it is still third in importance in the Provinces. The population is now less than in 1872 and each census has shown it either stationary or slowly declining. Saugor was formerly a depôt for the salt trade from Rajputana, and a Collector of Customs was stationed there. It was also the centre for the collection of agricultural produce from the surrounding country, which was exported from it to Kareli on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The construction of the branch of the Indian Midland Railway through this area has apparently deprived it to some extent

of its commercial importance, and the agricultural depression of the district has no doubt had an effect on the town. This last however, it may be hoped, is only temporary. Seoni (11,864) advanced between 1881 and 1891 by 17 per cent., but during the last decade has been almost stationary. The opening of the branch railway will probably affect it favourably. Pauni (9,366) is a seat of the silk and cotton-weaving industry. The population is nearly the same as in 1872. Kalmeshwar (5,340) in the Nagpur District and Deoli (5,008) in the Wardha District were formerly flourishing towns, but seem to be losing their importance. Narkher (7,726) and Mohpa (5,336) in the Nagpur District were never more than large agricultural villages, probably recruiting their population to some extent from absentee cultivators 'who preferred to reside in the bustle of a small town, but who, as the struggle for existence becomes harder, are more inclined to live on their holdings.'¹ Gadawara (8,198) and Sihora (5,595) appear to be exceptions to the general rule of the progress in prosperity of railway towns. Since 1881 they have both been at a standstill. Sihora is reported to be a depôt of the indigenous iron-smelting industry, which is decaying, though it received a temporary fillip owing to the demand for tools in the famine. Khapa (7,615) is a centre of the country cotton-weaving industry, which is on the decline; it has decreased by 19 per cent. since 1891. Ratanpur (5,479) is a historic town; 'its distinctive element is a large section of lettered Brahmans, the hereditary holders of rent-free villages, who are the interpreters of the sacred writings and the ministers of religious ceremonies for a great portion of Chhattisgarh.'² It is believed that most of these have recently gone to live in their own villages owing to some private dissensions, and the lac trade which formerly gave the town a certain amount of prosperity has greatly declined. The fall in the population of Sambalpur is, as explained above, only nominal; that of Kamptee and Betul has already been accounted for.

¹ Nagpur Settlement Report, paragraph 42.

² Central Provinces Gazetteer, Art. Ratanpur.

34. The urban population consists of 80 per cent. of Hindus, 2 per cent. of Animists, 15 per cent. of Mahomedans, 2 of Christians and 1 of Jains. Out of the total of 307,302 Mahomedans 135,030 or 44 per cent. live in towns. In Burhanpur, Khandwa, Seoni, Sohagpur and Kamptee, Mahomedans form more than a quarter of the population, and in Jubbulpore they are nearly a quarter. Of the total number of Jains, about a quarter live in towns, principally in those of the Saugor and Damoh Districts. In Khurai they form more than 10 per cent. of the population, and there are a number also in Harda, Etawah, Damoh, Garhakota and Narsinghpur. Sixty-three per cent. of Christians and nearly all the Parsis and Jews live in towns.

35. The number of males in towns exceeds that of females by 16,350 or 4 per cent., in spite of the fact that on the population of the Provinces as a whole there is a considerable majority of women. There have always been more men than women in the urban population; at this census the excess is smaller proportionately than in 1891 and about the same as in 1881. The reasons for the larger number of men seem to be that men go to towns to get work, leaving their families in the country; men travel more than women, and people travelling on the census night are for the most part included in towns; and in the larger towns there are usually a number of temporary residents in the shape of cartmen and others who have brought in merchandise or articles for sale. In cantonment towns the presence of the troops accounts to some extent for an excess of males.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE 1.—Density of the Population by Districts and States.

Serial No.	District or State.	MEAN DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE.						VARIATION INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (—)						NET VARIATION (+) OR (—)		Serial No.		
		1901.		1891.		1881.		1872.		1891—1901.		1881—1891.		1872—1881.			1872—1901.	
		Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.		Total.	Rural.
1	Saugor	117.6	107.0	147.7	131.6	141.3	122.6	130.1	24.0	6.7	8.4	9.3	14.1	13.3	1			
2	Damoh	100.8	96.1	115.0	108.8	110.3	105.3	14.2	12.7	4.3	3.5	15.3	5.6	2				
3	Jubbulpore	124.0	118.0	101.3	94.2	175.2	131.2	17.3	16.2	15.0	13.0	40.0	28.9	3				
4	Manilla	62.0	62.0	67.2	66.1	59.6	59.7	4.3	3.9	7.6	6.4	17.6	20.9	4				
5	Sesool	102.2	98.5	115.7	112.2	104.7	101.5	13.3	13.7	11.0	10.7	15.2	12.0	5				
6	Jubbulpore Division	109.6	98.6	125.0	117.0	115.9	108.4	15.4	18.4	9.1	8.6	19.8	13.5	6				
7	Narsinghpur	102.0	98.0	101.6	101.6	109.6	101.0	21.7	18.4	1.0	0.6	17.5	13.2	7				
8	Hoshangabad	111.7	103.9	119.2	106.4	111.9	97.4	17.5	2.5	7.3	5.0	7.1	6.9	8				
9	Nimnar	81.2	60.8	72.2	61.2	64.9	55.4	10.5	8.5	7.8	5.9	8.0	2.9	9				
10	Betul	74.6	74.6	84.5	81.8	79.7	79.7	9.9	7.2	4.8	2.1	8.0	2.0	10				
11	Chhindwara	88.1	88.1	88.1	88.1	88.1	88.1	0.1	0.1	7.5	6.0	12.3	10.0	11				
12	Nerbudda Division	98.5	87.3	101.8	97.2	95.4	91.0	5.3	9.9	6.4	6.2	9.3	10.4	12				
13	Wardha	158.6	149.0	165.1	149.7	150.5	145.8	6.5	2.3	5.0	0.9	13.4	12.5	13				
14	Nagpur	102.8	148.2	197.2	140.6	181.0	126.7	1.4	7.0	15.6	13.0	17.2	31.4	14				
15	Chandla	56.0	53.3	64.6	62.5	60.4	57.0	8.8	9.2	4.1	4.9	8.4	4.0	15				
16	Bhandara	107.2	103.7	187.2	139.5	172.5	103.9	20.0	13.8	4.2	15.6	20.1	34.8	16				
17	Bilaspur	104.0	104.0	122.1	120.5	108.5	108.4	18.1	16.3	12.6	12.1	7.8	3.1	17				
18	Nagpur Division	113.1	98.8	123.6	114.3	114.3	106.4	10.5	15.5	9.3	7.9	13.7	12.5	18				
19	Rajnagar	121.0	120.1	135.1	132.1	110.0	117.2	12.2	12.0	13.2	14.0	26.2	28.5	19				
20	Wardha	121.4	119.2	139.5	137.5	121.2	120.4	18.1	18.3	17.6	17.1	30.2	33.7	20				
21	Sambalpur	167.7	163.1	160.9	158.0	140.2	137.7	4.8	7.1	20.7	20.7	34.5	38.0	21				
22	Chhattisgarh Division.	131.3	127.6	141.7	139.7	124.6	123.0	10.4	12.1	17.1	16.7	31.4	38.1	22				
23	British Districts	114.0	104.6	124.6	118.6	113.6	108.4	10.5	14.0	10.9	10.2	19.2	19.6	23				
24	Makrai	84.1	84.1	119.7	119.7	108.2	108.2	35.6	35.6	11.5	11.5	20.2	20.2	24				
25	Bastar	23.5	23.5	43.8	43.8	15.0	15.0	0.3	0.3	8.8	8.8	9.0	9.0	25				
26	Kanker	72.5	72.5	57.0	57.0	44.5	44.5	14.6	14.6	13.4	13.4	14.0	14.0	26				
27	Nandgaon	145.1	132.3	111.1	111.1	188.7	170.4	65.0	70.8	23.4	22.4	18.2	18.2	27				
28	Chhindwara	147.7	147.7	104.6	104.6	178.4	178.4	40.0	40.0	16.2	16.2	47.1	47.1	28				
29	Chhindwara	171.2	171.2	235.6	235.6	214.1	214.1	64.4	64.4	21.5	21.5	22.0	22.0	29				
30	Kawardha	22.0	22.0	113.1	113.1	108.2	108.2	43.1	43.1	6.0	6.0	13.6	13.6	30				
31	Sakti	101.6	101.6	182.0	182.0	165.3	165.3	22.3	22.3	18.6	18.6	14.5	14.5	31				
32	Rajnagar	117.7	117.7	153.5	153.5	132.0	132.0	4.2	4.2	20.7	20.7	44.2	44.2	32				
33	Sarnagath	148.0	148.0	144.1	144.1	139.0	139.0	6.1	6.1	22.1	22.1	63.4	63.4	33				
34	Bamra	62.0	62.0	52.5	52.5	40.9	40.9	9.5	9.5	11.0	11.0	6.3	6.3	34				
35	Rajakhol	187.5	187.5	215.5	215.5	197.2	197.2	28.0	28.0	18.3	18.3	53.0	53.0	35				
36	Sonpur	115.8	115.8	130.8	130.8	107.5	107.5	24.0	24.0	23.2	23.2	66.4	66.4	36				
37	Patna	52.6	52.6	87.1	87.1	59.0	59.0	6.5	6.5	27.2	27.2	34.3	34.3	37				
38	Kalabandi	67.8	65.2	73.4	73.4	58.1	58.1	5.0	5.0	15.3	15.3	22.4	22.4	38				
39	Foundatory States	102.3	94.0	111.5	107.1	90.8	106.0	9.2	12.5	12.0	11.0	20.0	22.8	39				
40	Central Provinces	114.0	104.6	124.6	118.6	113.6	108.4	10.5	14.0	10.9	10.2	19.2	19.6	40				

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Density of the Population by Natural Divisions.

Natural Division.	MEAN DENSITY.						VARIATION: INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (—).						NET VARIATION (+) OR (—) SINCE 1872.		
	1901.		1891.		1881.		1891—1901.		1881—1891.		1872—1881.				
	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Rural.			
I. Vindhyan Plateau, comprising Saugor and Damoh Districts, and Malwa Taluk of Jabalpur District.	114.3	105.6	135.7	128.7	129.8	118.7	113.6	107.8	—22	—23.1	+6	+10.0	+10.9	+7	—32.2
II. Nerbudda Valley, comprising rest of Jabalpur District, Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad Districts, and Malwa State.	144.5	131.3	162.7	149.1	150.5	134.3	135.1	127.6	—18	—17.6	+13	+14.9	+6.6	+0.4	+3.9
III. Nimar	81.4	60.8	72.9	60.6	69.3	55.7	63.2	50.2	+10	+9.2	+4	+4.9	+5.5	+20.2	+19.6
IV. Satpura Districts, or Betul, Chhindwara, Mandla, and Seoni Districts and Balir Taluk of Balaghat District.	78.1	77.3	84.2	81.3	80.7	78.7	72.7	72.7	—6	—6.0	+3	+4.6	+6.0	+5.4	+4.6
V. Wardha, Nagpur and Bhandara Districts, Balaghat Taluk of Balaghat District, and Warora and Brahmanpur Taluks (Khalsa) of Chanda District.	160.7	144.8	174.2	163.8	165.2	144.3	137.1	102.5	—13	—10.0	+11	+19.5	+41.8	+47.6	+42.3
VI. Rest of Chanda District	30.6	37.3	45.9	41.9	41.4	37.6	37.6	37.6	—6	—6.4	+5	+6.3	+3.4	+30.0	—9
VII. Raipur and Bilaspur Taluk (Khalsa), District of Bilaspur, District of Raipur, District of Bil															

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*House room for Natural Divisions.*

Serial No.	Natural Division.	No. of persons.			No. of houses per square mile.			Remarks.
		1901.	1891.	1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.	
1	Vindhya Plateau, comprising Saugor and Damoh Districts and Marwara Tahsil of Jubbulpore District.	4.5	4.8	4.3	25.2	28.2	20.3	
2	Nerbudda Valley, comprising rest of Jubbulpore District, Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad Districts, and Malerk State.	4.3	4.7	4.4	23.6	33.4	34.3	
3	Nimar	4.8	5.0	4.8	17.4	15.2	14.5	
4	Satpura Districts, comprising Betul, Chhindwara, Mandla, and Seoni Districts, and Balhar Tahsil of Balaghat District.	4.9	5.2	5.0	16.0	16.2	16.0	
5	Wardha, Nagpur and Bhandara Districts, Balaghat Tahsil of Balaghat District, Warora and Brahmapur Tahsils (Khalsas) of Chanda District.	4.8	5.1	4.8	33.8	34.2	33.9	
6	Rest of Chanda District	5.0	5.6	4.3	8.0	8.1	9.7	
7	Raipur and Bilaspur Tahsils (Khalsas), Durg Tahsil (Khalsa), Bhamtari, Simga, Mungell and Janjgir Tahsils and Chandrapur Zamindari of Sambalpur District.	5.0	4.9	3.3	37.0	39.8	36.5	
8	Remaining Zamindaris of Raipur and Bilaspur Districts.	5.2	5.0	3.6	9.4	14.4	16.0	
9	Sambalpur District excluding Chandrapur Zamindaris.	4.7	5.2	4.2	34.6	20.3	35.7	
10	Bastar State	5.4	5.2	5.1	4.4	4.6	2.9	
11	Seven Chhattisgarh Feudatories	4.9	5.2	3.9	22.2	26.8	31.7	
12	Seven Oriya Feudatories	5.1	5.3	4.9	19.6	19.7	16.5	
	Total Central Provinces	4.8	5.0	4.3	21.2	22.1	23.9	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Density of Population per acre of Towns.*

Town.	Number of persons per acre.	Town.	Number of persons per acre.
Jubbulpore	92	Hoshangabad	39
Saugor	51	Marwara	109
Burhanpur	48	Damoh	25
Raipur	76	Sambalpur	53
Khandwa	32	Hinganghat	36
Bilaspur	47	Seoni	50
Chanda	31	Narsinghpur	37
Harda	51	Arvi	60
Umar	57	Warora	50

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

District or State.	Density in 1901.	NUMBER OF CULTIVATED ACRES PER HEAD OF		Density in 1891.	NUMBER OF CULTIVATED ACRES PER HEAD OF		Remarks.
		Total population.	Rural population.		Total population.	Rural population.	
Saugor	117.6	1.9	2.2	147.7	1.7	2.0	
Damoh	100.8	1.8	1.9	115.0	1.9	2.0	
Jubbulpore	174.0	1.8	2.1	191.3	1.8	2.0	
Mandla	62.9	2.1	2.2	67.2	1.7	1.7	
Seoni	102.2	2.5	2.6	115.7	2.3	2.4	
Jubbulpore Division	109.6	2.0	2.2	125.6	1.9	2.0	
Narsinghpur	163.9	2.0	2.1	191.5	1.8	1.9	
Hoshangabad	111.7	2.2	2.5	119.2	2.0	2.1	
Nimar	83.2	2.0	2.4	72.7	1.9	2.3	
Betul	74.6	2.1	2.2	84.5	2.1	2.4	
Chhindwara	88.1	2.2	2.3	88.0	2.2	2.4	
Nerbudda Division	96.5	2.3	2.5	101.8	2.0	2.3	
Wardha	158.6	2.6	2.5	105.1	2.6	2.9	
Nagpur	195.8	1.8	2.0	197.2	1.7	2.4	
Chanda	56.0	1.6	1.7	64.8	1.2	1.3	
Bhandara	167.2	1.5	1.6	187.2	1.3	1.3	
Balaghat	104.0	1.4	1.5	122.1	1.9	1.9	
Nagpur Division	113.4	1.7	2.0	123.6	1.6	1.8	
Raipur	192.9	2.1	2.2	135.1	1.7	1.7	
Bilaspur	121.4	1.9	1.8	109.3	1.4	1.4	
Sambalpur	167.7	1.7	1.7	160.9	1.4	1.4	
Chhattisgarh Division	133.7	1.9	2.0	141.7	1.5	1.6	
British Districts	114.0	1.9	2.1	124.6	1.8	1.9	

Comparative Statement showing the number and

District or State.	Census Population with 100- clauses by Total Population.				VILLAGES BY POPULATION, WITH													
					1901.												Total.		Under 400.
	1901.		1911.		Under 400.		Under 500.		Under 1,000.		Under 2,000.		Under 5,000.					
	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.		
Districts.																		
Bamper	98,448	14.1	96,771	11.2	1,384	90	468	34	1,661	8	17	4	1	—	1,033	965	23	
Bowen	11,111	4.7	10,334	5.4	603	31	312	17	80	3	21	4	2	—	1,114	913	30	
Jambhupur	110,448	10.3	96,771	11.2	1,208	18	318	14	800	8	40	2	0	—	2,208	1,702	34	
Mandla	1,422	1.1	1,201	1.1	1,371	75	443	49	21	1	8	—	4	—	1,816	1,118	81	
Naug	11,264	3.4	11,028	3.2	192	15	318	19	28	0	8	4	2	—	1,080	777	24	
Total Jabalpur Division.	208,943	10.0	201,103	6.6	5,376	63	2,480	20	563	7	117	1	23	—	8,561	4,698	56	
Bardhaman	31,547	1.2	19,731	5.3	463	47	338	16	117	18	20	2	8	1	931	491	40	
Hatnaguri	16,080	12.7	41,150	1.9	211	14	421	14	102	12	18	4	2	—	1,207	773	41	
Nima	52,311	18.1	41,261	19.2	619	17	364	14	104	11	17	3	11	1	820	261	47	
Bara	10,508	2.6	16,774	1.1	212	61	353	20	81	2	18	3	1	—	1,034	802	33	
Chitabara	39,455	1.1	17,820	6.8	1,136	81	508	30	28	4	26	1	5	—	1,551	1,097	51	
Total Nerbudda Division.	170,918	9.6	146,159	7.8	3,483	56	1,934	31	547	9	161	3	28	1	6,152	3,910	53	
Wardha	45,455	11.1	44,211	11.1	211	41	320	17	438	15	44	2	10	4	904	348	38	
Naupur	42,388	12.1	37,800	10.7	366	14	280	14	181	16	41	2	10	1	1,001	823	46	
Chand	38,431	4.2	28,183	2.9	1,001	66	581	21	161	7	48	2	22	1	2,121	1,772	81	
Hindur	11,201	4.8	24,251	1.1	617	18	370	23	181	11	18	5	17	1	1,501	121	31	
Hingur	8,111	2.6	1,128	1.1	178	47	498	17	110	14	21	1	3	—	1,000	484	41	
Total Nagpur Division.	350,000	12.8	324,576	10.9	4,374	53	2,456	31	905	13	234	3	84	1	8,042	3,638	49	
Krupa	47,794	1.2	25,722	7.3	1,405	46	1,182	40	608	12	31	0	1	—	1,071	1,341	41	
Hingur	26,321	1.8	17,611	1.1	1,008	14	1,341	16	321	10	51	2	10	—	1,721	1,120	36	
Sambalpur	12,701	1.9	14,121	1.8	1,440	47	1,021	18	281	12	81	2	11	—	1,691	1,101	40	
Total Chhattisgarh Division.	60,057	2.8	67,817	1.6	5,342	49	4,316	38	1,289	11	241	2	37	—	11,434	5,335	46	
Total British Districts.	820,818	6.3	730,592	6.9	18,674	53	11,184	33	3,390	10	753	2	173	—	34,179	17,179	50	
States.																		
Makal	1,041	1.1	—	—	41	46	14	21	2	4	1	4	—	—	81	31	41	
Barda	1,701	1.6	1,344	1.6	1,008	91	267	14	61	5	10	1	—	—	1,031	1,000	34	
Kurda	1,008	1.8	—	—	441	11	178	16	81	9	—	—	—	—	441	231	61	
Bardhaman	11,796	1.8	1,101	1.6	331	11	191	18	30	5	4	1	—	—	331	108	30	
Wardha	10,211	1.8	1,021	1.7	100	96	211	14	44	10	5	—	1	—	499	531	37	
Chitabara	8,401	1.8	—	—	30	12	41	11	4	4	1	1	—	—	108	90	81	
Kawalia	1,221	1.9	1,540	1.7	801	11	21	11	11	1	1	—	—	—	141	411	30	
Salt	1,201	1.9	—	—	81	30	21	11	3	1	—	—	—	—	421	14	51	
Rajgarh	9,194	1.9	—	—	306	13	211	16	44	6	9	1	—	—	721	261	11	
Sarangarh	1,121	1.9	—	—	108	14	107	11	17	4	3	1	—	—	881	207	34	
Barda	1,101	1.9	—	—	141	19	104	18	11	4	3	1	—	—	931	411	61	
Wardha	1,410	1.2	—	—	401	11	30	8	2	1	—	—	—	—	310	211	11	
Somra	8,291	1.2	1,121	1.4	331	11	211	11	30	4	8	1	1	—	541	204	10	
Wardha	1,791	1.2	—	—	1,441	16	120	17	60	1	1	—	—	—	1,841	611	11	
Kandhar	1,441	1.2	—	—	1,071	11	401	11	10	1	14	1	—	—	1,701	1,211	11	
Total Feudatory States.	76,264	3.8	38,658	1.8	8,755	73	2,882	22	480	4	37	1	3	—	11,983	6,810	66	
TOTAL C.E.N. TRAL P.B.O. VINCE	897,082	7.5	778,248	6.0	27,429	60	13,868	30	3,882	8	810	3	175	—	46,162	23,989	54	

percentage of Urban Population and of Villages.

PERCENTAGE ON TOTAL NUMBER OF VILLAGES.

1891.									1881.										
Under 500.		Under 1,000.		Under 2,000.		Under 5,000.		Total.	Under 500.		Under 1,000.		Under 2,000.		Under 5,000.		Total.		
Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.	Number.		
205	22	120	11	10	2	10	1	1,860	1,234	20	220	21	174	9	55	3	11	1	1,777
245	24	214	22	25	3	20	1	1,220	591	31	340	20	90	5	41	2	8	1	1,744
812	30	234	22	40	4	14	—	6,213	1,202	23	230	22	110	9	20	2	13	—	1,779
540	21	10	1	5	1	4	—	1,250	1,251	23	444	21	47	3	2	—	3	—	1,734
177	20	770	8	20	1	2	—	1,400	568	52	662	24	93	8	10	1	9	—	1,674
2,804	33	727	9	172	2	36	—	8,435	5,117	60	2,600	21	620	7	127	3	37	—	8,501
292	23	120	24	45	4	10	—	1,000	404	47	245	23	131	11	46	3	14	1	1,001
123	24	200	13	20	1	10	—	1,270	793	31	201	25	234	12	40	2	9	1	1,233
220	29	20	10	10	4	10	—	579	231	34	164	31	7	11	90	3	4	1	862
408	21	112	10	20	1	2	—	1,734	639	23	402	23	20	8	54	2	5	—	1,712
121	20	20	2	20	2	6	—	1,711	1,704	21	122	25	13	1	10	1	1	—	1,821
2,029	33	612	10	180	3	45	1	6,078	3,522	57	1,881	30	542	9	150	3	40	1	6,144
245	28	127	12	41	3	10	—	204	361	40	220	21	130	10	10	5	10	8	803
473	20	100	10	41	2	10	—	1,001	880	53	274	24	240	9	35	2	10	8	1,072
640	22	444	9	66	1	22	1	1,760	1,234	40	274	21	221	8	65	2	10	1	1,801
177	20	205	21	114	1	20	1	1,812	202	26	271	20	244	21	52	5	12	1	1,814
200	20	210	10	20	1	2	—	1,000	351	40	504	20	122	11	11	1	5	—	1,201
2,504	32	1,162	14	209	4	94	1	8,057	4,220	53	2,561	31	994	12	240	3	85	1	8,200
2,001	40	154	13	114	6	7	—	1,000	1,230	42	1,200	41	200	13	12	4	8	—	1,740
1,481	20	423	10	60	2	11	—	1,804	1,012	21	1,200	20	200	11	10	2	10	—	1,734
1,000	20	200	10	20	2	5	—	1,000	1,004	21	201	20	200	10	20	1	2	—	1,730
4,548	39	1,572	13	250	3	20	—	11,735	6,117	52	4,180	36	1,223	11	168	1	22	—	11,719
11,946	25	4,073	12	601	3	204	—	34,303	19,078	55	11,231	33	3,379	10	694	2	184	—	34,564
21	42	5	2	1	1	1	—	10	20	61	11	21	3	1	1	—	—	—	30
120	13	60	3	2	—	1	—	1,472	1,000	20	170	1	11	1	3	—	1	—	1,201
147	23	10	4	—	—	—	—	400	219	11	100	12	11	4	1	—	—	—	426
263	20	10	12	10	2	—	—	201	100	10	270	22	61	10	4	1	—	—	240
200	24	12	10	7	4	1	—	204	114	24	250	11	10	14	5	1	1	—	211
74	24	10	8	1	1	1	—	121	20	24	90	11	3	7	1	1	1	—	100
120	24	21	8	4	1	1	—	200	130	61	120	23	90	3	1	1	1	—	200
42	20	0	1	1	1	—	—	110	10	61	20	20	1	1	—	—	—	—	111
100	40	12	8	8	1	1	—	610	450	61	200	20	10	3	1	—	1	—	500
114	16	10	4	3	1	1	—	144	331	21	91	21	10	1	1	—	1	—	120
122	21	10	2	4	1	1	—	220	200	50	111	10	14	1	1	—	—	—	120
21	9	—	—	1	—	—	—	211	101	10	10	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	100
230	22	20	3	10	4	2	—	202	200	60	110	20	10	1	1	1	1	—	200
201	22	110	10	12	3	11	1	1,120	1,121	23	244	20	10	4	10	1	1	—	1,091
250	20	20	4	7	—	1	—	1,070	1,072	20	200	10	10	1	1	—	1	—	1,061
2,813	37	610	8	106	1	24	—	10,401	8,540	76	2,257	20	395	4	44	—	12	—	11,238
14,708	33	4,722	10	1,007	2	328	1	44,704	27,016	60	13,488	20	3,784	9	736	3	168	1	43,802

CHAPTER III.

EDUCATION.

36. The total number of persons returned as literate at this census is 327,486 as against 256,911 in 1891 and 161,210 in 1881. There is thus an increase of 70,575 persons on 1891 amounting to 27.47 per cent. In 1891 the record of education was divided into two parts,—those who were able to read and write, and those under instruction. Mr. Robertson notes in his report that the number of persons recorded as under instruction at the census was too few when compared with the returns of the Educational Department, and considered that some of the children, who were really under instruction, must have been shown by the enumerators as literate. The same tendency to confusion of the two sets of returns appeared in most other provinces, and it was consequently decided that at the present census the entry of persons under instruction should be omitted, and the statistics confined to those able to read and write. The question then arose as to what course should be adopted in the case of the entry of school boys, some of whom would be able to read and write while others would not, and it became necessary to fix a standard of literacy as a guide, in order to secure uniformity in the entries in different districts. Following instructions which had already been issued in one or two districts, it was directed that as a rule those persons should be entered as literate who had passed the upper primary examination or possessed an equivalent amount of knowledge, but that at the same time care should be taken not to exclude persons who were able to read and write merely because they had not passed an examination.

37. The standard fixed was however perhaps rather a high one, and it would have been better to have taken the lower primary examination, though the Inspector-General of the time, when the matter was mentioned to him, said that he quite approved of the upper primary test. From the educational returns it appears that the number of children who passed this examination during the inter-censal period was 79,516 or about 10,000 more than the total of the increase of literates. If allowance is made on the one hand for the inclusion of a certain number of persons who should properly have been shown as learners in the figures of last census, and for the deaths of literate persons during the interval, and on the other hand for the addition of some persons who obtained their education elsewhere than in the schools of the Central Provinces, the figures of literates now arrived at are very much what might have been expected. If, instead of the upper primary standard, the lower primary had been adopted, there might probably have been an increase in the number of educated persons of about 30,000, the figures of lower primary passes during the decennial period being 116,617; and so far as comparison with the results of last census is concerned, the total thus arrived at would probably give a truer idea of the progress which has undoubtedly been made by the Educational Department during the last ten years. That there has not been any great omission to record persons who were really able to read and write but had not passed an examination, seems to be shown by the figures for Banias in the caste returns. Many of these cannot read or write Hindi, but can keep accounts in Gujarati or Marwari, and it was feared that some of them might be

excluded for this reason; but the percentage of literacy among males in the caste has risen from 39 in 1891 to 45 at this census; and as this is the class of persons who would naturally have been omitted on the ground mentioned, it may be concluded that the census return is correct, though the standard of literacy is somewhat more severe than at last census.

Statistics of instruction.

38. The number of children under instruction in the years in which a census has been taken was as follows:—

Year of Census.	Number of children.	Variation on previous census.
1872	... 85,956	...
1881	... 79,551	— 6,405
1891	... 111,498	+31,947
1901	... 127,416	+15,918

In explanation of the fall in the number of pupils between 1871 and 1881, the Inspector-General of Education wrote that though there had been a great and undoubted advance in primary education during the decennial period, it had been obscured by the collapse of private aided schools in Bhandara and Sambalpur. In the five years after 1881 there was a recovery, and in 1886 the pupils rose to over 100,000, due to the opening of a considerable number of result-aided and private schools. From this year until 1891 the rate of progress was smaller. From 1891 to 1896 there were large annual increases, and in the latter year there were 154,101 children on the rolls. This was due to a special grant of Rs. 50,000 made in 1893 for the extension of primary education, and in consequence of which a number of new combined and result-aided schools were opened. Unfortunately under the pressure of financial exigencies this grant was first merged in the general Provincial contributions to District Council Funds, and subsequently these latter had to be in many cases reduced. The result was that District Councils could not support the newly-opened schools, and many of them were necessarily cut down, the number of pupils simultaneously declining. From 1896 to 1900 the children on the rolls dropped from 154,000 to 127,000, the decade thus ending with an increase of about 16,000 scholars over that with which it commenced. The total number of schools in 1901 was 2,394, or an increase of 569 over 1872 and of 549 over 1891, when it was 1,845. In 1896 it rose to 2,524. It may be anticipated that with the advent of more prosperous financial conditions the ground lost during the years of distress and famine will soon be made up.

39. There is now one school for every 41 square miles of territory in British

Instruction in Districts and States.

Districts.			
Nagpur ...	133	Seoni ...	69
Narsinghpur ...	126	Balaghat ...	59
Jubbulpore ...	118	Chanda ...	58
Hoshangabad ...	116	Betul ...	57
Saugor ...	102	Bilaspur ...	56
Wardha ...	102	Raipur ...	55
Nimar ...	98	Mandla ...	54
Bhandara ...	77	Chhindwara ...	51
Damoh ...	74	Sambalpur ...	34
States.*			
Rairakhol ...	107	Bastar ...	50
Sarangarh ...	102	Raigarh ...	48
Chhinnikhandan ...	79	Khairagarh ...	43
Kawardha ...	71	Seonpur ...	36
Nandgaon ...	57	Patna ...	34
Kalahandi ...	...	...	29

* Figures for 4 Feudatory States not available.

tionally at 15 per cent. of the population, according to the returns of the present

districts as against one for every 48 square miles in 1872; and one for every 16 villages as against 21 in the same year. The districts best supplied with schools are:—Nagpur, Narsinghpur, Jubbulpore, Hoshangabad, Saugor and Wardha. The marginal statement shows by districts the percentage of children under instruction to the total number of school-going age, which is calculated conventionally at 15 per cent. of the population, according to the returns of the present

census. The figures for Feudatory States are in a few cases, such as Rairakhol and Sarangarh, surprisingly high, and compare not unfavourably with those for the most advanced British districts. Sarangarh is the State which has made most progress in point of education. It has been for a long period under Government management, and is well supplied with certificated teachers trained in the local training school. In States with a very small total population, the families of the State administrative staff, who are nearly always educated, probably contribute materially to raise the percentage; and this may account for the high proportion of children under instruction in Rairakhol and Chhuikhadan.

40. Nearly 6 per cent. of males in British districts are now able to read and write as against a little over 4 per cent. in 1891. Taking only males over 15 the proportion is rather less than 8 per cent. The districts with the largest proportions of male literates are:—Nimar (11·2), Jubbulpore (10), Nagpur (9·2), and Hoshangabad

Statement showing Districts and States arranged in order of literacy.

Districts.		States.	
Male literates in 1,000.		Male literates in 1,000.	
Nimar	112	Chhindwara	45
Jubbulpore	100	Balaghat	44
Narsinghpur	94	Seoni	43
Nagpur	92	Betal	39
Hoshangabad	88	Chandla	39
Saugor	77	Mandla	37
Wardha	76	Raipur	37
Damoh	74	Bilaspur	36
Bhindara	52	Sambalpur	33
British Districts	58		
Central Provinces		54	
Bamra	76	Kalahandi	33
Sarangarh	60	Kawardha	30
Maleri	55	Khairagarh	29
Chhuikhadan	36	Sonpur	27
Sakti	36	Rairakhol	20
Patna	36	Kanker	17
Nandgaon	24	Bastar	12
Raigarh	23	Feudatory States	32

noticed that the numbers were low, the Deputy Superintendent himself went through the books and counted up the entries in order to see that none had been omitted. The proportion of literates in some of the Feudatory States is noticeably high. In Makrai 5·5 per cent. of males can read and write, in Sarangarh 6·0, and in Bamra 7·6. It is probable that in the States a comparatively low standard was taken; but considerable progress has been made, because out of the total increase of 16,000 scholars since 1891, 7,000 are contributed by the States. Towards the end of the year 1895 a separate Agency Inspector was appointed for the Feudatory States, and this seems to have had an excellent effect. The percentage which the number of literates under 15 bears to the total may be taken as some indication of the strictness of the standard adopted. In Sambalpur this percentage is only 7·4 as against an average of 15·3 for British districts. In Bastar it is 27·1 and in Kanker 23·9, which shows that in these States some school-boys have probably been included who are barely able to read and write, but on the whole the average of literates under 15 for Feudatory States is about the same as that for British districts.

41. The total number of educated females is 12,540, or about two in a thousand of the population, as against 7,609 in 1891. Of these 11,258 are in British districts and 1,282 in the

Feudatory States. If in each case the number of educated European and Eurasian women is subtracted from the total, the balance comes to 10,499 and 6,274, respectively, giving an actual increase of 4,225 persons and of 67 per cent. on the figures of last census.

42. Female education has not suffered from the effects of agricultural depression to such an extent as that of boys. One reason probably

Instruction of girls.

is that only comparatively well-to-do persons send their girl children to school, and besides this there would be no inducement to take girls away from school in order to put them to work. Since 1891 the number of girls at school has about doubled, having risen from 5,799 to 11,208. In 1891 there were 135 girls' schools and 1,915 girls were learning in boys' schools. The corresponding numbers for 1901 are 190 and 2,974. The mixed system, that is, the instruction of boys and girls together in one school, was formerly in practice only in Raipur, from which it was introduced into the northern districts at the beginning of the decade, and after meeting at first with considerable opposition from the people, was in a short time successfully established. Female education is fostered by giving double grants for girls, and this may also be a reason why there has been no interruption in its progress, as schoolmasters would naturally make special efforts to retain girls on the rolls. Saugor is the district in which female education has developed most, and after it come Jubbulpore, Nagpur and Bilaspur.

43. As regards the number of literate females, Jubbulpore and Nagpur stand

Female literacy in Districts and States.

easily first with 2,217 and 2,433 respectively. This is partly to be accounted for by their comparatively large European and Eurasian population. The figures for Saugor are clearly below the mark, as there are only 919 literate women. In 1891 it was considered that the returns of female education were generally too low, and the explanation given was the existence of a prejudice against describing grown-up women as literate, and it seems likely that this may have had some effect on the present figures. The comparatively high number of educated women in the Feudatory States, where there is scarcely any female education, was remarked in 1891, and is again a feature of the returns. Kalahandi, without any girls' schools, has 251 literate women and Bamra 174. It is probable that some of them have really been educated in British districts and are the wives of officials who have gone to take up appointments in the States. It may also be attributed to the number of privately-supported schools which formerly existed in the Oriya country.¹

44. Among Hindus there are four castes who in point of education are enormously in advance of the rest of the community. These

Literacy by caste.*

are Brahmins, Vidurs, Banias, and Kayasths, with the last of whom may be included the allied castes of Parbhu in the Maratha districts, and Karan or Mahanti in Sambalpur. The most educated are the Kayasths; in this caste 57 per cent. of males or four-fifths of adult males can read and write. In the case of Banias the proportion of literate adult males is 63 per cent., of Brahmins about 50 per cent., and of Vidurs 46 per cent. A knowledge of reading and writing is, of course, essential to the usual occupations of

¹Central Provinces Census Report, 1891.

*The percentages of literacy by caste are for British districts; the table has, however, also been prepared for Feudatory States.

all of these castes. The combined total of male literates among them is 115,020 or 44 per cent. of the total for all Hindus—a figure which shows the extent to which they monopolise the facilities for education offered by Government. Next to the above four castes come Sonars, of whom 22 per cent. of total males or 30 per cent. of adult males are literate, and next to them Marathas with 20 per cent. The high proportion of literates in this caste is somewhat surprising, and was noticed also in 1891. The caste formerly occupied a dominant position in the Maratha districts. At the present time about two thousand of them are proprietors, eighteen hundred in Government service, and a thousand are money-lenders. These occupations probably account for a considerable proportion of the literate persons in the caste. The other castes with a fairly high percentage of literates are Joshi, 16 per cent.; Bhat, 14 per cent.; Bairagi, 16 per cent.; Gosain, 11 per cent.; Darji, 12 per cent.; Kalar, 11 per cent.; Rajput, 12 per cent.; and Barai, 13 per cent. In the case of the first four castes it will again be recognized that a knowledge of reading and writing is a necessary equipment for those of them who follow the traditional occupation of the caste, in the case of Joshis astrology and the calculation of horoscopes, of Bhat's the record of genealogies, and of Bairagis and Gosains the study of the Hindu scriptures; though at present the members of these castes have to a great extent abandoned the ancestral calling and taken to agriculture and miscellaneous pursuits. Of the other castes Darjis, Kalars, and Barais probably find a certain degree of literacy useful for the purpose of keeping accounts. Of the agricultural castes the best educated are Dangis, Agharias, Jats, Koltas, Raghubansis, and Gujars with about 8 to 10 per cent. of adult males literate. Among the lower castes and forest tribes there is as yet very little education. In nearly all of them the number of literate males is less than one in a hundred. The difficulty experienced in getting the forest tribes to send their children to school is well known, and even when they do go it is probable that only a very few of them have sufficient power of concentration to learn successfully. For the impure castes separate schools still exist in the Maratha districts, and when low-caste boys attend the ordinary schools they are made to sit in the verandah, and are not touched. The prejudice is not so strong as it used to be. In his report of 1882 the Inspector-General of Education states that 'the Chanda high school had to be broken up on account of the admission of a few Dher boys. The masters resigned, and, strange to say, the sweeper also resigned.' In the Northern districts objections of this sort are less marked, and in Sangor, when it was proposed to open a separate school for Chamars, the people stated that there was no necessity for this, as they would not object to allowing their children to sit with the Chamar boys. The general conclusion to be arrived at from the above figures is that there is as yet little wish for education among Hindus, except in those classes to whom it is useful or essential to their means of livelihood; and by these, as is well known, it is eagerly desired. As regards female education Kayasths appear to be the only caste which has made any such progress as can be expressed in proportionate figures; 2.6 per cent. of their women can read and write. Among Brahmans and Banias about one woman in a hundred is literate.

45. The figures for minor religions correspond very closely with those of 1891.

Literacy among minor religions. For Mahomedans the percentage of literacy is about 18 for total males, and 25 for adult males. As compared with the whole body of Hindus for whom the percentage of total males is 6,

Mahomedans are comparatively well educated. The reason is that out of the small numbers belonging to this religion in the whole Province, nearly half live in towns where the facilities for education are greater, and also that a larger proportion of the Mahomedans of the Central Provinces are recent immigrants of good social standing, than in other Provinces where the religion is as it were more indigenous. The same arguments apply to the case of Jains, of whom 45 per cent. are literate; Jains are for the most part Banias by caste, and have the same motives for valuing education. Of Parsis practically the whole adult male population, and of Jews a large majority, can read and write. Both these religions are foreign to the Province, and what has been said about Mahomedans also applies to them. The Parsis also educate their women, and most of those who have grown up are literate. The proportion of literacy among Mahomedan women is only one per cent. and among Jains one and a half per cent. Another class of the population, which is largely literate, but which is not shown in the returns, consists of the Madras residents of Chanda, Nagpur and Kamptee. These generally return themselves under the designation of Tamil and Telugu, and not by their real caste names. At this census they have generally been classified as Balji, which is believed to be the proper caste of the majority; but as this caste did not number over twenty thousand at last census, separate returns of education have not been prepared for it. A large number of them can read and write and can also speak English fluently. Practically all European and Eurasian adults are literate; Europeans are of course a special class; of Eurasians it has been remarked that they are the best educated race in the world. Of Native Christians only about a quarter of the males and a fifth of the females can read and write. The explanation of these small proportions must be that many of them are children, and others have only recently been converted.

46. The number of persons who can read and write English is 24,094 as against 13,460 in 1891, being an increase of 10,634 persons, and of 79 per cent. on the previous figures. English was not recorded before 1891. If literate Europeans and Eurasians are excluded from both returns, the figures become 18,038 and 8,420, respectively, and the increase is 9,618, or 114 per cent. The large increase has, therefore, occurred almost solely in the Native population. As regards the record of English it was directed that ordinarily a person should not be returned as able to read and write English, unless he had passed the English middle school examination or possessed an equivalent amount of knowledge. But the figures of passes for this examination during the decennial period are 5,900 boys and 157 girls, or a total of 6,057 persons, which account for little more than half of the increase. Considering the strictness with which the standard of literacy was enforced, it is not probable that the amount of knowledge of English which would qualify for inclusion in the returns is at all less than in 1891; but if anything the contrary. The excessive increase may be attributed to two causes: in the first place there has probably been a considerable influx of English-knowing clerks attracted by the opportunities for employment afforded by the increased famine establishments; and, secondly, it seems that a certain number of persons must have learnt English elsewhere than at school. It is believed that many Native officers and pleaders train their children to speak English regularly in their houses; and that it is in this way that they acquire the astonishing facility in its use, which must be the admiration of most people who have tried to express abstract or complicated ideas in a foreign language. The

total number of schools or other institutions in which English is taught is 115 in the Central Provinces in 1901 as against 92 in 1891, and the number of pupils 8,689 as against 8,674. Of these 18 teach up to the Matriculation examination; 68 to the middle school examination; and 5 to the upper primary.

47. The number of persons knowing English is 7.4 per cent. on the total number of literates, or excluding Europeans and Eurasians in both cases, 5.6 per cent. The explanation of this comparatively high proportion is probably to be found in a consideration of the classes among whom literacy is chiefly prevalent. Brahmans and Kayasths, who, it has been seen, account for a large minority of those who can read and write, try to carry the education of their children to the furthest extent possible, in the hope of obtaining for them a career in Government service, or in some capacity connected with the law; and in order to obtain any degree of success in either of these professions, a knowledge of English is nowadays essential. Even more than in the case of literacy, the knowledge of English is confined to a small section of the community; of Kayasths about 9 per cent. of the male population can read and write it; of Brahmans 3½ per cent.; of Vidurs 2 per cent.; and of Marathas 1.8 per cent. Among Parsis the proportion is half the total males, and among Jews more than a third. Jains and Banias both show a percentage of slightly under 1. As was remarked at last census, the mercantile class sets comparatively little store on the study of English as it is not ordinarily required for their business. Excluding Europeans and Eurasians there are now 650 women knowing English as against 208 in 1891. Parsis are the only class of Native-born¹ in which any considerable number of women learn English; the percentage of females able to read and write the language being 11.4. Twenty Kayasth women and 40 Brahman women are so returned, and a few of other castes, most of whom are probably servants in European families.

48. Besides English, literacy in vernacular languages was recorded, and figures for 5 of these have been abstracted as shown in the marginal statement. Where a person was entered as literate in two languages, he was counted under each, but the total number of persons able to read and write any two of the languages abstracted is only 29,081. Literacy in Hindi and Marathi corresponds fairly closely to the proportion of persons speaking these languages, which is about three to one. A comparatively large number of persons are literate in Marathi in Nimar (2,691), and Chhindwara (2,201), and in Hindi in Nagpur (4,158). In Balaghat though about 25 per cent. of the population speak Marathi, only one person is literate in it for every ten who can read and write Hindi. Otherwise literacy in Hindi and Marathi follows their local distribution as current vernaculars. In Sambalpur 11,649 persons are literate in Oriya as against 2,562 in Hindi. Both languages are now taught concurrently in the schools, but outside Government service Hindi has made little progress. There are also a small number of persons literate in Oriya in Nagpur (54), Raipur (495) and Bilaspur (167). In Raigarh and Sarangarh Hindi and Oriya are in about equal strength as written languages, though the proportion of persons speaking them is four to one in favour of Hindi. In Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi Oriya is the only literary language.

¹Eurasians should strictly be included in this term; but English is practically their native language.

16,035 persons in British districts and 515 in the Feudatory States are returned as literate in Urdu. Of these 12,682 are Mahomedans, leaving 3,868 others, of whom more than half are Kayasths (1,185) and Brahmans (1,085). Urdu, next to Persian, is the language of polite learning, and its knowledge is held to be a mark of some distinction. Every district returns a number of persons knowing it, but in Nagpur and Chhattisgarh they are almost all Mahomedans, the Hindus who are literate in Urdu residing chiefly in the two Northern divisions. Of the total literate Mahomedans about half know Urdu and half Hindi. Urdu is taught in the schools in important towns. Telugu literates are found principally in Chanda (1,289) and Nagpur (1,105). Most of the castes with Telugu sub-divisions return a number of persons who know it, among whom are also included 139 Native Christians. Telugu is taught in the schools in the Sironcha Tahsil and parts of Bastar and also in some schools in the Nagpur District. 16,807 persons or 5 per cent. of the total are shown as literate in other languages which were not abstracted. Of these the most important are Gujarati and Marwari, which are generally used by the trading classes for accounts.

It was thought that the returns of literacy in vernacular languages among European officers might yield results of some interest, but the total number returned as literate in any one of the five languages is only 50 out of a total of 344 civil officers. The numbers under each language are shown in the marginal statement. It is doubtful how far the schedules were correctly filled up, as it is commonly found that private schedules, even among the best educated classes, are not so accurate as those prepared by the ordinary enumerators.

585 persons in the provinces were returned as knowing Sanskrit and 937 as knowing Persian. The most accomplished linguist in the Provinces appears to reside in Saugor City, unless he was a member of the Chief Commissioner's camp, the returns for which were included with Saugor. He is shown as literate in Hindi, Marathi, Urdu, Persian, Bengali, Gujarati, Sanskrit and English.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*By Age and Sex (Provinces).*

Age period.	NUMBERS IN 1,000.								
	LITERATE.			ILLITERATE.			LITERATE IN ENGLISH.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
0 to 15	28	49	4	972	951	996	1	2	1
15 and over	38	77	2	962	923	998	3	6	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*District Distribution.*

District or State.		NUMBERS IN 1,000.			
		LITERATE.			LITERATE IN ENGLISH.
		Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.
<i>Districts.</i>					
Saugor	...	41	77	4	4
Damgh	...	39	74	3	1
Jubbulpore	...	53	100	6	6
Mandla	...	19	37	1	1
Seoni	...	22	43	2	1
Jubbulpore Division		38	73	4	3
Narsinghpur	...	48	94	3	2
Hoshangabad	...	46	88	3	3
Nimar	...	59	112	3	3
Betul	...	19	39	1	1
Chhindwara	...	22	45	1	1
Nerbudda Division		39	76	2	2
Wardha	...	39	76	2	2
Nagpur	...	49	92	7	10
Chanda	...	19	39	1	1
Bhandara	...	25	52	1	1
Balaghat	...	22	44	1	1
Nagpur Division		32	62	2	4
Rajpur	...	18	37	1	1
Bilaspur	...	18	36	1	1
Sambalpur	...	17	33	1	1
Chhattisgarh Division		18	36	1	1
British Districts		30	58	2	2
<i>States.</i>					
Makrai	...	27	55	...	1
Bastar	...	7	12	1	...
Kanker	...	9	17	1	...
Nandgaon	...	17	34	1	1
Khatragarh	...	15	29	1	2
Chhulikhadan	...	18	36	1	...
Kawardha	...	15	30	1	...
Sakti	...	18	36	1	...
Raigarh	...	17	33	1	...
Sarangarh	...	30	60	3	...
Bamra	...	40	76	3	1
Rairakhol	...	10	20	...	...
Sonpur	...	10	21	1	...
Patna	...	19	36	1	...
Kalahandi	...	17	33	1	...
Feudatory State		16	32	1	...
Central Provinces		28	54	2	2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—By Caste and Religion.

Caste.	NUMBER PER 1,000			
	LITERATE.			LITERATE IN ENGLISH.
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	
Agharia	43	83	2	—
Ahir	5	10	—	—
Bahna	3	6	—	—
Baiga	85	160	4	—
Bairagi	3	6	—	—
Balahi	231	444	11	5
Bania	5	9	—	—
Barjara	67	130	5	2
Barai	27	53	1	1
Barhai	2	4	—	—
Basor	69	137	3	1
Bhat	2	3	—	—
Bhili	10	20	1	—
Bhilala	14	29	—	—
Bhoyar	165	322	6	10
Bidar	2	5	—	—
Binjhwar	194	365	9	18
Brahman	2	4	—	—
Chamar	9	16	—	—
Chandar (Chadar)	46	86	3	—
Dahuria	33	64	1	—
Dangi	60	116	3	2
Darji	7	14	—	—
Dhangar	5	10	—	—
Dhimar	8	16	—	—
Dhobi	9	16	—	—
Gadaria	1	3	—	—
Ganda	3	6	—	—
Ghasia	3	6	—	—
Gond	3	6	—	—
Gosain	56	107	2	1
Gujar	29	58	—	—
Halha	10	21	—	—
Halha	21	41	—	—
Jadam	41	78	3	1
Jat	15	27	2	—
Jogi	81	162	5	1
Joshi	10	20	1	—
Kachhi	23	44	2	—
Kahar	52	103	1	1
Kalar	5	9	—	—
Kandh	277	511	19	16
Karni (Mahanti)	11	22	—	—
Katia	6	12	—	—
Kawar	307	572	26	46
Kayasth	7	14	—	—
Kewat	37	73	2	1
Khangar	19	37	—	—
Kinnar	1	2	—	—
Kol	30	58	2	—
Kolta	15	27	2	—
Kori	1	1	—	—
Korku	46	90	3	—
Koshti	11	21	1	—
Kumhar	22	44	—	—
Kunbi	26	53	1	—
Kurni	18	36	1	—
Lodhi	15	28	1	—
Lohar	7	14	—	—
Mahar	13	21	—	—
Mali	5	10	—	—
Mana	1	2	—	—
Mang	100	200	3	9
Maratha	2	3	—	—
Mehtar	23	45	1	1
Nai	7	15	—	—
Panka	32	65	1	—
Ponwar	42	84	2	—
Raghubansi	63	119	5	3
Rajput	109	215	4	2
Sonar	19	37	1	—
Teli	811	1,611	730	812
Europeans	966	1,943	863	865
Eurasians	237	469	203	84
Native Christians	468	936	334	269
Total Christians	94	177	9	7
Musalmana	240	483	16	4
Jains	2	4	—	—
Animists	707	1,415	599	325
Parais	361	721	81	189
Jews	258	516	44	14
Sikhs	28	54	2	2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Percentage of Literates under age 15 to total Literates.

District or State.	Literates.	Literates under 15.	Percentage.
<i>Districts.</i>			
Saugor	19,252	2,409	12.5
Damoh	11,059	1,624	14.7
Jubbulpore	35,816	6,336	17.7
Mandla	5,966	1,157	19.4
Seoni	7,151	1,099	15.4
Jubbulpore Division	79,244	12,625	15.9
Narsinghpur	14,027	2,236	15.9
Hoshangabad	20,455	2,341	11.4
Nimar	19,377	3,895	19.9
Betul	5,524	739	13.4
Chhindwara	9,103	1,574	17.3
Nerbudda Division	69,378	9,785	14.1
Wardha	14,972	2,296	15.3
Nagpur	37,003	6,085	16.4
Chanda	11,654	1,503	12.9
Bhandara	16,745	3,419	20.4
Balaghat	7,043	1,151	16.3
Nagpur Division	87,418	14,454	16.5
Raipur	26,316	4,168	15.8
Bilaspur	18,256	2,988	16.4
Sambalpur	13,936	1,630	11.7
Chhattisgarh Division	58,508	8,186	13.9
British Districts	294,548	45,050	15.3
<i>States.</i>			
Makrai	355	16	4.5
Bastar	1,997	541	27.1
Kanker	904	216	23.9
Nandgaon	2,151	314	14.6
Khalasgarh	2,064	297	14.4
Chhulakhadan	468	109	23.5
Kawardha	879	140	15.9
Sakti	410	65	15.9
Raigarh	2,953	530	17.9
Sarangarh	2,426	436	17.9
Damra	5,011	512	10.2
Rairakhol	281	9	3.2
Soanpur	1,758	180	10.2
Patek	5,142	631	12.2
Kalahandi	6,129	795	13.0
Fundatory States	32,938	4,811	14.6
CENTRAL PROVINCES	377,486	49,861	13.2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—*By Languages in which literate.*

District or State.	NUMBER IN 1,000 LITERATE IN					NUMBER IN 1,000 SPEAKING				
	Hindi.	Mara- thi.	Urdu.	Oriya.	Tela- gu.	Hindi.	Mara- thi.	Urdu.	Oriya.	Tela- gu.
<i>Districts.</i>										
Saugor	370	13	26	...	...	975	14	8	...	...
Damoh	380	03	17	...	...	995	1	2	...	...
Jubbulpore	448	10	41	...	03	971	3	10	...	2
Mandla	181	...	13	...	...	747	1	2	...	...
Seoni	205	02	24	...	...	580	61	23	...	9
Jubbulpore Division	342	06	27	...	01	880	14	11	...	2
Narsinghpur	404	04	19	...	01	992	3	3	...	...
Hoshangabad	406	14	33	...	01	893	10	8	...	...
Nimar	408	82	34	...	...	668	140	43	...	1
Betul	182	09	13	...	...	398	230	5	...	...
Chhindwara	176	54	12	...	...	521	190	11	...	...
Nerbudda Division	327	33	23	...	...	795	109	14	...	...
Wardha	10	329	12	...	02	62	786	35	...	6
Nagpur	55	326	39	01	15	97	770	50	1	13
Chanda	10	154	06	...	21	36	636	16	...	119
Bhandara	27	221	10	...	01	119	776	16	...	3
Balaghat	204	13	06	...	01	570	228	2	...	2
Nagpur Division	51	227	18	...	09	145	683	27	...	32
Raipur	168	02	06	03	01	917	11	3	59	1
Bilaspur	166	03	06	02	01	957	3	3	1	1
Sambalpur	31	01	04	120	01	200	1	2	742	1
Chhattisgarh Division	133	02	05	38	01	757	6	3	214	1
British Districts	189	70	16	13	03	605	213	13	71	9
<i>States.</i>										
Makrai	264	03	15	...	...	806	...	...	...	...
Bastar	53	01	02	09	03	69	344	1	64	07
Kanker	81	02	02	01	...	585	45	1	1	...
Nandgaon	133	08	06	01	01	943	39	4	...	1
Khairagarh	117	06	11	...	01	957	29	5	...	1
Chhuikhadan	176	01	05	...	...	991	8	...	...	...
Kawardha	147	02	06	01	...	992	7	...	...	...
Sakti	169	01	10	08	...	992	1	1	4	...
Raigarh	90	01	03	76	...	806	2	1	150	...
Sarangarh	166	...	02	140	...	727	...	...	246	1
Batra	13	...	01	391	01	33	...	...	766	...
Rainakhil	15	01	04	90	...	12	2	1	895	2
Sonpur	10	...	...	96	...	12	...	...	978	2
Patna	07	...	...	178	...	20	...	...	975	...
Kalahandi	...	...	...	169	02	22	...	...	812	9
Feudatory States	57	01	03	103	01	335	60	1	454	6
CENTRAL PROVINCES	167	59	14	28	03	559	188	11	135	9

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—*Progress of Education.*

District or State.	NUMBER OF LITERATES IN 1,000 PERSONS.								
	1901.			1891.			1881.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
<i>Districts.</i>									
Saugor	41	77	4	33	62	2	26	48	3
Damoh	39	74	3	29	55	1	21	40	1
Jubbulpore	53	100	6	24	65	3	27	52	2
Mandla	19	37	1	11	21	...	6	11	...
Seoni	22	43	2	17	33	1	10	19	1
Jubbulpore Division	38	73	4	27	52	1	21	39	1
Narsinghpur	48	94	3	34	66	2	28	45	1
Hoshangabad	46	88	3	38	72	2	28	53	1
Nimar	59	112	3	49	94	2	43	79	2
Betul	19	39	1	15	30	...	10	20	...
Chhindwara	22	45	1	14	28	...	9	19	...
Nerbudda Division	39	76	2	29	57	1	22	42	1
Wardha	39	76	2	29	57	1	22	42	...
Nagpur	40	92	7	37	69	4	30	57	3
Chanda	19	39	1	14	28	...	12	24	...
Bhandara	25	52	1	15	30	...	11	22	...
Balaghat	22	44	1	13	26	...	8	16	...
Nagpur Division	32	62	2	22	43	2	17	34	1
Raipur	18	37	1	13	25	1	8	16	...
Bilaspur	18	36	1	12	23	1	8	16	...
Sambalpur	17	33	1	22	43	1	15	29	1
Chhattisgarh Division	18	36	1	15	29	1	10	19	1
British Districts	29	58	2	22	43	1	17	32	1
<i>States.</i>									
Makrai	27	55	...	31	62	...	...	...	...
Bastar	7	12	1	5	9	...	...	...	...
Kanker	9	17	1	5	10	...	...	...	...
Nandgaon	17	34	1	9	18	1	...	...	...
Khairagarh	15	29	1	8	16	1	...	...	...
Chhindhadan	18	36	1	10	18	2	...	...	...
Kawardha	15	30	1	9	16	1	...	...	...
Sakti	16	36	1	13	24	1	...	...	...
Raigarh	17	33	1	10	20	...	...	...	...
Sarangarh	30	60	3	20	39	2	...	...	...
Bamra	40	76	3	21	39	2	...	...	...
Raivakhol	10	20	1	19	32	6	...	...	...
Soupur	19	31	1	10	19	...	...	...	...
Patan	19	36	1	7	15	...	...	...	...
Kalahandi	17	33	1	6	11	1	...	...	...
Feudatory States	16	32	1	9	17	1	...	...	...
CENTRAL PROVINCES...	28	54	2	20	39	1	17	32	1

CHAPTER IV.

INFIRMITIES.

GENERAL.

1891.		1891.		1881.		1872.		VARIATION (+ OR -).					
								1891-1881.		1881-1872.		1891-1872.	
Number.	Per 10,000 population.	Number.	Per 10,000 population.	Number.	Per 10,000 population.	Number.	Per 10,000 population.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
30,531	21.7	35,558	27.4	40,943	35.4	20,607	22.2	-1,027	-14.1	-5,285	-12.7	+8,130	+49.7

49. The infirmities recorded at the census were blindness of both eyes, deaf-muteness from birth, insanity and leprosy. These infirmities have been recorded on three previous occasions, and it might naturally be considered that a number of definite conclusions should by this time have been available from the figures. This, however, is true only to a limited extent, and a perusal of previous census reports might tend at first sight to the opinion that the ingenuity of superintendents has been equal to accounting for the comparative prevalence or absence of each of the infirmities in wet and dry climates, in plain or hilly country, in either sex, and at most periods of age. Such a conclusion would no doubt be exaggerated; but owing to the fact that the total numbers to be dealt with are very small, and that the enumerator's diagnosis is capricious, the resulting figures are frequently contradictory. In the Central Provinces the total number of infirm was 20,607 in 1872, 40,943 in 1881, and 35,558 in 1891. In 1872 the record was clearly incomplete, and in 1881 it would appear that the instructions may have been liberally interpreted so as to include a number of persons not strictly coming under the definition. Between 1881 and 1891 the decrease was 24 per cent. in British Districts.¹ In 1901 the total number of infirm is 30,531, being an actual decrease of 14 per cent. on 1891, or taking the reduced population, of 6 per cent. The reduction is, however, considerably greater than this in all the infirmities except blindness.

50. One probable reason for the small proportionate decrease seems to be that the infirm have very weak lives and succumb readily in periods of distress, in spite of the fact that, as noted by several district officers, they received special attention during the last famine, the deaf and dumb having been usually admitted to village relief immediately on its introduction. The Leprosy Commission considered that a comparison of the returns of four provinces showed a general and marked decline in the number of lepers after the famines of previous decades. The decrease in numbers is also greatest in the Feudatory States, where the arrangements for relief were probably

¹ In 1881 infirmities were not recorded for Feudatory States.

less efficient than in British districts, at any rate in 1897. In the case of some of the infirmities there are further special reasons for supposing that they are gradually becoming less frequent; but the rate of reduction can hardly be so great as would appear from the figures, or they would vanish altogether within a measurable term of years.

51. Blindness is far the most prevalent of the infirmities, the blind being 18,628 or rather more than three-fifths of the whole number. Deaf-mutes 5,304 and lepers 5,098, roughly a sixth each, are nearly equal, and the insane 1,520 constitute only about a twentieth of the total. As compared with other Provinces of India leprosy is prevalent in the Central Provinces, blindness somewhat less so but still higher than the average, and the amount of insanity and deaf-mutism is comparatively small. In European countries leprosy is not recorded. There is roughly about twice as much blindness in India as in England, and only about a tenth as much insanity. In the case of deaf-mutism the proportions are about the same, there being more in India than in England and Scotland, but less than in some other European countries.

BLINDNESS.

1891.		1891.		1881.		1871.		Variations (+ or -).					
								1891-1881.		1881-1871.		1891-1871.	
Number.	Per 10,000 population.	Number.	Per 10,000 population.	Number.	Per 10,000 population.	Number.	Per 10,000 population.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
18,628	15.6	20,470	15.7	21,260	21.8	12,603	17.6	-1,843	-9	-8,590	-19	+15,357	+57.4

52. The total number of blind is 18,628 or 15.6 in 10,000 of the population as against 20,470 or 15.7 in 10,000 of the population in 1891. The actual decrease is 9 per cent. and on the reduced population 8 per cent. The Central Provinces stood seventh out of 15 Provinces and States in India in respect of prevalence of blindness both in 1881 and 1891. For the generally greater frequency of blindness in India than in Europe, the more brilliant and glaring atmosphere, the dirty surroundings of the lower classes, and the numbers of flies, the neglect and improper treatment of small-pox and ophthalmic diseases, and the presence of the leprosy and syphilitic taints have been suggested as reasons.¹ It is probable, however, that blindness is more often produced by small-pox than any other agent, and that it should tend to decrease with increased efficiency in the prevention and treatment of this disease. It was estimated that before the introduction of compulsory vaccination into England 35 per cent. of the blindness was due to small-pox.

53. The sanitary statistics show that 4,300,000 persons were vaccinated in the Central Provinces during the inter-censal period 1891-1901 and nearly four million in the previous decade. It is difficult to compare these figures with the birth-rates, as allowance must be made for the large number of children dying in infancy before they are vaccinated;

¹ India Census Report, 1891, page 239, and Punjab Census Report, 1891, page 236.

but judging from the returns it would appear that during the last 20 years, all or nearly all of the children born must have been vaccinated, and it may be concluded that the majority of the population must now be protected against small-pox. There were 33,000 odd deaths from small-pox during 1891—1901 as against 55,000 during the previous decade, or a decrease of about 40 per cent. It seems clear therefore that blindness resulting from this cause should tend to diminish. It is possible, however, that the extension of vaccination has as yet exercised little influence on the liability to blindness, because it is only within the last twenty or thirty years that its performance has become general, and this infirmity, when it is not congenital, usually appears in later life. The majority of the population should now have been vaccinated, but not necessarily the majority of persons over twenty-five or thirty years of age. And it may therefore be another ten or twenty years before the effects of vaccination on the statistics become apparent.

54. There are more blind women than men, the numbers in 1901 being 10,891 to 7,737 or about 18 to 13 per 10,000 of each sex.

Blindness in the sexes.

In 1891 there was a smaller excess of women in the Central Provinces, and both in 1891 and 1881 a small majority of women in the figures for India. The main fact about blindness in the sexes is that more male than female children are born blind; but more women than men become blind in later life. This appears very strikingly from Subsidiary Statement V, the proportion of blind female children under 5 being 621 to 1,000 males, while in the case of persons over 60, 2,432 women are blind to 1,000 men. For the greater tendency of women to become blind, the following reasons have been suggested:—Bending over smoky fires, suffering from inverted eye-lashes, frequent mourning for relatives accompanied by ostentatious squeezing of the eyes and excessive weeping, confinement to dark and unwholesome rooms, and the greater unwillingness of parents to have girl children vaccinated.¹ Blindness of course increases rapidly with age, nearly half the blind men and more than two-thirds of the blind women being over 40.

55. The local distribution of the blind closely resembles that of the last two censuses. The Oriyas are freer from blindness than any

In different localities and castes.

other race, while it is most prevalent in the Vindhyan districts and the Nerbudda valley. There is a noticeable decrease in the Maratha country, which is now one of the most lightly afflicted tracts, while the Satpura districts retain their comparatively good position. In Raipur there is a remarkable increase of nearly 1,300 blind. It seems probable that, as suggested by the Civil Surgeon of Raipur, the increase should be attributed to the immigration of beggars from the Feudatory States attracted by the more efficient arrangements for relief in British territory. The castes showing a high average of blindness differ greatly in social position and occupation. There are a number of low castes—as Balahi (25),² Bhil (28), Bhilala (38), Chamar (25), Chadar (27), Gadaria (23), Khangar (31), Kori (24) and Panka (19)—among whom it may perhaps be attributed to ophthalmic disease or small-pox consequent on their insanitary surroundings. It is also prevalent among the agricultural castes of the Northern districts—Gujar (22), Jadam (31), Kachhi (23), Kirar (17), Kurmi (20) and Lodhi (20); these occupy a fairly high social position in the Central Provinces, and the comparatively greater tendency to blindness

¹Punjab Census Report, 1891, page 237.

²The figures in brackets show the number of blind persons per 10,000 of the caste.

may possibly be due to their unwillingness to have their children vaccinated in previous years, and, in the case of women, to their being more secluded and doing most of their cooking in-doors. In the case of Bairagis (19) and Gosains (17) and perhaps also Bhats (23), there are a high proportion of blind because these are begging castes, and the infirm would naturally try to obtain admission into or pass themselves off as belonging to castes to whom it is a religious obligation to give alms. Brahmans (17), Vidurs (15) and Banias (17) have a proportionately high number of blind, perhaps owing to their occupations involving a great deal of sedentary and literary work, and occupation may also be the explanation in the case of Darzis (22). Barais, or betel-leaf growers and sellers, have a high combined average of all infirmities, and the same fact was noticed in the India Census Report for 1891; but I do not know whether any injurious effects can be associated with the cultivation or preparation of the betel-leaf.

INSANITY.

1901.		1891.		1881.		1871.		VARIATION (+ OR -).					
								1891-1901.		1881-1891.		1871-1881.	
No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
1,520	1.2	2,034	1.5	2,528	2.1	1,612	1.7	-514	-25.2	-404	-15.5	+916	+26.2

56. The number of insane is now 1,520 as against 2,034 in 1891, or 1.2 instead of 1.5 per 10,000 of the population. The actual decrease is thus 25 per cent., or on the reduced population 18 per cent. It seems probable that the number of insane has been diminished by the omission of persons who are merely imbecile, which was provided for in the instructions. The Central Provinces have always occupied a favourable position as regards insanity, being twelfth out of fifteen Provinces and States arranged in order of prevalence of the disease both in 1881 and 1891. Mental excitement is generally considered the most frequent cause of insanity, and the small quantity in India as compared with European countries bears out this view. There are always more men than women who are mad, the actual numbers in the Central Provinces being 1,004 and 516, respectively, or nearly two to one. There is little insanity in early youth. In men it is more or less prevalent during the whole working period of life, being greatest between 25 and 35, which age-period includes more than a quarter of the total number of insane. Among women there seems to be a connection between insanity and the period of marriage and child-bearing, about 37 per cent. of mad women being aged between 10 and 25 (Statement V). The insane are generally shorter-lived than ordinary people, and this statement to some extent bears out this view, the proportions of insane becoming somewhat less in old age. As people become insane at different ages and usually after infancy, if their lives were as valuable as those of the general population, the numbers would increase with each age period. As they do not do so, the rate of mortality among the insane must be higher.

57. The local distribution of insanity corresponds generally with that of last census, there being most in the Vindhyan, Nerbudda valley and Satpura districts, and least in Chhattisgarh.

Local and caste distribution.

The average in the Maratha districts and Nerbudda valley is disturbed by the lunatic asylums at Jubbulpore and Nagpur. The castes having the highest numbers of insane among males are Brahmans (4)¹, Kayasths (6), Karans or Mahantis (7), Sonars (4), Vidurs (3), Bairagis (6), Jogis (4) and Musalmans (4). The first five are the best educated castes, and the cause of insanity seems clearly to be mental strain and excitement. Among women of these castes there is no such high average. The same explanation applies to Bairagis and Jogis, who are frequently religious mendicants, and to Musalmans, the excitement in these cases being religious. Among women insanity is probably due to domestic unhappiness more frequently than to any other cause, and there is no reason why it should be found more often in any special castes or classes of society.

DEAF-MUTISM.

1901.		1891.		1881.		1872.		VARIATION (+ OR -).					
								1891-1901.		1881-1891.		1872-1881.	
No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
5,304	4.4	6,440	4.9	6,712	5.8	4,185	4.5	-1,136	-17.6	-272	-4.0	+2,527	+37.6

58. There are now 5,304 deaf-mutes in the Provinces or 4.4 in 10,000 of the population as against 6,440 or 4.9 in 1891. The decrease is thus 17 per cent. or on the reduced population 9 per cent.

Deaf-mutism.

As compared with other Provinces this Province was 9th in the order of prevalence of deaf-mutism in 1881 and 10th in 1891. There are generally more deaf-mute males than females, the numbers being 3,042 to 2,262 at this census, or 744 women to 1,000 men. Deaf-muteness is usually congenital, and it was only in such cases that it was directed to be recorded; but it is probable that all cases of the infirmity have been included. If it is congenital, the numbers recorded should decrease at each age period, except for the first 5 years of life, when parents hesitate to admit the infirmity in their children so long as there remains a hope of their learning to speak. Statement V shows that this is the case, the figures decreasing regularly after the period 0-4 until the last, when the proportion at the age of 60 and over is somewhat higher than it should be, probably owing to the inclusion of a few cases of deafness acquired with advancing years. The deaf-mute return varies considerably from census to census, but it is considered to be steadily decreasing in India. It has been suggested that it is less invariably congenital and more frequently due to zymotic diseases (fevers, cholera, small-pox, and venereal disease) than is the case in Europe. It has been held that deaf-muteness has a tendency to be more prevalent in mountainous countries and to follow the course of certain rivers.² But such theories are very tentative, as would appear from the fact that of the countries for which figures are given in the India Census Report, Scotland, Portugal, and Ceylon present the lowest averages, and none of these countries can be correctly described as flat.

¹ The figures in brackets are the number of male insane among 10,000 males.

² India Census Report, 1891, page 229.

59. As at last census there are most deaf-mutes in the Satpura districts, the Nerbudda valley, and the Vindhyan districts, and least in Chhattisgarh. Next to Chhattisgarh, Sambalpur

and the Maratha country have the smallest averages. The caste distribution of the deaf-mute does not show that the infirmity is specially prevalent in any particular group of castes or occupations; and except that it seems to favour certain localities, it is natural to assume that congenital deaf-muteness is more often to be attributed to special physical characteristics in the constitution of the parents than to any other cause.

LEPROSY.

1901.		1891.		1881.		1872.		VARIATION (+ OR -).					
								1891-1901.		1881-1891.		1872-1881.	
No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per 10,000 population.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
3,098	4.2	6,614	5.1	6,443	5.5	2,807	3.03	-1,516	-75	+171	+2.5	+3,636	+26.4

60. The number of lepers has decreased from 6,614 to 3,098, or from 5.1 to 4.2 per 10,000 of population. There are 3,320 male lepers as against 4,374 in 1891, and 1,778 females as against 2,240, the percentages of decrease being 24 and 20 respectively. The greater decrease among male lepers may probably be attributed to the hypothesis put forward in the chapter on sex, that men are less able to support privation than women. As compared with the rest of India leprosy is more frequent here than any other of the infirmities, the Central Provinces standing fifth out of 15 Provinces and States in 1881 and sixth in 1891 as regards the prevalence of the disease. Statement V shows that leprosy is most frequent from about the age of 25 onwards, the proportions at each age rising rapidly after that stage. Similar results were obtained from the figures of 1891.

61. The conclusions of the Leprosy Commission were that leprosy most frequently appears between 15 and 30 years of age or in early adult life. This was because out of the cases of the appearance of the disease observed by them, the largest numbers were at this period; but to obtain the true rate of incidence at different ages it is necessary to compare the ratio of the number of cases to the number of persons alive at each age, and if this was done the appearance of the disease would be found more equally distributed over the different ages after 15, because there are a smaller number of persons alive at each successive age period. The Commission estimated the duration of the disease at from 9 to 16 years, according to the different forms in which it manifests itself. The number of lepers at each age period therefore includes those in whom the disease has appeared during the two or three previous periods, and this raises the proportions of lepers alive at the later ages. The Commission, though they considered leprosy an infective disease caused by a specific bacillus, and moreover also a contagious disease, were of opinion that there was no direct

evidence to show that leprosy was maintained or diffused by contagion. The result of a number of cases in which persons had been eating and drinking from the same vessels as lepers showed that about 7 per cent. only had become infected. Nor could heredity be considered as an important agent in the perpetuation of the disease, as only a small proportion of the children of leper marriages became lepers. The disease was in their opinion generally acquired *de novo* from the bacillus in a resting condition outside the human body, the surrounding circumstances and the constitution of the subject being favourable to its development. Such circumstances were, in their opinion, general poverty, the absence of sanitation, over-population, and an unhealthy or moist climate. It usually appears among the lowest classes, though no caste or class of society is exempt. The Commission considered that the census figures for 1891 might on the whole be accepted as showing that the disease was either stationary or gradually declining. In their opinion 10 per cent. of the cases which an unprofessional observer would take to be leprosy should on an average be excluded as discolouration of the skin.

62. The figures for the Central Provinces show, as in 1891, that women get the disease to a greater extent in early life and men in later life. It is most prevalent in the Maratha districts and Raipur and Bilaspur, probably owing to the dirty habits of the large numbers of Mahars and Chamars who are found in these districts. In Nagpur and Chhattisgarh there are five or six times as many lepers as in the Vindhyan districts and the Nerbudda valley, the figures being 6 or 7 to 10,000 of the population in the south as against 1·2 in the north. The high average in Nimar, 4 per 10,000, is probably to be accounted for by an influx of beggars. Leprosy is more frequent in the lowest castes, those having the highest averages being Chamars (5·5),¹ Ghasias (6·5), Kandhs (8·5), Dhobis (6·0), Manas (12·0) and Mahars (5·5). There are a large number of lepers among Kunbis (6·5) and Telis (8·0), resulting from the prevalence of the disease in the Maratha districts; and among Dhimars (5·0) and Kewats (6·5). The theory that leprosy was sometimes produced by the eating of fish has, however, been discarded by the Commission.

Since writing the above I have had an interesting conversation with Major Buchanan and Colonel Quayle, I. M. S. These officers are inclined to dispute the conclusions of the Commission, and to consider leprosy a dangerously contagious disease, requiring segregation. It is not for me to attempt any discussion of the subject from a medical point of view; but so far as the census results go, the disease appears to be on the decrease.

¹ The figures in brackets are the proportion on 10,000 persons of the caste.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Distribution of infirmities by age among 10,000 of the population.*

Age period.	MALES.					FEMALES.				
	Total afflicted.	Lunatic.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.	Total afflicted.	Lunatic.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
0-9	9.6	0.6	4.1	4.5	0.4	6.4	0.3	3.0	2.7	0.3
10-19	10.5	1.7	6.0	8.9	2.1	15.2	1.2	5.1	7.4	1.6
20-29	24.8	2.2	6.2	11.3	5.2	16.9	1.0	3.7	9.6	2.6
30-39	29.5	2.3	4.8	12.9	9.4	24.5	0.8	3.6	15.3	4.8
40-49	39.9	2.5	4.2	10.3	13.0	37.8	1.1	3.2	26.7	6.7
50-59	50.5	2.4	3.9	28.3	15.9	58.6	1.2	3.1	47.6	6.7
60 and over	103.1	2.1	5.1	79.7	16.3	144.3	1.0	5.5	131.8	6.2
Total	453	1.7	5.2	132	5.7	256	0.8	3.8	181	2.9

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—*Proportion of Females afflicted to 1,000 Males at each age.*

Age period.	Total population.			Deaf-mute.			Blind.			Lepers.		
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
0-9	566	744	...	621	...	887	...	...	...	...
10-19	617	670	...	754	...	688	...	...	...	...
20-29	856	665	...	937	...	861	...	...	...	...
30-39	371	739	...	1,193	...	513	...	...	...	...
40-49	479	780	...	1,424	...	495	...	...	...	...
50-59	586	901	...	1,807	...	475	...	...	...	...
60 and over	667	1,588	...	2,432	...	562	...	...	...	...
Total	514	744	...	1,408	...	536	...	...	...	...

CHAPTER V.

LANGUAGE.

[The information as to languages given in this chapter, unless otherwise stated, is obtained from notes and lists kindly furnished by Dr. G. A. GRIERSON, C. I. E., PH. D., Director of the Linguistic Survey.]

63. In the summary of the rough lists of languages containing the first results of the Linguistic Survey, thirty languages and a hundred and six dialects are catalogued as found in the Central Provinces; and this is excluding both Asiatic and non-Asiatic languages spoken only by foreigners. This great diversity of speech is no doubt partly to be attributed to the fact that the Central Provinces is the meeting place of different races who have immigrated from the countries surrounding it on all sides, and partly to the difficulties of communication presented by the physical features of the Province, which have till lately tended to split up the people into isolated communities holding little or no intercourse with each other. The diverse ethnical constitution of the population accounts for the fact that 'the Hindi and Urdu of the Central Provinces include all the Aryan languages spoken between Gujarat and Bengal, and between the Himalayas and the 'Marathi-speaking districts of the Deccan';¹ and the absence of inter-communication for the existence in many areas of separate local dialects peculiar to themselves, which, for want of any other designation, Dr. Grierson has been obliged to call after the districts to which they belong. Thus Saugor, Damoh, Mandla, Seoni, Narsinghpur and Betul have each a special dialect of their own, just as is, or was, the case in some of the outlying counties of England, and for the same reasons. Again, there is the Marathi of Nagpur and that of Berar, both differing from the pure form of the language. There is Chhattisgarhi, itself a form of Eastern Hindi, and also a dialect of it called Khaltahi forming the Hindi vernacular of Bahaghat.

64. Numerous dialects are also formed by the migration of a number of persons speaking one language into an area belonging to another. Sometimes they retain their original speech as a basis, and take into it words and expressions borrowed from that which they hear around them; and sometimes they practically abandon their own language, merely importing a similar substratum of it into the new one which they adopt. In either case a fresh dialect is formed differing to some extent from each of the languages which has contributed to its composition. This result is not of course always produced, but only when migrations take place in such force that the new-comers can retain their individuality in the country in which they settle; and this usually occurs when they belong to one or more castes, and continue to intermarry among themselves; the resulting dialect is therefore generally confined to particular castes, and it is natural to call it

¹ Introduction to Rough Lists of Languages.

after the caste name. Instances of such caste dialects abound in Dr. Grierson's lists. The Bhojars of Betul and Chhindwara have a special dialect which is classed under the Rajasthani language, and from which it may perhaps be inferred that their ancestors came from Central India, though their present customs would indicate that they are rather allied to the non-Aryan tribes than to Rajputs. The Ponwars of Bhandara and Balaghat speak a form of Eastern Hindi, mixed with Marathi, a fact which may give some ground for the hypothesis that they came from the direction of Jubbulpore and not from Central India, as they are supposed to have done. The Lodhis of Balaghat speak a mixture of Western Hindi and Marathi, the former being the language which they must have brought with them from the North-West. The Kirs of Narsinghpur retain a form of Marwari from Central India. Some Telugu castes, as the Golars and Holias, who have penetrated into the Maratha districts have formed a dialect of their own language, probably mixed with Marathi; and there are many other instances.

65. Similarly the aboriginal tribes have sometimes retained their own languages, and sometimes abandoned them and partly or wholly adopted those brought by the Aryan immigrants,

Tribal dialects.

still, however, usually doing so in so incomplete a fashion as to produce a separate dialect. What is known as the Gondi of the Central Provinces is in places a Dravidian language belonging to the Gonds, while in parts of Mandla and in other places it is simply a broken Hindi. Baigani or Binjhali is a corrupt dialect of Chhattisgarhi manufactured by this tribe. Halbi is Marathi mixed with Oriya, and as such possibly indicates that the Halbas, who are believed to be a non-Aryan tribe, did not originally belong to the east of the Provinces and Orissa as their own story goes, but must have migrated from the west. The necessity of extreme caution in drawing inferences as to origin from language is, however, sufficiently indicated by the manner in which, as already exemplified, different castes or tribes will in some cases abandon their language without even changing their locality, while in others they will retain their language, while migrating to a country occupied by an entirely different one. 'The best opinion of the present day seems to regard the fact that races speak the same language as proving little more than that at some time or other they must have been in close local contact.'¹

66. Many of the languages and dialects catalogued in the Linguistic Survey are not found in the census lists at all, and this is no more

Defects in the record of dialects.

than might be expected when, as Dr. Grierson says, the people themselves frequently do not know that they speak a dialect any more than M. Jourdain knew that he wrote prose. In other cases a dialect may have no name within the area in which it is spoken, but may be recognised and distinguished only outside it.² The only means of getting anything approaching to a complete return would be to circulate to each district, for the guidance of the enumerators, a list of all the languages and dialects spoken in it; and even then not much would be gained, because the decision as to the entry in each case must be left to the discretion of the census staff, who cannot be competent judges. If a dialect belongs to a particular area or a particular caste,

¹Introduction to Tribes and Castes of Bengal, page xii.

²North-Western Provinces Census Report, 1891, page 266.

the population to be classified under it can be taken as that of the area or caste in question; but if it is only partly spoken, the enumerator would have to decide which persons spoke it and which did not, and he could not be expected to do so correctly. According to the rough lists of languages the Kunbis of Chanda speak a corrupt Marathi called Kunbau; if it is known that all the Kunbis use this jargon, but no other caste, then the population to be classed under the dialect would be the number of Kunbis in the district; but if all Kunbis do not use it or it is common also to other castes, then it is doubtful whether results of any value would be obtained by directing the enumerator to ask every one whether he spoke Kunbau and make the entries accordingly; and it is perhaps safer to ascertain by enquiry, as has been done in the Linguistic Survey, by what castes and over what areas a particular dialect is spoken, and from this to deduce an estimate of its numerical strength. It is, then, only as regards the few dialects which are well known and distinguished by the people, that any reliable information is available from the census returns. And this result may perhaps be regarded as a cause for gratitude, at any rate from the Census Superintendent's point of view; as if the return of dialects was as copious as the numbers shown in the rough lists, the classification of the language table would, allowing for the free introduction of variants and synonyms, be scarcely less laborious than that of the caste table.

67. As regards the main vernaculars, however, the classification prescribed by Dr. Grierson has, under the directions of the Census Commissioner, been adopted by distributing all persons returned as speaking Hindi or Marathi in each district under the language or dialect to which the Hindi or Marathi of the district is shown by the Linguistic Survey to belong. The Hindi of the Central Provinces is thus divided into three languages—Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi, and Rajasthani. These are classed as three provincial vernaculars. Marathi, Oriya,¹ and Telugu are also taken as provincial vernaculars. The Dravidian, and Munda or Kolarian groups each include, according to the Linguistic Survey, a number of distinct languages, belonging to the different tribes. But several of these are scarcely returned at the census; and moreover, tribal vernaculars such as Gadaba, Kharia, Kol, or Korku, though scientifically distinct, cannot be regarded for administrative purposes as worthy to be placed on the same level of importance as Hindi, Marathi, or Oriya. Scarcely anybody outside the tribes themselves can speak them, and the most important point in connection with their distribution is the total number of persons returning any of them in each district, as this more or less represents the population which has no cognisance of any district vernacular spoken by Government officials. The Munda and Dravidian groups are then taken each as one vernacular of the Province, and a ninth, called Gipsy dialects, is formed of miscellaneous terms, returned either by wandering tribes, or which cannot be classified under any of the languages already mentioned. Under the above nine languages or groups of languages classed as vernaculars of the Province, 99·67 per cent. of the population are included; and it will be convenient to notice their distribution and relative importance in order, including also such information regarding them as the Director of the Linguistic Survey has been good enough to furnish.

¹The spelling is that prescribed by Dr. Grierson as correct.

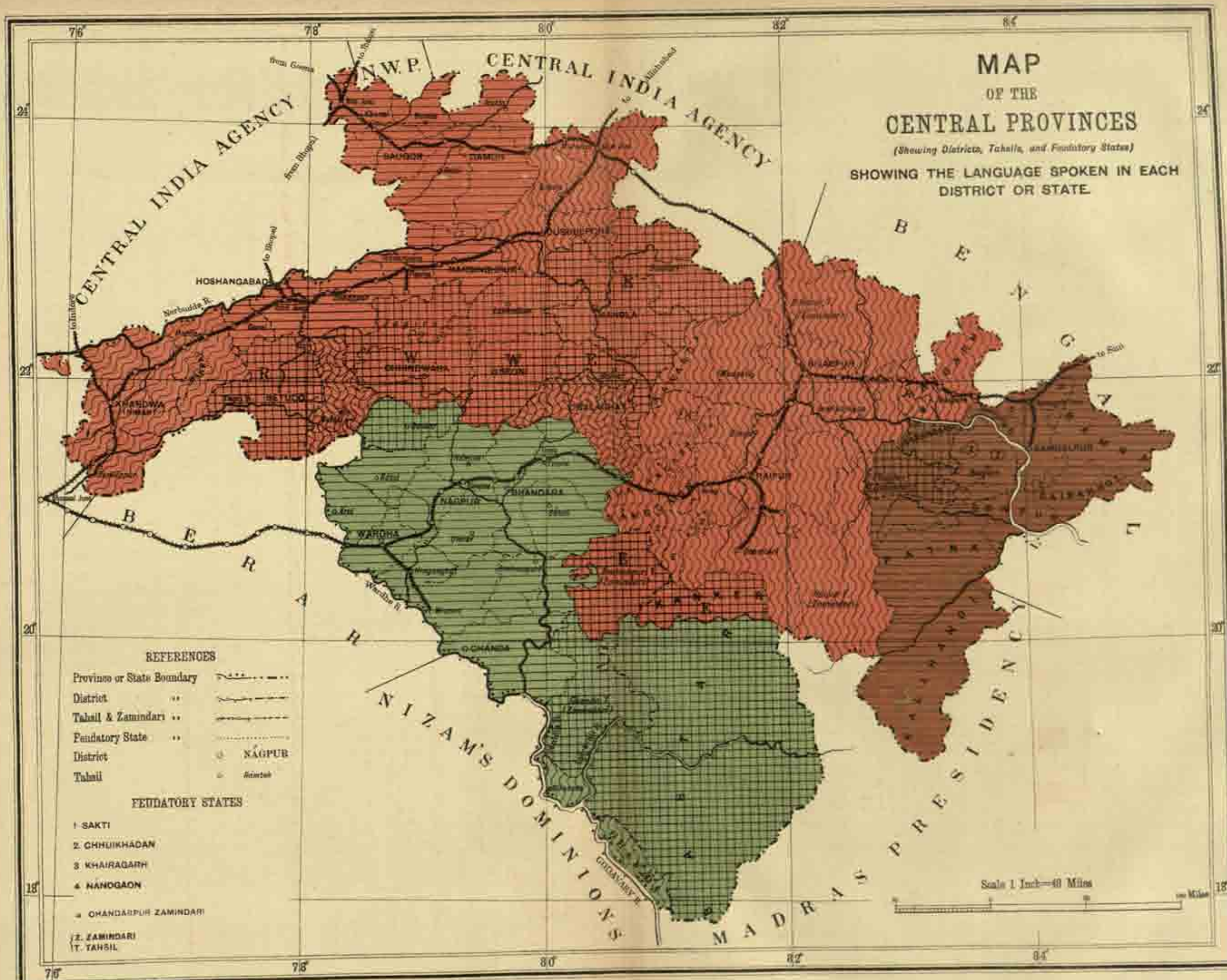
68. The Hindi of the Provinces as already stated is divided by the Survey into three languages—Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi, and Rajasthani. The total number of persons speaking each language including dialects is shown below, and also the percentage to the total of all three :—

			Persons.	Percentage.
Western Hindi	..	...	1,934,006	28
Eastern Hindi	...	...	4,336,941	64
Rajasthani	...	...	511,253	8

The total number of persons speaking all three languages is 6,782,200 or 57 per cent. of the population of the Provinces. These languages do not differ much in vocabulary but mainly in inflection, and taken together they constitute the body of the population of the thirteen districts for which Hindi is the court language. Out of the total population of these thirteen districts 85 per cent. speak one of the above three languages and 15 per cent. speak other languages. In nine Feudatory States the Chhattisgarhi dialect of Eastern Hindi is also the principal vernacular. The origin of Eastern and Western Hindi is described by Dr. Grierson as follows :—

'In the early centuries after the Christian era there were two main languages or Prakrits spoken in the Jamna and Ganges Valleys. These were Sauraseni spoken in the west, its head-quarters being the Upper Doab, and Magadhi spoken in the east, with its head-quarters south of the present city of Patna. Between these two there was a debatable ground roughly corresponding to the present Province of Oudh, in which a mixed language, known as Ardha-Magadhi or half Magadhi was spoken, partaking partly of the character of Sauraseni and partly of that of Magadhi. We know that all the languages of the eastern group (Bengali, Oriya, &c.) are descended from Magadhi, and that the group of closely connected languages, of which Western Hindi may be taken as the type, is directly descended from Sauraseni. It now remains to state that this mixed language or Ardha-Magadhi was the parent of modern Eastern Hindi. The name Hindi is popularly applied to all the various Aryan languages spoken between the Punjab and the Mahanadi from west to east, and between the Himalayas and the Nerbudda from north to south. From these Bihari and the languages of Rajputana (Rajasthani) must be subtracted, and there remain the languages spoken in the basins of the Jamna and the Ganges. These divide themselves into two main groups, entirely distinct from one another, a western and an eastern. The western includes among others Bundeli and the standard Hindustani which forms the *lingua franca* of the greater part of India. These dialects are various forms of one language which I call Western Hindi. The eastern group includes three dialects, Awadhi, Bagheli and Chhattisgarhi, which together form Eastern Hindi.'

69. Western Hindi is the language of the east of the Punjab and the west of the North-Western Provinces. It occupies the country between Punjabi and Eastern Hindi, which latter goes as far west as Cawnpore and includes the whole of Oudh. Urdu or Hindustani is included as a dialect of this language, and to it also belongs the Hindi court language of the Central Provinces, which is called by Dr. Grierson the Sanskritised or non-Persianised form of Hindustani, the difference between the two being that



REFERENCES.

Number.	Language.	Tint.	District, Tahsil, or State.
1	Western Hindi		Saugor, Damoh, and Narsinghpur Districts, Hoshangabad, Seoni (Malwa), and Sehargarh Tahsils.
2	Eastern Hindi		Jubbulpore, Raipur, and Bilaspur Districts, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhukhadan, Khandwa, Seoni, and Raigarh States, and Chanderpur Zamindari.
3	Rajasthani		Nimar District, Harda Tahsil, and Makrai State.
4	Tribal dialects and Western Hindi mixed.		Seoni District, and Chhindwara Tahsil including Jagirs.
5	Tribal dialects and Eastern Hindi mixed.		Mandla District, Bilhar Tahsil, Kanker State, and Brahmapur Tahsil Zamindari.
6	Tribal dialects and Rajasthani mixed.		Betul Tahsil.
7 ^a	Hindi and Marathi mixed.		Mulital and Balaghat Tahsils.
8	Marathi		Nagpur, Wardha, and Shandara Districts, and Warora Tahsil, and Chanda and Brahmapur Tahsil Kholsa.
9	Tribal dialects and Marathi mixed.		Chanda Tahsil Zamindari, Sausar Tahsil, and Bastar State.
10	Telugu		Sironcha Tahsil.
11	Oriya		Sambalpur District excluding Chanderpur and Phuljar Tahsils, and Boma, Raikhol, Sonpur, Patna, and Kalahandi States.
12	Oriya and Hindi mixed.		Sarangarh State and Phuljar Zamindari.

a.—The Hindi of Mulital Tahsil is Rajasthani, that of Balaghat Eastern Hindi.

B. B.—When two languages are given the strength of the second one is more than 25 per cent. of the population.

Court Hindi avoids the free use of Arabic and Persian words which characterises Urdu, and substitutes Sanskrit derivatives. The Bundeli dialect of Western Hindi forms the main vernacular of six districts—Saugor, Damoh, Seoni, Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad and Chhindwara, and includes the Hindi spoken in Nagpur, Wardha, and Bhandara. The dialects spoken by the Bhumia Gonds of Narsinghpur and the Lodhis of Balaghat also belong to Bundeli, the latter being Bundeli corrupted by Marathi. In Saugor, Damoh and Narsinghpur there are, as already stated, special local forms of the dialect. Bundeli differs from Court Hindi, which may be considered to be the ordinary vernacular spoken by Europeans, in some points of inflection. In Bundeli the long *a* of the terminations of substantives and adjectives is changed into *o*, as *ghoro* for *ghora*: '*Murwaro achchho shahar hai*'—'Murwara is a fine city.' The change is also made in the participial form of verbs; as *khao* for *khaya*. Another tendency is to leave out the aspirate if it is not the initial letter of a word. *Pahila* (first) would be '*paila*,' *pahar* (3 hours) '*pair*' and so on. The '*ko*' of the oblique case is also changed to *e*, as '*Tum bazare gayo hate*' for '*Tum bazar ko gaye the*.' If the root of a verb ends in *a* it is changed into *ai* to form the verbal noun as '*khaibo*' from *khana*. In the future the termination '*ga*' is not used in Bundeli. The tense is formed by adding to the root the terminations of the substantive verb *hona*, 'to be,' '*Wah karega*' 'he will do,' will be '*u kar hai*' in Bundeli. The past tense '*tha*,' '*the*' is changed to '*hato*,' '*hate*,' and the long *a* in the termination of the participle is shortened, as for instance '*wah jata tha*' would become '*u jat hato*.' Omitting Urdu, Bundeli is spoken by 1,803,591 persons, or 15 per cent. of the population.

70. The total number of persons returning Urdu is 130,415 as against 158,332 in 1891 or a decrease of 18 per cent. Urdu is practically solely returned by Mahomedans, only 1,015 of its speakers belonging to other religions. Fifty-six Christians are returned as speaking it. As the number of Mahomedans has varied by less than 1 per cent. since 1891, the decrease must be due to the fact that the language is losing its popularity among the followers of this religion. The Nagpur Division contains the largest proportion of persons speaking it, with 72,556, of which Nagpur District contributes nearly 40,000. It is largely spoken by Mahomedans in Nagpur and Kamptee Cities. The district figures show considerable variation since last census, the largest decreases having occurred in Jubbulpore and Hoshangabad.

71. Eastern Hindi is the language spoken in Oudh and the centre of the North-Western Provinces, being bounded by Western Hindi on the west and Bihari on the east. Three main dialects of this language are classified by Dr. Grierson—Awadhi, the dialect of Oudh, Bagheli, that of Baghelkhand or Riwa, and Chhattisgarhi. Awadhi and Bagheli are, however, practically identical and are only separated by him in deference to popular custom. Under the two dialects of Bagheli and Chhattisgarhi, Eastern Hindi is spoken in the Central Provinces by 4,336,941 persons or 37 per cent. of the population of the Province. It is the commonest language.

72. Bagheli in the Central Provinces is the vernacular of Jubbulpore and Mandla, of the Marars in Balaghat, the Kewats in Chanda, and the Potwars in Seoni, Bhandara and Balaghat. In Jubbulpore Bagheli and Bundeli are mixed, the east of the district speaking almost pure Bagheli and the west pure Bundeli. In Mandla the dialect is locally called Manillaha or Gondwari, and with the exception of about half the

Gonds, who speak proper Gondi, is the vernacular of the whole district. This dialect has some forms resembling Chhattisgarhi. Some distinctive points of Bagheli pointed out by Dr. Grierson are that the ante-penultimate vowel is shortened in inflection as *chakar* a servant, *chak(a)ranse* from the servants. There is a tendency to change *w* to *b* as *aba* he came, *jabab* an answer. The locative termination is *ma* instead of *men*. The genitive of the personal pronoun is *mor*, *tor*. 'Own' is '*apan*,' oblique *ap(a)ne*, not *apna*. The termination of the future is formed with an '*h*' as *kahihaun*, 'I will say.' The expletive *tai* is added to the past tense of verbs as *det-rahā-tai*, 'he was giving.' Ponwari is returned from Seoni, Bhandara and Balaghat. It is a jargon the basis of which is the Bagheli found in Mandla, mixed up very freely with forms coming from the original home of the tribe in Western Rajputana and with Marathi. The fact that these Ponwars speak Bagheli appears to give ground for a conjecture that they must have come into the southern districts from Jubbulpore and Mandla, and not directly from the west of the Provinces, as the castes immigrating from this direction have dialects of Rajasthani. The Marars of Balaghat have another dialect resembling that of Mandla, but with some forms which appear to be derived from the Kanauji spoken in the east centre of the Gangetic Doab. Marari has not been returned at the census.

73. The Chhattisgarhi dialect of Eastern Hindi is the main vernacular of Raipur and Bilaspur, and the six States of Kanker, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan, Kawardha, and Sakti.

It is also spoken in the north-east of Chanda in the Ambagarh Chauki Zamindari, in the east of Balaghat in the Raigarh, Saletkri, and Chauria Zamin-daris, in part of Bastar, and the greater part of Raigarh and Sarangarh, and the Chandarpur and Phuljhar Zamin-daris of Sambalpur. So far as Hindi is spoken in the other five Oriya States it is also Chhattisgarhi. In Balaghat the name of the local Chhattisgarhi is Khaltahi, which means the language spoken in the Khaloti, or lowlands, the name applied in Balaghat to the Chhattisgarh plain; and in Sambalpur it is called Laria, which is also the local name of Chhattisgarhi.

District or State.	Number of persons speaking Chhattisgarhi.	Percent-age on popula-tion.	District or State.	Number of persons speaking Chhattisgarhi.	Percent-age on popula-tion.
Chanda	29,875	5	Kawardha	55,967	99
Balaghat	144,688	44	Sakti	22,087	90
Raipur	1,251,892	88	Raigarh	140,466	80
Bilaspur	938,708	93	Sarangarh	58,666	73
Sambalpur	156,362	19	Bamra	6,588	5
Bastar	21,139	7	Rairakhol	329	1
Kanker	60,433	38	Soopet	1,956	1
Nandgaon	118,260	94	Patna	5,377	2
Khairagarh	131,003	95	Kalahandi	7,859	2
Chhuikhadan	26,135	99			

The marginal statement gives the number of persons who speak Chhattisgarhi in each district and State and their percentage on the population. In the Northern Zamindaris of Bilaspur, Bagheli is apparently spoken to some extent, and indeed these Zamindaris belong geographically and ethnologically as much if not more to the Jubbulpore Division than to Chhattisgarh. Chhattisgarhi is thus the vernacular of over three millions of the population, and is more important than any other single main dialect or language in the Provinces.

74. It does not differ so much from the Bagheli dialect as is commonly supposed, and Dr. Grierson is of opinion that if a Chhattisgarhi speaker was set down in Oudh he would find himself at home with the language of the locality in a week. The termination

Chhattisgarhi continued.

of the past tense in 'is' as 'kahis,' he said, 'maris,' he struck, which is what everybody notices in Chhattisgarhi, is 'pre-eminently the typical shibboleth of 'a speaker of Eastern Hindi, and is commonly heard in Calcutta from servants 'belonging to Oudh.' It is interesting to note that these words are really the relics of a passive formation, the correct word being 'mar-y-as,' which means 'it was struck by him.' The use of 'o' instead of 'e' for the genitive of the personal pronouns as *mor*, *tor*, my, thy, also belongs to all the Eastern Hindi dialects, as also the past tense 'bhaye,' was, and the use of 'rahana' for the past imperfect 'dekhat roheun,' I was seeing.¹ Peculiarities of Chhattisgarhi noted by Dr. Grierson are the formation of the plural in 'man' as 'laikaman,' 'boys,' the instrumental in 'an' as 'bhukhan,' by hunger, and the addition of 'har' to a noun to give definition as 'gar-har,' the neck. This last belongs also to the Bihari of Chota Nagpore. Dr. Grierson is of opinion that the Eastern Hindi of Chhattisgarh found its way through Jubbulpore and Mandla, being introduced by the Aryans who originally settled there. But he also thinks that this happened in comparatively late times, which conflicts with the idea that it was the language of the Haihaibansis of Ratanpur. Thenceforth, owing to its geographical isolation, the dialect developed its peculiarities. The following are sub-dialects of Chhattisgarhi; Baigani, spoken by the Baigas and Binjhals in the eastern districts; the number estimated by Dr. Grierson is 7,100, but only 2,633 are returned at the census; and Kalanga and Bhulia, caste dialects found in Patna. These have hitherto been considered as dialects of Oriya because they are written in the character of this language; but they are really Chhattisgarhi. Kalanga is returned at the census by 620 persons and Bhulia is not returned. Dhuri, returned by 81 persons from Bastar, is the dialect of the caste of that name, whose occupation is to parch grain. It has been classed under Chhattisgarhi. Sadri Kol is a dialect spoken by Kols in Bamra. It belongs not to Chhattisgarhi but to Bihari. The word Sadri applied to any dialect means the Aryan language of the locality as spoken by the aboriginal tribes. Thus Sadri Korwa means the Chhattisgarhi spoken by Korwas, Sadri Kol the Bihari spoken by Kols.²

75. Rajasthani, the third of the languages under which the Hindi of the Central Provinces is divided, is the name given to the dialects of Rajputana. It has four main dialects, Mewati, Malwi, Jaipuri and Marwari. Of these only Malwi and Marwari are found in the Central Provinces. The vernacular returned as Hindi from the Harda Tahsil of Hoshangabad, and from Betul and Nimar, is classified under the Malwi dialect, to which it is assigned in the rough lists. Nimari is a south-eastern dialect of Rajputana closely allied to Malwi, but influenced by Marathi. It is said to be a mixture of Marathi, Hindi and Gujarati. This is the dialect spoken in the northern part of the district, which forms part of the country called Nimawar, formerly partitioned between Holkar and Sindhia. In the Survey lists the whole population of Nimar, with the exception of the numbers speaking Marathi and other foreign languages, is shown under Nimari. But it has been returned at the census by only 37,903 persons or 12 per cent. of the total of the district. The entries of Hindi have, therefore, been classified under Rajasthani. Marwari, also a dialect of Rajasthani, is spoken by immigrants from Marwar who are settled in all districts of the Provinces. The numbers returning it are 30,941 as against 22,366 at last census.

¹ From a Note on Chhattisgarhi by Dr. Grierson. ² From Dr. Grierson's Indexes to Languages.

Distinctive features of Rajasthan.

76. The following information is reproduced from a note furnished by Dr. Grierson:—

The Rajasthani dialects form a group among themselves, differentiated from Western Hindi on the one hand, and from Gujarati on the other hand. They are entitled to the dignity of being classed as together forming a separate independent language. They differ much more widely from Western Hindi than does, for instance, Punjabi. Under any circumstances they cannot be classed as dialects of Western Hindi. If they are to be considered as dialects at all, then they are dialects of Gujarati. The pronunciation of the Rajasthani dialects is well marked especially towards the west. As in Gujarati, there is a strong tendency to cerebralise the letter *n* when it is medial or final. The broad sound of *a* as in the word *all* is frequent, especially when the vowel is nasalised at the end of a word. There is a cockney tendency to drop the letter *h*, and as is also the case in other parts of India, *c* and *ch* are commonly pronounced as if they were *s*. In a portion of the Malwa country known as the "Sundwar" an *s* is regularly pronounced as *h* so that the inhabitants call their home "Hundwar." I had a servant in Betul who always said *Azri taiyar 'di*, and it is interesting to note that it is a linguistic peculiarity, and not, as would naturally be imagined, acquired from Europeans. Rajasthani and all the other languages from Oudh westwards differ principally in inflection. The vocabulary is nearly the same throughout. Some distinguishing points of the Malwi dialect are as follows:—The oblique form of the noun is in *ā* instead of *e*; '*ghora ka*' or '*ghora-ra*,' of a horse; '*ghora ne*, *ghora ko*,' to a horse; the agent is formed with *e* without any postposition '*ghore lut mara*,' the horse kicked. It has a plural formed by suffixing *hor*; the declensional base of the pronoun is *ma*, *ta*, not *muj*, *tuj*; *maññ*, *mase*, from me; *maro*, mine; *mhen*, we. The first person plural of the verb ends in *aun*, *mhen* or *apan chalaun*, we go. The use of *ap* to mean 'we' when the 'we' includes the person addressed is an idiom apparently borrowed from the Dravidian or Munda languages. The future tense, called by Dr. Grierson the periphrastic future, is formed as in Hindi by suffixing an adjective, probably a participle, to the present subjunctive. Thus Malwi has *chalaun-ga* corresponding to the Hindi *chalun-ga* which probably means 'I am gone' (*ga*), that I may go (*chalun*). Instead of forming the periphrastic or ordinary present with the present participle and substantive verb, Rajasthani uses the simple present and the verb substantive. Thus *mun chalun hun*, I am going, *thun chale he*, thou art going, instead of *main chalta hun*, *tu chalta hai*. There are other points of difference, but the above are selected from Dr. Grierson's Skeleton Grammar to show the distinctive features of Rajasthani, now for the first time classed as a vernacular of the Province. 'Rajasthani is closely connected with the Indo-Aryan dialects of the Himalayas. The connection of the various nationalities is both political and linguistic. The resemblance between Naipali and Kumauni, and Rajasthani has long been recognised, but the resemblance extends all along the Himalayas as far west at least as Chamba. Nay, even the Gujars, who wander through the hills beyond our North-Western Frontier and over the *margs* of Kashmir, speak a language which in its grammatical form is essentially the same as that of Jaipur.'

77. The total number of persons speaking Rajasthani is 511,253, or 4 per cent. of the population. It includes several caste dialects spoken in other districts, among which Bhoyari, Kir, and Katiyai are the most important. Bhoyari is the dialect of the Bhoyars of Betul, Chhindwara and Wardha. It is only provisionally classed by Dr. Grierson as a dialect of Rajasthani. The Bhoyars, as already stated, claim to be a caste of debased Rajputs; their story is that when the town of Dhar in Central India was besieged two or three centuries ago, their ancestors were set to defend a part of the wall. But they gave way and fled into the town as the sun was rising, and it shone on their faces. Hence they were called Bhoyar, from a word '*bhor*' which means morning, because they were seen running away in the morning. They were outcasted by the other Rajputs and migrated to the Central Provinces. The names of their family sections or *gots* and their caste customs do not support the theory of Rajput descent; one sub-caste keeps pigs. From what Dr. Grierson now says it is clear that no deduction as to their origin can be drawn from their language; their dialect may be simply a mixture of the Malwi spoken in Betul with their original non-Aryan language. Kir is the dialect of the Kirs of Narsinghpur who are supposed to have immigrated from Jaipur. It is not returned at the census. It is doubtful whether Katiyai, the dialect of the Katias in Narsinghpur and Chhindwara, should be classed as Rajasthani or Marathi. The Katias are a low weaving caste, apparently with a functional origin and recruited both from the north and south of the Provinces. They have no legend of immigration from Rajputana. Gujarari does not appear in the survey lists of the Central Provinces, but is returned at the census from Nimar by 1,264 persons. It is shown as a dialect of the Gujars in the Punjab.

78. *Bhili* is returned from Nimar by 11,263 persons and from Kanker by 34. The numbers returned are little more than half those of last census. It has been shown in the Tables as a dialect of Rajasthani, which is not strictly correct, as will appear from the following remarks of Dr. Grierson:—'The Bhil languages are those of the Bhils of Rajputana and the neighbourhood, and of the wild tribes that inhabit the hills to the east of Gujarat and Khandesh. For most of them the survey has as yet failed to obtain a single specimen, and I do not even know under what family of speech—Aryan, Munda or Dravidian—I should class them. All that I can say is that the Bhils of Rajputana or at least some of them, speak a corrupt Gujarati, and curiously enough the same is the case with a wild tribe, apparently an isolated off-shoot of the Bhils, found in Midnapore in Bengal.' Bhili then, so far as it can be classified at all, should be shown as a dialect of Gujarati, and was entered in the Tables as Rajasthani under a misapprehension. The error is, however, not serious, as the Rajasthani dialects themselves resemble Gujarati more than any other language, and it is probable that the Bhili of Nimar has borrowed to some extent from the surrounding vernacular. It is also the local opinion that the Bhili of Nimar resembles the Nimar dialect much more than Gujarati, and it has been seen that Dr. Grierson is doubtful. The decrease of persons speaking it is probably due simply to the fact that the vernacular of a number of Bhils has been shown as Nimari instead of Bhili; Nimari was scarcely returned in 1891. The number of Bhils has slightly increased, being 22,323 as against 21,460 in 1891. The Bhili returned from Kanker may have some connection with the Midnapore colony noticed by Dr. Grierson. Small numbers of Bhils are returned from

Sambalpur and some other districts, but they may be simply emigrant coolies or labourers.

79. The number of persons returning Marathi is 2,227,046, or 19 per cent. of the population. It is the main vernacular of four districts and is also largely spoken in the Burhanpur Tahsil of Nimar, the Multai Tahsil of Betul, the Sausar Tahsil of Chhindwara, and the Balaghat Tahsil of Balaghat. The percentage of population in each district where it is largely spoken is shown in the marginal statement. It does not, however, form the exclusive vernacular of any district in the same way as Hindi; the highest percentage of Marathi speakers is 79 in Wardha. In Chanda only 64 per cent. of the population return Marathi. Owing to the inclusion at the present census of Halbi as a dialect of Marathi, over 100,000 persons in Bastar are transferred to this language.

80. Three main dialects of Marathi are distinguished in the Linguistic Survey—Berari, or that spoken in Berar; Nagpuri,¹ or the impure dialect of the Nagpur country; and the standard Marathi of Poona. Under the Berari dialect is included practically all the Marathi of Wardha, and also that returned from Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad and Betul, the reason being no doubt that the immigration of Marathi speakers into these districts has been from Berar. 'The Marathi of Burhanpur,' Dr. Grierson says, 'is continuous with that of Khandesh rather than with that of Berar. The people still talk of Burhanpur Tahsil as Khandesh, and it is cut off from Berar by a wild range of hills.' Burhanpur was formerly the residence of the Governors of Khandesh. Ahirani returned by 314 people from Burhanpur Tahsil is there considered to be a different dialect from Khandeshi, but in Khandesh itself the two terms are synonymous. Ahirani is spoken by Sonars in Burhanpur. Nagpuri, the name provisionally given by Dr. Grierson to the impure Nagpur dialect, is spoken in that district and also in Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat and Chhindwara, and by all Marathi immigrants into Chhattisgarh and the Feudatory States. This distribution is perhaps to be accounted for by the hypothesis that immigration into the districts has been from the Nagpur country, after the Marathas had been settled there for a considerable period, and their dialect had acquired its distinctive features. Two sub-dialects of Nagpuri are shown in the table. 44,042 persons are returned as speaking Koshti, principally in the Nagpur District. Koshti is simply a jargon of Nagpuri, and most Koshtis have really no distinctive dialect. Kosri is returned by 1,178 persons from the Nagpur Division. It does not appear in Dr. Grierson's lists, but is reported by the Deputy Commissioner, Bhandara, to be a mixture of Marathi and Hindi and belongs apparently to the Kosras, who are a sub-caste of Mahars. It is probably the same as Dhedi or Mahari, which is shown in the Survey lists as a dialect spoken by 19,000 Mahars in Chhindwara and Chanda, but has only been returned by 284 persons at the census. The Marathi of Saugor, Damoh and Jubbulpore is the standard language of Poona. This appears to be an interesting historical survival of the fact that the Saugor territories were governed direct from Poona by emissaries of the Peshwa, and never fell under the dominion of the

¹ I have just received a note from Dr. Grierson as this chapter is in proof. The survey has now got as far as Marathi, and it is found that Nagpuri as a separate dialect has disappeared. It is identical with Berari.

Bhonsla family. Goanese, spoken by 124 persons in different districts, is classed by Dr. Grierson as a dialect of standard Marathi; on a reference being made to him as to whether it was simply a dialect of Marathi without admixture from any European language, he states, 'there is Goanese and Goanese. The true 'Goanese' is simply Konkani Marathi, *i. e.*, the Marathi of the South Konkan. 'But it is often mixed up with Portuguese words, especially, I am told, round Goa 'itself.'

81. The last dialect of Marathi is Halbi or Bastari, that belonging to the Halbas, but spoken over a large area in Bastar by all castes. It is returned by nearly 8,000 persons in British districts, principally in Chanda and Raipur, and by over 100,000 in Bastar. It has hitherto been considered as Hindi, but in the Linguistic Survey is found to be certainly Marathi, 'a very interesting dialect by which Marathi merges into Oriya.' The Halbas are believed to be a non-Aryan tribe, who, however, have practically all adopted Hinduism, and are in most places civilised cultivators. Their legend of their origin is thus reported in an interesting note by Mr. Gokul Prasad, Naib Tahsildar of Dhamtari:—'One of the Oriya Rajas had erected 'four scarecrows in his field to keep off the birds. One night Mahadeo and Parbati were walking on the earth and happened to pass 'that way, and Parbati saw them, and asked what they were. When 'it was explained to her, she thought that as they had excited her 'interest something should be done for them, and accordingly Mahadeo at her 'request gave them life and they became two men and two women. Next morning they presented themselves before the Raja and told him what had happened. 'The Raja said: "Since you have come on earth you must have a caste. Run 'after Mahadeo and find out what caste you should belong to." So they ran after 'Mahadeo and were fortunate in catching him up before the heat of the day came 'on, and he took his departure for a cooler climate. When they asked him, 'Mahadeo told them that as they had excited his and Parbati's attention by waving 'in the wind they should be called Halba, from *halna*, to wave. They then entered the service of the Raja of Jagannathpuri. The manner in which they 'came to settle in Bastar and Kanker was owing to their having accompanied one 'of the Rajas of Jagannath, who was afflicted with leprosy, to the Sihawa jungles, 'where he was miraculously healed in a pool of water. The Halbas settled there 'and afterwards spread to Bastar and Bilaspur.' The above story indicates a non-Aryan extraction, and several of their family or section names are those of other castes as Bhandari, Rawat, Sawara, Bhoi, and others. They are also divided into two sub-castes in Raipur—Nekha and Surait, the former being descended from Halbas alone and the latter from intermarriages of Halbas with other castes. These facts are in favour of their having been a functional serving caste. On the other hand, the reports about them from the Maratha districts say nothing of this story, but suppose them to have come from Warangal in the Deccan. The same caste is also found in Berar, where they are principally tailors. Dr. Grierson is confident that all the Halbi specimens of the Central Provinces are Marathi,¹ and under these circumstances it is not clear how the tribe comes to have a tradition of Oriya origin and some Oriya names. But the case may be one

¹Since the survey has reached Marathi Dr. Grierson finds that Halbi is not so distinctively a dialect of this language as he at first thought. 'It is a mongrel dialect mixed up of Marathi, Chhattisgarhi and Oriya, the proportions varying according to locality. In Bhandara it is nearly all Marathi. In Bastar it is much more mixed and has some forms which look like Telugu.' It is probable that Halba is largely a functional caste; the name may be derived from 'hal,' a plough, and mean farm-servant.

of those to which the following remarks of Mr. Risley are applicable:—'In truth legends of this kind are for the most part a highly unprofitable study. As often as not they refer to some recent migration of a comparatively small section of the tribe, and it is hopeless to expect that they should contain the clue to any really ancient history. Barbarous people have no means of handing down a statement of fact for any length of time. Writing is unknown to them, and they have no form of poetry or modulated prose suited to the preservation of the early traditions of their race.'¹ As already noted, in Bastar the dialect is generally spoken in the north and east of the State.

82. The number of persons speaking Oriya is 1,608,705, or 13·5 per cent. of the population. It is the main vernacular of Sambalpur (74 per cent.) and of the five States of Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi. It is also spoken by a number of persons in the south-east of Raipur (6 per cent.) and partly in Raigarh (15 per cent.) and Sarangarh (24 per cent.). In Bastar the Bhatti dialect has now been classed as Oriya and this brings something over 6 per cent. of the population under the language. The following is taken from the chapter on Oriya in the Linguistic Survey:—'Oriya, with Bengali, Bihari, and Assamese, forms one of the four speeches which together make up the eastern group of the Indo-Aryan languages. Its grammatical construction closely resembles that of Bengali. It has the same weak sense of number, and as in Bengali, when the plural has to be signified, it must be done with the aid of some noun of multitude. In the case of living rational beings, this noun of multitude is the word *mane*, which is said to mean literally "men." In the case of other nouns it is usually some word meaning "all." It has one great advantage over Bengali in the fact that, as a rule, it is pronounced as it is spelt. Each letter in each word is clearly sounded, and it has been well described as "comprehensive and poetical, with a pleasant sounding and musical intonation, and by no means difficult to acquire and master." The Oriya verbal system is at once simple and complete. It has a long array of tenses, but the whole is so logically arranged, and built upon so regular a model, that its principles are easily impressed upon the memory. An archaic character both of form and vocabulary runs through the whole language, and is no doubt to be accounted for by geographical position. Orissa has ever been an isolated country, bounded on the east by the ocean and on the west by hilly tracts, inhabited by wild aboriginal tribes, and bearing an evil reputation for air and water * * *. On the other hand, Orissa has been a conquered nation. For eight centuries it was subject to the kings of Telinga, and in modern times it was for fifty years under the sway of the Bhonslas of Nagpur; both of whom left deep impressions of their rule upon the country. On the language they imposed a number of Telugu and Marathi words and idioms, respectively, which still survive. These are, so far as we know, the only foreign elements which have intruded themselves into Oriya, except the small vocabulary of English court terms, and a few other English expressions which English domination and education have brought into vogue.'

83. Oriya is remarkably free from dialectic variation. The well-known saying, which is true all over the north of India, "that the language changes every ten kos" does not hold in Orissa. In fact, the only real dialect mentioned by Dr. Grierson is the Bhatti dialect of Bastar.

Character of Oriya

¹ Tribes and Castes of Bengal—Art. Kharia.

'Oriya is encumbered with the drawback of an excessively awkward written character. This character is, in its basis, the same as Deva-Nagari; but is written by the local scribes with a stylus on a talipot palm leaf. The scratches are in themselves legible; but in order to make them more plain, ink is rubbed over the surface of the leaf and fills up the furrows which form the letters. The palm leaf is excessively fragile, and any scratch in the direction of the grain tends to make it split. So a line of writing on the long narrow leaf is necessarily in the direction of the grain, and this peculiarity prohibits the use of the straight top line or *matra*, which is a distinguishing characteristic of the Deva-Nagari character. For this the Orissa scribe is compelled to substitute a series of curves which almost surround each letter. It requires remarkably good eyes to read an Oriya printed book, for the exigencies of the printing press compel the type to be small, and the greater part of each letter is this curve, which is the same in nearly all, while the real soul of the characters by which one is distinguished from another, is hidden in the centre, and is so minute that it is often difficult to see. At first glance an Oriya book seems to be all curves, and it takes a second look to notice that there is something inside each.'

84. 18,483 persons have been returned from Bastar as speaking Bhatrī
 Bhatrī. at this census as against 29,414 in 1891; the decrease in the numbers is therefore 10,931 persons, or 37 per cent. on the figures of last census. In the Linguistic Survey lists the numbers shown against Bhatrī are 17,387, so it seems probable that the return of this census is approximately correct, the decrease being due to more careful supervision of the entries. As regards this dialect, Dr. Grierson says: 'The Bhatras are an aboriginal tribe found almost solely in the north-east of the State of Bastar between the Raipur and Jagdalpur Zamindaris. They are said to be a sub-tribe of Gonds, and their language has hitherto been classed as a form of Gondi. Bhatrī is really a corrupt form of Oriya with a few Marathi and Chhattisgarhi words intermingled. It may be taken as the connecting link between that language and Halbi, which is certainly a dialect of Marathi, and not a corruption of Chhattisgarhi as has been hitherto supposed. A feature of the dialect is its omission of aspirates. For instance, *ukum*, not *hukum*, is an order, and *ache*, not *achhe*, is "is."'

85. The number of Telugu speakers is 106,071 as against 117,132 in 1891, or a decrease of 11,061 persons, and 10 per cent. on the figures of last census. The difference is really greater than this, because the Golarī dialect returned by 3,490 persons is included in Telugu at this census, but was classed as a dialect of Canarese in 1891. The decrease is probably due to the partial abandonment of their native language by Telugu castes living in Hindi-speaking areas. Out of the total number of speakers, 71,811 belong to Chanda, where Telugu is the vernacular of the Sironcha Tahsil and of the southern part of the Chanda Tahsil. About 8,000 are returned from Bastar, 3,200 from Kalahandi, and 9,400 from Nagpur and Kamptee cities. Telugu is really a Dravidian language, but it has been shown separately as a Provincial vernacular because it is regularly written and taught in the schools.

86. As regards Telugu Dr. Grierson says: 'Telugu as a vernacular is more
 widely spread than Tamil. It occupies practically the whole of the east of the Peninsula till it meets Tamil on the south. To the north it reaches to Chanda in the Central Provinces, and on

Character of Telugu.

'the coast of the Bay of Bengal to Chicacole, where it meets Oriya. To the west it covers half of the Nizam's Dominions. The district thus occupied was called Telingana by the Mahomedans. The Telugu or Telinga language ranks next to Tamil in respect to culture and copiousness of vocabulary and exceeds it in euphony. Every word ends in a vowel, and it has been called the Italian of the East. It used to be named the Guntu language from the Portuguese word meaning "gentile"; but this term has dropped out of use among modern writers. The curved character of the letters is a feature of Telugu, and is due, as in the case of Oriya, to the custom of writing with a stylus on palm leaves, which a series of straight lines would inevitably have split along the grain. Telugu has borrowed many words from Sanskrit and has a considerable literature.'

87. The euphonic nature of Telugu is not appreciated by the people of Nagpur, among whom it is said to sound like stones being rattled in a tin. Golari, Holia or Komtau has been classed at this census as a dialect of Telugu. It is one dialect, spoken by a number of castes—Golars, Holias, Komtis, Kumhars and Salewars, whose native Telugu has undergone some modification by being brought into contact with Marathi. Golars are the Telugu Ahirs, and Holias are a low caste of leather-workers and musicians closely allied with them, the story being as follows:—'Once upon a time two brothers, Golar by caste, set out in search of service. On the way the elder brother went to worship the god, Holiar Deva; but while he was doing so, the bullock accidentally died, and the ceremony could not be proceeded with until the carcass was removed. Neither a Chamar nor anybody else could be got to do it, so at length the younger brother was prevailed upon by the elder one to take away the body. When he returned, the elder brother would not touch him, saying he had lost his caste. The younger brother resigned himself to his fate and called himself Holu, after the god whom he had been worshipping at the time he lost his caste. His descendants were named Holias. But he prayed to the god to avenge him for the black treachery of his brother, and from that moment misfortunes commenced to shower upon the Golar until he repented and made what reparation he could; and in memory of this, whenever a Golar dies, the Holias are feasted by the other Golars to the present day.' These castes have migrated as far north as Seoni and Balaghat. The number of persons returning the dialect is 3,490 as against 3,264 in 1891.

88. The languages spoken by the non-Aryan tribes are divided into two families—Munda or Kolarian, and Dravidian. This distinction of language led to the separation of the tribes into two races, and to theories regarding their origin, which are summarised as follows in the *Imperial Gazetteer*:—'Whence came these primitive peoples whom the Aryan invaders found in the land more than 3,000 years ago, and who are still scattered over India, the fragments of a pre-historic world? Written annals they do not possess. Their oral traditions tell us little, but such hints as they yield feebly point to the North. They seem to preserve dim memories of a time when their tribes dwelt under the shadow of mightier hill ranges than any to be found on the South of the river plains of Bengal. Indeed, the Gonds have a legend that they were created at the foot of Dewalagiri

'peak in the Himalayas. Till lately they buried their dead with the feet turned northwards so as to be ready to start again for their ancient home. But the language of the non-Aryan races, that record of a nation's past more enduring than rock inscriptions or tablets of brass, is being slowly made to tell the secret of their origin. It already indicates that the early peoples of India belonged to three great stocks—the Tibeto-Burman, the Kolarian, and the Dravidian. The Kolarians, the second of the three non-Aryan races, appear to have entered Bengal by the north-eastern passes. They dwell chiefly in the North, and along the north-eastern edge of the three-sided tableland which covers the southern half of India. The Dravidians, or third stock, seem on the other hand to have found their way into the Punjab by the north-western passes. They now inhabit the south of the peninsula. It appears that the two streams, namely the Kolarian tribes from the north-east and the Dravidians from the north-west, had converged and crossed each other in Central India. The Dravidians proved the stronger, broke up the Kolarians, and thrust aside their fragments east and west. The Dravidians then rushed forward in a mighty body to the south.' The above theory was based on the distinction of language and the existing distribution of the tribes. During the Ethnographic Survey of Bengal Mr. Risley proved that there was no real racial distinction between the Kolarian and Dravidian tribes. He says, 'It is clear that the hitherto recognised distinction between Dravidian and Kolarian stocks, concerning which so much has been written during the last twenty years, rests solely upon linguistic peculiarities, and does not correspond to any differences of physical type. The Malé of the Rajmahal hills and the Oraons of Chota Nagpore, both of whom speak languages classed as Dravidian, are identical in point of physique with the Mundas and Santals, who are classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian.'¹

89. As regards the languages the following is taken from a note kindly furnished by Dr. Grierson:—'These languages fall into two connected families, the Dravidian and the Munda. The Dravidian family is well known. The Munda family of late years has been called the "Kolarian," the name being used both for the languages and for the tribes which speak them. Mr. Risley has proved the non-existence of any such distinct race of men, the so-called Kolarians being simply members of the great Dravidian family, and modern researches have confirmed this view, if confirmation was necessary, by showing a clear relationship between the Kolarian and Dravidian languages. The name "Kolarian" itself is objectionable. It was suggested first in the year 1856, although another name was already in the field, under the impression that the Kols, one of the principal of these tribes, were somehow connected with Kolar in Southern India, a thing which has yet to be proved, and it has the grave disadvantage of suggesting to every one who is not a specialist that it has something to do with "Aryan," that, in fact, the speakers of these languages are a mixture of Kols and Aryans, which of course is far from the truth. The "Kolarian" languages were first recognised as a distinct group by the late Professor Max-Müller in the year 1853. He then gave them the name of the Munda family, after one of their principal forms. That name should have been allowed to stand until it was shown to be unsuitable. I therefore adhere to it myself in preference to the altogether fantastic Kolarian.'

¹ Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Introduction, page xlii.

90. 'The relationship which exists between the Munda and Dravidian languages has been fully proved of late years, and is now an admitted fact. It is therefore unnecessary to labour at the subject here. It will suffice to show the broad points of agreement and disagreement between the two families. The declension of nouns is very similar in both, and they both agree in having two genders, one for animate and the other for inanimate things, although Dravidian goes further in classing irrational beings as inanimate. Some of the pronouns are very similar, and both agree in having two forms each of the plural of the first personal pronoun. Many of the suffixes used in the conjugation of the verbs closely agree, both use the relative participle instead of a relative pronoun, and each has a true causal form of the verb. Both are polysyllabic and agglutinative, and both use the same order of words. The vocabularies show many important points of agreement. On the other hand Munda languages possess letters which are unknown in Dravidian; they count by twenties while Dravidian languages count by tens; they have a dual, which Dravidian has not; but they have no negative voice, which Dravidian has. On the whole the type of the Munda languages viewed morphologically is older than that of the Dravidian ones. They apply the agglutinative system more completely and regularly and show much less tendency to euphonic change.'

91. 'Experts are divided as to how the Dravido-Mundas entered India. Some maintain that the Dravidians came from the north-west, and with regard to philology point to coincidences occurring in the Scythian tablet of Darius Hystaspes at Behistun and in some of the Dravidian languages, and also to the existence of a Dravidian language Brahui in Baluchistan. In regard to the former it may be remarked that the points of disagreement are at least as important as those of agreement, and as for the latter, it proves nothing. Brahui may just as well be an advance-guard from the south-east as a rear-guard from the north-west. Another theory which has not received much acceptance of late, is that the Mundas entered India from the north-east. Finally, there is a contention, which agrees best with the facts of philology, that all the Dravido-Mundas came from the south. In dealing with the Mōn-Anam languages I have fully discussed the remarkable points of continuity between them and those of the Munda family, and later researches show equally remarkable points of agreement between both the Munda and Dravidian languages on the one side and those of the aborigines of Australia on the other. The question is, however, one for ethnologists and not for philologists to settle. The points of agreement between Indo-European and Dravidian languages are certainly no more than accidental. The relationship on the other hand with the Turanian, or as they are called the Scythian languages, is a much more complicated question. Dr. Caldwell long ago pointed out striking points of resemblance between these two families, and more especially between the Dravidian languages on the one side and the Finnish, Hungarian and Turkish languages on the other. This, however, is not the place to enter upon the discussion of so large a subject. We must content ourselves with pointing out the vast questions which it raises. It might lead us to looking upon the Dravido-Munda languages as forming a connecting link between that of Finland and those of Australia! The audacity of philologists could hardly go further than this, and yet there is a great deal to be said in favour of the relationship on both sides of the connecting family.'

'It cannot be doubted that languages belonging to the Dravido-Munda group were once spread much more widely over Northern India than we now find them.

'Aryan civilisation and influence have been too much for them. Even at the present day we see the absorption of aboriginal tribes by the Aryans going on before our eyes, and the first thing to yield seems to be the language.'

92. The total number of persons returned as speaking Dravidian dialects, or correctly languages in the Provinces, is 998,648, or 8·4 per cent. of the population. Gondi, Oraon or Kurukh, Kandhi, and Canarese, are those returned. The only one which is of numerical importance is Gondi, which is returned by 892,352 persons as against 1,196,673 in 1891, being equivalent to a decrease of 25 per cent. This decline in the figures is probably to be accounted for by the fact that the broken Hindi, which Dr. Grierson states is in many places described as Gondi, has been to some extent transferred to that language; and it probably also shows that the Gonds are gradually dropping their own speech and adopting those of their Aryan neighbours. The decrease is common to all districts: in Saugor the Deputy Commissioner, on being referred to, states that in the opinion of local officials the Gonds have practically all abandoned their own language. In Jubbulpore Mr. Robertson considers the decrease of 77 per cent. from 24,126 to 5,422 to be correct and to represent the existing facts, though, as stated above, it is partly due to a more accurate distinction between Gondi and Hindi on the part of the census staff.

93. As regards Gondi Dr. Grierson says: 'Its chief peculiarity is its elaborate conjugational system, it being much better supplied with tenses than are its cousins to the south. Bishop Caldwell considered that, as a whole, the language shows a closer connection with Tamil than with its neighbour Telugu. Gondi has no literature and no character of its own, but the Gospels and the book of Genesis have been translated into it. There are several grammatical sketches and vocabularies of the various dialects. The language has numerous dialects, of which the following are the principal. Mari or Maria (59,749) and Parji (8,833), both spoken in the Bastar State. According to some the former is an independent language. Gattu or Gotte (5,483), the former being said to be the correct spelling, is the language of the hill Kois, and is found in Chanda, Vizagapatam and Godavari, and the related Koi or Koya (8,144) in the same locality, as well as in Bastar and the Nizam's territories.' Naiki, another dialect of Chanda, has not been returned at the census. Kolami, a Berar dialect, has been returned by 1,505 persons in Wardha. The total return of Gondi is 46 per cent. on the number of Gonds: rather more than half of the Gonds would appear, therefore, to have abandoned the language. Kandhi has been returned by 54,242 persons as against 66,149 at last census, the resulting decrease being 18 per cent. It is spoken almost solely in Kalahandi. 'Kandh as the Oriyas call it, or Kui as its speakers call it themselves, is the language of the Khonds of the Orissa hills and the neighbourhood. It is unwritten and has no literature, but the Gospel of St. Mark and one book of the Old Testament have been translated into it, the Oriya character being employed to represent its sounds. The language is much more nearly related to Telugu than Gondi, and has the simple conjugation of the verb which distinguishes all the Dravidian languages of the south.' Koi is the name of the Gond language in Chanda, and Dr. Grierson was at first of opinion that there might be some connection between this and Kandhi, but he seems to have abandoned this idea on further study of the Koi dialect of Gondi. The number of speakers of Kandhi

is 32 per cent. of the number of Kandhs¹ in the Central Provinces, and this is an indication of the extent to which the Kandhs have given up their own language. Oraon or Kurukh including Kisan is spoken by 48,670 persons. Oraon as distinct from Kisan is principally spoken in Sambalpur (2,394) and Raigarh (3,422) persons. My assistant, Mr. Hira Lal, has satisfied Dr. Grierson that the Kisan or Kuda of the Central Provinces is a dialect of Oraon. Kuda is an occupational term like Beldar applied to members of many castes, and it is believed that there is no distinct dialect of this name: the term is simply applied to the Dravidian Kisan spoken by Oraons, to whom the name Kuda is given on account of their occupation. Kisan is given by Mr. Risley as a title of Kharias. This does not seem to be the case in the Central Provinces, where the Kisans are much akin to Kudas as shown in the last census report. Mirdha, Munda, Nagbansi, Rautia, and Manjhi were returned as sub-divisions of Kuda at last census, and these terms indicate the mixed origin of the caste. As Kuda and Kisan have not been definitely ascertained to be the same caste, they have been kept separate in the caste table. The Koras of Bengal are stated by Mr. Risley to be probably an offshoot of Mundas and would seem not to be the same as the Kudas. The nomenclature of these tribes is very mixed and confusing, possibly partly on account of a good deal of intermarriage between the tribes themselves. Canarese has also been included in the group of Dravidian languages. It is returned by 3,384 persons as against 5,761 in 1891. Kuramwari, the dialect of the shepherd caste of Chanda, is included in Canarese. Canarese is a written language and is the vernacular of Mysore and the Carnatic.

94. The total number of persons speaking Munda languages is 86,893 or rather less than one per cent. of the population of the Province. The principal languages are Korku (59,082), Kharia (7,498), and Munda or Kol (18,759). 'As explained above, the Munda, sometimes called the Kolarian family, is probably the older branch of the Dravidian Munda languages. It exhibits the characteristics of an agglutinative language to an extraordinarily complete degree. Suffix is piled upon suffix until we obtain words which, to European eyes, seem monstrous in their length, yet which are complete in themselves and every syllable of which contributes its fixed quota to the general signification of the whole. One comparatively simple example of the use of suffixes must suffice. The word *dal* means "strike" and from it we get *dal-ochō-akan-tahen-tae-tin-a-e* which means "He who belongs to him who belongs to me" "will continue letting himself be struck." If we insert the syllable *pa* in the middle of the root, so that we get *dapal*, the beating becomes reciprocal and we have a fight, so that *dapal-ochō-akan-tahen-tae-tin-a-e* means "He who belongs to him" "who belongs to me will continue letting himself be caused to fight." Again, if we substitute *akao-an* for *akan* the same pugnacious individual with a string of owners will, with less disinterestedness, continue causing to fight only for himself. An impression of the enormous number of complex ideas which can thus be formed according to the simplest rules may be gained from the fact that the conjugation of the verb "to strike" in the third person singular alone, occupies nearly a hundred pages in Mr. Skrefsrud's Santali Grammar.'

95. 'As in the case of several Tibeto-Burman tribes, the names which we give to many Munda ones are not those by which their members call themselves, but those which we have

¹The spelling of the caste name follows Mr. Risley's in 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal.'

adopted from their Aryan-speaking neighbours. We also observe the same principle running through the names by which they do call themselves that is so common in the Tibeto-Burmans. Most of the tribes simply call themselves "men," the same word with dialectic variations, Kol, Kora, Korku (simply the plural of Kor) Horo, Hor, or Ho, being used nearly universally. The Indian Aryans have adopted in one case the word "Kol" as a sort of generic name for any of these non-Aryan tribes, and have identified the term with a similarly spelt Sanskrit one meaning "pig," a piece of etymology which, though hardly according to the ideas of European science, is infinitely comforting to those who apply it. The Raj of these Kols is a subject of legend over large tracts of the south side of the Gangetic valley, where not one word of Munda origin has been heard for generations. The name is probably at the bottom of our word coolie, and of the names of one or more important castes which would indignantly deny their Munda origin.

96. The present stronghold of the Munda languages (the people are spread much wider) is the north-east of the Central Plateau of India. The hills of the Santal Parganas, Chota-Nagpore, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, and north-east Madras are full of tribes speaking various forms of the Munda tongue, mixed here and there with advance colonies of people whose speech is Dravidian proper. Crossing the Central Provinces, the mountains of which are mainly occupied by Dravidian tribes, we find the Korkus, also speaking a Munda language, at the north-west end of the plateau where Berar and the Central Provinces meet. Here also we find the Bhils, who have often been credited with speaking a Munda language. It is very probable that they once did so, but so far as I can ascertain, they now all speak a broken Gujarati, a broken Marathi, or a broken Hindi, according to the locality where they happen to live.

97. Korku is spoken in Hoshangabad, Nimar and Betul. Since last census the numbers speaking it have fallen by 15,764 persons, or 21 per cent. The percentage of the caste speaking the language is now 59 as against 82 in 1891. In Crooke's *Ethnography* it is surmised that the Korkus are the same tribe as the Korwas of Mirzapur and Bengal; and it is stated that the Korwas of Chota-Nagpore have a tradition connecting them with the Mahadeo Hills as the first seat of their race. The Mirzapur tribe say that there are two sub-tribes—Korwa and Korâku, and these are given in Mr. Risley's Appendix. Dr. Grierson, however, is of opinion that such a connection is not likely. Kor occurs under various forms in all Munda languages, and only means "man." It is hence over and over again used as a tribal name. Muwasi is a dialect of Korku. Kharia is returned by 7,498 persons, principally from Sambalpur, as against 6,881 at last census. The return of the language is 93 per cent. on the number of Kharias. Kol or Mundari is spoken by 18,759 persons in Sambalpur and the Oriya States, or 90 per cent. of the total Kol population in the Sambalpur District, and 83 per cent. of that in the States. The Kols of Jubbulpore and Mandla have entirely abandoned their language. Since last census the numbers speaking the dialect have increased by 2,606 or 16 per cent.

98. The ninth group consists of the Gipsy dialects used by various tribes of vagrants. The only one of any importance is Labhani, the dialect of the Banjaras, who are found all over India, except in the east. At this census it is returned by 23,654 persons as against 29,271 in 1891 or a reduction of nearly 19 per cent. The percentage of persons speaking the dialect is 46 per cent. on the total number of Banjaras. The districts in which the number of speakers has decreased are Chanda, Raipur, Hoshangabad, Mandla and Bilaspur. But as the Banjaras are a wandering caste not much importance can attach to local variations.

99. Under Class B, in which are classified the speakers of Asiatic languages foreign to the province, 30,685 persons are included. The principal languages are Bengali (1,738), Gujarati (20,409), Punjabi (1,214), and Tamil (6,277). Bengali is generally spoken by immigrants engaged in Government or Railway service. They are principally Brahmans or Kayasths. Ghose, Bose, Dutt, Sirkar, Mitra, are Kayasth names; and Banerji, Chatterji, Mukerji, are Brahman names. Gujarati is spoken by immigrant Bohras and the Cutchis who control the export grain trade in many districts, and by Parsis, and Khedawal Brahmans. It is also to some extent a district vernacular in Nimar (12,707), especially in Burhanpur City, where there is a branch school. Gujarati has increased by 17 per cent. since 1891. Punjabi is spoken by immigrant labourers and contractors. The figures show an increase of 5 per cent. since 1891. The return of Tamil is principally due to the presence of Madras troops. Outside these it is the language of a certain number of persons in Nagpur District. Afghani is returned by 322 persons as against 652 in 1891. It is generally returned by vagrant Afghan pedlars, and their numbers seem to have decreased.

100. The third group of languages contains those not belonging to Asia. These are returned by 8,192 persons. The only important one is English, of which there are 7,699 speakers, being an increase of 555 persons, or 7 per cent. since 1891. Of the speakers of English, 6,781 are Europeans and Eurasians, and 904 are Native Christians. It is also returned by 2 Parsis, 5 Musalmans, and 7 Hindus. Portuguese is spoken by 299 persons, and the other common European languages by a few persons each. There are as at last census some curious entries of Hebrew and Latin which I have not been able to elucidate.

Statement showing the number of persons in 1,000 speaking the Provincial Languages and Chhattisgarhi, Bhatvi and Gondi.

District or State.	SPECIAL DIALECTS.											
	Western Hindi.	Eastern Hindi.	Rajasthani including dialects.	Marathi.	Oriya.	Telugu.	Dravidian dialects.	Munda dialects.	Gypsy dialects.	Chhattisgarhi included in Eastern Hindi.	Bhatvi included in Oriya.	Gondi included in Dravidian dialects.
DISTRICTS.												
Saugar	982	...	1	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Damoh	996	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jubbulpore	10	969	2	3	...	2	8	...	...	...	...	...
Mandla	3	747	...	1	...	...	248	...	...	...	...	...
Seoni	563	51	...	61	...	9	314	...	...	...	...	...
Total Jubbulpore Division	450	439	1	14	...	2	90	...	...	...	...	...
Narsinghpur	993	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hoshangabad	840	...	253	10	...	...	62	...	...	...	...	...
Nimar	44	...	793	140	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Betul	5	...	298	437	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chhindwara	464	...	68	193	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total Nerbudda Division	452	...	273	109	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wardha	67	...	31	385	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nagpur	147	...	3	775	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chanda	16	...	1	616	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhandara	38	...	1	776	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Balaghat	2	...	1	258	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total Nagpur Division	62	104	6	683	...	32	107	...	...	...	...	...
Rajpur	3	916	1	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bilaspur	3	985	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sambalpur	3	199	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total Chhattisgarh Division	3	756	3	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total British Districts	195	373	52	213	71	9	74	8	2	256	...	71
STATES.												
Makral	804	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bestar	1	60	...	314	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kanher	1	584	...	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nandgaon	4	937	6	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khatragarh	3	934	4	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chimkhedan	...	991	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kawardha	...	991	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sakti	...	991	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Raigarh	...	803	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sarangarh	...	797	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bamra	...	51	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rairakhol	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sonpur	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Patna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kashlandi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total Feudatory States	6	390	1	60	154	6	135	6	2	329	9	95
Total Central Provinces	163	365	43	188	135	9	84	7	2	269	2	75

Statement showing the variations in the Languages and Dialects of the Province since 1891.

Name of Language.	Persons, 1901.	Persons, 1891.	Variation.	Percentage.	Name of Language	Persons, 1901.	Persons, 1891.	Variation.	Variation in 1881-91.
PART I.									
Hindi	6,782,200	7,487,694	-705,694	-9.4	PART II.	30,685	27,434	+3,251	+1,003
Urdu	1,204,413	1,533,332	-328,919	-21.6		1,728	1,648	+80	-511
Khilji	11,200	21,715	-10,515	-47.9		20,409	17,389	+3,020	+3,351
Bhojari	244,418	42,912	+1,506	+3.5		1,214	4,806	-3,592	+789
Marwari	30,041	22,566	+7,475	+27.1		6,277	5,053	+1,224	-3,804
Nimari	38,165	677	+37,488	-		332	...	+332	...
Marathi	2,227,046	2,231,825	-4,779	-0.2		153	356	-203	+356
Koshti	44,071	5,929	+38,142	...		370	112	+258	-19
Hadli or Bastari	112,579	108,265	+4,314	+4.0		22	9	+13	-85
Oriya including sub-dialects	1,608,703	1,622,146	-13,443	-1.4		8,192	7,275	+917	+550
Bhatti	18,483	29,414	-10,931	-37.2	Total Non-Asiatic Languages	7,699	7,100	+599	+696
Telugu including sub-dialects	106,071	117,132	-11,061	-9.4	English	...	...	...	-3
Dravidian dialects	998,648	1,003,430	-4,782	-23.5	Dutch	...	...	...	...
Gondi	802,352	1,106,673	-304,321	-27.4	French	25	55	-30	+17
Malia	59,249	33,410	+25,839	+78.8	German	32	23	+9	+17
Oron or Kurukh	48,670	38,947	+9,723	+21.7	Portuguese	209	...	+209	-138
Kanbi	54,242	65,149	-10,907	-18.0	Swedish	13	26	-13	+20
Munda including sub-dialects	86,893	90,481	-3,588	-12.7	...	...	...	...	...
Kharis	7,408	6,881	+527	+9.0	...	...	...	...	...
Korin	59,082	74,846	-15,764	-21.1	...	...	...	...	...
Munda	18,759	16,153	+2,606	+16.1	...	...	...	...	...
Gipay	24,589	26,750	-2,161	-17.4	...	...	...	...	...
Banjari	23,654	20,271	+3,383	+19.2	...	...	...	...	...

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGION.

PART I.—GENERAL.

101. Eleven religions are distinguished in the Central Provinces table, exclusive of sects. Arranged in order of numerical importance these are Hindu, Animist, Musalman, Jain, Christian, Parsi or Zoroastrian, Sikh, Arya-Samaji, Brahm-Samaji, Buddhist and Jewish. In the table they are classified, under the directions of the Census Commissioner, as Indo-Aryan, including Hindu, Sikh, Jain, Buddhist, Arya-Samaji and Brahm-Samaji; Iranian, including Parsi; Semitic, including Musalman, Christian, and Jewish; and Primitive, including Animist. Practically, Hindus and Animists are the only religions of numerical importance in the Central Provinces, Hindus being about 82 per cent. of the population and Animists 14½ per cent. Of the balance 2½ per cent. of the total are Mahomedans, and the remaining religions contribute together about one per cent. of the people.

102. Persons returned as Hindus number 9,744,818, being a decrease since last census of 744,524 or 7 per cent. One or two references were made before the census as to what test should be taken to constitute a Hindu, but I was not in a position to give any guidance on the subject. 'A belief in the religious superiority of Brahmans, 'veneration for the cow, and respect for the distinctions of castes, are the elements 'of Hinduism, which are most generally recognised as fundamental; but each and 'all of these has been rejected or is rejected by tribes, castes, or sects, whose title 'to be included among Hindus is not denied.'¹ These three tests seem to be fairly representative, and the last is perhaps the most important. It is clear from the returns that what is generally taken to constitute a Hindu in the Central Provinces is to be a member of any caste other than the Dravidian tribes, who are still distinguished as not having completely entered the caste system. The distinction among the tribes between Hinduism and Animism will be referred to in noticing that religion. In some castes there are Musalmans, Jains and Sikhs, and these must also, of course, be excluded. But there is no difficulty in distinguishing the followers of these religions, and even in their case, as will be seen subsequently, the religious distinction is rather nominal than real. The popular definition of a Hindu may then be taken as a man who has a caste.

103. It was suggested by the Census Commissioner that an effort should be made in the Census Report to state what the actual beliefs of the people are. But no detailed inquiry on this subject has been attempted, partly because it seemed doubtful whether any very valuable results would in such a case be obtained by the issue of a printed circular, and partly because some compunction was felt at asking district officers to undertake a fresh investigation, when replies to the ethnographic questions were already being received in such numbers that it was impossible to digest or even to read them

¹ North-Western Provinces Census Report, 1891, page 192.

all in time for the report. In this chapter, therefore, such information as was incidentally forthcoming from the replies has been utilised, and for a good many instances I am indebted to Mr. Hira Lal. The following description may be quoted as being fairly applicable to the Central Provinces: 'It is difficult to make out exactly the religious impressions of the ordinary Hindu peasant. He has practically no belief in the transmigration of souls, but has a vague idea that there is a future life, in which those who are good in this world will be happy in a heaven (*sarg*), while those who are bad will be wretched in a hell (*narak*). His devotional offerings to demons, saints and godlings are meant rather to avert temporal evils, or secure temporal blessings, than to improve his prospects of the life to come. He has an idea that sin (*paap*) will bring evil on him and his fellows, in this life as well as after death. His instincts as to good and evil are much the same as the ordinary European moral distinctions; only they do not take so wide a range. Instead of extending to the whole human race or to the whole nation or sect, they extend only to his own tribe or village or family. He thinks it wrong to tell a lie unless perhaps to benefit a relative or friend. He thinks it wicked to injure a man, unless he has been injured by him, or to cheat another unless he thinks that that other would cheat him if he got the chance, or to take a bribe without giving the promised consideration for it. He believes vaguely that it is good for him to meditate on the deity, and to show that he is not forgetting him, he mutters *Ram, Ram*, or repeats the name of some other Hindu god when he gets up in the morning, and, if he is piously inclined, at other times also, in season and out of season. Notwithstanding all the numerous saints and deities whom he endeavours to propitiate, he has a vague belief that above all there is one Supreme God, whom he calls Narayan, or Parmeshwar, who knows all things, and by whom all things were made, and who will reward the good and punish the bad, both in this life and in the life to come.'¹ It is interesting to note that the orthodox Hindu idea of what will happen after death is stated by Mr. Wilson not to exist among the peasantry of the Punjab.

104. Definite forms of sectarian belief prevail only to a very small extent among the body of the people. Mr. Bose remarks in the Belkha in the Central Provinces. Seoni District report in reference to the rural population as follows:—'What they follow is local religion or custom, which consists of the observance of some festivals. In the rural area one seldom comes across a temple dedicated to any god or goddess, and the villagers are innocently ignorant of spiritual or idol worship. To avert calamities, such as cholera, small-pox, or cattle-disease, they may offer some sacrifices or perform some religious worship without knowing whom they worship. The goddess adored is supposed to be Devi Mata. All that they know is that they are Hindus, but whether they are Vaishnavas, or Shaivas, or Shaktas, they know as much as the man in the moon does. The enumerator is of their number, and is as ignorant as themselves.' An officer who took an interest in the question which was raised at the time, as to the utility or otherwise of the record of sect, told me that he had arrived at the conclusion that there was no religious belief worthy of the name among the rural population of the northern districts. The tenor of his inquiries might, he said, be summarised somewhat as follows. The tenants being assembled, the conver-

¹ Wilson's Report on the Sima Settlement, page 133, quoted in the North-Western Provinces Census Report, 1891, page 196.

sation would begin: 'What is your sect?' 'We don't know.' 'Then what god do you pray to?' 'Pray? We don't pray.' 'O, impious ones, how can you expect to get good crops if you don't pray? Why don't you pray?' 'We cannot pray because we don't know how.' 'What can you do then to get a blessing on the crops?' 'We can blow a shell (the conch shell of Vishnu).' 'Then for goodness' sake blow a shell every day and take care that you don't forget.' The favourite deity in the northern districts is Devi, and there is a temple to her in almost every village, usually only a small hut or a platform. Devi is worshipped as the goddess of the village, and in this capacity she probably merely represents the earth goddess from whom the crops and the people derive their sustenance. But she is also worshipped as the goddess who brings and can avert small-pox and cholera, and is considered to be incarnate in the body of any one who has small-pox, and those who enter the room in which a sufferer lies take off their shoes as a mark of respect for her. It is clear that under these aspects the belief in her is merely a kind of superstition not far removed from Animism, and it is probable that she has simply amalgamated the functions of various evil spirits from whom misfortunes emanate.

105. The second favourite deity in the northern districts is Mahadeo. It is

Mahadeo and Hanuman.

easy to build a temple to him, for no *pujari* is required as in the case of one dedicated to Ram or Krishna. Mahadeo is worshipped vaguely as being able to bestow blessings or avert misfortunes. He is represented simply by a conical stone, which is the phallic sign, and all that it is necessary to do is to sprinkle a few grains of rice or a *lota* of water over it. In summer an earthen *ghara* is supported on a tripod over the stone, and water is allowed to drip through a piece of cloth tied over a small hole at the bottom on to the stone, so that Mahadeo will be continually kept cool and will be pleased. The leaves of the *bel* tree are also offered to Mahadeo; it being necessary always to present a shoot of three leaves. The story is that on one occasion a *shikari* was pursued by wild beasts and took refuge in a *bel* tree, underneath which there happened to be a shrine to the god. The hunter was so terrified that his trembling caused the dew from the leaves of the tree to drop on to the shrine. This involuntary act of worship pleased the god, and attracted his attention to the condition of the hunter, whom he preserved miraculously through the night. A few days afterwards the *shikari* died, and in reward for his piety was taken to heaven, since when the tree has been venerated and associated with Mahadeo.¹ It seems probable from the nature of this story that it was invented to account for the previously existing sacred character of the tree, and to connect it with the god, the reverence paid to the tree being perhaps an importation into Hinduism from Dravidian sources. Gonds offer fowls to Mahadeo, though they are not allowed to do so in the temple itself, and it may be conjectured that the attributes of the god in the Central Provinces are to some extent derived from Bura Deo, the great god of the Gonds. In the Maratha districts Mahadeo is worshipped as Khandoba riding on a dog. In this part of the Province the favourite deity is Hanuman, Mahabir, or Maroti, the monkey-god. Hanuman's best known exploit is that given in the story of the Ramayana. When Lachman, the brother of Rama, was wounded in Ceylon, by the King of the Demons, he wished for the leaves of a plant which grew in the Himalayas to apply them to his wound. Hanuman

¹ Dubois: 'Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies,' Appendix.

was sent to get it, and not knowing which plant it was, he took up a part of the Himalayas and carried them to Ceylon. He happened to drop a portion of his load on the way, and from this the Govardhan hills were formed.¹ Hanuman is represented by a stone, sometimes with an image of a man with a tail carved over it, and vermilion mixed with oil is daubed on the stone as an offering. Hanuman seems to be the personification of the previous worship of the monkey.

106. Various godlings are also venerated by the lower castes. A very favourite one is Dulha Deo, the young bridegroom, who on his way to his wedding was carried off by a tiger. When a marriage is celebrated, a miniature coat, pair of shoes and bridal crown are offered to Dulha Deo, and by some castes also a swing consisting of two pieces of wood secured to a beam and supporting a seat, with which the child may amuse himself. Another favourite godling is Hardaur Lala, a young Rajput prince, who was falsely suspected of loving his brother's wife, and was poisoned in consequence by his jealous brother. When he died his horses and dogs died with him, and after he was burnt and a post was put up to mark the place, when his sister came sorrowing and put her arms round the post, it split apart to show that he knew her. His ghost continued to wander unappeased until he was deified and worshipped. Clay horses are offered to him at marriages, and he is supposed to be able to keep off rain and storms during the ceremony. A favourite saint of the Ahirs is Haridas Baba. He was a Yogi and could separate his soul from his body at pleasure. On one occasion he had gone in spirit to Benares, leaving his body in the house of one of his disciples, who was an Ahir. When he did not return, and the people heard that a dead body was lying there, they came and insisted that it should be burnt. When he came back and found that his body was burnt, he entered into a man and spoke through him, telling the people what had happened. In atonement for their unfortunate mistake they promised to worship him. Many other similar deified human beings are venerated by the people, and this class of beliefs can scarcely be considered as religious; they are only a slight advance on the deification of inanimate objects. If religion may be taken to mean a belief of some sort in future reward or punishment resulting from one's own actions, and usually occurring after death, and superstition, a belief in the power of unseen persons or spirits, interfering as a rule in human affairs rather capriciously than with any settled design of recompense or retribution, then the sort of veneration described above may be classed as superstition. And it seems probable that this description applies to the great body of popular belief in the Central Provinces.

107. This sort of belief does not fulfil the function of religion in regulating conduct. But in the case of the Hindus there is another factor which to no inconsiderable extent supplies the place of religion, and this is caste. It can be seen that in several of the departments of human action which are ordinarily considered to depend on religious obligation, a not inefficient substitute is supplied by caste rules. A man's charity is prescribed for him. The feeding of Brahmans, which is equivalent to giving to the gods, is a frequent and necessary incident in social life. Similarly, the feeding of the caste-follows is compulsory on many

¹ Local veneration of saints and heroes.

² Caste in connection with religion.

occasions; money spent in this way being considered as offered to the Ganges. The performance of the rites due to the memory of the ancestors of the family, and the support of parents and to some extent of children, are also matters of caste observance. Sexual relations are to some extent controlled by caste rules; a woman who commits adultery is almost invariably outcasted. In the lower castes the same is often the case with a man, though not among the higher ones; but in these also a man cannot live openly with a woman who is not his wife, as he will be outcasted if he takes food from her. Caste also prescribes adherence to certain rules of ceremonial purity, which partake of the nature of religious duties. To touch the corpse of a man of another caste, to be touched by a shoe, to be spat upon, to eat the flesh of certain unclean animals, to eat food touched by any but members of certain castes which are pure enough to touch it, are matters involving at least temporary forfeiture of caste; and there are other rules which, though they do not actually entail the penalty of being put out of caste, yet must be adhered to by every one who wishes to stand well with his fellows. Murder is an offence against caste involving severe penances. But there are no caste penalties for forgery, perjury, cheating, or theft, and this is perhaps to some extent the reason why Hindus frequently find it difficult to realise that there is anything morally wrong in this category of offences. Lastly, caste prescribes the observance of certain festivals and the worship of the implements belonging to its traditional occupation. Mr. Nesfield gives an excellent description of this:—'The boating and fishing castes sacrifice a goat to every new boat before it is put into the water, and at the time of the Diwali they make an annual offering, which consists of red powder, oil, a wreath of flowers, and sweetmeats, to every boat they possess. Similarly, all the pastoral castes pay a kind of worship to their animals by rubbing red ochre on their tails, horns or foreheads; this is done on the annual festivals of Diwali, Holi and Nagpanchami. The agricultural castes pay worship to the plough on the day called *Asari*, when the monsoon sets in and the work of cultivation is renewed. The grain heap is also worshipped in the months of March and October, before it is removed from the threshing-floor to the agriculturist's own dwelling. The *tamboli* or betel-grower pays homage to the betel plant in October before he begins to pick the leaf; and in July, before planting the new crop, he does homage to the ground prepared for the purpose. On the great annual festival of Dasahra, which is especially sacred to Rajputs, all men of this caste worship their weapons of war—the sword, shield, matchlock, and bow and arrows, and the animals used in war, the horse and the elephant. Artisan castes worship the tools by which they practise their respective crafts, chiefly on the Holi. The Basor worships the knife with which he splits the bamboo and cane; the Chamar worships the *rapi* or currier's knife; the Bunkar or Kori the apparatus with which cloth is woven; the Teli his oil press; the Kalar an earthen jar filled with wine; and the Kumhar the potter's wheel. Artisan castes of higher rank worship their various tools on the Diwali festival, which, to the more respectable castes, marks the opening of the new year; the Rangrez worships a jar filled with dye; the Halwai or confectioner does honour to his oven by placing against it a lamp lighted with melted butter. The trading castes invariably bring out their rupees on the Diwali and worship them as the instruments of their trade. The Kayasth or writer caste does homage to the pen and ink.' The intimate connection of caste with religion among the Hindus seems then to be sufficiently clear. Most matters of outward observance are regulated by rules of caste. And it seems almost a justifiable statement that it is really only the caste system which makes

it possible to classify as one religion the vast mass of conflicting beliefs in inanimate objects and animals, in deified mortals of different creeds and nationalities, in unseen but personal deities, and in impersonal spiritual forces, which are included in Hinduism.

108. The sects of Hindus were recorded with a view to obtaining if possible an idea of the extent to which sectarian belief or ritual obtains among the people, as no definite information on the subject was available, and in a matter like this replies to printed questions are apt to be given superficially and to fail in the elucidation of the truth. Some discussion was aroused on the subject at the time of making the record, and this has been advantageous, as it has tended to the conclusion that the body of the people have no sects, simply because they have no religion in the proper sense of the term. You cannot call a man a *Shakta* simply because if there happens to be a mud-temple to Devi in his village he sacrifices a fowl to it; but if it is a stone belonging to Mahadeo, he honours it by a libation of water or the sprinkling of some grains of rice. And this seems, so far as is known, to represent the extent of sectarian usages among the greater part of the rural population. In the Maratha districts, however, there is reason to suppose that a more definite belief prevails. Sectarian sub-divisions have been reported of several castes, and so far as outward observance is concerned, the main distinctions of the larger sects are recognised in practice. It was found, however, that in the enumeration books one or other of four names, Vaishnava, Shaiva, Shakta or Smartha, had been entered as the sect of the large majority of the people. As these entries were believed in most cases to have no meaning, they were entirely disregarded except for a few of the higher castes, Brahman, Rajput, Kayasth, Bania, Bairagi, Gosain, Jat, Khatri, Parbhu, Karan or Mahanti, and Sonar. The results thus obtained are of course to a large extent artificial, but they probably give the most accurate idea that can be arrived at from a census, as to the strength of sects. Out of the numbers of these castes 270,382 are recorded as Vaishnavas, 123,493 as Shaivas, 128,712 as Smarthas, and 75,899 as Shaktas.

109. The difference between the principles of the worship of Vishnu and Siva, the two great deities of the Hindu Triad, is thus eloquently described by Sir Alfred Lyall: 'Siva represents what I have taken to be the earliest and universal impression of nature upon men, the impression of endless and pitiless change. He is the destroyer and rebuilder of various forms of life; he has charge of the whole circle of animated creation, the incessant round of birth and death in which all nature eternally revolves. His attributes are indicated by symbols emblematic of death and of man's desire; he presides over the ebb and flow of sentient existence. In Siva we have the condensation of the two primordial agencies, the striving to live and the forces that kill. He exhibits, by images, emblems and allegorical carvings, the whole course and revolution of nature, the inexorable law of the alternate triumph of life and death. * * * Vishnu on the other hand, impersonates the higher evolution—the upward tendency of the human spirit. In the increasing flux and change of all things, he is their preserver; and although he is one of the highest gods, he has constantly revisited the earth either in animal or in human shape. Most of the famous saints, heroes, and demi-gods of poetry and romance, with many of the superior divinities, are recognised as having been the sensible manifestations of

'Vishnu; their bodies were only the mortal vesture that he assumed for the purpose of interposing decisively at some great emergency, or whenever he condescended to become again an actor in the world's drama.'¹ The Vaishnavas and Shaivas of the Central Provinces do not, however, rise to these heights of metaphysics; and the principal difference between them is that Vaishnavas will not eat meat and Shaivas will. But a Shaiva also will not eat it, if he belongs to a caste in which it is prohibited. The principal deities of the Vaishnavas are the incarnations of Vishnu in Rama and Krishna. These may have been real heroes, but have become deified by a process of mythological accretion into incarnations of the god. Vaishnavas worship idols, bathe, clothe and feed them. They offer cooked food to the god and shut up the door for a time, during which the idol is considered to partake of the food. They then take it away and eat it themselves. Shaivas always offer raw food, such as leaves, flowers, uncooked rice, water and cocoanuts. The distinguishing mark or '*tilak*' of the Vaishnavas consists of three lines, one perpendicular down the forehead, and two oblique meeting it at the base.² This is said to represent the footprint of Vishnu. It is usually made of Ganges clay or powdered sandalwood. Many members of the sect have now, however, abandoned the wearing of the full mark as unsightly, and only make a small circular patch, or some little irregular dabs. The mark of the Shaivas consists of three horizontal lines in the shape of a half moon one above the other and representing the trident of Siva. It is made with the clay of the Ganges or with sandalwood, or with the ashes of cow-dung, the ashes being supposed to represent the disintegrating force of the deity.³

110. The Shaktas are the worshippers of Devi, the consort of Siva and the female principle corresponding to him and representing the action of the reproductive power of nature. The

Other sects.

worship of Devi is associated with the sacrifice and free consumption of animals, and in the eastern districts the word Shakta has come to mean simply one who eats meat, as opposed to a Kabirpanthi who has renounced it. The worship of Devi is most akin to Animism, and hence many Dravidian deities are admitted into Hinduism as representations of her. There are the Kharmata Devi or goddess of the earth already mentioned, the Desahai Devi or goddess of the four quarters of the village, and the Chitharhai Devi or goddess of rags, besides various local incarnations as the Vindhya-basini Devi or goddess of the Vindhya mountains. These are rural deities. The '*tilak*' or mark of the Shaktas is a small semicircular line between the eyebrows with a dot in the middle, made of charcoal or lamp black. The Smarthas are the followers of Shankar Acharya, a reformer of the ninth century, who preached that Brahma was the sole and supreme deity and that the whole world was contained in him, the idea of individual life on the earth being merely illusion. His disciples derive their name from following the '*Smriti*' or orthodox tradition and worship the five principal gods—Siva, Vishnu, Suraj, Sakti, and Ganpati.⁴ It is related of Shankar Acharya that on one occasion he was preaching the doctrine that the whole world is illusion before a certain Raja. The king could not understand the theory and determined to put it to a practical test. Next morning, therefore, as the prophet was seen coming towards the palace, he caused a *must* elephant to be let

¹ Asiatic Studies, and series, page 306.

² Nesfield's Brief View, page 83, and Crooke's Folk-lore, Volume I, page 30. Mr. Joshi, Civil Judge of Saugor, has furnished some representations of the '*tilaks*' of the different Vaishnavite Orders, but it would take too much space to reproduce them here.

³ Crooke's Folk-lore, Volume I, page 30.

⁴ North-Western Provinces Census Report, 1891, page 108.

loose in his path. On seeing the elephant the sage ran for his life, hotly pursued by it. Finally, he got shelter somewhere, and the elephant being captured, he returned and appeared, breathless but composed, before the king. The latter then explained the object of his experiment and added, 'You did not seem to think there was much illusion about that elephant.' 'I beg your pardon,' replied the prophet; 'there was no elephant and I was not running away; that was only your illusion.' On which the Raja gave it up.

111. The sect of the Kabirpanthis is an offshoot of Vaishnavism. It is considered more or less a speciality of the Central Provinces, because the head-quarters of the Mahant of the sect are at Kawardha, which is said to be named after it Kabirdham, or the place of Kabir. Kabir preached at the end of the fourteenth century and was a disciple of Ramanand, the great prophet of Vaishnavism. The story of Kabir is as follows:—A Julaha, or Mahomedan weaver, living at Benares had gone to be married at a village and was returning home with his newly-wedded wife. The girl stopped to drink at a tank, and she saw a small child lying on a lotus leaf. She picked it up and brought it to her husband, who wished her to leave it there, thinking that they would be ridiculed; when the child spoke and said that they had been his disciples in a former birth. They then took him home, and when they were about to name him, he spoke and said that his name was Kabir. When the child grew up he commenced to preach and made many converts. One of these was Dharamdas, a Kasaundhan Bania, who distributed the whole of his wealth, eighteen lakhs of rupees, in charity at Kabir's bidding and became a Fakir. In reward for this Kabir promised him that his family should endure for forty-two generations. The Mahants of Kawardha claim to be the direct descendants of Dharamdas. They marry among Kasaundhan Banias and their sons are initiated and succeed them. There are now two Mahants—Dhirajnam Sahib and Ugranam Sahib—both of whom claim to be the legitimate possessors of the *gaddi*. Their disputes led to a suit which was decided by the Bombay High Court in favour of Dhirajnam, who accordingly occupies the seat at Kawardha. But he is very unpopular and little attention is paid to him. Ugranam lives at Kudarmal in Bilaspur, and enjoys the real homage of the followers of the sect, who say that Dhiraj is the official Mahant, but Ugra the people's Mahant. The initiation of a Kabirpanthi is called '*chauka*.' A pot of water is placed on the ground with a lamp over it, and songs are sung in praise of Kabir to the music of cymbals. A *bira*, consisting of pan, gur, and a little of the core of the cocoanut, is eaten by the person to be initiated and each member of his family, and a '*mantra*' or sacred verse is whispered in his ear. A '*kanthi*,' or small garland of beads, is tied round his neck and the initiation is complete. At death the ceremony is repeated with the exception of the omission of the sacred verse. The Kabirpanthis are forbidden to eat meat, to drink liquor or to worship idols. But many of them do not adhere to these precepts. The annual fair at Kudarmal at Bilaspur is held in honour of Kabir.

112. The number of Kabirpanthis returned at this census is 493,393 as against 685,672, or a decrease of 192,279 and of 28 per cent. on the figures of 1891. Between 1881 and 1891 they increased by 337,678 persons. This large increase was probably partly due to the greater correctness of the enumeration in the Feudatory States. On the other hand the decline at this census should perhaps be attributed to

Kabirpanthis.

The figures of Kabirpanthis.

the increased strictness of the record. The instructions on this occasion as regards these two sects were that every man should be specially asked whether he was a Kabirpanthi or Satnami, and that the entry should not be made unless he said he was. In 1891 there was a special column for sect, and as it had to be filled up, members of the weaving castes may have been returned as Kabirpanthis simply because they had no other sect. The decline in numbers is largest in the northern districts, where adherence to the sect would probably be more of a nominal character than in Chhattisgarh. It was found there that members of the weaving castes often returned themselves as Kabirpanthis, because Kabir was a weaver, but their profession of the sect went no further than this. In Chhattisgarh, as already seen, it constitutes a social distinction consisting in the abstinence from flesh.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the returns of the three enumerations seems to be that the sect is at any rate not losing, but probably slightly gaining in popularity. But its prevalence can no longer be regarded as possessing any political or social importance. It began like other reforming sects by the abolition of caste distinctions, and was therefore a schism against the authority of the Brahmans, and against Hinduism. It now recognises caste, and the only social result which it produces is that the members of a caste who are Kabirpanthis frequently form a separate endogamous division, because they do not eat meat or drink liquor. It is therefore practically on the same level as any other Hindu sect.

The weaving castes are usually Kabirpanthis, because Kabir was a weaver. The Brahmans call it the weaver's religion. The numbers of the weaving castes returned as belonging to the sect are Panka 116,116 (84),¹ Balahi 12,574 (29), Kori 8,666 (25), Koshti 10,454 (8), Mahar 21,163 (3). But the sect is also largely professed by others of the lower castes, as Teli 113,123 (16), Dhobi 13,577 (10), Chamar 26,716 (4), and also by some of the castes from whose hands a Brahman will take water, as Ahir 13,844 (2), Kachhi 6,323 (6), Kurmi 21,649 (8), Lodhi 16,227 (6). It is noticeable that of the Pankas 84 per cent. are Kabirpanthis and of the Gandas only 1 per cent. This lends weight to the conjecture that the Pankas of the Central Provinces are in reality Gandas who have become members of the sect. The name is supposed to convey this, 'The Panka (*pani-ka*) was born of water, and his body is made of drops of water, but there were Pankas before Kabir.' Another story is that on one occasion Shankar Acharya and his disciples were wandering about in Sambalpur, and were very thirsty. They came to the hut of a Ganda, and Shankar Acharya asked him for water and drank it. His disciples seeing that he had taken water from a Ganda, without regard to his caste, also did so. Shankar Acharya said nothing, but proceeded on his way. Presently he came to the shop of a Kasar or brass-worker who had some molten metal in a mould. Shankar Acharya asked for it, and drank the burning metal. He then asked his disciples to do it also. They said they could not, whereupon the master said to them, 'I can take water from a Ganda without pollution, but you cannot', after which his disciples were degraded to the caste of the Ganda, and from them are descended the Pankas. This story, however, disregards the fact that Shankar Acharya was a Shivite reformer, whereas Kabirpanthism is a Vaishnavite sect, and its essence is the abolition of caste.

¹ The figures in brackets represent the percentage of members of the caste belonging to the sect to the total of the caste.

113. The Satnamis now number 389,599 persons, being a decrease of 87,761 or 18 per cent. since last census. The decrease corresponds very closely with that of the caste of Chamars, which is nearly 17. The sect has therefore been almost stationary since 1891. The Satnamis are practically all Chamars, only about two thousand persons of other castes belonging to the sect. Of the Chamars 52 per cent., or a little more than half, are members of it. The sect of the Satnamis in the Central Provinces, as is well-known, was founded by the Chamar reformer Ghasidas between 1820 and 1830 A. D. Ghasidas retired to the forests of Sonakan in Bilaspur for six months, and returned proclaiming himself as the recipient of a divine message. His seven precepts included abstinence from liquor, meat and certain red vegetables as lentils and tomatoes, the abolition of idol-worship, the prohibition of the employment of cows for cultivation and of ploughing after midday or taking food to the fields, and the worship of the true name of God alone. Caste was abolished and all men were to be socially equal except the family of Ghasidas, in which the priesthood of the cult was to be hereditary. His successor was Balakdas, who was murdered because he exasperated the Brahmans by the assumption of the sacred thread. Mr. Hira Lal has a theory that the message of Ghasidas was obtained by him from a wandering devotee belonging to the Satnami sect of the North-Western Provinces, and whom he may have met in the Sonakan jungles. This was founded by a Rajput Jagjivan Das at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and has the same name, and also the prohibitions against the use of liquor and the consumption of flesh and red vegetables because their colour resembles blood. The prohibition against cultivation after midday was probably designed in compassion for animals, and was previously in force among the Gonds of Bastar. The injunction against the use of the cow for ploughing was perhaps a sop to the Brahmans, the practice being one with which the name of Gondwana has been, to its disgrace, associated in history. It seems highly probable that Ghasidas got his inspiration in some such manner as that suggested by Mr. Hira Lal. But his creed was marked by a creditable simplicity and purity, of too elevated a nature for the Chamars of Chhattisgarh. The crude myths which are now associated with the story of Ghasidas, and the obscenity which distinguishes the ritual of the sect, furnish a good instance of the way in which a religion, originally of a high order of morality, will be rapidly debased to their own level when adopted by people who are incapable of living up to it. The following particulars have been furnished by Mr. Durga Prasad Pande, Tahsildar of Raipur. Ghasidas was a pious man who had been an ascetic for twelve years in the jungle. One day his son brought him a fish to eat. Ghasidas was about to eat it when the fish spoke and forbade him to do so. Ghasidas then refrained, but his wife and two sons insisted on eating the fish and shortly afterwards they died. Overcome with grief Ghasidas tried to commit suicide by throwing himself down from a tree in the forest, but the boughs of the tree bent with him and he could not fall. Finally, the deity appeared bringing his two sons, and commended Ghasidas for his piety, at the same time bidding him go and proclaim the Satnami doctrine to the world. Ghasidas went and dug up the body of his wife who was thereupon restored to life and arose saying 'Satnam.' Balakdas, the successor of Ghasidas, is said to have been born from a mound of earth. When a Satnami Chamar is married a ceremony called *Satlok* takes place within three years of the wedding. A feast is given to the caste-people, and during the night the woman retires to the house and one or more of the men present, who are nominated by her and are called *gurus*, are allowed to go in to

her. It is also stated that during his annual progresses it was the practice for the chief *guru*, the successor of Ghasidas, to be allowed access to any of the wives of the Chamars whom he might select, and that this was considered rather an honour than otherwise by the husband. The Satnamis are now becoming ashamed of these customs and they are gradually being abandoned. But the Chamars are distinguished by their carelessness of the fidelity of their wives, which they justify by the saying, 'If my cow wanders and comes home again, shall I not let her into her stall?' The chief *guru* formerly obtained a large income by the contributions of the Chamars on his tours, as he received a rupee from each household in the villages he visited. But the belief in his spiritual power has waned and he now does not get more than one anna.

114. It may perhaps be the case that the true historical character of the movements known as the dissenting sects is in some respects different from that which is generally assigned to them. They seem to be social rather than religious revolts. They represent the efforts of the lower and impure castes to free themselves from the tyranny of the caste system, and the Brahmans who stand at the head of the system. They have assumed a religious form because the social gradations of Hindu society are based on distinctions of religious purity. If it be held, as seems probable, that the degraded and servile position of the impure castes takes its origin from the aversion of the immigrant Aryans for the indigenous races, some at least of these reforming movements might almost be considered to partake ultimately of the nature of a racial struggle. Most of the prophets of the dissenting sects belonged to the lowest castes. Ramanand, the founder of Vaishnavism in Northern India, was, it is true, himself a Brahman, but his sect was nominally at least open to all castes.¹ Of his followers who founded separate schools, Rohidas was a Chamar, Namdeo was a Chhipa or cotton printer, Sena was a barber, Dadu was a cotton carder, Kabir was a weaver, Nabhaji was a Dom, and Ghasidas was a Chamar. The essential point about their doctrine, and the only one which brought them into opposition with orthodox Hinduism, was that they usually taught the abolition of the distinctions of caste. Those who did not do so did not really dissent. The refusal to worship idols and the recognition of one invisible God need not be considered as antagonistic to Hinduism, in whose pantheon are included all classes and descriptions of mutually incompatible deities. There is no reason which would justify the exclusion of 'Nirankar,' the formless One,² from a divine assembly in which animals and plants, Mahomedan saints, and even General Nicholson have been accorded a place. In a religion where no single dogma is essential, dissent is impossible. But those sects which did away with distinctions of caste immediately provoked the bitter hostility of the Brahmans, the loss of whose exclusive privileges would follow as a natural corollary. And this was, it may be conjectured, their real aim, and the one which lends them importance from a historical point of view. In this respect they were attempts at social reform, and as historical phenomena may be compared rather to the struggle between the Patricians and Plebeians or to the peasant risings of mediæval Europe than to religious reformations in other countries. They proceeded on religious lines because the authority of the Brahmans was based on religion, and it was essential to introduce a new religion in order to get rid

¹ Crooke's Ethnography, Art. Bilaragi.

² The name given to the deity by some of the Vaishnavite sects.

of that authority. They proclaimed the existence of one invisible God, who was to be worshipped without temples and without idols, because they knew that where there were temples and idols, there also there would certainly be Brahmans.

115. It is not necessary to assume on the above hypothesis that the founders of the dissenting sects were not themselves actuated by religious motives. To do so would be to fail in appreciation of the characters of popular reformers. One who does not believe in himself will not readily convince others; and an impostor makes but a poor leader of men. Their success is the measure of their sincerity. But such men usually have strong imaginations, and intense feelings; and they very readily deceive themselves. In order to estimate correctly the nature of the movements which the Indian reformers headed, it is necessary to consider the position of society in their lifetime, and the circumstances which led to their appearance. Men born in high position can, if they have the requisite ability, create their own opportunities for figuring in the history of their epoch. But for most men born in low position the opportunity must be made. Intellect, and wit, and imagination, and personal beauty, and physical strength and dexterity, are happily none of them rare qualities. They are prodigally bestowed on races whose environment and social life are favourable to their development. Everybody recognises that if it had not been for the French Revolution Napoleon might have died a colonel of artillery; and if it had not been for the Boer War the name of De Wet would have remained unknown fifty miles away from his farm. But it is impossible to suppose that the appearances of such men at the particular time when there is an opening for the exercise of their capacity are unique coincidences. And it is reasonable to conclude that thousands of men have lived, who could, with opportunity, have displayed a military genius to equal Napoleon's, and hundreds of thousands whose fame as guerilla generals would, under similar circumstances, have rivalled De Wet's. And the same is the case with the leaders of social and religious reformations. Many men would be capable of preaching a new religion, and many men have done so; but they have not usually attained to much success unless a new religion was required. And it may therefore be surmised that these men also were the product of their time, and that they rose into eminence because they took advantage, however unconsciously, of an opportunity which offered. They were the spokesmen of the people, who were dumb till they found a leader. As they headed popular movements, it is necessary to consider in what direction popular movements would have tended at the epoch when they lived; that is, in what manner, if any, were the lower classes of society oppressed; against whose authority or pretensions was the preaching of the reformers directed. The people will not rise unless they have something to rise against; and where there is no tyranny there can be no rebellion. But it does not seem that the people of India have ever suffered from what could be called a religious tyranny¹; that is, one which prescribes the adoption or the outward profession of particular forms of belief. It appears that no religion is in this respect more liberal than Hinduisim; deification depends, as remarked by Sir Alfred Lyall, on popular suffrage. Any one and almost any thing will be admitted into the pantheon provided that the claim

¹ That is leaving out of account the proselytising efforts of the Buddhist Kings and Mahomedan Emperors, which do not affect the argument.

is supported by a sufficient number of adherents. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that the proclamation of a new religion which abolished all the minor deities and prescribed the worship of one God without temples, idols or ceremonies, would meet with a particularly favourable reception at the hands of the Hindus. It would be much less attractive than their own beliefs. But though there was no tyranny of religion, there was the tyranny of a priestly class basing its authority on a divine origin, and a claim to be the only medium of communication with the higher powers. And this was sufficiently grinding to make the people desire to revolt, and to follow any one who showed them a way of getting rid of the arrogant pretensions of the Brahmans. If then it is found that any dissenting sect included among its tenets the abolition of caste, the true nature of the movement can, I think, be recognised. And as the caste system, though it derives its authority from a religious source, is essentially and practically a social system, so the dissenting sects whose object was to remove it may be most correctly viewed as attempts at social reformations. And it is a plausible conjecture that the fertility of religious movements in India, about which so much has been said, is to be largely attributed to the peculiar social hierarchy by which the Indians have been dominated. It is noticeable that they have invariably failed in their object. Buddhism abolished caste, and though it has attained to the largest measure of success in other countries, it was driven out of India. The other sects have ended by the full recognition of caste distinctions, and from the time they did so have generally ceased to possess any special importance, except to a student of the diversity of religious beliefs. The Satnamis, it is true, profess not to recognise caste, but as they are nearly all Chamars and continue to be despised as such by the other castes, they cannot be considered to have made much progress. As a matter of fact Mr. Gordon says that the Satnami Chamars practically form an endogamous group, refusing to intermarry with other Chamars on account of the social superiority which they obtain by their abstinence from liquor and the consumption of meat. But having failed to make any progress on religious lines, the Satnamis have adopted a more effective method of asserting themselves by their refusal to pay rent, and this has accentuated their differences with the rest of the people to such a degree, that in Chhattisgarh a Satnami is distinguished from a Hindu. It is unnecessary to notice the other minor sects which have been returned, as they are numerically insignificant. Their existence has been put on record in the tables in order that inquiry may be made into their tenets during the Ethnographic Survey. Several of them merely consist in the veneration of particular saints, of which instances have already been given.

116. The above cursory outline of the nature of religious belief in the Central Provinces makes no pretence to be complete. But it may afford ground for a tentative hypothesis as to the character of Hinduism. It seems broadly that as a religion it has two main constituent features. There is in the first place the collection of profoundly subtle and speculative doctrines which have emanated from the philosophical schools at a few of the great religious centres. These are what are usually designated as Hinduism and discussed in the books which treat of it. But they have never been known or understood except by a numerically insignificant fraction of the people. Till lately nearly all the religious books were in Sanskrit and this fact alone is sufficient to show that they can have exercised little or no influence on the population at large.

Nor are they of a nature to do so, as they seem to be rather metaphysical conceptions than religious doctrines. I have not essayed to discuss with an average villager the attributes of Siva as the god of destruction and reproduction, or of Vishnu as the embodiment of the life-giving and fostering forces of nature, because my knowledge of the vernacular would not enable me to do so; but no one can doubt that if the attempt were made he would simply gape in bewilderment. It requires a fairly advanced intelligence even to grasp the meaning of such ideas when expounded in print. To suppose that they represent the religious creed of a people which cannot read or write appears to be impossible. The other great feature of Hinduism consists in the actual beliefs of the people. It would seem to be doubtful whether they can be considered as one religion at all. They are of enormous diversity and of all categories—the worship of stones, trees and animals; the worship of ghosts and of ancestors; the worship of deified heroes, of deities personifying the elements, of deities personifying diseases, personifying the crops, and, in fact, personifying every important incident or accompaniment of the life of the people. They seem to resemble generally the religion or the superstitions of any other comparatively primitive races, but they are more numerous and complex because the population is large. A certain amount of order and unity has been introduced into them by the identification from time to time of a tribal god or village godling with a leading Hindu deity, or by the recognition of a local hero as one of his incarnations. Sometimes, as in the case of Hanuman the monkey, or Ganesha the elephant,¹ a primitive animal god has become a leading member of the divine circle. But this process does not seem to have proceeded so far as to unify or codify the popular superstitions, or to evolve from them any thing that can be called a definite religion. The Brahmans, it may be conjectured, have not sought to direct and educate the people into a uniform religious groove. Perhaps because they have been unable to do so, but not improbably also because they have not cared to make the attempt. What they have been careful to do is to firmly establish and preserve against attack the institution of caste, which carried with it the recognition of their spiritual and social supremacy. So long as a man keeps to his caste and observes its rules and ceremonies, he is free to worship whom or what he pleases. And it may perhaps, therefore, be concluded that Hinduism should in its essence be described as being not so much a religion as a social system.

117. It is no doubt the case that the character of religious belief in the Central Provinces is less orthodox and more primitive than in most other parts of India. And it would consequently be unjustifiable to attempt to generalise from it alone. But Mr. Ibbetson says the same thing about the Punjab:—'The student who, intimately acquainted with the gods of the Hindu Pantheon, as displayed in the sacred texts, should study the religion of the peasantry of the Delhi territory would find himself in strangely unfamiliar company. Brahma is there never mentioned save by a Brahman, while many of the villagers would hardly recognise his name. It is true, indeed, that all men know of Siva and of Vishnu; that a peasant when he has nothing else to do to that degree that he yawns perforce, takes the name of Narayan; that the familiar salutation is *Ram, Ram*, and that Bhagwan is made responsible for many things not always to his credit. But these are the lords

¹ Crooke's Folk-lore, Volume 1, page 110.

'of creation and too high company for the villager. He recognises their supremacy indeed: but his daily concern in this work-a-day world is with the host of 'deities whose special business it is to regulate the matters by which he is most 'nearly affected'¹; and again after completing his fascinating sketch of the beliefs of the people, 'It would, I believe, be possible to take the two volumes of 'Tylor's *Primitive Culture* and to furnish from the ordinary beliefs of the peasants 'of the Delhi territory instances of almost every type of superstition there recorded 'as current among primitive races.'² This is plain enough, and Delhi is not on the outskirts of civilisation. Similarly, Mr. Crooke's book entitled '*The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*' consists mainly of a collection of superstitions of the same nature as those contained in '*The Golden Bough*' and other miscellanies of primitive ideas.

118. There are two great features of Indian life which are apt to lead to the impression that the people are deeply religious: one is the constant stream of pilgrimage to the holy places, and the other the fecundity of the formation of sects. It would be absurd to attempt any adequate discussion of these phenomena. But one or two suggestions may be made as to their nature. It seems not unlikely that the virtue of a pilgrimage arises mainly from the sacred character attaching to the place itself, and not so much from the desire to honour the deity whose shrine it is. If this is so, the feeling which prompts the undertaking of the journey is not a very great advance on the primitive reverence for certain localities as the abodes of spirits. The missionary efforts of the wandering religious mendicants, who are the votaries of the shrines, and who travel about recounting their wonders, and preaching the good results which will accrue from a visit to them, also probably account for a large part of their popularity, and the object of a pilgrimage is frequently purely temporal, as the belief that it will result in the obtaining of a son or the expiation of some offence or social backsliding. As to the sects, it has been seen that those of them which abolished caste are possibly in reality social rather than religious movements. This accounts for many of the Vaishnavite sects. Some of these sects also now perform a function which is certainly not religious. 'The mendicant members of the Vaishnava community are of 'evil repute, their ranks being recruited by those who have no relatives, by widows, 'by individuals too idle or depraved to lead a steady working life, and by prostitutes. 'Vaishnavi, or Baishnabi according to the vulgar pronunciation, has come 'to mean a courtesan.'³ In this case a sect which may have begun its career with the laudable social object of the abolition of caste has come simply to be a dumping ground for people who have been put out of their own caste for social offences. The Shivite sect of the Lingayats in Southern India also began by denying caste. In the case of some of the Vaishnava and Shakta sects, whose tenets included unrestrained sensual license, there is no difficulty in understanding how they found adherents. And, generally speaking, it seems doubtful whether, so far as the majority of its members were concerned, the profession of a sect meant anything more than the adoption of some social rules of conduct which were calculated to lend distinction to those observing them.

¹ Punjab Census Report, 1881, paragraph 215.

² Punjab Census Report, 1881, paragraph 246.

³ Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Art. Vaishnava.

119. It would be foolish within the limits of the census report of one Province to try to take away the character of the Hindus as a religious people. But it certainly would appear to be more correct to say that they are still in the primitive or Animistic stage of belief and have been comparatively untouched by the philosophical doctrines of the schools, than to consider these latter as representing the religion of the people of India. It would seem, indeed, that their religious development has been, if anything, more backward than their material and social progress. They are not of course primitive as the aborigines of Australia are primitive. In some respects, as in questions of the rights of property, they are perhaps more self-reliant and independent than the English peasantry; but their intelligence seems to have been developed rather by the hereditary possession of land, and by the status of social equality in the village community, than by any religious education which they have received. So far indeed as religion is concerned, it might even be surmised that the Hindus of the present day are more backward than their forefathers, whose beliefs are portrayed in the Vedic hymns. They had a religion consisting in the simple veneration of nature gods, and such as they could understand. But the Brahmans, in order to establish unassailably their exclusive monopoly of the performance of the ceremonies, have elaborated and complicated the ritual to such a degree, that it has ceased to be understood or regarded by the people. They have acknowledged the unquestioned spiritual supremacy of the Brahmans, but for their own beliefs they have fallen back on the collection of primitive superstitions above indicated.

120. Animism is the name technically given to the collection of beliefs professed by the Dravidian tribes who have not even nominally been admitted to the caste system or become Hindus. Their religion is classed as primitive. The general nature of Animism may perhaps be explained as the belief that everything which has life or motion has also a soul or spirit, and that all natural phenomena are caused by direct personal agency. To primitive man all life in nature is sentient life, and all force is due to the action of sentient beings. Every animal that moves and every tree that grows is the abode of a spirit by whose volition it moves or grows. There are no impersonal verbs in his vocabulary. When it rains, the rain does not fall of itself, but somebody rains; when it blows, it does not blow intransitively, but somebody blows. And this is the manner in which children frequently express their thoughts at the present time. The following are a few instances of Animism as defined in this manner. A common superstition is the belief that trees must not be struck at night for fear that the sleep of the tree-spirit may be disturbed. The Hindus clean their teeth with a *daton* or tooth-stick consisting of a twig taken from any tree; but if they break the first twig it is considered wrong to take another, because it is equivalent to destroying two lives; one may be sacrificed to cleanliness, but not a second. Before climbing a tree it is frequently the custom to pray for its pardon for the rough usage to which it is to be subjected. If a mango tree withers for a time and then grows again, it is considered that the tree-spirit has been absent on a pilgrimage. When a mango grove is planted, every tree has to be married to a twig of jasmine. Similarly stones and rocks of any peculiar shape suggesting the intervention of personal agency in their construction are considered to be the abodes of spirits and are consequently revered. There are many instances of respect paid to animals to whom no sacred character attaches. To kill a squirrel is a sin, which should be expiated

by making an image of it in gold and presenting it to a Brahman. When women go out to the fields they take a little sugar and put it on an ant-hill to feed the ants. It is considered a virtuous act to satisfy the '*atma*' or spirit which resides in all animals, and as there are so many ants, large results can be obtained in their case for a trifling outlay. The late Raja of Nandgaon had been told that he would die when he was thirty-two, and for two years previously he was occupied in the accumulation of virtue preparatory to his decease. All the tanks in his estate were broken, and the fish collected into one tank at Nandgaon, where they were regularly fed; and he is stated to have offered the Raja of Khairagarh a village in exchange for the privilege of breaking a large tank in Khairagarh and taking the fish from it.¹

The habit of worshipping the implements of the caste trade should probably also be classified as Animism, and all the instances given in the caste chapter of marriage with inanimate objects. These belong to the Hindus just as much as to the Dravidian tribes.

121. Another and perhaps usually a later stage in Animism is the belief that the ghosts of men take up their residence in animals and plants. Not infrequently they bring evil and misfortune on their late human companions from their new habitation and have to be appeased. On the fifth day after death the Gonds perform the ceremony of bringing back the soul. They go to the riverside and call aloud the name of the dead person, and then enter the river, catch a fish or an insect, and taking it home, place it among the sainted dead of the family, believing that the spirit of the dead person has in this manner been brought back to the house. In some cases it is eaten with the belief that by doing so it will be born again as a child. The good souls are quickly appeased and their veneration is confined to their descendants. But the bad ones excite a wider interest because their evil influences may be extended to others. And the same fear attaches to the spirits of persons who have died a violent or unnatural death. The soul of a man who has been eaten by a tiger must be specially propitiated and it takes ten or twelve days to bring it back. To ascertain when this has been done, a thread is tied to a beam and a copper ring is suspended from it, being secured by twisting the thread round it and not by a knot. A pot full of water is placed below the ring. Songs are then sung in propitiation, and a watch is kept day and night. When the ring falls from the thread, and drops into the water, it is considered that the soul has come back.

Persons are also frequently possessed by ghosts, especially by Devi, who, as has been shown, is really rather an Animistic than a Hindu goddess. This happens when the *jamaras* or stalks of barley are taken out and carried about in honour of the goddess. The priest sits bareheaded with hair unbound, and the people chant songs of praise accompanied by music. After a time he is possessed, and leaps and jumps about, shouting the names of deities. When he is tired out and returns to silence, the spokesman of the village ventures on some questions as to the favour with which the goddess regards her votaries. She generally complains that the offerings have not been sufficient and the people then promise an extra goat or two, which of course go to the priest. In proof that the transaction is quite genuine, the devotee generally pierces his tongue or cheek with a long heavy needle, sometimes weighing several pounds.

¹ The offer was refused.

122. The earth and the elements and heavenly bodies are naturally the first objects to be properly deified and worshipped as gods, because they seem to control the phenomena of nature. ^{Worship of the elemental deities.} In a primitive stage of religion it seems that they are not personified; but simply conceived of as possessing life in their actual form. The personification comes at a later period and is contingent on the community having obtained such a stage of development as to have poet-priests. The gods of the Gonds are represented by a spear, a sword, an iron bar, and an earthen pitcher or by pegs stuck into the ground, or stones kept in a basket. In Bastar, *Pati*, the god of the earth, is symbolised by a bone. A Gond myth of the separation of the heaven and earth is to the effect that formerly the sky lay close down upon the earth. One day an old woman happened to be sweeping and when she stood up, she knocked her head against the sky. Enraged, she put up her broom, and pushed the sky away, when it rose up above the earth and has ever since remained there. A myth of the sun and moon is that the sun and moon were a brother and sister who were asked to a wedding. Their mother told them to bring back something from the feast for her. The sun was greedy and ate everything that he got, keeping nothing for his mother. But the moon remembered her and took back something from the feast. When they got home and their mother found that the sun had brought nothing, she cursed him and said that as he had neglected to satisfy the soul of his mother, he should always burn; but as the moon had satisfied her, she should always remain cool. A Gond myth of the eclipse is that on one occasion, owing to some natural convulsion, the earth got turned upside down and nobody was left alive except one Dom (a menial caste of sweepers). The gods wished to repopulate the earth and they found that the Dom had seed-grain. They went to him and asked him to lend them some for sowing. As he wished for security the sun and moon stood security for the debt. This man became the king of the Doms in the other world. But the gods have never repaid the debt, and as interest accumulates and the sun and moon are liable for it, he sends his messengers from time to time, and presses them to pay. These are the eclipses. When it comes all pious persons should give something to Doms, as this will be accepted by the king as interest, and his messengers will return satisfied for a time. When the deities are conceived of as personal beings in human shape, it may perhaps be said that the primitive stage of belief has been passed, and that of religion, properly so-called, has been entered upon. This is the one which comprises the ancient Indian and Greek mythologies. It presupposes a certain amount of culture and power of imagination, and the nature myths then become more elaborate and poetical. Instances of these are that the clouds are Indra's messengers sent to bring rain. They go to the sea and take up the water, and returning, discharge it over the earth. During their journey they rest on the hilltops and refresh themselves by eating the leaves of the forest. A Puranic myth of the eclipse is that the gods and demons were churning the ocean, with a great mountain as a churn-stick and a serpent tied round it as a rope, in order to produce nectar. When the nectar had been obtained the gods sat in a line in order to drink it, as it would make them immortal. The demons were not allowed to have any nectar, as immortality was not desirable in their case. But one demon, Rahu, came and sat in the line of the gods, and Vishnu gave him some nectar by mistake. The sun and moon saw what had happened and they told Vishnu, who thereupon cut off Rahu's head. But as he had drunk the nectar he was immortal, and as the sun and moon betrayed him to Vishnu he bears enmity towards them, and

from time to time comes and devours them. This is the eclipse. Rahu is the god of the sweepers, and when an eclipse takes place alms should be given to sweepers; this will satisfy him and he will cease from devouring the sun and moon. The story seems to be a Brahmanised version of the one previously given as current among the Gonds.

The general character of nature myths may be considered as an explanation of the phenomena observed in the physical world, by supposing them to be due to the actions or conflicts of the planets and elements, who, as already stated, are believed to have life.¹ In the early stage of religion the conception of anthropomorphic gods has not arisen, and the myths are crude and grotesque. A people endowed with a poetic imagination proceeds in time to personify the gods, and graceful and attractive myths are then created. The Gond worships the sun; he thinks of it as something which burns. The Greek also began by worshipping the sun. But as his intelligence and artistic feeling developed, his poets evolved for him the conception of the beautiful sun-god, the far-shooting archer.

123. The number of persons returned as Animists at this census is 1,744,546, being a decrease of 337,175, or of 16·2 per cent. on the figures of 1891. The percentage of decrease is thus about double that of the population as a whole. It is very difficult to say how a distinction should be made between an Animist and a Hindu. It has been seen that the beliefs of the greater part of the population of the rural districts are of a primitive description; and, further, that there appears to be no religious test of Hinduism, and that the only definition which is capable of application is that of adherence to the caste system. But the tribal organisation of the Dravidians is generally at least nominally endogamous, and it answers the purpose of a caste so far as this rule is concerned. The tribes, however, do not necessarily acknowledge the supremacy of Brahmans, and it may be considered that it is when they begin to do this that they are really admitted into the caste system. At the same time they assume a nominal profession of the worship of Mahadeo and Devi, sometimes simply giving the Hindu names to their own gods. This was the test prescribed for the purpose of the census. If a man said he worshipped Mahadeo, he was to be recorded as a Hindu, and if he revered the tribal gods, the name of the tribe was to be entered in the column of religion. The relative figures of Animists and Hindus returned by them should reflect statistically the progress of the movement which Sir Alfred Lyall calls 'the gradual Brahmanising of the aboriginal, non-Aryan, or casteless tribes.' It is more or less a civilising process, and proceeds along three main lines. They abandon their forest life and migratory methods of cultivation and settle down in villages; they abandon to some extent their tribal gods or give them the names of Hindu deities, and begin to venerate Brahmans and refrain from killing cows; and they abandon their tribal language and adopt the Aryan vernacular of the locality. The three processes do not necessarily of course advance in any degree concurrently, but they may be taken as representing three phases of what is practically one movement. The change of religion is usually much less real than either of the other two, and is in fact little more than a change of nomenclature. It is only in respect of language and religion that statistics are available. The total number of persons speaking tribal dialects is 1,085,541, or about 62 per cent. of the

¹ This is believed to be Mr. Lang's view as exemplified in 'Custom and Myth.'

number of Animists, and the number of Animists is about 60 per cent. on the total of the tribes. Mr. Robertson was of opinion that little value could be attached to the distinction of religion made in the returns, but the proportions of Animists and Hindus at this census show with some exceptions a fairly close correspondence with those of 1891, and may, I think, be taken to indicate generally the progress of the movement described above in individual tribes so far as religion is concerned. As regards the important tribes, the Baigas and Bhunjias are nearly all Animists both in 1891 and 1901. Of the Gonds 79 per cent. were shown as Animists in 1891, and 77 per cent. at this census. In the case of the Kandhs there is a considerable variation, 78 per cent. being returned as Animists in 1891 as against 57 per cent. at present. I am not able to offer an opinion as to which figure is more nearly correct. The Kharias and Kudas are fairly equally divided between Animism and Hinduism. These are the tribes showing the largest proportions of Animists. Of the Binjhars or Binjhals, about two-thirds are Hindus. The Dhanwars have 64 per cent. of Hindus at this census as against 80 in 1891. The former figure is probably more accurate as they are a wild tribe, and it is doubtful whether even this percentage is not too high. Of the Kols or Mundas 77 per cent. are shown as Hindus at present as against 87 per cent. in 1891, and of the Khairwars 89 as against 87. Korkus show a large difference, 87 per cent. being Hindus now as compared with 60 per cent. at last census. The figures are perhaps more accurate on this occasion as the tribe has generally adopted Hindu usages, and Mr. Standen, who knows them well, decided that the record should be to this effect in the case of most of those of Betul. Of the Kawars 90 per cent. are Hindus at this census as compared with 97 per cent. in 1891. The Bhils and Halbas are practically all shown as Hindus in both years.

124. The number of Mahomedans in the Central Provinces at this census is 307,302, being a decrease of 2,177 persons, or of 7 per cent. on 1891. The Mahomedans have thus been practically stationary during the decennial period. Between 1881 and 1891 they increased by about 8 per cent., or at a slightly slower rate than the general population. Their numbers are about equal in the Jubbulpore, Nerbudda and Nagpur Divisions, which have between 80,000 and 90,000 each. In Chhattisgarh there are only 34,500, and in the States 12,000. Out of the total number of Mahomedans about 9,500 are returned as Shias, and for about the same number no sect is returned. All the rest are Sunnis. The main difference between the Shias and the Sunnis is that the former specially venerate Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth Caliph. They consider that part of the divine inspiration descended on him and refuse to recognise the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakar, Umar, and Usman. The sons of Ali, Hasan and Husain, were murdered—one by poison, and the other on the field of Karbala—by the rebellious viceroy of Persia, and it is in memory of them that the Shias observe the Muharram. The *tazias* of the Muharram are representations of the tomb of Husain. The Sunnis are said not to observe the Muharram except on the 10th day, when they believe Adam and Eve to have been created, and to abhor the *tazias*. But most of the Mahomedans in the Central Provinces do observe it in spite of their being nominally Sunnis, and on this account are despised by the more educated. The Saiyads are descended, or supposed to be descended, from the children of Husain and to be of the blood of the Prophet. There are 23,607 Saiyads in the Central Provinces, so the Prophet's line is in no danger of becoming extinct. Of the other

three tribes, Shaikh appears simply to be a title conferred on elders, but it is now considered as a tribe. There are 143,674 Shaikhs. Mogals are reported to be the descendants of the Tartar nobles who came into India with the Mogal Emperors. They use the title of Mirza.¹ There are 4,454 Mogals. Pathans consider themselves the descendants of Afghan immigrants. There are 92,572 Pathans.

About 8 per cent. of Mahomedans have returned caste names. The principal castes are Bahina (20,113), Fakir (2,918), Bohra (2,478), Bhil (1,776), Kachera (1,379), Gond (1,026) and Rangrez (763). The Bohras are a class of traders who came from Gujarat and are nearly all Shias and are considered to have been Hindu converts. They marry among themselves. The other names returned are also practically distinct castes, as the more respectable Mahomedans refuse to intermarry with them. They have to a great extent adopted Hindu customs. The Pinjars² perform marriage by the 'bhanwar' ceremony or walking round the sacred pole, and also have the 'gauna' ceremony of sending the bride to her husband's house. They also have caste panchayats. 'The Kachera and Pinjara are 'lost to Mahomed, and far from the faith.'³ Mr. Ibbetson says of the Delhi Mahomedans: 'They observe the fasts of both religions and the feasts of neither. 'A brother officer tells me that he once entered the rest-house of a Mahomedan 'village in Hissar, and found the headman refreshing an idol with a new coat of oil 'while a Brahman read holy texts alongside. They seemed somewhat ashamed of 'being caught in this act, but on being pressed explained that their Mulla had lately 'visited them, had been extremely angry on seeing the idol, and had made them 'bury it in the sand. But now that the Mulla had gone, they were afraid of the 'possible consequences, and were endeavouring to console the god for his rough 'treatment.'⁴ There is then very little real distinction between the lower class of Mahomedans who have adopted the caste system and Hindus.

125. Jains number 48,183 as against 49,212 in 1891, giving a decrease of 1,029 or 2·1 per cent. Jains are found for the most part in the two northern divisions. Nearly one-third of the whole number live in Saugor. In these districts they live in villages and have taken to cultivation to a certain extent. In the south of the Provinces they are generally residents in towns and engaged in trade. Nearly all Jains are Banias, the principal sub-castes returned being Charnagar, Golapurab, Oswal and Parwar. But there are also some Kalars (438), Banjaras (55), and Brahmans (43), and a few of other castes. Jains and Hindus do not usually intermarry in the Central Provinces. But they are stated to do so elsewhere. 'I think the fact that the Hindu (Vaishnava) and Jain (Saraogi) 'Banias used to intermarry freely in Delhi, a great centre of the Jain faith, and 'still do intermarry in other districts is practically decisive as to the light in which 'the people themselves regard the affinities of the two religions. I cannot believe 'that the members of a caste which, like the Banias, is more than ordinarily strict in 'its observance of all caste rules and distinctions, and of the social and ceremonial 'restrictions which Hinduism imposes upon them, standing indeed in this respect 'second only to the Brahmans themselves, would allow their daughters to marry 'the followers of a religion which they looked upon as alien to their own.

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume on Gujarat, page 9.

² Pinjara and Bahna are synonymous terms for the caste of Mahomedan cotton-carders.

³ From a Note by Mr. Sil. Plesader, Seoni.

⁴ Punjab Census Report, 1881, paragraph 275.

'I have already explained how elastic the Hindu religion is, and what wide diversity it admits of under the cloak of sect, and I shall presently show that Sikhism is no bar to intermarriage; but Sikhism is only saved from being a Hindu sect by its political history and importance.'¹ The Jains are divided into two sects, Svetambara, 'white-clothed,' and Digambara, 'sky-clad' or naked, the terms referring happily not to the costume of the Jains themselves but to that of their idols. The sects were not recorded at the census, but the Digambara predominate. There is also a small third sect which has no idols. The great ceremony of the Jains is the 'rath' or chariot festival, and Mr. Hira Lal saw one at Khurai which was of exceptional magnificence and of which he has furnished the following description:—'*A pandal* or tent is constructed of masonry pillars with coloured cloths spread over them, and in this the idols of the hosts and all the guests are placed. When the ceremony is performed they are taken out and placed on "raths" or wooden cars, sometimes as much as five stories high, and each drawn by two elephants. The procession of cars moves seven times round the tent, at a slow pace, surrounded by all the people. For the performance of this ceremony, honorary and hereditary titles are conferred. Those who do it once receive the designation of "Singhai"; for carrying it out twice they become "Sawai Singhais," and on a third occasion "Seths." In the Khurai ceremony one of the participators was already a Seth, and in recognition of his unwonted profusion, a new title was created and he became "Shrimant Seth." If, however, the procession does not go off successfully and the car breaks or the elephants refuse to move, the title becomes derisive and is either "Lule Singhai" (the lame one) or "Adku Singhai" (the stumbler). Of the total number of Jains 40,600, or about five-sixths, are shown as born in the Central Provinces, so that the community, though still to a certain extent recruited by immigration, is for the most part indigenous. Of those born outside the Province the greater number came from Rajputana and Central India. A nearly equal number of Jains are returned as speaking Hindi.

126. There are 572 Sikhs as against 173 in 1891. Of those 149 are returned from Saugor and 265 from Nagpur. 143 of the Sikhs are shown as belonging to the army, and 198 as timber contractors or carpenters. 41 are landowners and 73 tenants. The figures give the total number of persons supported by the respective occupations.

The number of Sikhs in the Central Provinces is not large enough to call for any description of the Sikh religion. But as it is one which recognises caste, it is worth noting that the history of Sikhism, as given by Mr. Ibbetson, is that of another dissenting sect, which began by denying caste, and has ended by admitting it. Caste distinctions were positively condemned by Guru Govind, the first militant leader. The following is the state of affairs in the Punjab at present:—'The precepts which forbid the Sikh to venerate Brahmans or to associate himself with Hindu worship are entirely neglected; and in the matter of the worship of local saints and deities, and of the employment of, and reverence for, Brahmans, there is little, while in current superstitions and superstitious practices there is no difference between the Sikh villager and his Hindu brother. In Sirsa it is sufficient for a man to let his hair grow long and talk Punjabi, and he becomes a Sikh.'²

¹ Punjab Census Report, 1881, paragraph 255.

² Punjab Census Report, 1881, paragraph 265.

It appears, then, that Sikhism began by being more or less a reforming sect. But its history differed altogether from that of the others, because its leader took up politics and came into contact with the ruling Mahomedan power. And the followers of his sect, like the Puritans of England, were developed by oppression into a military confederacy. Their history as such is well-known and has nothing to do with the scope of this chapter. But as a religious movement it has, according to Mr. Ibbetson, to a great extent failed, and has ended by recognising those distinctions of caste and that supremacy of the Brahmans which it set out to abolish.

127. In the above notice of the five religions, in which castes are recognised, it has been seen that there is really no scientific distinction to be drawn between the caste system and Hinduism.

Conclusion as to Caste and Hinduism.

When a man adheres to his caste and venerates Brahmans he is for practical purposes a Hindu, even though he professes another belief. For, as far as religion is concerned, it does not appear that the worship of any deity or the holding of any doctrine is essential to inclusion within or need entail exclusion from the pale of Hinduism. And it may be noted that this conclusion is also arrived at by M. Barth in the introduction to the 'Religions of India,' though he does not proceed on the same line of argument as has been attempted in this chapter:—'In sectarian India, at present and since the appearance of 'foreign proselytising religions, caste is the express badge of Hinduism. The man 'who is a member of a caste is a Hindu. He who is not, is not a Hindu.'¹ And though M. Barth does not give the same sort of description of Hinduism as that which has been attempted in this chapter, and his book discusses it as consisting in the doctrines of the sacred books and the philosophical schools, it is an important point that a leading authority on these subjects has ultimately fallen back on caste for a definition of the religion. As to the religion of the majority of people who are called Hindus, if they can be said to have one religion at all, it would appear to be more correct to consider it as Animism than anything else.

128. There are 980 Parsis in the Central Provinces as against 781 at last census, or an increase of 199. About half the Parsis

Minor religions.

were born in Bombay and half in the Central Provinces, so that they have in many cases now settled with their families. 419 of the Parsis are shown as being in Railway service, 39 in Government service, 167 as employed in cotton mills, 46 as spirit distillers and sellers, and the rest on miscellaneous occupations. Nearly all Parsis have returned their language as Gujarati. Jews number 127 as against 176 in 1891, and there is thus a reduction of 49 persons. Practically all the Jews are engaged in Government service, railway service, or cotton factories. 70 of the Jews are shown as born outside the Province, of whom 66 belong to Bombay, and 57 as born within the Province. It appears, therefore, that some families have settled here. 15 Jews have returned Hebrew as their language and nearly all the rest Marathi. There are 169 Buddhists as against 325 in 1891. They are for the most part prisoners in the Central Jails, and as they are no longer received, the number is gradually decreasing. There are 406 members of the Arya Samaj as against 275 in 1891, and 335 of the Brahm Samaj as against only 3 at last census. But it appears that this designation has in some cases been entered by Brahmans who are not really members of the community.

¹ Introduction to the Religions of India, page xvii.

PART II.—CHRISTIANS.

129. 25,591 Christians are returned at this census as against 13,318 in 1891, being an increase of 92 per cent. Between 1881 and 1891, the increase was only 1,345 or 11 per cent. on the figures of the former year. The increase at this census has been almost solely among Native Christians, the figures of Europeans and Eurasians not having changed materially. The number of Europeans returned is 4,920 as against 4,838 in 1891, being an increase of about 2 per cent. The increase would have been greater but for the fact that the garrison was somewhat under its normal strength at the time the census was taken. The 4th Bengal Lancers were marching on relief to Saugor and had not arrived in the Provinces and only half the battalion of the Black Watch was in Kamptee. In addition to this the head-quarters of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway was transferred to Calcutta during the decade. There has probably been a certain increase of Europeans both in and outside Government service, but the figures returned are of little value because of the indefinite meaning which attaches to the term in the Census Schedules. Out of the total number of Europeans 2,025 are shown as belonging to the Army and 271 as employed in religious services. Nearly all the rest are in different branches of the Civil Administration. There are 2,304 Eurasians as against 2,202 in 1891 or an increase of 4·6 per cent. Nearly a thousand Eurasians are in Railway service, and the large majority of the remainder in Government service. None are returned as without occupation.

130. There are 18,367 Native Christians as against 6,278 in 1891. The numbers have therefore very nearly trebled. Nearly every district shows a large advance on the previous figures. The increases in Jubbulpore from 605 to 1,644, in Hoshangabad from 506 to 2,301, in Nimar from 241 to 1,187, in Raipur from 1,011 to 3,294, and in Bilaspur from 271 to 2,030, are the most remarkable. In Saugor the figures have risen from 251 to 768. There are Swedish and Roman Catholic Missions. Both appear to be successful, but the work of the Roman Church at Shyampura is particularly noticeable. This village has been taken on a lease for 60 years, and though the soil is of the most inferior quality, excellent crops are now obtained and numbers of fruit-bearing trees have been planted. The children are taught reading and writing, cultivation, and manual industries in the village workshop, but not English, lest it should unfit them for the work in life to which they are brought up. In Damoh Native Christians have increased from 10 to 57. An American Mission was established in 1894 and has done some good work there. In Jubbulpore the Native Christians have nearly trebled, the number being 1,644 as against 605 in 1891. Three missions and orphanages are known—the Church of England Zenana Mission at Murwara, and the Methodist Episcopal and Wesleyan at Jubbulpore. The first two admit only girls, boys being sent outside the district, to which fact the excess of female Christians, who number 1,002 as against 642 males, is to be attributed. All three are flourishing institutions. In

Mandla the number of Native Christians is 536 as against 108 in 1891. There is a Church of England Mission among the Gond, whose converts number 230 village people and 150 orphans during the decade. It is gratifying to be informed that a separate enumeration of the Christians, made by the Revd. Mr. Molony at the time of the census, tallies exactly with the return now arrived at. The Gondi Grammar of the Revd. Mr. Williamson, who belonged to this Mission, is quoted by Dr. Grierson as an authority on the language. In Seoni Native Christians have increased from 73 to 165. There is a mission of the Church of Scotland in the town. In Narsinghpur there are 319 Native Christians as against 87 in 1891. There is the Hardwicke American Methodist Episcopal Mission which received a number of orphans during the famine. In Hoshangabad Native Christians have more than quadrupled, numbering 2,301 as against 505 at last census. There are mission stations at the head-quarters of each tahsil, besides one at Itarsi. All those, except the one at Harda, belong to the Society of Friends. They have a workshop at Rasulia, a village near Hoshangabad, where carpentering is done on a large scale, and a High School at Hoshangabad, which teaches up to the matriculation standard. In Harda the station belongs to the Mission known as the Disciples of Christ. The increase in Nimar is from 241 to 1,187. There are Methodist Episcopal and Roman Catholic Missions at Khandwa. Betul has 384 Native Christians as against 34 in 1891. There are the Evangelical Lutheran Mission of Sweden at different stations (Badnur, Chicholi, Nimpani and Bordehi) and the London Korku Mission recently established at Bhaisdehi. In Chhindwara the increase of Native Christians has been from 49 to 455. This result is to be attributed to the Swedish Mission; it includes a number of orphans. In Wardha there are 100 Native Christians as against 50 in 1891. There is a United Free Church Mission in the town. Nagpur has 3,293 Native Christians as against 2,360 in 1891. The numbers of Presbyterians and Roman Catholics have been raised by converts of the Scotch Kirk and the French priests. In Chanda the increase is from 156 to 204. An American Methodist Episcopal Mission is reported at Sironcha. In Bhandara there are 235 Native Christians as against 85 in 1891. The Mission of the Scotch Presbyterian Free Kirk has been very successful. In Balaghat the numbers are 191 as against 16. This is due to the Methodist Mission at Nikum in Baihar Tahsil. In Raipur the increase of Native Christians is from 1,011 to 3,294. The German Evangelical Mission at Bistrampur under the Revd. Mr. Lohr has made many converts. There is also a Methodist Mission in Raipur and an American Mennonite Mission at Dhamtari. The numbers in Bilaspur have risen from 271 to 2,030. There are American Missions at Mungeli and Bilaspur and a German station at Chandkuri. The Revd. Mr. Gordon, the head of the Mungeli Mission, has contributed some excellent notes on the Satnami Chamars and other castes of Mungeli Tahsil. In Sambalpur the mission belongs to the Baptist Church, and the Revd. Mr. Heberlet, who is in charge of it, is a well-known Oriya scholar. There are 576 Native Christians as against 171 at last census. The number of Native Christians in the Feudatory States is now 576 as against 186 in 1891. The Episcopal Methodist Church has a branch at Jagdalpur in Bastar, and in Nandgaon and Khairagarh there are stations of the Pentecostal Mission. The gentleman in charge of the station at Nandgaon excited great interest among the people by building a house with his own hands. The Sambalpur Baptist Mission has made a number of converts in Patna.

131. As regards denominations, the Roman Catholics are the most numerous, numbering 7,292 or 29 per cent. of the whole Christian population. They are principally found in Nagpur, Jubbulpore, Saugor, Hoshangabad and Bilaspur. Members of the Anglican communion number 6,541 or 26 per cent. of the total. Next to these come Lutherans with 3,884 or 15 per cent. of the total. A number of Lutherans, who were returned as German Evangelical, were classed under minor denominations. There were 1,711 of these in Bilaspur, and adding them, the correct number of Lutherans would be 5,595. Methodists number 2,572 or 10 per cent. of the population, Presbyterians 1,438 or 6 per cent., members of the Society of Friends 1,212 or 5 per cent., and Baptists 436 or 2 per cent. The classification is not entirely accurate, because persons returned simply as Protestants were classified as belonging to the Anglican communion, while in some cases they were converts of missions of some of the above churches in different districts. When this fact was elicited by local inquiry, the table was corrected as far as possible.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—General Distribution of Population by Religion.

Religion.	1901.						1891.					
	Population.			Proportion per 10,000.			Population.			Proportion per 10,000.		
	British Districts.	Feudatory States.	Central Provinces.	British Districts.	Feudatory States.	Central Provinces.	British Districts.	Feudatory States.	Central Provinces.	British Districts.	Feudatory States.	Central Provinces.
Hindus	8,171,211	1,573,607	9,744,818	8,274	2,882	8,208	8,811,199	1,658,143	10,489,342	8,189	2,675	8,103
Animists	4,325,373	408,973	4,744,346	1,352	2,049	1,469	1,592,149	489,572	2,081,721	1,477	2,205	1,668
Muslimans	295,291	12,011	307,302	299	60	259	297,604	11,875	309,479	276	55	279
Christians	24,809	782	25,591	25	4	21	12,979	330	13,318	12	8	11
Arya Samajis	382	24	406	—	—	—	205	10	275	—	—	—
Brahmo Samajis	312	3	315	—	—	—	2	—	3	—	—	—
Buddhists	169	—	169	—	—	—	222	3	225	—	—	—
Jains	47,306	827	48,133	48	5	41	48,644	568	49,212	45	3	36
Jewish	127	—	127	—	—	—	176	—	176	—	—	—
Sikhs	477	95	572	1	—	1	172	1	173	—	—	—
Zoroastrians	969	11	980	1	—	1	281	—	281	1	—	1
Unspecified	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	9,876,646	1,996,383	11,873,029	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,784,204	2,160,511	12,944,805	10,000	10,000	10,000

SUBSIDIARY TABLE 1.—General Distribution of Population by Religion.—(Concl'd.)

Religion.	1881-1891.				NET VARIATION 1881-1901.			
	VARIATION		PERCENTAGE.		BRITISH DISTRICTS.		FEUDATORY STATES.	
	British Districts.	Feudatory States.	Central Provinces.	British Districts.	Feudatory States.	Central Provinces.	Variation.	Percentage.
Hindus	+ 860,049	+ 178,874	+ 1,038,916	+ 108	+ 121	+ 110	+ 200,054	+ 95
Animists	+ 38,550	+ 269,254	+ 227,804	+ 38	+ 122	+ 187	+ 198,026	+ 120
Muslimans	+ 21,831	+ 1,061	+ 21,792	+ 79	+ 198	+ 83	+ 19,518	+ 71
Christians	+ 1,030	+ 315	+ 1,345	+ 86	+ 1,312	+ 112	+ 12,860	+ 107
Arya Samajis	+ 205	+ 10	+ 275	...	...	...	+ 382	...
Brahmo Samajis	—	—	—	+ 571	—	—	+ 325	+ 4,642
Buddhists	+ 305	+ 3	+ 308	+ 1,794	...	+ 1,811	+ 132	+ 894
Jains	+ 2,926	+ 275	+ 3,201	+ 64	+ 104	+ 72	+ 1,588	+ 35
Jewish	+ 113	...	+ 113	+ 170	...	+ 179	+ 64	+ 101
Sikhs	+ 75	—	+ 74	+ 77	—	+ 50	+ 380	+ 30
Zoroastrians	+ 382	—	+ 382	+ 957	...	+ 957	+ 576	+ 142
Unspecified	—	...	—	—	...	—	—	—
Total	+ 945,503	+ 430,791	+ 1,376,294	+ 96	+ 264	+ 121	+ 37,855	+ 64
							+ 286,663	+ 168
								+ 477
							+ 381	+ 145
							—	—
							+ 324,518	+ 28

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Distribution of Religions by Districts.*

District or State.	HINDUS.		ANIMISTS.		MUHAMMANS.		CHRISTIANS.		JAINS.	
	Proportion per 10,000 in		Proportion per 10,000 in		Proportion per 10,000 in		Proportion per 10,000 in		Proportion per 10,000 in	
	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.
Saugor	8,714	9,064	437	168	493	455	29	17	323	394
Damoh	8,491	9,024	543	441	317	314	3	1	244	220
Jubbulpore	8,759	8,073	535	1,301	558	513	54	34	91	81
Maodla	3,800	4,328	6,016	5,539	155	128	18	4	11	10
Semi	5,476	5,314	4,033	4,743	443	405	6	3	39	35
Jubbulpore Division	7,439	7,484	1,955	1,963	431	400	28	15	144	136
Narsinghpur	8,522	8,359	1,011	1,204	373	359	11	3	80	65
Hoshangabad	8,302	8,119	1,075	1,365	493	458	60	17	66	39
Nimar	8,620	8,806	279	24	1,013	1,085	43	22	50	57
Betul	6,802	6,119	2,896	1,685	107	159	14	2	31	35
Chhindwara	6,151	5,931	3,495	3,722	304	307	12	0	38	37
Nerbudda Division	7,681	7,441	1,761	2,062	472	441	30	9	54	45
Wardha	8,396	8,668	956	891	381	374	4	2	62	64
Nagpur	8,791	8,748	512	554	597	572	82	73	36	41
Chanda	7,695	7,439	2,113	1,366	175	161	5	3	12	11
Bhandara	8,307	8,615	990	1,001	191	176	5	2	7	6
Balaghat	7,489	7,361	2,294	2,450	198	160	7	1	12	8
Nagpur Division	8,370	8,224	1,259	1,428	318	300	26	20	24	24
Raipur	9,024	8,677	821	1,215	123	97	24	7	7	4
Bilaspur	9,022	9,101	829	800	124	96	23	3	2	...
Sambalpur	9,101	9,631	836	331	53	45	9	3	...	...
Chhattisgarh Division	9,043	9,028	827	880	105	85	20	5	4	2
British Districts	8,273	8,189	1,353	1,478	299	278	25	12	49	45
Makrai	8,663	7,978	668	1,413	616	553	...	...	53	54
Bastar	5,400	6,179	6,549	3,786	44	34	6	1	1	...
Kanker	4,760	4,328	5,194	5,723	41	47	...	...	5	3
Nandgaon	8,952	8,770	844	1,119	142	87	14	3	37	19
Khairagarh	9,797	8,453	109	1,425	154	105	17	11	13	4
Chhuikhadan	9,709	8,231	...	1,555	285	214	...	...	6	...
Kawardha	9,720	9,032	55	745	211	223	...	...	4	...
Sakti	9,896	9,092	...	827	103	81	1	...	...	...
Balgarh	8,958	9,200	971	748	64	50	1	1	1	...
Sarnagarh	9,246	9,648	120	315	34	37	...	...	...	...
Bamra	9,807	6,294	164	3,684	28	21	1	1	...	...
Bairakhol	9,061	9,686	902	284	34	30	...	...	...	...
Seepur	9,947	8,726	23	1,246	30	28	...	...	...	...
Patna	8,248	7,254	1,727	2,730	19	16	5	...	1	...
Kalahandi	7,978	7,173	2,007	2,817	15	10	...	...	...	...
Feudatory States	7,882	7,675	2,049	2,288	60	66	4	1	5	2
Central Provinces	8,208	8,103	1,489	1,608	259	239	22	10	41	38

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Distribution of Kabirpanthis and Satnamis and their variation since 1881.*

District or State.	KABIRPANTHI.					SATNAMI.								
	Persons.			Variation Increase (+) or decrease (—)		Persons.			Variation Increase (+) or decrease (—)					
	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901—1891.	1891—1881.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901—1891.	1891—1881.				
<i>Districts.</i>														
Saugor	6,321	28,056	4,606	—	21,735	+	23,450	1,128	14,611	245	—	13,483	+	14,366
Damoh	3,517	17,621	3,423	—	14,104	+	15,198	109	11,063	137	—	11,656	+	11,828
Jubbulpore	47,799	90,130	11,701	—	42,331	+	78,429	304	4,734	225	—	4,430	+	4,499
Mandla	13,180	19,956	5,686	—	6,776	+	14,270	110	323	70	—	213	+	247
Seoni	8,174	21,827	398	—	13,653	+	21,220	134	333	9	—	199	+	344
Jubbulpore Division	78,991	177,590	25,014	—	98,599	+	152,576	1,785	31,066	702	—	30,181	+	31,264
Narsinghpur	1,299	7,561	411	—	6,262	+	7,150	9	1,038	14	—	1,029	+	1,024
Hoshangabad	20,652	37,514	3,372	—	16,862	+	34,142	2,068	3,313	9	—	1,245	+	3,304
Nimar	4,862	1,577	101	—	3,285	+	1,476	263	135	54	—	128	+	81
Betul	158	2,106	132	—	1,948	+	1,974	1	153	2	—	152	+	151
Chhindwara	3,837	10,118	5,528	—	6,281	+	4,590	72	299	6	—	227	+	293
Nerbudda Division	30,808	58,876	9,544	—	28,668	+	49,332	2,413	4,938	85	—	2,525	+	4,853
Wardha	118	270	92	—	152	+	178	9	—	2	+	9	—	2
Nagpur	10,671	10,954	7,371	—	283	+	3,583	163	116	416	+	47	—	309
Chanda	1,180	2,092	1,064	—	912	+	1,028	758	571	123	+	187	+	398
Bhandara	5,136	11,439	2,169	—	6,294	+	9,261	176	2	58	+	176	—	26
Balaghat	19,038	40,706	8,574	—	21,668	+	32,132	187	219	—	+	32	+	219
Nagpur Division	36,143	65,452	19,270	—	29,399	+	46,182	1,295	908	629	+	387	+	279
Raipur	102,175	178,657	143,178	—	16,482	+	35,479	224,779	252,674	223,447	—	27,895	+	29,127
Bilaspur	99,268	112,018	87,348	—	12,750	+	24,670	117,476	145,840	133,086	—	28,273	+	12,763
Sambalpur	15,618	11,443	10,120	+	4,226	+	1,322	1,213	116	212	—	1,097	—	96
Chhattisgarh Division	277,111	302,117	240,646	—	25,016	+	61,471	343,468	398,639	356,745	—	55,171	+	41,894
British Districts	423,053	804,038	294,474	—	180,982	+	309,561	348,961	438,451	358,161	—	87,490	+	478,290
<i>States.</i>														
Makrai	1,090	1,538	—	—	452	+	1,538	142	27	—	+	115	+	27
Bastar	2,392	1,666	3	+	926	+	1,663	272	185	—	+	87	+	185
Kanker	1,369	2,133	433	+	236	+	698	517	335	44	+	189	+	291
Nandgaon	16,674	23,616	14,676	—	8,940	+	10,940	12,731	14,477	12,381	—	1,726	+	2,096
Khairagarh	18,771	18,734	18,371	+	37	+	363	15,232	15,199	16,332	+	33	+	1,133
Chhuikhadan	3,680	4,793	3,286	—	1,507	+	1,417	1,704	2,116	1,867	—	149	+	249
Kawardha	3,231	3,200	5,618	+	31	+	418	2,306	2,074	9,482	—	668	—	1,508
Sakti	2,468	3,395	2,819	—	927	+	576	97	43	—	+	54	+	43
Raigarh	11,528	11,868	4,025	—	340	+	7,833	588	52	139	+	496	—	37
Sarangarh	6,096	4,973	4,253	+	1,123	+	722	443	229	13	+	214	+	216
Bamra	71	1,550	—	—	1,485	+	1,516	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Rairakhol	6	—	—	+	6	—	—	9	—	—	+	9	—	—
Sonpur	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Patna	276	878	14	—	602	+	864	191	7	—	+	184	+	7
Kalahandi	492	377	16	+	115	+	367	1,286	215	—	+	1,161	+	225
Feudatory States	70,340	81,637	53,520	—	11,297	+	28,117	40,638	40,909	40,248	+	271	+	661
Central Provinces	933,936	885,672	47,994	—	192,270	+	337,678	389,599	477,360	398,409	—	87,761	+	78,951

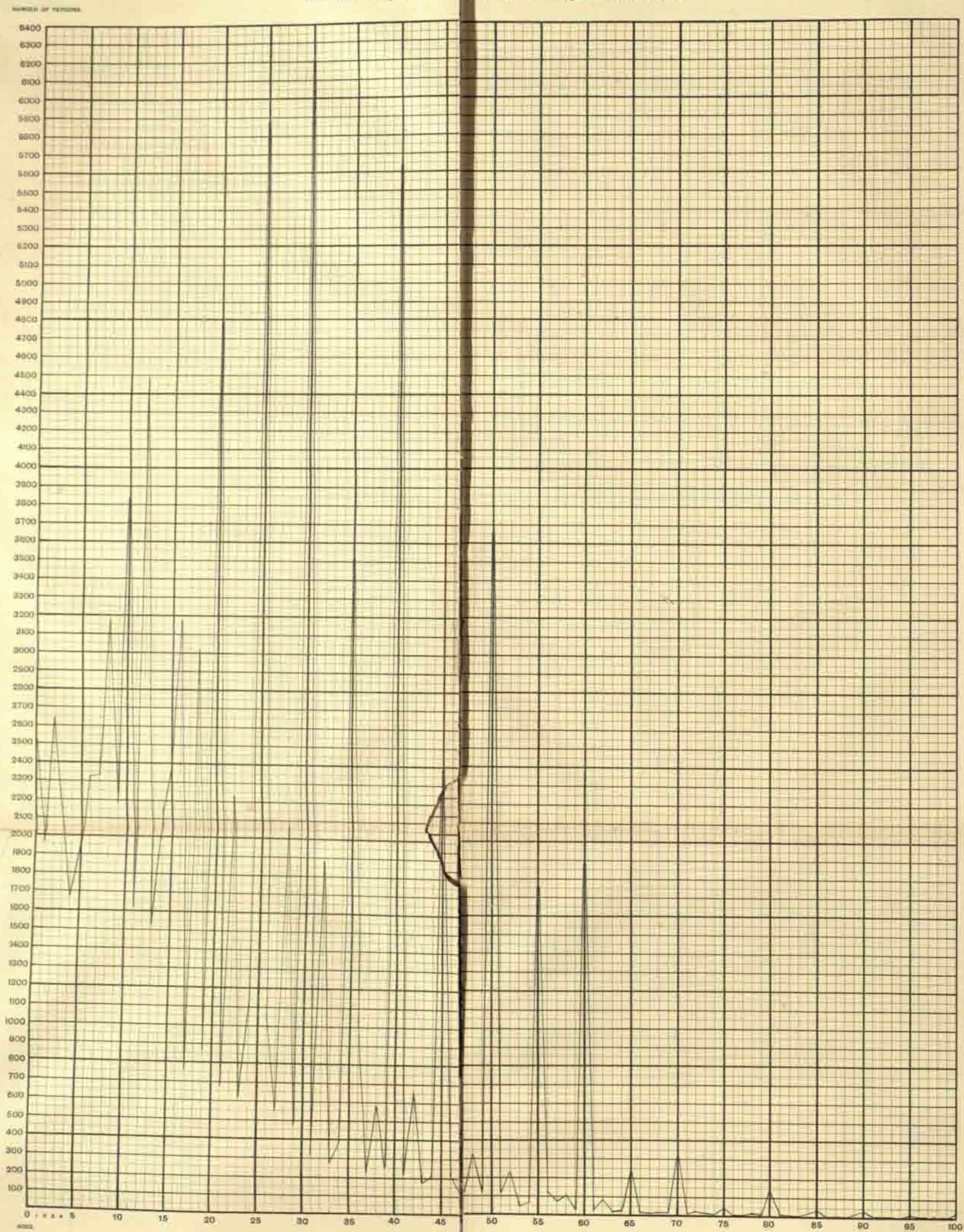
SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Distribution of Christians by Sect.*

Sect.	Persons.	Percentage of each sect on total Christians.
Anglican Communion	6,541	25.6
Baptist	436	1.7
Congregationalist	1	...
Indefinite belief	10	...
Lutheran and allied denominations	3,884	15.2
Methodist	3,570	12.1
Minor denominations	1,960	7.7
Presbyterian	1,438	5.6
Quaker	1,210	4.7
Roman	7,292	28.5
Religion not returned	236	0.9
Total	25,591	100

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—*Variation in Europeans and Eurasians since 1881.*

	1901.	1891.	1881.	VARIATION.				Net variation.	
				1891—1901		1881—1891			
				Persons.	Persons.	Persons.			
Europeans	4,920	4,838	3,919	+ 82	+ 1.7	+ 919	+ 23.4	+ 1,001	+ 25.3
Eurasians	2,304	2,202	1,230	+ 102	+ 4.6	+ 972	+ 29.0	+ 1,074	+ 87.3

Diagram showing the ages of 100,000 persons of Sanger and Damoh, according to the figures actually returned,
and illustrating the tendency to return multiples of ten and five.



CHAPTER VII.

AGE, SEX AND CIVIL CONDITION.

PART I.—AGE.

132. The defective nature of the record of ages in India has often been pointed out. When a Magistrate's opinion of the age of a witness, judging only from his personal appearance, is justly preferred to the witness's own statement, it may well be concluded that the census returns are not particularly reliable. 'As an instance of the laxity of the people in giving correct accounts of their ages, I may notice the following statement which was made to me by an officer in the North-West Provinces: 'On the morning after the census was taken, he was driving to a certain locality where he intended to make inquiries as to the accuracy of the returns. As he went along he entered into conversation with his syce, who was an elderly man and had plenty to say for himself. My informant asked him if he had been present at the census of 1872, nine years previously, and he said he had. When asked what age he had recorded himself in 1872 he replied that he had stated his age then to be 60, and when further asked what age he gave for himself in 1881, he replied indignantly, "Why, of course, 60." '1 The annexed diagram shows the actual ages as stated of 100,000 persons in Saugor and Damoh. If the return was accurate the line would fall continuously from left to right as the number of persons alive diminishes with each year of age. How far it is from doing this will appear from the diagram. The main errors are the tendency to lump on multiples of ten, and next to them on multiples of five. 481 persons are returned as 29 years old, 6,202 as 30 years old, and 328 as 31 years old. Even numbers are always preferred to odd ones. These errors are not of very great importance, however, as the excessive returns of multiples of ten and five can be distributed over the years on each side with sufficient accuracy for the amateur by a simple arithmetical calculation. In the succeeding diagrams the same ages have been reduced to a more or less regular curve. The only difficulty which cannot be got over by this calculation is that of the returns for the first few years of life. Thus the Bengal curve in figure 1 shows fewer children of one year old than of any age up to eight, which, of course, is impossible. Mr. Maclagan explains the small number of children of one year old as being due to the tendency to return all children not yet weaned as 'butcha' the term prescribed in the census for infants under one year of age. In the Central Provinces the drop at the year one is not so marked, but between eight and sixteen there are more persons alive than in any year below eight. The figures for the first years of life have been abnormally affected by high infant mortality in famine time, so that in the first year there are fewer children alive than in the second, and in the second than in the third. There is no reason why this should not represent the actual facts.

1 India Census Report, 1881, Vol. I, paragraph 162.

133. From the India Life Table for males prepared by Mr. Hardy in 1891,¹

Mortality at different periods
of life.

it appears that the mortality is very high in the first year of life, being 273 per mille of children born, and that it falls rapidly in the second and subsequent years up to nine years of age, when it is 12 per mille. Twelve and thirteen are the most healthy ages for boys, the death-rate at this age being less than 11 per thousand alive at the age. After this the ratio increases very gradually until a little over fifty; at fifty the average death-rate has reached 40 per mille of persons alive at this age. The ratio then rises more rapidly. At sixty the average death-rate is 59 per mille, and at seventy 101 per mille or 10 per cent. The following is a poetical description of a life table:—'The bridge thou seest, said he, is Human Life; consider it attentively. Upon a more leisurely survey of it, I found that it consisted of three score and ten entire arches, with several broken arches, which, added to those that were entire, made up the number about an hundred. But tell me further, said he, what thou discoverest on it. I see multitudes of people passing over it, said I, and a black cloud hanging on each end of it. As I looked more attentively, I saw several of the passengers dropping through the bridge into the great tide that flowed beneath it; and upon further examination perceived that there were innumerable trap-doors that lay concealed in the bridge, which the passengers no sooner trod upon, than they fell through them into the tide, and immediately disappeared. These hidden pitfalls were set very thick at the entrance of the bridge, so that throngs of people no sooner broke through the cloud, but many of them fell into them. They grew thinner towards the middle, but multiplied, and laid closer together towards the end of the arches that were entire. There were, indeed, some persons, but their number was very small, that continued a kind of hobbling march of the broken arches, but fell through one after the other, being quite tired and spent with so long a walk.'²

134. The following facts may be stated as regards the age constitution of the Provinces. 26 per cent. or a little over a quarter of

Variation in age constitution.

the whole population is under ten years old. 46 per cent. or rather less than half is under twenty years old. Nearly 65 per cent. is under thirty years old, and nearly four-fifths under forty years old. A little over 4 per cent. is over 60. A comparison with the returns of last census shows some noticeable changes. In 1891 the proportion of children under ten was 30.7 per cent. of the whole population as against 26.2 per cent. now. The difference is due to the decreased birth-rate and increased mortality of young children, which are the natural effects of bad seasons. The proportion of young children in 1881 was almost the same as in 1891; and in both years it was higher than the average for India or England. A high percentage of young children is the result of a high birth-rate, which, when continued for several years, will raise the proportion of children at the early ages; and it is therefore an indication that the population is increasing rapidly. This was the case in the Central Provinces both in 1881 and 1891. In France the proportion of children under ten is only about 18 per cent. as compared with 30.7 in the Central Provinces in 1891. The percentage at this census has fallen somewhat below that of India at last census, and is about equal to England, but it affords no indication of the natural fecundity of the

¹ India Census Report, 1891, Vol. II, page 182.

² Addison's Vision of Mirza, quoted in Newsholme's Vital Statistics, page 255.

I.

Diagram comparing the ages of 100,000 Males for Bengal and the Central Provinces (Saugor and Damoh).

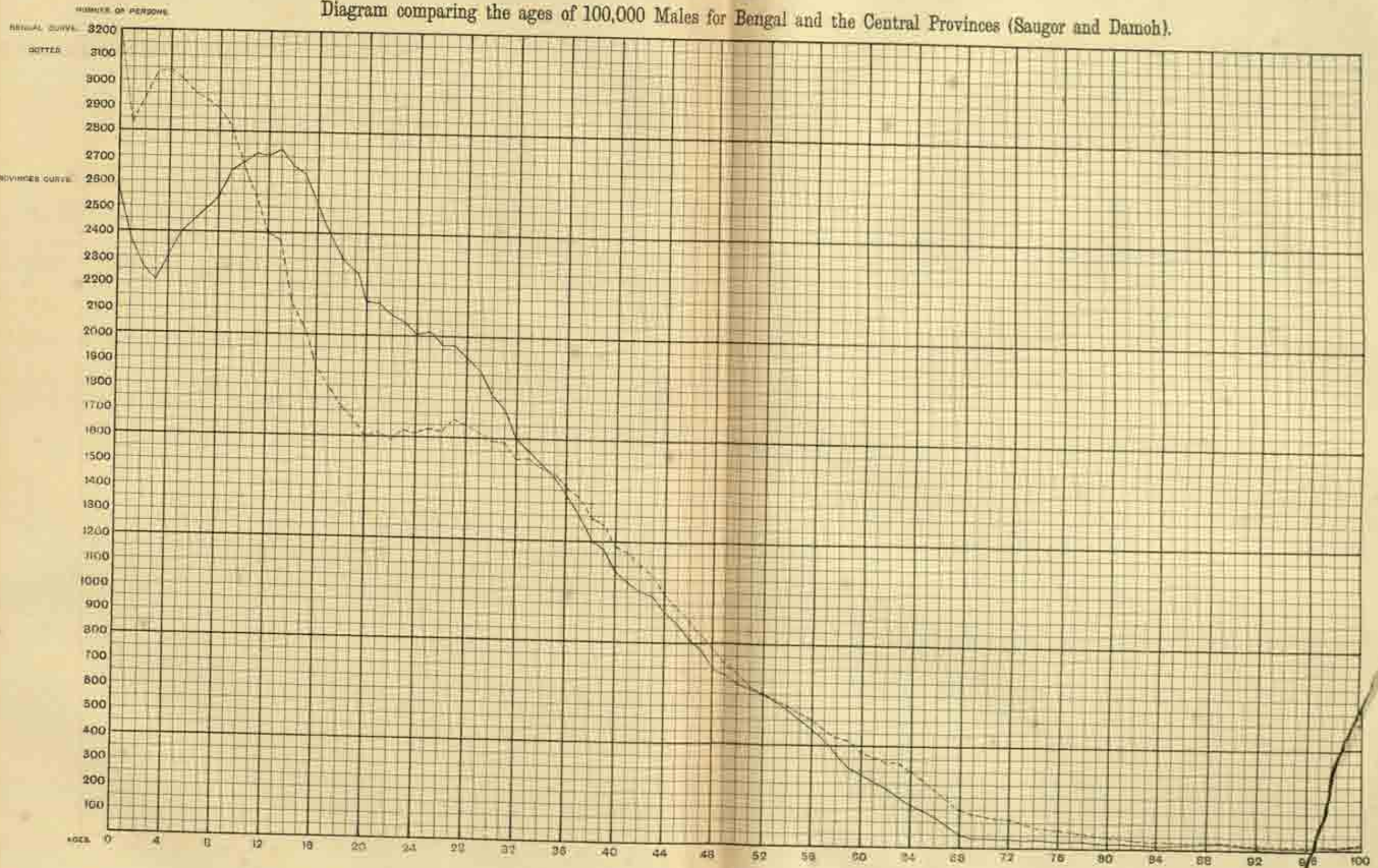
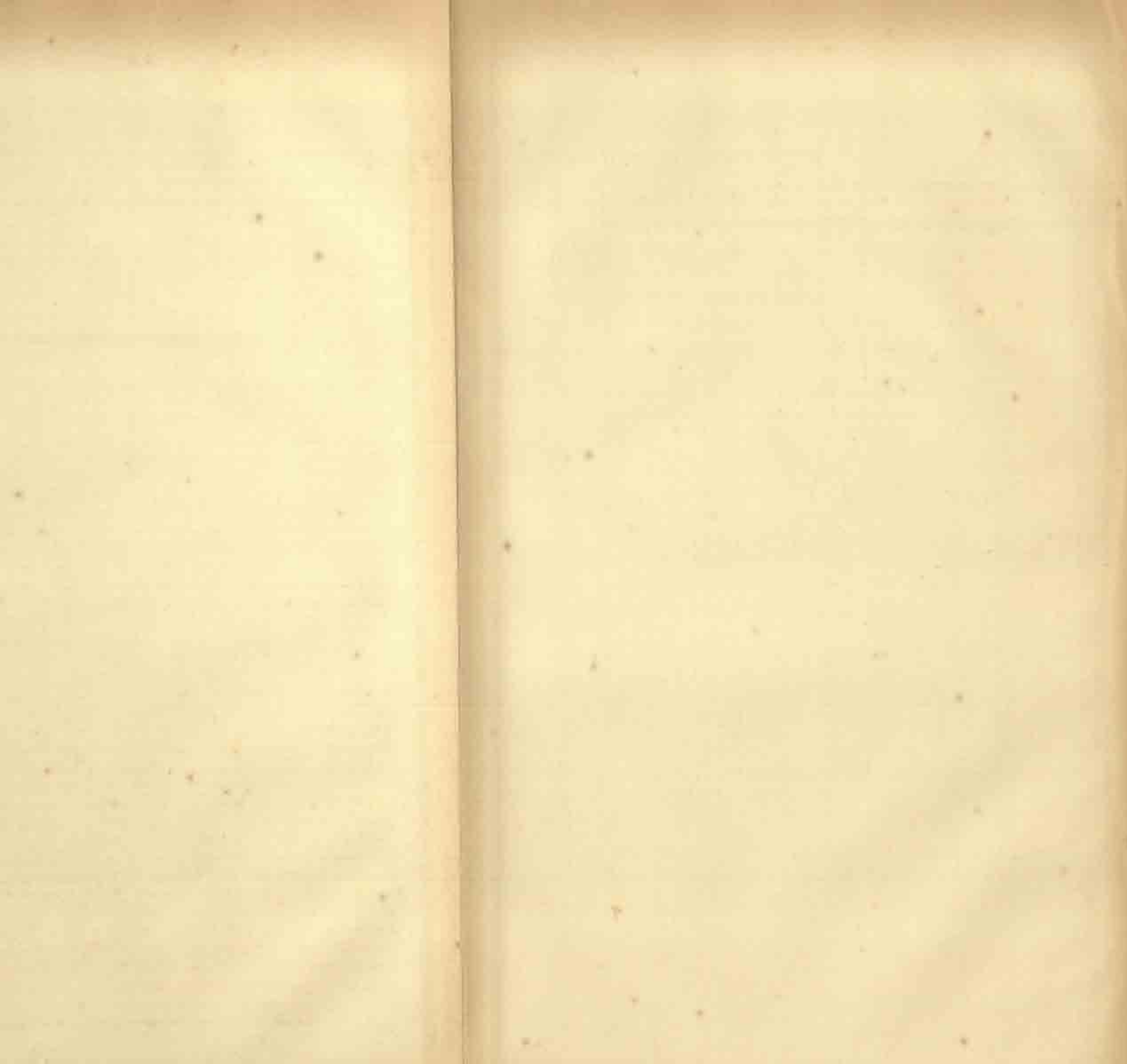


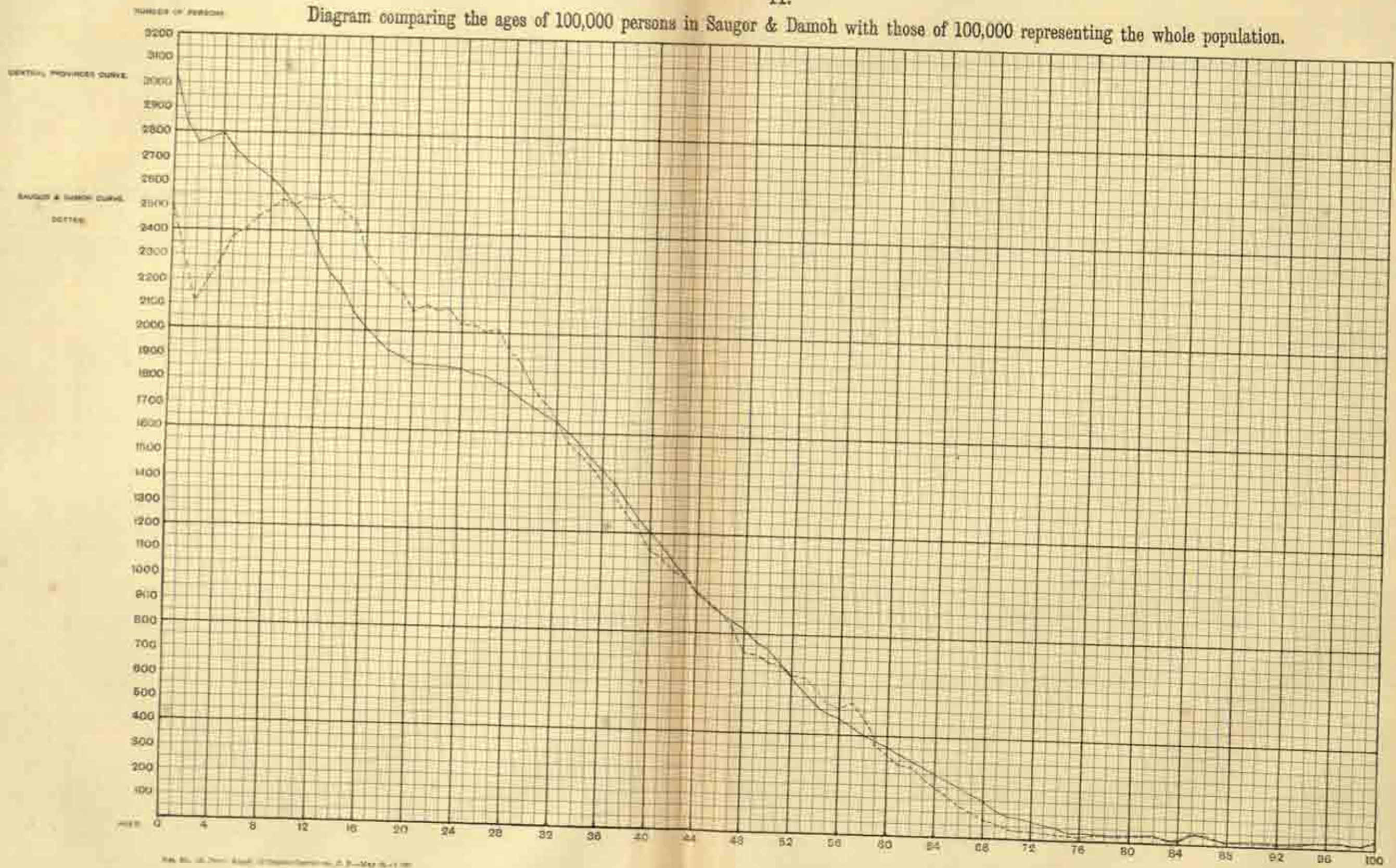
Fig. No. 108. First, Age of Census (Saugor, C. P. - May 18-1900)

Scale, 1:10,000



II.

Diagram comparing the ages of 100,000 persons in Saugor & Damoh with those of 100,000 representing the whole population.



people, because it has been abnormally affected by famine. On the other hand, at all the age periods between ten and forty there are a larger number of persons at this census. And the total percentage of population between these ages is 53·3 as against 48·5 in 1891 and 48·9 in 1881. A high proportion of population between these ages is in this instance a favourable sign, as they represent more or less the period of fecundity, and it may therefore be anticipated that with good seasons a somewhat higher birth-rate will result. The age of reproduction does not begin much before fifteen with girls and still later with boys, but the period ten to fourteen may be included in consideration as it probably contains a number of persons who are really a good deal older.

135. A peculiar feature of the returns, which appears to recur regularly, is the insufficient number of persons in the age period 15—19. At this census there are only 807 per 10,000 of population at this age as against 1,225 in the period 10—14 and 864 in the period 20—24. In 1891 the proportion was only 674, and in 1881, 695. The reason seems to be that there is a disinclination to return this age for girls. The number of females at the period 15—19 is only 774 per ten thousand against 841 males. The return of actual ages shows that 12 is a very favourite one, actually more so than 10, and it therefore seems clear that numbers of girls stop at 12 until they are as a matter of fact nearly 20 years old. This is because 12 is the latest age which it is respectable to own to as that of an unmarried daughter. Between the ages of 50 and 60 the returns are nearly the same at each enumeration, but after 60 there is again a noticeable fall at this census, the figures being now only 429 per 10,000 of population as against 560 in 1891 and 556 in 1881.

136. On the whole then it may be concluded that the age constitution of the people is more favourable to a high birth-rate than in 1891, because there is a smaller proportion both of the very young and very old and a larger one during the middle period of life. And for the same reason also the number of persons capable of earning their own livelihood in the whole population is larger than before.

The two diagrams comparing the ages of 100,000 males respectively for Bengal and the Central Provinces, with a similar number in Saugor and Damoh, bear out the conclusion already arrived at, that the effect of famine has been to reduce the proportion of persons alive at the beginning and end of life and to increase those in the intermediate period. The curve for the whole of the Central Provinces approximates more to Bengal than that of Saugor and Damoh. Speaking roughly, between 10 and 40 years of age there are more persons alive in the Central Provinces, and under 10 and over 40 there are more persons alive in Bengal, the figures for which may presumably be accepted as about normal. Similar results appear from the local returns in severely affected areas, and it is unnecessary to consider these in detail.

137. Returns of age by caste have also been prepared. But they are not so valuable as they would have been after a normal series of years, owing to the effects of famine on the statistics. The tendency for the number of young children to be lower in the higher castes can to some extent be recognised. In Subsidiary Table III, castes have been arranged in order of social status; a full explanation of the principles

governing the arrangement is given in the caste chapter. In the highest group of Brahmans, Rajputs, Banias, and Kayasths the percentage of children under 10 is 23 as against the provincial average of 26. In the second division of the first group it is 24. After this the figures do not admit of any deductions, because castes which are ordinarily of very low position occupy a high status in the Central Provinces; thus Bhilala comes into the group of higher agriculturalists, and we should certainly not expect to find a low proportion of young children here, as it is really little better than a Dravidian tribe. As a matter of fact, the percentage of children under 10 is 31, or much higher than the average, the reason being that the caste resides chiefly in Nimar, which has not suffered much from the effects of famine. Similarly the Agharias, a cultivating caste of Sambalpur, have 33 per cent. of children under 10. The Gandas and Ghasias in Sambalpur have a percentage of 30, and this would probably have been the case with most of the lower castes if the development of population had been normal. The tendency for the proportion of young children to be lower in the higher castes is probably not due to any action in the nature of prudential restraint, of the existence of which, so far as I am aware, there is as yet no trace in India. It may be attributed, where it exists, to the fact that consummation takes place in the case of the higher castes immediately the girl has reached adolescence and hence the natural fecundity of women is diminished by their being forced to undergo prematurely the strain of child-bearing. Another interesting point in the statistics is that in the two highest groups the number of girls at the age period 10—14 is much below normal. The figures are 968 and 996 women in 10,000 respectively as against the Provincial average of 1,129. In the other groups it is particularly in the period 15—19 that the number of girls as already noticed is unduly low. And it is an interesting deduction that in the highest castes there is a special disinclination to give the age of an unmarried girl as over 9, while in the others it is when she gets close to or over 15 that her age is put back to 12.

138. The returns for the two periods 10—15 and 15—20 appear to be abnormal in both sexes. The figures for boys are shown in the marginal statement. What seems to

happen is that a number of boys between the ages of 10 and 14 get put back to the previous period, and between 15

<i>Proportion to 10,000 males.</i>		
5—9	—	1,375
10—14	—	1,322
15—19	—	841
20—24	—	818
25—29	—	917

and 19 a still larger number are under-returned in the age 10—14. It also appears that some of those who should

belong to the ages of 15—19 get put on to 20—24, and some of the latter to 25—29. The adjusted numbers for the last three periods given by Mr. Hardy for Madras are 1,078, 979 and 874. 12 and 25 are two very favourite ages. There does not appear to be any object for such a misstatement of the ages of boys, and it is probably not intentional, but merely an accidental error, which, however, continually reappears. In the case of girls the deficiency in the ages 10—14 and 15—19 is still greater, as shown in the marginal statement. But it is partly to be accounted for by the fact

*Statement for girls from Subsidiary Table I (Age).
Appendix A.*

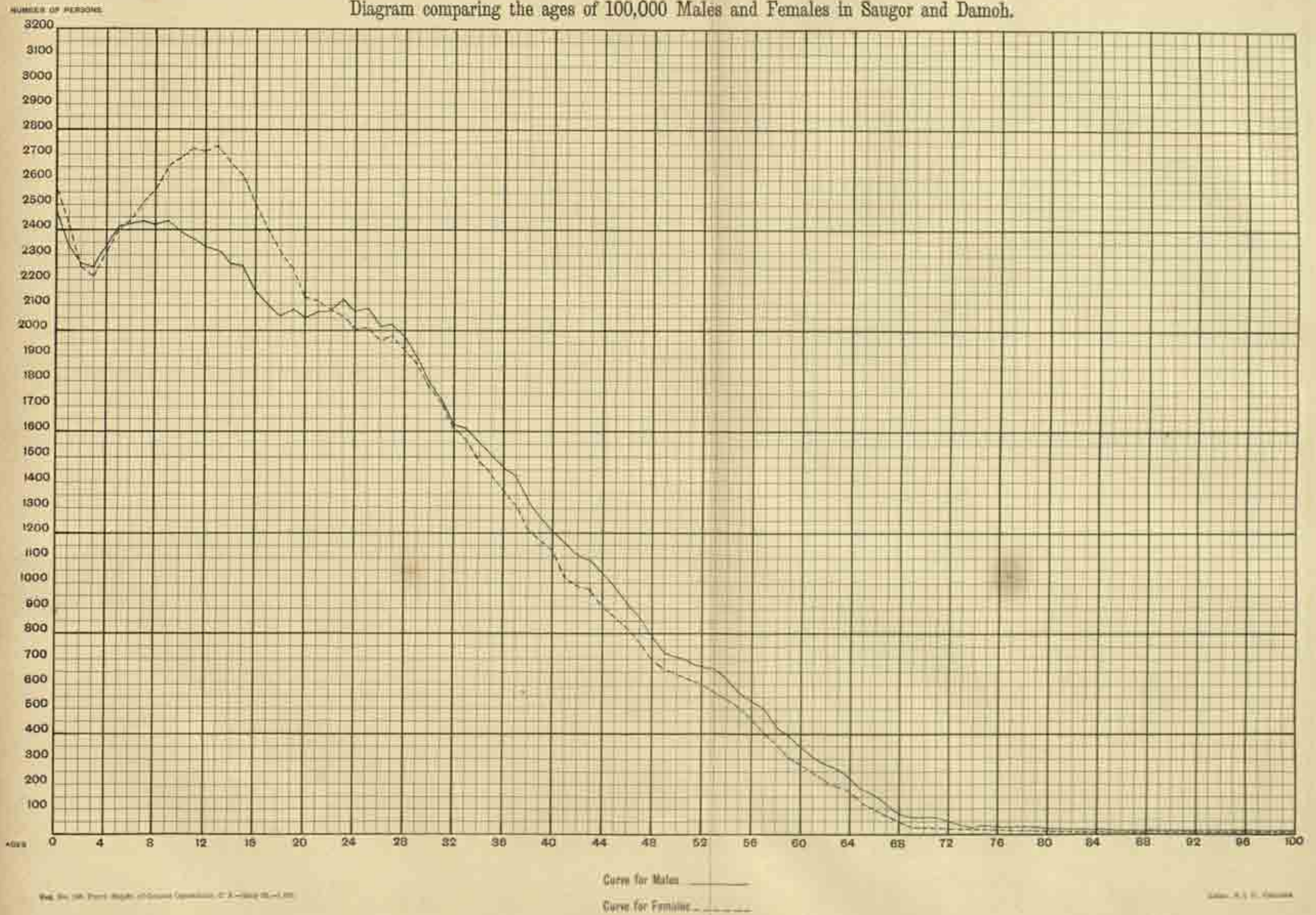
0—4	—	1,275
5—9	—	1,339
10—14	—	1,129
15—19	—	774
20—24	—	910

that female mortality is higher than male at this period. In the early years of life girl children have a better chance of surviving; the number out of 1,000 female children born who die under one year old being only 240 as against

273 males. After this female mortality approaches that of males until at

III.

Diagram comparing the ages of 100,000 Males and Females in Saugor and Damoh.



six years old they are equal, with a rate of 21 per 1,000 of children alive at this age. It is then consistently higher than male mortality until the age of 36, the most noticeable difference being between 15 and 20, when nearly 17 in a thousand girls die as against 12 in a thousand boys. The smaller numbers of females at these ages are therefore to some extent warranted by the facts. But they are much more due to deliberate understatement in the manner which has already been described. It seems not improbable that even in the period 0—4 some girls are included who are really older, as the excess of male births has probably been abnormally large during the last few years, and it is unlikely that the sexes are equal in the first five years of life. Between 10 and 14 a large fraction of girls are returned as under 10, and between 15 and 19 a still larger proportion as 12 years old. The age curves of 100,000 males and females in Saugor and Damoh show graphically the deficiency in the return of girls between 6 and 22. The reason is no doubt to a great extent connected with marriage, but there may also be a certain amount of unintentional understatement as in the case of boys. After about 25 the ages tend to run more regularly, and though there is of course a large amount of lumping on multiples of 10 and 5, this does not materially affect the returns when decennial periods are taken. The large excess of women in later life is discussed under the heading of sex.

139. The average age of the population is 24·5 years as against 24 in 1891 and 24·07 in 1881. The average age has therefore not

Average age.

varied appreciably, the smaller number of young children being counterbalanced by a corresponding decrease in the very old. The average age, assuming that the population remains constant, is identical with the expectation of life at birth and the number of persons among whom one dies every year. (Newsholme's Vital Statistics.)

PART II.—SEX.

140. It was suggested by the Census Commissioner at the request of an English biologist that any information which might be available from the census returns should be examined in connection with the question of the influences governing the sex of children.

Theories of sex.

'The number of speculations as to the nature of sex has well nigh doubled since Drelincourt in the last century brought together 262 "groundless" hypotheses' and since Blumenbach quaintly remarked that nothing was more certain than that Drelincourt's own theory formed the 263rd. Subsequent writers have of course long ago added Blumenbach's hypothesis to the list.'

Under these circumstances, it seems unnecessary to be deterred, by a mere want of acquaintance with most of the preceding five hundred theories, from suggesting a fresh one based on the famine statistics of the Central Provinces. Who Drelincourt and Blumenbach may have been I do not know, nor what was the nature of their hypotheses; but their names are sufficient to make it respectable to err in their company.

141. At this census 183,401 more females were enumerated than males as against an excess of 27,825 males in 1891. During the decennial period therefore the relative strength of the sexes has changed by 35 per 1,000 in favour of females. There are now 1,031 women to every 1,000 men as against 996 in 1891, and 984 in British districts in 1881. The larger proportion of women at each successive census has hitherto been rightly attributed to the increasing accuracy of the enumeration. But there is no reason to suppose that this was any where incomplete in 1891, and I am of opinion that the excess of women on this occasion is due to a different cause. During the decennial period the population has sustained a succession of unfavourable seasons culminating in two famines of the first magnitude. And the change in the proportion of the sexes is, I think, to be explained by the fact that women are constitutionally stronger, and are less liable to succumb to the effects of insufficient food and the diseases consequent on it than men are.

142. From the map showing the proportion of the sexes it will be seen that in nine districts and states the number of males is greater than that of females, and in the remaining 24, women are in excess. From the map showing variation of population* we find that eight units have increased in population and the remaining 25 have decreased. In Nimar, Rairakhol, Bamra and Kalahandi there is an excess of males and also an increase of population. In Bastar, Wardha and Nagpur there is a comparatively slight excess of males, and a decrease of population under 5 per cent.

Proportion of females to 1,000 males.

District or State.	1901.	1891.	Variation.
Wardha	987	972	+15
Nagpur	991	979	+12
Bastar	969	951	+18

Proportion of females to 1,000 males.

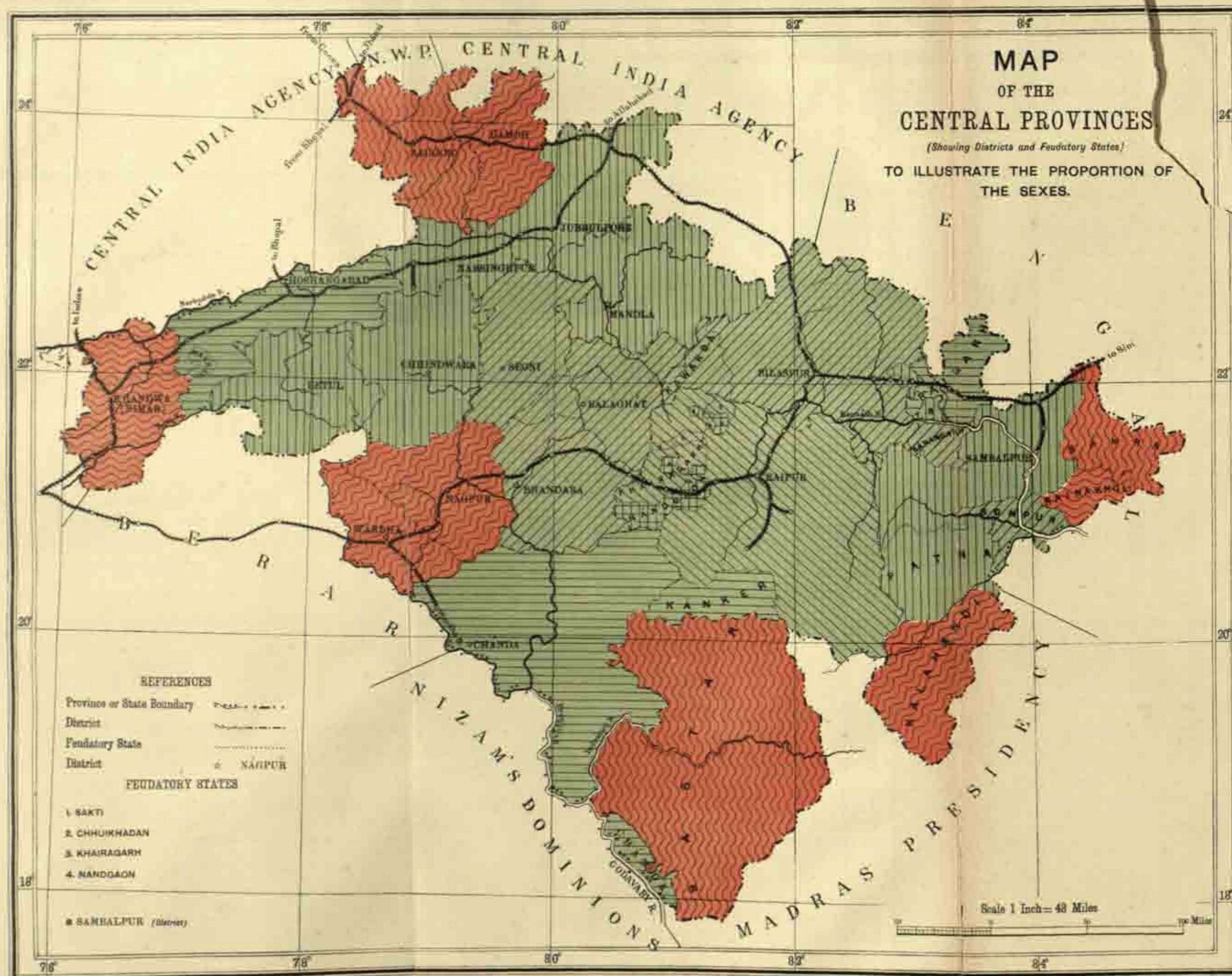
District.	1901.	1891.	Variation.
Saugor	973	936	+37
Damoh	958	946	+12

But in these three units the proportion of women has increased since 1891, as shown by the marginal statement. In Saugor and Damoh there are still more men, though there has been a heavy decline

* Geddes and Thompson's *Evolution of Sex*, quoted in *India Census Report*, 1891, page 251.

* Facing page 136.





in the population. But in these districts the number of males was, for reasons which can in my opinion be explained, largely in excess in 1891, and the sexes are now much more nearly equal than they were ten years ago.

In Kanker, Chhindwara, Raigarh and Sambalpur there has been an increase

Proportion of females to 1,000 males.

District or State.	1901.	1891.	Variation.
Kanker	1,007	947	+60
Chhindwara	1,016	1,016	+39
Raigarh	1,021	1,000	+21
Sambalpur	1,037	1,007	+30

of population and there are more women than men. But in Chhindwara, Raigarh and Sambalpur the increase is slight, and these areas have been

affected by famine though not so severely or continuously as others. In Sambalpur and Raigarh there was an excess of females at last census; in Chhindwara there was a slight excess of women in 1881, and in 1891 the population was considered to have been considerably affected by immigration, which might have disturbed the proportion between the sexes and produced an abnormal majority of men.¹ In Kanker also it was considered that there had been a large quantity of immigration between 1881 and 1891. Lastly, all these areas are to a great extent populated by the lower castes and Dravidian tribes among whom the number of women tends to be normally in excess for reasons which I shall try to explain subsequently. And there is some reason therefore to hold that these areas are not exceptions to the rule, and that the proportion of women tends to be larger where the population has been affected by famine.

In Sarangarh the decrease in population is under 5 per cent., and the excess of women is 63 per 1,000 men as against 28 per 1,000 in 1891, the increase in the proportion thus being 35.

In Jubbulpore, Hoshangabad, and Raipur the decrease of population is between 5 and 10 per cent., and the number of females per 1,000 males has increased in Raipur by 35, in Jubbulpore by 38, and in Hoshangabad by 46.

Variation in proportion of females to 1,000 males.

District or State.	1901.	1891.	Variation.
Seoni	1,069	1,006	+63
Betul	1,039	987	+52
Narsinghpur	1,039	994	+45
Chanda	1,034	980	+54
Bhandara	1,068	1,026	+42
Balaghat	1,070	1,011	+59
Bilaspur	1,066	1,031	+35
Sakti	1,040	1,017	+23
Sonpur	1,052	1,001	+51

Variation in proportion of females to 1,000 males.

District or State.	1901.	1891.	Variation.
Pates	1,025	976	+49
Makrai	1,008	986	+22
Nandgaon	1,102	1,036	+66
Khairagarh	1,094	1,034	+60
Chhuikhadan	1,093	1,053	+40
Kawardha	1,055	993	+62

In Seoni, Betul, Narsinghpur, Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat, Bilaspur, Sakti, and Sonpur, the decrease in population is between 10 and 15 per cent., and the variation in the proportion of females is as shown in the marginal statement. In Patna, Makrai, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan, and Kawardha the decrease on population is over 15 per cent. and the increase in the proportion of

women per 1,000 men is as shown in the marginal statement.

143. It seems to me then that the variation in the proportion of the sexes corresponds fairly closely to the fluctuations of population, and that generally the number of women has tended to increase according to the severity with which different areas have been affected by famine. After the receipt of the first totals I was of opinion that the

¹ Central Provinces Census Report, 1891, page 51.

excess of women at this census might have been caused by emigration. But though there has been a considerable amount of emigration, as is shown in the chapter on movement of population, this has not materially affected the proportion of the sexes, because in Assam and Berar, the two provinces to which emigration has principally taken place, the number of women returned as born in the Central Provinces exceeds that of men. The age statistics tend to prove the greater value of female life in time of trial. The figures for the early periods are probably abnormal, being affected by the tendency to misstate the ages of girls between 10 and 20, and also possibly by the fact that women are at this time exposed to special danger, as it is the period of marriage and child-bearing. For the provinces as a whole the proportion of females to 1,000 males is 1,031 between 40 and 49, 1,127 between 50 and 59, and 1,471 over 60. In some of the worst affected areas the figures are extraordinary:—

District or State.	PROPORTION OF FEMALES TO 1,000 MALES.			
	30-39	40-49	50-59	Over 60.
Seoni	970	1,081	1,229	1,731
Betal	993	1,030	1,150	3,399
Bhandara	1,121	1,058	1,060	1,402
Raipur	1,067	1,078	1,390	1,968
Bilaspur	1,039	1,084	1,288	1,751
Nandgaon	1,083	1,123	1,369	2,002
Katragarh	1,090	1,168	1,414	2,004
Kawardha	972	1,068	1,346	1,814
Central Provinces, 1891	953	861	1,010	1,794
India, 1891	915	893	951	1,187

144. It is not supposed that the age returns are accurate, but they are sufficiently so to show that the value of the lives of women continually increases in the later years of life, and far more so at this census than ever before. It is well known that the lives of women are generally better than those of men. In England 111 women in a thousand are aged over 55 as against 97 men.¹ The death-rate at all ages among females in England is about 2 per mille less than that of males for a series of 60 years. Newsholme considers (Vital Statistics, page 119) that the causes of the higher mortality among men are largely connected with the greater hardships and dangers of their occupations, and also with the greater amount of intemperance among them. This, however, scarcely seems to be an adequate explanation, because the greater mortality of males begins at the earliest ages and becomes most marked after 65, when neither occupation nor intemperance could materially affect it. In India female mortality was found to be lower than male after the age of 36 for the remainder of life.² The fact that women are able to sustain privation better than men has been noticed in time of famine. The North-Western Provinces Famine Report for 1897 commented on it, and suggested as a reason that women did the cooking and hence secured a larger share of the food. This, however, besides being very hypothetical, is scarcely an adequate explanation for such figures as those given above. Colonel Scott-Reid, the late Administrative Medical Officer, informed me that he had remarked the better condition of women in famine time, especially on admission into, and residence in jail, when the food explanation would not apply. Mr. Fuller also noticed on several occasions that

¹ Newsholme's Vital Statistics.

² Mr. Hardy's Note; India Census Report, 1891, Vol. II, page 153.

women on relief works looked fitter than men, and suggested to me after the publication of the first totals that the reason might lie in their naturally stronger constitution, the preservation of women being more essential than that of men to the future existence of the race, as the power of reproduction depends chiefly on them. I am of opinion that the greater value of the lives of women is due to the law of natural selection, but the explanation which I venture to put forward is not quite the same.

145. In Madras, in 1871, there was an excess of 103,583 males on the total population, and in 1881 after the severe famine of 1876—78 an excess of 346,601 females, or 1,020 women to 1,000 men in 1881 as against 990 in 1871. It is true that Sir Lewis McIver in his report considers that the change in the proportion of the sexes is to be largely attributed to better enumeration. But as there had been several previous censuses in Madras, and that of 1871 was taken as fairly reliable, we need not consider the whole difference to be due to this cause. Successive enumerations have increased in accuracy in other Provinces, but have produced no such variation in the proportion of the sexes in a period of ten years. The following information refers to the Madras famine of 1876—78:—'The proportion of deaths to strength among males was in the annual ratio of 796·4 per mille, while the females died only in the ratio of 495·3 per mille. The ratio of male mortality in fact was just one-fifth in excess of that of the female. These figures relate to actual statistics of relief camps in the Salem District, and I think there can be no doubt that what is true in regard to this district, and in relief camps in every part of the country, must be held to apply generally to the distressed population, *vis.*, that the mortality pressed unduly upon the bread-winners among the adults.'¹ During the year 1878 (one of severe famine) the mortality of males was 58·4 per mille to 48·06 females. Similarly in Mysore, which was very severely affected by famine during the decennial period, males outnumbered females in 1871, and females were more numerous in 1881, though not to a very large extent, the figures being 994 women to 1,000 men in 1871 and 1,007 in 1881. But the excess of women was most noticeable in later life.² Similar results appear to have been observed in Bombay, where in districts which had suffered from famine between 1872 and 1881 the proportion of females was found to have increased.³

146. The figures of mortality by sex and age during the decennial period, with which I have been supplied by the courtesy of Colonel Scott-Reid and the Superintendent of his office, Mr. Tobin, would alone sufficiently prove the truth of the hypothesis that women can sustain privation better than men, if they could be accepted as certainly reliable. The proportion of reported deaths of women to one thousand of men for each year of

Proportion of females dying to 1,000 males for each year of the decennial period.

1891	...	868
1892	...	860
1893	...	853
1894	...	860
1895	...	858
1896	...	856
1897	...	801
1898	...	880
1899	...	848
1900	...	839

the decennial period is shown in the marginal statement. During the whole ten years 2,042,217 deaths of males were reported as against 1,724,555 of females or 1,000 to 844. In 1896 the number of female deaths to 1,000 males was 838; in 1897 it was as low as 801, and in 1900 it

¹ Dr. Cornish's Report on the Famine Census, quoted in Madras Census Report, 1881, paragraph 219.

² Table in India Census Report, 1881, Vol. I, page 168.

³ Extract from Bombay Census Report, 1881, quoted in India Census Report, 1881, Vol. III, App. C., page xxiii.

was 839. Thus in 1897, when the famine mortality was most severe, five men died for every four women. The disproportion between the figures is less at the age periods 0—5 and over 60, and greater at all the other periods, the reason being perhaps that in infancy the stronger constitution of girl children would not be able to exercise so much effect, and in very old age the number of women is so much

Statement showing reported deaths of women to 1,000 men.

	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	40-59
1896 ...	798	720	811	790	716
1897 ...	769	685	733	732	707
1900 ...	778	728	796	799	699

greater than men that more of them must die. The marginal statement shows the proportions of reported deaths of females between the ages of 5 and 60 for 1896,

1897 and 1900. The above figures would, if accurate of course, be conclusive. But their accuracy cannot be entirely relied on, and it is for this reason that the other evidence available has also been recorded. A consideration of the vital statistics leads to the conclusion that while both the births and deaths of both sexes may have been under-reported, those for females may have been under-reported to a larger extent than those of males. But even allowing both these errors, it is not necessary to assume that the figures quoted above are without value. For it may reasonably be supposed that the relative defect in the female returns has a tendency to be constant. Supposing that of 100 male deaths 95 are reported, and of 100 female deaths 90, then when the male and female deaths vary, the numbers reported may be expected to vary with about the same margin of error. And if it is found that the relative excess of male deaths is greater in famine years than in others, this may be accepted as evidence, even though the actual figures may be unreliable.

147. On the above evidence then it seems to me that the hypothesis may be advanced that women are constitutionally stronger and better able to resist privation and the diseases consequent on it than men are, and have more valuable lives. If this is a general law and not accidental, it must date from the beginning of the history of the race. And the reason suggested is that it is essential in order that a child may be born and survive that the life of the mother should be continuously sustained for a considerable period, while in the case of the father no such necessity arises. This has been met according to the law of natural selection by the development in women of greater powers of endurance. Another reason may be that in the perils of child-bearing, women are subjected to a severer trial than any which men have ordinarily to undergo.

148. If then female life is more enduring and less liable to be affected by the ordinary causes of mortality than that of males, the result would be that the proportion of women to men would continually increase. This, however, is not the case. Westermarck has shown that monogamy is the ordinary form of marriage of the human race and the one to which it is impelled by instinct. Polygamy and polyandry are abnormal divergencies, resulting to some extent from an undue proportion either of women or men. And all statistics prove that an average equality in the number of men and women is a law of nature. The greater power of vitality given to women is met by providing that there shall be a larger number of male births. This is an ascertained statistical fact. Mr. Hardy assumes for the whole of India a birth-rate of 104 males to 100 females. The following information is given by Newsholme as regards England:—'In 1838-47 the males born to every 1,000 females averaged 1,050. Since then the proportion has gradually declined to 1,036 in 1891-95. In Berlin in 1895 the proportion of male to

'female births was 1,047 per 1,000; in Hamburg it was 1,075 in the same year, 'having increased fairly steadily from 1885, when it was 1,032. In previous years 'the proportion of male births to 1,000 female births was higher than this; thus in '1883 it was 1,080. In London, on the other hand, the proportion has remained 'fairly constant and is lower than in the continental cities; it was 1,041 in 1880 'and 1,036 in 1895. The proportion of boys to girls at birth is smaller in England 'than in any European country, and for some unexplained reason *the excess in* 'the proportional number of boys is gradually declining. The proportion of males 'is greater in large than in small families; it is also greater among the earlier born 'than among the later born infants in a family.'¹

149. The rule then is that more male children are born than female children.

When the proportion of male births will vary. If the hypothesis put forward above is correct, that the excess of male births is the counteracting factor to the greater value of the lives of women, we might expect to find that under certain circumstances the proportion of male births would tend to increase. Such circumstances would occur when the vitality of any community was lowered, or their lives were endangered by some special cause. This would, as has been seen to be the case in the Central Provinces in respect of famine, cause the weaker-lived males to die off more rapidly, and produce an excess of females. Such a tendency to the increase of male births has been observed as resulting from other causes than famine, and an explanation has been given of it. But the figures for the Central Provinces may first be quoted, subject, as already mentioned, to the qualification that they may be only partially reliable. During the decennial period 940 female births were reported to every 1,000 male births. In 1896 the proportion was 935 and in 1897 it was 928. In 1899, which was a healthy year, it was 949. In 1900 it was 947, but this may perhaps be explained by the fact that in the last famine, owing to the efficiency of the measures for relief, the physical condition of the people was less seriously impaired than ever before. For the Vindhyan Division, which was most seriously distressed during the decade as a whole, the proportion of female births fell to 923.²

150. Westermarck says: 'Of all the theories relating to this subject the one

Theory as to variation in the excess of male births.

'set forth by Dr. Düsing is by far the most important. 'According to him the characters of animals and plants 'are due to natural-selection. In every species the proportion between the sexes 'has a tendency to keep constant, but the organisms are so well adapted to the 'conditions of life, that under anomalous circumstances they produce more 'individuals of that sex of which there is the greater need. When nourishment is 'abundant strengthened reproduction is an advantage to the species, whereas the 'reverse is the case when nourishment is scarce. Hence—the power of multi- 'plication depending chiefly on the number of females—organisms when unusually 'well nourished produce comparatively more female offspring, in the opposite 'case more male It is an established fact that male births are in greater 'excess in country districts, the population of which is often badly fed, than in 'towns where the conditions of life are shown to be as a rule more luxurious. 'A similar excess is found among poor people as compared with the well-off

¹ Vital Statistics, page 84.

² It is necessary to mention that these statistics are not corroborated by the Madras Famine Returns. According to figures quoted by Sir Lewis Melver the number of female births was actually greater than that of males in the famine year. But the proportions fluctuate so violently as to show that the reporting must have been very inaccurate. Still it cannot be said that this part of the hypothesis is clearly made out by the Indian statistics. But it agrees with all the facts recorded by Westermarck and Newsholme, both of whose books were published very recently.

'classes. Especially remarkable is Doctor Ploss's statement that in high lands 'comparatively more boys are born than in low lands Very remarkable 'is the striking coincidence of polyandry' with the great poverty of the countries in 'which it prevails Among the Jews, many of whom marry cousins, there 'is a remarkable excess of male births There thus is evidence to show that whenever the vitality of the people is abnormally low—as in some mountainous countries, among the poorest classes, and among those which permit the marriage of near relations like the Jews—the proportion of male births tends to rise. It seems to me, however, that the Central Provinces statistics afford ground for what may perhaps be considered a more probable explanation than that given by Dr. Düsing. Why should nature intervene to promote fecundity when the conditions of life are favourable, and to restrict it when they are the reverse? Her intervention should be in exactly the opposite direction, and I venture to think that it is so. When, owing to famine, poverty, or the close intermarriage of relations, the vital power of the community is abnormally depressed, males will, by reason of their less enduring constitution, tend to succumb more rapidly than females. And it is then that nature intervenes to correct the resulting disproportion, by producing the larger number of what is physiologically the weaker sex.

151. Conversely if the general health and condition of the community is somewhat above the average, the excess of male births

Continued.

should tend to grow smaller, because men will have a better chance of surviving in equal numbers with females. Several of the facts recorded by Newsholme coincide with this rule. The prosperity of the poorer classes in England has been steadily increasing, as is shown by the fact that the total death-rate has been decreasing. At the same time as stated above the excess of male births has declined. The proportion of boys to girls at birth is smaller in England than in any continental country, because the lower classes in England are better off than elsewhere. Hamburg is mentioned as a city with a noticeable excess of male births, and I believe that it has a large proletariat including numbers of German Jews; both of which factors should tend in this direction. One explanation of the fact that the number of boys is greater in large than in small families may be that large families are found nowadays generally among the poorest classes. Or it may be that when there is a large family, the mother is usually married at an early age, and when the first children are born, she has not attained her full development. There is reason to believe then that when the vitality of the community is low the excess in the number of male births tends to increase, and conversely when it is good. We may reasonably conjecture that the influence exerted is the condition of the mother during the period of pregnancy. This is the warning which is conveyed to nature and to which she responds. But her action must be blind and general. She cannot discriminate. There may be a disproportion between the sexes arising from reasons which do not affect the vitality of the race. The number of men may be reduced by a foreign war, or by emigration as it is among the well-to-do classes in England. But such accidents will not affect the condition of the people remaining at home, and therefore will cause no alteration in the proportion of the sexes at birth. Conversely, the health of the mother may be affected either accidentally or in a whole community by causes which

¹ The argument being that polyandry is due to an excess of men, and where it is found there must be more male births.

will have no influence on the mortality of the population. But again the rule will be the same and the number of male births will tend to increase. The conclusion is that when during the period of pregnancy the vitality of the mother is abnormally lowered, there will be a slight extra tendency to the birth of a male child. If on the other hand her health is specially good during the same period the ordinary probability in favour of the birth of a male child will be slightly diminished. It has been seen that the odds in favour of a boy being born are 1,035 to 1,000 in England, and in one year were 1,080 to 1,000 in Hamburg. These probably represent the variations in the chances so far as observed from recorded statistics. In the Central Provinces during the famine of 1897, if the proportion of reported male and female births is correct, the odds were 1,077 to 1,000. That the factor which influences the variation of sex is the health of the mother during the antenatal period is of course only a conjecture, though it seems the most reasonable conjecture. But there is one class of cases which cannot apparently be accounted for exactly on this hypothesis. It has been seen that among the Jews, who marry near relations, the number of male births tends to be high. On the other hand Westermarck adduces several instances to show that where there is a great difference in the characteristics of the father and mother, as in the case of a mixture of race, the opposite result is produced and the female births tend to be more numerous. In such cases it may be presumed that though the rule is ultimately the same, the factor which influences sex is the inherent weakness or strength of the embryo resulting from inter-breeding which is unhealthy or cross-breeding which is healthy.

152. There is one important phenomenon in India which seems to be capable of explanation on the above hypothesis. It is observed that in the highest castes there tends to be an excess of males, while in the lower ones the numbers balance or there is an excess of females. Thus from the figures in Subsidiary Table III it will be seen that there is an average excess of males in the total numbers of the castes of the first group. Among Brahmins the proportion of females to 1,000 males is 925 and among Kayasths 956. Rajput and Bania are very mixed castes, including some groups who probably do not adhere to orthodox practice. But in these also there were more males in 1891. In the second group it will be seen that some castes belonging to the western districts have more men. The Gujars have 977 women to 1,000 men, Dangis 983, and Jats 985. As we descend in the social scale the proportion of women continues to increase. The average for the Dravidian tribes is 1,055 to 1,000 men, and for the impure castes 1,052. In the same manner the proportion of men is largest in those areas where the habits of the people in respect to infant marriage and the seclusion of women tend to be more strict, and diminishes where they are lax. It has already been seen that in Saugor and Damoh, notwithstanding the severity of the famine, the census still shows a majority of men. In other parts of the province, the same tendency is to some extent observable, but it has been obscured by the effect of famine on the sex returns. The figures for 1891 are more clear. The Chhattisgarh districts and states and two of the plateau districts had more women, while those of the north of the province and the Maratha country had more men. In these last areas the practice of infant marriage is more prevalent than in the rest of the provinces. The same feature is observable in the returns for the provinces of India. In the Punjab there were only 854 women to 1,000 men, in the North-West Provinces 923, in Oudh 949, in Rajputana 891, while in Bengal there were 1,006, and in Madras 1,022. In the last two Provinces social customs are perhaps less strict than in the north of India and Rajputana. The deficiency in the number of women in some provinces has been attributed to omissions in the enumeration, but it can be scarcely supposed that this can account for the whole difference. It is suggested that the excess of males is partly due to the practice of infant marriage and perhaps also to the strict seclusion of women. Both these factors would tend to lower the vitality of the mother during the period of pregnancy, and hence to produce an excess of male children in accordance with the rule already defined. On the other hand, among the Dravidian tribes and the lower castes where girls are married at a later age and women lead a healthy outdoor life, the proportion of male children tends to be lower, and as a consequence, in after life, the number of the sexes balance, or women form the majority.

PART III.—CIVIL CONDITION.

153. The distribution of the population by civil condition is as follows. Of males 47 per cent. are unmarried, 47 per cent. are married, and 6 per cent. are widowed. Of females 35 per cent. are unmarried, 48 per cent. are married, and 17 per cent. are widowed. The percentages of married and widowed are of course much larger, and those of unmarried much smaller, in India than in any European country. In England 62 per cent. of males and 60 per cent. of females are unmarried, 35 per cent. of males and 33 per cent. of females married, and 3 per cent. of males and 7 per cent. of females widowed. The total number of unmarried, both male and female, has slightly decreased since last census. This is because the number of young children is smaller in proportion to the total population. This alteration in the age constitution of the Provinces makes any comparison of the proportional numbers of each civil condition by age of little value. The real fact about the unmarried is that there is an increase both among males and females in this condition over 10 years of age. Of the total number of males over 10, 28 per cent. are now unmarried as against 25 in 1891, and of females 13 per cent. as against 10.

154. Several reasons may be given for this. The principal one is, in my opinion, the greater strictness exercised in the record both of civil condition and age. The instructions issued were that a woman who had not been properly married must be recorded as unmarried even though she might be living with a man. Some references were received from districts as to the caste which should be entered for the children in the case of such illicit unions, and this seems to show that the rule was enforced. Except perhaps in the north of the Provinces and the Maratha country the adherence to caste customs is less strict in the Central Provinces than in Northern India, and a certain number of such connections might be expected, though if no questions were asked, women living in this way would naturally return themselves as married. It has been seen also that the record of age between 10 and 20, though still below the mark, has somewhat improved since last census. There are now 2,032 persons in 10,000 between these ages as against 1,776 in 1891. This probably means that in the case of a certain number of unmarried girls who were really over 10 but were recorded as under it in 1891, the proper age has now been given. Again, the successive failures of crops and the distressed condition of the agricultural classes for a considerable part of the decade, has probably had the effect of causing a number of marriages to be postponed for want of funds to carry out the ceremony. Lastly, there are now nearly 200,000 more women than men in the Provinces, and though the excess of women occurs principally in later life, still it may well be supposed that a certain deficiency has arisen in the supply of eligible bridegrooms, and this may account for a few cases.

155. Among boys about 4 per cent. are married between the ages of 5 and 10, and 17 per cent. between 10 and 15. Between 15 and 20, over half of the total number get married. The

Age of marriage.

age of marriage is later among the highest and lowest castes than in the intermediate classes of society. Among the higher castes it is probable that a tendency has arisen to postpone the marriage of boys until their education has been completed. And among the lowest castes adult marriage is in fashion. Of the Dravidian tribes 70 per cent. of boys between 15 and 20 remain unmarried. Between 20 and 40 eleven per cent. of males among Hindus are unmarried, and over 40 rather more than two per cent. The largest proportions of unmarried over 20 are among the highest castes, where they average about 20 per cent., and this is also the case with Mahomedans. The age of marriage of girls is of course much earlier than that of boys. Under 5 rather more than one per cent. of girls are married, and rather less than one per cent. of boys. These instances are probably due to the practice mentioned in the caste chapter, by which two or more weddings are sometimes celebrated together in order to save expenditure. The returns are much the same for all castes and do not show that there is a habit of marrying girls at this age in any particular rank of society. Between 5 and 9 rather more than 10 per cent. of girls are married. In the case of Animists and Mahomedans the number is smaller. The castes with the highest percentages of married girls at this age are Bania (18), Sonar (18), Gujar (19), Jat (26), and Kunbi (26). Of Brahman girls only 10 per cent. are married, but this is because the age is somewhat later among Chhattisgarhi and Oriya Brahmans. Between 10 and 15 about half the total number of Hindu girls are married, 20 per cent. of Animists, and 27 per cent. of Mahomedans. At this period only 20 per cent. of Brahman girls remain unmarried, and most of them are below twelve; 70 per cent. of girls are married among Gujars and 80 per cent. of Kunbis. Among the higher agricultural castes from 60 to 70 per cent. are married, and of the lower ones 30 to 40 per cent. After 15 less than one per cent. of Brahman girls remain unmarried. From 15 to 19 the percentage among the higher agricultural castes is about 5 to 7, and it increases to 18 to 20 per cent. as the social scale descends. Of the Dravidian tribes 37 per cent. are still unmarried at this age, and of Mahomedans about 30 per cent. Over 20 years of age, only about 2½ per cent. of Hindu girls are still not married, and these are for the most part in the lowest castes.

156. Since 1891 the number of married women has decreased by 9·2 per cent. and that of married men by 12 per cent.

The married.

These decreases are more than counterbalanced by an increase in the numbers of widowers and widows. There are now 1,040 married women to 1,000 married men as against only 1,008 in 1891. Among the higher castes it is not considered respectable to take a second wife unless the first one is childless or suffering from some infirmity. But agriculturists sometimes have two wives on account of the assistance which they are able to afford in cultivation. One will then look after the household, and the other work in the fields. The proportion of wives is highest among the Dravidian tribes, where there are 108 married women to 100 married men. It is often the fashion to consider the Hindus polygamous, because polygamy is permitted by their religious or social code. But as a matter of fact statistics show that in the enormous majority of

cases they do not marry a second wife, and as a people are essentially monogamous. And this is only natural, when there have usually, if anything, been fewer women than men. If there is on an average rather less than one woman to every man, and everybody wants to get married, it is a simple arithmetical deduction that most men can have only one wife. In former times the unsettled state of society and the liability of men to get killed in war may to some extent have disturbed the balance of the sexes. And we know from *Manu* that at an early period it was the custom for men of the higher castes, after marrying a woman of their own caste as their first wife, to take as subsequent ones others belonging to the castes beneath their own. This practice, itself arising from the desire of the men of the higher classes to gratify their inclination for a number of wives, may have developed into the rule of hypergamy, which is described in the caste chapter and which subsequently became a means of regulating social position, it being considered an honour to marry one's daughter into a caste or sub-caste higher than one's own, and a disgrace to allow her to marry beneath her own rank. There must now, however, be among some castes in the Central Provinces a considerable majority of women, including a number of widows, and it will be interesting to see whether this leads to any extension of polygamy. It is perhaps scarcely likely that social customs can adjust themselves so rapidly to fluctuations in the proportion of the sexes.

157. The number of the widowed of both sexes has increased at this census in spite of the decrease in the population. There are about three times as many widows as widowers, the numbers being 1,055,746 as against 355,906. Between 5 and 10 years of age about 4 per cent. of girls and 2 per cent. boys are widowed among Hindus; between 10 and 15, nearly 2 per cent. of girls and 1 per cent. of boys; and between 15 and 20, rather more than 5 per cent. of girls and 2 per cent. of boys. Between 20 and 40 nearly 15 per cent. of women are widowed and a little over 7 per cent. of men. Between 40 and 60 nearly half the women and 15 per cent. of men; and over 60, 83 per cent. of women and 29 per cent. of men. Castes in which widows form a high percentage of the total number of women are Brahman (23), Kayasth (25), Bania (24), Dangi (24), Jat (24), Maratha (29), Sonar (27), and Bidur (27). There is no very great difference between the highest and lowest castes at this census, as the number of widows is fairly large in all of them. Thus, for instance, a caste like Kewat, which freely allows widow marriage, has a percentage of 72 widowed among women over 40 years of age as against 60 among Brahmans. Among males the proportion of widowed is slightly greater among the highest castes than the others. Where widow marriage is not allowed the number of widowers is likely to be greater than where it is permitted, because the only course open to a man who wishes to marry again under such circumstances is to take a very young girl, as infant marriage will also certainly be compulsory in castes which prohibit widow marriage. The disparity in age therefore will frequently be very great, and no one would marry his daughter to a widower if he could get a boy of the proper age and position. As there are usually no more if as many girls as boys among the highest castes, the effect of the prohibition of widow marriage is often to compel widowers also to remain single. A notice of the castes among whom widow marriage is prohibited will be found in the caste chapter. Where women are allowed to marry again, on the other hand, a widower will usually marry a widow. There are great advantages in doing so, because the ceremony is cheaper and the woman is usually of full age,

and can go to her husband's house at once. In some castes in the Maratha country a price has frequently to be paid for marrying a widow to her father's family. The Kunbis have no hesitation in taking money on this account. But the practice is looked down on in the northern districts. If the widow is living with her late husband's family, they usually require the expenses which have been incurred in the first marriage to be repaid to them before allowing her again to marry out of the family. The custom of the levirate by which the younger brother takes the widow of his elder brother to wife seems to be generally optional, but not binding, in the Central Provinces. The widow is permitted to marry her husband's younger brother, but need not do so if she objects. She can then marry any one belonging to the caste with whom her marriage as a girl would not have been prohibited by the rules regulating the marriage of relations. But she is not allowed to marry the elder brother or elder cousins of her late husband, as they are looked upon as standing to her in the light of a father. She is also not allowed to marry the husband of her younger sister if he should happen to be a widower, because the elder sister is considered to stand in the relation of a mother to her younger sisters and their husbands.

NOTE.—The Subsidiary Tables to this chapter will be found in Appendix A at the end of this Report.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MOVEMENT OF POPULATION.

158. The first census of the Provinces was taken in 1866, when the total number of persons enumerated was 9,036,983. Between 1866 and 1872 occurred the famine of 1869, and the effects of this were seen in the census of 1872, when two divisions—Nagpur and Jubbulpore—were found to have declined in population. Over the Provinces as a whole there was a small increase of 186,551 persons, which was probably in reality due to the greater accuracy of the census. The total number of persons in 1872 was 9,223,534. In 1881 the population was 11,548,511, being an increase of 2,324,977 persons, or 25·2 per cent. on 1872. The Provinces had during the decade been rapidly recovering from the effects of the famine of 1869. The only checks to the natural increment were epidemics of cholera and small-pox in the years 1872, 1878 and 1879. In 1878 the registered death-rate exceeded the birth-rate by 7·4 per mille, while in 1872 and 1879 there was only a small excess of births. Part of the increase in 1881 is, however, certainly to be attributed to better enumeration; the figures for Feudatory States and for some of the outlying portions of districts having been altogether below the mark in 1872. The increase for British districts was 20·4 per cent. and for Feudatory States 62·9 per cent. Between 1881 and 1891 the condition of the people continued on the whole to be prosperous, though the latter part of the decade was marked by some seasons of scarcity and high prices, culminating in a very unhealthy year in 1889, when there were severe epidemics of cholera and small-pox, combined with a visitation of malarial fever in the autumn. In this year deaths exceeded births by 4·5 per mille, but the fact that there was no material decline in the birth-rate showed that the physical condition of the people was not impaired. The increase of population during the decade was 12·1 for the Central Provinces, being 9·6 for British districts and 26·4 for the Feudatory States. In the latter area the improved accuracy of the enumeration must again be considered to account for part of the increase. In 1891 the population of the Provinces was 12,944,805 persons. During the last decennial period it has decreased by 8·3 per cent., in British districts by 8·4 per cent., and in Feudatory States by 7·6 per cent., the total of the Provinces being now 11,873,029 persons.

159. The monsoon of 1890 broke late, but the fall in July and August was above the average and there was heavy rain in September. The rice crop was good almost everywhere, and also the wheat crop, except for a slight deficiency in Saugor. There was a severe visitation of cholera during the hot weather in the districts of the Jubbulpore Division and Nerbudda Valley; and in some of these the death-rates rose above 35.

Provincial birth-rate, 36 per mille; death-rate, 29.

The monsoon of 1891 was again heavy and the rice crop was satisfactory. The spring crops were poor in some of the northern districts, but not so as to produce any distress. But the breaking of the rains in 1892 was late and there was a scarcity of water in the

hot weather, occasioning a severe outbreak of cholera. The Chhattisgarh Districts and Saugor, Nimar and Balaghat suffered most, the death-rates of the former rising to 40.

Provincial birth-rate, 38; death-rate, 34.

The rains of 1892 broke late, but the falls were heavy in July and August. The monsoon stopped in the middle of September, but the rice crop was on the whole good. During the cold-weather months conditions were abnormal. Heavy rain fell in February, March and April, with long intervals of cloudy weather, and occasional hailstorms, which caused much damage to the ripening plants. Rust appeared in the wheat, and in several districts the grain was further shrivelled up by frost. The outturn was poorest in the Jubbulpore Division and Nagpur Country, and in only two districts of these divisions—Saugor and Nagpur—did it exceed a half crop. In the Nerbudda Valley a three-quarters crop was obtained. The seasonal conditions of the year were, however, very favourable, and the birth-rate was high and the death-rate low in all districts. There was no cholera.

Provincial birth-rate, 38; death-rate, 28.

160. The monsoon of 1893 began well in June, and though a break in July caused some damage, the falls of August and September were heavy and generally beneficial, though somewhat excessive in the Nagpur Division. Prospects, however, were favourable up to the end of October, when abnormal weather set in all over the Provinces except in Chhattisgarh. Heavy showers of rain in October and November injured the autumn crops and impeded the spring sowings. Chanda, Balaghat, Betul and Seoni only got a half crop of rice, and other districts outside Chhattisgarh about a three-quarters crop. The weather continued to be damp and cloudy during the months of January, February and March and resulted in serious damage to the wheat crop in Saugor, Damoh, Jubbulpore, Narsinghpur and a portion of Hoshangabad. In the Nagpur Division there was less than half a crop. Linseed also failed generally. The Deputy Commissioner of Damoh says that in that year the wheat was commonly grazed off by cattle, but in one village the people set fire to it in order to clear the rubbish off the ground. The panic in the Haveli, when rust appeared in the wheat, exceeded anything reported in 1897 or 1900. People ran out to the fields, and plucking the ears, rubbed them between their hands. They blew, and the grain blew away with the chaff, and they fled terrified to their houses to tell what they had seen. The explanation is probably the sudden manner in which rust appears and destroys in a few days the promise of a plentiful crop. In Chhattisgarh the rainfall was 'sufficient, seasonable and 'favourable to agriculture,' and nearly a full crop of rice was obtained. Relief works were opened in Saugor and Damoh, and about a lakh of rupees was expended. There was a large mortality from fever, and cholera was epidemic in most districts. The death-rate rose largely nearly everywhere outside the Chhattisgarh Division, but the birth-rate was sustained at the same rate as in the previous year, and there was no perceptible decrease in the area under crop.

Provincial birth-rate, 39; death-rate, 37.

The rains of 1894 though somewhat excessive were favourable up to August. But heavy falls at the close of October played havoc with the crops, which were finally spoilt by the November rain. Much damage was caused to the rice in the Wainganga Districts and Damoh and Jubbulpore. The ripening crop was beaten down and swamped, and where the early rice had been harvested, its quality was much deteriorated by damp, the stacks being saturated in the fields where they lay. The crop was thus reduced to two-thirds of a full one. There was again heavy rain in the cold-weather months, and the wheat crop failed in the Nerbudda Valley and Vindhyan Districts. Gram was devoured by caterpillars, and masur by a mysterious black blight. There was an outbreak of cholera in the early autumn months, the districts which suffered most being Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad, Nimar, Betul and Chanda. Small-pox was epidemic in Nagpur, Wardha and Jubbulpore. The death-rate was on the average about the same as in 1894, the rise in some districts which suffered from cholera being counter-balanced by a fall in Chhattisgarh which continued to prosper. There was some decline in the birth-rate.

Provincial birth-rate, 33; death-rate, 37.

The monsoon of 1895 began early and continued with seasonable breaks up to the middle of September, when it abruptly stopped. There was slight and badly distributed rain at the end of September, and the southern districts received some showers in October. With these exceptions universal drought prevailed till the end of the agricultural year.¹ The autumn crops were poor, and the spring crop averaged about half a normal yield on a diminished area. The combined outturn was low in all districts of the Jubbulpore Division and Nerbudda Valley, Betul, Bhandara, Balaghat, Raipur and Bilaspur. The drought in the hot weather produced severe cholera, and the autumn was particularly unhealthy, fever being prevalent among all classes. The death-rate was high all over the Province except in Sambalpur. There was a further decline in the birth-rate.

Provincial birth-rate, 32; death-rate, 49.

It is noticeable that the summer months of 1896, which preceded the failure of the monsoon in that year, were almost entirely rainless, thus differing altogether from those of 1899, when the hot weather was stormy and cloudy. The rains of 1896 broke well and continued favourable up to the end of August when they stopped abruptly, and in September and October with the exception of a few scattered showers there was no rain. The effect of the drought was the practical destruction of the small millets, and most of the rice. So much of the broadcast rice in the northern districts as had been sown on rich land, and the irrigated fields in Chanda and Bhandara, escaped partially, while the crop of Sambalpur, which had enjoyed sufficient September rain, was a very fair one. The large millet *juar*, where grown on good black soil, gave moderate yields, and cotton was fair in the Nagpur country. Nimar and South Chhindwara, where cotton and *juar* are extensively grown, had moderately good crops. With these exceptions the autumn harvest was everywhere very bad.² Owing to the dryness of the soil the area sown with spring crops was greatly reduced, usually by 50 per cent. or more. And

¹ Central Provinces Famine Report, 1897, page 21.

² Central Provinces Famine Report, 1897, page 41.

thus though there was some favourable rain at the end of November, and showers in December and January, 'they were too late to enable much additional land to be sown, and the great diminution in the area largely discounted the benefit of the rain. Though yields were good in a few districts they failed to counterbalance over the country as a whole the terrible losses incurred from the autumn crops.'¹ There was severe famine throughout the year except in Nimar, Nagpur, Chanda and Sambalpur, which partially escaped. Direct expenditure on famine relief was about a crore and a half, and indirect expenditure, famine loans, remissions of land revenue, and charitable relief made up another crore.² There was also severe cholera, and a virulent epidemic of fever in the autumn months.

Provincial birth-rate, 27; death-rate, 69.

The rains of 1897 began favourably in the middle of June, but a break of a fortnight at the end of that month and the beginning of July caused intense anxiety. They were then re-established and continued heavy in the north and sufficient in the rest of the Provinces until the end of September. From October to February there was no rain in the north and west of the Provinces. The south and east got some showers. The autumn crops were excellent, and the spring crops generally fair except in some of the northern districts and Balaghat. Six districts got over an average crop, and five more not much less.³ The year was very healthy and there was no epidemic disease. The death-rate was extremely low as might be expected after a famine, but the birth-rate was still affected by the reduced physical condition of the people.

Provincial birth-rate, 30; death-rate, 24.

The monsoon of 1898 was characterised by heavy and continuous rainfall during the months of July and August, and by a premature cessation in September. The period from October to January was practically rainless; and a few heavy showers in February did on the whole more harm than good just as in the previous year. On the whole harvests were favourable. The kharif harvest was a fairly good one, the crop being about 10 per cent. below the average in most districts, while the yield of the spring crops was generally under three-quarters of an average. Saugor, Damoh and Wardha fared worse than the rest of the Provinces. The year was a very healthy one, and was marked by an almost entire absence of epidemic disease with the exception of a small outbreak of plague in Wardha and Nagpur. The birth-rate showed the complete physical recovery of the people from the effects of famine, rising suddenly from 30 to 47. The death-rate remained low.

Provincial birth-rate, 47; death-rate, 28.

The hot weather of 1899 was stormy and cloudy. The rains broke rather late and the falls of June were generally scanty. During July the monsoon failed altogether, and though there were showers at intervals in August and the first part of September, these were never more than sufficient to postpone for a few days the certainty that the crops would die. Only five districts—Damoh, Jubbulpore, Mandla, Bilaspur and Sambalpur—received more than half their average rainfall. Nimar, Betul, Chhindwara,

¹ Central Provinces Famine Report, 1897, page 41.

² Central Provinces Famine Report, 1897, page 127.

³ Revenue Administration Resolution, 1897-98, pages 1-3.

Wardha and Nagpur received only 33 per cent. of the average, and Chanda only 38 per cent. Only three districts—Mandla, Narsinghpur and Sambalpur—got a quarter of an average rice crop, and in Narsinghpur rice is not important. From the middle of September to January there was no rain, but in that month some showers fell which were beneficial to the spring crops of the northern districts, where the harvest is later than in the south. The wheat crop was over half an average in four districts of the Jubbulpore Division and two of the Nerbudda Division. In the south and east of the Provinces the failure was as complete as that of the autumn harvest. But even in the districts where the yield was moderately satisfactory, the contraction in the area sown, resulting both from the dryness of the soil and the impoverished condition of the people, nullified to a considerable extent the advantages which it would otherwise have conferred. For the Provinces as a whole the outturn of both crops stated as a percentage of an average crop on a normal area was 26 per cent. or just over a quarter.¹ Famine prevailed in all districts. The shortness of the rainfall produced a deficiency in the water-supply and led to severe epidemics of cholera, dysentery, diarrhoea and other diseases resulting from bad water. The autumn season was very unhealthy and malaria was prevalent. The direct expenditure on famine relief was nearly four and a half crores, and indirect expenditure, agricultural loans, remissions and loss of revenue and charitable relief came to another crore and thirty lakhs.²

Provincial birth-rate, 32; death-rate, 57.

161. From the above brief sketch of the conditions of the decennial period, it will be seen that in seven out of the ten years of the decade there were severe epidemics of cholera, and in four years, besides the two great famines, there were partial failures of crops. The population of the area under registration in 1891 was 9,501,401. Its population in 1901 was 8,669,371. The decrease of population during the decade was therefore 832,030. The decrease according to the returns of vital statistics was 392,040. There therefore remains a balance of 439,990 to be accounted for.

162. The figures of persons born in the Central Provinces but enumerated elsewhere in India do not appear to show that there has been much emigration during the decade except to Assam, Berar and Hyderabad. In Assam 84,170 persons belonging to the Central Provinces were enumerated at this census as against 3,844 in 1891. The returns of mortality on the tea gardens, which I have obtained through the courtesy of the Assam Administration, show that 13,133 deaths of adult coolies from the Central Provinces were registered during the last nine years of the decade. The mortality in the first year was probably insignificant owing to the small numbers of Central Provinces coolies then in Assam. The immigration returns of adult coolies show that 80,522 persons were registered as having entered Assam from the Central Provinces during the same period. These figures do not include children, but children are of course enumerated in the census. If then we add to the number of persons enumerated at last census, that of immigrants during the decennial period, and deduct the deaths reported during the interval, the balance should be the number of persons enumerated at this census. But this balance comes to only 71,000 odd, and is thus 13,000

¹ The above information is taken from the first chapter of the Central Provinces Famine Report for 1899-1900.

² Central Provinces Famine Report, 1899-1900, pages 107-135.

short. It may be concluded then that at least this extra number of persons must be added to the total of immigration either on account of children or of unregistered adults. The figure thus arrived at would be 93,459. Something may also be allowed for unreported deaths, especially in the case of coolies who have terminated their agreements but have remained in Assam, as the deaths of such would not be included in the special tea-garden mortality returns. Roughly then it may be estimated that about 100,000 persons have emigrated to Assam during the decade. This figure is no doubt far below the estimate which many officers would be inclined to make. And it may be the case that it is an understatement. But the census statistics agree fairly closely with those deduced from the emigration and mortality returns, and in the absence of any reason for believing them to be incorrect, it seems necessary to accept them. The districts from which there has been considerable immigration to Assam are:—

Jubbulpore	... 16,680	Raipur	... 9,764
Seoni	... 6,466	Bilaspur	... 34,917
Balaghat	... 10,900	Sambalpur	... 11,613

163. In Berar 207,980 persons born in the Central Provinces were enumerated at this census, as against 216,488 in 1891. The mean death-rate in Berar for the intercensal period was 43·6 per mille, and if we could assume that all persons belonging to the Central Provinces who were enumerated there at last census had stayed there for the whole ten years and had died at the same rate as the rest of the population, the decrease in their numbers during the decennial period would have been about 94,000, and therefore 86,000 new immigrants would have been required in order to make up the total of persons enumerated at this census. But it is a well-known fact that there is a large temporary movement to Berar exactly at the time when the census takes place, for the harvesting of the spring crops, and there is no means of estimating what proportion of the total return should be assigned to this special influx. All that can be said is that there was probably a considerable amount of emigration to Berar during the decade, agricultural conditions being, previously to the famine of 1900, somewhat more favourable there than in the Central Provinces. The districts from which there is most emigration to Berar are Betul (19,429), Wardha (60,971) and Chanda (28,217). These are the only ones for which separate returns are available from that Province.

164. In Hyderabad 16,787 persons were enumerated at this census against 6,782 in 1891. It may be concluded therefore that about 12,000 persons migrated during the decennial period. No details of districts have been furnished, but most of the migration has probably been from Chanda. In Bombay the number of persons born in the Central Provinces is now 12,451 as against 10,494 in 1891 and some two or three thousand persons have probably therefore gone to that Presidency. There is also an increase in the number of persons from this Province enumerated in Burma and the Punjab; but this may be due to the transfers of troops, members of whose families might have been born in the Central Provinces during the period that they were stationed here. On a rough estimate then it may be concluded that between one and a half and two lakhs of persons have left the Province during the decade. And the difference between this and the balance of 439,990 persons mentioned above is probably due to deficient reporting.

165. In rural areas the duty of reporting births and deaths devolves on mukaddams or headmen of villages and on village watchmen or kotwars.¹ The village watchman is supplied with a printed book in which entries of births and deaths are made as they occur by the mukaddam, or, if he cannot read or write, by a patwari or school-master. At prescribed intervals, usually once a week, the village watchman takes his book to the police post to which his village is attached, and the entries are copied out by the police moharrir into his vital statistics register, who at the same time initials each entry in the kotwars' books. Four times a month copies of the totals entered in the register are forwarded to the Civil Surgeon's office at headquarters, where the district returns are made up. Kotwars are generally selected from the lowest castes as Mehras, Chamars, and Gandas. In some districts there are special castes, probably originally formed from the holding of this office, as Dahait, Chadar, Khangar, Balahi, and Chauhan. The kotwars are almost invariably illiterate, but most officers agree in considering that they perform their duties efficiently and satisfactorily. The entries in the kotwars' books are examined by Revenue and Police officers and Vaccination Inspectors during the course of their tours. The fact that the entries in the book have been copied into the police registers is verified by looking for the police moharrir's initials, and the entries themselves are checked by local inquiry in the village. The general opinion of officers is to the effect that omissions are very infrequent. Colonel McKay, I.M.S., Civil Surgeon of Jubbulpore, says: 'When the village is a small one of under 1,000 inhabitants, the reporting is, I think, very accurate, but in larger villages the kotwar has less chance of knowing what has happened. I have examined the kotwars' books of over 300 villages and compared them with the police registers, and have found an error of under 1 per mille. I have also made enquiries into the actual births and deaths in several villages and have found the kotwars' books very fairly correct.'

There are no doubt cases of accidental omissions, especially when, as pointed out by Mr. Low, there is a vacancy in the office of kotwar. Illegitimate births would also naturally be concealed. There was formerly a tendency among the higher castes to omit reporting the births of female children, but it is believed that this does not now exist to any appreciable extent.

166. In municipal towns the duty of reporting births and deaths is made incumbent on the nearest male relative of the person born or deceased who is above the age of 16, and breach of this rule is punishable with fine which may amount to Rs. 50.² Reports are made to, and vital statistics maintained by, the police as in rural areas. This applies to all towns except Nagpur City, where there is a special Health Officer appointed by the Municipality, who receives the reports and maintains registers through the conservancy staff. The reporting is not checked by the maintenance of registers at burning-ghats or cemeteries. Prosecutions are instituted for the omission to report births and deaths in municipal towns, and the punishment inflicted is usually a warning or a small fine. Most officers agree that it is desirable to institute prosecutions with sufficient

¹ Central Provinces Land Revenue Act, Section 141 (b), and Rule 12 (VII) of Rules framed under Section 147-A (c) of the Land Revenue Act. Breach of duty by a mukaddam is punishable under Section 161-A, Land Revenue Act, and by a kotwar under the same rules.

² Section 84, Central Provinces Municipal Act, and Model Rules, Section F, clause (i).

frequency to make people realise their obligations. From a comparison of the birth and death rates of towns with those of rural areas it would appear that at the beginning of the decade the reporting was distinctly more inaccurate in the former. In the large majority of towns the rates were well below those of the district to which it belonged. For the three years at the end of the decade there is little to choose between the two sets of figures. But it must be remembered that in famine years there is generally an influx into towns of beggars and other persons in search of work, and poor-houses are frequently opened in them. And since the beginning of the decade, the population of most of the large towns has largely increased as is shown by the figures of the present census, and this would have the effect of causing the ratios, which were calculated on the population of 1891, to appear higher than they really were. On the whole therefore it seems probable that the reporting in towns is not so accurate as in rural areas.

167. After the examination of the results of last census, the Government of India held that the Central Provinces stood second in respect of accuracy of reporting of vital statistics, being surpassed only by the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.¹ But in the Note on the age tables of last census by an English actuary, Mr. Hardy, the average birth-rate for the whole of India is given as 48·8, and the average death-rate as 39·6. During the decennial period 1881—1891 the birth-rate of the Central Provinces was only 40·8 and the death-rate 32·4. If Mr. Hardy's calculations are to be accepted as correct, and he must presumably be taken as the best authority on the subject, both the average birth-rate and death-rate were in defect by not less than 7 per mille during the whole period, and the only explanation for this is deficient reporting. During the last intercensal period also the figures did not approach those of Mr. Hardy, except in abnormal years. It appears, then, to be a necessary conclusion that the numbers of births and deaths reported are both substantially below the correct rates. It is also possible that the births and deaths of females were under-reported to a larger extent than those of males, as, in the intercensal period 1881—1891, the excess both of male births and deaths was larger than that assumed by Mr. Hardy. The fact, however, that both the birth-rate and death-rate are always below the mark is, assuming it to be correct, only of general interest, and does not explain the difference between the deduced and census population. This latter, so far as it is not accounted for by emigration, must be attributed to a special deficiency in the reporting of deaths. The question of the relative efficiency of reporting in famine and ordinary years was referred to district and other officers, and the general opinion of those having the largest experience, as Colonel Scott Reid, Mr. Robertson, Colonel McKay and others, coincides with what would appear to be the correct view. This is to the effect that deaths are usually unreported to a considerable extent when the people leave their homes and wander about the country, or resort to the jungles. Such circumstances will occur during an outbreak of epidemic disease, such as cholera. And they may also occur during the early stages of a famine if the full organisation of relief is postponed. It has been seen that most years of the past decade were marked by severe visitations of cholera. And we need not doubt that in each of these there were numbers of unreported deaths.

¹ Chief Commissioner's Resolution on the Central Provinces Sanitary Report, 1893, page 1, paragraph 2.

168. It is recognised also that in the early stages of the famine of 1896 and 1897, principally owing to the extraordinary and pathetic ignorance of the people and their inability to believe in the intentions of a Government which considered the saving of their lives its natural duty, their traditions affording them no precedent for such a view, the severity of the distress was not fully appreciated in some districts. Cases in which numbers of persons were reduced to utter emaciation in villages only a few miles from a relief work were numerous, and it was sometimes thought that the money distributed in gratuitous relief was conjured, and that the people would die from eating grain purchased with it, the idea being that Government had adopted this means of killing them off as soon as possible in order to be free from any further trouble. Consequently instances were known in which people refused to accept the money or to be put on the relief lists. The difficulties of famine administration among a population as ignorant as this are fully discussed in the Famine Report of 1897. During this period there was a large amount of wandering, and it may be assumed that a deficiency in the reporting of deaths would be the natural consequence. In 1900, on the other hand, the people did not wander but stayed in their villages, and that for a very good reason. Long before real distress began to be felt, before even it was certain that there would be a complete failure of crops, the whole area of districts had been sub-divided into famine relief circles of a workable size, each under its Circle Officer; in charge of every three or four circles was a superior officer usually of at least the rank of a Tahsildar. Every village had been several times inspected, and the list drawn up of those who would first require relief, so that as soon as it became certain that they were at the end of their resources the money could immediately be placed in their hands. And to the wild denizens of the remotest hills and valleys, not less than in the capital city of the Province, the saving help of the Government was manifest and they knew that they would not be left to die. No one who took part in carrying out that scheme of organisation is likely soon to forget it. As a consequence, throughout the famine the ordinary administrative staff was tripled or quadrupled, and an increased efficiency of supervision was maintained even in matters outside famine relief. This was abundantly evident in the census preparations, and it is reasonable to suppose that the business of the reporting of vital statistics participated in the generally superior control, and was at least as accurate, if not more so, than in ordinary years.

169. Indeed, the death-rate of 1900 is surprisingly high, as it stands, in view of the fact that the efficient and liberal organisation of relief prevented any serious deterioration in the condition of the people. One of the reasons given in the Famine Report is the high mortality of young children.¹ In 1897 the birth-rate had naturally declined to a very small figure, and in the first part of 1898 the people had still not recovered from the hardships which they had sustained, and for the year as a whole the number of children born was much below normal. But in 1899 this was succeeded by a sudden rebound, and the birth-rate rose to 47. During this year, taking the number of married women between 15 and 40 at the present census, 290 in 1,000 had children. Consequently at the commencement of the year 1900 there was in the population an abnormally large proportion of children under one year of age, and these have very weak lives. The ordinary death-rate of children under

Reporting in the famines.

Infant mortality in 1900.

¹ Central Provinces Famine Report, 1899-1900, paragraph 286.

one year per 1,000 born in India is taken by Mr. Hardy as about 25 per cent. or 250 per mille. In England it is 147 per mille.¹ It would be inevitable, then, that when subjected to exposure on relief works during the heat of the summer and to the diseases especially incidental to children which are caused by bad water, such as diarrhoea and dysentery, large numbers of infants should die. And such mortality can scarcely be considered as preventible, as it has practically nothing to do with the want of food, though the special efforts made to counteract it are detailed in the famine report. Infant mortality must of course be very high in all famines and there would ordinarily be no reason to consider it separately when examining the death-rate. In 1900, however, for the reasons already given it exercised a special influence. Out of a total mortality of 56·8 per mille 23·6 was of children under 5 years of age.² The birth-rate of 1900 was also sustained at 31·9; this compares not unfavourably with ordinary years, and is due to the fact that the physical condition of the people was not very seriously impaired, but it no doubt also contributed to raise the number of deaths. It may be estimated that the abnormal infant mortality³ accounts for about one-eighth of the death-rate.

Another reason given in the famine reports for the high mortality both in 1897 and 1900 was the prevalence of malarial fever during the autumn months. This was not confined to the poorest classes, but was widely found among strata of the population who would not be ordinarily considered liable to be affected by famine. Apart from these there were hundreds and thousands of people with small incomes from trade or service, which they could not throw up to go on relief, but which at the high prices prevailing were insufficient to keep them in their normal standard of comfort.⁴ There seems every reason to suppose that a prolonged series of bad years such as has been experienced in the Central Provinces must affect the resources even of the comparatively well-to-do classes of the population. And another factor to be remembered is the number of cases in which a single wage-earner has a large number of dependents to support, which is a result of the joint family system. If a man has to maintain five or six persons out of his earnings, a hundred per cent. rise in the prices of food-grains must affect him very seriously even though his income is 20 or 30 rupees a month. And to have such an income in the Central Provinces is to be, comparatively speaking, wealthy. On persons of smaller means the pressure would be still greater and the necessity of resorting to an inferior quality of food, with barely a sufficiency of that, would cause a deterioration in their ordinary state of health, and render them liable to succumb readily to attacks of malaria in the unhealthy autumn season. A certain part of the excessive fever mortality may perhaps be attributed to this cause. And it seems reasonable to suppose that in 1900 the liberal extension of gratuitous relief in the rains must have brought material assistance to many, who would otherwise have felt the pinch of privation, and by enabling them to have their children supported for a time by eating in kitchens, have materially contributed to reduce indirect mortality of the nature described above.

¹ Newsholme's Vital Statistics, page 121.

² The proper figure to take would be that for children under 2 years of age, but this is not available from the vital statistics; after 2 years of age the mortality of children is not especially high.

³ That is the quantity in excess of what might ordinarily be expected in a famine, due to the specially high proportion of young children.

⁴ Central Provinces Famine Report, 1900, page 125.

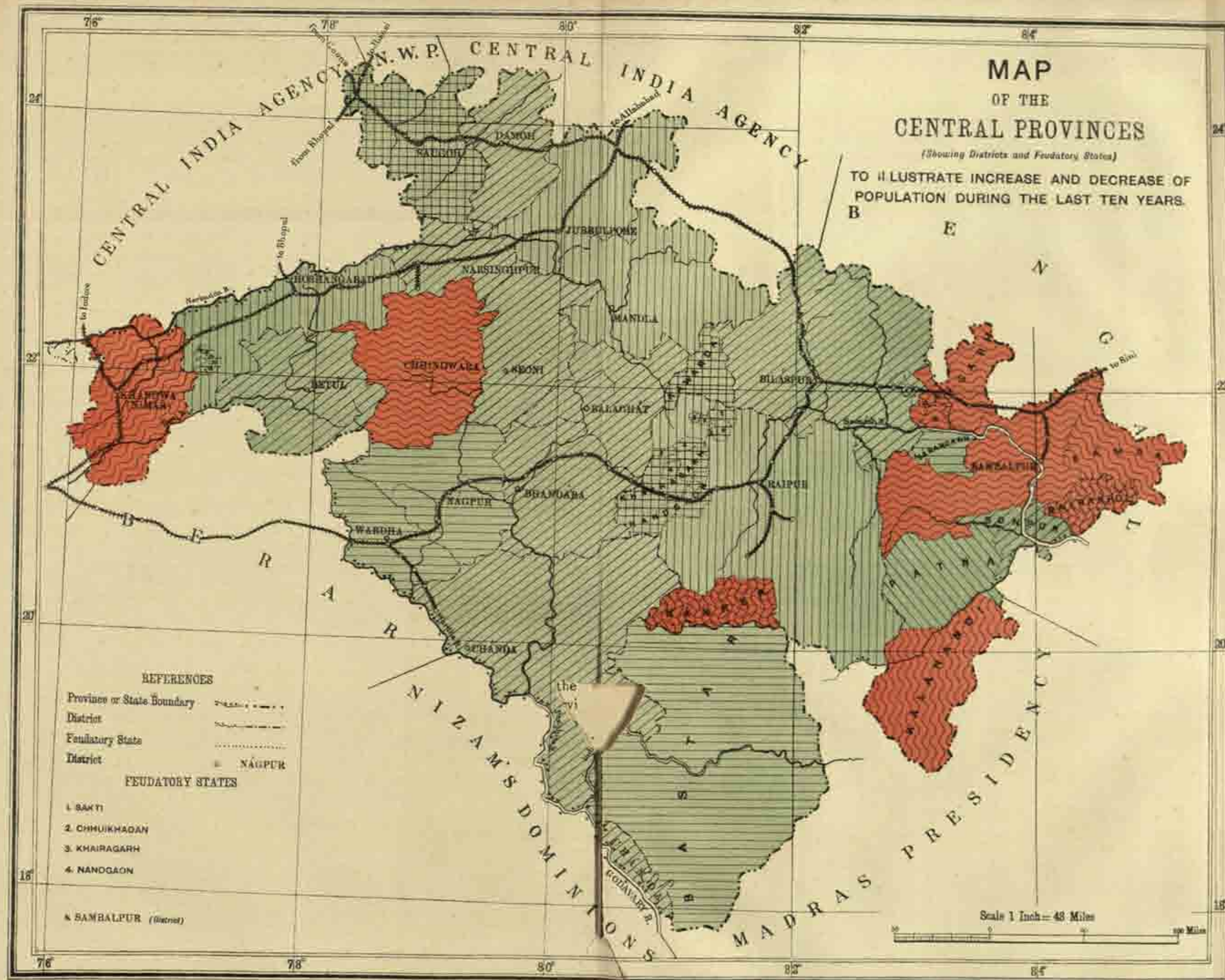
170. The districts which show large variations between the census figures and those deduced from vital statistics are Saugor —35,439 (8),¹ Seoni —30,492 (9), Nimar +55,995 (17), Betul —24,653 (9), Chanda —46,040 (9), Bhandara —73,260 (11), Balaghat —34,227 (10), Raipur —85,255 (7), Bilaspur —105,934 (15). In all these except Saugor the difference may be partly accounted for by emigration either to Assam or Berar. It does not seem necessary to discuss in detail the causes of the variation in numbers in each district and state. The emigration returns are too uncertain to make it possible to frame estimates of any value as to the extent to which this cause has accounted for the decline in particular units. And as regards their future recovery I have Mr. Fuller's authority for saying that the deficiency in cropped area can with good seasons be made up much more rapidly than that of the population. The agricultural history of districts is also detailed in the famine reports with an authoritative knowledge to which I can make no pretension. All that need be done therefore is to point out some respects in which the census figures are of interest.

171. In Saugor the Banda Tahsil has suffered least, the decrease in population being there only 17 as against 19 in Rehli, and 24 and 26 in Saugor² and Khurai. In Damoh there is a very noticeable variation between the tahsils, Damoh having decreased only by 7 per cent., while Hatta has fallen by 21. The Deputy Commissioner does not notice the tahsil figures, but one possible reason may be that the ordinary influx of labourers into Jubbulpore for the purpose of cutting the wheat crop had not taken place at the time of the census. The increase in the population of Damoh town may also have had some slight counteracting effect. It is curious that in Jubbulpore the Murwara Tahsil, which was on the whole most severely affected during the decade, has the smallest decrease of population, having lost by only 7 per cent., whereas for Jubbulpore³ and Sihora the decrease is 12½ per cent. The large increment of 4,677 persons in Murwara town may partly account for this. Another reason suggested by Mr. Robertson is that the ordinary immigration of labourers for the cutting of the wheat crop in the Sihora and Jubbulpore Tahsils had not taken place at the time of the census, and that this was accountable for the decline in the last two areas being larger than that in Murwara. The small decrease in both tahsils of Mandla is somewhat remarkable as compared with the rest of the Jubbulpore Division. The population of Mandla Tahsil has fallen only by 8½ per cent. and that of Dindori Tahsil by 4 per cent. Mandla was not severely affected by cholera except in the famine years, while in 1900 it escaped lightly. The Deputy Commissioner thinks that there may have been some immigration produced by the popularity of the ryotwari settlement in new villages. In Seoni the decline is about equal in both tahsils, Lakhnadon having lost by 10·7 and Seoni by 12·3 per cent. The reported deaths exceeded the births both in 1895 and 1896, and of course largely in 1897. Emigration is responsible for part of the decrease.

172. In Narsinghpur the loss of population is also nearly equally distributed between the two tahsils, Narsinghpur having lost by 14 per cent. and Gadarwara by 15 per cent. Deaths exceeded births for six years of the decade owing to severe epidemics

¹ The figures in brackets show the percentage of the difference between deduced and census figures on the census population of 1901.

² Excluding from computation the population of Saugor and Jubbulpore cities.



REFERENCES.

Class.	Percentage of Variation.	Mark.	District or State.
Decrease.			
I	0—5		Wardha, Nagpur, Baster, & Sirsa-garh.
II	5—10		Jubbulpore, Mandla, Kothangul, and Raipur.
III	10—15		Damoh, Seoni, Betul, Narsinghpur, Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat, Bilaspur, Sakti, and Sonpur.
IV	15—20		Patna.
V	over 20		Saugor, Mukrai, Nindgaon, Khairagarh, Chhukhadan, and Kawarda.

Increase.			
A	0—5		Chhindwara, Raigarh, and Sambalpur.
B	5—10		Kalshandi.
C	10—15		Nimar (Khandwa).
D	15—20		Bamra.
E	over 20		Kanker and Raikhol.

of cholera in 1891, 1894, 1895 and 1896. In Hoshangabad the Harda Tahsil has suffered least, having lost by 8.7 per cent. as against 9.2 in Hoshangabad, 10.1 in Sohagpur and 12 in Seoni-Malwa. The history of Hoshangabad seems to be similar to that of Narsinghpur, deaths having exceeded births in the same six years. The Deputy Commissioner thinks that there has been some emigration to Nimar and the latter district shows 31,233 persons born in Hoshangabad, but it is impossible to say how many of these are simply residents of the tract which was transferred from one district to the other in the constitution of the Harsud Tahsil. In Nimar the increase in Khandwa¹ Tahsil is 10.1 per cent., in Burhanpur¹ 21.2 per cent., and in Harsud 26.1 per cent. The increase is no doubt due, as stated by the Deputy Commissioner, to the large immigration from Khandesh, Berar and Holkar's territories. Of persons born in Berar 7,199 were enumerated at this census as against 1,783 in 1891, in Central India 21,037 as against 7,991, and in Bombay 16,385 as against 10,763. The actual numbers of persons who entered the district were no doubt much larger, but as they were famine refugees attracted by the more efficient arrangements for relief in the Central Provinces many died, and this contributed to the heavy death-rate which was remarked in Nimar in 1900. A number of new villages have also been founded on the ryotwari system in the Harsud Tahsil. In Betul the decline in the Betul Tahsil is 12 per cent., and in the Multai Tahsil 11 per cent. There was severe mortality in 1894 and 1895 from cholera and fever, and in both these years the reported deaths considerably exceeded the births. It is noticeable that nearly the whole decrease has been in the Chicholi, Bhaishdehi and Atner station-house circles, which include most of the forest tracts of the district. The open country has comparatively scarcely suffered at all. There was a great deal of emigration to Berar from the south of the district in 1897. The Deputy Commissioner notices the fact that the forest tribes refused to resort to relief in 1897 until they were so utterly enfeebled as to be past all hope of recovery. In Chhindwara there are noticeable variations between the different parts of the district. The Chhindwara Tahsil has increased by 3.6 per cent., the Sausar Tahsil by .6, while the Jagirs have decreased by 11.8. There are no vital statistics for this last area, but the Deputy Commissioner thinks that there was a certain amount of immigration from the Jagirs into the Khalsa portion of the district in 1900, and this may also have been the case in 1897.

173. In Wardha the Wardha Tahsil has decreased by 3.6 per cent. and the

Continued.

Hinganghat Tahsil by 14.8 per cent., while the Aryi Tahsil has gained by 4.8 per cent. There has been increased immigration from Chanda and Bhandara, the figures being 11,943 and 8,095 respectively as against 10,687 and 5,246 in 1891, but a decrease in immigration from Nagpur from 32,647 to 28,570 persons. Deaths exceeded births in every year from 1894 to 1897. In Nagpur the Nagpur Tahsil, excluding Nagpur and Kamptee cities, has lost by 3.4 per cent., the Umrer Tahsil by 8.6 per cent., and the Ramtek Tahsil by .3 per cent., while the Katol Tahsil has increased by 3.5 per cent. As in Wardha, deaths exceeded births in all years from 1894 to 1897, besides of course in 1900. In Chanda the Sironcha Tahsil has increased by 22 per cent. It had good crops in 1897 and owing to the high prices the people must have realised large profits from their sale. The Warora Tahsil has lost by 7 per cent., Chanda by 12 per cent., and Brahmapuri by 20 per cent., the

¹ Excluding the population of Khandwa and Burhanpur cities.

Chanda Tahsil Zamindaris have decreased by $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the Brahmapuri Tahsil Zamindaris by $24\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It seems clear that the eastern part of the district must really have suffered considerably in 1897, but, as in Betul and Chhindwara, the people absolutely refused to go a few miles away from their villages to a relief work. As already stated there has been a good deal of emigration to Berar and Hyderabad, but most of this would probably be from the west of the district. In Bhandara the Bhandara Tahsil has lost by 11 per cent., the Tirora Tahsil by 13, and the Sakoli Tahsil by $6\frac{1}{2}$. There has been emigration to Wardha and Berar, and a little to Assam. In Balaghat the Balaghat Tahsil has decreased by nearly $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the Baihar Tahsil by just over 9. The district did not suffer much before 1896, but was very severely affected in that year and 1897. Baihar did better than Balaghat in 1900, because the small millets did not fail completely. In Raipur the Raipur Tahsil¹ Khalsa has decreased by 2·3 per cent., Dhamtari by 8·7, Drug Khalsa by 17·8 and Simga by 16. Drug and Simga were severely distressed in both famines, Dhamtari was scarcely affected in 1897, and a part of the Raipur Tahsil also escaped. The Raipur Tahsil Zamindaris have increased in population by 7·3 per cent. In Bilaspur the population of the Bilaspur Tahsil has fallen by 10 per cent., of the Mungeli tahsil by 24 per cent., and of the Janjgir Tahsil by 11 per cent. The northern zamindaris have scarcely lost at all. They were severely affected in 1897, but not in 1900. In Sambalpur the Sambalpur Tahsil Khalsa has gained by 7·2 per cent., and Bargarh Tahsil Khalsa by 2·6 per cent. Phuljhar and Chandarpur show the largest increases of 16·5 and 9·4 respectively. There has been considerable immigration from Raigarh (9,491) and Sarangarh (9,411). That from Patna (2,224) and Sonpur (4,723) is not so large as might have been expected, perhaps because most of the incomers in the famine of 1900 arrived in so emaciated a condition that they did not survive and thus contributed to swell the death-rate of Sambalpur; or they may have concealed their birth places.

174. Of the Feudatory States Bastar has been almost stationary, having lost by only 1·4 per cent. There is a large increase of population in Kanker of nearly 26 per cent., which the Feudatory

Continued.

Chief attributes to immigration from Raipur and the other Chhattisgarh States during the famine of 1900. The figures of immigrants from Raipur are 23,522. The four Chhattisgarh States of Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan and Kawardha, the Drug Tahsil Zamindaris and the Pandaria Zamindari of Bilaspur, which all lie along the eastern base of the Satpuras, have on the whole fared worse than any part of the Province except perhaps some portions of the Vindhyan Districts. The States must have been severely affected in the famine of 1897 though some doubt was felt about it at the time. Raigarh has increased by 3·8 per cent. and Sarangarh decreased by 4 per cent. The three Oriya States of Bamra (+18·2), Rairakhol (+32·2) and Kalahandi (+7·4) have all prospered. The decreases in the two Oriya States of Sonpur (—13) and Patna (—16·4) are remarkable. These States did not suffer at all in 1897, but in 1900 there was a complete failure of crops, while the organisation of relief was deficient, owing in Patna to shortcomings on the part of the Feudatory Chief. The decrease therefore is probably due solely to the last famine, and the results of the census enable us to realise the real severity of the failure of crops in 1899, and the appalling nature of the disaster which would have befallen the Provinces had the arrangements for relief been less liberal than they were.

¹ Excluding Raipur City.

175. The figures of variation in different castes are open to some doubt, because the system of classification may have been different from that of last census. Brahmans have increased by 2.2 per cent. Between 1881 and 1891 the increase was 6.4 per cent., or only about half that of the population as a whole. Rajput is such an uncertain term that it is very doubtful how far variations in the figures are real. Since 1891 they have decreased by 1.7 per cent. Kayasths are also nearly stationary, the numbers now being 29,022 as against 29,852 in 1891, or a decrease of 2.8 per cent. Banias have decreased by 1.2 per cent. The numbers of the highest classes have therefore been stationary or slightly decreased during the decennial period. The fact that they have not increased may perhaps be adduced in support of the hypothesis that the unhealthy seasons mentioned in the famine reports have affected the well-to-do classes no less than the body of the people. Bhats have decreased by 21 per cent. This caste largely consists of beggars and therefore would be likely to suffer severely in famine time. Mendicancy is shown as the occupation of about a third of the whole number of the caste. The higher agricultural castes show as a rule a somewhat smaller decline in numbers than the general population. Kurmis, Lodhis, Malis and Kirars have a decrease of from 4 to 5 per cent. Ahirs and Dangis have declined by about 8 per cent., while the Marathas and the Oriya cultivating castes have increased. The numbers of Sonars have only slightly varied, showing a loss of 2.6 per cent., while Barhais have declined by 4 per cent., Barais by 6 per cent., and Kasars by 10 per cent. Nais or barbers have decreased only by 2.3 per cent., and Dhimars by 4.4. These classes have therefore not apparently been so much affected by the bad seasons as one would imagine. Koshtis also have only lost by 3.7 per cent. and Telis by 3.1. The Dravidian tribes have as a rule decreased to a somewhat larger extent than the general population. Gonds have lost by 13 per cent., Kandhs by 14 and Halbas by 11. On the other hand Korkus have only lost by 5 per cent. and Kawars by 4. Cases where there are very large variations must probably have been affected by some difference of classification. It is hoped that this may be avoided at next census by the publication of an alphabetical list, showing under what caste or tribe every name returned has been included on this occasion. The low weaving and labouring castes seem on the whole to have suffered most, Basors having declined by 11, Gandas by 13, Pankas by 15, Chamars by 17, and Katias and Koris by over 20 per cent. On the other hand, Mahars have a decrease of only 8.5, or about the same as the general population, and Kumhars and Dhobis of less than 4 per cent. each. It must be remembered that the decrease in the lowest castes and Dravidian tribes is partly to be accounted for by emigration.

NOTE.—The Subsidiary Tables to this chapter will be found in Appendix B at the end of this Report.

APPENDIX.

List of changes in area and population due to the transfer of territory from one district to another since 1872.

(a) In the year 1873 a portion of Katangi Tahsil, with an area of 533 square miles and a population of 120,999 persons, was transferred from Seoni to Balaghat, and the Bordha Taluka, with an area of 215 square miles and a population of 10,032 persons, from Betul to Hoshangabad.

(b) In 1874, four talukas of the Upper Godavari District, *viz.*, Sironcha, Noogur, Albaka and Cherla, with an area of 1,053 square miles and a population of 24,425 persons, were transferred to the Chanda District; and the two remaining talukas of Bhadrachellum and Rakapally, with an area of 873 square miles and a population of 27,695 persons, to the Madras Presidency, the Upper Godavari District being abolished.

(c) In 1875 Bareli, an uninhabited village with an area of 59 square mile, was transferred from Betul to Chhindwara, and mauza Barelipar with an area of 204 square miles and a population of 133 persons from Chhindwara to Betul.

(d) In 1881 Dhanajhoni, a village with an area of 106 square miles and a population of 31 persons, was transferred from Mandla to Balaghat.

(e) In 1888 Pothia and Jaitpuri, villages with an area of 259 square miles and a population of 262 persons, were transferred from Seoni to Mandla.

(f) In 1889, 8 villages, *viz.*, Amodha, Piparia, Lutmara, Udaipur, Tendupani, Khamaria, Khapa and Jamania, with an area of 1025 square miles and a population of 1,303 persons, were transferred from Mandla to Seoni.

(g) In 1892-93 a forest area of 1555 square miles was transferred from Nagpur to Seoni and Chhindwara and another of 4 square miles from Seoni to Nagpur.

(h) In 1893-94 a forest area of 67 square miles was transferred from Nagpur to Seoni and another of 75 square miles from Seoni to Nagpur.

(i) In 1894-95 an area of 22 square miles was transferred from Hoshangabad to Bhopal, Central India.

(j) In 1895 a portion of Harda Tahsil comprising an area of 57151 square miles and a population of 32,458 persons was transferred from Hoshangabad to Nimar to form the Harsed Tahsil.

(k) In 1896-97 a forest area of 110 square miles was transferred from Nagpur to Chhindwara.

(l) In 1897-98 a forest area of 190 square miles was transferred from Hoshangabad to Betul.

(m) In 1898 Jatasondha, a hamlet of Jogisondha village, with an area of 26 square miles and a population of 32 persons, was transferred from Mandla to Balaghat.¹

¹ The above list has been compiled from reports received from districts. It has been printed as it seems desirable to have it for reference, and no general record seems to be maintained.

CHAPTER IX.

CASTE.

*The time is come, the walrus said,
To talk of many things.
Of shoes, and sticks, and sailing-wax,
Of cabbages and kings.
And why the sea is boiling hot,
And whether pigs have wings.*

176. Under the directions of the Census Commissioner an attempt has been made in this chapter to give a general sketch of the caste system as a social organisation, with a view to placing on record in an accessible form some description of the main phenomena of the system, and of the theories which have been advanced to account for them, as a basis for the Ethnographic Survey. The materials, so far as the castes of the Central Provinces are concerned, have been obtained from the replies to a short set of questions, selected from those on which the Ethnographic Survey of Bengal was conducted, and which were circulated to District Officers last year with the request that the information required in them might, as far as possible, be collected for all important castes in the district. The results have exceeded expectation, and a number of officers have devoted a considerable portion of their time to making investigations on the subject. Among those who sent in the best replies were the following—Messrs. Kanhaya Lal, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Betul; Jeorakhan Lal, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bilaspur; Gokul Prasad, Naib-Tahsildar, Dhamtari; Ganga Prasad, Forest Divisional Officer, Betul; Kalyan Chand, Manager, Court of Wards, Betul; Sunder Lal and Ganga Singh, Extra-Assistant Commissioners, Saugor; Baikunth Nath Pujari, Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Sambalpur; Mohan Chandra Chatterji, retired Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Jubbulpore; Pandurang Lakshman Bakre, Pleader, Betul; J. N. Sil, Pleader, Seoni; K. B. Gupta, Pleader, Narsinghpur; Habibulla, Pleader, Burhanpur; Kesheo Rao, B. A., Head Master, Neill City High School, Nagpur; Achyut Sitaram Sathe, Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Nagpur; Maroti Ganesh, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Nagpur; A. Hunt, Forest Divisional Officer, Bastar; and R. S. Sheorey, Superintendent, Chhuikhadan. Some notes were also received from Assistant Commissioners Mr. Bathurst, Mr. Khan and Mr. Nunn; from Mr. Percival, Assistant Conservator of Forests, and Mr. Langhorne, Forest Ranger; and from two gentlemen engaged in Missionary work—Revd. A. Wood of Chanda, and the Revd. E. M. Gordon of Mungeli, whose paper on the Satnami Chamars and other castes has been accepted for publication in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. And some admirable notes on the Gonds have been collected by Mr. A. E. Nelson, Assistant Commissioner, and will, it is hoped, also be published by this means. A special acknowledgment is also due to my

Assistant, Mr. Hira Lal, who has been able to add from his own knowledge no inconsiderable amount of information to that contained in the ethnographic replies, and whose services have also been of very great value in collating materials and ascertaining the meaning of names. Owing to the disinterested efforts of the above officers and of a number of others, it would have been easy to fill a chapter with ethnographic detail. Instead of this, as has already been stated, an attempt has been made at a general description, following the lines of the Introduction to the Tribes and Castes of Bengal. In doing this, it cannot be hoped that many mistakes of detail have not been made; but this is not a matter of very serious moment, as the contents of this chapter will in a few years be superseded by the results of the Ethnographic Survey; and it may be expected that where there are mistakes they will be pointed out, so that they may be checked and corrected during the course of the survey. Some apology is perhaps also necessary for the quantity of rather wild conjecture contained both in this chapter and that on religion, in view of my small acquaintance with the subject, and the very insufficient amount of reading which I have been able to accomplish. But a considerable part of this chapter has been read in manuscript to Mr. Risley, with a view to the suggestion of excision where desirable, and has been passed by him. And, again, the Ethnographic Survey will afford an opportunity for the criticism and amendment of theories. And, finally, the making of apologies for the contents of a chapter involves two assumptions; in the first place, that what has been written will be read, and in the second place, that it will be taken seriously. And perhaps it is simpler to make neither assumption and to offer no apologies. And though in reading over what one has written, the fable of the earthen and brass pots is apt to recur with unpleasant significance, there is no time for second thoughts in a Census Report.

177. The two main ideas denoted by a caste are a community of persons following a common occupation, and a community whose members marry only among themselves. Neither of these will, however, serve as a definition of a caste. In some castes the majority of persons have abandoned their traditional occupation and taken to others. Brahmans and Rajputs are well-known instances; there are more Brahmans who are land-owners or engaged in Government service than there are Brahman priests. Rajputs were originally soldiers; but in the case of most of them there is no longer a market for their services in this capacity, and they are now principally agriculturists. Since the introduction of machine-made cloth has reduced the profits of hand-loom weaving, large numbers of the weaving castes have been reduced to manual labour as a means of subsistence; and several other instances could be given. Again, several castes have the same traditional occupation; forty-one of the castes of the Central Provinces are classified as agriculturists, eleven as weavers, seven as fishermen, and so on. Distinctions of occupation, therefore, are not a sufficient basis for a classification of castes. Nor can a caste be simply defined as a body of persons who marry only among themselves, or as it is termed an endogamous group; for almost every important caste is divided into a number of sub-castes which do not marry and sometimes do not eat with each other. But it is the distinguishing and peculiar feature of caste as a social institution that it splits up the people into a multitude of these divisions and bars their intermarriage; and the real unit of the system, and the basis of the fabric of Indian society, is this endogamous group or sub-caste.

The meaning of the term caste.

178. Logically, therefore, a complete caste table should perhaps give the totals for every sub-caste, and an attempt was at first made to do this in 1891. But their number is so great and the people themselves are frequently so ignorant of their own divisions, that it would be practically impossible to obtain a correct record; and even if it could be obtained, and setting aside the question of the cost of compilation, the result would present such a mass of detail as to be bewildering rather than instructive. In the Central Provinces alone 1,620 sub-castes have been counted up from the replies to question papers received. Nor is there any real necessity for such a table. For though in some cases one sub-division of a caste looks down upon another, on the ground of some difference of occupation, of origin, or of abstaining from or partaking of some article of food, these distinctions are usually confined to their internal relations and seldom recognised by outsiders. For social purposes, the caste, consisting of a number of these endogamous groups, generally occupies the same position, determined roughly according to the respectability or otherwise of its traditional occupation or extraction.

179. It has been seen that a definition of caste cannot be obtained from community of occupation or intermarriage; nor would it be accurate to say that every one must know his own caste, and that all the different names returned may be taken as distinct. The Central Provinces table as at first compiled contained 931 names even after a certain amount of classification had been done in local offices, and these have been reduced in the final table to 226 main castes comprised in the five religions—Hindu, Animist,¹ Musalman, Jain and Sikh—which recognise caste. The difficulties which arise in the attempt to determine what a caste is, may be illustrated by mentioning the different kinds of names which are eliminated in classification. In some cases synonyms are commonly used. The caste of *pan* growers and sellers is known indifferently as Barai, Pansari or Tamboli. The great caste of Ahirs or herdsmen has several synonyms—as Gaoli in the Northern Districts, Rawat or Gahra in Chhattisgarh, Gaur in Sambalpur, and Golkar among Telugus. Lohars are also called Khati and Kammari; Masons are called Larhia, Raj, and Beldar. The more distinctly occupational castes usually have different names in different parts of the country, as Dhobi, Warthi, Baretha, Ujir, and Parit for washermen; Basor, Burud, Kandra, Bajdar, and Supalbhagat for bamboo-workers; and so on. Such names may show that the sub-divisions to which they are applied have immigrated from different parts of India, but the distinction is generally not now maintained, and many persons will return one or other of them indifferently. No object is gained, therefore, by distinguishing them in classification, as they correspond to no differences of status or occupation, and at most denote groups which do not intermarry, and which may therefore more properly be considered as sub-castes.

180. Nor would it be possible by distinguishing these different names to obtain a correct classification of the people according to their place of origin. For though the Hindustani barber may be called Nai, the Marathi barber Mhali, and the Oriya barber Bhandari, this difference of nomenclature is preserved only in some

¹ Nomenclature no guide to origin.

¹ That is, assuming that the non-Aryan tribes are included in the caste system, which is necessary at any rate for the purposes of classification. Caste is not an institution of the Mahomedan religion, but in practice it has been adopted by the lower classes of Mahomedans. Some discussion as to whether the caste system and the Hindu religion should not scientifically be taken as co-ordinate terms is contained in the chapter on religion.

cases and not in all. Several castes, more specially in Betul and Chhindwara, have sub-divisions such as Malwi or Marwari, Berari, and Pardeshi or Gangapari, which signify that the different sub-castes are immigrants from Central India, Bernar or Bombay, and Northern India, who have here met on common ground. In others, as Barhai, Kalar, and Lohar, one term is commonly used in all localities, irrespective of racial distinctions. For a correct ethnical classification according to caste it would, therefore, be necessary in many cases to descend to sub-castes; and as this cannot be done, it is useless to draw distinctions based only on difference of names.

181. Titles or names of offices are also not infrequently returned in the caste column, usually by the lower castes, who consider that in this way they will to some extent exalt their position and, perhaps, conceal their origin. Kotwar was entered in the schedules of several districts and has been classified under the caste which generally holds the office of village watchman in the localities in question—as Chadar in Saugor and Damoh, Dahait in Jubbulpore, Balahi in Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad, Mehra in Chhindwara and Wardha, and Ganda in Kanker and Bamra. In one or two districts it is stated that there is a separate caste of Kotwars who marry with each other. It is not unlikely that this is the case, as several castes have been formed from the holders of village offices in a similar manner. But it is useless to classify the Kotwars separately, because those of one district would not belong to the same caste as those of another. And the returns are probably incomplete. Some of the Kotwars may have been shown as belonging to their real caste, while in other cases persons belonging to different castes, but holding the office, may also have returned themselves by the name. Until, therefore, the Kotwars can be definitely recognised as a caste in particular districts, it is more correct to take them as a sub-caste of the one from which they have split off. Other terms of this sort are Sais, returned by Chamars or Mehars employed as grooms; Mankar, a title used by Korku Kotwars in the Charwa tract; Bhumak or Bhumka, the name of the village priests or exorcists in several districts; Darwan or door-keeper, another title taken by village watchmen; Naik, a professional name applied in Chanda to Gonds who were formerly in military service, and elsewhere principally used by Banjara headmen. Naidu and Mudliyar are family names or titles used by certain Telugu castes. Naidu is said to be a corruption of Naikdu, which means a leader, and Mudliyar has the same signification, as 'Mudli' is the Tamil for 'first.' Most of the Naidus of the Central Provinces are believed to be really Baljis or Balijas, a caste which does not bear a very high repute in its native place, and the Mudliyars to be Vellalans. In both cases the members prefer to give these names or simply the designations Tamil or Telugu, in preference to that of their proper caste. Other castes also sometimes return titles as Sesodiya, one of the most ancient clans of Rajputs, Agnihotri (the performer of the *hom* sacrifice) and Upadhya (a teacher) used by Brahmans, Bharthi (the most respectable of the ten orders) by Gosains, and so on. The reasons for the entry of such names are probably the same as those already given.

182. In some cases the names of sub-castes are returned instead of those of the caste, because the members bearing them consider that they are more dignified or respectable. The Kanaujia Brahmans prefer the name of the sub-caste, because it occupies on the whole a

pre-eminent position in the caste. Jaiswara Chamars think that they will conceal their identity by giving the first name. Garhwal Mehras, the sub-caste which has come from Garha near Jubbulpore, do the same thing. The Thethwar Rawats or Ahirs will not clean household cooking vessels, and therefore look down on the rest of the caste, and prefer to call themselves by this designation. 'Theth' means 'exact' or 'pure,' and 'Thethwar' is one who has not degenerated from the ancestral calling. Salewars are a sub-caste of Koshtis who work only in silk, and hence assert a social superiority. The Rathor sub-caste of Telis in Mandla have abandoned the hereditary occupation of oil-pressing and become landed proprietors. They now wish to drop their own caste and to be known only as Rathor, the name of one of the leading Rajput clans, in the hope that in time it will be forgotten that they ever were Telis, and they will be admitted into the community of Rajputs. It occurred to them that the census would be a good opportunity of advancing a step towards the desired end, and accordingly they telegraphed to the Commissioner of Jubbulpore before the enumeration, and petitioned the Chief Commissioner after it had been taken, to the effect that they might be recorded and classified only as Rathor and not as Teli; this method of obtaining recognition of their claims being, as remarked by Mr. Fuller, a great deal cheaper than being weighed against gold.

183. On the other hand, a common occupation may sometimes amalgamate castes originally distinct into one. The sweeper's occupation is a well-defined one, and under the generic term of Mehtar are included members of two or three distinct castes as Dom, Bhangi and Paki, as well as the Mahomedan sweepers or Lalbegis; the word Mehtar means a prince or headman, and it is believed that its application to the sweeper by the other servants is ironical. It has now, however, been generally adopted as a caste name. Bania is a wide term applied to members of what are held by Mr. Risley to be distinct castes, as Agarwal and Oswal. But for purposes of classification, it is essential to treat it as a caste, for over a hundred sub-castes have been returned, all of whom are called Banias in the Central Provinces, and many of which are simply territorial or local divisions. Similarly, Darji is held by Mr. Ibbetson to be simply the name of a profession and not that of a caste. But it is now a true caste in the Central Provinces, though, as is shown by its section names, of mixed and probably recent origin. Sometimes members of one caste following a special occupation may be formed into a sub-division of another whose calling they have adopted. Thus there are Gondi Lohars and Gondi Barhais and a Mehra sub-caste of Mhalis or barbers. Telis who have taken to shop-keeping in the western districts are called Teli Banias and may in time become a sub-division of that caste. And the processes both of separation and amalgamation are still going on.

184. It would appear, then, that no precise definition of a caste can well be formulated to meet all difficulties. In classification, each doubtful case must be taken by itself, and it must be determined, on the information available, whether any body of persons, consisting of one or more endogamous groups, and distinguished by one or more separate names, can be recognised as holding, either on account of its traditional occupation or descent, such a distinctive position in the social system, that it should be classified as a caste. But not even the condition of endogamy can be accepted as of universal application; for Vidurs, who are considered to be descended

Amalgamation of originally distinct castes into one.

Definition of a caste.

from Brahman fathers and women of other castes, will, it is believed, though now marrying among themselves, still receive the offspring of such mixed alliances into the community; in the case of Gosains and Bairagis, who from being religious orders have become castes, admission is obtained by initiation as well as by birth; some of the lower castes will freely admit outsiders; and in parts of Chhattisgarh I have been informed that social ties are of the laxest description, and that intermarriages of Gonds, Chamars, and other low castes are by no means infrequent. But notwithstanding these instances, the principle of the restriction of marriage to members of the caste, besides being the mainspring of the system, is so nearly universal as to be capable of being adopted as a definition.

185. The difficulty of classification is increased by the fact that, as has often been pointed out, the population of the Central Provinces is of very diverse ethnical constitution, having been recruited by immigration from the countries surrounding it on all sides. Seven main divisions of the people may perhaps be distinguished according to the direction from which they have come, and may be stated as follows.

186. (a) The non-Aryan or Dravidian tribes who formerly held the country. These have been generally ousted from the possession of the plains by the superior industry and enterprise of the immigrants, and have retired to the hills and forests. But they still constitute about a quarter of the whole population and not less than ten per cent. of that of any district except Saugor and Nagpur.

187. (b) Immigrants from the north and north-west who form the bulk of the population of Saugor, Damoh and the Nerbudda Valley, and the open country of Mandla and Seoni. As has been stated in the chapter on language, two vernaculars are spoken in these districts, and it may be the case that there have been separate streams of immigration from North-Western and Northern India, possibly at different periods of time. It may be offered as a conjecture that the Eastern Hindi of Jubbulpore and Mandla is a relic of the Haihaya dynasty which ruled there in the 11th and 12th centuries.* It is stated also in the *Gazetteer* that the Nagpur Province was at this time under the dominion of the Pramaras, who were viceroys of the Jubbulpore rulers. The dialect of the Ponwars in Bhandara and Balaghat is Eastern Hindi, and it appears probable, on this account, that they came from the north through Jubbulpore and Seoni and not from the west, as in the latter case they might have been expected to speak Bundeli or Rajasthani. The Ponwars may then be a relic of this Pramara dynasty. Lastly, Chhattisgarhi is also Eastern Hindi, and must have been the language of the Haihaibansi dynasty of Ratanpur, which is considered to date from a period shortly after the commencement of the Christian era. There may be facts, of which I am not aware, to negative the above theory; but if correct it would show that there were two periods of immigration, that represented by Eastern Hindi probably at a much earlier period than the other; and would incidentally account for the abandonment by the Ponwars of Bhandara and Balaghat of almost all traces of their ancestral customs and restrictions.

* Central Provinces Gazetteer, Introduction, page liii.

188. (c) Immigrants from Central India and Khandesh into Nimar, Betul and parts of Hoshangabad, Narsinghpur and Chhindwara, as represented by the distribution of Rajasthani and the castes speaking it. The Bhojars and Kirars have come south into Wardha and Nagpur. According to the traditions of the castes, this influx took place two or three centuries ago. Parts of Nimar were held by Rajput princes at a period long anterior to this, and from their intermarriages with the Bhils some Bhilala families are said to trace their descent; but Forsyth considers that the country was not at this time peopled by Aryan immigrants to any considerable extent.

189. (d) Maratha immigrants from Berar and Bombay into the Maratha districts and the southern tahsils of Betul and Chhindwara. The distinguishing feature of the entry of the Marathas is, perhaps, that they came as sovereigns; and owing to the comparatively recent date of their immigration, at the beginning of the 18th century, never completely lost connection with their countrymen in Bombay. As a consequence their caste composition appears to have changed little since their immigration.*

190. (e) Telugu castes in the Sironcha and Chanda tahsils of Chanda and the south of Bastar. There are also a number of Telugus in Nagpur and Kamptee cities, perhaps owing to the fact that Madras troops have been stationed at Kamptee. The Telugu castes of Chanda appear to present noticeable differences in nomenclature from those of Madras, and have probably therefore severed connection with them for a considerable period of time.

191. (f) Chhattisgarh. The boundaries of Chhattisgarhi have been given in the chapter on language; it may be conjectured that the Hindu immigration into the country took place many centuries ago, when the Haihaibansi dynasty of Ratanpur rose into power. Since then they have probably been cut off from all relations with other parts of India. The Chhattisgarhi Brahmans form a class apart, and up-country Brahmans will have nothing to do with them. There is apparently no graduated scale of social purity as in Upper India, but every one takes water from the hands of a Rawat or Ahir and from no other caste. Rawats are usually the household servants. The sentiments with which the Chhattisgarhis are regarded by their neighbours have found expression in the following well-known little rhyme:—

'That is the country of Chhattisgarh, where the Gond is King; every man has a fireplace below his bed,¹ and the leaf-pipe is never out of his mouth. First kick a Chhattisgarhi and then tell him what you want him to do.'²

* The word Maratha is commonly used in two senses, to designate all the inhabitants of the country of Maharashtra or Bombay, and also as the name of a caste formed from military service. Here it has the first meaning, but afterwards the second one.

¹ Since writing the above I see it stated in the Nagpur Settlement Report that the people of Nagpur have completely severed connection with those of Bombay. It is not to be supposed that I wish to dispute this authority; all that is meant is that the Maratha immigration was later than the others, and there has, therefore, been less time for the development of social peculiarities.

² To keep him warm owing to the scarcity of blankets.

³ *Wah hai Chhattisgarhi desh,
Jahan Gond hai naresh,
Niche gurri upar hat,
Lega hai chongi ka hat,
Pahle jata piche bat,
Tab aye Chhattisgarhi hat.*

Chhattisgarhis have also some peculiarities in dress. The men, especially Chamars, wear only 'langotis' or short cloths passing under the legs and secured by a string round the waist. When they go to the northern districts they are called 'langotias.' Women wear the langoti and a dhoti over it, which on one side is so short as to expose the thigh, a form of attire which, it is stated, is elsewhere considered as very immodest. A favourite food of Chhattisgarhis is 'basi' or boiled rice, to which cold water is added after cooking; the rice is pounded by the hand so as to dissolve it in the water, and the mixture is then left standing during the night and drunk cold in the morning. The Chhattisgarhis are said to consider that rice cooked and eaten in the ordinary manner possesses heating qualities, having an injurious effect. Their peculiar method of cultivation called 'basi,' by which the young rice plants are ploughed up when they are a few inches high, and left to take root again in the flooded fields, aroused a great deal of interest in the months of July and August 1899, when there was not enough rain for 'basi' and nobody knew what would happen if it was omitted. The question has not, I believe, been satisfactorily solved, as the rains finally failed completely, and all the rice died, whether 'basi' had been done or not. In recent years there appears also to have been a sprinkling of immigration into Chhattisgarh of the literary and mercantile castes of Upper India, who however do not mix with the general population.

192. (g) Sambalpur and the Oriya States. The population has been recruited principally by immigrants from Orissa, but also to some extent from Chota Nagpore. There seem to have been different periods of immigration from Orissa, dating from several centuries back. The Oriyas are great fish-eaters. A distinguishing trait in their personal appearance is the shiny look of the skin, which results from the universal use of oil on the body: this is supposed to be a preventive against malaria. The women rub themselves with powdered turmeric, which gives the skin a lighter colour. When they bathe, they do so clothes and all, and return home with the dripping garments hanging round their bodies.

193. As already stated, it is not possible to distinguish the different elements of the population according to caste; but a rough approximation may perhaps be made from language, subtracting in each case the proportion of non-Aryan tribes who have abandoned their own language and adopted the Aryan vernacular of the district. According to this method, the strength of the different divisions of population would be somewhat as follows:—

			Per cent. of population.
The tribes	...	2,874,817	24
Immigrants from north and north-west	...	2,395,280	20
Immigrants from Central India and Khandesh	...	515,954	4
Maratha immigrants	...	2,129,306	18
Telugu immigrants	...	112,381	1
Chhattisgarhis	...	2,673,927	23
Oriya immigrants	...	1,166,579	10
Europeans and other foreign races	...	4,785	0.04

The above statement must be accepted subject to the qualification that no great degree of accuracy is claimed for it. Language has been shown by Mr. Risley to be no guide to race; the instance of the Bhojars already given will

suffice to illustrate this, the caste claims a Rajput origin and speaks a dialect of Rajasthani,¹ but it is quite possible that they may be the descendants of a non-Aryan tribe who have simply adopted the prevalent dialect of the locality. Mr. Risley, however, tells me that a distinction may be made between what are called dominant and servient languages; where a caste or tribe uses the prevalent speech of a locality in which it resides or in which it has resided, no inferences whatever can be drawn as to race, because it may, as frequently happens, have simply adopted the language of its neighbours. But when a body of persons have a language or dialect which is not that of the locality in which they are found, then it may reasonably be concluded that at some time or other they must have lived in an area where it was the prevalent speech. Thus the fact that the Bhojars speak Rajasthani shows nothing, because it is the dialect of Betul, and they could have learnt it there. But when we find that the Ponwars of Bhandara speak Eastern Hindi, and this is not known elsewhere in the south, it may be concluded that they must have formerly been in a country where it was the dominant tongue. And support is thus afforded to the hypothesis given above.

194. In accordance with the directions of the Census Commissioner, a rough division of castes has been drawn up according to social status. But before proceeding to discuss this, it will be desirable to make a brief mention of the recent scientific treatment of the subject, especially as the two books in which this is contained—Mr. Risley's 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal' and 'Les Castes dans l'Inde,' an essay by a French writer, M. Émile Senart—are not in district libraries. The well-known traditional theory is that the Aryans were divided from the beginning of time into four castes—Brahmans or priests, Kshatriyas or warriors, Vaisyas or merchants and cultivators, and Sudras or menials and labourers—all of whom had a divine origin, being born from the body of Brahma; the Brahmans from his mouth, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaisyas from his thighs, and the Sudras from his feet. Intermarriage between the four castes was not at first entirely prohibited, and a man of any of the three higher ones, provided that for his first wife he took a woman of his own caste, could subsequently marry others of the divisions beneath his own. In this manner the other castes originated. Thus the Kaivarttas or Kewals were the offspring of a Kshatriya father and Vaisya mother; the Karans or Kayasths of a Vaisya father and Sudra mother²; the Ambasthas or physicians of a Brahman father and Vaisya mother, and so on³. Mixed marriages in the opposite direction of a woman of a higher caste with a man of a lower one were reprobated as strongly as possible, and the offspring of these were relegated to the lowest position in society; thus the Chandals, or descendants of a Sudra father and Brahman mother were of all men the most base. It is easy to see the motive for this last rule; the law-makers desired that the higher castes should be kept free from mixed marriages, and this could not be attained if their women were permitted to marry out of their own class. It has been recognised that this genealogy, though in substance it may not improbably represent what actually happened, is, as regards the details, an attempt made by a priestly law-giver to account, on the lines of orthodox tradition, for a state of society which had ceased to correspond to them. The Brahman author of the Code of Manu did not approve of mixed marriages; but he

¹ See chapter on Language for an explanation of the term Rajasthani.

² Wilson's Indian Caste, Vol. I, page 440.

³ Manu, Chapter X.

could not prevent them, and therefore he strove to regulate them in such a manner as to avoid, as far as possible, the mixture of classes, and preserve intact the hereditary constitution and privileges of his own order.

195 In the ethnographic description of the people of the Punjab, which forms the caste chapter of Mr. Ibbetson's Census Report of 1881, it was pointed out that occupation is the chief basis of the division of castes, which is no doubt the case; but a book published a few years afterwards—'A Brief Sketch of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh'—by Mr. J. C. Nesfield put forward the extreme view that the whole basis of the caste system is division of occupations, and that the social gradation of castes corresponds precisely to the different periods of civilisation during which their traditional occupations originated. Thus the lowest castes are those allied to the primitive occupation of hunting, Pasi, Blar, Bahelia, because the pursuit of wild animals was the earliest stage in the development of human industry. Next above these come the fishing castes, fishing being considered somewhat superior to hunting, because water is a more sacred element among Hindus than land, and there is less apparent cruelty in the capturing of fish than the slaughtering of animals; these are the Kahars, Kewats, Dhimars and others; above these come the pastoral castes—Ghosi, Gadaria, Gujar and Ahir, and above them the agricultural castes following the order in which these occupations were adopted during the progress of civilisation. At the top of the system stands the Rajput or Chhatti, the warrior, whose duty it is to protect all the lower castes, and the Brahman who is their priest and spiritual guide. Similarly, the artisan castes are divided into two main groups; the lower one consists of those whose occupations preceded the age of metallurgy, as the Chamars and Mochis or tanners, Koris or weavers, the Telis or oil-pressers, Kalars or liquor-distillers, Kumhars or potters, and Lunias or salt-makers. The higher group includes those castes whose occupations were coeval with the age of metallurgy, that is, those who work in stone, wood and metals, and who make clothing and ornaments, as the Barhai or worker in wood, the Lohar or worker in iron, the Kasera and Thathera, brass-workers, and the Sonar or worker in the precious metals, ranking precisely in this order of precedence, the Sonar being the highest. The theory is still further developed among the trading castes, who are arranged in a similar manner, beginning from the Banjara or forest trader, the Kunjra or green-grocer, and the Bharbhunja or grain-parcher up to the classes of Banias and Khatrias or shop-keepers and bankers.¹

196. Mr. Nesfield's theory is, he points out, 'incompatible with the modern doctrine which divides the population of India into Aryan and Aboriginal. It presupposes an unbroken continuity in the national life from one stage of culture to another, analogous to what has taken place in every other country in the world whose inhabitants have emerged from the savage state. It assumes, therefore, as its necessary basis the unity of the Indian people. While it does not deny that a race of white-complexioned foreigners, who called themselves by the name of Arya, invaded the Indus valley *via* Kabul and Kashmir some four thousand years ago, and imposed their language and religion on the indigenous tribes by whom they found themselves surrounded; it nevertheless maintains that the blood imported by the foreign race became gradually absorbed into the indigenous, the less

The fusion of races.

¹ Brief Sketch of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, pages 8 to 39.

* yielding to the greater, so that almost all traces of the conquering race eventually disappeared, just as the Lombard became absorbed into the Italian, the Frank into the Gaul, the Roman of Romania into the Slav, the Greek of Alexandria into the Egyptian, the Norman into the Frenchman, the Moor of Spain into the Spaniard; and as the Norwegians, Germans, &c., are at this day becoming absorbed into Englishmen in North America, or as the Portuguese of India have already become absorbed into Indians. I hold that for the last three thousand years at least no real difference of blood between Aryan and aboriginal (except perhaps in a few isolated tracts, such as Rajputana, where special causes may have occurred to prevent the complete amalgamation of race) has existed; and the physiological resemblance observable between the various classes of the population, from the highest to the lowest, is an irrefragable proof that no clearly-defined racial distinction has survived—a kind of evidence which ought to carry much greater weight than that of language, on which so many fanciful theories of ethnology have lately been founded. Language is no test of race, and the question of caste is not one of race at all but of culture. Nothing has tended to complicate the subject of caste so much as this intrusion of a philological theory, which within its own province is one of the most interesting discoveries of modern times, into a field of enquiry with which it has no connection. The "Aryan brother" is indeed a much more mythical being than Rama or Krishna or any of the popular heroes of Hindu tradition, whom writers of the Aryan School have vainly striven to attenuate into solar myths. The amalgamation of the two races, the Aryan and the Indian, had been completed in the Punjab before the Hindu, who is the result of this amalgamation, began to extend his influence into the Ganges valley, where by slow and sure degrees he disseminated among the indigenous races those social and religious maxims which have been spreading wider and wider ever since throughout the continent of India, absorbing one after another, and to some extent civilising every indigenous race with which they are brought into contact, raising the choice spirits of the various tribes into the rank of Brahman or Chhatri, and leaving the rest to rise or fall in the social scale according to their capacities or opportunities.

197. This is the most complete expression of the occupational theory. The objection to it is, as has been pointed out in 'Les Castes dans l'Inde,' that if division of occupation alone is a cause sufficient to account for the phenomena of caste, these latter would necessarily be found in many other countries besides India; and though Mr. Nesfield himself felt this and has adduced instances from Athens, Egypt, Anglo-Saxon England, and other communities, which he considers to prove the widely extended prevalence of the caste system, these are really nothing more than divisions due to the contact of conquering and conquered races, or the formation of hereditary classes of nobles and priests.¹ Moreover, according to Mr. Nesfield's theory, the division must have begun in the lowest classes and extended upwards; whereas everything shows that it commenced from above and was imposed on the inferior castes or adopted by them in imitation of the Brahmans and Rajputs, their social superiors. It obviously was not the Sudra himself who evolved the proposition that it was his duty in life to serve the higher castes, or the Chamar who told them that they would be defiled by touching him. Finally, the theory appears to credit the Hindus at the dawn of history with that detailed recognition

Objections to Mr. Nesfield's theory.

¹ Les Castes dans l'Inde, page 142.

of the successive stages of progress from barbarism to civilisation, which has been only lately deduced from modern researches into anthropology. But though later authorities have discarded Mr. Nesfield's theory, his essay is admitted to be a most interesting and original contribution to the literature of the subject.

198. In his Introduction to the 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal,' Mr. Risley

Mr. Risley's theory of race.

shows that difference of race and difference of colour were the foundation of the Indian caste system or division of the people into endogamous units; and the essay already mentioned, 'Les Castes dans l'Inde,' gives an admirable and luminous sketch, summarising and collating the previous literature on the subject, of the features marking the entry of the Aryans into India and their acquisition of the country. What follows is a condensation of this: 'Caste is not definitely mentioned in Vedic literature; the word "varna," literally "colour," which is afterwards used in speaking of the four castes, distinguishes in the Vedas two classes only. These are the "Arya varna" and the "Dasa varna"—the Aryan race and the race of enemies. In other passages the Dasyus are spoken of as black, and Indra is praised for protecting the Aryan colour. In later literature the black race "Krishna varna" are opposed to the Brahmans, and the same word is used of the distinction between Aryas and Sudras. The word "varna" was thus used in the first place not of four castes, but of two hostile races, one white and the other black. The division of the four castes in later literature does not proceed on equal lines. There were two groups, one composed of the three higher castes, and the other of the Sudras or the lowest. The higher castes constituted a fraternity into which admission was obtained only by a religious ceremony of initiation and investment with the sacred thread. The Sudras were excluded, and could take no part in sacrifices. The punishment for the commission of the gravest offences by a Brahman was that he became a Sudra, that is to say, an outcast. The killing of a Sudra was an offence no more severe than that of killing certain animals. A Brahman was permitted, without committing an offence, to take from a Sudra property sufficient to pay the dues of his teacher. A Sudra was prohibited by the severest penalties from approaching within a certain distance of a member of any of the higher castes. The antithesis between Arya and Sudra, Arya comprising the three higher castes, runs through the literature of the Brahmanas. The Sudras were then not merely the lowest of the four castes, but a separate and inferior race.'

199. 'In the Vedas, moreover, the three higher castes are not definitely

Early divisions of the Aryans.

distinguished; but there are three classes—the priests, the chiefs, and the people—among whom the Aryans were comprised. The people are spoken of in the plural as the clans who followed the chiefs to battle. The word used is "Visha." One verse speaks of the "Vishas" (clans) bowing before the chief (Rajan) who was preceded by a priest (Brahman). The conclusion to be drawn is that the Aryans in the Vedas, like other early communities, were divided by rank or occupation into three classes—priests, nobles, and the body of the people. There was also a further and probably endogamous set of divisions into tribes. As they entered India they came into contact with and subdued the non-Aryan races who inhabited the country. These are the Dasyus or the black and hostile people of the Hymns. They were reduced to subjection but not exterminated. When the Aryans began to settle in the land, which they did at first after a pastoral fashion, the subject race or such

'part of them as did not retire before the invaders into the still unconquered interior, formed a class of menials and labourers, hewers of wood and drawers of water, as the Amalekites were to the children of Israel. The extent of the country over which they spread prevented the Aryans from forming compact city states as was the case in Greece and Italy. They retained their tribal constitution, and the classes of priests and nobles increased in power, and tended to become hereditary orders. When they settled down into villages and took to agriculture, the arts and handicrafts, as yet in a rudimentary condition, were despised by the conquerors as impure and left to the lower race. Whether this consisted solely of the subject Dravidian tribes, or whether there was already among the Aryans a class of slaves or outcasts who tended to amalgamate with them, cannot be determined. In the meantime intermixture with the black and despised Indians was avoided, and the Aryans married among themselves, being probably governed by a law of intertribal endogamy as has been held to be the case with the Greeks and Romans. Within the tribe there were further sub-divisions or clans who regarded themselves as sprung from a common ancestor, and the members of which married outside the limits of the clan. The tribe or endogamous division probably also traced its descent to a common ancestor, but to one who was a great deal more remote, and the descent from whom did not prevent intermarriage.' It may be conjectured that in some cases the clans each under its head or leader settled in separate villages in one tract of country. The above is held to be the division which originated the theory of the four castes—the Brahmins or priests, Kshatriyas or princes and leaders, Vaisyas or the body of the people, who were shepherds and husbandmen in time of peace and soldiers in time of war, and the Sudras or the despised and servile class.

200. 'Gradually, though intermarriage was avoided, there sprang up further

The menial and artisan
castes.

'classes of mixed blood, who in turn created grades of social superiority according to the comparative purity or otherwise of their extraction, and betook themselves to the most respectable occupations which were open to them, and which were the trades and handicrafts then practised. The rule of endogamy, originating in the tribal constitution, was adopted by the Brahmins and Kshatriyas as a means of increasing the exclusiveness of their own orders and preserving the purity of their descent. Similar groups were formed among the body of the Aryans who were shepherds and agriculturists and by the mixed and servile classes below them; and these last, separated in the first place by different degrees of mixture of blood, tended, as these latter became too complex to be remembered, to re-arrange themselves on a basis of the occupations which they practised, and which had in the first place been adopted more or less in accordance with such distinctions. In this way the division of castes arose and was encouraged and fostered in every way by the Brahman priesthood, who after a protracted struggle with the class of Kshatriyas or nobles, had successfully asserted their claims to pre-eminence. The constitution of the caste, based primarily on community of descent and regulating marriage, adopted the communal feasts and ceremonies which had belonged to the more ancient constitution of the tribe. As the priesthood became dominant, the system was fortified and consolidated by a multitude of regulations as to food, water and bathing, and developed into a religious hierarchy with the Brahmins at the head. Its development was assisted by the dreamy and unpractical tendency of the Hindu mind and by the religious doctrine of

(belonging to the country), applied to those living above the ghâts in Bombay; Karhara or those living in the Karhar country south of Satara; Konkanasth or those of the British Konkan, the flat country round Bombay city; and Malwi or those living in Malwa. Similarly among the Panch-Gaur Brahmans the Kanaujia branch has the sub-divisions of Jijhotia, from Jajhoti, the old name of the country round Lalitpur and Saugor¹; Sarwaria or those living beyond the river Sarju in the North-West Provinces²; Mathuria from Muttra; and Prayagwals or those of Allahabad. These last are the class of Brahmans who preside over bathing, 'sraddha, and other ceremonies which are performed on the banks of the Ganges, at Benares, and elsewhere along its course. They have an evil reputation for 'roguery and rapacity; and not finding it easy to intermarry with respectable Brahmans, there is a tendency among them towards endogamy.³ This is therefore an instance of an endogamous group in actual process of formation, and though distinguished by a territorial name, of functional rather than local origin.

204. The names Malwi or Marwari, Berari or Dakhani, and Pardesi, Gangapari, or Uttariya, found in several castes in the Satpura Districts,

Local names—*contd.*

have already been instanced. Other names commonly found are 'Bundeli' or 'from Bundelkhand,' 'Narbaria' 'from Narwar,'⁴ 'Nimari' 'of Nimar,' 'Deswali,' a name of a sub-caste of certain northern castes, and which in this case appears to mean those coming from the 'desh' or original home of the caste; 'Gujarati' 'from Gujarat'; Havelia, the name of the wheat-growing tracts of Jubbulpore and Damoh; Purabia or Eastern applied to immigrants from Oudh and Bihar. Some of these names are those of tracts of country, and others those of important towns or villages; but in these latter cases it seems probable that the town or village originally gave its name to the surrounding locality, and it is not necessary to conclude that all the members of the sub-caste bearing it resided only in one place. Thus the term Ratanpuria applied to certain sub-castes in Chhattisgarh probably does not mean that they lived in Ratanpur itself, but in the country governed from it. It seems probable that in a number of cases these names did not originate until the classes bearing them had left their homes and come into contact with other sub-divisions, when, as intermarriage was not allowed between the two groups, terms denoting the locality from which they had come were adopted to distinguish them. A native gentleman said to me, in speaking of his people, that 'when a few families of Khedawal Brahmans from Gujarat first settled in 'Damoh, they had the greatest difficulty in arranging their marriages. They 'could not marry with their caste-fellows in Gujarat, because their sons and 'daughters could not establish themselves, that is, could not prove their identity 'as Khedawal Brahmans; but since the railway has been opened, intermarriages 'take place freely with other Khedawals in Gujarat and Benares.' In this case it seems probable that if the settlement had taken place, say a century earlier, there would have been a fresh Damoh sub-caste of Khedawal Brahmans, and the difficulty mentioned, that of proving identity, is the one which accounts to a large extent for the formation of territorial sub-divisions. But this difficulty would not begin to exercise the potent influence which it did, until native society had already been arranged in a series of social strata, strictly defined and preserved by the principle of endogamy; and until it became equivalent to the commission

¹ Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, page 481.

² Crooke's *Ethnography*, Art. Sarwaria.

³ Crooke's *Ethnography*, Art. Gangaputra.

⁴ A district of Gwalior State.

of social suicide to marry outside one's own caste. Other early societies have suffered from the same difficulties of communication as the Hindus, but they have not evolved the institution of local endogamous groups. It has been found generally that it is only when communities of different race and different colour are brought into contact, that the question of the prohibition of intermarriage assumes a preponderating importance; and it seems proper to conclude that the real and primary cause of the unique social institution which is known as the caste system was, as held by Mr. Risley, the meeting of the Aryan and Dravidian races in India.¹

205. But it is not necessary to suppose that migration is an indispensable agent in the formation of territorial sub-castes. They may probably arise in many cases after a caste has already settled in a particular district, if it happens to extend itself over a large area. In the arrangement of marriages, the influences already mentioned would come into force; and every one would prefer to select his connections from families living only a short distance away, and of whose respectability he was fully assured, rather than to enter into alliances with others from a distance, of whose recent history he was ignorant, and who might, for all he knew, have fallen into practices rendering them unworthy of his intimacy. A custom would grow up restricting marriages to the members of a caste living within a certain area, and such a custom, originating in convenience, would in process of time acquire a binding force. Thus the Kunbis are divided into the Tirole sub-caste in Nimar, Chhindwara, Wardha and Nagpur; the Dhanojes along the banks of the Wardha river; the Khares in the rest of Chanda; the Khedules in the valley of the Wainganga; the Baones and Jhares in other parts of Bhandara; and the Lonhares in Betul.² The Telis of Raipur and Bilaspur are similarly divided. And other instances could be found. Where the formation of local endogamous groups is subsequent to the settlement of the caste in a particular area, names would only be given after the groups had been formed, and therefore would usually be taken from places within the local area itself. A case which has arisen in classification may be given as showing how the multiplication of local sub-divisions was a necessary sequel of the caste system in a large and undeveloped country. A number of persons from Chanda were returned as 'Barwaik,' and this name not being known was referred to the Deputy Commissioner for report. The reply received was that the Barwaiks were a clan of Rajputs formerly residing in Orissa, who were brought to Nagpur by the Bhonslas, and adopted military service under them. But in the 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal' Barwaik is given as a sub-caste of Pans or Gandas. The names of sections or families quoted from Chanda are of the nature usually found among the lowest castes; and though it is possible that the coincidence may be accidental, still there seems good reason to fear that it is from these humble beginnings that the Barwaik sept of Rajputs in Chanda must trace its extraction. And it is clear that before the days of railways and the half-anna post, an imposture of this sort must have been practically impossible of detection. As a natural consequence marriage would be confined to the members of a caste living within a comparatively small local area.

¹ It is believed to be Mr. Senart's view that endogamous groups were originally formed by the removal of single villages. But the names of sub-castes are not those of villages but of tracts of country, and of tracts of country extending all over India and not belonging only to the Punjab, where caste originated. If the local sub-caste was an error in the caste, all the names should be those of places in Northern India; but they are often the names of territories where the caste resides at present, thus showing that such divisions were formed after migration.

² Central Provinces Census Report, 1891, page 172.

206. An instance of the working of the process of sub-division may, perhaps,

Castes still living a migratory life.

<i>Devotas.</i>		<i>Tirmalle</i>	
Aghori	35	Waghya	118
Sanjogi	97	Sarodi	6
Vaishnava	1,891		1,180
Branchachari	5	<i>Navvies.</i>	
Sailhu	2	Sunkar	895
Ghamandi	108	Mathora	83
Udai	227	Odde	562
Pandaram	7	Waddar	541
Saribhingi	1	Gotephar	34
Basiewa	707	Silawat	192
Harbola	249	Takara	54
Pangol	34	Murba	1,452
Dandigan	297	Naughana	54
Hardas	172	Nunia	3,118
Chirakethi	124	<i>Hunters or Fowler.</i>	
Jangam	1,020	Bahella	2,255
Manikhu	774	Shikari	305
Nath	253	Pandhi	2,495
Nannakshahi	259	Moghia	358
Sarani	559		

be found in the nomenclature of those classes whose avocations still force them to lead a wandering life—the religious mendicants, professional earth-workers or navvies, and fowlers or hunters. The variety of names in such cases is extremely confusing as shown in the marginal notes; it seems clear that many of these cannot really be endogamous divisions, because the number of persons

returning the name is so small that they could not arrange marriages among themselves; but they usually say they are distinct, and in process of time a good many of them may become so.

Local distribution seems then to be the main agent in the multiplication of caste sub-divisions, but as a rule it only forms sub-castes and not castes, even Hindu subtlety having stopped short of holding that a man's social position must vary according to the district in which he lives. Out of 1,620 names of sub-castes which have been counted up from the replies received, and deducting 596 names, the meaning of which is unknown, 424 or 41.4 per cent. of the remainder are derived from locality; and to this cause should also perhaps be assigned all those cases in which a caste is called by a different name in different districts, which have been noted at the beginning of the chapter. For the original reason for their obtaining different names is simply that they resided in different parts of the country, and in some cases speak different languages.

207. Differences of occupation seem to be the principal basis of caste

distinctions and in many cases also of the formation of sub-castes. But in India when it is said that a man's social position is regulated by his occupation, the statement must be taken in a different sense from that which it bears in western countries. This will be sufficiently clear from the arrangement of castes according to social status, which has been made under the instructions of the Census Commissioner, and which will be found in Statement No. I. Five main divisions are recognised; the first consists of those castes who claim to be directly descended from the three higher castes of the traditional system, and of a few others who have obtained a specially high position on account of the sanctity or importance of their occupations; the second, of those who are not twice-born, but who are socially pure enough for a Brahman to be able to take water from their hands; the third, of those from whose hands a Brahman cannot take water, but whose touch does not convey impurity, and who are permitted to enter Hindu temples. In the fourth group are placed the non-Aryan or Dravidian tribes. Most of these cannot properly be said to form part of the Hindu social system at all; but for practical purposes they are admitted and are considered to rank below all castes except those who cannot be touched. The lowest group consists of the impure castes whose touch is considered to defile the higher castes. Within each group there are further differences of status; but as prolonged inquiry would

have been necessary to ascertain these exactly, and as they vary greatly in different parts of the provinces, it has been thought better not to attempt any more elaborate sub-division. Even the classification given above proceeds partly on fiction, because it is only in the north of the provinces and in Sambalpur that there are a recognised number of pure castes from whom a Brahman will take water. Maratha Brahmans will not accept it from any but other Brahmans, and Chhattisgarhi Brahmans, as already noticed, take it from a Rawat but from no other caste. But this obstacle has been surmounted by arranging the castes of other districts in the same groups as those containing the castes of the northern districts, which occupy a corresponding social position, and there has usually been little difficulty in this.

208. It will be seen then that in India the respectability or otherwise of castes and of occupations depends principally on the amount of religious or ceremonial purity which they are considered to possess; and Hindu society is a theocracy or a community in which the priestly class has attained and preserved a pre-eminent influence. This is the state of most primitive societies; for in the early stages of civilisation, when men believe that all natural phenomena are due to the agency of active supernatural beings, who are continually interfering in human concerns, whether for good or evil, with a power which overshadows that of mortal man, the dominant class in the community will necessarily be that one which is credited with being in contact with these wielders of human destinies, and with having the capacity of influencing their actions or appeasing their wrath. But in western countries this stage has long been passed, and after going through the subsequent one of being dominated by hereditary aristocracies basing their authority on the possession of the land, European societies seem to be tending to become plutocracies, or communities in which those occupations are considered the most respectable from which the most money is to be made. But though there are not wanting signs of a similar tendency among the upper classes of Hindus, this cannot yet be said to have proceeded so far as to invalidate the general correctness of the above statement. One brother of a family may be an Extra-Assistant Commissioner and another a clerk on ten rupees a month, but in private life they will still be received on nearly equal terms.

209. The different grades of social rank have not, however, been arranged by the Brahmans on a purely arbitrary system, as might be concluded from a cursory inspection. They seem to correspond generally to the division of classes and races which has already been noticed as having probably characterised the early settlements of the Aryans in India. The two lowest groups represent the descendents of the subject Dravidians. In the group above this, those from whose hands a Brahman cannot take water, are contained a miscellaneous assortment of castes; these are probably of mixed extraction and were formerly as a rule not admitted to the right of holding land, but relegated to a more or less subject position. They include most of the artisan castes whose occupations date from primitive stage of civilisation, and who were the village menials of the early community. Some of them are the representatives of non-Aryan tribes who have slightly improved their position. In the second group, those from whose hands a Brahman can take water, are included the land-holding castes, who at present occupy the status corresponding to that held

by the body of early Aryans, of freemen or citizens of the village. It is not meant to imply that all these castes are of pure or nearly pure Aryan descent. In some cases it is almost certain that they are not so, and that they have improved their social position by obtaining possession of the land. This group also includes a number of artisan castes; the distinction between these and those of the lower group seems to be that their professions did not originate until a later period, when perhaps the people had begun to live in towns, when the practice of the handicrafts was no longer looked upon as degrading, and when consequently they were adopted by a higher class of the population. It will be seen that the division of the artisan castes thus made corresponds broadly to that of Mr. Nesfield as noticed at the beginning of this chapter; but the reason for the distinction seems to be the one given above and not that the Hindus have arranged their social system on the basis of the positivist philosophy. In this group are also placed a number of serving castes who have, it appears for special reasons, been given a position higher than that which probably belongs to them. The position of the highest group has already been explained. Some more detailed notice of the composition of the castes in each group will show the sense in which it should be said that the caste system is arranged according to occupation.

210. Six castes are included among the proper twice-born. Of these, Brahmans, Rajputs and Banias are commonly taken to represent the three higher castes of the traditional system. In all three cases a number of groups recruited from lower grades of society have probably

The proper twice-born. Rajputs.		
1. Brahman	...	397,519
2. Rajput	...	351,537
3. Khatri	...	4,029
4. Kayasths and Pariahs	...	29,023
5. Kuran-Mahanti	...	3,434
6. Bania	...	127,668
Total	...	909,209

at different periods obtained admission to the castes. If all those who put forward the pretension in the Central Provinces were admitted to be proper Rajputs, the result would be a very heterogeneous assortment. In some cases a distinction can clearly be made. The Rajputs are divided into septs or clans which are exogamous, that is, which are governed by the rule that every one must marry outside the clan. A Baghel must not marry another Baghel, nor a Sesodiya another Sesodiya, but some one of a different clan. But in the Central Provinces several communities as the Raghubansis and Jadams of Hoshangabad, the Ponwars of Bhandara, and the Daharias and Daraihas in Bilaspur have now developed into castes, that is to say, they marry among themselves. The Raghubansis trace their origin from Raja Raghu, an ancestor of Raja Ram Chandra, the hero of the Ramayana. The name of the Jadams is derived from the Yadavas, the pastoral race, among whom Krishna was born, and who founded the city of Dwarka in Gujarat. The word Daharia is derived from Dahar, the ancient name of the Jubbulpore country, and that of the Daraihas from Daraigaon, a village in the Raipur District; the former are immigrants from Jubbulpore into Chhattisgarh and the latter Rajputs who settled in Daraigaon on being expelled from his territories by one of the Ratanpur Rajas. These five divisions can clearly no longer be considered as members of the Rajput community, but are separate castes; and the same may probably be said of the Raghwas of Nagpur. Their proper position is not in the highest group of twice-born, but in the second group. There are also numbers of Rajputs in Mandla, Nimar, and in other districts who do not know the name of their clan. They also probably form endogamous groups, and are not admitted to intercourse with the tribe proper. Such off-shoots are a natural relic of the passage of invading armies through the territories in which they are found.

211. If the Bania is the Jew of India, the traditional character of the Kayasth is that of the unscrupulous attorney. The Kayasth was the village accountant of Northern India, and it seems to have been in this way that the caste originated. The caste is not a popular one, and there are several uncomplimentary proverbs about it which I forbear to quote. 'There is always a village accountant, an important personage among an unlettered population; so important indeed and so conspicuous, that according to the reports current in India, the earliest English functionaries engaged in settlements of land were occasionally led, by their assumption that there must be a single proprietor somewhere, to mistake the accountant for the owner of the village, and to record him as such in the official register.'¹ Kayasths seem in fact to be the caste of patwaris. It is probable that their social position has been considerably improved of recent years, owing to their own enterprise and attainment of education. The caste also realises to the fullest degree the advantages to be derived from mutual self-help, or of giving one another a leg-up whenever possible. There are, however, numbers of Kayasth gentlemen of high character and reputation. The Kayasths trace their descent from Chitragupta, the recorder of the dead, the personage corresponding to Rhadamanthus in Hindu mythology. The Khatrias are the merchants and traders of the Punjab. As in the case of Kayasths, Mr. Risley has acceded to their petition to be classed as Kshatriyas.² The legend of their origin is, that when Parasurama, the Brahman, was slaying the Kshatriyas in revenge for the theft of the sacred cow Kamdhenu,—the cow that gave everything that was desired from her,—and for the murder of his father, a pregnant Kshatriya woman took refuge in the hut of a Saraswat³ Brahman. When Parasurama came up, he asked the Brahman who the woman was, and he said she was his daughter. Parasurama then told him to eat with her in order to prove it, and the Brahman ate out of the same leaf-plate as the woman. The child to whom she subsequently gave birth was the ancestor of the Khatrias, and in memory of this Saraswat Brahmins will eat with Khatrias to the present day. The Sonars have an improved version of this story, to the effect that the woman had twins, of whom the elder brother was the ancestor of the Khatrias and the younger of the Sonars; but they cannot allege that Saraswat Brahmins will eat with them, and the Khatrias, it is understood, disown the connection. In the divisions included in the generic term of Bania, a number of distinct castes are, as already stated, probably included. It would take too long to notice these separately. Next to Brahmins and Rajputs, Banias are generally admitted to have the purest Aryan descent. Their occupation originated at a late stage of progress, and being profitable and respectable was probably adopted by Brahmins or Rajputs. Sir Henry Maine notices that the grain-seller is never a village servant. Several of the higher divisions of the caste have their homes in Rajputana.

212. It is noticeable that the castes placed in the group at the head of the system are, with one exception, Vidurs, also the best educated. This is partly no doubt due to the fact that a knowledge of reading and writing is required for their traditional avocations, and also that they include the largest proportions of well-to-do members who can afford to send their children to school. But to some extent it may, perhaps, be

Influence of education on social status.

¹ Village Communities, page 125.

² This, Mr. Risley informs me, is incorrect. He has not acceded to the petition of the Kayasths. But as the classification had been made, it has been allowed to stand. There is no doubt that the caste has obtained for itself a high social position.

³ From the river Saraswati in the Punjab, one of the divisions of the Panth Gaur.

taken as marking, at any rate among Brahmans, a disposition to prefer to their traditional position as the sacerdotal order at the head of the caste system, the more solid advantages accruing from Government service and the professions. Since the British Government has made all men equal before the law, it is clear that the status of a Brahman has been deprived, to a very large extent, of the privileges which it formerly conferred. And it seems not unlikely that the leaders of the caste have recognised this and rely more on their present social position, than on the maintenance of their former pretensions to sanctity. The marriage market is believed now to depend rather on the educational attainments of youthful aspirants than on considerations of family or ancestry. The position of Vidurs is also now probably better than that which is given to it in the table among the castes from whose hands a Brahman cannot take water. Several members of the caste have obtained high positions in Government service, and this has resulted in an improvement in their status. Even Maratha Brahmans will in some cases take water from them.

Similarly, as already noticed, the rank of the Kayasths has been greatly improved owing to their education, and the wealth and influence which their education has obtained for them.

¶13. In the second division of the first group are included six castes which have attained a special position on account of the sanctity of their occupations. 'Bhats are the

Castes below the proper twice-born.

1. Bhat	...	10,592
2. Bairagi	...	36,513
3. Gosain	...	26,955
4. Guraos	...	6,031
5. Thanapatis/Gandhmali	...	2,939
6. Dhami	...	51
Total	...	92,072

'hereditary bards who frequented the courts of kings and the camps of warriors, recited their praises in public, and kept records of their genealogies.' Mr. Risley considers them to be a functional group made up of Rajputs and Brahmans.

Formerly, like that of a herald, the person of a Bhat was inviolable, and the people addressed him as 'Maharaj.' They have now fallen from their high position and are described by Mr. Nesfield as 'rhapsodical and conceited mendicants, too proud to work, but not too proud to beg.' They are noisy and importunate. 'Four Bhats make a crowd.' Rao, another term returned, is an honorific title assumed by Bhats. Bairagis and Gosains are religious orders which have developed into castes, Bairagis being Vaishnavas and Gosains Shaivas.¹ Formerly, these were celibate orders, and admission was obtained only by a ceremony of initiation. Many members of both are now married and have families, and thus are castes. Both generally admit those castes from whose hands a Brahman can take water, but Bairagis prefer to recruit their numbers from castes wearing the sacred thread. Each are divided into two divisions, the 'Nihang' or celibate and the 'Grihasth' or householders. When a novice is admitted, he has to eat the leavings of food of his guru, and hence is cut off for ever from his proper caste. The 'hom' or fire ceremony on initiation is supposed to typify the complete victory over all earthly passions and hence to be equivalent to the consumption of the body. For this reason Bairagis and Gosains are generally buried after death and not burnt.² The name Gosain according to Mr. Nesfield is derived from Go-Swami, and means 'master of his senses.' Bairagi is from 'bi-rag,' and means 'without passion.' Guraos in the Maratha country and Thanapatis or Gandhmali

¹ Nesfield's Brief View, page 45.

² Is the Central Provinces. This does not seem to be invariably the case in other provinces.

³ Nesfield's Brief View, page 22.

in Sambalpur are the priests of the village temples of Mahadeo. Gandhmalis are simply an off-shoot of Malis, and Guraos were probably recruited from the same class of the population, though they call themselves Brahmans degraded on account of having appropriated the offerings of the god. Malis can also officiate as village priests. 'To Hindus of all ranks, including even the Brahmans, he acts as a priest of Mahadeo, in places where no Gosain is to be found, and lays the flower offerings on the *lingam* by which the deity is symbolised. As the Mali is believed to have some influence with the god to whose temple he is attached, no one objects to his appropriating the fee which is nominally presented to the god himself. In the worship of those village godlings whom the Brahmans disdain to recognise, and whom the Gosain is not permitted to honour, the Mali is sometimes employed to present the offering. He is thus the recognised hereditary priest of the lower and more ignorant classes of the population.' This description applies to the above castes. In the Central Provinces Malis are generally employed in Devi's temples, because goats are offered there, and hence the worship cannot be conducted by Brahmans. Dhamis are the priests of the shrine of Prannath at Panna. Prannath was a guru who came from Gujarat and the Dhamis are his chelas. 'Dham' is a sacred place, and 'Dhami' means one living in the sacred place. Mr. Hira Lal tells me, however, that 'Dham' is a term which should not properly be applied to Panna, there being only four proper 'Dhams' or sacred places of the first rank in India—at Badrinarayan in the Himalayas, at Ramnath in Madras, at Dwarka in Gujarat, and at Jagannath in Orissa.

214. All the castes in the two divisions of the first group wear the sacred thread, except the Karans or Mahantis of Sambalpur.

The sacred thread. Kayasths in some cases do not assume it, and also some of the Rajput tribes which have developed into castes, as the Ponwars of Bhandara. Thanapatis wear it, but the Gandhmali section, which occupies a slightly lower position in the caste, does not. But it is also worn by various other castes, some of whom, as the Halbas, have clearly no shadow of right to the distinction. The castes reported to wear it are shown in the marginal statement.

1. Brahman.	14. Barchul.	27. Banjar.
2. Rajput.	15. Budadwa.	28. Bidur.
3. Baria.	16. Dengi.	29. Binhal.
4. Kayasth.	17. Thanapati-Gandh- mali.	30. Kawar.
5. Khari.	18. Maratha.	31. Maroti.
6. Sonar.	19. Tamara.	32. Darnika.
7. Guraos.	20. Kaser.	33. Dabaria.
8. Balrogi.	21. Lohar.	34. Kouti.
9. Bhot.	22. Chhiga.	35. Tirnalla.
10. Dhami.	23. Rangari.	36. Sali-Kochi.
11. Kaji-Gond.	24. Darji.	37. Kundera.
12. Bhatra.	25. Joshi.	38. Halba.
13. Aywar (Sotani or Dami).	26. Jogi.	39. Haliwoi.
		40. Loodhari.

But among most of these the practice is not universal, being adopted in some cases by the body of the caste in a particular district where it has attained a high social position; in others only by individual members who have become wealthy and influential.

In the non-Aryan tribes, as Raj-Gonds, Kawars and Bhatras, it is usually assumed by landed proprietors. The sacred thread is the distinction of the twice-born, who, as it has been seen, originally comprised the three upper castes who were the Aryans of full status. Women do not wear the sacred thread. It is assumed by boys at the thread ceremony, which generally takes place when they are about nine years old, and until this is performed they are not considered to be really

members of their caste. The sacred thread is changed once a year on the day of Rakshabandhan; the Brahman and all his family change it together; it is also changed on the occasion of a birth or death in the family, or of an eclipse, or if it breaks. The old threads are torn up, or sewn into clothes by the very poor in the Maratha districts. The Brahmans are, I am told, afraid that the Kunbis may get hold of it; and if they do, they will fold it into four strings, holding a lamp in the middle, and then wave it over any one who is sick. The Brahmans think that if this is done all the accumulated virtue which they have obtained by many repetitions of the 'Gayatri' or sacred prayer will be transferred to the sick Kunbi. The Purads, a small trading caste of the Maratha districts connected with Vidurs, relate their origin as follows:—'A Brahman was once crossing a river in flood and his sacred thread got washed away. He could not put on another one, because the sacred thread must be changed before swallowing the spittle. Hence he was debarred from wearing it again; he was outcasted, and his descendants were the Purads.' This means, of course, that they are in some way an illegitimate off-shoot of Brahmans.

215. The second division of the social scheme contains those castes from

Castes from whom a Brahman can take water, higher agriculturists,										whose lotas a Brahman can drink water. They are divided into three groups—the higher agriculturists, higher artisans, and serving castes. The first	
1. Agharia	...	31,764	11. Dimal	...	40,699	21. Lodhi	...	275,178			
2. Ahir	...	897,458	12. Gujar	...	49,318	22. Londhari	...	949			
3. Aroa	...	5	13. Jat	...	7,795	23. Mali	...	345,889			
4. Bilal	...	13,183	14. Kachhi	...	10,583	24. Maratha	...	34,189			
5. Bishnoi	...	883	15. Kamta	...	61	25. Suthi	...	7,891			
6. Chama	...	21,418	16. Khandait	...	1,168	26. Velama	...	3,727			
7. Dakhia	...	1,797	17. Kinar	...	41,529						
8. Dang	...	22,903	18. Kolta	...	127,373	Total	...	2,811,670			
9. Darnia	...	4,335	19. Kunbi	...	491,874						
10. Deswali	...	6,448	20. Kurmi	...	279,987						

group of agricultural castes contains 26 names. Several of these castes are well known in Upper India, and are represented here only by a comparatively small number of immigrants, as the Jats and Gujars. The Gujars, a pastoral caste, and originally an off-shoot from Ahirs, were in former times a noted set of freebooters. Mr. Ibbetson says about them: 'The difference between a Jat and Gujar cattle-thief was once thus described to me. The Jat will steal your buffalo; but he will not come back afterwards and say that his old father knows where it is, and can get it back for you for Rs. 20, and then keep the Rs. 20 and the buffalo too; the Gujar will.' But in the Central Provinces the Gujars are respectable agriculturists. The Jats are the great cultivating caste of the Punjab. Mr. Ibbetson states that Jats and Gujars will there eat together without scruple, and thinks that the distinction between Jat and Rajput is social rather than ethnic. 'I believe that those families of that common stock, whom the tide of fortune has raised to political influence, have become Rajputs almost by mere virtue of their rise. But for the last seven centuries at least the process of elevation has been almost at a standstill.' This passage affords an interesting parallel to the cases of the Kunbis and Marathas and the Bhuiyas and Khandaits. But Mr. Ibbetson is probably not referring to the older Rajput clans of Rajputana.

216. The Khandaits or 'swordsmen' (from *khanda*, a sword) are an Oriya caste, which originated in military service, and the members of which belonged for the most part to the Bhuiya

Khandaits and Marathas.

* Wilson's Indian Caste, Volume I, page 374, gives this as the Gayatri:—'Om! Earth! Sky! Heaven! We contemplate that praiseworthy son of divine lustre; may he direct our intellects!'

tribe.' They were a sort of rabble, half military and half police, Mr. Risley tells me, forming the levies of the Oriya Zamindars. They have improved their position on becoming landholders. 'In the social system of Orissa the Sresta Khandaits rank next to the Rajputs, who are comparatively few in number, and have not the intimate connection with the land which has helped to raise the Khandaits to their present position.'

The Marathas are a caste, similarly formed, from the peasants who took up arms and followed Sivaji and his successors. They are believed to be originally Kunbis, but owing to having adopted military service and furnished one of the ruling Maratha families from their ranks, they have obtained a somewhat higher position. Like the Rajputs the Marathas are divided into exogamous groups and not into sub-castes. This may, perhaps, be due to the fact that the castes being employed in military service did not settle down on the land until their constitution had been definitely fixed, and hence the factor of local distribution did not operate in their case. There may also have been some idea of 'brotherhood of arms.' There are 96 *kuls* or houses which marry with one another. Seven of the families, including the Bhonslas, now only marry among themselves and not with the rest of the caste.

Another caste formed from military service are the Paiks or 'foot-soldiers,' found both in Jubbulpore and the Oriya country. The two sets are probably quite distinct. This caste is placed in the third group, as Brahmans do not take water from them; they also advance pretensions to Rajput descent, but they occupy a lower social position than the other cognate castes, probably because they have not become land-holders. In Sambalpur it is said that Rajputs, Sudhs, Bhuiyas, and Gonds are called Paiks.

217. A noticeable point about the higher agricultural castes in the Central Provinces is the low status from which they have originated. The legend of the origin of the Dangis is given in the last Census Report: 'The chief of Garhpahra or Old Saugor detained the palanquins of twenty-two married women of different castes and kept them as his wives. The issue of the illicit intercourse were named Dangis, and there are thus twenty-two sub-divisions of these people. There are also three other sub-divisions who claim descent from pure Rajputs, and who will take daughters in marriage from the remaining twenty-two, but will not give their daughters to them.' The name is said to be derived from 'dang,' 'fraud,' on account of the above deception, or from 'dagi,' 'stained.' It is more probably derived from 'dang,' a hill; and the Dangis were a set of robbers or freebooters in the Vindhyan hills, like the Gujars and Mewatis in Northern India, naturally recruiting their band from all classes of the population, as is shown with unusual frankness by the story itself. The three Rajput clans may be the descendants of their leaders, and may no doubt have been Rajputs. '*Khet men hami, gaon men Dangi*' or 'a Dangi in the village is like the hole of a snake in one's field,' is a proverb which shows the estimation in which they were formerly held. They have now developed into respectable proprietors, and have a more reputable legend of their origin, which is too long to give here. Lodhi is equivalent to 'clodhopper,' the name being derived, according to Mr. Nesfield,

* Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Art. Khandait.

† Ibidem.

‡ Central Provinces Census Report, 1891, page 168.

from 'Lod', a 'clod' and 'ha' 'break'.¹¹ They stand lowest in the list of agricultural castes in the North-West Provinces, being, according to Mr. Nesfield, little better than a forest tribe. In the Central Provinces the caste holds land and aspires to Rajput origin, and is addressed as Thakur. But one report gives them the same story as the Halbas, of having been created from a scarecrow.

218. The Ahirs of the Central Provinces probably include some non-Aryan sub-divisions, but the position of the caste as a whole is raised by the fact that Krishna was brought up among them. Ahirs have a reputation for stupidity. 'When he is asleep he is an Ahir, and when he is awake he is a fool.' The Kurmis are the great agricultural caste of the North-West Provinces. Mr. Nesfield² derives the word from Kurma, a tortoise, because the tortoise supports the world and is worshipped by the agricultural castes, and the Kurmi is the backbone of the country. Their women are also noted for their industry. 'Great is the caste of the Kurmin; with a hoe in her hand, she goes to the fields and works with her husband.'³ Kunbis are the cognate caste to Kurmis in the Maratha districts, and have the same reputation for agricultural skill. Kachhis are an occupational off-shoot from Kurmis who derive their name from the cultivation of the alluvial soil in river beds. Kirars are a caste supposed to have a more or less mixed descent from Rajputs. They are also called Dhakar, and this means one of illegitimate birth. The Kirar is considered to be of very encroaching tendencies, and the proverbial prayer attributed to him is, 'Oh! God, give me two bullocks, and I shall plough up the 'common way.' Koltas, Sudhs and Dumals are three Oriya castes which eat together at festivals in the Central Provinces. They have a story connecting them: 'Once upon a time, when Ramchandra was touring in those parts, he met three brothers and asked them to draw water for him. The first brought water in a clean brass pot and was called Sudh (good-mannered). The second made a cup of leaves and drew water from a well with a rope; he was called Duma from Dori-mal—a coil of rope. The third brought water only in a hollow gourd, and he was named Kolta, from Kurita—bad-mannered.' The story, of course, only serves to show that the castes in Sambalpur acknowledge some connection, though Mr. Risley does not mention it as existing in Orissa.

219. The Agharias are a cultivating caste in Sambalpur who profess to have come from Northern India. 'Once upon a time there lived a clan of Rajputs near Agra who refused to bend their heads before the king, of Delhi. The king, after suffering this for a long time, determined to take vengeance, and summoned all the Agharias to appear before him. At the door through which they were to pass to his presence he fixed a sword at the height of a man's neck. The haughty Agharias came to the door holding their heads high, and not seeing the sword, and as a natural consequence were all decapitated as they passed through. But there was one Agharia who had heard about the fixing of the sword, and who thought it better to stay at home, saying that he had some ceremony to perform. When the king was told that there was one Agharia who had not passed through the door, he sent again commanding him to come. The Agharia did not wish to go, but felt it impossible to decline. He therefore went to a Chamar of his village and besought him to go instead, saying that he would become a Rajput in his

¹¹ Ha is really, I believe, only an adjectival termination.

² Brief View, page 14.

³ Ibbetson: Punjab Census Report, 1881, paragraph 663. The Central Provinces version is slightly different.

' death, and that he would ever be held in remembrance by the Agharia's descendants. The Chamar consented to sacrifice himself for his master, and going before the king, was beheaded at the door. But the Agharia fled south, taking his whole village with him, and came to Chhattisgarh, where each of the families in the village founded a clan of the Agharia caste. And in memory of this, whenever an Agharia makes a libation to his ancestors, he first pours a little water on the ground in honour of the dead Chamar.'

220. The agricultural castes of the second group comprise those who, excluding

The cultivating status.

Brahmans and Rajputs, are generally proprietors and superior tenants. The details given above show that they

were originally in several cases of a greatly inferior social standing to that which they now occupy. Mr. Fuller once asked a native gentleman from the North-West Provinces, why castes which were looked down on there, had in the Central Provinces obtained such a high position, and received the terse reply: 'In the desert the bush is a tree.' The truth seems to be that when the province was colonised under the Gond dynasties, those who came were not so much the landholding classes of Northern India as the subordinate and labouring castes, who were there not admitted to the possession of the land, and who emigrated to better themselves. In the Central Provinces, they have become landholders and have consequently been admitted by the Brahmans, who were dependent on their patronage, to the status in society which the possession of land confers. And this status seems to correspond to that of the constituent body of the early village community, or of the 'Vishas' or people among the Aryans of the Vedas. I am informed that the Kurmis and other land-holding castes from whom a Brahman can take water are considered to be Vaisyas. And thus, though in many cases castes who do not legitimately belong to this class of society have obtained admission to it, the status itself has remained unchanged, and its origin can be definitely recognised as that of the cultivating body of the village. Above them were the priests or Brahmans and the chiefs or Rajputs. Below them were the subordinate class of non-Aryan Sudras or labourers, and the slightly higher groups of primitive artificers and handicraftsmen, probably as already stated (from M. Senart's essay) of mixed extraction, and at that period occupying the position of village menials and general servants of the group of cultivators. The distinction of the classes originated, as held by Mr. Risley, in difference of race, and was arranged and recognised according to the occupations adopted in the constitution of the village; it was immoveably fixed and perpetuated by the action of the Brahmans, in attaching to each occupation or group of occupations a different degree of religious purity and hence of social respectability.

221. Another instance of the rise in status which ensues from the possession of land may, perhaps, be found in the case of the Bhilalas

Land-holding sub-divisions of the tribes.

who are included among the second group of castes. The Bhilalas are considered to be a cross between Rajputs and Bhils, and Brahmans will, it is reported, take water from them. And there are similar sub-divisions among others of the tribes, which have not been distinguished in the caste table, because they were not separately recorded; such are the Raj-Gonds among Gonds, the Raj-Korkus among Korkus, the Binjhals among Baigas, and the Tawar sub-caste of Kawars in Bilaspur, to which the northern Zamindars belong. It is stated that Brahmans will take water from

¹ That is to say in theory. In practice it is to be feared that he occasionally forgets to do so.

Raj-Gonds and Binjhals, who thus occupy the status of land-holding castes. What seems to have happened in each case is that a sub-division has been formed consisting of those members of each tribe who were landed proprietors at the time of the Hindu immigration, and this sub-caste has in the manner and for the reasons already given been elevated in rank to the cultivating status. The elevation is justified by the theory that they have intermarried with Rajputs, but this has probably only occurred in a few isolated instances. The real reason seems to be that they were the possessors of the land and have been admitted to the rank in society which, from the earliest times, has attached to this position.

222. The second division of the second group comprises 13 castes as shown

Higher artisan castes.			in the marginal statement. These are the higher
1. Barai	...	20,584	artisan castes from whom a Brahman can take water. There are the Sonar or goldsmith; Tamera and Kasera or brass-worker; Patwa or maker of silk braid and thread; Lakhera or worker in lac; Sansiya or mason (in Sambalpur); Kundera or turner; Barai or betel-leaf grower and seller; Barhai or carpenter; and the Halwai and Bharbhunja or confectioners and grain-parchers. Kammala or Panchal is a generic term in Madras for five castes working in gold and silver, iron, wood, brass and masonry. But they are a separate caste in the
2. Barhai	...	67,170	
3. Bharbhunja	...	3,900	
4. Halwai	...	2,625	
5. Kammala	...	7	
6. Kasera	...	11,119	
7. Komti	...	4,503	
8. Kundera	...	93	
9. Lakhera	...	3,188	
10. Patwa	...	5,869	
11. Sansiya	...	12,615	
12. Sonar	...	97,514	
13. Tamera	...	4,063	
Total	...	244,372	

Central Provinces, and are also called Vishwa Brahmans. The common point about nearly all these occupations is that they did not originate until a comparatively advanced stage of progress, when people had begun to live in towns, when the practice of the handicrafts was no longer despised, and when consequently they were adopted by a higher stratum of the population, corresponding probably to the cultivators of the first division of this group. There are some differences in status in the group itself. The highest caste is Sonar; a certain distinction attaches to working in the precious metals, and it is the most profitable trade, next to that of Bania, and hence it may have been as a rule adopted by a somewhat better class of persons than the other trades, or the same considerations may have tended to raise the position of the industry itself. Next to the Sonars come the Kasars. As usual they trace their pedigree from the slaughter of the Kshatriyas by Parasurama. In their case no less than four pregnant women, the wives of the king of the Sombansis, who stole the sacred cow, took refuge in a hermitage. Their four sons on growing up wished to avenge their father, and prayed to the goddess Kali for weapons. But unfortunately in their prayer instead of saying 'dhan' arrow, they said 'wan,' which means pot, and hence brass pots were given to them instead of arrows. They set out to sell the pots, but got involved in a quarrel with a Raja, who killed three of them, but was defeated by the fourth, to whom he afterwards gave his daughter and half his kingdom, and who became the ancestor of the Kasars. The caste occupies a high position in the northern districts, and wears the sacred thread.

223. The Barhai or carpenter is a village menial in the Punjab, and is considered by Mr. Ibbetson to belong to the same

Higher artisan castes—*contd.*

class as the Lohar, though his status is superior. In the Central Provinces carpentering is not usually a village industry, so much of carpenter's work as is required being done by the cultivators themselves or by the Lohar or Khatī. Mr. Hira Lal tells me that the Barhai is a village

servant in Saugor and Damoh, but his status has perhaps been fixed by the urban members of the caste, who are more numerous and would command more influence. Mr. Nesfield¹ says that he is a village servant and ranks with the Kurmi, with whom his interests are so closely allied. But there is no reason why the carpenter should be more closely allied with the cultivator than any other village menial, and it seems more probable that carpentering as a distinct trade is of comparatively late origin, and was adopted by Kurmis, to which fact the connection noticed by Mr. Nesfield may be attributed; hence the superior position of the Barhai. The Sansiya or mason of the Oriya country also comes within the group of artisan castes from whom a Brahman can take water, perhaps because he works only in stone, and hence his occupation is urban, while the Beldar and Lathia, who are in the lower group, work also in earth. Earthworking is a profession adopted by several of the non-Aryan tribes. In the North-Western Provinces Mr. Nesfield gives Sangtarash as the caste of stone-cutters, and is doubtful whether it is a distinct caste, saying that it is an occupation adopted by Kurmis and other castes from whom a Brahman can take water. Hence it comes within the group of higher artisans, and it seems probable that this was the manner in which most of these castes originated, their position being fixed by that of the persons who generally practised them, at the time when they assumed a tendency to the formation of endogamous groups. The Komtis are the Madras caste of traders corresponding to Baniyas, but their status is not so high as that of the latter caste. A number of their sections are totemistic, and every clan has some natural object which it venerates and abstains from consuming. Their story is that 'On one occasion a Vaisya maiden was beloved by a Kshatriya king, who sought her in marriage. Her father refused, saying that as they were of different castes it would be no marriage. But the king persisted and would not be denied. On which the maiden determined to sacrifice herself to save her honour, and her clansmen resolved to die with her. A funeral pyre was kindled and the girl threw herself on to it and perished, followed by a hundred and two of her kinsmen. But the others were cowardly and fled from the fire. Before she died the girl cursed the king and her caste-fellows who had fled, and they and their families were cut off from the earth. But from those who died the hundred and two clans of the Komtis are descended, and they worship the maiden as Kanika Devi.' The name according to one report is derived from the Godavari, which is also called Gomti, because the Komtis live near it; but in the Madras Census Report Mr. Stuart gives the derivation as being from 'Ko-mati'—fox-minded, because of the cunning of the caste.

224. The third division of the group of castes, from whom a Brahman can

The serving castes. Origin of their status.

1. Bargah	...	1,359
2. Bari	—	328
3. Dhimar	...	223,793
4. Injhwar	...	8,553
5. Kahar	...	16,533
6. Kewat	—	191,680
7. Mallah	—	2,726
8. Nai	...	136,621
9. Naoda	—	166
Total	...	592,103

which they occupy. They have been admitted to it for a special reason, that they

are the personal servants of the higher castes, and on this account they have been invested with a degree of social purity greater than that which properly belongs to them. Mr. Risley says: 'Mr. Nesfield regards the Bari as merely an offshoot from a semi-savage tribe known as Banmanush and Musahar. He still associates with them at times, and if the demand for leaf-plates and cups owing to some temporary cause, such as a local fair or an unusual multitude of marriages, happens to become larger than he can at once supply, he gets them secretly made by his ruder kinsfolk, and retails them at a higher rate, passing them off as his own production. The strictest Brahmans, those at least who aspire to imitate the self-denying life of the ancient Indian hermit, never eat off any other plates than those made of leaves. If this view is correct, the Baris are a branch of a non-Aryan tribe who have been given a fairly respectable position in the Hindu system in consequence of the demand for leaf-plates, which are largely used by the highest as well as the lowest castes. Instances of this sort, in which a non-Aryan or mixed group is promoted on grounds of necessity or convenience to a higher status than their antecedents would entitle them to claim, are not unknown in other castes, and must have occurred frequently in outlying parts of the country, where the Aryan settlements were scanty and imperfectly supplied with the social apparatus demanded by the theory of ceremonial purity. Thus the undoubtedly non-Aryan Bhuiyas have in parts of Chota Nagpore been recognised as Jal-acharani (able to give water to the higher castes), and it may be conjectured that the Kahars themselves only attained this privilege in virtue of their employment as palanquin bearers. Of course in any case there is no breach of continuity and nothing resembling the sudden elevation of a social group. But a gradual upheaval takes place, the social levels are altered, and the fiction is maintained that things have been so all along.' It seems that the reasons given by Mr. Risley account for the position of all these castes. The occupations which they follow are socially less respectable even than the village handicrafts, and would be less likely to be adopted by the Aryans. Some of them were also village menials, and as such should properly belong to the group below this. But it is clear that it would be intolerable to have as a household servant a man from whom one could not take a cup of water or allow to enter one's cookroom, and hence these castes have been raised in position. The Dhimar is permitted, Mr. Hira Lal tells me, to knead flour and make it into a cake, which the Brahman then takes and puts on the girdle with his own hands. He can also boil water and pour pulse into the cooking pot from above, so long as he does not touch the vessel after the food has been placed in it. In Chhattisgarh, where Ahirs or Rawats are the household servants, and the Dhimar is not required, his position is very low, little better than that of the non-Aryan tribes to whom he is probably closely related.

225. The Nai or barber is, of course, one of the best known castes in the Hindu social economy. He is generally employed as a matchbroker to arrange marriages, and also takes a part in the ceremony. He carries the torch in the wedding procession. His loquacity is shown in the proverb: 'As the crow among birds, so the barber among men.' The barber and the professional Brahman are considered to be very jealous of their own perquisites, and unwilling to share with their

Notice of the serving castes.

caste-fellows, and this is exemplified in the proverb: 'The barber, the dog, and the Brahman—these three snarl at meeting one of their own kind.' Dhimar, Bhoi, Kewat and Kahar are all cognate and closely allied castes. The names Bhoi and Dhimar are used without distinction in many districts, and have therefore been amalgamated in the list. They are, as already stated, fishermen and palanquin-bearers, besides being household servants, and the Bhois of Hoshangabad used to ply a thriving trade in carrying dhoolies to Pachmarhi, of which the slightly more expeditious tonga service has now deprived them. The cheeriness and good nature of these castes have often been remarked, and are exemplified in the following story about them:—'It happened one day that the goddess Parvati was tired and belated afar from her palace. She met two Bhois, and when she told them of her plight, they made a litter out of the branches of trees and said they would carry her home. On the way the goddess was delighted with the artless cheerful conversation of the men, and when she got home she told them to wait while she sent them out a reward. The Bhois found that there was plenty of liquor to be had in the palace, and they went on drinking and forgot all about going for the reward. In the meantime a Marwari Bania, who had heard what the goddess said, waited at the door of the palace, and when the servants brought out a large bag of money, he pretended that he was one of the Bhois, and got them to give him the money, with which he made off. After a time the Bhois remembered about the reward, and went to the door of the palace to get it, when the goddess came out and found out what had happened. The Bhois then wept and asked her to give them another present, but the goddess, though she pitied the poor Bhois, was angered at the trick which had been played upon her, and said: "As you have been so simple, so shall you always be poor: but as you have amused me, so shall you always be merry." And this is the reason why the Bhois and Dhimars never have any money, but are always cheerful and contented to the present day.'

226. The third group of castes are those from whose hands a Brahman cannot take water. They are placed in two divisions, the first consisting of cultivators and labourers, and the second of artisans, traders, and miscellaneous castes. Detailed notice of each of these cannot be attempted, but it will be desirable to mention a few of the categories under which they are comprised. There are a number of cultivating castes belonging to Madras—Vellalan, Wakkaliga, Agamudayan, Are, Balija, Kapewar, Mutrasi. These castes generally hold land in Madras; but they appear to occupy a lower social position than the corresponding ones of other provinces, perhaps because the Dravidian element generally preponderates in the population of Madras, and this is recognised outside the province and has found expression in the phrase: 'The benighted Presidency.' Or it may be that the

Castes from whom a Brahman cannot take water. Madras castes and Kotwars.

Lower cultivating and labouring castes.

1. Agamudayan	34	22. Kir	6,305
2. Are	2,711	23. Kollu	18,675
3. Balija	11,407	24. Mena	30,388
4. Banksa	4,264	25. Maror	40
5. Belwar	2	26. Mowar	2,504
6. Bhoi	2,477	27. Murha	1,452
7. Bhoi	49,824	28. Mutrasi	14
8. Chadar	25,012	29. Parlu	2,315
9. Chubhan	4,425	30. Paik	18,634
10. Dahait	11,043	31. Pindhuri	272
11. Dangri	829	32. Rajbhar	2,912
12. Dangri	101	33. Rajbhar	4,833
13. Dhagur	4,327	34. Ramori	104
14. Dhor	2,719	35. Rodka	7
15. Ghosi	8,130	36. Taula	1,754
16. Golar	2,829	37. Tiyar	1,260
17. Kalanga	3,909	38. Vellalan	218
18. Kapewar	6,310	39. Wakkaliga	3
19. Khengar	12,493		
20. Khatrik	6,654	Total	259,623
21. Khadal	1,131		

social position than the corresponding ones of other provinces, perhaps because the Dravidian element generally preponderates in the population of Madras, and this is recognised outside the province and has found expression in the phrase: 'The benighted Presidency.' Or it may be that the

Telugu castes of Chanda have been separated for a long period from their countrymen and have not preserved themselves from contact with the tribes among whom they have been living. The Kapewars are believed to be to some extent a mixed group. Next there are a few castes whose occupation is that of village watchmen—Khangar, Chauhan, Ramosi, Chadar, Dahait and Dhanuk. The Khangars say that they are descended from a clan, who, with the exception of the usual pregnant woman, were exterminated by the Bundelas. The woman hid her child under a Kusum or safflower tree, for which reason the Khangars venerate the Kusum; this is no doubt a totemistic survival. It seems not unlikely that these castes, which are found in small numbers, may be offshoots from the Dravidian tribes formed into castes through holding the office of village watchman. The Dhanuks are identified by one report with the Basors, but seem to occupy a somewhat higher position, which they have perhaps attained in virtue of being village watchmen, or because their origin has been forgotten. The Ramosi is given by Grant Duff as the village *chaukidar*, and may originally have been an occupational term. The occupation of *kotwar* will, it appears in some cases, give a rise in status, and it is noticeable at any rate that the castes whose principal employment is the holding of this office come into the third group, while the Gandas and Mehras among whom only a small proportion of the whole caste are village watchmen are in the lowest category or that of the impure castes. It has already been seen that the Mehra *kotwars* of some districts tend to form separate endogamous divisions, when they gradually lose their impurity and are admitted to this group.

227. There are a few castes who are probably offshoots of non-Aryan tribes, and have obtained some improvement in status either through an admixture of Rajput blood, or owing to their origin having been forgotten. The Bhoys are one of these. Their story is given in the chapter on language. The Kohlis in the Maratha districts say that they were brought from Benares to Chanda by some Gond kings; but they are probably the same as the Kolis in Bombay, a Dravidian tribe which is considered to have given its name to Kolaba.¹ Grant Duff gives Koli as the water-carrier of the Maratha villages, and the caste may have been employed in this capacity and thereby have obtained a rise in status.² Other instances are the Rajbhars, an offshoot from the Bhars of the North-West Provinces, and probably also the Rajhars. Rajbhars will eat *katchi* with a Lodhi, but not with a Brahman, and may, perhaps, have some traditional connection with that caste. The Kalangas are probably also non-Aryan. The Murhas are a caste of earth-workers who may be an offshoot of Kols, though they have now lost all connection with them and claim to be the same as the Lunias or Nunias, the salt preparers and sellers of the North-West Provinces. Tiyaars are a Dravidian boat-ing and fishing caste of Sambalpur. They catch fish with circular baskets of wicker work which are narrower at the mouth than at the other end, and are dragged through the water. The fish entering at the mouth are caught in the basket and are unable to escape. They fish only in tanks, and not in rivers or streams. Tiyaars have to some extent taken to agriculture. Bestas are another caste of fishermen in the Telugu country. As these castes are not required for personal service, they have not been admitted to the right of giving water. Taonlas are reported to be an offshoot of Kandhs, who were soldiers of the

¹ Census Report of Bombay City, 1901.

² It is possible that Koli may have been a functional name and may be our word *coolie*. See chapter on Language. But this is purely conjectural.

Rajas of Orissa, and are now labourers. They are divided into the Khandait (swordsmen), Kandh, Dangua (hillmen), and Behera (Kewat) sub-castes, and this shows that they are a mixed group of non-Aryan origin who have been formed into a caste, and obtained a certain rise in status from military service as in the cases already noticed. The Maroris say that they were brought from Marwar by the Bhonslas for military service, and have since taken to cultivation. The Pindharis are the descendants of some members of the old freebooting tribes, who settled down to cultivation when they were broken up. The Parkas of Jubbulpore are probably an offshoot from the Pankas or Gandas of Chhattisgarh, who have obtained promotion on becoming cultivators. It seems not unlikely that the Padkas, returned as a clan of Rajputs, have some connection with these. Generally it may be said that at the present time, when a Dravidian tribe is formed into a caste, perhaps obtaining a different name or being admitted in a subordinate degree to the possession of land, it is promoted into this grade.

228. The second division of this group contains the lower artisan, trading, and miscellaneous castes. Generally speaking, and subject to some exceptions, it can be recognised that the industries belonging to the

Lower artisan castes.

Lower Artisan Castes.

1. Atari	92	26. Kalar	142,200
2. Bahna	21,309	27. Khadra	1,047
3. Bidur	18,704	28. Kamathi	105
4. Banjaru	51,531	29. Kashi	2,168
5. Bahelia	2,255	30. Koshti	136,079
6. Bandewa	1,707	31. Karamwar	1,159
7. Beldar	12,736	32. Lohar	135,058
8. Besta	2,042	33. Malyar	21
9. Bh dja	26,068	34. Manbhao	774
10. Chhipa	4,019	35. Nanakshahi	239
11. Chitari	714	36. Nat	4,305
12. Chitra-kathi	174	37. Nania	3,118
13. Darji	33,420	38. Otari	1,044
14. Dhangar	19,507	39. Pardhi	2,823
15. Dhera	171	40. Rangari	8,513
16. Gadaria	33,069	41. Setani	589
17. Gandhi	313	42. Shanan	2
18. Garpagari	5,603	43. Sikligar	148
19. Gondhali	292	44. Sundi	18,143
20. Hatwa	1,528	45. Tell	712,170
21. Jangani	1,050	46. Tirmalle	118
22. Jogi	9,514	47. Tori	1,891
23. Joshi	4,248	48. Waghya	6
24. Kachera	1,060		
25. Kadera	1,681	Total	1,436,673

castes of this group are those which are carried on in villages, and this seems to be the cause which accounts for the difference in status between the lower and higher artisans. The Lohar or blacksmith is a true village menial in the Punjab, 'receiving customary dues in the shape of a share of the produce, in return for which he makes and mends all the iron implements of agriculture, the material being

'found by the husbandman.' Kalar, Shanan and Sundi are three castes of liquor distillers. Liquor is looked on as impure by the higher castes, and the trade would be left to the lower classes; it must generally be carried on outside the village site. The business is, however, a profitable one, and the position of the caste has been to a certain extent improved owing to its members becoming well-to-do. The saying 'The Bania will keep his best wares to the last, but the Kalar will give his best at the beginning' refers to the different methods of the two castes, the shop-keeper trying to get rid of his inferior articles, but the liquor-seller giving the strongest wine at the beginning, 'and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse.' The Hatwa is the village trader or pedlar, and the Banjaru the village carrier. The Banjaras have several Rajput clan names as their subdivisions—as Chauhan, Ponwar, Rathor, Jadam; but it seems doubtful whether these furnish any evidence as to their extraction, as they may have simply been adopted in imitation of the military families in whose service Banjaras were engaged to

provision their forces. The caste came into importance when they were entrusted with the food supply of the armies of the Mogals and the Marathas. 'Fortune particularly smiled on Bhika Rathor, as his sons rose immediately to eminence as commissariat contractors in the north. And not only under the Delhi Emperors, but under the Poona Raj and the Subahship of the Nizam, several of their descendants attained to consideration and power. It is well known that our own Duke of Wellington as Sir Arthur Wellesley, in his Indian campaigns, very largely employed some of them in his train, while his enemies were doing the same. One of them obtained a fief from the Nizam, and his descendant still rules near Hingoli.'¹ Banjaras are very superstitious, and their women were often murdered as witches, as described somewhere by Sir Alfred Lyall.

229. The Teli or oil-presser is another village trader. In the Central Provinces the caste is largely engaged in agriculture and shop-keeping, as well as in its traditional occupation. Telis and weaving castes. The Teli is a great talker. 'Where there is a Teli, there is sure to be contention.' It is considered a very bad omen to see a Teli on going out in the morning. 'God save me from a Teli, a Chamar and a Dhobi,' but the Teli is the worst. The Teli is considered to be very closefisted, but on occasion his cunning over-reaches itself. 'The Teli counts every drop of oil as it comes out of the press, but sometimes he upsets the whole pot.' It has already been seen how, where they have become landholders, the Telis are trying to obtain admission into high society. The dyeing and tailoring castes fall into this group, and also some of the weaving castes—Bahna, Chhipa, Atari, Darji, Dhera, Bhulia, Koshti, Rangari. Weaving is one of the earliest industries, and is generally left to the impure castes of the lowest group. But the finer sorts of weaving and dyeing would come into existence at a later period, and would be partially urban industries, and hence the same stigma would not attach to them, and they might be adopted by a higher stratum of the population. Koshtis are a class of urban weavers noted for their turbulence. Bhulias are weavers in Sambalpur who allege some connection with Koshtis. They are reported to be of a fair complexion and tall stature, and may be some degraded class who have taken to weaving, but the following saying attributes to them a more humble origin: 'At first a son was born from a Chandai (sweeper) woman; at that time none were aware of his descent or rank, so he was called Bhulia (one who is forgotten). He took the loom into his hands and became the brother-in-law of the Ganda.' But Bhulias are not regarded as impure. The Chhipas and Rangaris are dyeing castes, which are closely connected. The Bhaosars are a sub-division of Rangari. 'When Parasurama was slaying the Kshatriyas, two brothers took refuge in a temple of Devi. One of them, who was called Bhaosar, threw himself upon the image, but the other hid behind it. The goddess saved them both, and told them to adopt the vocation of dyers.' The Rangaris are descended from the brother who was called Bhaosar, and the Chhipas from the other brother, because he hid behind the image (*chhipna*—to hide). The word is no doubt derived from *chhapna*—to print, because the Chhipas print coloured patterns on cotton cloths with wooden stamps. Ataris are a caste of dyers who use the red dye of the 'Al' or madder root.

230. The three shepherd castes are included in this group—Gadaria, Dhangar, and Kuramwar. Their status is lower than that of the castes who herd cattle, probably because the latter

¹ Berar Census Report, 1881, page 152.

pursuit was combined with cultivation from the earliest times and regarded as equally respectable. It would also acquire a certain amount of dignity owing to its association with the sacred cow. The tending of sheep and goats might be left to the class of labourers and cultivators of lower status, and in the Central Provinces in many cases to the Dravidian tribes. The names of all three castes show their functional origin, Gadariya being from *Gadar* a sheep; Dhangar from *Dhan* (wealth), a term applied to a flock of sheep and goats; and Kuramwar from *Kurri*, a Telugu word for sheep.

231. Two castes of brass-workers are included in this group—the Otári or brass-worker of the Maratha country, and the Khadra who works in bell-metal in Sambalpur. The Otári is probably a Dravidian. Mr. Percival says that they have a survival of marriage by capture. 'If any one refuses to give his daughter in marriage after being asked twice or thrice, they abduct the girl, and afterwards pay some compensation to the father.' They are also said to eat with Gonds. It appears, then, that the trade of brass-working, which in Northern India is highly respectable, has in the Maratha country been left to the same class of persons as that from which the other village menial castes were originally formed; and this instance goes to show that the relative status of occupations is fixed not as a rule by features incidental to the occupation itself, but by the position previously occupied by the persons who practise it; though in some cases, as in that of holding land, the estimation with which the profession has been regarded from the earliest times and which it originally obtained in precisely the same manner, that is from the status of those who first held land, has become so definitely fixed and recognised, that it will operate to raise in the social scale classes or castes who subsequently adopt it.¹ The Lodhi and the Otári should probably, so far as their extraction goes, be social equals, both being Dravidian tribes who have become castes. But while the Otári still occupies a position just above the tribes who have not definitely entered the caste system, the Lodhi is a landholder and esteems himself as little less than a Rajput. Why the profession of brass-working should in the Maratha districts belong to the class of village menials cannot be definitely explained. But it is noticeable that the social economy of the village differed here considerably from that of Northern India. In Grant Duff's History of the Marathas² it is stated that the complete establishment of a village consisted of 24 officials divided into two groups. It is unnecessary to mention them all; but it may be remarked that they include the Sonar, the Tamboli or betel-leaf vendor, the Gurao or village priest, the Bhat or bard, the tailor, and the Koli or water-carrier, besides all the ordinary village menials; and it seems therefore that these occupations which, in Northern India, were not usually village industries, in Bombay, whether because the colonisation of the country took place at a later period of development, or for some other reason which cannot be determined, assumed this form. Consequently the persons who practised them were the servants of the body of cultivators occupying a lower social position. And though Grant Duff does not give the brass-worker as one of the village officials, it may safely be presumed that his occupation was at least as early as the goldsmith's; and if the latter was a village servant, he would be in the same or an inferior rank.

¹ I do not think this is wholly correct. Landholding was also, of course, the chief source of wealth up to very recent times, and on this account a rise in status would also be obtained from it just as is the case with education at present. But the origin of the status seems to be as described.

² Edition 1878, Volume I, page 26. Note. All the subsequent references to Grant Duff are to the same note, which contains a list of the village menials in the Maratha village.

It is then, perhaps, in this way that the difference in the social position of the Otári and the Kasar may be accounted for; and the explanation of other variations in the rank of the professional castes between one Province and another may probably, to some extent, be looked for on similar lines.

232. The Gandhi or perfume-seller may be noticed as a caste which seems to be in actual process of formation. The term Bukekari or maker of red powder or *kunku* appears to refer to the same persons and has been amalgamated with it. Enquiry tends to show that members of several castes who adopt this profession have returned themselves as Gandhi. In the case of Kunbis it gives a rise in status, because the occupation of perfume-selling is held in considerable estimation, and they would therefore prefer the name; but at present there are Brahmans who are also perfume-sellers, and they will still return themselves by their own caste. In time it may be anticipated that Gandhi will become a caste made up of these different constituents, and will occupy a social position rather higher than that of Kunbis. 'A man fares according to the company which he keeps; if he goes to the Gandhi he will be regaled with sweet perfumes, but if he sits in the Lohar's shop his clothes will be burnt by the sparks from the anvil.' But opinions may differ as to the gratification afforded by the Gandhi's scents, and there are those who would prefer the Lohar notwithstanding the sparks.¹ The Kacheras or makers of glass bangles are both Hindus and Mahomedans. Among the Hindus the Kachera is noted for his desire to make a profit by getting a large bride price on the marriage of girls. His prayer is 'O God, give me a daughter; in exchange for her I shall get a pair of bullocks and a mortar full of rupees, and I shall be rich for the rest of my life. For a dowry I shall give her a sickle, a hoe, and a spinning machine; and these will suffice for my daughter to earn her livelihood.' Kasbis or prostitutes have been formed into a caste. Girls are brought up to the trade, and as soon as they arrive at maturity are seduced by a regular ceremony called 'covering the head.' For the '*Fus prima noctis*' a considerable sum is usually paid. Boys become their accompanists, and are called Sarangias from the sarangi, a stringed instrument played with a bow. The dancing girl is also given by Sir Henry Maine as a village servant.

233. The last kind of castes, of whom it is necessary to make some mention in this group, are those coming under the designation of priests or astrologers—Joshi, Jogi, Jangam, Satani, Nankshahi, Tirmalle, Chitrakathi, Gondhali, Waghya, Manbhao, Basdewa. Speaking generally it may perhaps be said that these castes occupy for the lower classes of society the same position as the Brahmans hold in the upper strata. They are the ministrants of the more primitive form of religion—that of the village gods. In many cases their ritual has probably been derived from a Dravidian source, and they themselves may be the promoted descendants of the tribal priests, medicine men, or witch-finders. It is true that they are now for the most part employed in the service of Hindu gods, but this is probably a kind of religious evolution, of a nature akin to the social elevation into Hinduism of the casteless tribes; and moreover different authorities have held that many features of the cult of Siva and Kali, which represent a great retrogression from the character

¹ Gandhi should really be included among the castes from whom a Brahman will take water. But as it has not obtained a definite recognition as a caste, it has been placed in this group.

of the purer nature gods of the Vedas, have been derived from Dravidian sources. Among these castes may also be included some groups of Brahmans degraded by their acceptance of a lower worship. The Joshi or astrologer is mentioned by Grant Duff as a village servant of the Maratha villages. Mr. Nesfield says¹ 'that his art is really that of palmistry, and should be distinguished from 'astrology, which belongs to the Brahman Jyotishi.' But he is connected with astrology, as his business is to avert the evil influence of the planet Saturn, and of Rahu and Ketu, the head and tail of the dragon, all of which are malignant stars. He begs on Saturday (Saturn's day) and always receives black things as *urad*, black blankets, iron, *tilli*, or black animals. Such articles are given when he is specially called in to counteract the bad action of the planets in question, but he must always be given oil. It appears not unlikely, from Mr. Nesfield's description, that the Joshi is a village necromancer who has encroached to some extent on the functions of the Brahman Jyotishi. The following is also apposite: 'The village Joshi is a sort of astrologer and priest who points out 'the lucky and unlucky days for commencing ploughing and sowing, and all 'occasions of importance connected with the agricultural labours of the community. He also officiates at births, deaths and marriages, and at religious 'ceremonies of all kinds. He usually has a small field of little value rent-free, 'one or two rupees from recognised village charges, and a certain 'quantity of grain from each cultivator annually.' Jangam is also given by Grant Duff as a village servant. He is the priest or guru of the Shivite sect of the Lingayats. Jangams like Gosains and Bairagis are divided into two groups—celibate and married. They wear the 'Lingam' or phallic sign of Siva in a silver casket round their neck; and as this is supposed to represent the god and to be eternal, they are buried and not burnt after death, because the lingam must be buried with them and must not be destroyed in the fire. The Gondhali is also included in the list of village servants of the Maratha villages, his duty being the beating of the *tambhut* or double kettle-drum. They are the worshippers of Devi and are distinguished by wearing a *mala* or necklace of cowries, by carrying torches, and by playing on the drums. Their ritual is accompanied by exhibitions of singing and dancing, for which they receive payment from those who witness them. Basdewas or Harbolas are wandering mendicants. Each has a beat of a certain number of villages which must not be infringed by the others. Their method is to ascertain the name of some well-to-do person in the village. This done, they climb a tree in the early morning before sunrise and continue chanting his praises in a loud voice until he is sufficiently flattered by their eulogies or wearied by their importunity to throw down a present of a few pice under the tree, which the Basdewa descends and appropriates. Basdewas are also engaged in the trade of buying and selling buffaloes. Satanis are a Vaishnavite order from Madras. They are stated to be the priests of the lower castes, and at the time of the harvest they go to the threshing ground of each cultivator and get some grain from him.

234. The Manbhaos are a Vaishnavite order, having their head-quarters in Berar. In the Berar Census Report, 1881 (page 63), it is stated that the Manbhaos are not usually found in towns but in large villages. 'The Brahmans hate the Manbhaos, who have not 'only thrown off the Brahmanical yoke themselves, but also do much to oppose

Manbhao and Garpagari.

¹ Brief View, page 69.

² Central Provinces Census Report, 1881, page 127, quoting from Sir R. Jenkins' Report on the Nagpur Territories.

'the influence of Brahmans among the agriculturists. The Manbhaos are respected and a guru is often taken from their sect in place of a Brahman or a Gosain. The Brahmans represent them as descended from one Krishna Bhat, a Brahman who was outcasted for keeping a beautiful Mang woman as his mistress; her four sons were called the Mang bhaos or Mang brothers.' Mang is one of the lowest castes of bamboo-workers and village musicians, and this derivation is a good instance of what may be called the '*argumentum ex nomine*,' a method of controversy at which the Brahmans excel. The Manbhaos are also divided into the two groups of celibate and married. 'The consent of the guru is obtained previous to marriage, and the intending bridegroom then makes his offer by laying his jholi or beggar's wallet on the top of that of the girl he has selected inside the temple. If she lets it remain there it is equivalent to an acceptance of the proposal.' It seems clear from the above description that the Manbhaos are a class of village priests disliked by the Brahmans whose authority they oppose. The Garpagari or hail-avorter is another village servant in the Maratha districts, his duty being merely to control the elements and protect the crops from untimely storms. For this he receives a contribution from the cultivators; but in recent years an unavoidable scepticism as to his efficiency has tended to reduce his earnings. Mr. Fuller told me that on one occasion when he was hastening through the Chanda District on tour and pressed for time, the weather at one of his halting places looked threatening, and he feared that it would rain and delay the march. Among the villagers who came to see him was the local Garpagari, and not wishing to neglect any chance, he ordered him to take up his position outside the camp and keep off the rain. This the Garpagari did, and watched through the night. In the event the rain held off, the camp moved, and that Garpagari's reputation was established for life.

235. Generally speaking, then, the composition of the group of castes from whose hands a Brahman cannot take water, but who are not impure, may be summarised as follows. There are a number of offshoots from Dravidian tribes who have developed into castes; in some cases, perhaps, from a mixture of blood, in others because they have been admitted to cultivation on an inferior status, in others simply because it has been forgotten who they were. It includes also most of the occupational castes whose industries originated at an early period in social history when the Aryans considered their practice to be derogatory, and when in the constitution of the village community the primitive artificers and handicraftsmen were the servants and menials of the body of cultivators. In one or two cases it can be seen that where a particular trade, such as brass-working, was a village industry, the caste to which it belongs occupies a lower social position than where it was carried on chiefly in towns; weaving, on the other hand, belongs primarily to the lowest group of impure castes; but the finer kinds of weaving and dyeing are more recent developments, and the castes who follow them take a higher position and are contained in this group. Lastly, the group contains nearly all the castes which have been formed from the holders of hereditary offices attached to the village community, and of which several instances have been given. This group occupies a position intermediate between that of the pure castes from whose hands a Brahman can take water, and the impure castes who cannot be touched. The status of the former corresponds,

as it has been seen, to the cultivator of the village or the body of the people among the Aryans. The status of the impure castes originates from the subject and servile class of Aborigines or Dravidians; and it seems, therefore, a reasonable hypothesis that the status of this group was originally formed from the descendants of mixed alliances between the two races, who were the primitive artificers and handicraftsmen, and who became the common servants of the early village communities. It has been seen that the holding of a village office, such as kotwar, will sometimes still raise a sub-division of an impure caste into this group from the one beneath it as soon as the kotwars begin to marry among themselves and make a separate sub-caste. It is not meant to imply that there is any universal rule and that every caste which originated in mixed descent or from holding a village office will be found in this group, or on the other hand that all the castes placed in it have been formed in such a manner. It has already been seen that several causes have operated to alter the position either of individual castes or of whole categories. But the composition of the group as a whole appears to support the conjecture that its status may have originated in the manner above described, and this conjecture corresponds with the tradition of the mixed castes in the Hindu writings; and tradition, though its details are indefinitely embroidered, usually contains in its substance a foundation of truth.

236. The fourth group of the scheme of social divisions contains the non-

The Dravidian tribes.

1. Agaria	1,604	18. Juang	68
2. Baiga	24,744	19. Kamar	384
3. Bhaina	11,772	20. Kandh	169,641
4. Bhatia—Bhumia	33,501	21. Kaur	120,519
5. Bhil	23,110	22. Khairwa or Khairwar	5,529
6. Bhanjia	3,123	23. Kharia	8,024
7. Bhuiya	18,102	24. Kinn	32,788
8. Blind	7	25. Kol	74,536
9. Bhojwar	71,099	26. Korku	99,780
10. Chenchuwar	9	27. Korwa	247
11. Dewar	1,525	28. Kurva (Yerukala)	59
12. Dhanwar	10,911	29. Kuda	18,218
13. Dhangar—Oron	6,884	30. Maimwar	713
14. Gadba	868	31. Munda	3,400
15. Gond	1,943,376	32. Naksia	1,672
16. Gond-Gowari	3,182	33. Sawara	144,468
17. Halha	86,962	34. Sonjhara	2,564
		Total	2,903,690

Aryan or Dravidian tribes, who are really outside the caste system, when this is considered as the social organisation of the Hindus. It is well known that these tribes have till lately been held to belong to two distinct ethnic stocks—the Kolarian and Dravidian. As has been explained in the chapter on language,

this distinction is without foundation, being based only on linguistic differences, and Mr. Risley has proved the racial identity of the two sets of tribes in the Ethnographic Survey of Bengal. The term Dravidian has, Mr. Risley informs me, now been authoritatively adopted to designate these tribes in distinction to the Mongolian and other stocks which are also found in parts of India. No detailed description of the tribes will be attempted here, as the materials are too fragmentary and the subject too large. Some excellent notes on the Gonds, the results of a great deal of personal enquiry, have been received from Mr. A. E. Nelson and will be sent for publication to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Here it is only necessary to explain why the position of these tribes should be above that of the impure castes, who are also usually the descendants of the Dravidian stock. The reason is, perhaps, that these tribes were not completely subjugated in the same manner as most of those of Northern India. Nor have they been altogether ousted from the possession of the land, while for a considerable period, during and after various stages of Hindu immigration, the representatives of ruling dynasties belonged to the tribes; in most of the estates held on zamindari tenure they still do so. Generally speaking also the peopling of the Central Provinces by castes representative of the Aryan race

was a process of colonisation rather than of conquest¹; and the immigrants lived in villages side by side with the indigenous residents, only gradually obtaining by their superior industry and skill the ownership of the most fertile portions of the soil. Moreover, it would appear that the occupations which in Northern India were specially relegated to the subject race, as weaving, tanning, mat, cane and bamboo working, and washing clothes, were here not generally adopted by the tribes, because the castes which practised them there had also immigrated and were available to discharge them. Lastly, it may be surmised that the race feeling in which it seems probable that the personal impurity imputed to certain castes in Northern India must have had its origin had, by the time the Central Provinces was colonised, lost a considerable part of its force owing to the fact that the two peoples had lived together for centuries, and there had been a certain amount of inter-breeding and of admission of Dravidian groups into the higher circles of Hinduism; and the distinction of race had already tended, as at the present time, to be merged in the more elaborate gradations of caste and occupation, of which it was the basis and primary cause.

237. The fifth or lowest group is that of the impure castes, who cannot be touched. They include most of the weaving castes, the leather-worker, potter, bamboo-worker, washerman, and scavenger.

1. Andhalla	...	676	If a member of the higher castes is touched by one of
2. Balahi	...	43,503	them, he has to bathe and have his clothes washed.
3. Basor	...	44,534	This rule, however, is now to some extent falling into
4. Chumar	...	735,262	abeyance. Women are said to be more strict
5. Dhobi	...	131,230	about its observance than men. It seems to me
6. Ganda	...	277,830	that the very existence of a division of the people,
7. Ghasia	...	38,726	strictly barred from social intercourse with their
8. Kalkari	...	341	fellows by the belief that their touch conveys defile-
9. Kanjar	...	2,798	ment, is sufficient to demonstrate the race basis
10. Karia	...	31,924	of caste. It does not appear that any other
11. Kori	...	35,280	adequate motive can be assigned for the imposition
12. Kumhar	...	99,206	of such a stigma. It cannot be accounted for by
13. Maigi	...	5,001	the occupations of this class, because though some
14. Mahar	...	619,412	of them as hide-curing and scavenging would, in
15. Mala	...	7,313	themselves, be considered unclean, in the case of others as weaving and
16. Mang	...	20,118	bamboo-working there is no reason for such a distinction. The trade of the
17. Mangani	...	110	dyer is a dirtier one than that of the weaver, but the dyer is not impure. Moreover,
18. Mehtar	...	61,816	it has been seen that in some cases a weaver caste has obtained a higher social
19. Panka	...	137,855	position. Nor could the distinction have arisen from the feeling of disgust
20. Pasi	...	1,098	occasioned by any social custom, as for instance that of killing the cow. For
21. Sihira or Sthira	...	224	not all of these castes will eat cow's flesh, while there are others, such as some
22. Soisra	...	19	of the Dravidian tribes, who do eat it, and who are not impure. Besides, the
23. Tanti	...	25	excessive regard for ceremonial observance, which now distinguishes the caste
Total	...	2,324,361	system, must certainly have been the gradual product of the undue influence

exercised on all the relations of life by the priestly class of Brahmans. It could not have been a feature of the simple pastoral existence which is attributed to the early Aryans. And if the impurity in question had a religious origin, and was imputed by the Brahmans to certain social habits or to the degrading nature of particular occupations, it would attach primarily to those customs

¹ Sir Henry Maine says this of India.

or occupations and not to certain classes of persons. But as is stated by M. Senart, it originated at a time when the caste system had not yet taken definite shape, and it attached to the Sudras who were prohibited from approaching within a certain distance of the higher castes. It seems justifiable, therefore, to conclude that this was the means by which the Brahmans sought to preserve the higher race from degradation by intermarriage with the black and despised tribes, whom the Aryans had met and subjugated on entering the country. It is only the feeling engendered by difference of race and difference of colour, the pride of blood, and the fear of its pollution, that could cause so violent a personal antipathy between man and man. But the feeling has not been able to endure intact through the effects of long centuries of social contact and to a certain extent of intermarriage. The line is there, but it no longer marks a division of races. The Dravidians have obtained admission into all grades of society except perhaps the very highest. The people themselves cannot say which castes belong to either race and which are of mixed descent. And, as has been seen, it is only to the tribes belonging to those parts of India which were colonised at a comparatively early period that the stigma attaches. When the later immigration into the Central Provinces took place, the origin of the distinction must have been forgotten, as the tribes here are not regarded as impure. And at present when a Dravidian tribe becomes a caste, it frequently gets into the third group of those from whom a Brahman cannot take water. Those of Northern India have lost their identity by their entry into the caste system, and by obtaining fresh names derived from the occupations to which they were relegated in rural society. And hence the impurity now belongs to particular castes and particular occupations and not to the Dravidian tribes as such.

238. It is not clear why any impurity should attach to the occupation of weaving in itself, and it has been seen also that in some cases the castes who follow this calling are not so regarded.

It seems a possible hypothesis that the weaver never attained to the rank of a village menial, and was unable to separate himself from the body of the servile class, simply because there was so much work to be done in supplying the requirements of the village that the occupation was generally practised by the whole of this class. Hence, having in the first instance been left to them with the other primitive industries, all of which were considered derogatory to the status of the cultivator, it gradually came to be associated with them, and was to some extent branded as impure. It is noticeable that in Bengal the important weaving caste of Tanti is included among those from whom a Brahman can take water. Mr. Risley is of opinion that it has to some extent raised itself to this position by its own influence, the trade there being prosperous and lucrative, and having long ago attained to the development of an urban industry. The cloths called 'Abrawan' or 'running water,' woven solely for the Emperor's Seraglio at Delhi, were of so fine a texture, that it is related that on one occasion a daughter of Aurangzeb was reproached on entering the room for her immodest attire, and excused herself by the plea that she had on seven folds of cloth.¹ The case of the Tantis then is analogous to that of the Koshtis, only that the industry of the former was of far greater importance.

¹ Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Art. Tanti.

239. The weaving castes of the lowest group are the Balahi in Nimar, Ganda and Panka in Sambalpur, Katia and Kori in the northern districts, and Mahar, Mehra or Dhed in these and the Maratha country. Mala is a Madras caste of weavers corresponding to Mehra. There is little reason to doubt that all these castes are the direct descendants of Dravidian tribes; but in several cases they have lost their identity, and, on being formed into castes, have obtained names arising from their occupations. Balahi seems to be derived from the word 'Balahak,' messenger, and is a functional term showing that the members of the caste were formerly employed in this capacity; they still largely act as Kotwars in Nimar and Hoshangabad. The Koris may possibly be an offshoot from Chamars, as many of their family names are the same; they belong to the sect of Rohidas; and a Chamar will sometimes call himself a Kori to conceal his identity. The name of the Mahars is perhaps territorial, being derived from a locality in Bombay. Wilson thinks that Maharashtra, the native name for most of Bombay, not improbably means 'The country of the Mahars,' though the Maratha Brahmans say that it is 'Maharashtra' or 'the great country.'¹ The Mahars are recognised as a Dravidian tribe in Bombay. Dhed, commonly used as a synonym for Mahar, is stated by Mr. Ibbetson to mean 'any low fellow'; Ganda and Panka² are probably the same caste, being the Pans of Orissa and Chhota Nagpore.

240. The weaver is the proverbial butt of Hindu ridicule like the tailor in England. 'One Gadariya will take on ten weavers.' 'Four weavers will spoil any show.' The following story also illustrates their stupidity: 'Twenty weavers got into a field of *kans* grass. They thought it was a tank and began swimming. When they got out they said, "Let us all count and see how many we are, in case anybody has been left in the tank." They counted and each left out himself, so that they all made out nineteen. Just then a sowar came along and they cried to him: "Oh! sir, we were twenty, and one of us has been drowned in this tank." The sowar seeing that there was only a field of grass, counted them and found there were twenty, so he said, "What will you give me if I find the twentieth." They promised him a piece of cloth, on which the sowar taking his whip lashed each of the weavers across the shoulders, counting as he did so. When he had counted twenty, he took the cloth and rode away.' Another story is that a weaver bought a buffalo for Rs. 20. His brother then came to him and wanted a share in the buffalo. They did not know how he should be given a share until at last the weaver said: "You go and pay the man who sold me the buffalo Rs. 20, and then you will have given as much as I have, and will be half owner of the buffalo"; which was done. In Sambalpur the habit of the weaver of hollowing out the ground to make a place for his feet has given rise to the following uncomplimentary method of address: 'Why do you call yourself Meher? (a title assumed by Bhulias). You make a hole in the ground and put your legs into it, and are like a cow with rinderpest struggling in the mud.'

241. The Ghasias are so far as is known the only caste outside those who commonly return themselves as Mehtar which consents to do scavenger's work. Their other usual occupations are grass-cutting, the tending of horses, and making loom combs for weavers. The

¹ Indian Castes, Vol. II, page 48.

² See the chapter on Religion for a hypothesis about the Pankas.

Ghasias entertain a great aversion for Kayasths, and account for it in the following manner: 'On one occasion the son of the Kayasth minister of the Raja of Ratanpur went out for a ride followed by a Ghasia sais. The boy was wearing costly ornaments, and the Ghasia's cupidity being excited, he attacked and murdered the child, stripped him of his ornaments, and threw the body down a well. The murder was discovered, and in revenge the minister killed every Ghasia man, woman or child that he could lay his hands on. The only ones who escaped were two pregnant women who took refuge in the hut of a Ganda and were sheltered by him. To them were born a boy and a girl, and the present Ghasias are descended from the pair. Therefore a Ghasia will eat even the leavings of a Ganda, but will accept nothing from the hands of a Kayasth.'

242. The Mangs are an impure caste of the Maratha districts who act as musicians, bamboo-workers, and also castrate bullocks.

Mang.

Their story is as follows: 'Long ago, before cattle were used for ploughing, there was so terrible a famine upon the earth that all the grain was eaten up, and there was none left for seed. Mahadeo took pity on the few men who were left alive, and gave them some grain for sowing. In those days men used to drag the plough through the earth themselves. But when a Kunbi, to whom Mahadeo had given some seed, went to try and sow it, he and his family were so emaciated by hunger that they were unable, in spite of their united efforts, to get the plough through the ground. In this pitiable case the Kunbi besought Mahadeo to give him some further assistance, and Mahadeo then appeared and bringing with him the bull, Nandi, upon which he rode, told the Kunbi to yoke it to the plough. This was done, and so long as Mahadeo remained present, Nandi dragged the plough peaceably and successfully. But as soon as the god disappeared, the bull became restive and refused to work any longer. The Kunbi, being helpless, again complained to Mahadeo, when the god appeared, and in his wrath at the conduct of the bull, great drops of perspiration stood upon his brow. One of these fell to the ground, and immediately a coal black man sprang up and stood ready to do Mahadeo's bidding. He was ordered to bring the bull to reason, and he then went and castrated it, after which it worked peaceably and quietly; and since then the Kunbis have always used bullocks for ploughing, and the descendants of the man, who was the first Mang, are employed in the office for which he was created.' The story is of interest, as showing with others that famine is a regular feature of the earliest tradition.

243. The Kumhar or potter has also been included in this group, though it is doubtful whether he is really so low; in some districts he

Kumhar and Dhobi.

is considered impure but not in all. Mr. Ibbetson says: 'He is a true village menial; his social standing is very low, far below that of the Lohar and not much above the Chamar. His association with that impure beast, the donkey, the animal sacred to Sitala, the small-pox goddess, pollutes him and also his readiness to carry manure and sweepings.' It may perhaps then be concluded that the Kumhar is degraded below the ordinary rank of the village menial castes by specially impure incidents attaching to his occupation. There are in the Central Provinces a Gadhera sub-caste which keeps donkeys, a Sungaria which rears pigs, and a Bardia which uses bullocks as pack-animals. These last are not impure, and some support is thus afforded to the above view. 'The Dhobi's donkey and the Kumhar's buffalo; these two never know what it is to

'get a day's rest, and have to sleep on their feet.' The Dhobi is very impure, as he washes the clothes of all castes, and also those of women after childbirth.¹ The Dhobi is not considered to be a very conscientious worker or to take quite the same care of other people's property as he would of his own. 'When many Dhobis compete, then some soap gets to the clothes.'² 'It is only the clothes of the Dhobi's father that never get torn.'²

244. The Chamar's occupation is, next to the sweeper's, the most impure, and would from the beginning have been relegated to the servile race. The light colour and fine stature of the Chamars of Chhattisgarh have often been remarked, and may possibly be accounted for by some mixture of blood. In Chhattisgarh they are of course largely engaged in agriculture, and show an Irish disinclination to pay their rents. 'Hemp, rice and a Chamar; the more they are pounded, the better they are.' The Mochi and Jingar are offshoots from the Chamar caste, who have abandoned the curing of skins, and hence assert a claim to rise in the social scale. The Mochi is a cobbler, while the Jingar thinks himself a little better still, as he only makes saddles. It is doubtful whether they yet form distinct endogamous groups in all districts, as the numbers returned vary greatly from those of last census, and this seems to show that they are still partly occupational terms. But there is no doubt that they tend in this direction. Some Mochis will indignantly deny that they ever were Chamars, while others admit it. 'The Mochi's to-morrow 'never comes,' is another proverb which must be filched from Mr. Ibbetson as thoroughly appropriate to the notorious unpunctuality of the caste. The generally unbusinesslike character of the Hindus and their failure to fulfil their engagements is also recognised in the following: 'The Mochi, the Ahir and the Kori; these are the three biggest liars that God ever made. For if you ask the Mochi 'whether he has mended your shoe, he says "I am at the last stitch," when he 'has not begun it; if you ask the Ahir whether he has brought back your cow from 'the jungle, he says: "It has come, it has come" without knowing or caring 'whether it has come or not; and if you ask the Kori whether he has made your 'cloth, he says, "It is on the loom," when he has not so much as bought the 'thread.'

245. The above sketch of the scheme of social precedence, which has run to considerably greater length than was at first intended, has sufficiently shown the sense in which it should be said that occupation is the basis of the arrangement of the caste system. As a rule every distinct occupation has produced one or more distinct castes. But it cannot correctly be said that the social order of castes is based simply on their occupations. The general law seems to be that the respectability of occupations was fixed by the social rank of the persons who first practised them; the main divisions originated in difference of race; and when these differences became too complicated to be remembered in themselves, they fixed according to the occupations of the different classes, and perpetuated by their arrangement in a graduated scale of religious purity. As in the case of local sub-divisions fiction may, as suggested by Mr. Risley, have played a considerable part in the multiplication of endogamous groups according to occupation. But it is also clear that when once the caste system was established, the people themselves have extended

Conclusion of occupation as
the basis of castes.

¹ Crooke's Ethnography, Art. Dhobi.

² Bihar Proverbs.

it with avidity, and any difference which supports the assertion of a slight social superiority will lead to the formation of a fresh endogamous group.

246. Besides castes many sub-castes are formed by differences of occupation. Thus the Audhia Sonars work in brass and bell-metal and are therefore despised by the rest of the caste. The Hardia Kachhis are those who sow turmeric, and the Alias those who grow *al* or madder. The Lahgera Koris weave 'lahngas' or women's cloths. Santora Kurmis sow hemp. Harjota Brahmans are those who have touched the plough with their own hands. Kasarwani Banias are those who sell brass vessels. Tel Komtis sell oil. In each case the slight differences of occupation have resulted in a rise or fall in social position sufficient to create a bar to marriage. Hathgarhia Kumhars are those who used to fashion the clay with their hands and Chakarias those who turned the wheel. And though the practice of hand pottery is now abandoned, the divisions remain. In these cases the distinction is too minute to create a fresh caste, and so it only makes a sub-caste, but the process is the same. It is not improbable that some of the divisions, which are now distinguished by occupational terms, may have originated from local separation. Thus the Ekbaile and Dobaile Telis may not necessarily have refused to intermarry simply because one set used two bullocks to turn the oil press and another only one. But two groups living in different areas may have become endogamous for the reasons already suggested as operating in these cases, and if there happened to be such a distinction in their methods of working, names denoting it would be given to the sub-castes. Broadly speaking, it may perhaps be said that occupation is the chief factor in the formation of castes and territorial distribution or migration in that of sub-castes.

247. Another agent in the formation of endogamous divisions is mixed descent. The Vidurs, as already stated, are the descendants of a Brahman father and woman of other castes, and the Audhalias, a low pig-keeping caste in Bilaspur, are considered to have originated from the offspring of the female house-servants of Daharia Rajputs. In the case of such castes as Kirar, Agharia, Bhoyar, what seems to have happened is, that a body of persons, possibly themselves of different castes, migrated, and in their new homes intermarried to some extent with the indigenous tribes. They thus formed a new caste, and this process may be considered as resulting from the combined action of mixed descent and change of locality. In many castes there is a sub-caste which consists of the descendants of mixed alliances. Instances of this are the Lahuri Sen sub-caste of Banias and Barais, the Surait and Purait Halbas, the Purait being the pure Halbas and the Surait the progeny of marriages outside the caste. The Khaltara or Rakhot sub-caste of Kumhars and the Aukule sub-caste of Koshtis have the same origin, and several castes have twelve and a half divisions, and explain that the half sub-caste contains those whose birth is open to suspicion.

248. In a few instances endogamous divisions are formed from differences of social practice. The Dosar Banias permit widow marriage and hence derive their name from 'dusra,' second, as they are considered on this account to be a second-class lot. The Khedawal Brahmans are divided into the outer and inner, the inner sub-division being said to consist of those who accepted gifts from the Raja of Gujarat and

have consequently sunk in estimation. The Dholewar Bhojars keep pigs, and the other sub-castes will therefore not eat with them. The Makaria Kamars eat monkeys, and are similarly despised.

249. Endogamous divisions are also in a few cases formed from differences of religious belief or sectarian practice. The Bairagis and Gosains from being celibate orders of Vaishnavite and Shivite devotees have developed into castes. The Manbhaoas and Satanis are other instances, and the Bishnois are a Punjab sect, who have become a caste. Sub-castes are also sometimes formed, as the Lingayat Banias and Kumhars and the Namdeo Chhipas who call themselves after a guru of that name. It seems to me that these divisions are probably in reality social rather than sectarian. The adoption of a special form of belief is almost invariably accompanied by some alteration of social practice, and this is often sufficiently marked to create an impediment to marriage. The Bairagis and Gosains are, as already stated, cut off for ever from their proper caste by eating the leavings of their guru on initiation. Since the Bairagis have found that the passions cannot be consumed by a ceremony of fire, they have taken to marriage; but they could not marry in their own caste, so women were also initiated and married, and in process of time this has led to the formation of a caste. One of the tenets of the Bishnois was the abandonment of the nuptial ceremony of *phera*, or walking round the sacred fire, and this would obviously be sufficient to prevent intermarriage with other members of their own caste. In the case of sects like the Kabirpanthis and Vaishnavas, who do not eat meat or drink liquor, the members embracing the sect would very probably object to marry with others who still continued these practices, because their abandonment, in addition to its religious efficacy, would give a certain rise in social position. And some such explanation as this may, perhaps, be found in most cases.

250. The caste or sub-caste forms the outer circle within which a man must marry. Inside it are further sub-divisions which regulate the limits of relationship according to which marriage is prohibited. These are called exogamous groups, and their name among the higher castes is 'gotra.' The theory is that all persons belonging to the same 'gotra' are descended from the same ancestor and so related. The relationship in the case of the 'gotra' only goes by the father's side; when a woman marries, she is taken into the gotra of her husband and her children belong to it. There are a number of such divisions in every sub-caste. Marriage is never allowed within the gotra, and it will therefore be seen that in the course of a few generations the marriage of relations on the father's side or agnates will be prohibited within a very wide circle. But on the mother's side the 'gotra' does not serve as a bar to marriage at all, and the union of first cousins would be possible, because the children of a man's father's sister or his mother's brother would be of a different 'gotra' to his own. According to Hindu law intermarriage is prohibited within four degrees where a female is the common ancestor. But generally this is not adhered to, and it is allowed after two degrees. That is, the children of first cousins, where the relationship is partly through females, will not marry, but in the next generation their children will marry. The union of persons related entirely through males is, as has been seen, barred indefinitely. Some castes allow the marriage of relations on the mother's side within nearer limits than this. The Chauhan Rajputs marry their daughters to their sisters' sons; this is also

permitted by several other castes, including, it is believed, Maratha Brahmans. In this caste it is customary for a boy, as soon as his thread ceremony is performed, to pretend to start off to Benares. His maternal uncle follows him, and promises to give him his daughter in marriage, and then he returns. This appears to be a survival of the time when it was customary for boys to go and study the scriptures at Benares after their thread ceremony had been performed. In the northern districts this marriage is condemned. Among the Mandla Gonds the marriage of the brother's son to the sister's daughter is greatly favoured and it is called 'dudh lautana,' or bringing back the milk. It is reported that in the Balji caste, a man is even permitted to marry his own sister's daughter.

251. Mr. Risley has distinguished five kinds of these exogamous divisions, called respectively eponymous, territorial, local or communal, titular and totemistic. In the notice in this chapter, the third and fourth kinds are treated together, and the number is thus reduced to four. The vernacular designations of the clans or sections are 'gotra' which originally meant a 'stable or stall'¹ and may have come to be used in the sense of a village. 'Khero' is another term which means a village. 'Baink' means a title, 'Mul' or 'Mur' literally a root, hence an origin, 'Kul' or 'Kuri' a family. The sections called eponymous are those in which the name of the section is that of a saint or hero, and are borne by the Brahmans and some of the higher castes. They are named after 'Rishis' or saints mentioned in the Vedas and other scriptures, such as Vasishtha, Garga, Bharadwaj, Kaushalya, Visvamitra, Kashyap, and others. The theory is that all persons belonging to the gotra are descended from the Rishi after whom it is named, and hence they cannot marry. The family names or titles which are borne by most Brahmans such as Sukul (white or pure), Pande (a wise man), Dube (learned in two Vedas), Tiwari (learned in three Vedas), Chaube (learned in all four Vedas), Misra (mixed), Pathak (a teacher), Dikshit (the initiator), and so on, have no real connection with marriage, though in some cases the name will only be borne by families of one gotra in the same sub-caste, and therefore persons having it will not intermarry. Brahmanical gotras are frequently adopted by other castes in imitation, it is believed, of Brahmans; several castes in the Central Provinces have some of them, as the Baris, Sonars, Thanapatis and others. Another sort of eponymous gotras are those of Rajputs named after heroic ancestors as Raghu, Yadu, Tilokchandi, Bais, some of whom are mythical and some historical.

252. The second class of names of sections is that called territorial, in which the section name is taken from that of a village or town which may have been originally founded by the ancestor of the clan or in which he resided. These are found in many castes, such as Jijhotia (of Dhimars) from Jajhoti; Mahobia (of Sonars) from Mahoba, a town in the North-Western Provinces; Bhilsainyan (of Sonars) from Bhilsa in Gwalior; Chanderia (of Patwas) from Chanderi in Gwalior; Sirohia (of Bhats) from Sirohi; Bhandere (of Bhats) from the Bhandar Mountains; Baksaria (of Rajjhars) from Baksar in Bihar; Beraria (of Mehars) from Berar; Dhamonia (of Dhobis) from Dhamoni, a town in Saugor; Pabaya (of Dhobis) from Pabai, a village in Bundelkhand; Jaitpuria (of Darjis) from Jaitpur, a village in Saugor; Lanjiwar (of Katias) from Lanji, in Balaghat; Sultanpuria (of Kayasths) from Sultanpur, Oudh, and so on. These names are sometimes those of villages or towns and

¹ From Mr. Nelson's Notes.² Castes dans l'Inde.

sometimes of tracts of country. It seems probable that the family or families who founded the gotra frequently lived in the village from which they take their names, and may have assumed it either while still living there or after migration. When the name is that of a tract of country on the other hand, it would appear that it must have been assumed after migration, as it is impossible to suppose that all the members of a caste living in Berar or Bihar refrained from intermarriage. But if a few families of them went and lived elsewhere, they might take the name of a province as easily as that of a village.

253. The third class of names are titles or names of offices supposed to have been held by the founder of the clan, and sometimes refer to a personal defect or quality, or perpetuate a nickname given to him. Instances of these are Kotwal, Chaudhri, Naik and Kirsan (of Halbas), Bhagat or devotee (of Gaolis), Mehar or headman (of Kumhars), Mahton or headman and Mahant or priest (of Ahirs), Vaidya or physician and Thakuria or lord (of Darjis), Sawalakhi or the owner of one and a quarter lakhs (of Dhobis), Rawat or lordling (of Lohars), Kuldip or lamp of the family and Sawant or minister (of Pankas), Mohania or the captivator (of Rajjhars), Jal or dissolute (of Malis), Jachak or beggar (of Marathas), Mohjaria or one with a burnt mouth, a term of abuse (of Lodhis), Garkata or cut-throat (of Koshtas), Raksia or devilish and Bhatpagar or one serving on a pittance of boiled rice (of Katias), Kangali or poor (of Koilabhut Gonds), Chikat or dirty (of Kumhars), Kare or black (of Gaolis), Nirdaiya or cruel (of Darjis), Churha or thief (of Chhipas), and Chorbans or family of thieves (among Chamars). These names may, perhaps, be considered as belonging to the same stage of development as those of the semi-mythical heroes of the Rajput clans and of the Greeks, that is, the time when the exogamous group began to trace its descent from some one who probably really lived, but who has become the subject of legend. The castes to which these names belong, though they have grown out of the primary idea of descent from animals and plants, have not developed any poetic feeling or imagination, and this is all that they have been able to do in the way of providing themselves with heroic ancestors. The owner of one and a quarter lakhs among the Dhobis and the captivator of the Rajjhars may correspond to the god-like Achilles and Odysseus of many devices.

254. In the Central Provinces another set of names is found which may be included in this group. These are those of other castes or sub-castes. Some Ahir families have the names of Rajput septs as Chauhan, Taonra, Jadam, Ponwar; the Barais have Rautele, a sub-caste of Kols; Bhadris or Joshis have Gahlot and Karchulia, Rajput sept names; the Naths or Jogis have Solanki, Badgujar, Ponwar, Chauhan, Gaur, also names of Rajput clans; the Chamars have Binjaria (from Binjhal), Maretha, Gaharwar (sept of Rajputs), Jogi, Khairwar (a tribe), Turkia (a term sometimes applied to Mahomedan Kacheras); the Halbas have Bhoyar (a caste), Rawat (a caste), Bhandari (a caste), Dhangar (a tribe), Sahara or Sawara (a tribe), Agri (a sub-caste of Banias), Kandari (from Kandra, a caste), Baretha (or Dhobi), Barhai, Elmia (from Velama) and Pardhan (Gond); the Khatiks have Kirar, the Kawars Rawat and Bamhan (equivalent to Brahman). In some cases these names appear to have been adopted by families engaged in the service of the clans in question. Thus the Rajput sept names borne by Bhadris or astrologers probably show that the ancestors of the Bhadris were the astrologers of these

septs. The forefathers of the Karchulia gotra may well have been the astrologers of the Ratanpur Rajas, who were Karchuli Rajputs. Similarly the Ahir clans bearing similar names may have been personal servants of Rajput families. The Dauwa sub-caste of Ahirs supplies nurses for royal families, and prides itself on this. In other cases it is possible that the name may have originated from the fact that some ancestor of the clan took up the occupation of the caste whose name it bears. The names Jogi or necromancer, Khairwar or gatherer of catechu, Turkia or bangle-maker among Chamars, and Dhimar or water-bearer among Sawaras, may be instances of this. And sometimes there seems reason to suppose that the names denote descent from an ancestor belonging to another caste or from a mixed marriage. The names of the Halbas may have probably originated in this way, the explanation being that a portion at least of this caste were formerly engaged in the personal service of Zamindars or Rajas. This is a story which they have themselves, and it can be easily understood that the occupation is one which would result in alliances of such a kind.

255. The last class of exogamous divisions are those called totemistic. This is the term applied to cases when the name of the clan is that of a plant or animal or other natural object. They are confined for the most part to the Dravidian tribes, and where they are found in other castes, probably indicate either that the caste itself is of non-Aryan origin or that a section of a tribe has become enrolled in it as a sub-caste. Instances in the Central Provinces are *hasti* (or elephant), *bhainsa* (buffalo), *sendur* (vermilion), *singha* (the lion), of Ahirs; *richharia* (a bear), *kulaha* (jackal), *bandar* (monkey), *kumhardora* (a Kumbar's thread), of Barais; *nag* (a snake) of Bharias; *dhana* (coriander), *magra* (a crocodile), *sua* (a parrot), *belha* (bel tree), of Chadars; *purain* (lotus leaves), *machhli* (fish), *koliha* (jackal), of Chamars; *bel* (a tree), *piparia* (a pipal tree), of Darjis; *sapaha* (snake), *heranwar* (a deer), *kachhwaha* (tortoise), *phulsungha* (flower-smeller), *nahar* (tiger), of Gadariyas; *baingania* (brinjal) of Bhoyars; *chandan* (sandal-wood), *bhatua* (a vegetable), and *machhia* (a fish), of Dhimars; *nagkuria* (a snake), *morkuria* (peacock), of Dangris; *jambu* (a jamun tree), *takhar* (cucumber), *sakhum* (teak), *makhya tola* (Indian corn), of Korkus; *chirai* (a bird), *umjan* (a tree), *minj* (a fish), *bagh* (tiger), *nun* (salt), *dhan* (rice), *nag* (a snake), *limuan* (a tortoise), of Dhangar-Oraons; *bheria* (a wolf), *aonla* (a tree), *karait* (the snake of that name), *mhsia* (buffalo), *nagbans* (snake), *bel* (a tree), *baghbans* (tiger), *bandarbans* (a monkey), of Halbas; *bichhi* (a scorpion), *kalasarp* (a cobra), of Ghasias; *markam* (mango), *marai* (a tree), *kunjam* (a tree), *marskola* (axe), *taram* (a tree), *suiwadewa* (a porcupine), *urum* (a large lizard), *tumrisar* (a tendu tree), *kumrayete* (a goat), *tumram* (pumpkin), of Gonds, and so on.

256. It is a general characteristic of totemism that the animal or plant after which the clan is named is regarded with reverence, and members of the clan abstain from killing, using, or naming it. Their custom tends, however, to decay after a time, and in many cases is reported not to exist in the Central Provinces, the meaning of the names having frequently been forgotten. The Gonds of the Taram gotra, which is named after the keolari tree, will eat the leaves of the tree. Several trees, however, are generally held sacred, as the banyan and pipal, which are the abode of Brahmans, and are sometimes invested with the sacred thread; the tulsi or basil corresponding to the laurel in Greek mythology, as the nymph Tulsi is supposed to have been

metamorphosed into this plant when fleeing from the embraces of Krishna; and the bel tree which is sacred to Siva and worshipped on the Shivratri or Siva's night; similarly some of the animals after which septs are named, as the snake worshipped on Nagpanchami, are also revered by Hindus, and hence the members of their clans naturally continue to observe respect for them. In some cases the fact that such plants or animals have been chosen may be merely a lucky coincidence for the sept in question, on whom they confer a certain amount of dignity when they tend to become Hindus; in others it is possible that the animal or plant has been adopted from a more ancient worship into the Hindu religion, a process which Mr. Lang shows¹ to be a natural feature of the development of primitive beliefs. The animals or plants are first worshipped, and when, with the evolution of religion, these are discarded in favour of anthropomorphic gods, the plants and animals retain their sacred character by being connected with the god. Thus among the Greeks the owl may have been venerated for its wisdom in early times, and when the conception of Athene was developed, remained associated with her as her sacred bird. The tortoise is a very favourite sept name; the world is supposed to rest upon a tortoise, and it was one of the incarnations of Vishnu.² There is a saying, that any caste which does not know its gotra belongs to the Kasyap gotra. It is clear that in this connection the word Kasyap must originally have meant tortoise, the tortoise being adopted as a common progenitor, because it is the animal that supports the world; and it is suggested by Mr. Risley³ that many castes take advantage of the resemblance between Kachhap and Kasyap, when they desire on rising in the world to change the name of their progenitor from a tortoise to a Vedic saint. Such septs as the Nun and Dhan totems of Oraons are very embarrassing to their bearers, as they find it impossible to dispense with eating their titular ancestors. But the Dhan-Oraons content themselves with refusing to consume the scum which thickens on the surface of the boiled rice, and the Nun sept will not lick a plate in which water and salt have been mixed.

In some castes all kinds of names of sections are found. The Darjis have as gotras Sandilya which is eponymous, Kanaujia which is territorial, Dhamonia which is the name of a village, Jugia (from Jogi) the name of a caste, Thakuria a title, and Kachmi which is totemistic. This appears to show the mixed origin of the caste. In the case of some castes, such as Ahirs, the totemistic septs probably show that sub-divisions from the non-Aryan tribes have been amalgamated with the caste.

257. Exogamy and totemism are found not only in India but widely distributed over the world, and there has been much speculation concerning their origin. The explanation given by Mr. Risley is the most probable, and is confirmed by the recent treatment of the same subject in Westermarck's 'History of Human Marriage.' Mr. Risley holds⁴ that the practice of exogamy, or marrying outside a circle of relationship, arose in the first place from the action of natural selection. Savages learnt by instinct that continued interbreeding was injurious between persons closely related. Those who married outsiders would have stronger children, and these would be at an advantage in the struggle for life. Hence in process of time the progeny of

Origin of exogamy and totemism.

¹ In 'Myth, Ritual and Religion.'

² Becoming so probably because it was originally worshipped as an animal god.

³ Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Introduction, page xlviii.

⁴ Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Introduction, page lxi.

crossed stocks would survive and 'would at the same time tend to become more 'and more exogamic in habit, simply as the result of the cumulative hereditary 'strengthening of the original instinct.' Westermarck shows, by comparing the rules of prohibition of intermarriage among a large number of primitive races, that the horror of incestuous intercourse arises not from the actual fact of blood relationship, but from the aversion to marriage between persons who have been brought up together from early youth. 'Facts show that the extent to which relatives 'are not allowed to intermarry is nearly connected with their close living 'together. Generally speaking, the prohibited degrees are extended much farther 'among savage and barbarous peoples than in civilised societies. As a rule the 'former, if they have not remained in the most primitive social condition of man, 'live, not in separate families, but in large households or communities, all the members of which dwell in very close contact with each other.'¹ And again after adducing the evidence of the evil results of self-fertilisation in plants, and close interbreeding in animals, Westermarck continues: 'Taking all these facts into 'consideration I cannot but believe that consanguinous marriages, in some 'way or other, are more or less detrimental to the species. And here, I think, 'we may find a quite sufficient explanation of the horror of incest; not because 'man at an early stage recognised the injurious influence of close intermarriage, 'but because the law of natural selection must inevitably have operated. 'Among the ancestors of man, as among other animals, there was no doubt a 'time when blood relationship was no bar to sexual intercourse. But variations 'here as elsewhere would naturally present themselves; and those of our 'ancestors who avoided in-and-in breeding would survive, while the others would 'gradually decay and ultimately perish. Thus an instinct would be developed, 'which would be powerful enough as a rule to prevent injurious unions. Of course, 'it would display itself simply as an aversion on the part of individuals to union 'with others with whom they lived; but these as a matter of fact would be blood 'relations, so that the result would be the survival of the fittest.'

258. It is concluded, therefore, that this instinct showed itself when men first began to live together in families for mutual support and protection by causing them to marry out of

Exogamy—contd.

the family. Hence arose the practice of exogamy, and also that of recognising relationships; relationship was at first counted only through males, because it arose only in the family which lived together; women, who were brought into it by marriage, were cut off from their former kinsfolk, and no more notice was taken of such connections. 'No man heeds a cow-track or regards his mother's sept' is a Santali proverb, quoted by Mr. Risley. In some early communities the development of the family proceeded on different lines, and in them relationship is counted through women. But the idea that a child is equally related to the families of its mother and its father, is one only arising in a comparatively advanced civilisation, when communities larger than the family of agnates, or its continuation, the exogamous clan, have begun to live together.*

259. The basis of the clan, or enlarged family, was obviously descent from a common ancestor. But savage races would in a very few generations forget their history. It is not known whether

Totemism.

at this time all persons were distinguished by separate names; but it is clear that

* Human Marriage, page 324.

* Origin of Civilisation.

the clans would require names to distinguish them from each other. That of the original ancestor, if he had ever any, having been forgotten, and animals and plants being at this time all considered as sentient beings, and in many cases worshipped as gods, and being also the only things which primitive man knew to be older than himself, were adopted as ancestors, and the clans named after them. Sometimes, Mr. Risley states, the name of a plant or animal might be actually conferred on a man on account of some personal quality or resemblance, and in this way would descend to his posterity. Within the clan it is probable that personal names were at first not used, and the members addressed each other by terms of relationship, all those of one generation being often known by the same name as father or mother, son or daughter, each man being called father by all the next generation, and so on. The distinction of different generations was the earliest idea of relationship, and terms denoting collaterals were devised subsequently. This practice is shown in the 'Origin of Civilisation' to prevail extensively among savage races. Outside the clan every person belonging to it would be referred to only by the name of the clan totem. In the picture writing of the North American Indians, the figure of the animal from which the clan takes its name is always used to designate the chief of the clan. The census roll of an Indian band in the United States consisted of a number of pictures representing the heads of families with strokes beneath them showing how many persons there were in the family. The picture of a catfish with six strokes beneath it represented the head of the clan of the catfish and a family of six persons. When the belief in descent from animals and plants, in whatever way it first arose, had become established, the clan naturally came to look on the article from which it took its name as something sacred and intimately connected with it; sometimes they thought that each man of the clan had another soul residing in the animal or plant. Hence they refrained from destroying it, or if they did so, first prayed for forgiveness. 'Sir George Grey mentions that the 'families use their plant or animal as a crest or *Kobong* (totem), and he adds 'that natives never willingly kill animals of their *Kobong*, holding that some one 'of that species is their dearest friend. The consequences of eating forbidden 'animals vary considerably. Sometimes the *Boyl-yas*, that is ghosts, avenge the 'crime. Thus when Sir George Grey ate some mussels (which after all are not 'the crest of the Greys) a storm followed, and one of his black fellows improvised 'this stave—

' Oh! wherefore did he eat the mussels!

' Now the *Boyl-yas* storms and thunders make.

' Oh! wherefore would he eat the mussels!'

When the belief in descent from animals and plants and in their sentient existence gradually died away, some fiction was invented in many cases to account for the name. Thus Mr. Lang suggests that the Myrmidons, originally tracing their descent from an ant, when they became ashamed of this story, pretended that the ant was an incarnation of Zeus in one of his love episodes; and that this may account for many of the Greek myths of divine incarnations into animals. Similarly the Kachhwaha and Baghel septs of Rajputs may have originally had a totemistic origin, but now have stories accounting for the name, such as a prophecy that a son should be born in the shape of a tiger. Seeing then the manner in which the descent of the exogamous group is traced first from animals or plants,

then from the incarnations of personal gods in animals or plants, then from the gods themselves, and finally from mythical, semi-mythical and real heroes, it seems possible that totemism may simply be defined as the earliest expression of the desire for a pedigree which is so universal a characteristic of the human race.

260. Mr. Hira Lal tells me of an interesting instance in his own village, which seems to be in favour of the above theory of the origin of exogamy. All the households in the village, of whatever caste, are considered by fiction to be related. He addresses all the men of the elder generation to his own by the term of uncle, and the children of the next generation as niece and nephew. When a girl is married, all the old men of the village call her husband 'son-in-law.' This extends even to the impure castes who cannot be touched. Yet owing to the fact that they live together, they have adopted the fiction that they are related. Mr. Hira Lal's instance cannot be unique, and so far as it goes, it tends to support the theory that the village community was an extension of the exogamous clan, all the cultivators being considered to be related, the land being held to be the property of the community, and each cultivator having an equal right to share in it by reason of his status of descent from the common ancestor. It has been held¹ that this was the earliest and universal idea of property in land in India, older even than the theory that the land belongs to the State, because at the time when it originated there was no State in the modern sense of the word. It has been seen that the meaning of several of the vernacular names for the clan is equivalent to village, and the names themselves are often names of villages. Instances are still found in which all or nearly all of the cultivators of a village belong to the same caste. But in the village community there was a subject race of Dravidians, and from this in course of time there arose further classes of mixed descent. Thus different strata were produced, among which inter-marriage was barred, and from which broadly speaking the existing main divisions of Hindu society may be recognised as having originated. It is not likely on the other hand that endogamous groups² were ever constituted in single villages, though their original form may have been taken from the tribe occupying a circle of villages.

261. It has been seen that two of the main facts which should be considered as accounting for the caste system are, in the first place, that the Aryans in India met and subjugated a black race, and, secondly, that Hindu society is dominated by a priesthood. The influence of a third agent has been traced in the sketch of the scheme of social precedence. The village, M. Senart says somewhere, is the stage scene of Hindu life, and the village community seems to be the microcosm of Hindu society. The Aryans in India lived in villages; they did not live in towns. And this is a fact of vital importance in their history. For it was in the town that the idea of nationality generally arose in early times. The states of Greece and Italy were city states. The reason was simply that at this epoch communications were too difficult to permit of the authority of the central power being extended to any great distance, or of people living apart from each other being able to act together for a common object. We can recognise how, with the

¹ *Archaic form of Hindu society.*

advance of civilisation, the size of the nation, or community of persons controlled by one sovereign, acting as one entity in its dealings with foreigners, and held together by the sense of common intercourse and sympathies, has gradually increased.¹ England did not become one country for a century after the Norman Conquest. Henry II, we are told in "Hereward the Wake," was the first king of the English. France did not become a nation until long after this. It was divided into provinces controlled by feudatory nobles and only paying a very nominal adherence to the central power. Far into the middle ages a man considered himself a Burgundian or an Armagnac rather than a Frenchman. Germany has only become a country within the last thirty years. England has slowly assimilated Wales and Scotland and has tried to assimilate Ireland. And so the nation has continued to increase in size until at length steam and electricity have in the nineteenth century annihilated distance and have enabled communities separated by thousands of miles of land or sea, to feel that they belong to a common country, and to share a common sentiment of patriotism. And it is this sentiment of patriotism which has largely operated to change the constitution of western societies; to break down the barriers of class prejudice, and to weaken the power of the aristocracy, whether that aristocracy be military or priestly. The interests of class become merged in the wider interests of the common country. Class feeling is everything in early societies. They are all, in Sir Henry Maine's words, based on status, and in them a man's whole life is determined by his birth. Whereas modern societies tend more and more to be based on contract, and though opportunities may vary enormously, in theory at least no man is debarred by the accident of his birth from attaining to almost any position in the State. But in India the feeling of nationality has never arisen. Hindu society is still based on status. And one reason for this may be surmised to be that already given, that the Hindus have lived in villages. Their social life has been the life of the village and has never gone beyond it. And as the village is too small a unit to permit of any national feeling, the division of classes has with them been intensified instead of weakened. If they had lived in towns and had attained the sentiment of nationality, it may be surmised that their social history would have been entirely different though it would be futile now to speculate on what it might have been. As it is they have been subjected completely to the control of the priesthood; they are divided into social groups, each self-centred and incapable of combined sympathy or action; they have never known the sentiment of patriotism, and they have fallen an easy prey to successive foreign invaders. The Hindu has no country. He has a caste.

262. The Sagai or betrothal is a preliminary to marriage. Proposals are generally made first by the bride's father, but in some castes, as the Kunbis, they come from the bridegroom's father. In the northern districts the barber and the Brahman are universally employed; the former acts as a matchbroker and describes the personal qualities of the bride and bridegroom to the other's family; the latter must be consulted to see that their horoscopes are not unfavourable to the union. Among the lower castes matches are usually arranged during the caste feasts. The ceremony generally consists in the presentation of a rupee and a cocoanut to the bridegroom by the

¹ From this definition military despotisms such as the old Asiatic empires are excluded. There was no sentiment of nationality in them as is shown by the ease with which they were overturned, and it is not probable that they exercised any appreciable effect on social life. To this category probably most of the Indian states also belonged.

bride's father, accompanied by the distribution of sweets to the caste-fellows. After an interval the bridegroom's father sends a present to the bride of cloths, bangles or toys, and receives in return another present generally exceeding in value the one which he makes. In the higher castes there is a religious ceremony. The priest chants hymns and the bridegroom is made to worship the deities. When this is over the bride's father gives to the bridegroom-elect a turban and *dupatta* and a rupee and a cocoanut. The boy goes to his mother and touches her feet, and she kisses him, waves a pice round his head, and then gives it to the barber as his 'Nichhawar' or present. In the richer families as much as two annas is sometimes given. Among the Gonds two grains of rice are placed in a pot of water, and if they meet the betrothal is confirmed, otherwise not. There is no fixed period for the interval between the betrothal and marriage, and one may be years after the other.

263. Marriage generally takes place before the girl reaches maturity, which is commonly considered to be at the age of 12 years.

Infant marriage.

Rajputs and Kayasths are believed to have to some extent discarded the practice of infant marriage as one to be disapproved of; and among some of the non-Aryan tribes and the lowest castes it has not been adopted. But in all other castes it is more or less prevalent. The early marriage of girls and the prohibition of the re-marriage of widows are stated by Mr. Risley to be the two hall-marks of distinction which castes or individuals who desire to rise in social estimation are usually pressed to adopt by their spiritual advisers. But of the two, infant marriage is much more favoured, because it has advantages of its own, apart from the question of respectability; whereas to compel widows to remain single involves great inconvenience by diminishing the supply of marriageable women and rendering the widows themselves a burden on their late husband's families. The age of marriage of girls varies generally in inverse ratio with the social status of the caste, tending to get lower as castes rise in position. It is on the whole earlier in the Maratha districts than in the north of the Provinces, and highest in Chhattisgarh and Sambalpur. Statistics on the subject will be found in the chapter on civil condition. In any particular caste the richer members usually marry their daughters earliest, as they have no difficulty in making the arrangements; while those who are poor frequently have to postpone marriages for want of the necessary funds for the ceremony. But among some of the lower castes families with a number of children will occasionally have two or three marriages at the same time, in order to save the expenditure on a number of weddings; and on such occasions a baby six months old may be given in marriage. Instances occur in which children still in the womb are conditionally betrothed, provided that they turn out to be of opposite sex.

264. Infant marriage is considered by Mr. Risley to have originated from the practice of hypergamy. This is the name given to the custom largely found in the north of India, by which

Hypergamy.

one sub-caste on account of its superior social status will take daughters in marriage from the members of another, but will not give their own daughters to them, just as, according to Manu, the men of the higher castes were allowed to take a wife from any lower one, but not to give their women to men of the lower castes. The result of such a custom would be that the girls of the higher sub-caste would have a more restricted range of choice than the boys, and would be at a disadvantage as regards the supply of husbands. This would lead to

competition among the parents and to the celebration of marriages at a very early age in order to make sure of obtaining bridegrooms. The practice of hypergamy found its most absurd development in the Kulinism of the Brahmans of Eastern Bengal, and Mr. Risley's description of this may be quoted as an illustration of it:

'Two classes or grades of sacerdotal virtue were formed—(1) the Kulin, being those who had observed the entire nine councils of perfection; (2) the Srotriya, who though regular students of the Vedas had lost sanctity by intermarrying with families of inferior birth. The Srotriya were again sub-divided into Siddha, or perfect; Sadhya, or capable of attaining purity; and Kashta, or difficult. The last-named group was also called Ari or enemy, because a Kulin marrying a daughter of that group was disgraced. The rule was that a man of the Kulin class could marry a woman of his own class or of the two higher Srotriya classes; a Siddha Srotriya could marry in his own group or in the Sadhya Srotriya group; while the Sadhya and Kashta Srotriyas might take wives only within the limits of their own classes. Conversely, women of the Sadhya Srotriya class could marry in their own class or the two classes above them; Siddha Srotriya women in their own class or the Kulin class, while Kulin women at one end of the scale and Kashta women at the other were restricted in their choice of husbands to the Kulin and Kashta groups. Unequal or irregular marriages involved loss of reputation and forfeiture of rank. On the other hand, the marriage of a girl into a good Kulin house conferred a sort of reflected honour on her own family, and in course of time this idea was developed into the doctrine known as *Kula-gotra*, whereby the reputation of a family depended on the character of the marriages made by its female members.

Meantime, the rush of competition for Kulin husbands on the part of the inferior classes was as strong as before. In order to dispose of the surplus of women in the higher groups, polygamy was introduced and was resorted to on a very large scale; it was popular with the Kulins, because it enabled them to make a handsome income by the accident of their birth; and it was accepted by the parents of the girls concerned as offering the only means of complying with the requirements of the Hindu religion. Tempted by a pan or premium which often reached the sum of two thousand rupees, Swabhava Kulins made light of their *kul* and its obligations and married girls, whom they left after the ceremony to be taken care of by their parents. Matrimony became a sort of profession, and the honour of marrying a girl to a Kulin is said to have been so highly valued in Eastern Bengal that as soon as a boy was ten years old his friends began to discuss his matrimonial prospects, and before he was twenty he had become the husband of many wives, of age varying from five to fifty.'

A Bengali contractor told me that a Kulin Brahman, when he had a journey to make, usually tried to put up for the night at the house of one of his fathers-in-law. All the marriages were recorded in the registers of the professional Ghataks or marriage brokers, and each party was supplied with an extract. On arrival at his father-in-law's house, the Kulin would produce his extract showing the date on which his marriage took place; and the owner of the house, to whom the bridegroom was often personally unknown, would compare it with his own extract. When it agreed he was taken in and put up for the night. In the Central Provinces no instances of hypergamy have as yet come to

light, except in one or two cases of recent immigration. But this need not affect the question of origin, because infant marriage itself is no doubt an imported institution.

265. There are, however, several considerations which make in favour of its adoption. The marriage of a daughter before the age of 12, when she is considered to have attained adolescence, is prescribed in the *Shastras*, and it has become a bitter disgrace, at any rate among the higher castes, to have a girl in the house above that age and still unwed. The earlier the matter is taken in hand, the larger is the field of choice; if the father defers the arrangement for a husband until the time has arrived when he must make it, he may find that all the eligible boys of the proper age have already been appropriated, and that he must put up with one for his daughter who is either considerably older or younger, or her inferior in social position. And when it is essential that she should marry within the comparatively narrow circle of the caste or sub-caste, it is obviously desirable that the matter should be settled before a girl is old enough to have any feelings about it herself, and not to run the risk of her forming an attachment with some one who may be quite impossible from a matrimonial point of view.¹ And in the present state of native society, and in view of the temptations of the bazar, it would probably be impracticable to postpone the marriage either of girls or boys to a much later period than that in vogue at present, without giving rise to grave and frequent scandals. Early marriage seems to be a necessity of the country and the climate; and the fact that it has been adopted to a very great extent by the Mahomedans, who are not impelled to the custom by any social or religious considerations, may perhaps be adduced in confirmation of this opinion. Among Hindus there is also the desire to have a grandson at the earliest possible moment, so that the continuance of the family shall be assured, and the feeling that the main function of women is the perpetuation of created life, and that they should begin to fulfil this duty as soon as they are physically capable of it. This is, perhaps, the idea which led to the entry in several cases in the census schedules of the occupation of women as 'bearing children.' One or two curious customs may be given as instances of the feeling on the subject. Among some of the castes of Chanda, a girl who attains maturity without being married must be taken across the Godavary for the performance of the ceremony, and before this is done, the caste-fellows must be feasted and their consent obtained. In some cases where there is no husband available, a sham marriage will be performed; thus the Bhunjias marry their daughter to an arrow. The Chasas will go through a mock ceremony with a very old man, after which the girl will remain in her father's house until a suitable husband is forthcoming. No second marriage with the fresh bridegroom is celebrated, but the 'Gama' ceremony, the one marking the departure of the bride for her husband's house, is performed with him. If the second bridegroom is a bachelor, he first goes through a sham marriage with a flower, and though the first husband may be still alive when this is done, he exercises no interference, and his existence is ignored. The age of marriage may be put generally at seven to twelve among girls and eleven to eighteen for boys. The figures of this census show an increase in the number of unmarried girls over fifteen; but it seems very doubtful whether this can be taken as indicating any tendency to a postponement of the age. It seems probable that it is to be rather attributed partly to a greater strictness having been exercised in the record of

¹ *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Introduction, page 91.

age and civil condition, partly to the people having been impoverished by the failures of crops, and having been obliged to postpone marriages owing to inability to meet the necessary expenses of the ceremony, and perhaps to a small extent also to some deficiency in the supply of bridegrooms, as the number of women is now substantially larger than that of men. The actual age at which the marriage of girls under twelve is celebrated is, of course, of little or no importance, as they never live with their husbands before they arrive at adolescence. The evil of the custom of early marriage consists in the fact that girls are put to bear children while their bodies are still immature and physically not fully developed, which is both injurious to themselves, and tends to the production of weak and unhealthy offspring. But as shown above there are other considerations besides this which have an important bearing on the question.

266. The marriage ceremony, of course, varies greatly, both in different localities and among different castes. The following description embraces a number of incidents which are commonly included, and also some which are peculiar to special castes. The priest fixes the auspicious day for the marriage. The proceedings commence at the bride's and bridegroom's houses simultaneously, by the women of both families going out to the jungle with their neighbours, with small baskets and pickaxes, to the accompaniment of singing and the beating of drums. Each of them digs up some clay, and on returning home they worship Ganesha, the god of good luck. A temporary shed or *mandwa* is then erected in front of the house, the wood used being that of the Saleh or Mohin tree, and this is covered with branches of the Jamun or Gular tree. Under this the boy and girl in each house are seated, and oil and turmeric are rubbed on their bodies by the women. Fresh ovens or cooking places are made with the clay which has been obtained, and cakes are baked and offered to the ancestors of the family. The *barat* or marriage procession of the bridegroom's party then starts for the bride's house, the bridegroom going in a palanquin or on a horse. In the higher castes of the northern districts and in Sambalpur women do not accompany the *barat*, but in the Maratha districts and Chhattisgarh they do. When the procession arrives at the bride's village, her relations come out to meet it, and there may be a display of fireworks. On arrival at the bride's house the bridegroom is presented with some ornaments or money. The bridegroom then advances to the *mandap* or marriage shed already described, and throws a bamboo fan over it. Among the Rajputs and Khatri the bridegroom touches the *mandap* with a sword or dagger. The Rajputs only touch the hangings of the *mandap* to which are attached 5, 7, or 21 representations of wooden birds. In the Deswali or Mina caste the bridegroom pretends to shoot the birds with a gun, probably because the traditional occupation of this caste was hunting. This is called *dwarchar* or the ceremony of the door. Among some of the Oriya castes there is a custom called singeing the cheek. After the reception of the *barat*, the bridegroom is conducted to the door of the bride's house, and his mother-in-law appears and pretends to burn his cheek with two betel leaves and cakes which have been heated over a burning lamp. It is said that this is meant to bring colour to the bridegroom's cheeks and improve his complexion. After this rite is concluded the bridegroom is taken to the marriage altar where a curtain is hung; the bride is brought to the other side of the curtain, and the couple are ordered to throw seven handfuls of rice over it at each other. When this has been done the curtain is taken away.

267. The next general ceremony is to take the bridegroom into the mandap, to which the bride is also brought, and receives the presents of cloth and jewels which have been brought by the bridegroom's party; she is dressed in these and the ceremonies of the first day conclude with a feast. The marriage generally takes place on the day after the arrival of the *barat*, but among the Oriyas it is on the same day. The second day begins with *kanyadan*, or the giving away of the virgin. The hands of the bride and bridegroom are joined, while the Brahman recites sacred verses, and the 'hom' ceremony is performed of pouring ghee and incense on the sacred fire. While the priest is reciting, the boy has some water in a leaf cup, with which from time to time he touches his lips. This is afterwards removed by the barber, who has to receive a present for doing so, as it is considered to be equivalent to the leavings of food and so polluted. After this the bridegroom and bride walk seven times round the sacred fire or post. This is called the '*Bhanwar*' ceremony and is the essential and binding portion of the marriage. Among the Marathas, except Brahmans, the repetition of 'Mantras' or sacred verses is substituted for the procession round the post, and when this is done all the spectators throw a little rice covered with turmeric over the bride and bridegroom. This ends the marriage, except among the higher castes, in which the following further ceremony is performed. The priest repeats in Sanskrit some sentences which convey the promises made by the bride and bridegroom as to their future behaviour to each other. Seven promises are made by the bride and five by the bridegroom. The children merely assent to what is said. After the marriage, the relatives and friends of the families come and touch the feet of the bride and bridegroom and either give or promise them presents. In some of the richer families, who have a wide circle of friends, an account is kept of the presents received, so that when the guests have marriages in their own houses, others equivalent to or exceeding them in value may be returned. The actual marriage may take place at any time of the day or night, the precise lucky moment when it is to be celebrated being calculated by the priest beforehand. This is the end of the marriage, but one or two more days are given up to feasting. Among the Oriyas, when the bridegroom and bride are brought into the mandap, their hands are tied together with *kusha* grass, and the relatives then pour water over them. The brother of the bride comes and unties the knots and gives the bridegroom a blow on the back. This perhaps is meant to show his anger at being deprived of his sister. He is given a piece of cloth and goes away. The *hom* ceremony is then performed, and the bride and bridegroom are made to play with cowries. The boy presses a cowrie on the ground with his finger and the girl tries to get it away from underneath. She generally does so, and the boy then has to promise her some ornament. If she fails, she promises to serve him. Whether this is meant to symbolise the usual course of married life is not known. A similar custom among the Gonds of Khairagarh is to make the bride and bridegroom see how much rice each of them can hold in one hand; the one who holds most, and who therefore has the largest hand, wins.

268. The bridegroom's female relations generally have to be symbolically cajoled into giving their consent to the marriage. Before the procession starts, his mother or paternal aunt goes and sits with her legs over the mouth of a well and threatens to throw herself in. She is then given a present and persuaded to abandon her intention. When the newly-wedded husband brings home his wife, his sisters hang a curtain over the door

of the house and will not let her in, until he promises them enough to satisfy them. Some castes introduce into the marriage ceremony practices symbolising their traditional occupation. Among the Hatwas or pedlars, the bride and bridegroom are made to measure out rice and salt. With the Kapewars or Kapus, the Telugu cultivating caste of Chanda corresponding to the Kurmis and Kunbis, the bridegroom takes on the fourth night the different parts of a plough and some rope, and the bride accompanies him, carrying cooked food in a cloth. They walk to the edge of the mandwa, and the bridegroom makes five drills in the ground with a bullock goad and sows cotton and juari seeds mixed together. Then the cooked food is eaten by all present, the bridal couple commencing first, and the seed is irrigated by washing their hands over it. Among the Maratha Chamars in Betul, two earthen pots full of water are half-buried in the ground and are worshipped. The bride and bridegroom then stand together, and their relations take out water from the pots and pour it on to their heads from above. The idea is that the pouring of the sacred water on to them will make them grow, and if the bride is much smaller than the bridegroom, more water is poured on to her in order that she may grow faster. This practice, of course, symbolises the fertilising influence of rain. The Gaolis in Betul are reported to substitute the following for the Bhanwar ceremony. The bride is made to stand on a small stone roller; the bridegroom holds the two ends of the roller in his hands facing the bride, and then moves round seven times turning the roller with him, the bride standing on the roller and being turned with it. The Banjaras substitute a tent for the mandap or marriage shed, and instead of the sacred fire or post, they go seven times round a pack-saddle with two bags of grain, such as they carry on pack-bullocks, thus symbolising their camp life. The Oraon-Dhangars use instead of the marriage post some hay and a plough-yoke placed on a slab of stone, perhaps symbolising their belief that they are autochthonous or the sons of the earth. In some of the Chanda castes the bride and bridegroom are seated for some time every day face to face on a cot, and are given sweets to eat and flowers to throw at each other. This is to let them make each other's acquaintance. Among the Gonds in Khairagarh the bridal pair are placed in two pans of a balance and covered with blankets. The caste priest lifts up the bridegroom's pan, and the bride's female relatives the other, and walk round with them seven times, touching the mandwa at each turn. After this they are taken outside the village without being allowed to see each other. They are placed standing at a little distance with a screen between them, and liquor is spilt on the ground to make a line from one to the other. After a time the bridegroom lifts up the screen, rushes on the bride, gives her a blow on the back, and puts the ring on her finger, at the same time making a noise in imitation of the cry of a goat. All the village then indulge in bacchanalian orgies. The following details are furnished regarding the Gonds in Betul. After the arrangements for the marriage have been made, the boy's father goes on a Sunday carrying with him some grain and money to the bride's house. They purchase wine, and then make a libation to each of the gods of the bride's family in turn, naming the god as they do so. The gods are represented by stones kept in a basket. The remainder of the wine is then given to the caste-fellows and a feast follows. After a time the bridegroom's father again goes to the bride's house and presents ornaments equivalent to about fifteen rupees, and invites the girl to come to his house to be married. The marriage thus takes place at the bridegroom's house and not at the bride's. From this day until the date of the marriage the bride,

with some girl companions, goes every day to the house of one or other of her relatives and friends in the village, and is feasted by them with fried cakes of urad, kodo and pulse. Each of her companions gets two pice from the host. At every house she visits she is rubbed with turmeric, and all the time that this is done she weeps continually. On the day fixed for the marriage, the girl is taken to a separate house in the bridegroom's village, rubbed with turmeric, dressed in new clothes, and taken to the mandwa. The bridegroom is also rubbed with turmeric, covered with a blanket, and taken to the mandwa, where the marriage is gone through. Then a female relative takes up a handful of grains of rice and counts them. If the number is odd, the marriage is considered auspicious. What happens when it is even is not stated, but presumably care is taken to avoid this contingency. The bridegroom and bride go inside the house and each of them puts seven handfuls of rice into a pot. After this the bride is taken home and dressed in new clothes and ornaments. A garland of mango leaves, dates, and cocoanuts is made and placed in a pot of water. The couple then go to a river and throw mud at each other. Both are struck with a twig of the Arayal tree and asked to name each other, which they do. On coming back from the river they find the boy's father sitting on a swing hung from the mandwa. The pair move the swing and the bystanders exclaim that the old man is the child of the new bride. The ceremony concludes with a feast.

269. The Korkus have the following ceremony. Before the marriage

Special customs—contd.

procession starts, the bridegroom is given a dagger or scythe, at the tip of which a lemon is placed to scare away evil spirits. The party proceeds to a wild plum tree and the boy and his parents sit under it. The Bhumak or priest ties all three with a thread to the tree, to which a chicken is then offered. After this they proceed to the bride's house; the boy puts a necklace on the girl's neck and ties her hair with a band. They are then carried three times round the marriage post by their relatives, and the ceremony is complete. The Maria Gonds consider the consent of the girl to be an essential preliminary to the marriage. She gives it before a council of elders, and if necessary is allowed time to make up her mind. For the marriage ceremony the couple are seated side by side under a green shed, and water is poured on them through the shed, in imitation of the fertilising action of rain. Some elder of the village places his hands on them, and the wedding is over. In the Maria villages as in Chhattisgarh there are 'Gotalghars,' or two separate houses or barracks in which all the youths and maidens of the village sleep. They sing and dance and drink *fari* up to midnight, and are then supposed to separate and each sex to retire to its own house. But naturally this does not always happen. The following description is reported of the Gonds of Kanker. On the day fixed for the marriage, the pair accompanied by the Dosi or caste priest, proceed to a river, in the bed of which two reeds 5 or 6 feet high are placed just so far apart that a man can lie down between them, and tied together with a thread at the top. The priest lies down between the reeds, and the bride and bridegroom jump seven times over his body. After the last jump they go a little way off, throw aside their wet clothes, and then run naked to a place where their dry clothes are kept; they put these on and go home without looking back. Before marriage the bride is taught to weep in different notes, so that when that part of the ceremony arrives in which weeping is required, she may have the proper note at her command. Among the Halbas the bride and bridegroom are made to stand facing each other with a screen

between them. The Joshi or priest takes two torches and joins the flames over his head. The screen is removed, and the couple exchange their marriage crowns made of palm or date leaves. They then go through the Bhanwar ceremony.

270. In some cases ceremonies typifying marriage by capture are still performed, though the actual practice has fallen into disuse. In Bastar the boy and his father lie in wait outside the village and carry off the girl he wants; she is taken to the bridegroom's house and confined there. The circumstance is always known to the headmen of the villages, but the parents of the bride weep and pretend to seek for her. Afterwards they go to the boy's house, matters are arranged amicably, and the marriage ceremony performed on a fixed day. In Kanker, after the marriage, the bridegroom takes the bride on his shoulder and tries to run away with her. The girl's relations then try to get her back, while the boy's assist him in carrying her off; a sort of tug-of-war ensues which sometimes lasts for several hours.

271. The practice of serving for a wife still exists in some localities. The period varies from five to twelve years, but is usually six, the boy living in the house of his prospective father-in-law during this time. When it is finished the marriage is celebrated at the expense of the girl's father. If the boy and girl happen to anticipate the ceremony, they elope, and have then to give a feast to the caste-fellows; in some cases compensation not exceeding seven rupees is paid to the girl's father to induce him to join the feast; this is only done when the period of actual service has fallen short of three years. If when compensation is due, the girl dies before it is paid, her father has the right among Korkus to stop her burial until the liquidation of the debt.

272. When, as it usually does, the marriage of a girl takes place in childhood, she remains in her father's house till maturity. But after the marriage she generally goes back with the bridegroom's party for a few days; this custom appears to be partly due to a survival of the time when infant marriage had not been introduced, and consummation followed immediately on the ceremony, and it still perhaps appears as incongruous to the Hindus as it would to other people, that the bridegroom should return home leaving the bride behind him. Another reason may be that she is taken back in order that her husband's family may make her acquaintance; women in many cases do not accompany the *barat*, and so would not have seen the bride at all. In such cases, when she finally goes to her husband, another form is gone through which is called the '*gauna*' ceremony. This always takes place in the first, third, fifth or seventh year after marriage. On an auspicious day fixed by the priest, the husband and his relatives go to the bride's house to fetch her. A sacrifice is performed, and clothes and ornaments presented, and the party leaves. Sometimes in rich families the bride does not go at all to her husband's house immediately after the wedding; and in this case two further ceremonies are necessary—one for the time when she first goes and another at the final consummation. Even after the *Gauna* ceremony the girl generally goes home to her father's house once or twice. This is because she is considered to be very anxious to see her mother again; it is called '*uḁna*' or 'hungering for her mother'; on these occasions she will stay two or three months in her father's house.

273. The only castes which do not as a rule permit widow marriage are Brahmans, Rajputs, Kayasths, and Baniyas. The Ponwars of Bhandara and the Raghubansis are reported to permit it. Dosar Baniyas allow it and derive their name from this practice. Kasarwani Baniyas are also said to allow it in Jubbulpore. Audhia Sonars allow it, and are looked down on in consequence, and in some districts one or two other sub-castes also practise it, as the Lad, Marwari, and Ahir Sonars in Nimar. Other Sonars forbid the practice. The Lodhis in Saugor prohibit it; and the Jijhotia Ahirs in Narsinghpur, the Sriwastab sub-caste of Darjis in Betul, the Tawar sub-caste of Kawars in Bilaspur, to which the Northern Zamindars belong, and the seven houses of Marathas which form a separate sub-caste and to which the Bhonslas belong. With the above exceptions, and probably a few others not reported, it seems to be generally permitted. Widow marriage as is well known was expressly allowed under certain circumstances in some of the ancient texts. And its prohibition and also the introduction of *sati* have been held to be comparatively recent Brahmanical innovations. The object of the prohibition of the remarriage of widows has been variously explained. The practice of sacrificing wives at the husband's funeral is prevalent also among other savage races, and is often due to the belief that they will accompany him to the other world, just as food and weapons are sometimes placed in a tomb. Another explanation given in 'Asiatic Studies' as furnished to Miss Kingsley by an African Chief is, that the practice is a safeguard against the possibility of a wife attempting to poison her husband if her domestic life is unhappy. There is also the belief that marriage is indissoluble and eternal, and that husband and wife will continue in the same capacity in another world. If she was allowed to marry again difficulties would arise subsequently. And to this belief is due the custom that orthodox Brahmans are, or used to be, unable to divorce their wives, and if a married woman was turned away for adultery, her funeral ceremony was performed as if she was dead. And besides this, Mr. Risley points out that where the marriage of girls was absolutely essential, and the supply of husbands was limited, it was very advantageous to limit the competition by not allowing widows to marry again.

274. All the incidents connected with the performance of the marriage of a widow show that it is considered to be a concession to human frailty, and no part of the Hindu religion. It is something to be ashamed of and to be done by stealth. It always takes place in the dark fortnight of the month, and always at night. Women take no part in the marriage of a widow, and everything in connection with it is done by men only. In the northern districts the ritual is simple; the widow is brought to her future husband's house; he puts glass bangles on her wrists, and she becomes his wife. But in the Maratha country the feeling alluded to above is more elaborately displayed. The bridegroom goes to the widow's house with his male friends. The priest is called in, and two wooden seats are put side by side. On one of these a betel nut is placed, which represents the deceased husband of the widow. The new bridegroom advances with a small wooden sword, touches the nut with its tip, and then kicks it off the seat with his right toe. The barber picks up the nut and burns it. This is supposed to lay the deceased husband's spirit and prevent his interference with the new union. The bridegroom then takes the seat from which the nut has been displaced, and the woman sits on the other seat to his left. He puts a necklace of beads round her neck, and after this the

couple leave the house and go to the husband's village. They go away as stealthily as possible, and if there is any interruption, it is considered as a bad omen. But, as it is known when a widow marriage is to take place, there are usually some practical jokers who lie in wait and throw cowdung at the frightened couple. Among the lower castes they generally stop at a nala on the way home, take off the woman's clothes and bangles, and bury them by the side of the nala; an exorcist is also called in who confines the late husband's spirit in a horn by putting in some grains of wheat, and it is buried with the clothes. If after the marriage any misfortune occurs, it is attributed to the wrath of the deceased husband, and he is deified and worshipped as Khutia Deo. In some cases the woman is not taken to her husband's house until about a week after the wedding. If the bridegroom is a bachelor, he must be first married to a Rui or Arak tree, or in the northern districts to a ring, as the widow marriage is not considered a real one, and it is inauspicious for any one to die without having been properly married once. A similar ceremony must be gone through when a man is married for the third time, as it is held that if he marries a woman for the third time he will quickly die. A mock ceremony is therefore performed first and the woman is considered to be his fourth wife. In the northern districts an impression of a woman is made on a piece of silver, and this is hung round the neck of the bride, on the occasion of a man's third marriage. He is then considered to marry two women at the same time, the silver impression being his third wife, and the bride herself his fourth.

275. As regards food the practice in the Central Provinces is generally lax.

Rules as to food.

Kanaujia, Bengali and Oriya Brahmans eat the flesh of goats, deer and a few birds as the green pigeon, and fish. Rajputs eat flesh and game; the Ponwars of Bhandara have fallen as low as fowls. Khattris usually do not eat meat and Baniyas never, and most of the priestly or devotee castes abstain from it. Otherwise it is generally eaten by all castes, except in the case of sub-divisions who have adopted special sectarian beliefs, as the Kabirpanthis, Satnamis,¹ and Vaishnavas. Certain vegetables are often prohibited. The Satnamis do not eat chillies, tomatoes, or other red vegetables, because the colour is considered to resemble blood. Masur (*lentil*) is in places abstained from, because it is considered to have grown from the blood which fell from a wound in the hoof of Vishwamitra's cow. But it is eaten in the Jubbulpore *haveli* where it is largely cultivated. Onions and garlic are shunned in the north because of their fishy smell: it is said that on one occasion Vishwamitra being reduced to the verge of starvation during a famine which had lasted 12 years was about to eat dog's flesh, when Bhagwan appeared to him and dissuaded him by promising to send rain; Vishwamitra then threw away the flesh, out of which grew onions. But onions are largely eaten by the Maratha castes. The domestic fowl is considered to be a very unclean animal on account of its promiscuous feeding. The castes in the first group do not eat it, and also most of the higher-artisans; but several of the higher cultivating castes do so, and nearly all the serving castes from whom a Brahman will take water. Below this group most castes accept them. As a rule fowls are much more freely eaten in the Maratha country and Chhattisgarh than in the north of the provinces. Kurmis will not eat them, but Kunbis will. Wild pig is eaten by Rajputs and other castes who imitate them, but not by most of the castes from whom a Brahman

¹ That is to say, theoretically. In practice many Satnamis have abandoned the rules.

will take water. The village pig is eaten by Dhimars, Kahars and Injhwars of the serving castes, even though they are allowed to knead flour for Brahmans. It is also eaten by a few of the lower cultivating castes, and those of the same status as Bahelia, Besta, Banjara, Bhoyar, Kir and Rajhar, and by the impure

Dhimar,	Dhangar-Oran.
Besta,	Basor,
Beldar,	Ganda
Dahar,	Mahar-
Kamar,	Balabi
Gadha,	Chamar.
Dewar,	Dhobi.
Kada,	Mangan.

castes and non-Aryan tribes. Crocodiles are reported to be eaten by sixteen castes including Dhimars as noted in the margin, but the list may not be correct. No caste in the highest group drinks liquor except Kayasths. Of the higher cultivating castes rather more than half are reported not to allow it, and of the higher artisans, Barhais, Kanderas and Barais use it, but the others do not. All the serving castes drink except the Bargahas. A few of the lower artisans, such as Chhipas, Darjis, Kacheras, Bhulias, and priestly castes, do not drink it, but most of those of this group and all of those of the two lower groups do so.

276. In August 1900 at the time when the numbers on relief in kitchens rose to their highest point, a census of castes was taken by calling in one of the muster rolls from each kitchen.

Eating in kitchens

The results have now been abstracted and are printed as Statement No. II at the end of this chapter. No important caste is absent from the list. The following are some of the numbers of the higher castes returned. The figures in brackets show the percentages of the number feeding in kitchens to the total of the caste. Brahman 9,000 (2), Rajput 24,000 (6), Khatri 11 (27), Kayasth 300 (100), Karan 5 (09), Bania 1,600 (13), Bhat 2,000 (107), Bairagi 3,500 (96), Gosain 2,200 (83), Gurao 419 (69), Gandhmali 160 (55), Ahir 71,000 (79), Gujar 1,400 (28), Dangi 910 (39), Daharia 41 (23), Daraiha 36 (15), Lodhi 16,000 (58), Kurmi 2,300 (81), Kunbi 34,500 (7), Sonar 3,000 (3). Generally it may be said that the proportion of the population which would be restrained by religious scruples from feeding in kitchens is insignificant. Brahmans were frequently employed as cooks, and in this case they would be given uncooked food for themselves, but would be enrolled on the kitchen registers. In the case of the higher castes, children who had not assumed the sacred thread would be allowed to go to kitchens without losing caste, and this may account for a certain number. On the other hand in the higher castes a much smaller proportion would probably be reduced to the necessity of accepting charitable relief. Brahmans are reported to have refused to take food in most districts, and most of the higher castes in some districts. In some cases members of a low caste would refuse. Thus the Mattha Mehras of Balaghat would not allow even children to eat food cooked by any other caste except their own. When two small children did join a kitchen, not only they but their parents were outcasted, on the ground that they must have been defiled by eating from the same pots as the children. Finally, they were allowed to have caste cooks. In most cases cooks were appointed from the highest castes, and the people were allowed to be given their food in order of social standing. A space was sometimes left between the members of each caste, and a line drawn on the ground to represent a partition, so that it might be assumed that they were eating separately. Food was sometimes served in different pots. In Sambalpur it was considered that the Government was above caste, and advantage might be taken of the relief afforded without social degradation. In Bilaspur the famine was considered as a manifestation of divine wrath, and those who ate were excused as being sufferers from the 'act of God.'

Elsewhere it was said that the kitchen was equivalent to the temple of Jagan-nath,¹ where all castes might eat together without sin.

277. As a rule persons who fed in kitchens were re-admitted to caste with trifling penalties. In Balaghat the panchayets decided to allow those actually eating in kitchens to remain in full possession of caste privileges. In Betul shaving of the monstaches was sometimes prescribed. Elsewhere eating cowdung, visiting sacred rivers, or drinking water sanctified by a Brahman having dipped his toe into it were penalties inflicted on the higher castes. Generally caste feasts were given, the penalty sometimes being so small as a bottle of liquor or a seer or two of gur, an anna's worth of gram, and in Nimar one pice worth of grain and a pot of water. This could not be considered expensive. In Betul the gurus made careful inquiry as to which of the caste-men were in a position to give feasts, and exempted those who had no money, thus tempering the wind to the shorn lamb. Only in Damoh it is reported that the penalties contingent on re-admission to caste intercourse will take about a year to carry out in the case of persons of high social position.

278. Generally then it may be concluded that caste prejudices are not sufficiently strong to prevent the acceptance of cooked food on the part of a large majority of the population of the Central Provinces. The people went to kitchens almost as readily as they accepted gratuitous relief, and what was called the kitchen test, that is, the belief that most adults would not accept cooked food unless they were starving, broke down. But in this connection it is worth while to consider for a moment the caste constitution of this province. The lowest group of the impure castes numbers 2,324,361 persons or 19·5 per cent. of the population; the next lowest, the non-Aryan tribes, 2,903,690 persons or 24·5 per cent.; and the next or third group, those from whose hands a Brahman cannot take water, 1,696,296 persons or 14·3 per cent. These three groups comprise, then, 58·4 per cent. of the people; and in the case of nearly all of them it may be said that in their case caste feelings would exercise a comparatively slight influence, in that of the two lowest groups practically none at all. I am not able to make any comparison with other Provinces, but it is probable that these lower classes constitute in the Central Provinces a larger proportion of the people than elsewhere; it has been seen that even in the higher group of those from whose hands a Brahman can take water, a number of castes are included, which in Northern India occupy a much lower status. And in all social and religious observances the practice of the people is less strict than elsewhere. Far removed, until lately, from the high places of Hinduism, they have received only a small meed of attention from the priests of the faith, and considerations of orthodoxy have been sacrificed to convenience. And it seems therefore unsafe to assume that the ties of caste would yield so readily in Northern India or Bengal or Bombay as might be concluded, judging only from the experience of the famine of 1900 in the Central Provinces.

¹ The temple of Vishnu, the preserver of life.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Statement showing arrangement of Castes according to Social Status.*

GROUP NO. I-A.—Representatives of ancient twice-born.

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Brahman. | 3. Khatri. | 5. Karan-Mahanti. |
| 2. Rajput. | 4. Kayasth and Parbhu. | 6. Bania. |

GROUP NO. I-B.—Other castes not representatives of twice-born, but which have attained a specially high position on account of their occupation or purity.

- | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Bhat. | 3. Gosain. | 5. Thanapati-Gandhmali. |
| 2. Bairagi. | 4. Gurao. | 6. Dhami. |

GROUP NO. II-A.—Higher cultivators from whom a Brahman will take water.

- | | | |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Agharia. | 10. Deswalli. | 19. Kunbi. |
| 2. Ahir. | 11. Dumal. | 20. Kurmi. |
| 3. Arora. | 12. Gujar. | 21. Lodhi. |
| 4. Bhilala. | 13. Jat. | 22. Londhari. |
| 5. Bishnoi. | 14. Kachhi. | 23. Mali. |
| 6. Chast. | 15. Kamma. | 24. Maratha. |
| 7. Daharia. | 16. Khandait. | 25. Sudh. |
| 8. Dangi. | 17. Kirar. | 26. Velama. |
| 9. Daraiha. | 18. Kolta. | |

GROUP NO. II-B.—Higher artisans or trading castes from whom a Brahman will take water.

- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Barai. | 5. Kammala. | 9. Lakhera. |
| 2. Barhai. | 6. Kasera. | 10. Patwa. |
| 3. Bhairbhunja. | 7. Komti. | 11. Sansia. |
| 4. Halwai. | 8. Kundera. | 12. Sonar. |
| | 13. Tamera. | |

GROUP NO. II-C.—Serving castes from whom a Brahman will take water.

- | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|
| 1. Bargah. | 4. Injhar. | 7. Mallah. |
| 2. Bari. | 5. Kahar. | 8. Nai. |
| 3. Dhimar. | 6. Kewat. | 9. Naoda. |

GROUP NO. III-A.—Lower cultivating and labouring castes from whom a Brahman will not take water.

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Agamdayan. | 14. Dhuri. | 27. Murba. |
| 2. Are. | 15. Ghosi. | 28. Mutra. |
| 3. Balija. | 16. Golar. | 29. Parka. |
| 4. Banka. | 17. Kalanga. | 30. Paik. |
| 5. Belwar. | 18. Kapewar. | 31. Pindhari. |
| 6. Bhamta. | 19. Khangar. | 32. Rajbhar. |
| 7. Bhojar. | 20. Khatik. | 33. Rajjhar. |
| 8. Chadar. | 21. Khadal. | 34. Ramosi. |
| 9. Chauhan. | 22. Kir. | 35. Redka. |
| 10. Dahait. | 23. Kohli. | 36. Taola. |
| 11. Dangri. | 24. Mana. | 37. Tiwar. |
| 12. Dangur. | 25. Marori. | 38. Vellalan. |
| 13. Dhanuk. | 26. Mowar. | 39. Wakkaliga. |

GROUP NO. III-B.—Lower artisans, trading and miscellaneous castes, from whom a Brahman will not take water.

- | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Atari. | 17. Gandhi. | 33. Malvar. |
| 2. Bahna. | 18. Garpagari. | 34. Manbhao. |
| 3. Bidur. | 19. Gondhali. | 35. Nanakshahi. |
| 4. Banjara. | 20. Hatwa. | 36. Nat. |
| 5. Bahelia. | 21. Jangam. | 37. Nunia. |
| 6. Basdewa. | 22. Jogi. | 38. Otari. |
| 7. Beldar. | 23. Joshi. | 39. Pardhi. |
| 8. Besta. | 24. Kachera. | 40. Rangari. |
| 9. Bhulia. | 25. Kadera. | 41. Satani. |
| 10. Chhipa. | 26. Kalar. | 42. Shanan. |
| 11. Chitari. | 27. Khadra. | 43. Sikligar. |
| 12. Chitrakathi. | 28. Kamathi. | 44. Sundi. |
| 13. Darji. | 29. Kashi. | 45. Teli. |
| 14. Dhangar. | 30. Koshti. | 46. Tirmalle. |
| 15. Dhera. | 31. Kuramwar. | 47. Turi. |
| 16. Gadaria. | 32. Lohar. | 48. Waghya. |

GROUP NO. IV.—Dravidian tribes.

1. Agaria.	12. Dhanwar.	23. Kharia.
2. Baiga.	13. Dhangar-Oraon.	24. Kisan.
3. Bhaina.	14. Gadba.	25. Kol.
4. Bharia-Bhumia.	15. Gond.	26. Korku.
5. Bhil.	16. Gond Gowari.	27. Korva (Yerukala).
6. Bhunjia.	17. Halba.	28. Korwa.
7. Bhuiya.	18. Juang.	29. Kuda.
8. Bida.	19. Kamar.	30. Mannewar.
9. Binjhar.	20. Kandh.	31. Munda.
10. Chenchuwar.	21. Kavar.	32. Naksia.
11. Dewar.	22. Khairwa or Khairwar.	33. Sawara.
	34. Sonjhara.	

GROUP NO. V.—Castes who cannot be touched.

1. Audhalia.	9. Kanjar.	17. Mangan.
2. Balahi.	10. Katia.	18. Mehtar.
3. Basor.	11. Kori.	19. Panka.
4. Chamar.	12. Kumhar.	20. Pasi.
5. Dhobi.	13. Madgi.	21. Sidhira or Sithira.
6. Ganda.	14. Mahar.	22. Solaha.
7. Ghasia.	15. Mala.	23. Tanti.
8. Kaikari.	16. Mang.	

GROUP NO. VI.—Mahomedan Castes.

1. Arab.	7. Fakir.	13. Mewati.
2. Bhand.	8. Julaha.	14. Mirasi.
3. Bhisti.	9. Kasai.	15. Momin.
4. Bohra.	10. Khoja.	16. Mukeri.
5. Cutchi.	11. Kunjra.	17. Musalman.
6. Dhalgar.	12. Manihar.	18. Rohilla.
	19. Sidhi.	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Statement showing numbers of each Caste who were relieved in Kitchens in August 1900.

Serial No.	Caste.	No. relieved.	Per-centage.	Serial No.	Caste.	No. relieved.	Per-centage.
Group No. I-A.				Group No. II-C.			
1	Brahman	8,771	224	1	Bargah	54	398
2	Rajput	23,768	676	2	Bari	189	57.62
3	Khatti	11	0.27	3	Dhimar	36,548	16.34
4	Kayasth and Parohi	298	1.02	4	Injhar	993	11.61
5	Karao-Mahanti	5	0.05	5	Kahar	2,230	13.52
6	Bania	1,667	1.32	6	Kewat	29,817	15.60
Total				7	Mallah	51	1.37
				8	Nai	8,501	6.22
				9	Naoda	83	50.00
Total				Total			
Group No. I-B.				Total for Group No. II.			
1	Bhat	2,105	10.72				
2	Bairagi	3,494	9.56				
3	Gosain	2,240	8.33				
4	Gurso	419	6.92				
5	Thanaipati-Gandhmali	163	5.46				
6	Dharmi	...	...		
Total							
TOTAL FOR GROUP NO. I.							
Group No. II-A.				Group No. III-A.			
1	Agharia	715	2.23	1	Agamudayan	...	...
2	Ahli	21,543	7.97	2	Ara	3	0.11
3	Arora	...	...	3	Baliya	40	0.25
4	Bhilala	3,865	29.40	4	Banher	6	0.14
5	Biahnoi	69	7.81	5	Belwar	...	...
6	Chase	14	0.05	6	Bhanta	151	6.09
7	Daharia	41	2.28	7	Bhoyar	2,247	4.79
8	Dangi	910	3.97	8	Chadar	3,255	12.49
9	Deraiha	36	1.54	9	Chauhan	483	10.91
10	Derwali	1,008	15.63	10	Dahat	1,277	10.56
11	Dumal	102	0.25	11	Dangri	63	7.50
12	Gujar	1,398	2.83	12	Dangur	...	...
13	Jat	1,318	16.90	13	Dhanek	355	18.24
14	Kachhi	8,724	8.22	14	Dhuri	312	13.45
15	Kamma	...	...	15	Ghoat	328	4.03
16	Khandait	21	1.79	16	Golar	1,601	56.59
17	Kirar	2,939	7.07	17	Kalanga	68	1.73
18	Kolta	1,940	1.33	18	Kapewar	145	4.09
19	Kunbi	34,548	7.02	19	Khangar	1,684	13.47
20	Kurmi	32,884	8.18	20	Khatik	364	5.32
21	Ladhi	16,047	5.84	21	Khadai	96	8.08
22	Ludhari	2	0.22	22	Kir	1,004	15.92
23	Mali	43,435	12.36	23	Kohli	942	3.04
24	Maratha	950	2.77	24	Mana	5,046	14.34
25	Smith	51	0.64	25	Maroti	...	...
26	Velama	149	3.92	26	Mowar	...	...
Total				27	Murha	...	...
				28	Mutras	...	...
				29	Parke	231	0.97
				30	Paik	126	0.67
				31	Pindhari	52	19.11
				32	Rajbhar	242	0.69
				33	Rajihar	610	12.02
				34	Ramesi	...	...
				35	Rodra	...	...
				36	Tanola	21	1.19
				37	Tiyar	133	10.48
				38	Vellalan	3	1.37
				39	Wakkadiga	...	...
Total				Total			
Group No. II-B.				Group No. III-B.			
1	Barai	517	1.69	1	Atari	47	51.08
2	Barhai	2,625	3.90	2	Bakha	5,739	26.93
3	Bharbhunja	450	11.53	3	Bidar	377	2.00
4	Halwai	36	0.97	4	Banjara	13,377	26.34
5	Kammala	...	...	5	Baballa	632	28.02
6	Kasera	346	3.11	6	Basdewa	324	18.98
7	Komti	238	5.28	7	Beldar	1,731	13.38
8	Kundera	...	...	8	Besta	151	7.39
9	Lakhara	24	0.76	9	Bhalia	222	8.50
10	Patwa	284	4.83	10	Chhipa	257	5.22
11	Sansia	1,082	1.71	11	Chitari	107	14.98
12	Sonar	3,074	3.04	12	Chitrakathi	95	34.39
13	Tamara	10	0.24	13	Darji	2,652	7.93
Total				14	Dhangar	828	4.60
				15	Dhara	...	...
				16	Gularia	2,931	8.92
				17	Gandhi	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—(Contd.)

Serial No.	Caste.	No. relieved.	Per-centage.	Serial No.	Caste.	No. relieved.	Per-centage.
Group No. III-B—(Contd.)				Group No. IV.—(Contd.)			
18	Gargagari	1,040	18.55	28	Korwa	4	1.61
19	Gondhali	314	68.37	29	Korva (Yerukala)	...	...
20	Hatwa	...	...	30	Munda	...	...
21	Jangam	44	4.19	31	Mannewar	423	59.31
22	Jogi	1,373	14.43	32	Nakais	55	3.28
23	Joshi	350	7.37	33	Sawara	21,468	14.86
24	Kachera	56	3.37	34	Sonjhara	79	3.08
25	Kadera	164	0.78				
26	Kalar	12,212	8.18		Total	225,310	11.20
27	Khadra	90	4.62	Group No. V.			
28	Kamathi	44	41.90	1	Audhalla	104	15.38
29	Kashi	357	16.45	2	Balahi	23,229	53.31
30	Koshti	11,949	8.70	3	Basor	12,670	29.78
31	Kuramwar	384	12.19	4	Chamar	202,087	27.48
32	Lohar	14,469	10.71	5	Dhobi	19,652	14.97
33	Maiyar	...	...	6	Ganda	32,367	11.65
34	Manbhao	26	4.65	7	Ghasia	3,996	10.32
35	Namakhah	...	...	8	Kaikari	35	10.26
36	Nat	1,651	36.64	9	Kanjar	93	3.32
37	Nunia	304	9.75	10	Katia	2,106	6.59
38	Otari	120	16.28	11	Kori	6,073	17.21
39	Pardhi	488	17.28	12	Kumhar	5,878	5.92
40	Rangari	304	3.57	13	Madgi	1,297	25.93
41	Satani	50	11.00	14	Msia	3,637	49.73
42	Shanua	...	...	15	Mung	7,651	38.03
43	Sikligar	62	41.86	16	Mahar	198,253	32.00
44	Sundi	80	0.04	17	Mangan	...	...
45	Teli	69,900	9.84	18	Mektar	4,401	4.79
46	Tirmalle	...	...	19	Panka	24,696	17.91
47	Tori	304	16.07	20	Pasi	37	1.19
48	Waghya	...	...	21	Sidhira or Sithira	...	...
	Total	145,854	10.15	22	Solaha	...	...
TOTAL FOR GROUP No. III		157,342	9.85	23	Tanti	5	20.00
Group No. IV.					Total	548,267	23.58
1	Agaria	181	11.28	Group No. VI.			
2	Baiga	2,155	8.70	1	Arab	...	...
3	Bhaina	387	3.28	2	Bhand	...	...
4	Bharis-Bhuma	5,701	19.95	3	Bhisti	1	...
5	Bhil	11,449	49.54	4	Bohra	...	...
6	Bhureja	141	4.31	5	Cutchi	...	...
7	Bhalya	637	3.51	6	Dhalgar	...	...
8	Bind	...	...	7	Fakir	1,289	44.45
9	Binjhwar	11,611	16.33	8	Julaha	...	...
10	Chanchuwar	...	...	9	Kasai	...	...
11	Dewar	208	13.63	10	Khoja	...	...
12	Dhanwar	1,316	13.80	11	Kanjra	6	2.40
13	Dhangar-Orson	471	5.97	12	Manihar	12	1.77
14	Gadba	...	...	13	Mewati	4	36.36
15	Gond	196,518	10.21	14	Mirasi	...	...
16	Gond-Gowari	1,879	59.05	15	Momin	88	8.67
17	Halba	23,433	23.49	16	Mukeri	...	...
18	Juang	...	...	17	Musalman	18,692	6.82
19	Kamar	147	25.17	18	Rohilla	3	50.00
20	Kandh	649	0.39	19	Sidhi	...	...
21	Kawar	9,306	7.59		Total	29,093	7.11
22	Khairwa or Khairwar	754	13.61	GRAND TOTAL			1,404,756
23	Kharis	5	...				11.83
24	Kinnu	...	...		
25	Kol	9,621	12.90				
26	Korku	29,181	29.24				
27	Kuds	391	2.13				

NOTE.—Subsidiary Table III of this Chapter will be found in Appendix C, at end of this Report.

CHAPTER X.

OCCUPATION.

279. The main result disclosed by the occupation table at this census is a great decrease in the village industries, and a small increase in the proportion of agricultural labourers. Comparisons between the figures of one census and another must be made with caution, and with a full allowance for divergencies in the figures resulting from imperfect entries and different methods of classification; and indeed this is the first occasion on which any comparison has been attempted. But it is clear that such a movement has been a marked feature of the decennial period. The number of persons employed in the industries of cotton-weaving and dyeing, pottery, and working in leather have all decreased largely. This alteration is, in my opinion, partly genuine and partly fictitious. In the case of cotton-weaving it is known that the manufacture of hand products is largely on the decline, in consequence of the competition of the mills. And in other trades also the same tendency is apparent. There seems to be no ground for hoping that the prosperity of the industry of hand-pottery will improve, and the prospect seems to be rather the reverse. No advance has been made in the methods of manufacture and the demand seems to be falling off. Metal vessels and cheap European china have replaced pottery to a large extent, and the universal kerosine tin is now used everywhere for such purposes as boiling water. But besides the generally decreasing prosperity of certain industries, another temporary cause, which has influenced the return of occupations, has been the succession of failures of crops. This has naturally contracted the purchasing power of the large majority of the population, which is supported by agriculture, and has caused a forced reduction in the outturn of articles which depend on them for a market. Consequently large numbers of the village artisans have temporarily abandoned their own trades and taken to manual labour as a means of subsistence. And lastly during the famine these industries were to a large extent in abeyance, and at the time the census record was made, less than two months after it ended, they had not recovered even their normal amount of prosperity. These are, in my opinion, the reasons which should be assigned for the large decrease in many occupations; and it may be expected therefore that with prosperous seasons there will be a partial, though not a complete, recovery.

280. The figures for the different grades and departments of Government service which are distinguished in the table are sufficient to show that it is only in particular cases, and when large groups of occupations are taken together, that deductions from comparisons of the figures of one census and another are likely to yield any useful results. Under Government officers there is an increase of 561 persons or 42 per cent., under Government service intermediate a decrease of 1,470 persons or 17 per

¹ A considerable amount of detail about occupations has been obtained from notes on the different trades on Sambalpur and Jubbulpore towns drawn up by Mr. Afzal Ahmad and Mr. Raghunath Prasad, Deputy Superintendents of Census. Mr. Afzal Ahmad also submitted some further notes while on tour.

² Central Provinces Monograph on Pottery and Glassware, page 13.

cent., under Government service menial a decrease of 2,033 persons or 5·2 per cent., and under the service of local and municipal bodies a decrease of 498 persons or 8·7 per cent. On the other hand in the Forest Department, which is separately classified, there is an increase of 2,617 persons or 31 per cent., and under sanitation, which includes municipal sweepers and scavengers, an increase of 2,044 persons or 11·6 per cent. It is clear that these variations are not real, but are the result of differences either in the record or in classification. The latter has, I believe, been fairly correct at this census, as I did most of it myself from lists of occupations prepared from the tabulation registers, a method which was impossible under the old system of abstraction. And these lists will be preserved in case they should prove useful on a future occasion.

281. But there must always be a certain amount of inaccuracy in census statistics, which could not be removed without largely increasing both the time and expenditure allowed for their preparation. Nor am I by any means confident that such an increase of time and money would be justified by the results to be obtained. For it would appear that very little use is ever made of the long arrays of figures set forth in the census tables. They rarely enter into ordinary administrative work. To take, for instance, caste, which has now been recorded at four successive enumerations. The main facts which we want to know about caste, so far as statistics are concerned, are the local distribution of important castes, and to some extent the rate at which they tend to increase and decrease in a proportion varying from that of the general population. For the first object a census once in thirty or forty years would be sufficient, as it changes very slowly. For the second a decennial census is desirable, if it is thought that the information forthcoming is worth the expenditure to be incurred on it. But in this case also comparison of the returns is to a considerable extent vitiated by differences of classification. And when the results have been obtained they can be sufficiently discussed in three or four pages. The principal advantage which appears to me to have been gained from the inclusion of caste in successive enumerations is the addition to our knowledge of the people, both ethnographical and general, which has been furnished in the caste chapters of the census reports. In the Central Provinces Report for 1891 this chapter mainly consists of a description of the numerical strength and local distribution of castes, though a large amount of useful ethnographical information is also included. And as this description has been written it is unnecessary to write it again. In my chapter I have been able to break what is new ground in the Central Provinces by a general sketch of the caste system. And it is hoped that this may be of interest to the officers of the Province for whom a census report is written, and perhaps not entirely without value as a contribution to the literature of Indian ethnography. The above remarks are intended to be in the nature of an explanation in case it may be thought that there are not enough figures in this report. Where it was thought that any useful deductions could be drawn from the figures they have been put in, but not otherwise. The figures are in the tables and are available for reference. And after all it is of little use to write long disquisitions on census statistics, because they will not be read except perhaps by a few ardent seekers after knowledge, who also will shortly forget them. And to write what nobody will read is an obvious waste of labour. On the other hand, there is no doubt that it is useful and desirable to take any possible means of adding to our information as to how

the people live; and this is my excuse for the introduction of matter which might possibly be considered as not strictly relevant in a census report.

282. The total number of persons shown as landed proprietors is 237,700 as against 268,458 at last census or a decrease of 11·4 per cent. But the number of thekadars and lessees of villages is 29,710 on this occasion as against 7,158 in 1891. The net decrease is therefore 8,206 persons or 3 per cent. on the total. Landed proprietors including lessees of villages constitute 2·2 per cent. of the population. The total number of tenants is 4,218,106 persons or a decrease of 8·9 per cent. on last census. The decrease is, however, really somewhat larger than this, because in several districts a large number of kotwars have been shown as village-service tenants in the table; the returns of village watchmen are clearly incomplete in some districts, and in these also the number of village-service tenants is large. It seems therefore that many kotwars must have preferred to return themselves as tenants. On the whole, however, the variation in this class is about the same as that of the general population. The different classes of tenants have been distinguished in classification, but the figures are not accurate because 300,815 persons were simply shown as tenants without their class being recorded. The distinction, however, is very useful for Table XVI, occupation by caste, as it enables the extent to which particular castes hold land in different kinds of tenant right to be roughly ascertained, and this information is of great interest from a social and ethnographic point of view. This table has been prepared for the purposes of the Ethnographic Survey, and I have thought it unnecessary to discuss it in the present chapter. The number of farm servants has decreased by 184,136 persons or 22 per cent. This is a natural consequence of the famine, as many of the poorer proprietors and tenants have been forced to dismiss their farm servants. On the other hand the number of field labourers as shown in the table has increased from 1,115,636 to 1,681,495 persons. The actual increase is partially counterbalanced by the decrease in casual labourers, whose numbers have fallen from 584,068 to 273,285 persons. This arises merely from a difference of classification. At this census persons who returned the term labour from rural areas were classified as field labourers, as it was considered that they were more dependent on agriculture than on any other single means of subsistence. Taking the numbers of farm servants, field labourers and casual labourers together, there is an increase of 70,940 persons dependent on labour. This is due, as already stated, to the depressed condition of all the village trades and industries during the famine, when large numbers of those who worked at them were forced to abandon their ordinary methods of livelihood and take to labour.

283. The methods of engagement and remuneration of farm servants differ greatly. The usual date for the commencement of their employment is on Akhi in Baisakh or early in May, and in a few cases at the Diwali. The period of engagement may be either for three years, one year, or six months. The Lamsena is the man who agrees to serve for three years in return for marrying his master's daughter. During this period he lives in the house of his Thakur, or master, and gets cooked food, and two cloths annually. After three years he is married to his master's daughter at her father's expense, or if this falls through, his master is bound to find another wife for him and pay for the marriage. This sort of service is usually practised

among the Dravidian tribes. The ordinary farm servant is employed for one year, and is called Sonjia in Chhattisgarh, Gadi in the Maratha country, Harwaha in the northern districts, and Gutl in Sambalpur. The method of employment of the Gadi is said to be as follows:—On 15th Baisakh (April—May), the cultivator and ploughman go to the field with wheat cakes, sugar, ghee, kunku (red powder), turmeric, vermilion, betel-leaf, and a rupee. Worship is then paid to the earth, the ghee being burnt, and the other articles placed on the ground as an offering, and the red powder is rubbed on the foreheads of the bullocks and of the ploughman. The ploughman makes five drills in the field and then they return, and in the evening eat bread made of mahua flowers. In Chhattisgarh the Sonjia gets a quarter of the produce. In the northern districts the Harwaha is said to get from three to six khandis of grain according to the term of his employment for field work. He also gets something extra for watching the crops at night, and his food at harvest time. There are also various other perquisites. The Sonjia is entitled to the gleanings when the crop is cut. When the crop is brought to the threshing ground and stacked, a certain number of ears drop off, and these are collected, and the Sonjia is entitled to one fourth part of them. Similarly when the corn is taken off the stack and spread out to be threshed a small quantity remains on the ground and the Sonjia gets this. When the straw is removed from the threshing floor after being threshed, it still contains a little grain. It is stacked and the Sonjia is entitled to such a portion of the stack as covers five cubits square. When the grain is winnowed after being threshed there is always a small quantity of unripe grain which is lighter than the rest, and which falls out of the winnowing fan after the chaff. This is called *budra*, and the Sonjia is entitled to it. When the master measures the grain and removes it from the threshing ground to his house, he always leaves a little on the ground for the Sonjia, about 2 kathas or 7 seers. Finally when the grain is stored in the house a present of 1 katha or $3\frac{1}{2}$ seers per cartload is made to each Sonjia. During the time he serves up to the cutting of the crop, the farm servant gets his daily food advanced, and this he has to repay with interest at the time when he receives his share of the produce. The farm servants often get into debt to their masters, and as it is usually impossible for them to repay it, they become hereditary bond servants and their sons succeed them. Another method by which the cultivator gets his farm servant into his hands is by advancing the expenses for his marriage. The latter usually cannot repay them and so becomes a bond servant.* In Nagpur the remuneration of the farm servant is six kuros or sixty seers a month, and some presents are also given by proprietors or well-to-do tenants, which make the rate a kuro or two higher. He also receives two rupees for a blanket and shoes.²

284. The following analysis of the means of subsistence of the casual agricultural labourer in the northern districts was given to me by Mr. Fuller, but as I am only writing from memory I may have got the months wrong.

Field labourers.

From November to March he makes his living by agriculture, being employed for tending and cutting the crops. In April and May he lives on the mahua. In June and July he lives by petty thefts of grain; and from August to

* Most of the information about farm servants is taken from a Note by Mr. Gokul Prasad, Naib-Tahsildar of Dhamtari.

² Nagpur Settlement Report, paragraph 166.

October he subsists on the produce of his garden plot in which he sows maize or some other early autumn crop. It will thus be seen that for ten months of the year he is an agriculturist; as a man who subsists by stealing grain is certainly supported by agriculture and he has therefore been classified as such. The above description would not apply to rice districts where weeding begins in August. On the other hand, in these there is presumably no agricultural employment after December. But from the southern districts there is a large annual migration to Berar for the harvesting of the spring crops. And in the Jubbulpore Haveli there is an immigration of Chaitharas, or those who come in Chait (March—April) to cut the wheat crop. Year by year, Mr. Fuller said, the Gond comes down from the Rewa hills to the Lodhi in the Haveli; the same Gond to the same Lodhi and from father to son. Till the crop is ready to be cut, he occupies himself in roofing the house, building up walls, and doing any other odd job that may be required. Then he assists in the reaping of the crop, and when it is threshed and harvested, he returns home, having received his food while he is there, and taking across his shoulders as much grain as he can get into a *kawar* load.

285. Betel-vine and areca-nut growers and sellers together number 14,685 as against 15,790 at last census, being a decrease of 7 per cent.
Betel-vine cultivation. The occupations of selling and growing betel-leaf are frequently combined. Only in places where it is an important industry, like Ramtek and Bilehri, they are carried on separately. A description of the method of cultivation of the betel-vine is given in the Nagpur Settlement Report. The legend as to its origin is that there was formerly no *pan* upon the earth. But when the five Pandava brothers celebrated the great horse sacrifice after their victory at Hastinapur, they wanted some, and so messengers were sent down below the earth to the residence of the queen of the serpents in order to try and obtain it. Basuki, the queen of the serpents, obligingly cut off the top joint of her little finger and gave it to the messengers. This was brought up and sown on the earth and the *pan*-creepers grew out of the joint. For this reason the betel-vine has no blossoms or seeds, but the joints of the creepers are cut off and sown, when they sprout afresh; and the betel-vine is called *Nagbel* or the serpent-creeper. On the day of Nagpanchami the Barais go to the *bareja* with flowers, cocoanuts and other offerings, and worship a stone which is placed in it and which represents the Nag or cobra. A goat or sheep is sacrificed and they return home, no leaf of the *pan* garden being touched on that day. A cup of milk is left in the garden, with the belief that a cobra will come out of the garden and drink it. It is a curious coincidence that the only caste besides Brahmans from whom the Barais will eat *pakki* are the Agarwala Baniyas, and these have, Mr. Risley states, a legend of descent from a Naga princess. 'Our mother's house is of the race of the snake,' say the Agarwals of Behar.¹ No explanation of the connection was forthcoming.²

286. Persons engaged in personal service number 219,608 as against 244,320 at last census, which is a decrease of 10 per cent.
Personal and domestic service.
Barbers. 34,929 men and 3,183 women are shown as barbers (actual workers). The country barber does not use soap or a brush, but simply

¹ Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Art. Agarwal.

² The above details are from a paper by Mr. Mohan Chandra Chatterji, retired Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Jubbulpore.

scatters water on the face, and begins to shave at once. The barber acquires the knowledge of his art by practice on the more obliging of his customers, hence the proverb, 'The barber's son learns his trade on the heads of fools.' The barber's fee varies from one pice to two annas, according to the means of his customers. Besides shaving and hair-cutting other occupations pursued by the barber are the rubbing of tili oil on the body, *massaging* the legs, nail-cutting, and performing the duty of *masalchi* or torch-bearer in processions. In large towns when he meets a well-to-do person in the bazar as he goes on his rounds, the barber holds up his hand mirror before him, so that he may admire the view, and expects a pice for doing this. The *kamonia* or hereditary barber is a family servant, occupying a position of trust and responsibility. He performs all the above duties for his master's family, and besides this lights his chilam or huqqa, arranges proposals of marriage, carries invitations, and acts as the escort of the women of the family when they go on a journey. His wife performs similar duties for the women, acts as midwife, and is in attendance on the bride all through the performance of the marriage ceremony. The family barber is not paid in cash, but he gets his food, and some grain at the harvest, and considerable money presents on the occasion of a birth or a death in the family. He is very assiduous in his attentions; and Mr. Pyare Lal Misra, B. A., a clerk in my office, to whom I am indebted for most of my information about the personal servants, gives an instance of this from his own family. They were going to celebrate a marriage at Goona, over a hundred miles from their native place, and under these circumstances thought it better to engage a local barber instead of sending for their hereditary servant from so great a distance. But their own barber heard about the marriage, and just before the ceremony he arrived, having come at his own expense, and reproached them for not having informed him.

287. Cooks number 4,286 actual workers; 2,610 of these being men, and 1,676 women. Many cooks are no doubt included

Other servants. among in-door servants. A Hindu can either employ one of his own caste as a cook or a Brahman. It is said, however, that the tendency is now to employ Brahmans, because their services can be utilised in the four-fold capacity of cook, priest, water-carrier and coolie, and a considerable economy is thus effected. Not many Brahmans will consent to do coolie's work, but Mr. Hira Lal tells me that on one occasion a Brahman offered to accompany him on tour and be his cook, water-carrier and also to look after his pony for Rs. 5 a month. Women cooks are not infrequently employed. A cook gets from Rs. 2 to Rs. 8 with his food, or from Rs. 4 to Rs. 10 without it. In ruling families the cook used to be a very important personage, often possessing great influence over his master, and received high pay, as he was responsible for seeing that no attempts were made to tamper with the food. And this is expressed in the proverb, 'With these five you must never quarrel; your guru, your wife, your *chaukidar*, your doctor, and your cook.'

Door-keepers number 1,868 actual workers. There is a considerable decline under this occupation since last census, and it is one which is fast disappearing with the improved efficiency in the protection of property by the police. The door-keeper was formerly a very important person and had always to be propitiated by a tip before access was allowed to his master. The resentment felt at his rapacity is exemplified in the proverb, 'The *datal*, the octroi, *mohurrir*, the door-keeper, and the *bhat*; these four will surely go to hell.' The inclusion

of the bhat or bard is due to the fear excited by his habit of composing satirical songs and stories about persons whose generosity has not equalled his expectations. In-door servants number 21,465 actual workers, males and females being in about equal numbers. Including persons classed as miscellaneous servants, the group shows an increase of 3,379 persons, or 9 per cent. since last census. Different kinds of service included in this group, are those of the ordinary in-door servant or *khidmatgar*, who sweeps the house, lights the lamps, lays out the bedding, cleans the cook-room and cooking vessels, fills his master's huqqa, and brings provisions from the bazar; other special kinds of service mentioned are plastering the floor of the house with cow-dung, beating the cloths after washing, preparing betel-leaf, dressing the hair of women, and rubbing lac-dye on their feet when they go out to pay visits.

288. This sub-order includes the occupations of butchers or slaughterers
 Purveyors of animal food. (4,726), cow and buffalo keepers and milk and butter sellers
 and ghee sellers (24,793), fishermen and fish-curers and fish
 dealers (61,220), and fowl and egg dealers (411). Persons who sell sheep and
 goats are called 'khatik,' while those who sell cow's flesh are called 'kassab.'
 The latter are, of course, always Mahomedans. Another division of this trade is
 that of the persons who go round the village markets buying sheep and goats,
 take them to the towns, and sell them to the butchers. There are also the
 sellers of 'kababs' in large towns. These purchase boneless beef, mince it
 very small, and then mix it with spices, salt, sour milk and gram-flour, and make
 little balls which they roast on spits, and sell ready cooked in the bazar.
 The selling of milk, butter, ghee, curds and whey, and 'khowa,' or milk
 solidified by boiling, are occupations which are pursued more or less indiscrimi-
 nately. Before he sells his milk the Gaoli skims it and makes ghee of the cream.
 The churning of butter for ghee is an occupation pursued almost exclusively by
 women. The retail trade in ghee is carried on by banias, who make advances to
 the milkmen, on condition that the ghee collected during the rains shall be sold
 to them at a specially cheap rate in November. Before sale the ghee is adultera-
 ted by various processes, such as mixing tili oil, or that obtained from the seed
 of mahua flowers, or with potatoes. The proportion is said to be seven seers of
 oil to a maund of ghee. When potatoes are used they are pounded up, and
 boiled and then mixed with it. But ghee adulterated with potatoes will not keep
 for any length of time. The milk which the Gaoli has left after supplying his
 customers is sold to the Halwais or confectioners. Persons engaged in the
 occupation of catching and selling fish number 95,007, being a decrease of 17 per
 cent. on last census. With this occupation is combined that of the cultivation of
 the 'singhara' or water-nut. It is sown in tanks, and when gathered, the core
 is taken out, and is often dried, and kept to be eaten with milk on fast days, as it
 does not break the fast. Fowl and egg dealers number 872 as against 1,062 in
 1891. The occupations of selling ducks and pigeons have also been returned
 and included in this group.

289. Persons engaged in the provision and supply of vegetable food number
 Vegetable food. 238,198, being a decrease of 8,560 persons, or of 3.5 per
 cent. since last census. Bakers (837) are only found in
 fairly large towns, and usually supply bread to Europeans and Eurasians, and
 sometimes to Mahomedans. But the latter only buy it as a luxury. For yeast
 they use curds, or the juice of the *nim* or tamarind tree. Flour-grinding

(14,362) is an occupation almost solely pursued by poor women, of whom 9,829 are shown as working at it as against 736 men. The 'pisanhari,' as she is called, usually grinds 15 seers of grain a day, and is paid at the rate of 1 anna for five seers. In a few places there are flour-mills, but mill-ground flour is less popular, as it is considered not to have so much taste. Rice-pounding and husking is another occupation carried on almost solely by women. They are given one khandi of *dhan* and return 8 kuros of cleaned rice, keeping two kuros as their wages, and also the husks. Rice is pounded in a stone mortar buried in the ground, with a wooden pestle clamped with iron at the head. In the Maratha districts the mortar is made of wood and the woman stands while she pounds it.

290. Grain-parching is another woman's industry, only 22 per cent. of those shown as working at it being men. This is the occupation of the caste of Bharbhunjas (*Bhar* an oven, and *bhunjana* to bake) and of the Dhuris in Chhattisgarh. There are two classes, those who simply keep ovens and parch grain which is brought to them, and those who keep the grain and sell it ready parched. The rates for parching are a pice a seer, or an eighth part of the grain. Gram and rice, husked or unhusked, are the grains usually parched. When parched, gram is called *phutana* and rice *lahi*. The lower half of an earthen pot is suspended over an underground stove and when it is red hot some sand is put in it and the grain placed on the top of this and turned with an iron ladle. After parching, it is sifted to separate it from the sand. *Sattu* is prepared by grinding parched gram or wheat, and is a favourite food for a light morning meal or for travellers. It is simply mixed with water, and some sugar or salt is added. The story is that there were two travellers; one had *sattu* and the other *dhan*. The one with the *dhan* knew that it would take him a long time to pound, and then cook and eat it, so he said to the other, 'My poor friend, you have only got *sattu* which will delay you because you must first find water and then mix it, and then find salt, and put it in before your *sattu* can be ready, while rice—pound, eat and go. But if you like, my dear friend, as you are in a greater hurry than I am, I will change my rice for your *sattu*.' The other traveller unsuspectingly consented, thinking he was getting the best of the bargain, and while he was still looking about for a mortar to pound his rice, the first traveller had mixed and eaten the *sattu* and proceeded on his journey.

291. Among grain and pulse dealers (63,813) are included all classes of merchants engaged in this trade, from the bania who keeps the village shop to Messrs. Ralli Brothers' agents. The selling of salt, tobacco and cloth is often combined with grain dealing. Pulse or dal is the broken grain of *urad*, gram, *tur*, mung, peas and lentils. The making of *arhar* dal is a speciality of Burhanpur, where two or three days are employed in the preparation of the grain, and a sub-caste of Kunbis has been formed who follow this profession and are called Dalias. The preparation of 'gur' or cane sugar is a well-known industry of Betul, though very few persons have returned it from there as their special occupation. After the juice is pressed from the cane it is made into large cakes weighing from 20 to 60 seers each and buried in the ground to protect it from wasps, and from injury by the heat. The trade is a profitable one but risky. Gur is also largely imported from the North-West Provinces. Oil pressing and selling (86,158) is the business solely of Telis, of whom, however, only 10 per cent. are at present engaged in it. Oil is used both for food and lighting, and

the two occupations cannot be distinguished. Tili, linseed, and mustard oil are generally used for food, and castor, mahua, and cocoanut oil for lighting; castor oil is also used for medicinal purposes. Vegetable and fruit sellers number 41,057, the proportion of women to men who actually work at the occupation being 5 to 4. The vegetables and fruits shown as sold are *bhaji*, egg-plant, potatoes, onions, garlic, forest roots, chillies, sugarcane, mangoes, guavas, oranges, earth-nut, ginger, wild plums, plantains, *singhara*, water-melons, carrots, cocoanuts, dates, tomatoes, cucumbers, pumpkins, snake-gourd, and bottle-gourd. Grapes and pomegranates are said to be grown in Nimar.

292. This sub-order numbers 105,003 persons as against 115,991 in 1891, or a decrease of 9 per cent. The most important group is that of salt sellers, who number 34,955. Women and men are about equally employed in this occupation. It is not a distinctive one however, but is combined with the sale of mineral oil and tobacco, and frequently with ordinary grain dealing. The wholesale trade in salt is in the hands of Cutchis, who import it from Bombay and distribute it to the retail dealers. Grocers and general condiment dealers number 30,915, the proportion of women working at the occupation being about half that of men. The trade of the grocer in India is of a different nature to that of England, and corresponds perhaps rather to the druggist. He sells 'kirana,' and under this term are included all sorts of spices, curries, turmeric, asafoetida, mustard, coriander and pickles, and many wild flowers and roots which are used for medicinal purposes. Besides having a shop in the place where he resides, he attends the weekly village markets. Selling tea was one of the occupations returned in this group. The number of persons engaged in the tobacco trade is 10,692, being nearly the same as in 1891. The wholesale dealers import it from Darbhanga or Surat. Before selling it the retail vendors mix with the tobacco an equal quantity of gur and sajji, or impure carbonate of soda, in the proportion of one to twenty-four. The resulting mixture is called 'gurakhu' and is sold at 3 annas a seer. Specially sweet-scented tobacco is prepared at Burhanpur, and is said to cost up to Rs. 12 a seer. Tobacco is also prepared for chewing with betel leaves, being first broken up and sifted to free it from dust, and then steamed and dried. 'Biris' or cigarettes are made with a little tobacco rolled in a leaf of the *tendu* tree and sell at the rate of from fifty to a hundred for an anna, which is about three times their cost price. Snuff is both imported from Poona and to a certain extent manufactured locally, by pounding the dried tobacco leaves into dust and adding a little wet lime and ghee. The trade in opium, bhang, ganja, and country liquor is a Government monopoly. The right to sell 'tari' is auctioned in a few districts either separately or with the liquor licenses. Tari is drawn from date palms; the trade goes on for eight months from November to May, and in Sambalpur it is said that one tree yields 240 bottles of tari during this period, the retail price being one anna a bottle.

293. Petroleum dealers number 1,380 as against 449 in 1891. The trade is no doubt increasing, but as the sale of oil is frequently combined with other articles not much reliance can be placed on the figures. Hay, grass, and fodder sellers, and firewood, charcoal and cow-dung sellers combined number 107,706 persons, being a decrease of 1.5 per cent. on last census. The separate figures for these occupations are probably

Drinks, condiments and stimulants.

Lighting, fuel and forage.

valueless, because they are frequently pursued in conjunction. Of the workers women outnumber men in the proportion of about three to two. Women of the labouring classes bring head-loads of grass to the towns and sell them there. In the rains the grass can be cut anywhere, but at other seasons they have to go to the jungles to get it. In the hot weather they cut the short grass out of the ground with a hoe, and then clean it from roots and dirt before taking it to the bazar. Grass is also brought in by cart-loads, and there are dealers in towns who store it for sale in the summer. Other articles used for fodder are the stalks of *juari* which are also sold in bundles, the straw of *kodo* and *dhan*, and the chaff of wheat, gram and other grains, the refuse of *tilli* and linseed after the oil has been pressed out, called 'khari' or oil-cake, and 'binola' or cotton seeds. This last is considered to be the best food for milch cows and buffaloes. Firewood is also brought in head-loads and carts; the former usually sell for $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas, of which 2 pice go in octroi and forest duty. In towns where there are mills firewood fetches a good price, from Rs. 2-12-0 to Rs. 4 a cart-load. In order to save octroi duty the cartmen sometimes bring in one cart overloaded, and then distribute it into two when they get inside the town. Charcoal is seldom used except by iron, copper and gold smiths, to whom it is essential. It is brought in large baskets or bags from the jungle, and sold by weight, a price quoted being 5 seers to the rupee. Cow-dung cakes are also made for fuel usually by Ghosi, Ahir, and Gaoli women. They are of two sorts, thin and thick. The latter are brought by the dealers at 3,000 for a rupee and the former at 6,000 to 10,000. They are sold retail at one to four annas a hundred.

294. 2,613 persons are engaged in the lime industry, but this may not include coolies who are simply employed at the furnaces.

Buildings.

The only regular lime-quarries which are worked by capitalists are at Katni-Murwara, where there are a large number of kilns, and the lime is exported to other Provinces. Elsewhere lime-pebbles are collected by the lower castes and tribes, the cost of collection in this way being said to be double that of quarrying. The Sambalpur report says that the burning is done by laying alternate layers of stone and fuel in a large furnace. It takes about two days, 6 cart-loads of wood being required for burning 300 cubic feet of stone, from which about 250 maunds of lime are obtained. This sells at Rs. 14 per 100 maunds, and the profit on one burning is Rs. 13. In Jubbulpore 948 persons are shown as actually working at the industry and a few in other districts and in Sonpur and Kawardha States. Stone and marble workers, with whom may be included grindstone and millstone makers and sellers, number altogether 7,330 persons, being a decrease of 27 per cent. on last census. Marble is only found at Bheraghat in Jubbulpore and is worked in the town. Elsewhere grindstones, mortars and stone plates and cups are made. These last are used for preserving curries and other acids, which would be spoilt if kept in brass vessels. Most of the persons in this group are, however, employed in quarrying stones for building purposes. Painters, plumbers and glaziers number 163. In this group is included the occupation of the *Ainasaz*, who makes mirrors by covering glass with quicksilver and tinfoil. The painters are principally those who paint idols and the patterns with which the walls of native houses are adorned. During the Mohurram they make a profit by painting the stripes on men who are disguised as tigers. Paper masks to resemble bears and monkeys are also painted for the 'Ramilila' or play of the Ramayana, which is very popular. Painting iron is also shown as an occupation.

295. 77 persons are shown as engaged in paper-making. This is carried on at Panchamnagar in the Damoh District. The Deputy Commissioner reports that the industry has greatly declined and only two families are now engaged in it. It is stated that 160 gaddies or 80 reams are produced per month. A small quantity of paper is also produced at Zainabad in the Nimar District, and is used by bankers for their account books. 118 persons are shown as watch and clock makers and sellers. They are probably all simply watch-menders, as no watch-makers are known of. The general practice is to buy old broken watches and use their parts for the repair of others. Springs and glasses are procured from Bombay and Calcutta. Most of them are believed to do a fairly good trade.

296. 778 persons are shown as toy, kite and cage makers and sellers. The game of 'patang larana,' which consists in trying to cut the strings of each other's kites, is a popular one with boys. When the string of a kite is cut, and it falls to the ground, it becomes the property of the first person who can pick it up. Formerly the weavers used to prepare a special cord for kite-flying, but English thread is now generally used. Before flying the kite the thread is rubbed with paste mixed with glass dust to make it hard and sharp. The price of kites varies from eight for a pice to half an anna each. When kite-flying is not in season those who work at this industry prepare paper flowers, trees and toys. Huqqa stems are generally made of a reed called Narkul, which is imported from Upper India and sold at the rate of Rs. 14 per one thousand stalks in Jubbulpore. The reed is covered with cotton, over which old or new cloth is wrapped and tied with silk thread, or sometimes with lace and tinfoil. Huqqa stems are called *naichas* and fetch from two to ten annas each according to the amount of ornament. Metal joints are fixed to the more costly ones. They are also made of mango or shisham wood and covered with lac. Huqqa bowls are made of 'dumb coconuts' or those with no kernel, which are imported from Calcutta or Bombay.

Another occupation returned in this group is the selling of 'rangoli' or white powder made of soft stone. It is used for making patterns of squares, oblongs, and other figures on the ground on the occasion of a feast. Other occupations shown in this group are the making of clay dolls and images of Ganpati or Ganesha, the god with the head of an elephant and the body of a man, wooden images of bullocks, tops, marriage crowns of paper or tinsel, and playing cards. The Hindu playing-cards are round; there are ten suits, one for each incarnation of Vishnu, the boar, the tortoise, Rama, Krishna, and so on. In each suit there are twelve cards, the ace to the ten and two court cards—the wazir and the king. In the month of Baisakh on Akri day, girls take out two clay images representing a man and a woman and worship them in the jungle. At this time also the boys beat the girls and make them say the name of their husbands, which they are forbidden to do.

297. Musical instrument makers and sellers number 1,426 as against 1,610 at last census. Of the musical instruments made in the Central Provinces, the 'tabla' or drum consists of two half bowls; one is of brass or clay for the bass, and the other of wood for the treble. They are covered with goat skin and played together. The 'dholki' is a round wooden drum. The 'sitar' or guitar is made with half a hollow gourd

on which a piece of wood is fixed as a sounding board, and dovetailed in. There are two bridges of ivory or bone—one on the sounding board, and the other near the pegs in the handle. The strings run through the latter and are secured to the pegs. There are three to seven strings; in the latter case two are made of brass and the rest of steel.¹ The 'sitar' costs from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5. The 'sarangi' or fiddle is made of two pieces of hollow wood, the handle being nearly as broad as the body. It is covered with goat skin, or, when expensive ones are used, with the skin of the large lizard. The price is four or five rupees. The sounds made by the tabla or drum and the sarangi are supposed to be exemplified by the following:—

Dhik! dhik! Kinko? kinko?

Inko, inko, inko, inko.

Which means the drum growls 'Dhik! dhik!' (fie on you, fie on you); the sarangi squeaks 'Kinko? kinko?' (on whom? on whom?). The dancing girl waves her hand as she dances, pointing to all the company, and thus answers 'Inko, inko, inko, inko' (on these, on these, on these, on these).

298. Makers and sellers of glass bangles number 10,435 and other dealers in glass and china ware 201. Women and men are about equally engaged in this occupation, but men are always employed in making them, and women in selling them. To make the bangles a slab of glass is pounded up, and a small quantity placed in a furnace. When it is heated to a liquid mass, it is taken out with an iron bar, and placed over an earthen cone to make a ring. It is then replaced in the furnace, taken out again and pressed further down on the cone, and this process is repeated till the ring is of the proper size. One seer of glass yields 200 churis, and a workman can turn out about 500 in a day. They are sold at 8 to 12 for a pice, but numbers are broken, and the seller has to bear the loss of all those broken while the purchaser is putting them on, and which often amounts to 30 per cent. The incessant bending over the furnace makes the Kachera go blind, and hence the proverb, 'When the kachera has a son, the rejoicings are held in the Kundera's (turner's) house.' For he will go blind and then he will find nothing else to do but turn the Kundera's lathe.² In Burhanpur large glass globes are made, which are silvered inside with lead, and used as decorations. In Rehli there is a maker of glass images of Mahadeo. Another occupation returned in this group is that of buying and selling empty bottles. Rude glass vessels shaped like the bottles in which Italian wine is sold are also made for the purpose of bringing back water from the Ganges. These vessels were used before bottles were known, and the custom is still kept up.

299. Makers and sellers of bangles other than glass number 3,466 persons. These are usually made of lac, the lac being mixed with earth in the proportion of two to four to one, and painted various colours. Glass bangles are also sometimes covered with lac. A set of 14 churis is sold for 6 annas. Widows wear brass bangles and Marwaris have them made of bone, but these last are believed to be imported. Rosary, bead, and necklace makers and sellers number 9,487 persons as

¹ Hoey's Monograph on the Trades of Lucknow, page 152.

² The description of making glass bangles is taken from the Central Provinces Monograph on Pottery and Glassware by Mr. Jowers.

against 11,091 in 1891. The principal occupations included in this group are those of the Patwa, the worker in silk braid and thread. He purchases silk and colours it himself. Kalabatu is lace made by winding very fine gold or silver wire round the thread, either imitation or real wire being used. The Patwa prepares silk strings for *pyjamas* and coats, armlets and other articles. The silk threads called 'rakhis' are much used on Rakshabandhan, when the Brahmans go round in the morning tying them on to everybody's wrists. The 'rakhi' is made of pieces of raw silk fibre twisted together, with a knot at one end and a loop at the other. It goes round the wrist and the knot is passed through the loop. The Brahmans will tie the 'rakhi' round the wrist of a man of any caste on Rakshabandhan day, and for doing so they are given a pice or two. Sisters also tie it round their brothers' wrists and are given a present. Other articles made by the Patwa are the 'phundri' for tying women's hair, either of silk or cotton, the 'jan-jira' or the thread which every man wears round his neck, if he cannot afford anything else, and the 'ganda' or wizard's thread which is tied round the arm to exorcise an evil spirit after incantations have been said over it. Sacred threads are usually made by Brahmans; the knots in them vary in kind and number according as the thread is for a Brahman, a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya.

300. In this group is also included the manihar or pedlar. He sells needles, thread and other small articles, and beads of various sorts, and the spangles of glass or gold which women place on their foreheads. The 'gursoli' is a necklace of small glass beads which the bridegroom ties round the bride's neck at a widow-marriage. Other kinds of beads are those of wood or coral commonly worn on necklaces by the Hindus, glass beads worn by Mahomedan Fakirs, and the 'tulsi' or 'rudraksha' beads of Vaishnavite and Shivite devotees. Imitation and pewter jewellery makers and sellers number 1,940. Among these is included the Naginasaz, who makes buttons, beads, small boxes, paper weights, and other articles from the stones which are found in the bed of the Nerbudda river. There are several kinds of stones; the commonest one is of a bluish colour with dark lines, and takes a polish easily. Other stones are surmai or agate, of a brown colour, ghonga a shell stone, jasper, and the water stone, which is very transparent and has water inside. The stones are picked up in the bed of the river, no charge being made, and are cut into the shape required with a steel wire fixed to a bow. The stone is turned on a wheel. A pair of plates or a dozen buttons cost about two rupees. The other occupation included in this group is that of making the pewter rings, anklets and bracelets which are worn by the lower classes who cannot afford silver. Flower-garland makers and sellers number 1,380 persons as against 1,621 at last census. Malis are engaged in this occupation. They make the garlands which are used for presentation at entertainments, and they also supply the daily bunches of flowers which are required as offerings for Mahadeo. The Malis also frequently keep garlands in the bazar, and when they see a well-to-do person they go up and put a garland round his neck, and expect a present of a pice or two. Women and men are about equally employed in this occupation.

301. Harness and saddle-cloth makers and embroiderers number 651 persons. Women are employed in embroidering saddles. The trade in saddles is decaying as imported ones are commonly used. The best saddle-cloth is prepared in the Narsinghpur District.

Pedlars and imitation jewellery and flower-garland makers and sellers.

Saddlery and loom combs.

613 persons are returned as loom and loom-comb makers and sellers. This is not a distinct industry. The wooden frames are made by carpenters either to order or at their own expense. The kanghi or wooden comb is made by Momins or other Mahomedans, and sometimes by the weavers themselves.

302. Ammunition, gunpowder, and fireworks makers and sellers number 936 persons. This occupation is combined with that of mending and selling guns, under which no persons are separately returned in the Central Provinces. It is carried on under license, and the shops are regularly inspected. The usual stock consists of powder, caps, shot, and sometimes cartridges and guns. With this business the making and selling of fireworks is combined. The principal fireworks made in the Central Provinces are *anars*, *phatakas*, and *mehtabs*. The *Atashbaz*, makes his own gunpowder with charcoal, sulphur, and saltpetre in the proportion of 10, 4, and 2 chhittaks for one seer of gunpowder. He adds to this some more sulphur, charcoal, and iron filings, and fills the hole in the shell with the mixture. Twenty-five *anars* are made from one seer of gunpowder and sell for two pice each, being about double the cost of manufacture.¹ When the *anar* is set fire to, the flame shoots up to a considerable height. The *mehtab* is placed on the end of a stick, and gives a very bright glare. It is made of eight parts nitre, two parts sulphur, one and a half parts lime, and a half part tilli oil to prevent smoke. The *phatakas* or crackers are made with potash and other ingredients in the form of a ball, and when thrown down on the ground go off with a report. These are commonly used to celebrate the Diwali, and add a pleasant excitement to driving through the bazar at that time. Other fireworks are the *mehtabi* or rocket, and the *chakri* or wheel.

303. The total number of workers in wool comes to 14,736 as against 20,432 at last census. The decrease is thus nearly 28 per cent. It is common to all districts except Nagpur, where the numbers have increased from 1,617 to 1,828. It seems clear therefore that the industry is either declining, or that a number of persons have temporarily abandoned it owing to the decreased demand during the years of famine. The only article manufactured in the Central Provinces is the ordinary woollen blanket, but shawls and comforters are also imported and sold. Numdahs are prepared of unspun wool by Pinjaras. They are used for bedding and rugs, but most commonly for horse saddles.² The occupation of preparing and weaving wool is in the Central Provinces combined with that of tending goats and sheep.

304. The total number of workers in silk is 23,034. In this industry there has been a large increase since last census. The districts in which it is principally practised are Nimar, Nagpur, Bhandara, and Chanda. Out of the whole number of persons returned 12,636 are from Nagpur. Chanda (1,371), Raipur (111), Bilaspur (114) and Sambalpur (1,109) are the principal tasar silk districts, and in these the return of silk workers is small. But it is not probable that the census return of persons engaged in the working of tasar silk is accurate, as it is a subsidiary industry and is combined with weaving cotton or with agriculture. In Mr. Dewar's monograph, which contains exhaustive information on the subject, it is stated that tasar-weaving does

¹ Hoey's Monograph on the Trades of Lucknow. The process is the same in the Central Provinces.

² Central Provinces Monograph on the Woollen Industries.

not flourish in the Central Provinces, because the weavers are unable to get cocoons, sericulture not being encouraged in Government forests. The cocoons are usually obtained from the forests of Zamindaris or Feudatory States. It is noticeable that 486 workers in silk are returned from Sonpur. The tasar-workers have now to keep some of the cocoons during the cold weather to breed from, and during the famine these were sold off at a loss.¹ The price of the plain cloth is from 12 annas to Re. 1-8-0 per yard. The imported silk weaving industry seems on the other hand to be prospering. In Nagpur only borders of silk are woven on cotton cloths. The colour is nearly always red. In Bhandara handkerchiefs of pure silk are made with a yellow border.¹ In Nimar *pagris* of pure silk are made besides borders, and silk thread is twisted by hand with fine silver wire and then woven either with silk or cotton, as a border to different kinds of cloths.

395. The cotton industry has undergone a very large decline since last census, the numbers returned having fallen from 617,168 to 390,608 or by 37 per cent. It is well known that the cotton hand-weaving industry is rapidly declining under the adverse competition of the mills, and it may reasonably be assumed also that the successive failures of crops have at least temporarily produced a further decline by reducing the demand. But even so the decrease can hardly be so great as is indicated by the census figures. The explanations must, I think, lie in the fact that numbers of weavers have temporarily abandoned their occupation during the famine and had not resumed it when the census was taken, and they were, therefore, recorded as labourers. It is noticeable that all the village industries have declined proportionately to a much larger extent than the general population, but this is not the case with those carried on in towns. And the above explanation may, I think, be taken to account for a part of the decrease in all cases. It is of course certain that these trades must to a very large extent have fallen into abeyance during the famine, owing to the absence of a demand for their products; and this has to a certain extent been reflected in the census statistics. The total number of persons shown under cotton pressing and weaving mills is 18,370 as against 2,438 at last census: 11,146 of those are workers and the rest dependents. The number of mills in the Provinces is now fifty-one as against fourteen in 1891. Cotton-spinners have decreased by 56 per cent. and cotton-weavers by 32 per cent. The enormous decrease among cotton-spinners bears out the opinion expressed in the Monograph on the Cotton Industries: 'Machine-made yarn has entirely driven out the hand-spun article; its superior fineness, greater evenness and cheaper price commend it to the weaver, though in point of strength and durability the hand-spun thread is often better. Spinning may be practised still as a pastime among the well-to-do, or as a household duty in a weaver's family in the remote villages of the mofassil, where the wife spins the yarn required by the husband; but as an industry it is now quite insignificant.'² In view of the importance of the decrease in the number of hand-weavers, the figures of one or two districts, where the difference was largest, were taken out over again; but no alteration in the results was obtained, and it seems, therefore, necessary to conclude that the decrease is correct, though some part of it may be only temporary.

¹ The above information is taken from the Central Provinces Monograph on Silk Industries.

² Central Provinces Monograph on Cotton Fabrics, page 2.

306. The articles manufactured of cotton are of course the ordinary wearing apparel of the people—for men the dhoti and short coat, and for women the sari. Shirts and dupattas or shoulder-cloths, and caps are usually of English cloth, this being preferred because it is thinner and cheaper, and are sold ready made by the piece-goods dealers. The great difference in the dress of the women in the north and south used to be that the former wore *lahangas* and the latter *saris*. The sari is twisted round the hips, and then folded under them and secured at the back, while one end hangs loose and is brought over the shoulder, while the lahanga is simply a skirt hanging down nearly to the ankles and drawn in by a cord at the waist. But the wearing of lahangas has now to a great extent gone out of fashion, and the women of the northern districts have also taken to saris, which are much less graceful.

307. The total number of persons engaged in cotton and miscellaneous dyeing is 12,337. The indigenous dyeing industry is on the decline. The three main branches of the profession in the Central Provinces are those of the Chhipa and Rangari, who dyes cloths in red, with ornamental patterns picked out in black and white; the Mahomedan Rangrez, who produces various colours chiefly by using the dye of the kusum or safflower tree; and the Nilgar, who dyes with indigo. Of these last there are only a few. The Chhipas formerly used the red dye obtained from the roots of the al plant or Indian mulberry, and this was cultivated as a crop. But it has been almost entirely supplanted by an imported chemical substance obtained from coal tar and manufactured in Baden, which is about 30 per cent. cheaper than the native dye. The ground of the cloth is usually red with patterns in black and white. The Chhipa prepares *saris* and also floor-cloths, bed-cloths, and mantles. In the case of indigo, the yarn or thread is generally dyed before being woven, with the exception of the cloths dyed for Government Police. Khandwa and Burhanpur are the chief centres of the indigo-dyeing industry, these being the only places where masonry vats are to be found. A constable's tunic costs two annas to dye, and his whole outfit seven annas. The Rangrez dyes with safflower, turmeric and myrobolans. Red shades are obtained from safflower, yellow from haldi or turmeric, green from a mixture of indigo and turmeric, purple from indigo and safflower, khaki from myrobolans and iron-filings, orange from turmeric and safflower, and badami from turmeric, and two wild plants, kachora and nagarmoti, the latter of which gives a scent. Cloths dyed badami are affected, when they can afford it, by Gosains and other devotees, who thus dwell literally in the odour of sanctity. Numerous shades of all these colours are produced by varying the proportions of the dyeing agents. A Rangrez dyed small pieces of cloth before me in about twenty colours during the course of two or three hours. Several of the dyes are, however, fugitive and will not stand washing.

308. The trade of the Rangrez is rapidly being destroyed by the competition of cheap chemical dyes imported from Germany and sold in tins in the form of powder. The process of dyeing with these is absolutely simple and can be done by the people themselves. Their cost is only one-third to one-half of that of safflower dye, and though they are fugitive, this cheapness more than compensates for it in the estimation of the people, as the same cloth can be dyed two or three times over and a pleasing variety is thus obtained. The second part of the following statement will no

longer hold good: 'In dress and appearance, the contrast between the two races 'is striking; and on a gala day, when a southern crowd presents a mass of white 'clothing and enormous red turbans, the more northern people may be known by 'their costumes of mahua green, and their jaunty compactly twisted head-dress of 'white cloth.'¹ The wearing of the green has gone out with the decay in the industry of the Rangrez.

309. Occupations returned under the group of miscellaneous drugs and dyes are the selling of vermillion, which is put on the parting of the hair; kunku, a red powder used for making marks on the forehead; missi, a black powder which is rubbed on the teeth, and geru or red ochre with which religious mendicants dye their clothes, and which is also rubbed on to oxen and other animals on the Diwali day.

310. Gold and silver wire-drawers and braid-makers number 1,968 persons. These are nearly all returned from Burhanpur, which is the seat of the well-known gold and silver lace industry. Women are also shown as working at this occupation, but they are not engaged in the wire-drawing, so they are probably employed in twisting the silk thread over the wire and sewing embroidery. Three parts of copper are mixed with 59 parts of pure silver, and the metal is made into a round ingot which is then covered with gold leaf. The amount of gold used is only one half to six per cent. on the weight of the silver, and yet from this, gold wire as thin as a man's hair is produced by forcing the silver bar through 80 holes of diminishing size in a steel plate, and the gold covering of the wire lasts as long as the cloth on which it is embroidered. Workers and dealers in gold, silver and precious stones number 55,395 as against 55,734 at last census, being a decrease of 0.6 per cent. The goldsmith's remuneration is paid at so much per tola on the weight of the article made. For plain work in silver, as ordinary bracelets or necklets, he only gets one pice per tola and in gold one anna. For ordinary decorative work in the same ornaments double these rates are given, and for delicate ornaments, as bracelets, ear-rings, and hair-pins, he receives a rupee per tola for gold, and four annas for silver. But the Sonar usually supplements his earnings by mixing an alloy with the silver and gold which he uses for joining or mending purposes. Copper is mixed with gold and zinc with silver in the proportion of one-twelfth to one-eighth, and he charges for the full weight of the metal. The Sonars in Saugor and Burhanpur set precious stones. Ornamental work is done either by moulding or hammering. For moulding a basis of clay is first made and over this wax is laid in the shape of the ornament required. A second coating of clay is then placed over the top of the wax, and this is put in the fire so that the wax melts, leaving a cavity of the shape of the ornament. The melted metal is then poured into this and takes the shape of the cavity. The only occupations returned

¹ Central Provinces Gazetteer, Introduction, page xv.

under jewellery were selling pearls and coral. 412 persons were shown as washing for gold in earth or sand, men and women being in about equal numbers as actual workers. The districts from which most were returned are Jubbulpore 68, Balaghat 63, Bilaspur 104, Sambalpur 108, Sakti 73, and Bamra 92. Gold is found to a small extent in the Wainganga, Mahanadi, Ib and Jonk rivers. Gold is sacred among the Hindus, and gold ornaments are not worn below the waist. When a man is at the point of death a little gold, Ganges water, and a leaf of the Tuŕi or basil plant are placed in his mouth, so that these sacred articles may accompany him to the other world. Gold dust and water is sometimes administered by native doctors in the last resort as a recuperative medicine.

311. Workers and dealers in brass, copper and bell-metal number 16,367 as

Brass, copper, and bell-metal.

against 17,961 at last census, or a decrease of 8·9 per cent. 'There are two methods of manufacturing brass-

ware; by hammering and casting. In the former process the sheet is first beaten and flattened with wooden mallets. Disks and rings are marked out on it with compasses according to the size and dimensions of the article to be made, most articles being made in sections. The pieces so marked out are cut and separated from the sheet with a pair of scissors or a chisel, and are then hammered with a wooden mallet on a stone anvil until each piece assumes the required shape, when the hammer is used to make the sections exactly fit, after they have been heated and joined with solder. When cool a file is used to polish the joints.¹ The process of casting or moulding is of the same nature as in the case of gold. Brass is imported in sheets from Bombay. Copper utensils are not generally used in these Provinces, as the Hindus do not like cooking in vessels coated with tin, which is considered a Mahomedan custom. They are employed for storing water. Copper vessels are frequently imported from Poona and Cawnpore, but they are manufactured at Neri in the Chanda District. Pots made of brass with a copper rim are called 'Ganga Jumna' after the confluence of the dark water of the Jumna with the muddy stream of the Ganges, whose union they are supposed to symbolise. Bell-metal is an alloy made in Chanda of four parts copper to one part tin or tinfoil, and in Jubbulpore of one part of pewter to four of copper. Articles manufactured of brass are all sorts of eating and drinking vessels, water-pots, grain measures, bells, female ornaments, images of Hanuman, Ram, and Krishna, cones for the horns of bullocks, necklaces for them, and 'ghungrus' or hollow globes of bell metal with stones inside, which tinkle as they move. The brass-working industry is stated in the monograph to be declining under the competition of factory-made goods from Poona, but the decrease in numbers is not greater proportionately than that of the general population. The monograph gives the Saugor and Chanda Districts as the principal centres of the industry, but the work of the Audhia Sonars of

¹ Central Provinces Monograph, on Brass and Copper Industries.

Mandla is perhaps the best known; there is a special method of working by which a peculiar polish is given to the metal, so that at a little distance it has almost the appearance of electro-plate. This is also done at Ratanpur.

312. Workers in tin, zinc, quicksilver and lead number 1,483 persons as against 1,337 at last census or an increase of 11 per cent.
Tin, zinc, quicksilver, and lead.
 In this group is included the ordinary kalaiwala, who puts a tin coating on copper and brass vessels. He also purchases empty kerosine tins and the lining of packing cases, and makes tin lanterns, which he sells at from three to four annas each, either making burners himself or buying imported ones. The kalaiwala or tingar also makes tinfoil. This is done by melting tin and letting it flow out into hollows cut in a stone, about half a yard long, an inch wide, and half an inch deep. Thus long slabs of tin are obtained, and these are beaten out gradually until the requisite degree of thinness is obtained. Tinsel is made in a similar manner from a mixture of 78 tolas of tin and two tolas of copper. This is used for decorating the walls of houses and the tazias and other ornamental cars. Another occupation returned in this group is that of making leaden bullets. This is sometimes done locally, but imported bullets are generally used. Marbles made of pewter and lead were formerly manufactured, but these have been supplanted by the imported glass ones.

313. Workers and dealers in iron and hardware number 80,107 persons as against 89,271 at last census, being a decrease of 10 per cent.
Iron and hardware.
 There are two quite distinct branches of this occupation; the Agaria, who makes iron ore, and the Lohar, or worker in iron. Iron smelting is carried on in several districts, as Saugor, Jubbulpore, Mandla, Chanda, Raipur and Sambalpur. The return of mineral products shows the outturn of iron ore in 1900 as 2,377 tons, valued at Rs. 5,890. The rates of value returned vary, however, so greatly from district to district that they can hardly be reliable. Mr. Robertson writes as follows about the Sehora industry:—'The wood charcoal employed for smelting the ore is taken under contract from the neighbouring Malguzari and Government forests. There are about fifteen smelting furnaces, the greater part of the outturn of which is consumed in the local manufacture of agricultural implements and domestic utensils, but a small quantity is yearly exported to Benares and Mirzapore. In the last year or two the industry has been placed under the control of the Forest Divisional Officer, and Mr. Hole has devoted considerable attention to it, and written several notes on the subject. But it is a decaying business, as it is impossible to compete with European iron, and there is little hope of the industry reviving.' The Lohars prefer English iron as it is easier to work. The Bohras generally import tin and iron, and in towns the Lohars sometimes work in preparing articles for them. The ordinary articles manufactured by the Lohar are pans, buckets, girdles, cans, chains, hinges and gratings, agricultural implements as hoes and pickaxes, tyres of wheels, and nails. The Lohar buys old iron and

makes nails on his own account, and thus gets larger profit than by working on hire from the Bohras. In villages it is believed that the Lohar receives an annual contribution from the cultivators for executing all such repairs as may be required, but for new articles he is paid in the ordinary manner. Another occupation in this group is that of the Nalband or farrier. His rates for shoeing are eight annas for small ponies, twelve annas or one rupee for tonga ponies, and one and a half or two rupees for the ponies and horses of Europeans. In the last case a quarter sum paid goes to the sais as *hak dalali*. The Nalband usually buys the shoes from the Lohar and pays an anna each. Nails may cost another one or two annas.

314. Potters and pot and pipe-bowl makers and sellers number 51,567 persons, being a decrease of 11·1 per cent. on last census.

Pottery.

The potter is not particular as to the clay he uses, and does not go far afield to search for finer qualities, but digs it from the nearest place in the neighbourhood where he can obtain it free of cost. Clay is spoken of generally as of two kinds—(1) the red, (2) the black or kalimitti. Red clay is obtained near the base of hills, or on highlying land, generally intermixed with sand or moorum. The kalimitti on the other hand is obtained near towns in the beds of tanks, nalas, rivers or streamlets. For red clay the potter has simply to dig one or two feet below the surface, and as his needs extend he draws on the same shallow excavation for more. When the clay is thoroughly kneaded and ready for use, a lump of it is placed on the centre of the wheel. The potter seats himself in front of the wheel, and fixes his stick or "chakrai" into the slanting hole in its upper surface. With this stick the wheel is made to revolve very rapidly, and sufficient impetus is given to it to keep it in motion for several minutes. The potter then lays aside the stick, and with his hands moulds the lump of clay into the shape required, stopping every now and then to give the wheel a fresh spin as it loses its momentum. When satisfied with the shape of his vessel, he separates it from the lump with a piece of string and places it on a bed of ashes to prevent its sticking to the ground. The wheel is either a circular disc cut out of a single piece of stone about a yard in diameter or an ordinary wooden wheel with two spokes forming two diameters at right angles. The rim is then thickened with the addition of a coating of mud strengthened with fibre.¹

The articles made by the potter are ordinary *gharas* used for storing and cooling water, and larger vessels for keeping grain, flour and vegetables, and *surahis* for keeping drinking water. In making these vessels salt and saltpetre are mixed with the clay to make them more porous and so increase their cooling capacity. Earthen eating and drinking vessels are made for the poorer classes, who cannot afford brass ones. Another very useful article usually made is the small saucer

¹Central Provinces Monograph on Pottery and Glassware, page 4.

used for lamps in open-air illuminations. The potter though impure is often addressed as Prajapati, 'the Creator,' in accordance with the well-known analogy:—

' For I remember stopping by the way
' To watch a potter thumping his wet clay,
 ' And with its all obliterated tongue
' It murmured "Gently, brother, gently, pray!"
' And has not such a story from of old
' Down man's successive generations roll'd,
 ' Of such a clod of saturated earth
' Cast by the Maker into human mould?'

315. Carpenters and plough and agricultural implements makers number 50,642, being a decrease of 14 per cent. since 1891.

Carpenters.

Timber and bamboo agents and dealers (3,420), who are included in this sub-order, have increased by 28 per cent., probably on account of the exploitation of Zamindari forests. In large towns there are master carpenters who take contracts and supply furniture for Government and for Europeans and rich native gentlemen; besides these, there is the journeyman carpenter of the town, who works by the day either in the employment of a master carpenter, or on his own account; and lastly there is the village carpenter. A good journeyman carpenter in a town may get 12 annas or Re. 1 a day, but the village carpenter if he comes to the towns for employment will only get 5 or 6 annas. Carpentering is not generally a village industry in the Central Provinces; the largest numbers of workers at this trade are found in the districts where there are large towns, and in rural districts there are only a few hundred. Chhattisgarh is especially deficient in this respect. The ordinary articles made by the carpenter are wooden seats, cots, wheels, boxes, shutters, wooden measures for grain, bowls for religious mendicants, levers for drawing up well water, Persian wheels, ploughs and harrows.

316. Makers and sellers of baskets, fans, mats, screens, brooms, &c., number 65,712 as against 79,283 at last census, being a decrease

Baskets, mats, &c.

of 17 per cent. Women and men are about equally employed in this industry. One of the principal occupations included in this group is the making of matting. Two kinds of matting are made, the first and most expensive being from the outer smooth part of the bamboo, and the second from the inner part. Figures reported from Jubbulpore are as follows:—Twenty-five bamboos cost 12 annas; in several districts the rate is much lower, being 4 to 6 annas. These will supply material for 10 square feet of matting of the first class, together with 175 square feet of the second class. The former sells at Rs. 3 per 100 square feet, and the latter at Re. 1-4-0. The making of the matting is two days' work for two men, and the earnings work out at 7 annas a day. Women and children are usually employed in making

baskets, fans and other articles, such as are required in every native household. The profit on these is much less and comes to about 2 annas a day. Special articles shown as prepared are the *dowri* or basket for cleaning rice,—these are double, an ordinary basket outside and matting inside to prevent the grain escaping, and are used for washing rice in rivers; ordinary baskets of various sizes, chunka being a very small basket, tokni a larger one, and tokna a very large one; jhampi, a round basket with a cover for keeping clothes; supa, a winnowing fan, chalni a bamboo sieve, bilehra a little basket with a top, for keeping or carrying about betel-leaf; tipanna, a round basket in which girls keep their dolls; khunkhuna, a rattle, a little round basket with stones inside; bansuri, a flute made of hollow bamboo, and walking sticks made of bamboo with the handle formed from the curve at the root. Matting is also made from the leaves of the date palm. This is softer than bamboo-matting and can be folded up and is sometimes carried about and used for a bed. Masni, or grass-matting, is also made and sometimes used for bedding. Brooms are also made of date leaves. These are used by every one except sweepers, as no one else will consent to use a bamboo brush in case he might be mistaken for a sweeper. Kuchbandhis are so called because they make brooms for brushing the threads on the warp. In this group are also included the collecting of datons or tooth-sticks, which are simply small branches about the size of a pencil broken off the tree and sold in bundles, and the making of leaf plates. This last occupation is principally followed by women, 3,588 being shown as working at it as against 538 men. These are generally made from the leaves of the *palas* or banyan tree, five or six leaves being used for a plate and joined with little pegs made from the covering of the maize stalk.

317. Collectors and sellers of forest produce number 6,829 persons as against 7,554 at last census, being a decrease of 10 per cent. The principal occupations included in this group are the collection and sale of lac, wax, myrobolans, gum, catechu, mahua seeds, honey, and various fruits and roots. Catechu is eaten with betel-leaf. Mahua seeds are used for making oil. Another article mentioned is birchun, a powder made of dried plums, and eaten with salt and water. The fibre of the palas tree is employed for tying together the beams and poles of houses in villages. Lac is used for colouring toys and bangles and for dyeing purposes. Silk thread is generally dyed with it, and in Mandla white wool is dyed with lac by the blanket makers, who ornament their blankets with a stripe or two of red on the edges. In Raipur the Chamars use it for colouring the fine leather from which the upper parts of shoes are made. It is also largely exported. The following description of the lac insect may be quoted from the Dictionary of Economic Products:—'Lac is the resinous incrustation formed on the bark of the twigs through the action of the lac insect. When the larvæ or grubs of the *coccus lacca* escape from their eggs, they crawl about in search of fresh sappy twigs. When satisfied they become fixed and form a sort of cocoon by excreting a resinous

'substance. For about two and a half months the insects remain in their cocoons in the lethargic state, but structural changes have been accomplished by which they have reached the mature or imago condition. The male escapes from its cocoon by backing out at the central opening. The female has also become mature, but since it is destined to remain in its present position, it renews activity and commences to throw up around itself a more perfect coating of resin until its body becomes thoroughly encrusted. It is supposed that there are about 5,000 females for one male. When the male escapes from the cocoon it at once commences to crawl over the females. The female after depositing her eggs below her body begins to construct cells round each, with as much precision as the bee forms its comb. The *coccus lacca* penetrates the bark of the twig with its proboscis until it reaches the sapwood. From there it sucks up its nourishment and transforms the sap into the resinous incrustation—lac—which it forms round itself. As time advances further changes are visible; the body of the female enlarges considerably and becomes brilliantly coloured. The red colour is due to the formation of a substance intended as food for the offspring. The eggs germinate below, and the larvæ, eating their way through the body of the mother, repeat this strange history.'

318. Scent makers and sellers number 829 persons. Scent, however, is not made in the Central Provinces, but imported from Northern India. Itinerant vendors come from there and retail it in the large towns. *Gulabpani* or rose-water and *phulel* or scented tilli-oil are the kinds in most demand. The price varies greatly with the strength. Some scent is so strong that clothes once sprinkled with it do not lose their perfume even after washing. But this kind is fortunately very expensive and is seldom sold in the Central Provinces. Scent is manufactured by distillation from the flowers in the same way as country liquor. Other occupations included in this group are the selling of the little black sticks of incense which are set up and burnt at the time of taking food, and in temples. They are composed of numerous ingredients, among others resin, sandal-wood, gum, charcoal, and extracts from various plants, and when set fire burn slowly away, giving out what is to the Hindus a gratifying, but to others a somewhat sickly, scent. The selling of sandal-wood oil, which is used for putting on the hair and for itch, and of musk, which is sometimes used as a medicine in the last resort, are also returned. Retailers of antimony or surma used for blackening the eyes number 268 persons including dependents.

319. Boot, shoe, and sandal makers number 96,168 persons. The ordinary articles prepared by the Chamar are common shoes of red or yellow covered leather, with strips sewn across them. They are sold for eight annas a pair, which gives a profit of four annas on the making. Other articles are the leather ropes used for raising and lowering *motes*,

neck ropes of leather for bullocks, dholaks or hollow cylindrical wooden drums covered with leather, leathern sieves, *motas* and saddles. The use of leathern bags for storing ghee has now been discarded in favour of empty kerosine tins.

319. It is not necessary simply to recapitulate the figures for other groups in detail. There is a noticeable variation in sub-order Law,

Miscellaneous.

which has increased from 4,422 to 5,716 persons, or by 29 per cent. This includes 196 barristers, advocates and pleaders, 711 law agents and mukhtyars, and 872 petition-writers, touts, &c. Under Medicine there is an increase of 8 per cent. This sub-order includes 1,427 practitioners without diploma, 1,159 of these being men and 268 women. Women do cupping and also prescribe medicines for small children. Midwives number 2,611. 9 persons are returned as thieves or receivers of stolen goods. The apparently ingenuous nature of these entries is, I understand, to be explained by the fact that the enumerators in such cases are police constables, who are determined that Government shall know the truth.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—General distribution by Occupation.

Order and Sub-order.		PERCENTAGE ON TOTAL POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE IN EACH ORDER AND SUB-ORDER.		PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL WORKERS EMPLOYED.		PERCENTAGE OF DEPENDENTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS.	
		Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Dependents.	Cities.	Rural.	Cities.	Rural.
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sub-order 1	Civil Service of the State	0.4	0.2	28.2	61.8	28.4	71.6	191.1	131.2
" 2	Service of Local and Municipal Bodies	...	...	40.0	60.0	37.2	62.8	181.3	130.3
" 3	Village service	0.9	0.4	50.2	48.8	0.4	99.6	281.3	99.6
Order I	Administration	1.3	0.6	40.2	53.8	8.6	91.4	193.1	110.4
Sub-order 4	Army	0.1	...	30.6	49.4	92.3	7.7	67.9	63.6
" 5	Navy and Marine	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Order II	Defence	0.1	...	30.6	49.4	92.3	7.7	67.9	63.6
Sub-order 6	Civil officers	0.1	...	40.3	59.7	1.4	98.6	100.0	140.2
" 7	Military officers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Order III	Service of Native and Foreign States	0.1	...	40.3	59.7	1.4	98.6	100.0	140.2
Sub-order 8	Stock breeding and dealing	2.7	1.9	70.2	29.8	0.7	99.3	60.4	42.3
" 9	Training and care of Animals	...	...	37.9	62.1	30.0	70.0	280.9	111.4
Order IV	Provision and care of Animals	2.7	1.9	60.9	39.1	0.8	99.2	81.0	48.7
Sub-order 10	Landholders and Tenants	47.6	39.7	64.6	35.4	0.3	99.7	85.5	54.0
" 11	Agricultural labour	22.3	16.5	74.3	25.7	0.3	99.7	50.2	34.9
" 12	Growth of special products	6.2	4.2	69.3	30.7	3.9	96.1	97.6	48.9
" 13	Agricultural training and supervision and Forests	0.3	0.1	44.6	55.4	6.3	93.7	211.6	110.6
Order V	Agriculture	70.3	47.5	67.6	32.4	0.3	99.7	80.6	47.7
Sub-order 14	Personal and domestic services	2.1	1.4	63.3	36.7	9.0	91.0	92.7	54.7
" 15	Non-domestic entertainment	...	...	31.3	68.7	38.0	62.0	261.3	171.3
" 16	Sanitation	0.2	0.1	66.7	33.3	19.9	80.1	61.5	42.5
Order VI	Personal, Household and Sanitary Services	2.3	1.5	63.6	36.4	9.9	90.1	90.7	53.7
Sub-order 17	Animal food	1.3	0.9	66.6	33.4	4.6	95.4	39.9	50.7
" 18	Vegetable food	2.3	1.7	67.0	33.0	0.8	99.2	85.6	44.7
" 19	Drinks, Condiments and Stimulants	1.1	0.6	61.2	38.8	0.3	99.7	91.9	64.3
Order VII	Food, Drink and Stimulants	4.9	3.2	65.9	34.1	6.3	93.7	88.3	69.3
Sub-order 20	Lighting	0.2	0.1	64.8	35.2	6.1	93.9	54.0	59.1
" 21	Fuel and Forage	1.0	0.8	75.9	24.1	4.1	95.9	55.8	34.7
Order VIII	Light, Firing and Forage	1.2	0.9	74.3	25.7	4.4	95.6	57.5	34.3
Sub-order 22	Building materials	0.1	...	68.5	31.5	7.9	92.1	81.5	41.9
" 23	Artificers in building	0.3	0.2	61.8	38.2	23.2	76.8	71.5	57.1
Order IX	Buildings	0.4	0.2	64.2	35.8	18.3	81.7	72.9	51.9
Sub-order 24	Railway and Tramway Plant	...	...	45.9	54.1	30.3	69.7	133.6	78.8
" 25	Carts, Carriages, &c.	...	...	50.6	49.4	56.3	43.7	112.0	78.3
" 26	Ships and Bots	...	...	62.0	38.0	...	100.0	...	61.0
Order X	Vehicles and Vessels	...	...	46.6	53.4	68.3	31.7	131.8	78.2
Sub-order 27	Paper	...	...	47.2	52.8	1.3	98.7	50.0	112.7
" 28	Books and Prints	...	...	39.6	60.4	60.3	39.7	179.9	110.4
" 29	Watches, Clocks, and Scientific Instruments	...	...	45.4	54.6	72.7	27.3	150.0	40.7
" 30	Carving and Engraving	...	...	45.9	54.1	2.9	97.1	...	121.2
" 31	Toys and Curiosities	...	...	63.4	36.6	29.8	70.2	48.5	61.7
" 32	Music and Musical Instruments	...	...	32.6	67.4	1.0	99.0	41.1	94.7
" 33	Bangles, Necklaces, Beads, Sacred Threads, &c.	3	16	62.7	37.3	10.9	89.1	88.6	56.6
" 34	Furniture	...	...	54.1	45.9	...	...	...	84.8
" 35	Harness	...	...	55.0	45.0	44.2	55.8	82.8	82.6
" 36	Tools and Machinery	...	...	57.7	42.3	6.2	93.8	71.7	23.6
" 37	Arms and Ammunition	...	...	53.4	46.6	12.6	87.4	176.6	66.3
Order XI	Supplementary Requirements	3	2	60.1	39.9	28.5	71.5	103.2	60.8
Sub-order 38	Wool and Fur	1	...	66.7	33.3	5.9	94.1	95.8	49.3
" 39	Silk	2	1	66.6	33.4	28.3	71.7	61.8	44.2
" 40	Cotton	4.2	2.9	67.9	32.1	8.4	91.6	67.5	45.4
" 41	Jute, Hemp, Flax, Coir, &c.	1	...	71.1	28.9	7.5	92.5	55.0	39.4
" 42	Dress	6	3	59.4	40.6	18.3	81.7	87.8	63.7
Order XII	Textile Fabrics and Dress	5.2	3.5	66.7	33.3	9.9	90.1	70.6	47.0

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—General distribution by Occupation—(Concl'd.)

Order and Sub-order.		PERCENTAGE ON TOTAL POPULA- TION		PERCENTAGE IN EACH ORDER AND SUB-ORDER.		PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL WORKERS EMPLOYED.		PERCENTAGE OF DEPENDENTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS.	
		Persons support- ed.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Depen- dents.	Cities	Rural.	Cities.	Rural.
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sub-order 43	Gold, Silver and Precious Stones	5	2	44.1	55.9	11.3	88.7	134.6	122.6
" 44	Brass, Copper, and Bell-metal	2	1	47.4	52.6	77.3	22.5	17.0	106.1
" 45	Tin, Zinc, Quicksilver and Lead	...	...	49.1	50.9	38.3	61.7	151.5	71.1
" 46	Iron and Steel	8	3	61.6	38.4	25	97.5	141.8	59.9
Order XIII	Metals and Precious Stones...	15	8	53.9	46.1	3.8	94.2	153.1	81.0
Sub-order 47	Glass and China ware	...	...	41.6	58.4	92.1	7.9	129.2	271.4
" 48	Earthen and Stone ware	6	4	68.6	31.4	3.6	96.4	32.1	45.3
Order XIV	Glass, Earthen and Stone ware	6	4	68.6	31.4	3.8	94.2	55.7	45.4
Sub-order 49	Wood and Bamboos	5	1	56.3	44.7	8.2	91.8	118.4	73.9
" 50	Cane-work, Matting and Leaves, &c.	6	3	72.2	27.8	5.1	94.9	40.4	28.4
Order XV	Wood, Cane and Leaves, &c.	12	8	65.1	34.9	6.3	93.7	79.3	51.7
Sub-order 51	Gums, Wax, Resin and similar Forest produce	0.1	...	67.8	32.2	2.6	97.4	59.3	47.2
" 52	Drugs, Dyes, Pigments, &c.	...	...	57.3	42.7	14.4	85.6	148.8	65.8
Order XVI	Drugs, Gums, Dyes, &c.	0.1	...	64.2	35.8	6.3	93.7	103.5	52.5
Sub-order 53	Leather, Horn and Bones	9	6	62.2	37.8	4.1	95.9	107.5	58.7
Order XVII	Leather &c.	9	9	47.7	52.3	4.1	95.9	107.5	58.7
Sub-order 54	Money and Securities	6	3	53.8	46.2	20.4	79.4	125.1	105.2
" 55	General Merchandise	...	...	...	...	49.4	50.6	67.9	102.9
" 56	Dealings unspecified	...	...	59.0	41.0	14.1	85.9	160.9	53.5
" 57	Middlemen, Brokers and Agents	4	...	49.3	50.7	26.8	73.2	145.2	87.1
Order XVIII	Commerce	8	4	48.7	51.3	20.8	79.2	129.4	98.8
Sub-order 58	Railway	2	1	41.2	58.8	28.9	71.1	192.3	121.7
" 59	Road	4	3	60.9	39.1	9.8	90.2	133.8	56.5
" 60	Water	...	...	59.4	47.6	...	...	...	90.4
" 61	Messages	7	...	47.4	52.6	17.2	82.8	238.6	84.3
" 62	Storage and Weighing	2	1	59.5	40.5	31.8	68.2	77.5	63.6
Order XIX	Transport and Storage	8	5	55.6	44.4	17.8	82.2	131.4	68.6
Sub-order 63	Religion	6	3	50.1	49.9	5.8	94.2	121.5	66.0
" 64	Education	...	...	48.4	51.6	13.9	86.1	159.5	96.5
" 65	Literature	...	...	41.6	58.4	5.7	94.3	218.2	435.2
" 66	Law	1	...	34.8	65.2	31.6	68.4	157.8	211.8
" 67	Medicine	1	...	47.2	52.8	21.4	78.6	168.6	96.2
" 68	Engineering and Survey	...	...	44.6	55.4	21.3	78.7	234.2	94.5
" 69	Natural Science	...	...	60.0	40.0	...	...	...	66.7
" 70	Pictorial Art and Sculpture	...	...	59.2	40.8	20.2	79.8	137.3	51.2
" 71	Music, Acting and Dancing	12	3	64.6	35.4	9.7	90.3	88.2	51.1
Order XX	Learned and Artistic Professions	19	5	55.9	44.1	9.8	90.2	141.0	71.8
Sub-order 72	Sport	...	...	63.4	36.6	0.8	99.2	20.0	56.3
" 73	Games and Exhibitions	...	...	63.5	36.5	17.2	82.8	62.1	50.5
Order XXI	Sport	...	...	63.4	36.6	8.1	91.9	69.8	56.4
Sub-order 74	Earthwork, &c.	6	4	68.8	31.2	7.9	92.1	60.9	43.8
" 75	General labour	26	19	70.7	29.3	6.4	93.6	68.4	39.5
Order XXII	Earthwork and General Labour	32	24	70.4	29.6	6.6	93.4	66.9	40.2
Sub-order 76	Indefinite	...	...	58.9	41.1	17.1	82.9	88.2	65.9
" 77	Disreputable	...	...	60.3	39.7	43.9	56.1	58.8	71.2
Order XXIII	Indefinite and Disreputable Occupations	...	...	60.2	39.8	41.5	58.5	59.9	70.4
Sub-order 78	Property and aims	12	8	68.5	31.5	8.2	91.8	57.2	44.8
" 79	At the public charge	1	1	67.5	32.5	58.2	41.7	56.6	39.0
Order XXIV	Independent	13	9	68.4	31.6	12.1	87.9	57.6	44.5
Total		100.0	66.7	66.7	33.3	2.6	97.4	87.2	48.9

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Distribution of the Agricultural Population by Natural Divisions and Districts.*

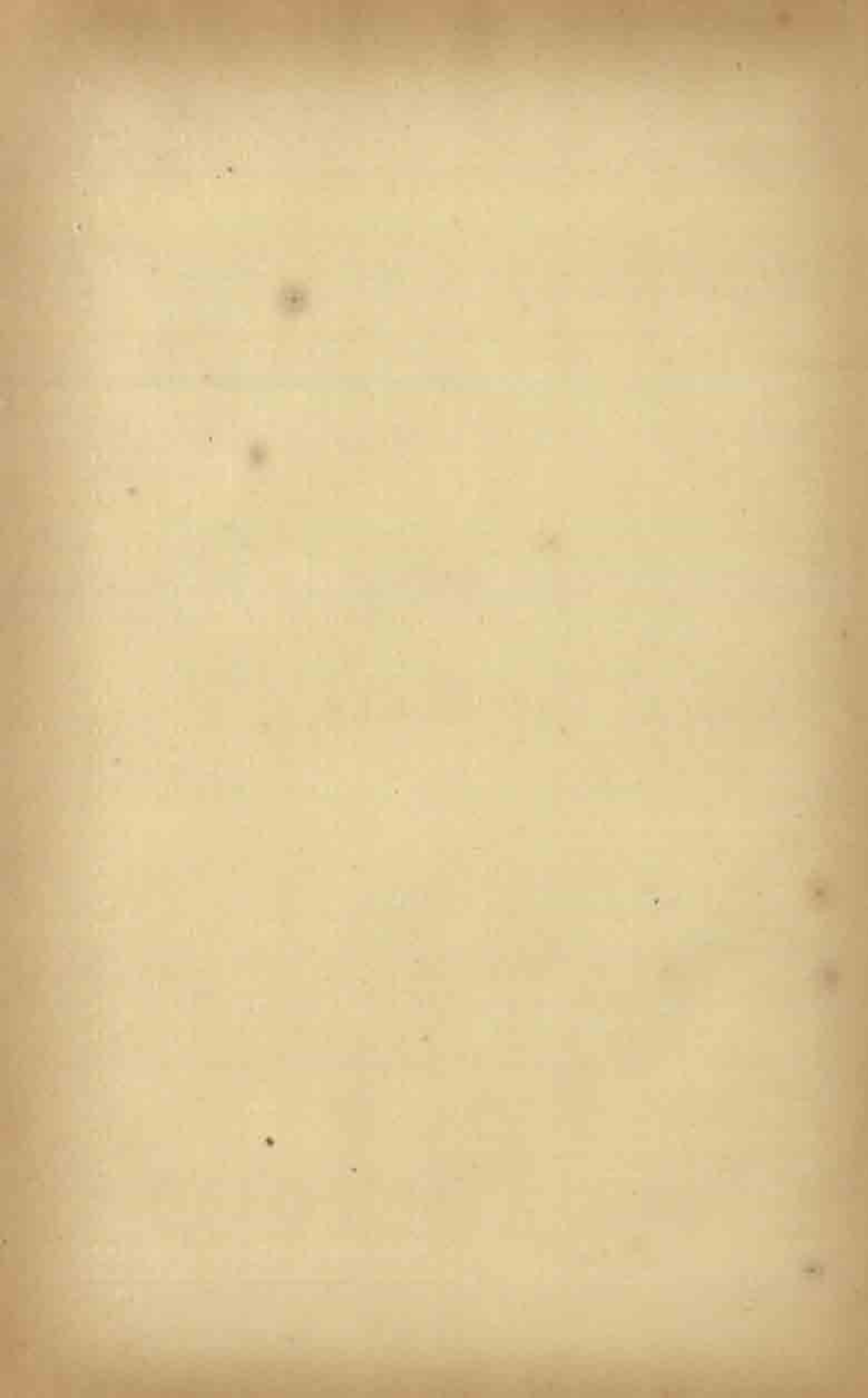
Natural Divisions and Districts.	Total population.	Population supported by Agriculture.	Percentage of Agricultural Population to District Population.	PERCENTAGE ON AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF—	
				Actual workers.	Dependents.
Saugor	471,046	306,858	65.1	71.3	28.7
Damoh	288,346	190,999	66.9	74.0	26.0
Total Vindhyan Districts	759,392	497,857	65.6	72.3	27.7
Jubbulpore	680,585	423,396	62.2	67.4	32.6
Narsinghpur	313,931	193,303	61.6	67.5	32.5
Hoshangabad	449,165	275,855	61.4	70.0	30.0
Makrai	11,035	8,806	67.6	71.6	28.4
Total Nerbudda Division	1,456,726	901,360	61.9	68.2	31.8
Nimar	327,035	220,812	67.5	69.7	30.3
Betul	285,363	198,692	69.6	73.6	26.4
Chhindwara	407,997	292,180	71.6	67.3	32.7
Seoni	327,709	230,684	70.4	69.5	30.5
Mandla	317,050	204,990	64.6	70.0	30.0
Total Satpura Division	1,338,240	985,646	73.7	69.8	30.2
Nagpur	751,844	437,981	58.3	73.5	26.5
Bhandara	603,062	477,083	79.0	72.1	27.9
Wardha	385,103	268,550	69.7	74.4	25.6
Balaghat	320,521	234,162	73.1	69.1	30.9
Total Nagpur Division	2,126,530	1,437,776	67.6	72.5	27.5
Chanda	461,533	421,124	91.3	71.1	28.9
Rajpur	1,440,550	1,149,178	79.8	66.0	34.0
Bilaspur	1,012,972	854,554	84.4	69.3	30.7
Total Chhattisgarh Division	2,453,598	2,003,732	81.7	67.4	32.6
Rastar	306,301	205,026	67.0	59.6	40.4
Kanker	103,536	81,039	78.3	70.7	29.3
Nandgaon	126,395	87,850	69.5	68.1	31.9
Khairagarh	137,554	108,245	78.7	69.6	30.4
Chhuikhadan	26,366	17,505	66.4	60.6	39.4
Kawardha	57,474	43,188	75.2	66.6	33.4
Sakti	22,301	18,320	82.1	64.8	35.2
Total Chhattisgarh Feudatories	473,598	336,846	71.1	68.4	31.6
Sambalpur	829,698	645,030	77.7	65.0	35.0
Raigarh	174,929	149,111	85.3	57.5	42.5
Sarangarh	79,900	64,336	80.5	55.2	44.8
Bamra	123,378	92,095	74.7	47.5	52.5
Rairakhol	20,888	16,438	78.7	66.7	33.3
Sonpur	169,877	126,336	74.4	69.0	31.0
Patna	377,748	200,238	53.0	65.8	34.2
Kalnandi	350,529	264,384	75.5	62.6	37.4
Total Oriya Feudatories	1,203,249	907,160	75.4	60.5	39.5
TOTAL CENTRAL PROVINCES	11,823,029	8,634,269	72.7	67.7	32.3

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Percentages of males and females by groups of Occupations in which females are largely employed as actual workers.*

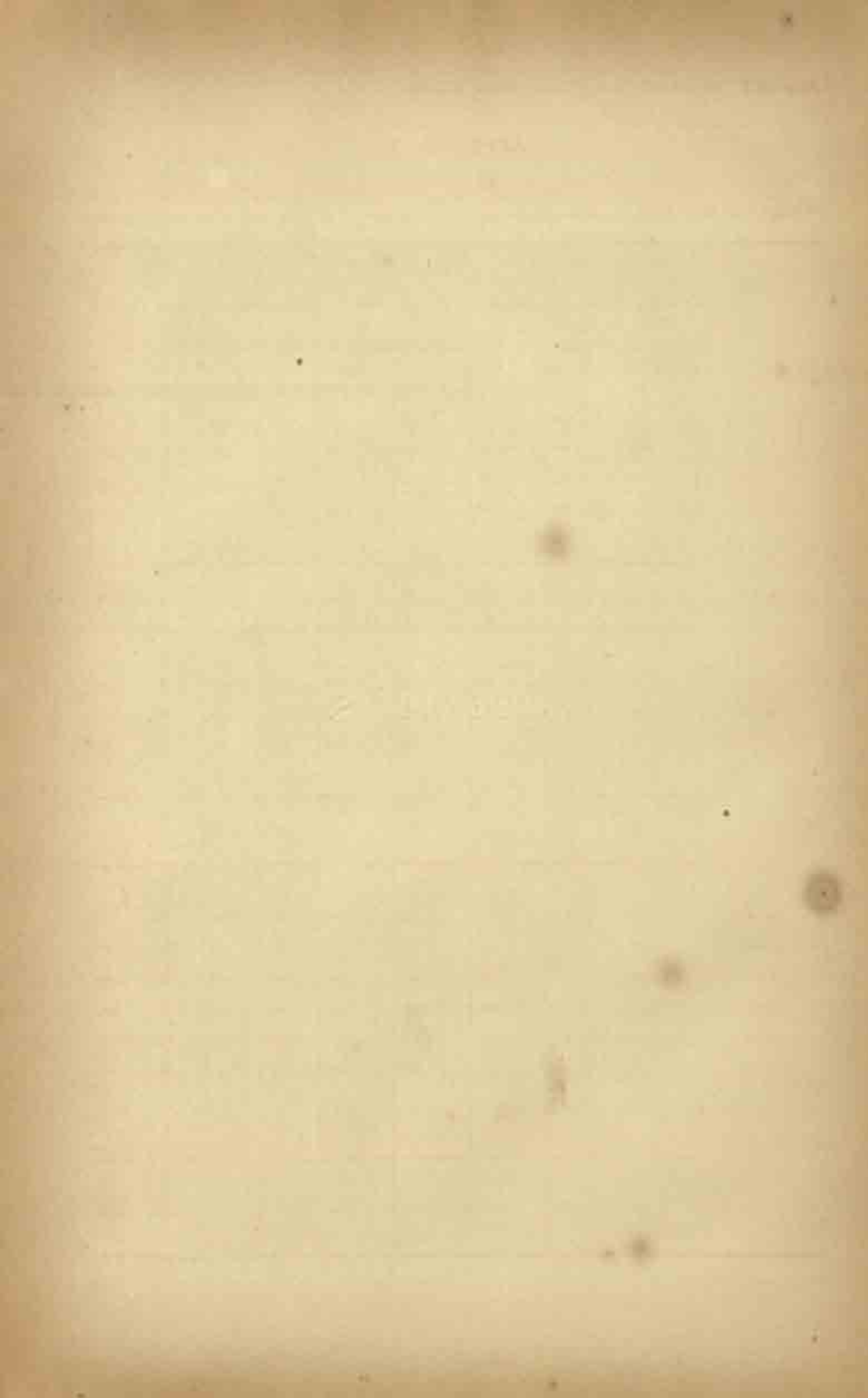
Occupation.	BRITISH DISTRICTS.		PRINCIPAL STATES.		CENTRAL PROVINCES.	
	Percentage of males.	Percentage of females.	Percentage of males.	Percentage of females.	Percentage of males.	Percentage of females.
6. Village watchmen and headmen not being agriculturists.	83.0	19.0	72.7	27.3	81.0	19.0
13. Herdsmen	77.1	22.9	76.4	23.6	70.9	29.1
14. Small stock breeders and dealers	72.3	27.7	55.1	44.9	70.0	30.0
17. Malguzars	61.8	38.2	62.2	37.8	61.9	38.1
18. Thekudars and lessors of villages	58.2	41.8	56.8	43.2	57.6	42.4
19. Malik-makharas and musafid tenants	54.6	45.4	56.4	43.6	54.6	45.4
20. Absolute-occupancy tenants	53.3	46.7	86.1	13.9	53.3	46.7
21. Occupancy tenants	53.1	46.9	57.4	42.6	54.0	46.0
22. Ordinary tenants	52.7	47.3	53.7	46.3	52.8	47.2
23. Village service tenants	48.4	51.6	56.4	43.6	50.7	49.3
24. Sub-tenants, partners or lessees in cultivation of holdings.	55.4	44.6	56.5	43.5	55.4	44.6
25. Tenants unspecified	45.4	54.6	55.0	45.0	50.1	49.9
26. Musafid khairati tenants	57.4	42.6	70.3	29.7	57.5	42.5
27. Government ryots	52.3	47.7	...	...	52.3	47.7
28. Farm servants	78.2	21.8	85.3	14.7	79.3	20.7
29. Field labourers	33.7	66.3	30.3	69.7	33.3	66.7
31. Fruit and vegetable growers	58.7	41.3	40.5	59.5	56.2	43.8
38. Indoor servants	52.2	47.8	51.4	48.6	52.1	47.9
39. Washermen	48.6	51.4	45.3	54.7	48.2	51.8
40. Water carriers	35.3	64.7	12.5	87.5	31.8	68.2
44. Sanitary inspectors, &c., sweepers, dust and sweeping contractors.	45.6	54.4	17.4	82.6	42.1	57.9
45. Cow and buffalo keepers, and milk and butter sellers and ghee sellers.	39.7	60.3	24.5	75.5	36.9	63.1
47. Fishermen and fish curers and fish dealers	66.5	34.5	62.1	37.9	65.3	34.7
50. Flour grinders	7.0	93.0	12.0	88.0	7.2	92.8
51. Grain and pulse dealers	60.0	40.0	55.1	44.9	59.3	40.7
52. Grain parchers	22.1	77.9	27.6	72.4	23.7	76.3
54. Oil pressers and sellers	44.2	55.8	37.4	62.6	43.0	57.0
55. Rice pounders and huskers	5.1	94.9	3.0	97.0	3.6	96.4
57. Vegetable and fruit sellers	44.6	55.4	33.7	66.3	43.3	56.7

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Percentages of males and females by groups of Occupations in which females are largely employed as actual workers.*—(Concl'd.)

Occupation.	BRITISH DISTRICTS.		PRINCIPAL STATES.		CENTRAL PROVINCES.	
	Percentage of males.	Percentage of females.	Percentage of males.	Percentage of females.	Percentage of males.	Percentage of females.
58. Cardamom, betel-leaf and areca nut sellers ...	47.3	39.7	32.1	67.0	46.3	51.7
59. Grocers and general condiment dealers ...	66.3	33.3	64.7	35.3	66.4	33.6
61. Salt makers and sellers ...	59.4	49.6	40.7	59.3	48.7	51.3
63. Distilleries and wine- and spirit distillers and sellers and toddy drawers and sellers.	73.1	39.9	57.1	42.9	67.7	32.3
66. Pressers and sellers of vegetable oil for lighting.	48.6	51.4	44.0	56.0	48.5	51.5
69. Hay grass and fodder sellers ...	41.0	59.0	43.9	56.1	41.1	58.9
70. Firewood, charcoal and cowdung sellers ...	37.7	62.3	30.7	69.3	36.6	63.4
75. Masons and builders, building contractors ...	66.6	33.4	64.8	35.2	66.6	33.4
89. Makers and sellers of glass bangles ...	47.9	53.0	35.3	64.8	44.5	55.5
102. Carpet, shawl and blanket weavers and sellers and persons occupied with woollen cloth and yarn, &c.	50.6	49.4	47.9	52.1	50.3	49.7
105. Silk carders, spinners and weavers and dealers.	55.2	44.8	51.0	49.0	55.0	45.0
107. Cotton cleaners, pressers and ginsers ...	43.7	56.3	2.6	97.4	31.5	68.5
109. Cotton spinners, sizers and yarn beaters ...	25.7	74.3	0.0	99.0	20.8	79.2
110. Cotton weavers ...	63.2	36.8	68.2	31.8	64.2	35.8
115. Tailors, milliners, dressmakers and darners ...	55.9	44.1	68.6	31.4	56.2	43.8
116. Piece-goods dealers, boxiers and haberdashers, hat, cap, turban and umbrellas makers and sellers.	72.7	27.3	79.9	20.1	75.3	24.7
124. Workers and dealers in iron and hardware ...	69.7	30.3	66.1	33.9	68.1	31.9
126. Potters, pot and pipe-bowl makers and sellers.	52.6	47.4	53.7	46.3	52.8	47.2
130. Baskets, mats, fans screens, brooms, &c. makers and sellers.	49.2	50.8	42.8	57.2	49.2	50.8
140. Boot, shoe and sandal makers ...	69.7	30.3	59.0	41.0	60.1	39.9
142. Bankers, money-lenders, &c. ...	81.8	18.2	78.0	22.0	81.6	18.4
156. Pack-bullock, camel, donkey owners and drivers.	65.8	36.2	73.9	26.1	66.2	33.8
165. Religious services, Hinds ...	70.7	29.3	75.7	24.3	71.2	28.8
177. Midwives ...	...	100.0	...	100.0	...	100.0
184. Music, acting, dancing, &c. ...	82.0	18.0	81.2	18.8	82.1	17.9
189. Well sinkers, tank diggers and earth-workers, road, canal and railway labourers, miners, unspecified.	52.0	48.0	48.1	51.9	51.1	48.9
192. General labour ...	42.3	57.7	40.3	59.7	42.0	58.0
196. Mendicancy (not in connection with a religious order).	58.3	41.7	57.1	42.9	58.2	41.8



APPENDICES.



APPENDIX A

[Chapter VII.]

SUBSIDIARY TABLE 1.—*Age distribution of 10 000 persons of each Sex—British Districts*

[illegible]

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Age distribution of 10,000 persons of each*

Serial No.	District or State.	0—5		5—10		10—15	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	Saugor	1,278	1,297	1,104	1,065	1,333	1,178
2	Damoh	1,404	1,415	1,053	1,038	1,273	1,152
3	Vindhyan Division	1,341	1,356	1,079	1,052	1,303	1,165
4	Jubbulpore	1,357	1,309	1,082	1,036	1,194	1,119
5	Narsinghpur	1,303	1,311	1,204	1,127	1,333	1,089
6	Hoshangabad	1,304	1,322	1,197	1,124	1,266	1,106
7	Makrai State	1,457	1,343	964	955	1,191	992
8	Nerbudda Valley Division	1,370	1,321	1,112	1,061	1,246	1,076
9	Nimar	1,391	1,369	1,110	1,130	1,172	1,071
10	Mandla	1,351	1,391	1,424	1,377	1,464	1,230
11	Seoni	1,406	1,436	1,304	1,253	1,288	1,104
12	Chhindwara	1,604	1,740	1,004	1,011	1,083	1,029
13	Betul	1,177	1,196	1,440	1,463	1,388	1,189
14	Satpura Plateau Division	1,434	1,441	1,205	1,276	1,306	1,138
15	Wardha	972	1,051	1,197	1,258	1,328	1,202
16	Nagpur	1,098	1,159	1,239	1,276	1,310	1,139
17	Bhandara	1,137	1,133	1,596	1,533	1,454	1,231
18	Balaghat	1,220	1,152	1,497	1,459	1,459	1,206
19	Maratha Country	1,197	1,124	1,382	1,382	1,388	1,194
20	Chanda	1,172	1,195	1,463	1,434	1,423	1,197
21	Rajpur	1,261	1,218	1,624	1,498	1,286	1,007
22	Bilaspur	1,369	1,242	1,690	1,559	1,338	1,099
23	Chhattisgarh Plain Division	1,265	1,240	1,622	1,529	1,312	1,053
24	Bastar State	1,506	1,552	1,517	1,495	1,684	956
25	Kanker	1,421	1,469	1,799	1,715	1,324	1,074
26	Nandgaon	1,184	1,150	1,642	1,518	1,372	1,075
27	Khairagarh	1,227	1,212	1,673	1,534	1,397	1,077
28	Chhuikbadan	1,489	1,430	1,652	1,523	1,315	965
29	Kawardha	1,228	1,229	1,439	1,495	1,537	1,015
30	Sakti	1,245	1,289	1,807	1,911	1,312	1,088
31	Chhattisgarh States	1,299	1,296	1,669	1,601	1,344	1,049
32	Sambalpur	1,327	1,343	1,529	1,513	1,402	1,202
33	Raigarh	1,461	1,552	1,726	1,749	1,323	1,100
34	Sarangarh	1,357	1,408	1,706	1,589	1,369	1,170
35	Bamra	1,404	1,630	1,581	1,671	1,245	1,129
36	Rairakhol	1,278	1,524	1,354	1,493	1,216	1,129
37	Sonpur	1,302	1,220	1,448	1,408	1,467	1,195
38	Patna	1,245	1,317	1,708	1,730	1,665	1,261
39	Kalahandi	1,366	1,493	1,796	1,793	1,337	1,132
40	Oriya States	1,331	1,459	1,618	1,633	1,366	1,164
41	Central Provinces	1,313	1,336	1,400	1,373	1,304	1,115

Sex by Districts and Natural Divisions.

15—20		20—29		40—49		60 and over.		Serial No.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
1,054	014	3,359	3,423	1,668	1,782	247	331	1
971	890	3,315	3,394	1,685	1,794	299	317	2
1,012	902	3,236	3,413	1,656	1,788	273	224	3
958	852	3,325	3,316	1,763	1,660	321	408	4
893	791	3,340	3,423	1,610	1,845	277	214	5
852	814	3,330	3,339	1,751	1,906	300	380	6
838	841	3,028	3,045	2,101	2,041	421	483	7
885	824	3,251	3,381	1,806	2,013	330	424	8
831	880	3,476	3,383	1,763	1,758	357	409	9
891	887	3,338	3,435	1,309	1,300	223	380	10
848	825	3,333	3,300	1,551	1,645	270	437	11
975	924	3,266	3,212	1,611	1,738	237	341	12
810	762	3,354	3,406	1,452	1,499	370	495	13
881	850	3,328	3,339	1,481	1,543	275	413	14
769	723	3,283	3,448	1,948	1,740	405	569	15
755	713	3,110	3,218	1,857	1,785	631	710	16
749	694	2,951	3,164	1,647	1,633	468	612	17
790	714	3,143	3,299	1,521	1,532	380	638	18
763	711	3,123	3,282	1,743	1,675	494	612	19
744	713	3,220	3,323	1,566	1,576	412	560	20
779	690	3,259	3,306	1,461	1,560	330	611	21
826	735	3,304	3,426	1,350	1,457	293	482	22
802	712	3,282	3,411	1,405	1,508	312	547	23
781	792	3,376	3,475	1,413	1,347	323	383	24
752	725	3,093	3,191	1,288	1,316	323	510	25
815	721	3,284	3,454	1,391	1,516	312	566	26
831	704	3,210	3,393	1,355	1,547	307	593	27
710	727	3,203	3,337	1,300	1,501	271	517	28
825	706	3,519	3,677	1,394	1,524	258	444	29
915	784	3,274	3,394	1,158	1,105	284	429	30
808	728	3,264	3,402	1,324	1,418	292	505	31
875	793	3,185	3,238	1,372	1,437	310	424	32
800	736	3,161	3,279	1,284	1,211	242	373	33
875	702	3,200	3,321	1,213	1,251	280	439	34
862	822	3,231	3,212	1,407	1,161	270	376	35
911	778	3,412	3,260	1,502	1,436	327	380	36
917	874	3,287	3,366	1,387	1,493	292	444	37
974	920	3,118	3,238	1,134	1,193	206	291	38
887	927	3,091	3,240	1,292	1,123	237	292	39
889	838	3,214	3,274	1,317	1,367	265	365	40
843	795	3,218	3,348	1,531	1,575	331	456	41

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Age distribution

Caste.	0-5			5-10			10-15		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Group I (a).									
Brāhman	1,342	1,307	1,376	1,043	1,048	1,039	1,030	1,002	968
Rajput	1,129	1,095	1,164	1,100	1,189	1,102	1,160	1,288	1,042
Kayasth	1,389	1,383	1,396	1,090	1,024	1,155	1,088	1,134	1,041
Karan (Mahanti)	1,061	973	1,148	1,114	985	1,243	1,037	1,098	976
Bania	1,168	1,125	1,212	1,069	1,060	1,077	955	1,094	814
Group I (a)	1,218	1,177	1,259	1,101	1,081	1,141	1,056	1,141	968
Group I (b).									
Bhat	1,171	1,155	1,187	1,154	1,232	1,077	1,146	1,234	1,058
Bairagi	1,300	1,281	1,318	1,281	1,236	1,325	994	1,003	896
Gosain	1,162	1,197	1,120	1,229	1,251	1,206	1,098	1,159	1,035
Group I (b)	1,211	1,211	1,210	1,221	1,239	1,203	1,080	1,162	996
Group II (a).									
Ahir	1,285	1,291	1,278	1,278	1,200	1,266	1,311	1,416	1,206
Gujar	1,433	1,403	1,403	960	952	967	1,063	1,047	1,080
Dangl	1,433	1,409	1,396	980	1,049	910	1,064	1,060	1,067
Jat	1,055	1,060	1,045	1,333	1,458	1,206	1,340	1,335	1,144
Kurmi	1,378	1,382	1,375	1,317	1,359	1,296	1,124	1,218	1,035
Kunbi	1,159	1,169	1,147	1,276	1,279	1,274	1,260	1,382	1,157
Lodhi	1,339	1,385	1,317	1,273	1,315	1,232	1,203	1,273	1,135
Kachhi	1,134	1,194	1,143	1,110	1,126	1,094	1,272	1,331	1,214
Mali	1,245	1,227	1,263	1,376	1,378	1,376	1,210	1,316	1,104
Kurvi	1,582	1,624	1,539	1,240	1,271	1,208	1,205	1,333	1,073
Kolta	1,413	1,402	1,425	1,376	1,386	1,366	1,268	1,339	1,202
Maratha	1,049	1,075	1,025	1,067	1,070	1,054	1,075	1,210	946
Agharia	1,642	1,651	1,632	1,654	1,621	1,683	1,245	1,309	1,182
Bhilala	1,812	1,620	2,005	1,255	1,255	1,255	1,288	1,400	1,168
Group II (a)	1,355	1,353	1,357	1,250	1,272	1,227	1,210	1,298	1,122
Group II (b).									
Bachal	1,273	1,262	1,282	1,240	1,267	1,212	1,174	1,268	1,080
Sonar	1,343	1,326	1,359	1,245	1,264	1,226	1,173	1,251	1,093
Batal	1,231	1,218	1,244	1,106	1,073	1,139	1,142	1,208	1,076
Group II (b)	1,283	1,269	1,295	1,197	1,201	1,192	1,183	1,242	1,083
Group II (c).									
Nai	1,518	1,538	1,490	1,380	1,396	1,393	1,162	1,239	1,088
Dhimar	1,221	1,218	1,226	1,404	1,505	1,481	1,235	1,333	1,138
Rakar	1,218	1,184	1,252	1,452	1,587	1,317	1,201	1,304	1,218
Kewat	1,275	1,267	1,283	1,643	1,700	1,590	1,350	1,375	1,134
Group II (c)	1,308	1,302	1,315	1,492	1,547	1,438	1,228	1,313	1,146
Group III (a).									
Khangar	1,204	1,177	1,228	893	890	895	1,168	1,198	1,138
Chadar	1,324	1,313	1,335	986	976	996	1,234	1,340	1,126
Mara	1,169	1,195	1,146	1,401	1,499	1,393	1,318	1,443	1,203
Bhoyar	1,431	1,374	1,497	1,263	1,216	1,399	1,185	1,246	1,125
Group III (a)	1,281	1,285	1,299	1,136	1,123	1,148	1,226	1,307	1,148

of 10,000 persons by Caste and Religion.

15—20.			20—40			40 and over.		
Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	% Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
851	809	802	3,328	3,368	3,258	2,406	2,256	2,537
833	858	868	3,550	3,529	3,572	2,129	2,041	2,312
655	1,068	843	3,369	3,482	3,256	2,179	1,909	2,509
885	876	804	3,013	3,228	3,209	2,290	2,110	2,440
863	874	853	3,482	3,513	3,451	2,263	2,334	2,393
877	815	840	3,468	3,570	3,367	2,280	2,186	2,425
866	883	728	3,429	3,376	3,483	2,204	2,131	2,497
794	787	622	3,302	3,265	3,340	2,419	2,338	2,560
810	864	754	3,227	3,444	3,313	2,474	2,385	2,566
773	845	701	3,319	3,262	3,379	2,398	2,281	2,511
892	942	847	3,343	3,292	3,396	1,891	1,720	2,011
747	726	768	3,121	3,109	3,042	2,076	2,013	2,129
929	1,017	841	3,283	3,209	3,358	2,311	2,196	2,428
776	947	605	2,317	2,487	2,148	2,179	2,307	2,832
804	855	734	3,281	3,244	3,316	2,096	1,943	2,244
710	733	688	2,190	3,100	3,279	2,360	2,337	2,455
857	801	824	3,204	3,163	3,242	2,113	1,973	2,230
908	999	933	3,449	3,435	3,462	2,007	1,985	2,140
765	784	746	3,228	3,151	3,305	2,179	2,144	2,200
842	855	830	3,318	3,333	3,404	1,845	1,684	1,946
842	887	798	3,222	3,221	3,223	1,879	1,769	1,986
712	739	687	3,309	3,309	3,399	2,788	2,597	2,969
824	834	813	3,012	3,008	3,016	1,623	1,577	1,668
722	857	586	3,264	3,280	3,301	1,620	1,573	1,685
813	862	766	3,184	3,167	3,200	2,188	2,048	2,328
808	812	804	3,375	3,218	3,533	2,236	2,173	2,283
838	852	125	3,312	3,310	3,315	2,089	1,997	2,182
826	840	810	3,366	3,354	3,377	2,327	2,307	2,348
824	835	815	3,315	3,294	3,342	2,215	2,159	2,272
778	839	717	3,252	3,251	3,253	1,910	1,737	2,080
760	789	732	3,294	3,113	3,294	2,086	2,042	2,127
788	805	769	3,514	3,425	3,604	1,777	1,691	1,841
791	843	741	3,251	3,193	3,305	1,790	1,620	1,947
779	821	769	3,305	3,246	3,364	1,888	1,773	1,999
975	954	997	3,600	3,650	3,748	2,063	2,131	1,994
1,070	1,161	980	2,537	2,399	3,330	2,096	1,884	2,228
708	726	662	3,134	3,013	3,245	2,270	2,185	2,356
758	814	702	3,253	3,254	3,282	2,110	2,097	2,125
878	921	835	3,264	3,310	3,295	2,125	2,074	2,175

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Age distribution of 10,000*

Caste.	0—4			5—10			10—15		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Group III (b).									
Kalar	1,244	1,242	1,246	1,302	1,468	1,305	1,229	1,349	1,110
Darji	1,493	1,428	1,379	974	940	998	1,056	1,045	1,068
Kothli	1,155	1,118	1,191	1,276	1,277	1,274	1,249	1,309	1,189
Teli	1,330	1,320	1,331	1,521	1,561	1,482	1,227	1,344	1,114
Bahna	1,212	1,215	1,200	1,699	1,804	1,593	1,327	1,435	1,219
Lohar	1,263	1,272	1,255	1,402	1,404	1,400	1,248	1,331	1,167
Dhangar	1,161	1,142	1,179	1,316	1,263	1,369	1,317	1,404	1,229
Gadaria	1,303	1,240	1,365	1,211	1,211	1,210	1,223	1,289	1,178
Jogi	1,369	1,369	1,378	1,314	1,416	1,214	1,311	1,458	1,163
Bidar	1,121	1,223	1,042	1,153	1,173	1,132	1,189	1,320	1,058
Banjara	1,136	1,180	1,084	1,263	1,310	1,217	1,269	1,378	1,198
Group III (b)	1,248	1,252	1,241	1,380	1,351	1,309	1,242	1,332	1,150
Group IV.									
Baiga	1,223	1,120	1,326	1,940	1,990	1,890	1,198	1,422	976
Bijnwar	1,291	1,187	1,394	1,462	1,559	1,370	1,427	1,588	1,266
Gond	1,193	1,206	1,184	1,591	1,631	1,551	1,300	1,446	1,153
Kandh	1,094	1,128	1,062	1,504	1,463	1,542	1,376	1,482	1,276
Kawar	1,320	1,335	1,317	1,729	1,736	1,721	1,237	1,355	1,119
Kol	1,619	1,642	1,598	1,118	1,149	1,089	1,198	1,278	1,106
Korku	1,436	1,415	1,456	1,356	1,346	1,366	1,164	1,241	1,092
Bhil	1,382	1,290	1,474	1,547	1,528	1,565	1,231	1,395	1,070
Halba	1,172	1,185	1,157	1,779	1,849	1,710	1,254	1,427	1,082
Group IV	1,304	1,168	1,330	1,559	1,582	1,534	1,285	1,404	1,129
Group V.									
Basir	1,218	1,247	1,188	1,147	1,159	1,143	1,240	1,373	1,107
Gonda	1,364	1,331	1,396	1,772	1,826	1,724	1,313	1,422	1,204
Ghasia	1,363	1,369	1,356	1,669	1,712	1,625	1,177	1,325	1,030
Katia	1,582	1,576	1,587	1,190	1,243	1,136	1,220	1,360	1,181
Koci	1,340	1,349	1,331	886	911	863	1,196	1,189	1,203
Kumhar	1,271	1,287	1,255	1,394	1,397	1,391	1,251	1,315	1,188
Mang	1,175	1,147	1,201	1,307	1,495	1,301	1,318	1,400	1,241
Mekhar	1,154	991	1,204	1,240	1,231	1,248	1,391	1,302	1,390
Mahar	1,194	1,161	1,226	1,564	1,563	1,564	1,298	1,384	1,215
Bolahi	1,185	1,156	1,212	1,224	1,263	1,203	1,163	1,255	1,072
Chamar	1,239	1,243	1,235	1,597	1,522	1,493	1,199	1,329	1,070
Panka	1,153	1,181	1,126	1,457	1,491	1,423	1,212	1,375	1,062
Dhobi	1,065	1,314	1,215	1,477	1,529	1,424	1,174	1,238	1,112
Group V	1,269	1,258	1,279	1,380	1,403	1,358	1,242	1,336	1,152

persons by Caste and Religion.—(Contd.)

15—20			20—40			40 and over.		
Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
770	807	731	3,733	3,299	3,058	2,022	1,002	2,143
917	1,035	799	3,330	3,280	1,350	2,320	2,203	2,370
796	836	759	3,223	3,225	3,220	2,301	2,236	2,397
757	793	721	3,207	3,155	3,259	1,958	1,818	2,091
870	914	825	3,222	3,173	3,272	1,670	1,449	1,891
789	825	755	3,279	3,232	3,321	2,019	1,936	2,099
689	723	654	3,201	3,095	3,366	2,316	2,373	2,261
895	965	825	3,422	3,467	3,378	1,936	1,828	2,044
858	886	830	3,171	3,157	3,181	1,977	1,723	2,230
729	797	661	3,098	3,025	3,160	2,700	2,452	2,947
801	872	729	3,347	3,246	3,426	2,190	2,003	2,376
808	859	754	3,248	3,207	3,289	2,128	1,999	2,257
758	753	762	3,702	3,119	3,293	1,679	1,603	1,753
965	1,055	875	3,310	3,236	3,385	1,545	1,379	1,710
819	878	761	3,303	3,239	3,568	1,792	1,600	1,983
1,003	1,076	935	3,321	3,283	3,357	1,702	1,597	1,823
731	777	686	3,207	3,142	3,272	1,770	1,635	1,885
871	857	884	3,148	3,058	3,231	2,046	2,016	2,073
760	746	773	3,425	3,393	3,454	1,839	1,859	1,859
779	717	841	3,454	3,485	3,424	1,606	1,585	1,626
769	800	739	3,232	3,191	3,273	1,794	1,548	2,029
828	851	808	3,389	3,348	3,340	1,755	1,646	1,861
987	999	976	3,400	3,295	3,685	1,918	1,936	1,901
822	854	810	3,190	3,099	3,281	1,529	1,474	1,585
778	774	782	3,345	3,228	3,461	1,668	1,391	1,746
785	789	731	3,513	3,582	3,444	1,710	1,550	1,871
948	1,043	836	3,486	3,457	3,513	2,144	2,051	2,254
843	848	839	3,224	3,187	3,260	2,017	1,966	2,067
815	822	808	3,245	3,126	3,355	2,050	2,100	2,004
1,024	1,096	957	3,461	3,393	3,523	1,739	1,787	1,678
704	714	694	3,114	2,992	3,233	2,126	2,126	2,068
951	917	986	3,461	3,477	3,516	2,006	2,002	2,009
795	838	755	3,396	3,296	3,493	1,864	1,772	1,954
780	837	724	3,522	3,450	3,594	1,876	1,666	2,069
824	889	778	3,323	3,204	3,442	1,927	1,826	2,029
852	878	827	3,387	3,286	3,446	1,890	1,839	1,940

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Age distribution of 10,000 by Religion and Caste.

Religion.	0-3			5-10			10-15			15-20			20-40			40-60			60 and over.		
	Persons.		Males.	Persons.		Males.	Persons.		Males.	Persons.		Males.	Persons.		Males.	Persons.		Males.	Persons.		Males.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. Hindu	1,201	1,286	1,306	1,408	1,425	1,201	1,222	1,224	1,120	808	841	774	3,282	3,425	3,298	1,567	1,540	1,595	422	348	496
2. Animist	1,312	1,207	1,317	1,424	1,453	1,384	1,262	1,357	1,166	832	847	819	3,310	3,251	3,368	1,597	1,408	1,516	553	287	420
3. Mussulman	1,245	1,231	1,258	1,190	1,182	1,197	1,144	1,203	1,086	835	865	866	3,393	3,449	3,338	1,727	1,690	1,784	466	402	931
4. Jain	1,265	1,264	1,271	1,220	977	1,065	1,047	1,144	950	922	993	908	3,439	3,413	3,446	1,815	1,616	1,813	471	594	347
5. Zoroastrian	1,363	1,201	1,526	1,322	1,072	1,579	921	612	1,230	935	869	1,002	3,728	4,685	3,372	1,396	1,792	979	345	560	319
6. Jewish	1,803	2,154	1,462	1,975	1,693	2,288	1,114	615	1,613	630	615	645	3,750	2,615	2,003	1,561	2,154	968	138	154	161
7. European	849	653	1,044	883	516	1,250	638	303	973	675	269	980	5,595	7,080	4,109	1,190	925	1,445	171	142	109
8. Eurasian	1,251	1,029	1,402	1,532	1,351	1,652	1,418	1,631	1,206	1,252	1,175	1,231	3,141	5,197	3,086	1,087	1,215	959	348	302	304
9. Native Christian	900	952	1,037	1,284	1,620	1,047	1,085	1,952	1,978	966	675	947	2,915	3,476	2,753	1,106	1,140	1,073	290	325	205

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Actual excess or defect of females by Districts.*

District or State.	NUMBER OF FEMALES IN EXCESS OR IN DEFECT.			
	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.
<i>Districts.</i>				
Saugor	— 6,410	— 19,681	— 24,640	— 28,977
Damoh	— 1,090	— 9,045	— 12,183	— 10,282
Jubbulpore	+ 9,481	— 3,783	— 11,269	— 11,015
Mandla	+ 4,253	— 3,133	— 3,289	— 7,889
Soni	+ 10,877	+ 1,085	— 1,150	— 2,758
Jubbulpore Division	+ 18,566	— 34,536	— 54,531	— 65,521
Narsinghpur	+ 6,075	— 1,088	— 8,097	— 13,709
Hoshangabad	+ 955	— 9,553	— 14,681	— 22,525
Nimar	— 8,807	— 10,714	— 12,193	— 14,335
Betul	+ 5,483	— 2,128	— 3,947	— 4,206
Chhindwara	+ 9,189	— 3,235	+ 563	— 2,136
Nerbudda Division	+ 12,805	— 27,247	+ 38,155	— 50,911
Wardha	— 2,527	— 5,718	— 3,907	— 7,078
Nagpur	— 3,380	— 7,864	— 6,156	— 13,771
Chanda	+ 6,989	— 7,044	— 4,802	— 1,886
Bhandara	+ 21,760	+ 9,458	+ 2,157	+ 6,245
Balaghat	+ 11,063	+ 2,033	+ 2,892	+ 2,793
Nagpur Division	+ 33,911	— 9,135	— 9,516	— 11,607
Rajpur	+ 53,484	+ 32,955	+ 12,687	+ 2,685
Bilaspur	+ 37,520	+ 18,004	+ 9,235	— 5,468
Sambalpur	+ 15,372	+ 2,665	+ 401	— 6,660
Chhattisgarh Division	+ 103,396	+ 53,624	+ 24,323	— 9,443
British Districts	+ 164,678	— 10,314	— 80,079	— 141,572
<i>States.</i>				
Makrai	+ 51	— 129	— 278	— 582
Bastar	— 4,865	— 8,428	— 9,844	— 2,634
Kanker	+ 344	— 3,233	— 652	— 1,068
Nandgaon	+ 6,145	+ 2,750	+ 995	— 458
Khairagarh	+ 6,156	+ 3,032	+ 784	+ 191
Chhuikhadan	+ 1,176	+ 944	+ 445	— 378
Kawardha	+ 1,550	— 313	+ 950	— 722
Sakti	+ 531	+ 310	+ 115	— 776
Rajgarh	+ 1,843	+ 71	— 591	+ 858
Sarangarh	+ 3,148	+ 1,142	+ 812	— 1,599
Bamra	— 964	— 2,749	— 2,236	— 2,727
Rairakhol	— 2,424	— 599	— 293	— 379
Sonpur	+ 4,337	+ 185	— 1,323	— 5,341
Patna	+ 4,772	— 4,005	— 5,181	— 6,390
Kalahandi	— 1,629	— 7,439	— 9,288	+ 27
Proletary States	+ 18,723	— 17,511	— 25,654	— 22,888
Central Provinces	+ 183,401	— 27,825	— 105,733	— 164,460

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Proportion of females to 1,000 males*

Serial No.	District or State.	Age					
		All ages.	0	1	2	3	4
1	Saugor	973	895	988	1,009	1,046	1,070
2	Damoh	988	1,003	1,039	935	1,031	986
3	Morwara Tahsil	1,047	993	999	974	1,034	1,060
4	Vindhyan Division	991	944	1,002	978	1,039	1,019
5	Rest of Jubbulpore	1,023	962	980	989	1,020	1,000
6	Total Jubbulpore District	1,028	969	978	985	1,023	1,011
7	Narsinghpur	1,039	990	1,082	979	1,009	943
8	Hoshangabad	1,004	975	1,016	998	1,030	1,074
9	Makrai State	1,008	977	794	942	1,041	987
10	Nerbudda Valley Division	1,023	973	1,000	988	1,022	1,012
11	Nimar	948	975	936	1,038	1,001	1,063
12	Mandla	1,027	1,032	1,055	990	1,151	1,100
13	Seoni	1,069	951	1,078	1,088	1,273	1,077
14	Chhindwara	1,046	964	1,009	1,013	1,039	1,003
15	Betul	1,039	1,004	1,080	1,023	1,110	1,057
16	Satpura Plateau Division	1,046	989	1,053	1,029	1,127	1,048
17	Wardha	987	1,026	1,040	1,061	1,147	1,055
18	Nagpur	991	980	1,035	1,038	1,106	1,054
19	Bhandara	1,068	994	1,096	1,014	1,129	1,083
20	Balaghat	1,070	939	981	963	1,056	1,120
21	Maratha Country	1,025	986	1,050	1,021	1,114	1,074
22	Chanda	1,004	962	1,016	1,020	1,137	1,045
23	Raipur	1,077	1,009	1,040	1,058	1,098	1,030
24	Bilaspur	1,066	973	1,048	1,031	1,110	1,046
25	Chhattisgarh Plain Division	1,073	991	1,049	1,047	1,102	1,040
26	Bastar State	969	1,006	1,010	1,029	1,036	920
27	Kanker	1,007	984	1,076	1,002	1,100	1,020
28	Nandgaon	1,102	1,064	1,043	1,020	1,160	1,061
29	Khairagarh	1,094	1,042	1,105	1,031	1,169	1,060
30	Chalkhandan	1,093	999	1,104	1,078	1,052	932
31	Kawardha	1,055	1,064	1,107	968	1,126	1,068
32	Sakti	1,049	911	914	1,127	1,205	1,173
33	Chhattisgarh States	1,069	1,031	1,080	1,021	1,137	1,047
34	Sambalpur	1,037	1,034	1,040	1,045	1,076	1,040
35	Raigarh	1,021	1,052	1,064	1,051	1,144	1,092
36	Sasargarh	1,063	1,019	1,078	1,016	1,145	1,441
37	Bamra	980	990	1,039	1,141	1,134	1,178
38	Rairakhol	931	1,095	1,069	1,146	1,146	1,076
39	Sonpur	1,052	1,082	1,043	1,050	1,098	1,058
40	Patna	1,035	975	1,080	1,090	1,142	1,081
41	Kalahanadi	991	1,008	1,030	1,115	1,125	1,089
42	Oriya Country	1,023	1,026	1,051	1,069	1,111	1,089
43	Central Provinces	1,031	989	1,037	1,029	1,083	1,050

by Districts and Natural Divisions at each age-period.

DISTRIBUTION.									Serial No.
0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over.	
987	939	865	844	1,027	959	1,065	1,066	1,298	1
990	975	895	906	1,028	991	1,058	1,042	1,056	2
1,001	990	894	887	1,073	1,123	1,204	1,171	1,411	3
993	964	877	870	1,035	996	1,095	1,073	1,233	4
989	983	903	923	991	1,021	1,106	1,145	1,281	5
992	985	904	914	1,010	1,045	1,139	1,150	1,309	6
990	973	849	921	1,069	1,071	1,151	1,276	1,553	7
1,019	943	877	958	1,022	989	1,035	1,191	1,304	8
929	998	839	1,011	1,037	980	1,080	1,177	1,157	9
998	972	929	928	1,018	1,030	1,108	1,174	1,333	10
1,005	965	866	1,004	988	847	894	1,031	1,086	11
1,057	994	861	1,023	1,141	959	948	1,176	1,750	12
1,091	1,027	917	1,040	1,135	970	1,081	1,229	1,731	13
1,009	1,054	993	991	1,031	1,015	1,069	1,229	1,999	14
1,056	1,049	890	978	1,109	993	1,020	1,150	1,390	15
1,047	1,030	916	1,008	1,099	986	1,035	1,202	1,376	16
1,067	1,037	894	929	1,119	951	891	877	1,127	17
1,040	1,021	861	935	1,076	999	971	927	1,116	18
1,064	1,026	904	991	1,116	1,121	1,058	1,060	1,402	19
1,010	1,043	885	980	1,161	1,083	1,017	1,199	1,793	20
1,049	1,029	885	958	1,123	1,026	987	984	1,271	21
1,043	1,003	861	981	1,123	982	997	1,097	1,391	22
1,057	993	844	954	1,173	1,076	1,078	1,300	1,908	23
1,044	1,020	876	949	1,132	1,039	1,084	1,288	1,731	24
1,052	1,007	857	952	1,170	1,056	1,081	1,295	1,902	25
998	955	854	982	1,070	915	885	1,010	1,150	26
1,041	960	817	970	1,071	1,004	957	1,186	1,589	27
1,070	1,019	864	974	1,113	1,083	1,123	1,369	2,002	28
1,081	1,003	843	926	1,189	1,099	1,168	1,414	2,004	29
1,051	1,008	802	1,118	1,169	1,106	1,102	1,428	2,082	30
1,036	1,031	801	903	1,231	972	1,068	1,346	1,812	31
1,086	1,109	867	899	1,075	1,104	927	1,179	1,581	32
1,063	1,005	837	953	1,174	1,058	1,084	1,337	1,869	33
1,051	1,027	889	941	1,113	982	1,061	1,134	1,586	34
1,085	1,023	849	939	1,125	991	928	1,044	1,521	35
1,149	989	908	926	1,173	1,017	1,058	1,177	1,667	36
1,110	1,004	886	906	1,001	872	773	809	1,186	37
1,110	1,027	894	796	937	811	859	951	1,079	38
1,058	1,024	857	1,003	1,171	967	1,106	1,185	1,601	39
1,085	1,049	812	1,030	1,143	987	1,070	1,129	1,454	40
1,088	989	838	1,036	1,115	940	836	917	1,221	41
1,075	1,020	863	977	1,115	969	991	1,075	1,488	42
1,041	1,008	878	957	1,106	1,008	1,031	1,127	1,471	43

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Proportion of females to 1,000 males at each age-period by prescribed Castes and Religion.*

Caste.	AGE DISTRIBUTION.							
	All ages.	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-40	40 and over.	60 and over.
Brahman ...	925	974	917	829	825	887	1,048	...
Rajput ...	1,046	1,017	1,026	944	991	1,042	1,210	...
Kayasth ...	956	957	1,070	871	748	887	1,147	...
Karan ...	893	1,054	1,127	794	912	730	1,019	...
Bania ...	1,003	1,065	1,024	736	922	1,039	1,124	...
Group I (a) ...	964	1,015	1,032	837	880	921	1,109	...
Bhat ...	1,038	1,067	908	891	856	1,071	1,208	...
Bairagi ...	939	966	1,007	770	749	961	1,004	...
Gosai ...	965	928	931	862	843	1,017	1,039	...
Group I (b) ...	977	980	949	841	813	1,016	1,084	...
Ahir ...	1,061	1,129	1,040	831	1,108	1,039	1,294	...
Gujar ...	977	939	992	1,004	1,093	939	1,044	...
Dangi ...	983	934	858	999	813	1,028	1,087	...
Jai ...	985	966	815	734	629	851	1,313	...
Kurmi ...	1,055	1,030	972	880	912	1,058	1,150	...
Kumhi ...	1,013	994	1,009	848	954	1,071	1,064	...
Lodhi ...	1,028	977	962	916	950	1,053	1,123	...
Kachhi ...	1,012	1,028	983	921	951	1,020	1,096	...
Mali ...	1,038	1,076	1,081	853	918	1,054	1,172	...
Khat ...	979	1,016	944	845	916	1,008	1,132	...
Kolta ...	1,012	1,028	968	911	911	1,012	1,136	...
Murafis ...	1,050	1,001	1,043	821	975	1,050	1,200	...
Agharia ...	1,025	1,019	1,072	939	1,007	1,033	1,090	...
Bhilala ...	983	1,255	1,014	841	694	1,018	1,085	...
Group II (a) ...	1,013	1,028	982	880	910	1,016	1,162	...
Barhai ...	980	945	937	836	970	1,015	1,037	...
Sonar ...	1,097	1,007	1,030	818	1,036	1,018	1,186	...
Barai ...	1,044	1,003	1,108	931	1,015	1,052	1,065	...
Group II (b) ...	1,040	944	1,025	862	1,007	1,028	1,094	...
Nai ...	1,024	1,030	1,061	896	770	1,026	1,158	...
Dhimar ...	1,028	1,052	995	867	1,068	1,068	1,059	...
Kahar ...	957	1,012	794	894	907	1,007	1,043	...
Kewat ...	1,063	1,112	1,131	819	968	1,108	779	...
Group II (c) ...	1,018	1,054	995	869	928	1,052	1,019	...
Khaugur ...	1,022	1,045	1,008	951	1,048	1,029	938	...
Chadar ...	1,004	1,037	1,049	857	861	1,023	1,206	...
Manz ...	1,051	1,037	1,059	902	947	1,165	1,165	...
Bhojar ...	1,105	1,197	1,159	898	954	1,194	1,121	...
Group III (a) ...	1,048	1,079	1,077	927	953	1,080	1,107	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Proportion of females to 1,000 males at each age-period by prescribed castes and religion—(Concl.)*

Caste.	AGE DISTRIBUTION.							
	All ages.	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25 and over.	60 and over.
Kalar	1,034	1,037	1,039	860	937	1,049	1,164	...
Darji	998	1,037	1,029	948	876	1,001	1,025	...
Kushti	973	1,033	813	778	1,096	1,064	1,078	...
Teli	1,044	1,045	991	867	952	1,070	1,001	...
Bahua	1,037	989	948	888	1,052	1,045	1,174	...
Lohar	1,001	1,007	1,018	895	934	1,050	1,107	...
Dhangar	1,011	1,844	1,096	885	914	1,080	964	...
Gadaria	995	1,094	995	900	840	969	1,111	...
Jogi	1,002	1,021	761	839	1,083	1,076	1,136	...
Bidar	1,030	896	1,014	840	872	1,094	1,163	...
Banjara	957	884	949	881	886	992	1,036	...
Group III (d)	1,009	1,097	973	871	951	1,045	1,115	...
Baiga	1,069	1,127	1,051	481	1,122	1,121	953	...
Bijnhar	1,003	1,185	1,041	769	893	1,124	1,279	...
Gond	1,025	1,045	999	885	1,079	1,052	1,071	...
Kandh	1,036	1,048	1,120	909	991	1,075	1,064	...
Kawar	1,057	1,143	1,049	873	933	1,101	1,224	...
Kol	1,088	1,060	1,033	959	1,122	1,139	1,119	...
Kurku	1,053	1,108	1,094	877	1,101	1,068	1,079	...
Bhil	1,016	1,163	1,042	780	1,194	1,000	1,044	...
Halia	1,093	1,066	1,010	828	1,010	1,121	1,446	...
Group IV	1,055	1,094	1,049	810	1,049	1,091	1,105	...
Basor	1,041	992	1,037	821	1,010	1,166	1,025	...
Ganda	1,037	1,095	923	887	964	1,110	1,128	...
Gharia	1,068	1,059	1,014	830	1,080	1,146	1,173	...
Katin	1,088	1,095	994	1,019	1,077	1,046	1,012	...
Kori	1,032	1,017	977	1,044	847	1,049	1,124	...
Kumhar	1,017	992	1,014	920	1,006	1,040	1,069	...
Mang	1,080	1,131	1,069	957	1,064	1,159	1,050	...
Mohtar	1,046	1,258	1,032	883	1,022	1,108	970	...
Mahar	1,035	1,039	1,010	975	978	1,094	1,071	...
Balahi	1,021	1,073	975	874	1,100	1,059	1,006	...
Chamar	1,045	1,042	1,021	844	945	1,112	1,136	...
Panka	1,039	1,040	1,049	841	943	1,135	1,353	...
Dhobi	1,064	1,017	1,025	987	963	1,182	1,223	...
Group V	1,052	1,067	1,016	910	1,003	1,106	1,128	...
Religion.								
Muslims	663	684	975	870	898	931	1,029	1,072
Animist	1,026	1,065	1,013	908	1,021	1,094	1,069	1,125
Jain	964	971	1,051	801	880	973	1,859	1,034
Parsi	812	1,031	1,120	1,036	606	670	465	200
Jewish	934	642	1,073	2,300	1,000	1,059	429	1,000

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Population deduced from Vital Statistics by Natural Divisions.

Natural Division.	Population according to the census of 1901.		Total males in 1901 to 1900.		Total births in 1901 to 1900.		Deaths and burials 1901 to 1900.		Balance population.		Actual population according to the census of 1901.		Difference between actual and deduced population.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Vindhyas.	908,649	611,661	106,122	106,371	416,211	310,001	—1,117	—27,489	17,049	170,699	401,307	406,551	—5,244	—14,852
Nerunda Valley.*	877,276	597,846	116,120	116,074	416,111	317,127	—1,498	—15,127	111,306	112,779	704,111	706,679	—2,568	—14,567
Salpore Hill Division.*	919,718	678,317	100,811	101,107	407,811	311,001	—8,332	—11,744	100,111	91,001	890,001	886,879	—3,122	—12,131
Nagpur Plate.*	1,231,147	7,128,120	106,111	106,111	407,811	311,001	—2,111	—11,111	1,001,111	1,001,111	1,128,120	1,128,120	—1,111	—1,111
Chhattisgarh Plate.*	1,231,147	7,128,120	106,111	106,111	407,811	311,001	—2,111	—11,111	1,001,111	1,001,111	1,128,120	1,128,120	—1,111	—1,111
Total.	4,740,001	4,751,700	1,746,555	1,641,221	2,042,317	1,724,555	—83,330	—300,000	4,453,079	4,408,430	4,368,960	4,410,411	—105,020	—258,018

* Excludes Hoshangabad and Chhindwara Taluqs and Chhindwara, Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur Districts.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—The proportions of females to 1,000 males dying each year.

Natural Division.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Vindhyas.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6
Nerunda Valley.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6
Salpore Hill Division.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6
Nagpur Plate.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6
Chhattisgarh Plate.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6
Total.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6

Proportion of females to 1,000 males born in each of ten years from 1891 to 1900.

Natural Division.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
Vindhyas.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6
Nerunda Valley.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6
Salpore Hill Division.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6
Nagpur Plate.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6
Chhattisgarh Plate.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6
Total.	647.3	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6	649.6

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—Deaths registered during each of the last 10 years

Years.	0—4			5—9			10—14			15—19		
	Males.	Females.	Pro- por- tion of fe- males to 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Pro- por- tion of fe- males to 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Pro- por- tion of fe- males to 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Pro- por- tion of fe- males to 1,000 males.
1891	75,171	65,666	874	11,504	9,179	798	6,623	5,250	793	6,181	5,609	907
1892	74,947	65,124	869	12,268	9,758	799	7,690	5,644	731	6,937	6,221	897
1893	66,915	58,114	868	8,048	6,535	812	4,650	3,693	788	4,051	3,799	938
1894	86,862	76,765	884	10,906	8,830	812	6,250	4,961	778	5,725	4,563	849
1895	81,044	73,503	908	12,088	9,730	805	6,222	4,717	758	5,591	4,783	869
1896	85,874	76,406	890	18,924	15,112	798	10,900	7,851	720	9,730	8,090	831
1897	99,639	88,094	884	32,218	24,779	769	17,925	12,281	685	15,190	11,134	733
1898	47,191	41,175	871	7,762	6,819	878	4,603	3,637	790	4,499	3,601	800
1899	70,002	60,459	865	6,495	5,332	821	4,158	3,157	754	4,230	3,493	816
1900	119,604	105,031	878	21,779	16,955	778	12,798	9,314	728	9,860	7,850	796
Total	807,849	710,427	879	141,932	113,029	796	81,819	60,335	737	71,904	59,443	827

by sex and age and proportion of females to 1,000 males dying at each age-period.

20—29			40—49			60 and over.			Total.		
Males.	Females.	Proportion of females to 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Proportion of females to 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Proportion of females to 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Proportion of females to 1,000 males.
23,694	21,371	902	24,958	18,662	748	19,624	19,872	1,013	167,733	145,609	868
26,839	23,786	884	26,642	19,576	735	19,148	19,037	1,044	174,411	149,966	860
18,452	15,785	855	21,466	14,894	694	18,403	18,371	998	141,987	121,161	853
25,190	21,865	868	29,474	21,734	737	24,455	25,240	1,032	188,862	164,158	869
23,125	22,832	988	31,094	21,412	689	23,874	24,122	1,010	187,948	161,189	858
40,643	39,206	790	40,871	35,700	716	29,924	31,238	1,044	254,866	213,603	838
31,522	59,712	732	76,358	54,001	707	42,951	43,032	1,002	363,803	293,703	809
21,999	18,367	835	21,553	17,461	810	14,899	16,691	1,120	122,506	107,751	880
21,598	18,327	848	21,408	14,663	689	16,281	16,252	998	144,772	122,138	844
48,991	20,068	799	47,566	33,771	699	32,799	34,435	1,050	293,397	245,927	838
345,963	280,454	811	350,390	251,674	718	242,360	249,193	1,028	2,042,217	1,724,555	844

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—Births and Birth-rates year by year for each District from 1st March 1891 to 28th February 1901.

District.	1891.		1892.		1893.		1894.		1895.		1896.	
	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.
VINDHYA DIVISION.												
Saugor	17,012	28.75	23,191	39.16	23,169	39.15	24,642	41.64	19,243	30.60	12,059	21.88
Danish	10,019	30.77	13,027	40.00	13,757	42.25	12,987	39.28	7,814	24.09	7,082	21.75
Murwara	5,706	32.92	6,929	40.00	7,013	40.47	7,430	42.02	5,189	29.90	4,750	27.41
Nearbada DIVISION.												
Jubbulpore	18,408	32.02	21,523	37.44	23,397	40.89	21,857	38.02	15,251	26.52	15,821	27.52
Narsinghpur	11,966	32.60	13,780	37.55	14,202	39.21	14,136	38.51	10,100	28.31	9,475	25.82
Hoshangabad	28,782	38.09	20,017	38.11	21,754	41.41	21,838	41.57	18,167	34.58	16,054	32.28
Nimar	7,483	26.62	7,572	43.99	8,199	47.64	6,371	37.01	7,479	43.45	7,524	44.00
Burhanpur	2,721	33.44	2,821	34.76	3,254	39.69	2,708	33.28	2,016	35.84	2,411	42.29
MANDLA DIVISION.												
Manilla	13,084	28.26	12,904	28.02	14,157	42.30	13,600	40.07	12,444	26.67	9,408	27.72
Betul	13,103	40.53	13,820	42.76	11,059	37.00	12,010	40.25	13,606	43.10	11,686	39.14
Chhindvan	15,045	44.32	15,287	45.03	12,219	36.00	15,112	38.61	15,229	44.89	12,018	35.41
Seoni	13,908	37.67	14,590	39.35	13,127	35.40	13,132	35.42	11,973	32.90	8,726	23.33
Balaghat	14,695	28.33	14,061	36.68	13,043	39.24	13,685	35.70	11,401	29.98	9,375	24.45
WARGANOA DIVISION.												
Bhandara	27,398	37.06	29,662	39.93	29,415	39.60	29,316	39.46	25,420	34.22	21,400	32.86
Nagpur	27,450	36.22	28,028	36.99	25,970	33.24	26,043	35.25	28,512	34.98	24,675	32.56
Wardha	15,577	38.86	10,226	40.73	13,347	39.29	14,706	36.66	14,494	36.16	14,089	35.15
Chanda	17,075	31.50	21,662	38.61	19,573	34.88	19,807	35.30	15,377	29.23	18,780	32.47
Rajput	46,457	36.99	48,025	35.86	48,017	38.24	51,729	42.19	45,937	36.56	47,192	37.28
Bilaspur	29,983	36.24	29,272	35.38	20,194	37.49	22,559	39.34	29,901	37.34	28,745	34.74
Sambalpur	15,717	35.23	15,217	29.19	15,643	40.39	15,315	29.45	14,665	37.28	14,281	26.79
Total for the year	840,276	35.81	884,745	36.39	903,209	38.23	986,884	38.82	917,432	33.41	901,427	31.72

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—Births and Birth-rates year by year for each District from 1st March 1891 to 28th February 1901.—(Concl'd.)

District.	1895.		1896.		1897.		1898.		1899.		1900.		1901.		Total.
	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births.	Ratio per 1,000.	Births in January and February.	Ratio per 1,000.	
Vindhya Division.															
Saugor ..	10,365	17.52	13,126	22.18	22,811	38.58	16,841	28.46	17,94	30.3	178,164		1,794	30.3	178,164
Damoh ..	5,461	16.77	9,436	28.98	14,226	43.69	11,300	34.70	1,228	3.77	106,367		1,228	3.77	106,367
Murwara ..	4,959	16.79	5,207	20.04	5,880	21.24	6,208	25.82	6,211	25.99	250,039		6,211	25.99	250,039
Jubbulpore ..	12,017	20.91	17,171	29.87	26,091	45.39	21,237	36.04	2,229	3.88	120,916		2,229	3.88	120,916
Narsinghpur ..	7,229	19.72	10,262	27.96	15,906	43.34	12,000	32.71	1,367	3.72	183,696		1,367	3.72	183,696
Hoshangabad ..	13,493	27.36	14,534	29.47	20,727	42.04	15,721	31.88	1,889	3.39	117,285		1,889	3.39	117,285
Nimar ..	9,461	16.70	9,308	15.54	11,073	18.99	8,938	13.74	801	1.22	123,666		801	1.22	123,666
Burhanpur ..	3,270	10.19	3,069	9.72	4,887	16.66	3,026	9.31	296	0.94	123,690		296	0.94	123,690
Mandla ..	5,553	16.26	9,338	27.51	16,863	49.69	11,341	33.41	1,264	3.72	141,839		1,264	3.72	141,839
Betul ..	16,359	32.03	9,394	18.68	15,223	29.73	10,615	20.90	714	1.42	122,157		714	1.42	122,157
Chhindwara ..	12,089	26.30	23,481	50.63	28,594	61.21	17,798	38.82	959	1.82	123,229		959	1.82	123,229
Seoni ..	7,473	17.16	9,704	21.75	16,390	41.88	11,798	26.30	1,270	2.70	123,229		1,270	2.70	123,229
Balaghat ..	6,220	16.23	9,489	24.75	16,429	42.88	10,848	24.70	883	1.60	265,294		883	1.60	265,294
Bhandara ..	16,317	26.00	21,073	39.56	36,243	68.79	21,781	37.93	1,260	2.30	274,389		1,260	2.30	274,389
Rajpur ..	26,340	31.76	24,528	29.73	26,709	48.44	27,592	50.40	2,326	3.97	151,683		2,326	3.97	151,683
Wardha ..	15,907	29.83	11,104	27.70	20,617	51.43	14,749	36.79	907	1.48	122,081		907	1.48	122,081
Chanda ..	19,440	34.63	17,129	30.28	26,499	47.23	13,376	27.41	811	1.48	448,839		811	1.48	448,839
Rajpur ..	12,466	25.85	35,716	68.44	60,543	112.21	33,222	60.40	2,361	4.32	288,533		2,361	4.32	288,533
Bilaspur ..	10,092	24.16	21,540	50.63	30,795	61.21	21,145	38.25	1,205	2.04	160,889		1,205	2.04	160,889
Sambalpur ..	15,226	30.24	17,476	45.01	26,539	52.91	16,853	30.41	1,887	3.22	3,374,808		1,887	3.22	3,374,808
Total for the year ..	254,978	26.83	284,178	28.91	449,896	47.36	303,121	31.90	26,468	2.79			26,468	2.79	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—Deaths and Death-rates year by year for each District from 1st March 1891 to 28th February 1901.

District.	1891.			1892.			1893.			1894.			1895.			1896.		
	Number of deaths from March to December.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.
Saugor Division.	17,783	30.05	21,473	35.78	17,646	29.82	25,995	43.93	30,688	51.86	42,081	72.63						
	11,891	26.32	10,415	31.59	9,712	29.85	13,249	40.99	14,770	45.36	25,746	88.28						
	6,892	30.31	5,659	32.65	4,869	27.75	6,868	39.59	6,188	33.70	11,767	67.00						
Nagpur Division.	20,076	36.48	18,126	31.55	17,248	30.87	22,412	39.16	24,203	42.16	35,486	61.73						
	13,817	37.65	11,049	32.56	12,381	33.73	16,019	43.65	19,018	53.45	29,503	55.45						
	20,265	40.72	17,690	33.69	14,920	28.44	23,183	44.13	24,212	46.00	23,492	44.72						
Nimar Division.	6,092	29.81	6,029	40.26	5,541	33.19	8,280	45.34	9,821	57.06	9,437	54.83						
	2,138	26.40	2,084	25.61	2,268	29.10	2,041	37.37	2,025	35.05	2,887	35.48						
	9,701	28.59	11,279	33.23	9,861	27.20	11,628	34.26	10,346	37.46	25,066	73.68						
Satpura Division.	8,020	24.84	9,335	28.88	9,019	27.00	15,444	47.79	15,154	46.89	15,277	37.98						
	8,496	25.00	8,344	24.58	10,241	30.46	15,566	45.86	14,069	41.43	15,210	44.81						
	8,661	24.17	10,891	29.37	10,287	27.75	11,668	31.39	13,697	36.94	22,664	61.94						
Wardha Division.	10,012	26.12	12,088	33.88	9,727	25.40	12,804	37.40	11,623	30.32	19,164	49.39						
	20,899	28.13	23,318	31.29	19,159	25.76	25,386	34.17	25,225	33.96	27,221	56.04						
	91,077	29.00	10,357	25.54	10,542	25.78	29,762	39.27	27,976	35.73	28,345	37.40						
Malkaj Division.	14,075	17.36	11,829	29.63	11,814	29.47	16,011	47.43	16,692	41.39	18,529	46.23						
	14,036	26.62	16,152	28.28	15,655	27.69	16,559	34.41	16,918	35.29	20,349	56.61						
	31,266	24.98	58,585	46.66	24,472	27.45	39,037	31.09	34,277	25.79	52,013	43.14						
Sambalpur Division.	16,496	19.01	32,411	39.17	19,797	27.03	33,477	28.37	31,885	26.45	39,328	47.54						
	8,258	20.06	15,726	40.64	8,922	22.58	11,263	29.01	8,823	22.73	11,796	39.39						
Total for the year		275,823	324,348	84.14	263,143	27.70	353,608	37.22	349,137	39.78	468,489	49.31						

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—Deaths and Death-rates year by year for each District from 1st March 1891 to 28th February 1901.—(Concl'd.)

District.	1897.		1898.		1899.		1900.		1901.		Total.
	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000.	Deaths in January and February.	Ratio per 1,000.	
Saigon	51,627	87.25	16,893	28.55	13,718	23.17	25,130	30.00	1,040	3.28	261,268
Danah	41,268	64.83	9,026	20.48	8,245	25.22	9,462	69.06	1,122	3.44	139,400
Murwara	16,840	97.05	4,797	24.79	4,301	25.16	5,314	31.81	372	3.30	305,472
Jalindhpore	27,157	64.64	16,142	28.08	15,616	27.22	21,969	38.21	2,251	4.09	155,438
Narsinghpur	28,803	78.48	10,800	27.79	9,418	25.65	11,575	31.54	1,295	3.53	200,420
Hoshangabad	31,038	64.78	12,921	26.21	11,823	23.95	26,801	54.36	2,180	4.34	123,115
Nimar	13,466	65.91	7,077	24.63	6,228	45.16	22,046	110.82	1,301	6.57	131,115
Barhanpur	3,362	43.28	2,700	20.16	5,755	40.13	7,371	60.62	422	8.19	131,891
Maunth	33,383	68.26	6,694	10.72	8,115	23.91	7,001	20.63	784	2.51	107,333
Batal	13,769	23.54	7,374	22.82	6,642	29.83	26,312	51.10	1,077	3.23	120,267
Chhindwara	17,615	51.89	9,816	27.15	11,153	30.86	25,199	85.97	1,174	3.46	124,333
Seoni	26,537	71.57	8,067	21.61	6,047	24.40	11,338	30.58	886	2.39	143,133
Bilaspur	33,332	86.95	6,673	22.63	11,257	29.37	14,371	35.49	1,172	3.06	271,336
Bhandara	43,131	60.78	18,032	24.27	20,710	27.88	45,469	61.21	2,704	3.76	221,694
Nagpur	37,869	49.97	17,839	23.54	24,377	28.16	41,645	57.59	2,605	5.13	221,694
Wardha	23,282	58.08	6,740	24.31	13,543	23.28	24,101	85.97	2,074	5.17	173,548
Chandla	23,220	41.58	12,248	21.93	16,799	29.78	22,056	38.78	2,709	4.81	210,564
Rajpur	98,637	28.55	26,819	21.36	25,464	28.24	70,222	55.91	5,199	4.14	484,065
Bilaspur	79,040	95.54	17,123	20.69	19,069	23.05	27,848	45.74	2,884	3.40	399,357
Sambalpur	11,731	30.22	8,022	20.93	11,267	20.57	40,322	103.87	2,407	5.51	440,373
Total for the year	658,822	60.34	230,907	24.30	208,930	29.09	638,234	56.75	58,327	4.02	3,780,646

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Variations in Civil Condition by Religion.

Religion.	UNMARRIED.						MARRIED.						WIDOWED.					
	Males.			Females.			Males.			Females.			Males.			Females.		
	1921.	1911.	1901.	No.	Per cent. age.	Variation.	1921.	1911.	1901.	No.	Per cent. age.	Variation.	1921.	1911.	1901.	No.	Per cent. age.	Variation.
All Religions.	8,739,044	3,076,722	—	345,332	—	1172	2,104,614	8,270,818	—	475,332	—	1172	2,222,946	6,134,667	—	276,881	—	120
Hindu	4,408,483	6,441,898	—	145,500	—	1070	1,009,613	1,084,076	—	433,375	—	30	2,211,353	6,706,034	—	284,291	—	170
Muslim	425,063	300,314	—	106,291	—	1279	2,08,399	654,078	—	10,719	—	3170	209,160	490,989	—	91,293	—	273
Muslim	26,174	77,100	—	6,120	—	172	23,499	53,086	—	642	—	172	71,083	14,553	—	2,023	—	171
Christian	9,352	1,053	—	3,714	—	670	6,180	7,707	—	2,612	—	13370	3,384	8,319	—	4,035	—	4073
Jain	10,027	11,848	—	6,011	—	871	6,241	6,436	—	197	—	271	10,255	11,616	—	307	—	370
Buddhist	43	63	—	32	—	478	3	—	—	3	—	—	117	37	—	130	—	300
Jewish	79	27	—	9	—	271	17	87	—	3	—	172	37	14	—	14	—	215
Sikh	214	16	—	88	—	24171	32	39	—	48	—	44076	273	50	—	192	—	4623
Zoroastrian	99	208	—	31	—	5973	247	166	—	12	—	4077	320	217	—	8	—	375

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Distribution by Civil Condition and Main Age-periods of*

Religion.	Civil Condition.	Age								
		0-5.			5-10.			10-15.		
		Males.	Females.	Females per 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Females per 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Females per 1,000 males.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ALL RELIGIONS	Unmarried	9,925	9,993	1,038	9,361	9,041	953	8,243	6,994	648
	Married	68	92	1,337	421	620	2,202	1,676	1,742	1,956
	Widowed	3	5	1,963	18	39	2,196	81	164	1,766
	Total	10,000	10,000	1,041	10,000	10,000	1,006	10,000	10,000	376
HINDU	Unmarried	9,931	9,894	1,025	9,541	8,929	941	8,098	5,700	613
	Married	66	101	1,594	441	1,031	2,359	1,818	4,126	1,977
	Widowed	3	5	2,036	18	40	2,284	84	174	1,803
	Total	10,000	10,000	1,029	10,000	10,000	1,006	10,000	10,000	871
ARHIST	Unmarried	9,352	9,944	1,064	9,665	9,598	1,006	8,927	7,985	812
	Married	45	31	1,158	316	367	1,176	1,006	1,902	1,715
	Widowed	3	5	1,964	19	35	1,857	67	113	1,521
	Total	10,000	10,000	1,065	10,000	10,000	1,013	10,000	10,000	968
MUSALMAN	Unmarried	9,937	9,910	982	9,599	9,361	950	8,798	7,301	722
	Married	53	76	1,388	379	597	1,538	1,134	2,586	1,983
	Widowed	10	14	1,421	22	42	1,839	68	113	1,457
	Total	10,000	10,000	984	10,000	10,000	975	10,000	10,000	870
JAIN	Unmarried	9,910	9,960	976	9,508	8,904	984	8,057	3,834	361
	Married	84	33	385	439	989	2,417	1,818	5,801	2,555
	Widowed	6	7	971	60	107	1,800	125	365	2,343
	Total	10,000	10,000	971	10,000	10,000	1,050	10,000	10,000	861
CHRISTIAN	Unmarried	9,932	9,976	986	9,835	9,824	1,119	9,594	8,995	873
	Married	46	24	500	154	171	1,241	379	612	2,241
	Widowed	—	—	—	11	5	500	47	93	3,167
	Total	10,000	10,000	983	10,000	10,000	1,123	10,000	10,000	931

10,000 of each Sex and Proportion of Females per 1,000 Males at each Age-period.

PERIOD.

15-20.			20-40.			40-60.			65 and over.		
Males.	Females.	Females per 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Females per 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Females per 1,000 males.	Males.	Females.	Females per 1,000 males.
12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.
5,606	2,027	346	1,308	258	217	260	94	383	193	67	511
4,148	7,439	1,716	7,564	8,334	1,095	8,188	4,954	644	6,887	1,707	395
246	334	2,077	728	1,498	2,180	1,552	4,952	3,396	2,920	8,226	4,142
10,000	10,000	957	10,000	10,000	1,059	10,000	10,000	1,065	10,000	10,000	1,471
5,317	1,754	313	1,168	241	210	252	87	368	190	65	502
4,437	7,724	1,690	8,107	8,289	1,084	8,236	4,943	640	6,868	1,670	357
246	522	2,011	725	1,470	2,150	1,512	4,970	3,507	2,942	8,265	4,128
10,000	10,000	948	10,000	10,000	1,060	10,000	10,000	1,067	10,000	10,000	1,469
6,951	3,272	451	1,829	397	232	257	110	539	163	71	673
2,801	6,123	2,232	7,405	8,002	1,183	7,999	5,086	680	7,931	1,950	428
248	605	2,400	766	1,611	2,300	1,764	4,795	2,906	2,806	7,979	4,399
10,000	10,000	1,021	10,000	10,000	1,094	10,000	10,000	1,069	10,000	10,000	1,544
6,831	3,037	399	2,149	379	165	481	140	301	315	104	419
2,043	6,493	1,981	7,302	8,031	1,039	7,972	4,815	622	7,060	1,695	395
226	470	1,866	649	1,390	2,284	1,547	5,045	3,356	2,625	8,201	3,973
10,000	10,000	898	10,000	10,000	932	10,000	10,000	1,029	10,000	10,000	1,272
5,404	261	42	1,934	79	40	745	42	54	630	54	114
4,215	8,929	1,863	7,198	7,321	990	6,783	3,774	535	5,521	1,779	430
381	810	1,871	868	2,600	2,915	2,472	6,184	2,409	3,849	8,167	2,831
10,000	10,000	880	10,000	10,000	973	10,000	10,000	967	10,000	10,000	1,334
8,786	5,648	611	3,150	1,330	155	860	640	617	250	301	1,125
1,164	4,167	3,403	4,311	7,548	1,002	7,050	4,996	521	6,438	1,605	233
50	185	3,500	339	1,122	1,984	1,190	4,364	3,038	3,312	8,094	2,283
10,000	10,000	951	10,000	10,000	599	10,000	10,000	825	10,000	10,000	634

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Proportion of Married Females to 1,000 Married Males by Natural Divisions and by Religion.*

Serial No.	Natural Divisions.	Proportion.
1	Vindhyan Division	1,011
2	Nerbudda Division	1,051
3	Nimar	993
4	Satpura Division	1,076
5	Nagpur Plains	1,035
6	Chanda	1,033
7	Bastar	1,027
8	Chhattisgarh Division	1,001
9	Chhattisgarh Feudatory States Division	1,058
10	Sambalpur	1,015
11	Oriya Feudatory States Division	995
12	Central Provinces	1,040

Serial No.	Religions	Proportion.
1	Hindu	1,037
2	Animist	1,080
3	Musalman	958
4	Jain	1,003
5	Christian	930
6	Sikh	330
7	Zoroastrian	686
8	Buddhist	17
9	Aryasamaji	795
10	Brahmasamaji	922
11	Jewish	1,000
12	All Religions	1,040

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—*Proportion of Married Females to 1,000 Married Males by Caste arranged in Groups.*

Caste.	Proportion.	Caste.	Proportion.
Brahman	1,017	Mana	1,054
Rajput	1,072	Bhojar	1,144
Kayasth	1,024	Group III (a)	1,071
Karan	846	Kalar	1,007
Group I (a)	990	Darji	1,053
Bhat	1,033	Keshiti	1,029
Bairagi	1,030	Teli	1,042
Gosain	1,042	Bahna	1,014
Group I (b)	1,037	Lohar	1,024
Ahir	1,084	Dhangar	1,021
Gujar	1,104	Gadaria	1,014
Dangi	1,072	Bidar	1,079
Jat	1,002	Banjara	1,083
Kurni	1,056	Group III (b)	1,039
Kunbi	1,042	Balga	1,086
Lodhi	1,080	Bijhwar	1,039
Mali	1,013	Gond	1,037
Kirar	1,104	Kandh	1,046
Kolta	1,011	Kawar	1,041
Marathe	1,015	Kol	1,009
Agharia	1,019	Korku	1,063
Bhilala	1,002	Bhil	954
Group II (a)	1,046	Halba	1,014
Barhai	1,002	Group IV	1,041
Sonar	1,051	Baser	1,104
Barai	1,068	Ganda	1,036
Group II (b)	1,040	Ghasia	1,058
Nai	1,012	Katia	1,110
Dhimar	1,043	Kori	1,006
Kahar	1,038	Kumbhar	1,005
Kewat	1,047	Mala	1,094
Group II (c)	1,038	Mang	1,134
Khangar	1,122	Mehar	1,140
Kir	1,024	Mahar	1,057
Chadar	1,012	Balabi	1,017
		Chamar	1,068
		Dhobi	1,051
		Group V	1,069
		Masaiman	1,174

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—*Distribution by Civil Condition*

Serial No.	Natural Division and District.	Civil Condition					
		All ages.			15-40.		
		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Saugor	4,615	4,548	837	9,662	315	18
2	Damoh	4,598	4,654	748	9,883	112	5
3	Vidhyan Division	4,608	4,588	804	9,750	237	13
4	Jubbulpore	4,290	4,915	795	9,655	334	11
5	Narsinghpur	4,604	4,739	657	9,699	290	5
6	Hoshangabad	4,545	4,691	794	9,607	372	21
7	Makrai	4,273	4,419	1,308	9,287	700	13
8	Nerbudda Division	4,435	4,803	761	9,646	341	13
9	Nimar	4,315	4,724	991	9,772	209	19
10	Betul	5,051	4,293	656	9,868	127	5
11	Chhindwara	5,964	4,794	1,242	9,308	654	58
12	Seoni	4,884	4,429	687	9,790	188	16
13	Mandla	1,558	4,401	351	9,817	175	8
14	Satpura Division	4,681	4,596	793	9,663	312	25
15	Nagpur	4,336	5,155	509	9,817	176	7
16	Bhandara	4,788	4,742	470	9,725	258	2
17	Wardha	4,192	5,191	617	9,842	151	7
18	Balaghat	5,021	4,469	510	9,834	159	7
19	Nagpur Plain Division	4,350	4,932	518	9,793	201	6
20	Chanda	4,839	4,613	548	9,732	257	11
21	Raipur	4,483	5,051	466	9,700	293	7
22	Bilaspur	4,625	4,784	590	9,700	298	2
23	Chhattisgarh Division	4,542	4,949	518	9,700	295	5
24	Bastar	5,096	4,277	627	9,578	413	9
25	Kanker	5,505	4,029	466	9,878	112	10
26	Nandgaon	4,606	4,932	462	9,700	285	15
27	Kharagpur	4,609	4,865	525	9,676	313	11
28	Chitrakoot	4,578	4,821	591	9,689	271	40
29	Kawardha	4,456	5,040	504	9,704	288	8
30	Sakti	4,581	4,898	521	9,682	900	18
31	Chhattisgarh Feudatories	4,789	4,715	496	9,706	280	14
32	Sambalpur	4,767	4,685	548	9,887	111	2
33	Raigarh	5,166	4,395	439	9,843	156	2
34	Sasangudi	4,839	4,699	462	9,633	302	5
35	Bamra	5,063	4,620	317	9,821	163	6
36	Rairakhol	4,835	4,070	495	9,888	109	3
37	Sompur	4,407	4,994	590	9,744	246	10
38	Patna	5,579	3,892	520	9,902	95	3
39	Kalahandi	5,053	3,966	381	9,625	23	2
40	Orissa Feudatories	5,259	4,287	454	9,860	137	3
41	Central Provinces	4,873	4,718	609	9,739	250	11

of 10,000 of each Sex for Natural Divisions and Districts.

OF 10,000 MALES.

10-15.			15-40.			40 and over.		
Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
8,485	1,427	88	2,506	6,717	777	410	7,042	2,548
8,675	1,217	108	2,345	7,075	580	307	7,252	2,441
8,554	1,351	95	2,446	6,849	705	370	7,124	2,500
7,691	2,208	101	2,254	7,044	702	747	7,450	2,303
8,179	1,704	57	2,271	7,144	585	358	7,316	2,120
7,001	2,015	54	2,543	6,716	741	586	7,476	2,158
7,607	2,057	236	2,761	6,179	1,060	201	6,408	3,391
7,868	2,044	88	2,350	6,957	603	312	7,460	2,208
7,965	1,955	80	2,207	6,895	898	401	6,953	2,640
8,761	1,066	173	2,652	6,600	548	397	7,482	2,211
6,451	3,366	383	1,525	7,138	1,337	125	6,248	3,327
8,469	1,454	77	2,600	6,747	653	281	7,322	2,197
8,509	1,422	74	2,390	7,090	511	497	8,058	1,445
7,978	1,846	176	2,274	6,919	807	280	7,315	2,405
8,624	1,338	44	2,214	7,423	363	224	8,321	1,455
8,340	1,616	44	2,265	7,221	414	199	8,342	1,259
8,684	1,249	67	2,093	7,441	466	224	8,068	1,708
8,713	1,234	53	2,648	6,835	517	228	8,044	1,728
8,558	1,393	49	2,301	7,275	421	217	8,245	1,558
8,574	1,331	95	2,547	6,932	521	226	8,132	1,642
7,726	2,215	59	1,643	7,789	568	153	8,579	1,268
7,048	2,030	22	1,833	7,621	546	218	8,352	1,430
7,819	2,157	44	1,721	7,720	550	178	8,491	1,031
8,522	1,393	85	2,882	6,904	614	462	7,499	2,009
6,022	949	29	2,808	6,653	539	311	8,120	1,360
8,036	1,895	69	1,762	7,606	612	190	8,053	1,157
7,970	1,938	92	1,661	7,677	662	118	8,428	1,454
7,452	2,349	199	1,369	7,807	822	122	8,472	1,466
6,043	1,829	128	1,764	7,603	603	162	8,404	1,344
4,592	5,203	105	2,725	6,605	662	208	8,038	1,554
8,044	1,873	83	1,690	7,387	623	198	8,417	1,385
8,357	1,617	26	1,631	7,514	655	168	8,163	1,649
8,371	1,592	37	2,260	7,150	541	154	8,412	1,434
8,111	1,832	57	1,769	7,671	560	254	8,237	1,509
8,688	1,290	19	2,469	7,242	289	211	8,628	1,161
8,931	1,063	6	2,570	6,894	530	181	8,774	1,445
7,917	2,015	68	1,534	7,685	781	107	8,352	1,521
9,152	811	33	2,809	6,420	763	211	8,227	1,572
9,550	426	15	2,990	6,552	452	238	8,366	1,396
8,867	1,100	33	2,493	6,933	574	224	8,365	1,411
8,243	1,676	81	2,194	7,177	629	248	7,952	1,800

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—*Distribution by Civil Condition*

Serial No.	Natural Division and District.	CIVIL CONDITION					
		All ages.			0-10.		
		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Saugor	3,201	4,714	2,085	9,518	463	19
2	Dumoh	3,419	4,776	1,805	9,770	225	5
3	Vindhyan Division	7,284	4,738	1,978	9,616	371	13
4	Jubbulpore	3,179	4,967	1,854	9,472	508	20
5	Narsinghpur	3,154	4,944	1,902	9,477	504	19
6	Hoshangabad	3,251	4,892	1,857	9,458	511	31
7	Makral	3,373	4,405	2,222	9,600	918	20
8	Nerbudda Division	3,197	4,934	1,869	9,455	512	23
9	Nimar	3,219	4,948	1,833	9,575	413	12
10	Betul	3,809	4,485	1,726	9,640	335	19
11	Chhindwara	3,354	4,877	1,269	9,072	853	75
12	Seoni	3,647	4,516	1,837	9,639	328	33
13	Mandla	3,766	4,793	1,531	9,589	400	18
14	Satpura Division	3,620	4,659	1,721	9,452	509	39
15	Nagpur	4,935	5,317	1,748	9,317	759	24
16	Bhandara	3,595	4,670	1,735	9,345	632	23
17	Wardha	2,725	5,335	1,040	9,121	847	32
18	Balaghat	3,733	4,450	1,811	9,660	341	19
19	Nagpur Plain Division	3,422	4,980	1,788	9,316	660	24
20	Chanda	3,336	4,654	2,010	9,165	792	43
21	Raipur	3,965	4,681	1,654	9,429	555	16
22	Bilaspur	3,436	4,757	1,807	9,315	676	9
23	Chhattisgarh Division	3,394	4,889	1,717	9,382	605	15
24	Bastar	4,022	4,536	1,442	9,560	429	11
25	Kanker	4,473	4,107	1,418	9,833	151	16
26	Nandgaon	3,379	4,843	1,778	9,414	552	34
27	Khairagarh	3,390	4,765	1,845	9,408	578	14
28	Chhuikhadan	3,354	4,735	1,910	9,259	735	15
29	Kawardha	3,229	4,986	1,785	9,339	632	29
30	Sakti	3,865	4,589	1,546	8,579	1,418	3
31	Chhattisgarh Feudatories	3,618	4,663	1,719	9,450	529	21
32	Sambalpur	3,773	4,566	1,641	9,772	317	11
33	Raigarh	4,268	4,328	1,386	9,672	316	12
34	Surgurh	3,883	4,363	1,555	9,434	545	21
35	Bansa	4,403	4,441	1,156	9,636	354	10
36	Rairakhol	3,948	4,545	1,507	9,629	366	5
37	Sonpur	3,193	4,746	2,059	9,263	766	31
38	Purna	4,460	3,789	1,751	9,780	204	16
39	Kaishanli	4,696	4,933	1,269	9,841	151	8
40	Orissa Feudatories	4,265	4,210	1,525	9,678	368	14
41	Central Provinces	3,491	4,767	1,762	9,457	520	23

of 10,000 of each Sex for Natural Divisions and Districts.

OF 10,000 FEMALES.

10-15.			15-40.			40 and over.		
Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
6,011	3,826	163	526	7,616	1,858	86	4,486	5,428
6,358	3,475	167	626	7,822	1,552	106	4,592	5,302
6,141	3,693	164	563	7,694	1,743	94	4,529	5,377
5,897	3,923	180	675	7,809	1,516	71	4,872	5,057
5,638	4,232	129	487	8,122	1,391	107	4,150	5,743
6,016	3,828	156	610	7,711	1,679	83	4,073	4,944
5,917	3,636	447	1,735	6,573	1,692	102	4,505	5,393
5,878	3,958	164	623	7,827	1,540	82	4,747	5,171
4,905	4,944	150	670	7,803	1,527	63	4,567	5,370
7,351	2,545	104	829	7,991	1,370	125	2,931	5,944
5,637	4,062	301	639	7,690	1,662	65	4,985	4,950
6,956	3,890	145	661	7,991	1,348	68	3,898	6,039
6,524	3,386	90	680	8,212	1,168	103	3,730	6,167
6,567	3,268	165	695	7,937	1,368	86	4,222	5,692
4,671	5,129	200	356	8,761	883	73	4,425	5,502
6,379	3,459	162	773	8,092	1,125	90	4,260	5,660
4,229	5,510	261	236	8,630	1,125	53	3,768	6,179
7,269	2,614	117	808	8,030	1,153	45	3,829	6,126
5,566	4,249	185	535	8,416	1,049	71	4,168	5,761
5,706	4,006	288	352	7,932	1,516	97	3,370	6,397
5,779	4,113	108	462	8,524	1,014	66	4,294	5,640
5,840	4,047	113	449	8,493	1,058	94	4,362	5,344
5,805	4,084	111	457	8,511	1,032	75	4,517	5,608
7,208	2,639	153	872	7,665	1,463	274	5,102	4,624
8,100	1,798	102	1,163	7,715	1,122	100	4,626	5,274
6,140	3,713	118	468	8,390	1,122	52	3,801	6,147
6,004	3,881	165	378	8,345	1,277	39	3,720	6,231
5,216	4,560	226	359	8,366	1,370	65	3,379	7,556
5,895	3,635	170	372	8,518	1,110	45	3,490	6,465
4,171	5,652	177	1,484	7,090	1,426	296	3,642	6,062
6,333	3,579	128	606	8,194	1,200	63	3,876	6,061
6,269	3,604	127	586	8,101	1,313	105	4,170	5,725
7,121	2,801	68	732	8,190	1,078	95	3,937	5,048
6,487	3,405	108	559	8,162	1,279	72	3,929	5,099
7,044	2,888	68	919	8,286	795	179	4,320	5,501
6,571	3,347	82	644	8,183	1,173	179	3,271	4,552
4,837	4,792	365	398	7,799	1,873	62	3,678	6,262
8,105	1,765	130	1,041	7,056	1,603	139	3,603	6,258
8,362	1,395	75	1,116	7,815	1,074	213	4,056	5,777
7,372	2,495	132	671	7,752	1,377	139	3,608	5,602
8,094	3,742	184	602	8,089	1,316	87	4,193	5,720

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—*Civil Condition*

Name of Caste.	PERCENTAGE OF UNMARRIED ON TOTAL					
	Total.		4-5.		5-10.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Brahman	44.69	25.15	99.69	99.52	94.79	89.93
Rajput	41.88	26.60	99.54	99.16	93.36	87.68
Kayasth	48.84	30.22	99.88	99.88	96.69	94.26
Karan (Mahanti)	47.76	31.22	99.17	99.21	93.77	93.91
Group I (a)	45.79	28.30	99.57	99.44	95.99	92.89
Bhat	44.22	29.91	99.22	99.37	95.63	88.76
Bairagi	51.30	32.66	98.90	99.46	96.13	91.49
Gossain	47.91	30.77	98.18	98.00	94.35	87.71
Group I (b)	47.81	31.11	98.77	98.94	95.37	89.32
Alie	45.22	33.58	98.24	97.75	87.17	87.59
Gujar	30.18	25.86	99.75	99.72	93.60	80.78
Dangi	45.63	26.45	100.00	100.00	96.83	89.05
Jat	43.61	24.75	100.00	100.00	69.19	71.82
Kurmi	40.99	29.18	99.54	99.03	91.59	81.41
Kunbi	38.51	23.81	98.73	97.47	95.54	73.96
Lodhi	44.56	29.17	99.44	98.88	93.10	87.32
Mali	40.66	28.50	99.49	98.62	95.84	81.77
Kisar	46.49	31.28	99.64	99.68	92.89	87.39
Kolta	38.11	29.34	99.77	99.77	97.24	89.12
Maratha	45.62	25.68	99.24	99.17	98.12	92.79
Agharia	41.40	34.46	99.42	98.78	89.77	79.08
Bhilala	51.22	40.52	100.00	100.00	99.26	99.27
Group II (a)	43.03	29.44	99.48	99.14	92.30	84.41
Bachal	43.49	30.19	99.73	98.96	97.01	89.49
Sonar	50.48	27.35	99.62	98.97	91.36	81.88
Barni	40.83	28.06	99.65	99.02	96.52	82.45
Group II (b)	44.93	28.53	99.87	98.99	94.96	84.61
Nai	44.94	33.45	99.20	98.85	90.79	82.47
Dhimar	48.14	36.63	99.49	99.25	96.76	92.16
Kahar	48.44	36.44	100.00	99.70	98.53	94.87
Kewat	45.61	35.24	99.83	99.42	96.84	92.71
Group II (c)	46.78	35.44	99.63	99.31	95.73	90.58

by Age for selected Castes.

NUMBER OF PERSONS AT EACH AGE-PERIOD.

10-15.		15-20.		20-25.		25-30.	
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
8075	2080	5561	085	1920	009	616	006
7441	4141	4970	724	1522	111	256	019
8528	3595	6601	953	2092	140	629	158
9816	4583	8423	2525	2425	191	521	074
8465	3599	6301	1068	1940	115	455	084
8012	5444	3218	1918	1783	332	224	125
8556	5946	6213	1412	2056	252	1921	152
8249	5435	5393	2954	2172	496	1383	135
8272	5608	5808	1795	2004	363	1176	137
8349	6372	5220	2061	1247	275	258	021
7340	3007	3027	712	772	082	129	006
8476	3559	5525	413	1994	059	360	011
7340	4239	3905	753	2036	135	375	010
6928	3990	3839	964	845	161	170	041
7336	2127	3697	501	527	091	114	041
7779	2905	4927	584	1193	164	212	069
7490	3493	3946	691	668	124	116	040
7364	3981	4787	706	1334	098	167	026
6534	2186	1668	186	198	035	042	034
6181	4771	7339	941	1975	094	534	058
5376	3427	2410	663	409	103	101	052
9441	6115	6270	857	1133	056	108	056
7605	3914	4509	772	1102	109	207	042
8446	4349	5167	1380	1954	220	145	047
7606	2923	4642	966	1184	155	377	034
7885	4004	4781	1195	1231	207	171	061
7979	3758	4863	1180	1163	194	214	047
7699	5180	4668	1188	911	246	126	054
8710	6822	6345	2286	1419	333	208	052
8941	7338	6563	1736	1120	296	995	071
7919	5523	4244	1212	527	142	143	055
8317	6218	6460	1831	1002	259	194	081

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—*Civil Condition*

Name of Caste.	PERCENTAGE OF UNMARRIED ON TOTAL					
	Total.		0—5.		5—10.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Khangar	47.29	33.73	100.10	100.00	98.41	91.94
Chadar	47.55	37.44	100.00	99.94	95.82	93.05
Manu	47.17	37.12	98.76	99.19	97.78	91.98
Bhoyar	41.75	32.12	99.51	98.26	95.06	79.42
Group III (a)	44.92	32.61	99.57	99.35	96.77	88.85
Kalar	45.83	34.00	98.74	98.26	93.16	87.20
Darji	43.57	31.63	99.70	99.44	95.81	90.12
Kashit	44.11	32.97	99.20	98.81	96.20	89.12
Teli	41.30	30.45	99.03	98.21	94.33	81.25
Lohar	47.67	36.85	99.08	98.75	96.06	92.46
Dhangar	39.26	26.02	99.30	98.19	96.95	77.30
Gadarla	39.73	30.14	99.49	98.59	89.42	77.14
Jogi	52.06	38.24	98.64	97.95	96.09	93.02
Bidar	47.84	25.83	99.51	98.73	99.15	91.46
Banjara	55.47	36.96	98.96	96.34	96.54	93.12
Group III (b)	45.77	32.25	99.17	98.33	95.17	87.23
Baiga	54.18	45.29	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Binjhwari	59.24	46.07	99.95	99.84	99.54	99.64
Gond	52.14	40.20	88.08	97.84	96.40	94.85
Kandh	37.46	42.59	99.52	99.29	99.08	98.75
Kumar	55.16	42.77	99.64	99.70	98.96	98.13
Kol	48.85	41.40	99.91	99.74	99.04	98.93
Korku	49.15	42.53	99.91	99.90	95.41	94.02
Bhil	41.92	35.47	99.76	99.72	93.56	97.22
Halia	48.0	36.9	98.8	97.6	99.9	87.7
Group IV	49.57	41.48	99.43	99.23	97.90	96.41
Baot	45.24	34.14	99.51	99.51	96.49	93.14
Ganda	54.54	44.33	99.31	99.13	96.32	96.96
Ghasia	52.02	41.79	98.81	98.71	96.98	95.42
Karia	46.46	37.15	99.91	99.76	95.89	90.63
Koti	41.76	39.53	95.31	99.37	95.13	83.81
Konhar	43.95	33.65	99.66	98.96	94.38	82.75
Mang	47.39	33.48	99.35	98.84	97.32	91.52
Mohar (Bhangli)	46.70	42.16	100.00	100.00	99.90	94.44
Mahar	51.36	39.61	97.64	97.89	94.77	91.63
Baini	29.62	31.22	99.92	99.84	91.58	88.62
Chamar	44.97	33.46	99.18	99.18	94.31	88.24
Panka	45.89	33.99	98.97	98.97	96.65	91.73
Dadoi	45.18	37.58	98.99	98.55	95.92	91.00
Group V	46.49	38.0	98.98	98.13	95.50	91.27

by Age for selected Castes.—(Concld.)

NUMBER OF PERSONS AT EACH AGE-PERIOD.

10—15.		15—20.		20—40.		40 and over.	
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
89'56	70'94	66'91	79'28	25'01	5'77	1'39	0'44
85'10	63'31	50'21	20'15	10'61	2'08	1'60	0'61
88'98	56'03	66'48	10'15	11'46	1'21	1'24	0'58
75'77	44'49	51'93	16'10	8'32	2'88	0'70	0'20
84'85	58'89	58'88	18'92	13'85	2'98	1'39	0'48
79'18	86'35	50'65	17'34	11'81	3'02	2'68	0'40
82'60	49'11	46'00	20'64	17'10	4'10	5'80	2'70
83'23	61'41	57'95	14'24	13'79	1'69	2'44	0'80
67'79	37'35	34'38	8'58	5'33	1'37	1'13	0'54
86'80	68'29	62'31	23'77	14'50	4'77	2'10	0'56
78'46	25'92	39'81	4'58	5'05	1'06	0'91	0'54
67'87	43'28	40'38	16'47	10'36	2'16	2'14	0'76
93'67	76'70	65'28	36'05	17'54	4'29	3'93	0'59
92'31	38'71	70'25	50'44	17'29	1'50	4'14	0'83
88'57	88'43	74'29	40'06	33'93	5'45	6'90	3'13
82'03	54'08	54'18	18'57	14'87	2'98	3'23	1'12
95'30	82'82	73'34	46'00	12'37	3'34	1'04	2'61
98'62	96'45	91'06	54'09	19'83	3'82	1'55	1'56
83'51	82'62	73'08	33'64	15'01	4'46	3'20	1'62
97'52	90'76	81'44	40'69	19'32	3'63	1'88	1'14
93'64	82'60	75'56	40'91	18'88	3'87	2'67	1'16
90'41	82'15	62'10	38'34	12'25	5'66	1'91	0'40
87'36	82'01	69'70	45'82	16'90	7'27	2'13	0'79
64'81	48'71	31'44	1'67	5'52	0'55	0'91	0'19
64'56	56'19	53'71	34'16	14'62	5'41	4'2	1'30
86'80	78'70	70'27	37'25	14'88	4'17	2'15	1'18
84'11	66'39	47'64	24'43	15'74	3'12	1'23	0'28
92'49	82'91	62'85	29'48	12'09	3'16	2'10	1'22
92'40	82'54	67'80	29'06	12'23	5'30	2'78	1'59
84'02	72'40	59'27	19'31	9'06	2'56	1'34	0'43
74'70	63'84	54'67	15'07	14'70	2'29	2'78	1'24
77'54	53'78	49'66	19'48	10'06	2'27	1'70	0'57
88'44	56'49	65'33	14'95	13'48	1'41	1'78	0'91
86'03	80'64	60'27	21'74	16'37	11'81	0'34	1'66
84'32	69'55	63'12	28'99	12'49	6'33	5'68	1'29
75'53	51'61	42'81	17'80	8'58	3'18	1'22	0'14
78'11	57'49	42'36	14'58	8'13	1'87	1'49	0'55
83'13	62'15	53'52	14'92	10'28	2'89	2'02	0'77
82'01	56'37	50'81	15'72	8'06	2'37	1'45	0'72
83'29	85'89	58'41	20'42	12'08	2'89	2'07	0'89

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—*Civil Condition*

Name of Caste	PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED ON TOTAL					
	Total.		0-5.		5-10.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Brahman	47.35	52.04	0.30	0.41	5.15	9.79
Rajput	51.31	54.39	0.45	0.78	6.46	12.06
Kayasth	44.41	44.54	0.12	0.12	3.15	5.52
Karni (Mahanti)	46.95	44.46	0.83	0.79	1.23	1.09
Group I (a)	47.50	48.85	0.42	0.52	4.0	7.11
Bhai	47.74	47.50	0.67	0.63	4.27	10.67
Bairagi	41.53	45.81	1.05	0.54	3.71	8.24
Gosain	43.82	47.50	1.74	1.92	5.29	11.75
Group I (b)	44.38	48.87	1.15	1.08	4.42	10.22
Ahir	48.53	50.80	1.75	2.18	12.77	16.28
Gujar	52.25	59.05	0.26	0.28	6.09	18.73
Dangl	45.63	49.76	...	...	3.17	10.75
Jat	50.47	51.33	...	...	29.97	45.77
Karmi	51.83	52.90	0.43	0.89	8.13	18.06
Kushl	55.92	57.49	1.21	2.43	4.27	25.28
Lodhi	49.29	48.92	0.52	1.07	6.76	12.35
Mali	53.23	53.55	0.58	1.30	4.39	17.77
Kitar	46.45	47.61	0.31	0.25	6.92	12.40
Kolta	56.71	56.68	0.23	0.21	2.75	10.67
Maratha	47.10	45.57	0.76	0.76	1.88	6.94
Agharia	55.97	54.47	0.38	1.14	10.03	20.70
Bhilala	43.25	42.89	...	...	0.74	0.75
Group II (a)	50.44	51.82	0.50	0.81	7.53	15.11
Bachal	50.03	51.15	0.27	0.94	2.82	9.95
Sonar	42.81	46.02	0.37	1.00	8.46	17.54
Baral	50.79	52.16	0.35	0.92	3.47	17.19
Group II (b)	47.88	49.78	0.33	0.85	4.92	14.90
Nal	49.10	49.12	0.73	1.09	9.06	17.09
Dhimar	45.86	45.54	0.50	0.74	2.96	7.46
Kahar	44.55	48.31	...	0.30	1.47	4.97
Kawal	49.14	47.21	0.16	0.34	3.04	7.12
Group II (c)	47.16	47.54	0.35	0.87	4.13	8.16

by Age for selected Castes.

NUMBER OF PERSONS AT EACH AGE-PERIOD.

10-15.		15-20.		20-25.		25 and over.	
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1834	7677	4142	6197	7357	7933	7964	3999
2184	5706	4819	8771	7925	8429	7931	4345
1451	6225	3715	7709	7369	7207	6929	3423
184	3417	1521	6979	7019	7085	8245	3018
1488	6254	3448	8161	7427	7848	7435	3641
1946	4737	4533	7595	7135	7966	7539	3437
1581	3838	3573	8034	7160	8140	6219	3015
1610	4356	4208	7180	6998	7930	6478	3937
1647	4184	4105	7574	7164	8021	6743	3570
1606	3536	4580	7635	8007	8230	7746	4707
2502	6886	6313	8588	7866	8539	7158	6082
1507	6133	4422	8800	7240	7367	7273	4137
1995	3471	3641	8423	7891	5907	8567	6276
2938	6115	3813	8619	8325	8431	7766	4376
2492	7516	6094	9036	8963	8789	8360	4175
2073	5195	4754	7539	8148	7681	7967	4266
2435	6271	5826	8896	8661	8604	8138	4077
2541	5696	4815	8082	7699	8040	7805	3724
3632	7613	8175	9405	9139	9040	8344	4732
739	5004	2539	8294	7434	7867	7489	3791
4570	6469	7460	9138	9189	9134	8564	4866
568	3781	3604	8649	8204	8256	7841	3662
2279	5822	5231	8548	8166	8169	7941	4410
1492	5485	4633	8182	8402	8465	7791	3962
2305	6835	5069	7940	8002	7479	7618	2922
1948	5823	4791	8062	7821	8193	7761	4098
1915	6048	4938	8061	8082	8043	7790	3701
2139	4795	3100	8321	8396	8356	7758	4017
1217	3064	3381	7114	7947	8162	7993	4083
991	2585	3394	7095	8110	8446	7434	4086
2021	4304	5488	8303	8678	8375	8322	2742
1587	3684	4318	7033	6233	8340	7877	3763

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—Civil Condition

Name of Caste.	PERCENTAGE OF UNMARRIED ON TOTAL					
	Total		0-5.		5-10.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Khangar	43.83	49.10	...	...	1.59	7.86
Chadar	48.04	47.65	...	0.06	3.92	7.87
Mama	48.30	47.06	1.24	0.81	2.11	7.76
Enoyar	51.49	53.26	0.48	1.60	4.66	19.99
Group III (a)	47.91	49.27	0.43	0.82	3.07	10.85
Kalar	49.38	49.08	1.24	1.67	6.08	12.44
Darji	47.66	53.11	0.22	0.48	3.40	8.77
Koshti	50.59	52.51	0.79	1.13	3.71	10.59
Teti	53.81	53.71	0.95	1.74	7.46	18.51
Lobar	45.95	46.11	0.91	1.32	3.84	7.31
Dhangar	55.97	55.56	0.69	1.71	2.96	21.95
Galaria	51.99	51.97	0.51	1.41	0.94	22.06
Jogi	41.35	42.12	1.36	2.05	3.91	6.51
Bidur	46.37	47.59	0.49	1.27	0.68	8.02
Banjara	38.37	41.05	1.04	1.61	3.39	6.52
Group III (b)	47.75	49.38	0.82	1.83	4.59	12.25
Baiga	39.13	36.73	...	...	...	...
Bijnhar	34.69	33.48	...	0.12	0.46	0.32
Gond	42.41	41.12	1.87	2.10	3.48	4.85
Kaudh	37.13	36.30	0.47	0.62	0.91	0.97
Kawar	40.22	39.64	0.29	0.29	0.94	1.68
Kol	47.70	48.29	0.07	0.22	0.96	1.93
Korku	43.26	40.19	0.09	0.10	4.43	5.76
Bhil	62.03	48.76	0.24	0.28	6.17	2.60
Halha	48.0	44.7	1.2	2.4	6.1	11.9
Group IV	42.73	42.02	0.70	...	...	...
Baxa	46.71	49.43	0.49	0.49	3.35	6.36
Gania	40.47	40.67	0.67	0.81	1.62	2.79
Ghasia	42.89	42.46	1.19	1.29	3.08	4.26
Katia	43.70	44.61	0.09	0.20	2.46	9.08
Kori	46.50	47.29	3.41	0.63	4.52	15.81
Kumhar	50.11	50.51	0.33	1.02	5.54	11.03
Mang	48.50	50.94	0.65	1.16	2.67	8.18
Meltar (Bhangl)	44.59	45.08	...	...	6.10	5.56
Mahar	43.22	44.07	2.36	2.02	4.88	7.38
Balahi	50.58	50.31	0.08	0.16	7.47	10.85
Chamar	50.14	51.12	0.80	0.79	5.46	10.76
Panka	48.14	48.54	1.01	0.95	3.18	7.91
Dhobi	49.42	45.81	0.95	1.42	3.92	8.69
Group V	46.69	47.22	0.93	0.84	4.17	8.38

by Age for selected Castes.—(Contd.)

NUMBER OF PERSONS AT EACH AGE-PERIOD.

10-15.		15-20		20-25.		25 and over	
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
985	7797	3124	6314	6159	7743	7659	4965
1472	3354	4803	7353	7873	7581	7392	4540
1051	4185	3268	8319	8347	8327	8368	3336
2343	5293	4595	8138	8515	8709	7858	4918
1488	3965	3948	7581	7774	8081	7869	4489
1994	4191	4719	7856	8179	8461	8146	4403
1686	4953	5182	7507	7337	8112	7989	5665
1619	3768	4040	8292	8056	9902	8302	4760
3123	6070	6329	8791	8854	8760	8453	4307
1197	3043	3533	7102	7708	8131	8064	4280
2082	6971	5784	9365	9226	8780	8251	5833
3020	5473	5614	7932	8031	8509	7351	6213
464	2233	3125	6054	7329	7043	8143	3649
700	5771	2900	8911	7804	8170	7863	7077
1175	1538	2299	5957	5709	7473	6535	3667
1701	4401	4352	7687	7811	8384	7806	4362
470	1718	2222	2900	7423	7639	8437	3479
123	324	813	3849	7038	7134	7824	3173
1099	1662	2466	6191	7714	7928	8021	3418
229	838	1539	4858	7003	7314	7630	3115
601	1489	2314	5609	7612	8145	8148	3791
874	1448	3683	6075	8498	8538	8388	6570
1225	1711	2989	4946	7422	7897	7417	5062
3274	4929	4596	9286	8710	8344	8099	4996
2521	4273	4511	6200	7920	7889	824	3623
1269	2044	2784	5781	7710	7871		4065
1487	3087	4918	7101	7487	7957	7563	4745
721	1909	2690	6372	7932	8118	8414	4050
734	1635	2874	6467	8063	8173	8163	3760
1501	2669	3745	7532	7516	7679	7493	4325
2310	3450	4137	7803	7545	7508	7121	3865
2175	4433	4812	7615	8286	8409	8110	4676
1124	4217	3266	8144	8312	8808	8480	4144
1202	1614	3836	7246	7389	7678	7144	5207
1486	2820	3459	6652	7522	8000	7733	5080
2544	4689	4683	7702	8136	7941	7334	4205
2070	4037	4826	8074	8400	8574	8398	4648
1579	3656	4305	8091	8048	8315	8499	3715
1746	4189	4701	8066	8504	8283	8236	3801
1875	3289	4011	7453	7952	8165	7885	4288

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—Civil Condition

Name of Caste.	PERCENTAGE OF WIDOWED OR TOTAL					
	Total.		0-5.		5-10.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Brahman	796	2281	0.01	0.07	0.06	0.25
Rajput	681	1907	...	0.06	0.18	0.26
Kayasth	675	2524	...	...	0.16	0.22
Karan (Mahaoti)	520	2432	...	...	...	...
Group I (a)	670	3284	...	0.03	0.10	0.19
Bhat	804	2259	0.11	...	0.10	0.57
Bairagi	717	2153	0.05	...	0.16	0.27
Gosain	827	2195	0.08	0.08	0.36	0.54
Group I (b)	783	2202	0.08	0.03	0.21	0.46
Ahle	625	1526	0.01	0.07	0.06	0.13
Gajar	1157	1509	...	...	0.31	0.40
Dangi	774	2581	...	...	...	0.20
Jat	592	2102	...	...	0.84	2.41
Kurmi	718	1792	0.01	0.08	0.28	0.53
Kunbi	557	1870	0.06	0.10	0.19	0.76
Lodhi	615	2191	0.04	0.05	0.14	0.30
Mali	611	1786	0.02	0.08	0.07	0.46
Kirar	706	2111	0.15	0.07	0.19	0.21
Kolta	518	1598	...	0.02	0.01	0.21
Maratha	728	2875	...	0.07	...	0.27
Agharia	353	1107	...	0.08	0.20	0.22
Bhillela	553	1659	...	...	...	...
Group II (a)	654	1894	0.02	0.05	0.17	0.48
Barhai	648	1866	...	0.10	0.17	0.53
Sonar	671	2663	0.01	0.03	0.18	0.38
Basai	828	1977	...	0.06	...	0.36
Group II (b)	718	2169	...	0.08	0.12	0.49
Nai	596	1743	0.07	0.06	0.15	0.44
Dhimar	600	1783	0.01	...	0.28	0.37
Kahar	701	1525	...	...	...	0.15
Kewat	525	1755	0.01	0.04	0.12	0.17
Group II (c)	608	1702	0.02	0.02	0.14	0.28
Khangar	897	1715	...	...	...	0.20
Chudar	841	1991	...	...	0.25	0.08
Mana	453	2082	...	...	0.11	0.24
Bheyar	676	1462	...	0.14	0.27	0.66
Group III (a)	717	1812	...	0.03	0.18	0.30

by Age for selected Castes.—(Contd.)

NUMBER OF PERSONS AT EACH AGE PERIOD.

11-15.		15-20.		20-40.		40 and over.	
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
0.91	2.43	2.97	7.15	6.93	20.38	23.20	59.95
0.75	1.39	2.11	5.85	7.43	14.60	18.94	55.25
0.41	1.80	0.83	13.52	5.39	26.44	24.42	66.19
...	...	0.46	5.05	5.36	21.23	14.34	69.68
0.98	1.45	1.59	7.70	8.83	20.68	30.23	62.64
0.42	1.99	2.47	5.77	8.82	17.22	22.45	64.35
0.61	2.16	2.14	5.55	7.84	16.08	18.60	62.33
1.41	2.09	3.99	7.60	8.30	15.48	21.39	62.08
0.81	2.08	2.87	6.31	8.32	16.28	20.82	62.93
0.45	0.92	2.00	3.04	7.45	13.75	19.95	52.22
1.28	1.06	6.60	7.00	13.62	13.89	25.13	37.12
0.17	3.17	0.53	7.27	7.69	25.74	23.67	58.52
6.65	2.90	4.74	8.22	6.73	39.58	19.59	37.14
1.14	1.86	3.48	4.17	8.30	14.97	20.64	36.43
1.72	3.57	2.99	4.43	5.10	11.20	15.26	37.84
4.48	9.00	2.39	18.80	6.68	20.14	18.21	56.67
0.75	2.36	2.28	4.73	6.71	12.72	17.26	38.74
0.95	3.23	3.98	12.12	9.67	18.62	20.28	68.81
0.34	2.01	1.57	4.08	6.63	9.25	16.14	52.34
0.80	2.23	1.31	7.65	5.99	20.39	19.77	71.51
0.54	0.94	1.70	1.98	4.02	7.63	13.35	50.60
0.11	1.04	1.26	4.94	6.63	16.86	20.51	63.62
1.26	2.84	2.80	6.80	7.32	17.22	18.52	65.48
0.62	1.66	1.80	4.38	5.44	15.15	20.64	59.71
0.89	2.42	2.89	10.94	7.94	23.75	18.55	69.44
1.67	1.73	4.28	7.43	9.28	16.00	20.68	58.41
1.08	1.94	2.99	7.59	7.55	17.69	19.96	62.82
1.42	1.15	2.12	4.91	6.93	13.98	19.16	59.29
0.73	1.14	2.74	5.00	6.33	14.65	17.98	58.55
0.68	0.76	1.33	2.69	7.79	12.58	24.71	36.41
0.60	1.72	2.68	4.85	7.65	14.82	15.30	72.03
0.86	1.20	2.22	4.86	7.15	14.01	19.29	61.57
0.59	1.09	1.85	7.58	11.40	16.80	21.42	46.94
0.18	0.85	1.76	4.32	10.66	22.09	24.48	53.83
0.51	2.12	0.84	6.66	5.07	15.32	13.68	64.06
0.80	2.57	2.11	2.52	6.52	10.03	20.71	50.72
0.52	1.86	1.84	5.27	8.41	16.11	19.92	54.68

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—*Civil Condition*

Name of Caste.	PERCENTAGE OF WIDOWED ON TOTAL					
	Total.		0-5.		5-10.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kalar	479	1692	0.02	0.06	0.15	0.26
Darji	877	1536	0.07	0.08	0.79	1.11
Koshti	530	1522	0.01	0.06	0.09	0.29
Tuli	489	1584	0.02	0.03	0.19	0.44
Lohar	618	1704	0.01	0.03	0.10	0.23
Dhangar	567	1840	...	0.09	0.09	0.63
Gadaria	828	1629	...	...	0.63	0.79
Jogi	597	1954	...	...	...	0.47
Bidar	579	2058	...	...	0.17	0.50
Banjara	916	2198	...	0.05	0.16	0.36
Group III (A)	648	1837	0.01	0.04	0.24	0.52
Haiga	669	1798	...	...	...	...
Binjhar	607	2045	0.05	0.04	...	0.04
Gond	544	1668	0.05	0.06	0.11	0.30
Kandh	2539	2111	...	0.08	...	0.28
Kawar	462	1639	0.07	0.01	0.16	0.19
Kol	243	1031	0.02	0.04	...	0.64
Korku	759	828	...	...	0.11	0.22
Bhil	605	1577	...	...	0.27	0.19
Halba	400	1840	...	...	0.06	...
Group IV	772	1639	0.02	0.03	0.07	0.18
Baur	803	1643	...	...	0.16	0.30
Ganda	499	1500	0.02	0.06	0.06	0.23
Ghasia	509	1576	...	...	...	0.30
Katia	934	1824	...	0.04	1.64	0.29
Kori	974	2218	1.28	...	0.35	0.35
Kumar	594	1584	0.01	0.02	0.08	0.22
Mang	411	1558	...	...	0.11	0.30
Mehar (Bhang)	871	1276	...	...	...	...
Mahar	522	1632	...	0.09	0.35	0.59
Salahi	979	1847	...	...	0.94	0.22
Chamar	578	1542	0.02	0.03	0.23	0.40
Paska	597	1837	0.02	0.08	0.17	0.36
Dhobi	540	1781	0.03	0.03	0.16	0.30
Group V	682	1678	0.11	0.03	0.33	0.35

by Age for selected Castes.—(Concl'd.)

NUMBER OF PERSONS AT EACH AGE-PERIOD.

10-15.		15-20.		20-40.		40 and over.	
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
0.85	1.74	2.16	4.10	6.40	12.37	15.86	57.57
0.53	1.35	2.18	4.20	6.53	14.78	23.22	40.65
0.38	0.91	1.65	2.24	5.65	8.20	14.34	51.60
0.98	1.95	2.33	3.51	6.13	11.03	14.34	55.79
1.23	1.28	2.36	5.21	7.82	13.92	16.96	56.18
0.72	4.37	2.35	3.77	4.59	11.13	16.58	61.13
1.93	1.97	3.57	4.21	6.13	12.75	24.35	27.11
1.69	0.97	3.47	3.41	6.17	15.78	14.64	63.04
0.60	3.58	0.75	5.44	4.67	16.80	17.22	69.40
0.48	1.19	2.72	9.37	8.98	19.81	20.35	60.20
0.98	1.93	2.35	4.58	7.22	13.67	18.72	55.28
...	...	4.44	4.00	12.90	20.37	14.59	62.60
0.15	0.31	0.79	7.42	9.79	21.64	20.21	66.71
0.50	0.75	2.06	4.45	7.85	16.26	16.39	64.20
0.19	0.86	2.17	10.93	10.65	23.73	21.83	67.71
0.35	0.51	1.30	3.00	5.79	14.68	15.85	60.93
0.35	1.37	1.97	0.91	2.79	9.06	12.21	34.50
0.39	0.88	1.41	4.72	8.88	13.76	23.70	48.60
2.45	2.00	2.60	5.57	7.52	16.03	18.10	58.85
0.23	1.08	1.18	3.67	6.18	17.24	13.38	60.17
0.51	0.88	1.89	4.94	8.04	17.25	17.07	58.25
1.02	2.74	3.18	4.56	9.38	15.30	23.14	52.26
0.30	1.00	3.25	6.79	8.29	15.66	13.77	56.16
0.26	1.11	3.46	6.27	7.14	12.97	15.59	60.81
0.97	0.91	3.28	5.37	13.78	20.74	23.23	56.29
2.20	1.66	4.02	6.90	10.15	22.63	26.01	60.01
0.71	1.87	2.22	4.17	7.08	13.34	17.30	52.67
0.32	1.34	2.01	3.61	3.46	10.51	13.42	57.65
2.00	3.22	1.38	5.80	9.74	11.41	27.73	46.28
0.82	2.25	2.29	4.49	6.29	13.67	16.99	58.89
1.63	1.49	10.36	5.18	10.26	17.41	25.44	57.81
1.19	2.14	3.18	4.68	7.85	12.39	15.43	53.37
1.08	1.29	3.43	4.17	9.24	15.96	15.89	62.08
0.53	1.74	2.18	3.62	6.91	7.80	16.19	61.22
0.96	1.75	3.40	5.05	8.60	14.46	19.08	58.73

APPENDIX B.

[Chapter VIII.]

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Variation in relation to Density since 1872.*

District or State.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION: INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (—).			Net variation in period 1872—1901. (Increase (+) or decrease (—)).	MEAN DENSITY OF POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE.			
	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1872 to 1881.		1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
<i>British Districts.</i>								
Saugor ...	—27.39	+4.74	+7.05	—10.74	117.6	147.7	141.0	131.7
Damoh ...	—12.39	+4.04	+16.06	+5.81	100.8	115.0	110.5	95.2
Jubbulpore ...	—9.93	+8.86	+29.94	+28.68	124.0	191.3	175.7	135.1
Mandla ...	—6.51	+12.85	+41.70	+49.52	62.9	67.3	59.6	42.0
Seoni ...	—11.61	+10.43	+19.94	+14.13	102.2	115.7	104.7	89.5
<i>Jubbulpore Division</i>								
Narsinghpur ...	—14.46	+9.50	+7.59	—7.49	163.9	191.6	190.6	177.1
Hoshangabad ...	—9.71	+6.48	+6.72	+2.60	111.7	119.2	111.9	104.6
Nimar ...	+14.37	+13.05	+13.09	+46.22	83.2	72.7	64.9	56.9
Betul ...	—11.70	+5.99	+11.22	+4.08	74.6	84.3	79.7	71.2
Chhindwara ...	+1.10	+9.27	+15.02	+29.10	88.1	88.0	80.5	68.2
<i>Nerbudda Division</i>								
Wardha ...	—3.92	+3.52	+9.16	+8.36	158.6	165.1	159.5	149.1
Nagpur ...	—0.79	+8.69	+10.49	+19.13	195.8	197.2	181.6	164.4
Chanda ...	—13.77	+7.46	+16.15	+7.63	59.0	64.8	60.4	53.0
Bhandara ...	—10.14	+8.63	+21.06	+17.39	167.2	187.2	172.5	142.4
Bilaspur ...	—14.82	+12.55	+7.77	+3.31	104.0	122.1	108.5	100.7
<i>Nagpur Division</i>								
	—8.53	+8.13	+13.71	+12.47	113.1	126.2	114.3	100.6

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Variation in relation to Density since 1872.*—(Concl'd.)

District or State.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION: INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (—).			Net variation in period 1872–1901. Increase (+) or decrease (—).	MEAN DENSITY OF POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE.			
	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1872 to 1881.		1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
<i>British Districts—(Contd.)</i>								
Rajput	—9.08	+12.75	+28.51	+31.74	122.9	135.1	119.9	93.2
Bilaspur	—12.98	+14.43	+42.20	+41.59	121.4	139.5	121.9	85.7
Sambalpur	+4.18	+14.84	+38.59	+58.63	167.7	160.9	140.3	105.7
Orhattigarh Division	—7.38	+13.78	+33.63	+40.79	131.3	141.7	134.8	93.3
British Districts	—8.41	+9.81	+20.36	+20.83	114.3	124.5	113.6	94.3
<i>States.</i>								
Makrasi	—29.72	+10.64	+22.83	—4.49	84.1	119.7	108.2	88.0
Bastar	—1.41	+38.41	+148.86	+288.68	23.5	25.8	13.0	6.0
Kaukes	+25.68	+39.50	+46.08	+137.78	72.5	57.9	44.3	39.5
Nandgaon	—31.37	+11.88	+10.70	—14.87	145.1	211.1	188.7	170.4
Khairagarh	+24.08	+9.05	+35.88	+12.50	147.7	194.6	178.4	131.5
Chhaukhandan	—27.33	+10.03	+11.45	—10.88	171.2	235.6	214.1	192.1
Kawandha	—37.40	+6.31	+14.44	—23.83	72.0	115.1	108.2	94.6
Sakti	—12.11	+11.19	+171.84	+165.67	161.6	183.0	165.3	60.8
Raigarh	+3.80	+30.69	+103.68	+176.33	117.7	113.5	86.8	48.6
Sarangarh	—3.97	+16.74	+92.16	+115.41	148.0	154.1	132.0	68.6
Bamsa	+18.21	+28.39	+51.51	+130.18	62.1	52.5	40.9	25.9
Raiskhol	+32.22	+14.36	+40.30	+112.38	32.3	34.4	21.7	15.1
Sonpur	—11.99	+02.57	+36.71	+29.96	187.5	215.3	197.2	144.2
Patna	—16.30	+28.77	+161.52	+181.58	115.8	139.8	107.5	41.1
Kalahandi	+7.42	+45.31	+68.28	+162.60	93.6	87.1	59.9	35.6
Feudatory States	—7.59	+24.31	+82.87	+90.18	87.8	73.4	55.1	35.6
Central Provinces	—8.27	+12.09	+25.20	+28.72	102.5	111.8	89.5	78.4

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Variation in Emigration and Immigration since 1891.*

Provinces.	EMIGRATION.			IMMIGRATION.		
	1901.	1891.	Difference.	1901.	1891.	Difference.
Assam	84,170	3,844	+ 80,326	191	—	—
Punjab	1,356	1,095	+ 261	6,215	6,541	— 326
Bengal	65,231	85,742	— 20,511	44,356	55,741	— 11,385
Madras	14,011	16,253	— 2,242	21,763	26,795	— 5,032
Bihar	207,980	216,488	— 8,508	59,988	52,110	+ 7,878
Cochin	17	—	—	—	—	—
North-West Provinces	10,857	12,179	— 1,322	64,983	60,043	+ 4,940
Bombay	12,451	10,494	+ 1,957	31,319	24,554	+ 6,765
Baroda State	124	—	—	63	—	—
Travancore	86	—	—	—	—	—
Rajputana	362	—	—	26,668	22,042	+ 4,626
Coorg	30	—	—	—	—	—
Central India	66,561	117,378	— 50,817	128,618	192,583	— 63,965
Hyderabad	16,787	6,782	+ 10,005	19,408	21,885	— 2,477
Mysore	—	2,016	—	785	—	—
Burma	2,128	537	+ 1,591	315	—	—
Total	479,558	473,298	+ 6,260	454,301	492,204	— 37,903

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Immigration per 10,000 of population.

District or State of enumeration.	PER 10,000 BORN IN								
	DISTRICT OR STATE WHERE ENUMERATED.			OTHER DISTRICTS OR STATES OF CENTRAL PROVINCES			OTHER PROVINCES OF INDIA.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Districts.</i>									
Saugor	8,736	8,822	8,647	478	451	505	777	712	844
Danoh	8,820	8,980	8,550	677	528	829	502	481	522
Jubbulpore	8,630	8,618	8,653	423	392	454	912	906	897
Mandla	8,801	8,851	8,729	833	841	825	276	307	243
Seoni	8,166	8,146	8,186	1,530	1,536	1,525	301	317	297
Jubbulpore Division	8,649	8,680	8,618	707	688	746	832	838	826
Narsinghpore	9,161	9,226	9,079	831	463	596	368	390	375
Hoshangabad	8,923	8,974	8,872	317	307	307	234	212	255
Nimar	7,117	7,149	7,084	1,180	1,151	1,208	1,599	1,694	1,290
Betul	9,444	9,428	9,456	334	329	353	306	232	161
Chhindwara	8,499	8,602	8,401	1,390	1,210	1,387	200	187	212
Nerbudda Division	8,820	8,863	8,578	748	703	793	629	631	628
Wardha	7,622	7,767	7,475	1,356	1,279	1,435	1,020	951	1,080
Nagpur	8,661	8,671	8,651	836	779	898	486	524	449
Chanda	9,036	9,057	9,057	583	541	625	410	401	418
Bhandara	9,385	9,426	9,328	537	483	627	57	71	45
Raleghat	8,540	8,700	8,378	1,303	1,210	1,381	55	72	39
Nagpur Division	8,784	8,814	8,714	842	779	897	389	398	380
Raipur	9,574	9,537	9,599	358	399	361	68	88	49
Bilaspur	9,320	9,313	9,319	487	453	520	286	324	241
Sambalpur	9,251	9,286	9,217	601	533	667	147	179	116
Chhattisgarh Division	9,385	9,381	9,388	459	431	486	155	187	125
British Districts	8,920	8,944	8,897	670	628	710	406	422	390
<i>States.</i>									
Makrai	6,189	6,979	5,444	3,458	2,716	4,215	342	345	241
Bastar	9,327	9,289	9,366	555	584	525	118	127	109
Kanker	7,953	7,994	7,911	2,011	1,854	2,097	36	51	22
Nandgaon	7,142	7,467	6,817	2,689	2,399	3,044	164	227	105
Khairagarh	7,387	7,714	7,088	2,484	2,109	2,879	127	172	85
Chhindindan	6,514	6,628	6,436	3,443	3,004	3,841	42	68	18
Kawardha	7,599	7,676	7,520	2,443	2,258	2,618	45	66	37
Sakti	6,317	6,721	5,931	3,470	3,014	3,995	313	265	164
Raigarh	8,202	8,299	8,108	1,399	1,217	1,498	478	484	393
Sarangarh	7,640	7,667	7,619	2,096	1,945	2,256	64	88	43
Bamra	7,903	7,830	7,920	1,124	1,135	1,113	972	1,034	907
Rairakhol	6,391	6,382	6,399	2,351	2,339	2,373	1,256	1,283	1,227
Soapar	8,901	9,075	8,735	636	504	701	453	481	503
Patna	8,431	8,494	8,371	1,433	1,348	1,514	134	154	115
Kalahandi	9,320	9,227	9,212	466	442	491	314	331	297
Feudatory States	8,320	8,428	8,214	1,402	1,369	1,533	277	301	259
Central Provinces	8,819	8,857	8,783	793	736	848	364	402	367

SUBSIDIARY TABLE

District or State of Birth.	ENUM				
	DISTRICT OF BIRTH.			OTHER DISTRICTS OF THE	
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Districts.</i>					
Saugor ...	411,503	210,617	200,886	32,681	14,859
Damoh ...	251,051	128,978	122,073	22,615	10,953
Jubbulpore ...	587,736	289,191	298,545	37,262	17,808
Mandla ...	282,063	138,316	143,747	24,295	12,436
Seoni ...	267,622	129,041	138,581	37,993	17,755
Jubbulpore Division	1,800,575	898,343	904,232	154,822	72,931
Narsinghpur ...	287,599	142,328	145,271	25,395	11,250
Hoshangabad ...	400,594	201,127	199,467	31,491	14,803
Nimr ...	232,762	120,047	112,715	4,179	2,172
Betul ...	269,447	131,034	138,413	15,032	7,397
Chhindwara ...	346,712	171,502	175,210	22,520	10,359
Nerbudda Division	1,537,314	766,938	770,376	118,533	56,913
Wardha ...	293,523	150,541	142,982	18,257	7,860
Nagpur ...	651,167	327,410	323,757	74,031	33,797
Chanda ...	541,768	269,231	272,537	35,499	16,480
Bhandara ...	622,295	302,878	319,417	72,815	34,752
Balaghat ...	282,102	137,313	144,789	28,295	12,437
Nagpur Division	3,890,855	1,987,378	1,903,482	228,997	110,368
Raipur ...	1,379,172	662,784	716,388	127,190	58,506
Bilaspur ...	934,577	451,612	482,965	57,908	25,782
Sambalpur ...	707,538	378,140	329,398	68,330	31,354
Chhattisgarh Division	3,021,287	1,492,536	1,528,751	253,428	115,642
British Districts	8,810,031	4,343,190	4,466,841	785,780	384,752
<i>States.</i>					
Mahrar ...	8,067	4,585	3,582	1,268	1,426
Bastar ...	285,881	144,618	141,263	6,821	3,182
Kanker ...	73,020	36,602	36,418	4,220	2,060
Nandgaon ...	90,248	44,884	45,364	29,711	13,163
Khatagach ...	101,612	50,681	50,931	26,096	12,324
Chhindkadan ...	17,176	8,726	8,450	7,843	3,371
Kawardha ...	43,156	21,464	21,692	12,351	5,282
Sakti ...	14,087	7,116	6,971	4,145	1,843
Raigarh ...	143,478	71,819	71,659	14,937	5,702
Sarangarh ...	61,040	30,862	30,178	13,946	5,901
Bamra ...	92,505	46,512	45,993	3,579	1,744
Rainakhol ...	17,183	8,888	8,295	1,328	573
Sonpur ...	151,304	75,113	76,191	22,058	9,847
Patna ...	234,182	115,939	118,243	15,488	6,564
Kalahaadi ...	323,179	162,470	160,709	6,521	2,740
Feudatory States	1,681,020	833,419	827,601	175,504	75,562
Central Provinces	10,471,051	5,176,608	5,294,443	941,284	430,314

IV.—Migration.

ERATED IN

PROVINCE.	OTHER PROVINCES OF INDIA.			TOTAL.		
Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
17,828	9,880	5,054	4,826	454,070	230,539	223,540
12,562	5,701	3,174	2,527	279,067	141,305	137,762
19,434	30,630	16,048	14,589	655,688	243,067	312,621
11,850	8,136	3,746	4,390	314,404	154,698	159,706
20,208	11,858	5,823	6,035	317,443	152,620	164,823
18,891	66,205	33,865	32,350	2,021,602	1,003,129	1,018,473
14,053	6,291	3,035	3,259	319,198	166,613	152,585
26,686	9,344	4,448	4,776	461,309	230,380	231,129
2,007	8,133	4,210	3,914	215,074	126,438	118,636
7,705	22,429	11,078	11,351	306,908	150,330	156,578
12,167	8,113	3,831	4,281	377,350	185,692	191,658
62,620	54,192	66,611	27,581	1,710,089	849,462	860,577
10,397	65,020	30,492	34,538	376,800	188,803	187,997
40,334	32,543	16,758	15,785	757,747	377,065	379,772
10,979	34,719	16,627	18,092	611,986	302,278	309,708
38,063	15,473	7,256	8,217	710,583	344,886	365,697
20,958	15,584	7,495	8,089	336,081	162,245	173,836
128,731	163,336	78,628	84,711	2,793,191	1,376,267	1,416,924
68,684	47,816	23,337	24,479	1,554,178	744,697	809,581
32,126	55,906	27,813	28,093	1,048,391	505,207	543,184
36,976	30,712	17,155	19,557	872,580	426,649	445,931
137,786	140,434	68,305	73,129	3,476,146	1,676,483	1,799,663
411,028	424,170	207,399	216,771	9,999,981	4,905,341	5,094,640
1,849	260	120	140	11,595	6,631	5,544
3,641	6,168	3,031	3,135	208,874	150,833	148,041
2,114	2,069	980	1,089	79,099	39,678	39,621
16,548	2,512	1,232	1,261	121,473	59,279	62,193
16,672	2,747	1,284	1,457	133,349	64,269	69,080
4,474	524	246	278	25,543	12,343	13,200
7,069	1,011	747	864	57,118	27,493	29,625
2,302	444	210	225	18,676	9,378	9,298
9,433	6,834	3,685	3,149	165,240	81,208	84,031
8,245	1,642	799	847	76,628	37,762	38,866
2,135	3,791	1,834	1,937	105,175	52,130	53,045
733	1,143	522	621	19,654	9,685	9,969
12,311	12,446	5,855	6,591	185,708	90,815	94,893
8,924	6,397	3,059	3,338	250,667	125,362	125,305
3,281	6,615	3,281	3,334	336,315	168,491	167,824
99,942	55,196	26,918	28,282	1,891,722	935,897	955,825
510,970	479,366	234,316	245,053	11,891,703	5,841,338	6,050,465

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Variations in the number of persons belonging to each caste having 10,000 or more persons since 1872.

Name of Caste.	POPULATION.			VARIATION.								
	1901.	1891.	1881.	1892.		1881.		1872.		Percent- age.	Percent- age.	
				Number.	Percent- age.	Number.	Percent- age.	Number.	Percent- age.			
Group No. I. (a).												
Representatives of ancient India-born.												
1	Brahman	304,519	389,945	350,880	274,897	+ 8,574	+ 2.2	+ 23,059	+ 6.4	+ 85,059	+ 30.8	+ 40.5
2	Rajput	351,557	357,858	334,974	272,867	- 6,301	- 1.7	+ 23,767	+ 7.1	+ 61,204	+ 22.4	+ 28.8
3	Kayasth	39,022	30,852	28,556	28,918	- 830	- 2.8	+ 1,200	+ 4.1	-	- 1.3	+ 0.4
4	Bania	127,608	139,270	122,358	83,535	- 1,602	- 1.2	+ 6,913	+ 5.6	+ 38,723	+ 46.3	+ 52.6
	Total	869,766	869,925	844,871	660,247	- 169	- 0.1	+ 55,054	+ 6.5	+ 184,624	+ 37.9	+ 36.3
Group No. I. (b).												
Other castes not representatives, but especially revered on account of their occupation or purity.												
1	Bhat	19,392	24,891	26,621	...	- 5,899	- 21.2	- 1,720	- 6.5	...	...	...
2	Balmaji	36,373	39,162	33,427	24,267	- 5,649	- 6.8	+ 5,735	+ 17.2	+ 9,160	+ 37.7	+ 50.5
3	Gosain	26,955	25,824	28,437	22,016	+ 1,121	+ 4.3	+ 2,603	- 9.2	+ 6,419	+ 29.2	+ 20.4
	Total	83,080	89,887	88,485	...	- 8,827	- 7.6	+ 1,402	+ 1.8	...	...	...
Group No. II. (a).												
Higher cultivators.												
1	Ahir	897,256	975,849	624,478	503,004	- 78,591	- 8.0	+ 351,371	+ 36.2	+ 120,574	+ 23.9	+ 77.9
2	Gujar	49,318	48,901	44,289	44,698	+ 817	+ 1.7	+ 4,212	+ 9.5	-	- 0.9	+ 10.2
3	Dangi	22,903	25,070	23,180	17,610	- 2,107	- 8.6	+ 1,890	+ 8.2	+ 5,268	+ 31.6	+ 30.0
4	Kurni	771,321	802,370	741,728	665,387	- 31,849	- 3.9	+ 61,642	+ 8.5	+ 75,341	+ 11.3	+ 25.7
5	Lodhi	275,178	287,441	265,147	240,039	- 12,063	- 4.2	+ 22,094	+ 8.3	+ 25,088	+ 10.5	+ 14.6
6	Kachhi	103,321	123,206	116,677	102,445	- 17,275	- 14.1	+ 6,650	+ 5.6	+ 12,232	+ 12.7	+ 23.0
7	Mali	345,889	363,613	322,540	242,373	- 17,794	- 4.9	+ 41,073	+ 19.7	+ 80,167	+ 23.1	+ 22.6
8	Kisar	47,579	43,316	45,977	38,635	- 1,787	- 4.1	-	- 3.8	+ 7,242	+ 19.0	+ 2.4
9	Kohli	18,675	20,850	19,338	22,228	- 3,175	- 10.4	+ 1,312	+ 7.8	-	- 14.9	+ 17.9

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Deduced population by Districts excluding Zamindaris.

Districts	Population by census of 1891.	Births, 1891-1901.	Decennial birth-rate.	Deaths, 1891-1901.	Decennial death-rate per 100.	Excess of births on deaths.	Deduced population, 1901.	Census population, 1901.	Difference of last two columns.	Difference per cent. on census population of 1901.
Saugor	591,743	179,459	30.3	264,717	44.7	- 85,258	506,485	471,046	- 35,439	- 7.53
Datnol	325,613	106,761	32.8	120,000	43.0	- 33,239	292,474	285,326	- 7,148	- 2.51
Jabalpur	748,146	250,462	34.3	305,892	40.9	- 40,430	698,716	680,585	- 18,131	- 2.66
Mandla	339,341	120,077	35.4	131,702	39.4	- 11,625	315,716	317,950	+ 2,234	+ .67
Seoni	370,767	122,134	32.9	134,700	36.3	- 12,566	358,201	377,759	+ 19,558	+ 5.30
Jabalpur Division	2,375,010	784,893	33.0	978,911	41.3	- 194,018	2,181,892	2,281,916	+ 100,024	+ 4.70
Narsinghpur	367,026	121,484	33.1	157,076	43.5	- 35,592	331,492	313,051	- 18,441	- 5.80
Hoshangabad	492,818	174,609	37.5	309,893	43.6	- 45,283	447,535	445,306	- 2,229	- .49
Nimar	285,044	117,686	41.2	132,890	46.4	- 15,204	270,480	227,025	- 43,455	- 17.12
Betul	333,105	124,609	38.6	137,789	33.6	+ 13,180	310,010	285,363	- 24,647	- 8.64
Chhindwara	310,413	142,078	41.9	139,371	41.1	+ 2,707	342,189	347,026	+ 4,837	+ 1.66
Nerbudda Division	1,868,427	690,466	38.2	775,720	42.9	- 85,254	1,783,173	1,719,781	- 63,392	- 3.0
Wardha	400,854	152,870	38.1	175,108	43.7	- 22,238	378,636	385,103	+ 6,467	+ 1.70
Nagpur	757,862	274,856	36.3	272,384	36.0	+ 2,472	755,384	751,844	- 3,540	- .47
Chanda	561,099	219,333	34.5	213,138	38.0	- 4,205	546,894	495,454	- 51,440	- 9.49
Bhandara	749,250	266,678	35.9	273,206	36.8	- 6,528	733,150	663,062	- 70,088	- 9.64
Balaghat	363,363	122,641	33.9	145,256	37.9	- 22,615	340,726	326,521	- 14,205	- 4.18
Nagpur Division	2,846,028	1,010,580	35.5	1,079,352	37.9	- 68,772	2,771,808	2,621,984	- 149,824	- 5.94
Raipur	1,255,608	431,034	35.9	484,402	38.6	- 53,368	1,202,236	1,196,975	- 5,261	- .44
Bilaspur	827,433	290,886	35.1	309,530	37.4	- 18,644	808,842	792,055	- 16,787	- 2.09
Sambalpur	388,205	160,731	41.4	139,955	36.1	+ 20,776	408,981	406,660	- 2,321	- .57
Chattisgarh Division	2,471,306	901,841	36.5	933,977	37.8	- 22,136	2,449,165	2,441,690	- 7,475	- .30
British Districts	9,501,401	3,387,780	35.7	3,767,060	39.7	- 380,180	9,121,221	8,669,371	- 451,850	- 5.11

APPENDIX C.

[Chapter IX.]

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—List of names returned in the schedules, with the caste under which they have been classified.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
1	Adanath	Included in Jogi.
2	Adiyan	Do. Mala.
3	Agamudayan	A caste.
4	Agaria	A tribe.
5	Agarwal	A sub-caste of Bania.
6	Agayani	Included in Mala.
7	Agharia	A caste.
8	Aghori	Included in Jogi.
9	Agnihotri	Do. Brahman.
10	Agnivanner	Do. Dhobi.
11	Agrabasi	Do. Bania.
12	Aragand	Do. Agarwal (Bania).
13	Agrahari	A sub-caste of Bania.
14	Ahir	A caste.
15	Ahir Baredi	Included in Ahir.
16	Ajodhiawasi	Do. Audhia (Bania).
17	Alia	Do. Chasa (Patua) and Kachhi (elsewhere).
18	Alkari	Do. Kachhi.
19	Arab	A caste.
20	Arakh	Included in Naik (Chanda) and Pasi (elsewhere).
21	Are	A caste.
22	Arora	A caste.
23	Aryasamaji	A caste.
24	Aspuri	Included in Gosain.
25	Atari	A caste.
26	Audhalia	A caste.
27	Audhia	Included in Sonar.
28	Audhia Beria	Do. Audhalia.
29	Ayar	Do. Brahman.
30	Aywar	Do. Satani.
31	Badak	Do. Bahelia.
32	Badi	Do. Nat.
33	Badwaik	Do. Ganda.
34	Bagarty	Do. Rawat (Ahir).
35	Baghua	Do. Sawara.
36	Bahelia	A caste.
37	Bahna	A caste.
38	Baid	Included in Nath (Jogi).
39	Baiga	A tribe.
40	Bairagi	A caste.
41	Baishnava	Included in Bairagi.
42	Bais	A sub-caste of Rajput.
43	Balahi	A caste.
44	Baliya	A caste.
45	Baliya Naidu	Included in Baliya.
46	Balji	Do. Baliya.
47	Balsantoo	Do. Bairagi.
48	Bandi	Do. Nat.
49	Bania	A caste.
50	Banjara	A caste.
51	Banka	A caste.
52	Banodha	Included in Kirar.
53	Barag	Do. Bargah.
54	Barai	A caste.
55	Baretha	Included in Dhobi.
56	Bargah	A caste.
57	Bargahi	Included in Bargah.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
58	Bargha	Included in Bargah.
59	Bargujar	Do. Gujar.
60	Barnai	A caste.
61	Bari	A caste.
62	Barik	Included in Bhandari (Nai).
63	Barkhat	Unclassed.
64	Barosh	Included in Bharbhunja.
65	Bartia	Do. Gond.
66	Barwar	Do. Rajput.
67	Basantia	Do. Paik.
68	Basdewa	A caste.
69	Baseria	Included in Basor.
70	Basor	A caste.
71	Baxaria	A sub-caste of Rajput.
72	Bedar Telangi	Included in Bahelia.
73	Bediya	Do. Nat.
74	Behena	Do. Bahna.
75	Belayai	Do. Vellalan.
76	Beidar	A caste.
77	Bellator	Included in Vellalan.
78	Belwar	A caste.
79	Bemey	Unclassed.
80	Bengali	Included in Kayasth.
81	Berka	Do. Gond.
82	Beshiya	Included males in Brahman, females in Kasbi.
83	Besta	A caste.
84	Bhaberati	Included in Bairagi.
85	Bhadra	Do. Brahman.
86	Bhadri	Do. Joshi.
87	Bhadri Joshi	Do. Joshi.
88	Bhadua	Do. Kasbi.
89	Bhaina	A tribe.
90	Bhairao	Included in Jangam.
91	Bhamta	A caste.
92	Bhanamati	Included in Nat.
93	Bhanara	Do. Dhimar.
94	Bhanari	Do. Dhimar.
95	Bhand	A caste.
96	Bhandari	A sub-caste of Nai.
97	Bhangi	Included in Mehtar.
98	Bhanpal	Do. Bania.
99	Bhao	Do. Bhoyar.
100	Bharbhunja	A caste.
101	Bharecha	Included in Bhaina.
102	Bhareva	Do. Kasar.
103	Bharia	Do. Bharia-Bhumia.
104	Bhat	A caste.
105	Bhatia	Included in Bania.
106	Bhatra	Do. Gond.
107	Bhawra	Do. Bhaina.
108	Bhiksha	Do. Bairagi.
109	Bhil	A tribe.
110	Bhilala	A caste.
111	Bhisti	A caste.
112	Bhoi	Included in Dhimar.
113	Bhokta	Do. Bhuiya.
114	Bhoota	Do. Koilabhati (Gond).
115	Bhorwa	Do. Kasar.
116	Bhoyar	A caste.
117	Bhuihar	Included in Bhuiya.
118	Bhuiya	A tribe.
119	Bhuiwa	Included in Bharbhunja.
120	Bhulia	A caste.
121	Bhumia	Included in Bharia-Bhumia.
122	Bhumak	Do. Gond.
123	Bhumi	Do. Gond.
124	Bhunja	A tribe.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
125	Bhuri	Included in Gond.
126	Bhutda	Unclassed.
127	Bhuyan	Included in Bhuiya.
128	Bidur	A caste.
129	Bijabargi	Included in Bania.
130	Bilpir	Do. Beldar.
131	Bind	A tribe.
132	Bindhani	Included in Barhai.
133	Binjhal	Do. Binjhar.
134	Binjha	Do. Binjhar.
135	Binjhar	A tribe.
136	Birja	Included in Binjhar.
137	Bisal	Do. Barhai.
138	Bishnoi	A caste.
139	Bisodhi	Included in Bania.
140	Bistia	Do. Gond.
141	Bodiworklala	Do. Kalar.
142	Bogam	Do. Kasbi.
143	Bolra	A caste.
144	Bopchi	Included in Korku.
145	Brahmachari	Do. Brahman.
146	Brahman	A caste.
147	Brahmo Samaji	A caste.
148	Budbuklala	Included in Kalar.
149	Bukekari	Do. Gandhi.
150	Bundela	A sub-caste of Rajput.
151	Bunkar	Included in Kori.
152	Burar	Do. Basor.
153	Burman	Unclassed.
154	Cachi	Included in Kachhi.
155	Chadapan	Do. Mehtar.
156	Chadar	A caste.
157	Chalavadi Dasri	Included in Satani.
158	Chamar	A caste.
159	Chanchuwar	Included in Chenchuwar.
160	Chandania	Included in Rajput.
161	Charkia	Do. Gond.
162	Chasa	A caste.
163	Chauhan	A sub-caste of Rajput and a caste in Chhatis-gach.
164	Chaukasi	Included in Kalar.
165	Chemali	Included in Are.
166	Chenchuwar	A tribe.
167	Chengdiwar	Included in Madgi.
168	Cherwa	Do. Kavar.
169	Chhipa	A caste.
170	Chhipi Rai	Included in Darji.
171	Chhuhoor	Unclassed.
172	Chikwa	Included in Khatik.
173	Chitari	A caste.
174	Chitter	Included in Chitari.
175	Chitrakathi	A caste.
176	Chokh	Included in Pan (Ganda).
177	Chudar	Do. Chadac.
178	Chuniwar	Do. Chenchuwar.
179	Commo	Do. Kamma.
180	Cutchi	A caste.
181	Dahait	A caste.
182	Dahait Khairwar	Included in Dahait.
183	Daharia	A caste.
184	Dakhni	Included in Kunbi.
185	Dakochia	Do. Joshi.
186	Dalawet	Do. Daharia.
187	Dalia (Deoda)	Do. Kunbi.
188	Damami	Do. Kasbi.
189	Dammeri	Do. Garori (Nat).
190	Dandasi	Do. Bairagi.
191	Dandewar	Do. Koshti.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
192	Dandigan	A sub-caste of Joshi.
193	Dangchadha	Included in Nat.
194	Dangi	A caste.
195	Dangri	A caste.
196	Dangur	A caste.
197	Dantiya (Davatiya)	Unclassed.
198	Daorey	Included in Chamar.
199	Daraiha	A caste.
200	Dareha	Included in Daraiha.
201	Darman	Do. Dahait.
202	Darwani	Do. Dahait.
203	Darji	A caste.
204	Das	Included in Kayasth.
205	Dasodi	Do. Bania.
206	Dasri	Do. Satani.
207	Dasri Mahadeo	Do. Satani.
208	Dasriwar	Do. Satani.
209	Dastia	Do. Satani.
210	Debgunia	Included in Gond.
211	Dehari	Do. Daharia.
212	Dendri	Do. Koskati (Koshti).
213	Deoda	Do. Kunbi.
214	Deogarhia	Do. Nat.
215	Deo Rathia	Do. Rajput.
216	Deshkar	Unclassed.
217	Deswali	A caste.
218	Dewalkar	Unclassed.
219	Dewalkar Pardeshi	Included in Brahman.
220	Devar	A tribe.
221	Dhadi	Included in Dangi (Hoshangabad and Bhandara), Dhera (Sambalpur), Sansia (Nandgaon and Kalahandi).
222	Dhakar	Included in Bidur (Bastar) and Kirar (elsewhere).
223	Dhalgar	A caste.
224	Dhami	A caste.
225	Dhangar	A caste.
226	Dhangar Oraon	A tribe.
227	Dhangi Thakur	Included in Dangi.
228	Dhanuwar	Do. Dhanwar.
229	Dhanuk	A caste.
230	Dhanwar	A tribe.
231	Dhenapuri	Included in Gosain.
232	Dhera	A caste.
233	Dherh	Included in Mehra.
234	Dhihar	Do. Dhimar.
235	Dhimar	A caste.
236	Dhobi	A caste.
237	Dholi	Included in Gond.
238	Dhuba	Do. Dhobi.
239	Dhulgar	Do. Basor.
240	Dhunak	Do. Dhanuk.
241	Dhundairey	Unclassed.
242	Dhuri	A caste.
243	Dhurwa	Included in Gond.
244	Dilwar	Unclassed.
245	Dom	A sub-caste of Mehtar.
246	Duasin	Unclassed.
247	Dudhagowari	Included in Gowari (Ahir).
248	Dudhkar	Do. Ahir.
249	Dumal	A caste.
250	Dumar	Included in Mehtar.
251	Dura (Dora)	Do. Velama.
252	Dusadhan	Do. Das (Kayasth).
253	Dusi	Do. Joshi.
254	Fakir-Sain	A caste.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
255	Fataria	Included in Nunia.
256	Gabel	Do. Kurmi.
257	Gadaria	A caste.
258	Gadba	A tribe.
259	Gadhekari	Included in Kumhar.
260	Gadhera	Do. Kumhar.
261	Gagad Sewak	Do. Sonar.
262	Gahera	Do. Rawat (Ahir).
263	Gahor	Do. Gowari (Ahir).
264	Gaiki	Do. Ahir.
265	Galga	Do. Lodhi.
266	Galikar	Do. Gaoli (Ahir).
267	Gania	Do. Gond.
268	Ganda	A caste.
269	Gandhmali	A caste.
270	Gandharva	Included in Kasbi.
271	Gandhi	A caste.
272	Gangaha	Included in Nat.
273	Gannoria	Do. Rajput.
274	Gaoli	A sub-caste of Ahir.
275	Gaparin	Unclassed.
276	Garori	Included in Nat.
277	Garpagari	A caste.
278	Gaswar	Included in Chamar.
279	Gaolan	A sub-caste of Ahir.
280	Gaothia	Unclassed.
281	Gavel	Included in Kurmi.
282	Gowar	Do. Gowari (Ahir).
283	Gowari	A sub-caste of Ahir.
284	Gayan	A sub-caste of Kasbi.
285	Gentoo	Included in Bulija.
286	Ghadudhawera	Unclassed.
287	Ghagraha	Included in Golar.
288	Ghamandi	Do. Bairagi.
289	Ghantra	Do. Lohar.
290	Ghasia	A caste.
291	Ghivala	Included in Banjara.
292	Ghivala Banjari	Do. Banjara.
293	Ghivala Bepari	Do. Banjara.
294	Ghivala Bhaojalia	Do. Banjara.
295	Ghivala Turia	Do. Banjara.
296	Ghopuri	Do. Kunbi.
297	Ghosla	Do. Maratha.
298	Ghoai	A caste.
299	Ghugia	Included in Gond.
300	Ghuria	Do. Gauria (Sansia).
301	Gidheli	Unclassed.
302	Gingra	Included in Kewat.
303	Girar	Do. Kirar.
304	Goalkar	Do. Golkar (Ahir).
305	Gochki	Do. Kachhi.
306	Godatia	Unclassed.
307	Godhra	Included in Kumhar.
308	Godhelva	Do. Kumhar.
309	Godolia	Do. Kumhar.
310	Godri	Included in Gadaria.
311	Gohakmanjhi	Do. Kewat.
312	Goistia	Do. Moghia (Pardhi).
313	Gokan	Do. Gaolan (Ahir).
314	Golar	A caste.
315	Golhan	Included in Rajput.
316	Golkar	A sub-caste of Ahir.
317	Gond	A tribe.
318	Gond Dhanwar	Included in Dhanwar.
319	Gond Gabel	Do. Kurmi.
320	Gond Gowari	A tribe.

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Caste in which amalgamated
321	Gondhali	A caste.
322	Gondia	Included in Gauria (Sansia).
323	Gond Pahadi	Do. Gond.
324	Gopal	Do. Nat.
325	Gorakhnath	Do. Jogi.
326	Gosain	A caste.
327	Goteode	Included in Nunia.
328	Gottey	Do. Gond.
329	Gour	Do. Rawat (Ahir).
330	Guria	A sub-caste of Halwai.
331	Gujar	A caste.
332	Gujarathi Bhat	Included in Bania.
333	Gujarati	Do. Brahman.
334	Gurao	A caste.
335	Halba	A tribe.
336	Halbi	Included in Halba.
337	Halwa	Do. Halba.
338	Halwai	A caste.
339	Hamal	Included in Kunbi.
340	Hanshi	Do. Panka.
341	Harbola	Do. Basdewa.
342	Hardas	Do. Chitrakathi.
343	Hatkar	Do. Dhangar.
344	Hatwa	A caste.
345	Hijra	Unclassed.
346	Hilli	Included in Bahelia.
347	Hindu	Unclassed.
348	Holia	Included in Golar.
349	Indrabansi	Do. Rajput.
350	Injhar	A caste.
351	Itanikar	Unclassed.
352	Itari	Included in Otari.
353	Jadam	Do. Jadubansi (Rajput).
354	Jadubansi	A sub-caste of Rajput.
355	Jain Kalar	Included in Kalar.
356	Jaiswar	Do. Chamar.
357	Jangam	A caste.
358	Jangda	Included in Lodhi.
359	Janti	Do. Baliya.
360	Jasodhi	A sub-caste of Bhat.
361	Jat	A caste.
362	Jhagor	Included in Dhangar-Oraon.
363	Jhamtal	A sub-caste of Mang.
364	Jhara	Included in Sonjhara.
365	Jharekar	Do. Kasar.
366	Jharia	Do. Rawat (Ahir).
367	Jingar	A sub-caste of Chamar.
368	Jiri	Included in Mali.
369	Jodh	Unclassed.
370	Jogor	Included in Lodhi.
371	Jogi	A caste.
372	Johra	Included in Rajput.
373	Joshi	A caste.
374	Juang	A tribe.
375	Julaha	A caste.
376	Kabir	Included in Panka.
377	Kabitia	Do. Bhat.
378	Kabutri	Do. Nat.
379	Kachar	Do. Kachera.
380	Kachera	A caste.
381	Kachhi	A caste.
382	Kachiwal	Included in Kuchbandhia (Kunjar).
383	Kadam	Included in Rajput.
384	Kadambar	Do. Rajput.
385	Kadera	A caste.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
386	Kadhalla	... Included in Kandra (Basor).
387	Kadhera	... Do. Kandra (Sambalpur) and Kadhera (elsewhere).
388	Kahar	... A caste.
389	Kailari	... A caste.
390	Kalanga	... A caste.
391	Kalanji	... Included in Rajput.
392	Kalar	... A caste.
393	Kalawant	... Included in Kasbi.
394	Kalo	... Do. Teli.
395	Kalota	... Do. Kasbi.
396	Kalud	... Unclassed.
397	Kalwar	... Included in Kalar.
398	Kamar	... A tribe.
399	Kama	... Included in Kamma.
400	Kamaria	... Do. Ahir.
401	Kamathi	... A caste.
402	Kamlali	... Unclassed.
403	Kamma	... A caste.
404	Kammala	... A caste.
405	Kamp	... Included in Velama.
406	Kamra	... Do. Ahir (Chhindwara) and Kamar (Raigarh.)
407	Kamti	... Do. Komti.
408	Kanada	... Unclassed.
409	Kanadi	... Included in Golar.
410	Kanchar	... Do. Kachera.
411	Kandal	... Unclassed.
412	Kandar	... Included in Kadera.
413	Kandera	... Do. Kundera (Nimar) and Kadera (Saugor and Damoh).
414	Kandh	... A tribe.
415	Kandra	... A sub-caste of Basor.
416	Kang (Kamp)	... Included in Velama.
417	Kanjar	... A caste.
418	Kanker	... Unclassed.
419	Kankubja	... Included in Brahman.
420	Kanojia	... Do. Brahman.
421	Kansari	... Do. Kasar.
422	Kanwar	... Do. Kavar.
423	Kanya	... Do. Nunia.
424	Kaonra	... A sub-caste of Ahir.
425	Kapewar	... A caste.
426	Kapdi	... Included in Bania.
427	Kapri	... Do. Bania.
428	Kapu	... Do. Kapewar.
429	Karan Mahanti	... A caste.
430	Kararey	... Unclassed.
431	Kareva	... Included in Kadera.
432	Karia	... Do. Kori.
433	Karnati	... Do. Nat.
434	Kasai	... Do. Khatik.
435	Kasar	... A caste.
436	Kasbi	... A caste.
437	Kater	... Included in Kasar.
438	Kasera	... Do. Kasar.
439	Kasi	... Do. Beldar.
440	Kasonda	... Do. Bania.
441	Kasondhia	... Do. Bania.
442	Kastragiya	... Unclassed.
443	Kasura	... Included in Kasar (Hoshangabad) and Kaonra (Chhindwara).
444	Kathak	... Do. Kasbi.
445	Kathari	... Included in Rajput.
446	Kathilkari	... Do. Otari.
447	Katia	... A caste.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
448	Katiawar	Included in Beldar.
449	Kaurao	Do. Kaonra (Ahir).
450	Kawalkari	Do. Kumhar.
451	Kawar	A tribe.
452	Kayasth	A caste.
453	Kayasth Manthari	Included in Kayasth.
454	Kayasth Bengali	Do. Kayasth.
455	Kayarwar	Do. Gond.
456	Kekadi	Do. Kalkari.
457	Kela	Do. Sawara.
458	Kelar	Do. Kalar.
459	Kewat	A caste.
460	Khadal	A caste.
461	Khadi	Included in Kachhi.
462	Khadia	Do. Kharia.
463	Khadra	A caste.
464	Khaira	Included in Khairwar.
465	Khairwa	Do. Khairwar.
466	Khairwar	A tribe.
467	Khairwar Majhi	Included in Khairwar.
468	Khalbe Chaudhari	Unclassed.
469	Khamari	Included in Kolta.
470	Khamis	Do. Khatri.
471	Khandait	A caste.
472	Khandait Uria	Included in Khandait.
473	Khandegir	Do. Gosain.
474	Khangar	A caste.
475	Kharadia	Included in Barhai.
476	Khargond	Do. Gond.
477	Kharia	A tribe.
478	Kharin	Included in Khairwar.
479	Kharadi	Do. Barhai.
480	Kharra	Do. Kahar.
481	Kharwa	Do. Kandera (Seoni and Nimar) and, Khairwar (Bilaspur).
482	Khatadia	Do. Bania.
483	Khati	Do. Lohar.
484	Khatia	Do. Gond.
485	Khatik	A caste.
486	Khatkurin	Unclassed.
487	Khatri	A caste.
488	Khatri Chauhan	Included in Khatri.
489	Khedura	Do. Khadra.
490	Khedawal	Do. Brahman.
491	Kherwa	Do. Khairwar.
492	Kherawal	Do. Brahman.
493	Khesura	Do. Kaonra (Ahir).
494	Khoja	A caste.
495	Khond	Included in Kandh.
496	Kir	A caste.
497	Kirad	Included in Kirar.
498	Kirar	A caste.
499	Kirnamchuria	Unclassed.
500	Kisan	A caste.
501	Kisba	Included in Kasbi.
502	Kochia	Included in Bahna.
503	Kodar	Do. Kadera.
504	Kohdi	Do. Kohli.
505	Kohli	A caste.
506	Kohri	Included in Kohli.
507	Koi	Do. Gond.
508	Koksin	Do. Kohli.
509	Kokra	Do. Dhangar-Oraon.
510	Kol	A tribe.
511	Kolabhut	Included in Gond.
512	Kolam	Do. Gond.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which assimilated.
513	Kolhati	Included in Nat.
514	Koli	Do. Kori.
515	Kolmunda	Do. Kol.
516	Kolta	A caste.
517	Komti	A caste.
518	Kondha	Included in Kandh.
519	Konkan	Do. Brahman.
520	Kora	Do. Kori.
521	Korari	Unclassed.
522	Kori	A caste.
523	Koriya	Included in Kori.
524	Korku	A tribe.
525	Korwa	A tribe.
526	Koskati	A sub-caste of Koshti.
527	Koshti	A caste.
528	Kosria	Included in Mali.
529	Kothar	Do. Kotwar.
530	Kotia	Do. Katia.
531	Kotil	Do. Bhil.
532	Kotwar	Do. Chadar (Saugor and Damoh), Dahait (Jubbulpore), Balahi (Narsinghpur and Hoshang- abad), Mehra (Chhindwara and Wardha) and Ganda (Kanker and Bamra).
533	Koya	Do. Gond.
534	Krishnapakshi	Do. Bidar.
535	Kuchbandhia	A sub-caste of Kanjar.
536	Kuchiwala	Included in Kuchbandhia (Kanjar).
537	Kuda	A tribe.
538	Kudaya	Included in Kuda.
539	Kudera	Do. Kadera.
540	Kuli	Do. Kori (Bhandara) and Dhima- (Wardha).
541	Kumai	Do. Kumhar.
542	Kumtaki	Do. Nat.
543	Kumbhpatia	Do. Bairagi.
544	Kumhar	A caste.
545	Kumhti	Included in Komti.
546	Kumma	Do. Kamma.
547	Kumharawat	Do. Barai.
548	Kumrawat	Do. Barai.
549	Kunbi	A caste.
550	Kunjra	A caste.
551	Kuramwar	A caste.
552	Kurmi	A caste.
553	Kurmi Telang	Included in Kapewar.
554	Kutha	Do. Brahman.
555	Kutharsita	Unclassed.
556	Labhana	Included in Banjara.
557	Labhan Naik	Do. Banjara.
558	Labhan Turia	Do. Banjara.
559	Labhan Uria	Do. Banjara.
560	Lageria	Do. Lahgera (Kori).
561	Lahgera	A sub-caste of Kori.
562	Lahi	Included in Lodhi.
563	Lakeria	Do. Lakhera.
564	Lakhera	A caste.
565	Lakhua	Included in Kol.
566	Lalbegi	Do. Mehtar.
567	Laldeo	Do. Rajput.
568	Lambadi	Do. Banjara.
569	Lamdhar	Do. Londhari.
570	Lamraj	Do. Lingayat Bania.
571	Lanja	Do. Gond.
572	Lachemp	Do. Kol.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
573	Larhia	A sub-caste of Beldar.
574	Laria	Included in Mali.
575	Latki (Ladkebari).	Unclassed.
576	Lengi	Included in Gond.
577	Lodha	Do. Lodhi.
578	Lodhi	A caste.
579	Lodhia	Included in Larhia (Beldar).
580	Lohar	A caste.
581	Lonari	Included in Londhari.
582	Londhari	A caste.
583	Lunia	Included in Nunia.
584	Machbendar	Do. Nath (Jogi).
585	Machhi	Do. Mochi (Chamar).
586	Madgi	A caste.
587	Madia	Included in Gond.
588	Madrasa	Do. Mala.
589	Madrasa Pilley	Do. Golla (Ahir).
590	Madgadi	Unclassed.
591	Mahapatra	Included in Brahman.
592	Maharana	A sub-caste of Chitari.
593	Mahali	Included in Nai (Nagpur and Chanda), Mallah (Saugor and Kawardha) and Nahal (Chhindwara).
594	Mahalak	Do. Kewat.
595	Mahanoo	Do. Mali.
596	Mahanti	Do. Karan Mahanti.
597	Mahar	Do. Mehra.
598	Maharain	Do. Mehra.
599	Mahesi	A sub-caste of Bania.
600	Mahia	Included in Kewat.
601	Maina	Do. Deswali.
602	Maine	Do. Mannewar.
603	Maisal	Unclassed.
604	Majbahi	Included in Kewat.
605	Majhi	Do. Kewat.
606	Majhia	Do. Kewat.
607	Makivar	Unclassed.
608	Makiwar	Included in Komti.
609	Mala	A caste.
610	Malar	Included in Kol.
611	Malyar	A caste.
612	Mali	A caste.
613	Mallah	A caste.
614	Malvi	Included in Brahman.
615	Manu	A caste.
616	Manhai	Included in Manihar.
617	Manbhao	A caste.
618	Mandhoo	Included in Manbhao.
619	Mandri	Do. Madgi.
620	Mang	A caste.
621	Mangan	A caste.
622	Mangeli	Included in Nai.
623	Mangia	Do. Moghia (Parhi).
624	Manhar	Do. Manihar.
625	Manihar	A caste.
626	Manjhi	Included in Dhimar (Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur and Bastar) and Kewat (Sakti).
627	Manjwar	Do. Kewat.
628	Mankar	Do. Korku.
629	Manney	Do. Mannewar.
630	Mansepawar	A sub-caste of Mala.
631	Marar	Included in Mali.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
632	Maratha	A caste.
633	Maria	Included in Gond.
634	Marori	A caste.
635	Marwari	Included in Bania.
636	Mathewal	Do. Beldar.
637	Mathura	Do. Madgi.
638	Mathwasi	Do. Bairagi.
639	Matkoda	Do. Odde (Beldar).
640	Matara (Bhataram)	Do. Bhat.
641	Matraj	Do. Beldar.
642	Matura	Unclassed.
643	Medari	Included in Basor.
644	Medra	Unclassed.
645	Meghwar	Included in Mala.
646	Mehan	Do. Mehtar.
647	Mehra	A caste.
648	Mehtar	A caste.
649	Mendari	Unclassed.
650	Mewati	A caste.
651	Mirdha	A sub-caste of Nat.
652	Mirasi	A caste.
653	Mochi	A sub-caste of Chamar.
654	Modak	Included in Halwal.
655	Modi Pardeshi	Do. Bania.
656	Moghia	A sub-caste of Pardhi.
657	Moghwar	Included in Mala.
658	Momin	A caste.
659	Mondi	Included in Madgi.
660	Mori	A sub-caste of Rajput.
661	Mowar	A caste.
662	Mowasi	A sub-caste of Korku.
663	Mudliyar	Included in Vellalan.
664	Muihar	Do. Bhuiya.
665	Makeri	A caste.
666	Munda	A tribe.
667	Munia	Included in Deswali.
668	Munurwar	Do. Kapewar.
669	Murai	A sub-caste of Kachhi.
670	Murari	Included in Marar (Wardha) and Marori (Bhandara).
671	Murha	A caste.
672	Muria	Included in Gond.
673	Murkenaji	Unclassed.
674	Murkanda	Included in Kaikari.
675	Mutrasi	A caste.
676	Naga	Included in Gosain.
677	Nagarchi	Do. Gond.
678	Nahadia (Nahotia)	Unclassed.
679	Nahal	A sub-caste of Korku.
680	Nahar	Included in Baiga.
681	Naharkia	Do. Dangi.
682	Nahote	A sub-caste of Rajput.
683	Nai	A caste.
684	Naldu	Included in Balija.
685	Naik	Do. Banjara.
686	Naksia	A caste.
687	Nalband	A sub-caste of Lohar.
688	Nanakshahi	A caste.
689	Naoghaua	Included in Kol.
690	Naoda	A caste.
691	Nat	A caste.
692	Nath	A sub-caste of Jogi.
693	Natua	Do. Nat.
694	Natwa	Do. Nat.
695	Nemawat	Included in Bairagi.
696	Netkani	A sub-caste of Mala.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
697	Niha	Included in Nai.
698	Nihal	Do. Nahar (Baiga).
699	Nihaloo	Do. Nahar (Korku).
700	Nilkar	Do. Rangari.
701	Nunia	A caste.
702	Oaka	Included in Gond.
703	Ojha	Do. Gond.
704	Oopari	Do. Odde (Beldar).
705	Otari	A caste.
706	Pah	Included in Ganda.
707	Pahia	A sub-caste of Mali.
708	Padar	Included in Banjara.
709	Pahad	Do. Mali.
710	Pahalwan	Do. Nat.
711	Pahar	Do. Mali.
712	Paik	A caste.
713	Palewar	A sub-caste of Dhimar.
714	Pan	Included in Ganda.
715	Panara	Do. Barai.
716	Panchal	Do. Sonar.
717	Pandaram	Do. Bairagi.
718	Pandhari	Do. Pindhari.
719	Pandra	Do. Mali.
720	Pangul	Do. Basdewa.
721	Panhara	Do. Barai.
722	Panjabi	Do. Khatri.
723	Panka	A caste.
724	Pansari	Included in Barai.
725	Paramsmarth	Do. Bairagi.
726	Parbbu	A sub-caste of Kayasth.
727	Pardeshi	Included in Rajput.
728	Pardhan	Do. Gond.
729	Pardhi	A caste.
730	Paretha	Included in Dhobi.
731	Pariah	Do. Mala.
732	Parja	Do. Gond.
733	Parka	A caste.
734	Parwani	Included in Parwar (Bania).
735	Parwar	A sub-caste of Bania.
736	Pasari	Included in Barai.
737	Pasi	A caste.
738	Pastari	Included in Bishnoi.
739	Patail	Do. Mali.
740	Patami	Do. Patwa.
741	Pathak	Do. Brahman.
742	Pathan (Hindu)	Unclassed.
743	Pathari	Included in Gond.
744	Pathia or Padia	Do. Sansia.
745	Patra	Do. Patwa.
746	Patwa	A caste.
747	Patwi	Included in Patwa.
748	Perki	A sub-caste of Balia.
749	Pheragi	Included in Perki (Baliya).
750	Phul Mali	Do. Mali.
751	Phulwar	Do. Mali.
752	Pilley	Do. Golla (Ahir).
753	Pindhari	A caste.
754	Pinjara	Included in Bahna.
755	Ponwar	A sub-caste of Rajput.
756	Purad	Included in Bidur.
757	Raghubansi	A sub-caste of Rajput.
758	Raghvi	Included in Rajput.
759	Raj	Do. Beldar.
760	Raja	Do. Rajput.
761	Raj Beldar	Do. Beldar.
762	Raj Bhaina	Do. Bhaina.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
763	Rajbhar	A caste.
764	Raj Bhat	Included in Bhat.
765	Raj Gond	Do. Gond.
766	Rajjhar	A caste.
767	Raj Kumhar	Included in Kumhar.
768	Raj Pardhan	Do. Gond.
769	Rajput	A caste.
770	Rajput Dikhit	A sub-caste of Rajput.
771	Rajwar	Included in Bhuiya.
772	Ramosi	A caste.
773	Ramsanehi	Included in Bairagi.
774	Rangara	Do. Rangari.
775	Rangari	A caste.
776	Rangeni	Included in Rangari.
777	Rangrez	Do. Chhipa.
778	Ranjit	Do. Jat.
779	Rannev	Do. Kumbl.
780	Rao	Do. Bhat.
781	Rao Bhat	Do. Bhat.
782	Raoteley	Do. Kurmi.
783	Rautia	Do. Kol.
784	Rawa (Rana)	Do. Ghosi.
785	Rawat	A sub-caste of Ahir.
786	Reddi	Included in Kapewar.
787	Redka	A caste.
788	Rohidas	Included in Chamar.
789	Rohilla	A caste.
790	Sadhan	Unclassed.
791	Sadhu	Included in Bairagi.
792	Sadhwar	Do. Jogi.
793	Saigapurba	Do. Parbhu (Kayasth).
794	Saishahi	Unclassed.
795	Sain	Included in Fakir.
796	Sais	Do. Chamar.
797	Sakarwar	Do. Rajput.
798	Salewar	A sub-caste of Koshti.
799	Sali	Included in Salewar (Koshti).
800	Salki	Do. Solanki (Rajput).
801	Sanayasi	Do. Gosain.
802	Sanjogi	Do. Jogi.
803	Sankhua	Do. Bhuiya.
804	Sansia	A caste.
805	Saota	Included in Dhanwar.
806	Saoteli	Do. Teli.
807	Sarangia	Do. Kasbi.
808	Sarbhangi	Do. Bairagi.
809	Sarmadgi	Do. Bairagi.
810	Sarodi	Do. Joshi.
811	Sarwali (Sarwadiri)	Do. Nat.
812	Satani	A caste.
813	Saur	Included in Sawara.
814	Sawara	A tribe.
815	Sawara Khutia	Included in Sawara.
816	Sedhan	Unclassed.
817	Selawat	Included in Beldar.
818	Serawaram	Do. Chamar.
819	Setwal	A sub-caste of Bania.
820	Sethi or Setti	Included in (Chetti) Kapewar.
821	Shagadi	Do. Shanan.
822	Sheshti Karnam	Do. Karan Mahanti.
823	Shikari	Do. Bahelia.
824	Shribhadr Narayan	Do. Bairagi.
825	Shri Raj	Do. Beldar.
826	Shriwani	Do. Basdewa.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
827	Sholawar	Included in Salewar (Koshti).
828	Siddi (Sidhi)	A caste.
829	Sidhira	A caste.
830	Sidra	Included in Sidhira.
831	Sikh	A caste.
832	Sikligar	A caste.
833	Simpi	Included in Darji.
834	Singaria	Do. Kurmi.
835	Singrod	Do. Kurmi.
836	Sipti	Do. Patwa.
837	Sisodhia	A sub-caste of Rajput.
838	Sisria	Included in Kuubi.
839	Sitharia	Do. Sidhira.
840	Sokta, Bhokta	Do. Bhuiya.
841	Solaha	A caste.
842	Solapuri	Included in Salewar (Koshti).
843	Somnath	Do. Jogi.
844	Sonar	A caste.
845	Sondri	Unclassed.
846	Sonjhala	Included in Sonjhara.
847	Sonjhara	A caste.
848	Sonjharia	Included in Sonjhara.
849	Sunkar	A sub-caste of Beldar (Northern districts) and Mali (Chhattisgarh).
850	Sudhurey	Included in Londhari.
851	Sudh	A caste.
852	Sudra Chetti	Included in Kapewar.
853	Sukli	Unclassed.
854	Sundhi	Included in Sundi.
855	Sundi	A caste.
856	Sunjhar	Included in Sonjhara.
857	Superdei	Do. Kasbi.
858	Supooa	Do. Nat.
859	Surajbansi	A sub-caste of Rajput.
860	Surti	Included in Mehra.
861	Sutari	Do. Barhai.
862	Suthar	Do. Sundi.
863	Swait	Do. Mali.
864	Takara	Do. Beldar.
865	Tamasawale	Do. Nat.
866	Tamboli	Do. Barai.
867	Tamera	A caste.
868	Tamil	Included in Mala.
869	Tangal Parbhu	Do. Parbhu (Kayasth).
870	Tanti	A caste.
871	Taonla	A caste.
872	Tawar	A sub-caste of Rajput.
873	Tasa	Included in Chasa.
874	Telanga	Do. Baliya.
875	Telanga Balji	Do. Baliya.
876	Telanga Dora	Do. Velama.
877	Telanga Sadarboi	Do. Palewar (Dhimar).
878	Teli	A caste.
879	Teli Bantam	Included in Teli.
880	Teli Kasaria	Do. Teli.
881	Teli Mehto	Do. Teli.
882	Teliwa	Do. Velama.
883	Thakur	Do. Rajput.
884	Thakur Bhat	Do. Bhat.
885	Thanapati	Do. Gandhmali-Thanapati.
886	Thanti	Unclassed.
887	Thethwar	Included in Rawat (Ahir).
888	Thotia	Do. Gond.
889	Thuria	Do. Banjara.

Serial No.	Name of Caste.	Caste in which amalgamated.
890	Tirmalle	A caste.
891	Tirora	Included in Kunbi.
892	Tiyar	A caste.
893	Toplewar	Unclassed.
894	Turi	A caste.
895	Turkia	Included in Manihar.
896	Udasi	Do. Nanakshahi.
897	Udenti	Do. Kunbi.
898	Ujir	Do. Dhobi.
899	Upadhe	Do. Brahman.
900	Uraon	Do. Dhangar-Orson.
901	Uria	Do. Sansia.
902	Uria Benatia	Do. Sansia.
903	Uria Khandait	Do. Khandait.
904	Utia	Do. Bania.
905	Vaishya	Do. Bania.
906	Vakkalia	Do. Wakkaliga.
907	Vanner	Do. Dhobi.
908	Vasarti	Do. Kurmi.
909	Velama	A caste.
910	Vellalor	Included in Vellalan.
911	Verahir (Veral)	Unclassed.
912	Veralier	Unclassed.
913	Virbhadra	Included in Gosain.
914	Virmushti	Do. Bairagi.
915	Vishwa Karma	Do. Lohar.
916	Wadar (Wadewar)	Do. Odde (Beldar).
917	Waghya	A caste.
918	Wakkaliga	A caste.
919	Walji	Included in Baliya.
920	Wanjara	Do. Banjara.
921	Wanjari	Do. Banjara.
922	Wargha	Do. Gosain.
923	Warney	Do. Dhobi.
924	Waroo	Unclassed.
925	Wataga	Unclassed.
926	Watari	Included in Otari.
927	Watkar	Do. Otari.
928	Yelama	Do. Velama.
929	Yelanwar	Do. Velama.
930	Yenatnar (Yentadi)	Unclassed.
931	Yerukala	Included in Korva.

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