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May 30. 1893.

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1891.

ASSAM.

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BY

E. A. GAIT

OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,

SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS IN ASSAM.

VOL. I.—REPORT.

SHILLONG:

PRINTED AT THE ASSAM SECRETARIAT PRINTING OFFICE.

1892.

PRICE—THREE RUPEES.

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SHILLONG :
PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ASSAM SECRETARIAT
PRINTING DEPARTMENT.

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PREFACE.

THIS work consists of three volumes. The first contains an account of the way in which the census was taken, and the manner in which the final tables were compiled from the schedules, together with a dissertation on the more obvious results shown by the tables, and on some of the conclusions to be drawn from them. The second volume comprises the Imperial tables prescribed by the Government of India. A third (supplementary) volume contains certain Provincial tables, together with a Caste index showing all the castes and caste subdivisions returned at the census, together with the numerical strength of the more important sub-castes.

The operations of the census have been discussed in some detail, in order to enable the officers on whom the duty of taking the next Assam census will fall to benefit by the experience obtained on this occasion, and thereby to avoid the mistakes of the present census and surmount the difficulties which are inseparable from an undertaking of the sort.

In the dissertation on the results of the census, the chief aim has been to present them in as clear and intelligible a form as possible; and with this object in view, a number of statements have been prepared which display in a simpler form the main features of the somewhat unwieldy and voluminous tables which are contained in the second volume. In several chapters (such as those dealing with Religion, Marriage, Language, and Caste) a certain amount of general information regarding the subjects there dealt with has been added to the purely statistical discussion. This portion of the Report might perhaps have been amplified with advantage, but it was impossible to do so for several reasons. In the first place, I officiated as Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, in addition to my own duties, from the 22nd October to the 22nd January; and during this period I had no time either to take up the writing of my Report, or to devote as much time as could have been wished to the study of the subjects with which I had to deal. Then, when relieved of Secretariat work, there was the urgent necessity of getting the Report finished within the time prescribed by the Census Commissioner; and I should not therefore have been justified in delaying its publication for the insertion of matter not strictly relevant. With the exception of the chapter dealing with the Occupations of the people, which could not be taken up until the figures were available, the whole of the Report was written within little more than two months; and this was done concurrently with the preparation of the heavy tables dealing with Castes and Occupations, which were not completed until April, and which gave infinitely more trouble than the whole of the other tables combined.

I take this opportunity to record the great assistance which I have received from Mr. Manmatha Nath Ghosh, M.A., B.L., Extra Assistant Commissioner, and from Babu

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Girish Chandra Das of the Comptroller's Office. The former was in immediate charge, first of the abstraction test slip department, and afterwards of the tabulation and compilation of the very difficult tables dealing with castes and occupations; and it is impossible to speak too highly of his industry and intelligence. The latter has been of the greatest possible assistance throughout. He joined my office in April 1890, and remained with me until the conclusion of the work. He has always shown himself to be most careful and intelligent, while his industry is beyond all praise.

I have also much pleasure in acknowledging the manner in which Mr. Conyngham Francis, Superintendent of the Assam Secretariat Printing Office, has carried out the printing of these volumes. Hampered by a small staff, an insufficient supply of type, and the press of current work, he has, nevertheless, succeeded in passing my Report through the press with praiseworthy despatch, and has, besides, taken much trouble with its typography. Had it not been for his energetic co-operation, the printing of the work would have been much delayed and its appearance would have been far less attractive.

Lastly, I must express my gratitude to the many executive officers, Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners, and Extra Assistant Commissioners, to whose cordial co-operation is to be ascribed the success which attended the taking of the census; and whose subsequent enquiries regarding castes and other subjects have furnished much of the information contained in Chapter X of the Report and elsewhere. In connection with the actual census operations, the general standard of work was so high, that it would be impossible to select a few names for special mention.

With regard to the subsequent enquiries, however, Mr. Davis' Notes regarding the tribes found in his district and the languages spoken by them are so complete and interesting, that it is no slur on others to say that his report on these subjects was by far the most valuable contribution received from any officer. Much useful information was, however, furnished by others also, and especially by Messrs. Anderson, Baker, and Gurdon, by Babus Rajmohan De and Sambhu Narayan Singh, and Rai Jogesh Chandra Chatterji.

E. A. G.

SHILLONG,
May 31st, 1892.

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PART I.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE CENSUS.

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REPORT

ON

THE CENSUS OF ASSAM, 1891.

PART I.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE CENSUS.

CHAPTER I.—TAKING THE CENSUS.

Preliminary Arrangements.

THE first step necessary in arranging for the census was the preparation of an absolutely exhaustive list of all the villages and hamlets in each district. To obtain this, very careful local enquiries were required; and as these would necessarily occupy a considerable time, deputy commissioners were addressed on the subject as soon after my appointment in April 1890 as possible.

Preparation of a complete list of villages.

2. The circumstances of the different districts were so varied, that no attempt was made to lay down any authoritative and generally applicable definition of what was to be understood by a village. Each officer was left free to decide for himself what definition would best adapt itself to the peculiar circumstances of his district. The only point on which stress was laid was that, in the case of those parts of the Assam Valley which had been cadastrally surveyed, the areas which had been treated as villages at the survey should also be taken as such for the purposes of the census. This was done, and had the twofold advantage of enabling the cadastral maps to be made use of, and of furnishing definite boundaries, which prevented all chance of overlapping or of villages being omitted altogether from the register. It was not, as a rule, found feasible to make use of the revenue survey areas in Sylhet, as the *thaks* there were too indeterminate in character and too scattered in form to be a safe guide in making arrangements for the census. The village was, therefore, usually, as in most other non-cadastral tracts, taken to be a group of houses bearing a separate name.

Definition of 'village.'

3. As regards the system of preparing the register of villages, it was suggested that as complete a list as possible should first be prepared from the records of the last census, the chaukidari register, or the revenue returns; and that this should then be sent to the mauzadars or the police, as the case might be, for local enquiry and correction. The object of the preliminary list was to furnish some sort of a basis on which local enquiries could be made, and to provide, so far as possible, against the danger of omission or incomplete returns. In most districts it appears to have answered this purpose. The Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup, however, says, "a large amount of time was wasted in preparing the lists of villages from obsolete records * *. There was a very considerable difference between the villages as described in the list and those actually found on the ground. * * I found that I had to entirely rewrite my list, the one that was already compiled being altogether useless." These remarks were made with especial reference to the Barpeta subdivision, where in many parts village sites are constantly changing. But I cannot help thinking that the trouble of preparing a preliminary list of villages has been overrated, and the advantage of having a rough guide to help local officers in their enquiries not sufficiently realised. In the only district in which local officers were ordered to prepare registers of villages without the assistance of rough lists drawn up in the deputy commissioner's office, the work was done so badly, that it had to be repeated after the original lists had been revised by comparison with the map and the revenue records.

Manner in which village register was prepared.

4. The agency employed in testing the register on the ground varied from district to district. In the Brahmaputra Valley proper the strong revenue establishments furnished a very valuable agency for local testing. In Cachar, Sylhet, and Goalpara the police alone were available for this work; while in the hill districts, the hill mauzadars, dolois,

Agency employed in preparing and testing the village register.

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Taking the Census.

Preliminary arrangements

chiefs, &c., were called upon to assist. When the testing officers had completed their enquiries, their reports were checked, as far as possible, by sub-deputy collectors and such other superior officers as could be spared for this work. They were again carefully scrutinised by the different census officers, each for his own circle or charge, before the actual enumeration commenced.

Special difficulties.

5. The amount of trouble attending the preparation of an exhaustive list of villages and hamlets depends not only on the local agency available for the purpose, but also on the way in which the people live. The work is obviously much easier where people reside in large, compact, and permanent villages than where they occupy small, scattered, and constantly shifting hamlets. And this is what constituted a very special difficulty in Assam. In nearly every district there are large areas of sparsely peopled land, where cultivation is fluctuating and the people reside in small groups of houses, the sites of which are constantly being changed. This is especially the case among Kacharis throughout the province, on the *chaporis*, or low-lying lands, which form the banks of the Brahmaputra during the cold weather but are heavily flooded in the rains, in the southern portion of the Sylhet district, and throughout most of the hill tracts. Speaking of the migratory habits of the Khasis, the Deputy Commissioner writes :

> Those who live upon cultivation generally remove in a body, men, women, and children, and live close to their fields until their harvest is gathered, when they either return to their own villages, or establish a new hamlet near the nearest village to their fields.

This description applies to nearly all the hill people of the province, excepting the Angamis and a few of the other Naga tribes, who are said, as a rule, to occupy permanent village sites. In nearly all districts some of the settlements which had been reported to be in existence in July had disappeared, or been removed elsewhere, when the enumerators began their work in October and November. To ensure the inclusion of all these shifting homesteads, however new or temporary, repeated instructions were issued prescribing a continual search for them up to the very day of the census; and new hamlets were thus, in some instances, discovered at a very late stage of the operations.

Degree of accuracy attained.

6. Deputy commissioners are unanimously of opinion that the measures taken to secure complete accuracy in their registers were, in the end, highly successful, and report that no villages or hamlets could possibly have escaped inclusion in the course of the repeated local enquiries that were continued right up to the close of the work. The Deputy Commissioner of the Garo Hills adds that the census was the means of increasing his revenue demand, by adding to his rent-roll houses which had previously escaped assessment, and which had been discovered in the course of the census operations. From what I saw of the work while on tour, I can safely add my testimony to that of district officers. The local enquiries were most carefully and exhaustively made; and in my opinion the village registers may be relied on as being absolutely correct. This result could not have been attained but for the unremitting personal attention which district officers, as a body, devoted to the supervision of the work.

Suggestions for the future.

7. In this connection, only one point remains to be dealt with, *viz.*, the time at which the preparation of the village registers should be taken in hand at future censuses. On the present occasion the instructions regarding it were issued on the 25th April. This allowed ample time for the completion of the work in the greater part of the Assam Valley proper, where locomotion is easy throughout the year, and there is a strong revenue agency well able to cope with it. Indeed, the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup says that, if full and final instructions had been issued before the work began, he could have finished the preliminary stages of the work in ample time by beginning on the 1st September. While there are obvious reasons against delaying the commencement of the work as long as that, it seems doubtful whether there is any necessity for beginning it earlier in these districts than was done on the present occasion. But in Sylhet and Goalpara, where heavy floods make locomotion difficult during the rains and the police are the only agency available for the work, and in the sparsely peopled frontier and hill tracts, such as Sadiya and the Garo Hills, there is no doubt that the time allowed was too short, and that district officers were hard put to it to get their village registers completed before the time fixed for carrying out the more advanced stages of the preparations for the census. The registers were, indeed, got ready in time; but to do so involved a great deal of push and bustle, which might have been avoided, if the work had been started three or four months earlier. If, therefore, the next census is fixed for February 1901, it seems advisable that instructions regarding the preparation of the

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subdivisional registers should be issued not later than December 1899. I may add that this view is shared by nearly all the officers who have noticed the subject in their reports.

Taking the Census. — Preliminary arrangements

The circle list.

8. Having got a complete list of all villages and hamlets, the next step was to apportion them amongst the different census officers. For this purpose, each district was divided into charges, each charge into circles, and each circle into blocks. The block was the census unit, *i.e.*, the area allotted to the person appointed to fill in the actual census schedules, or, in census nomenclature, the enumerator. Had the enumerators been sufficiently intelligent and trustworthy, they might have been left to carry out the work without assistance or supervision. But as this was not, and in India it is never likely to be, the case, it was necessary to appoint census officers of higher grades to teach them how the work should be done, and to see that they really did it. These officers were called supervisors. Each supervisor was placed in charge of a certain number of enumerators; and it was his duty to see that census operations were properly carried out in their blocks. The collection of blocks in charge of the enumerators subject to the same supervisor constituted the 'circle' of that supervisor.

With a view to securing the greatest possible accuracy, the superior grades of Government officials of all departments were asked to assist in the work of instruction and supervision. The different districts were divided into groups of circles, which were called charges; and each group or charge was placed under the direct control of one of these superior officers, who was known as the charge superintendent. They themselves were known as charge superintendents. In some districts an intermediate class of officers was appointed. They were called inspectors, and assisted the charge superintendents in definite portions of their charges. The number of charges and circles in a district varied according to the number of officers available as charge superintendents and supervisors. The number of blocks was similarly, to some extent, dependent on the number of persons qualified to act as enumerators; but, wherever possible, it was arranged that the number of houses in a block should not exceed sixty. In most instances the number of houses in a block was considerably below this maximum.

The register showing the distribution of the thanas, mauzas, villages, &c., in a district into charges, circles, and blocks was called the circle list. The work of preparing it was a comparatively easy one after the subdivisional register had been written up. But still great care was required in two respects. It was necessary to distribute the census divisions so that each charge, circle, and block might, so far as possible, have definite boundaries; while in arranging blocks, the compactness or otherwise of the villages dealt with had to be considered quite as much as the number of houses which they contained.

Boundaries of census divisions.

9. The boundary difficulty was got over, where possible, by making the census areas conterminous with administrative or survey divisions. Thus the thana formed the charge in Sylhet, and the pargana in Cachar. In the Assam Valley proper the mauza was, as a rule, the circle; and a collection of mauzas formed the charge. It was more difficult to obtain any administrative unit to serve as the block. In the Surma Valley the chaukidar's beat was sometimes found suitable. But in the Assam Valley the gaonburas' circles were not usually made use of, one of the main reasons for this being that they had not, as a rule, been remodelled since the survey, and consequently seldom fitted in with the cadastral village. It is, however, a question whether more is not lost than gained in trying to use some recognised unit already in existence as the census block. The block is a perfectly arbitrary division, the sole requisite of which is, that it should be of such a form and size as to enable one man to get round it as easily as possible on the night of the census. It should consist of a limited number of houses lying more or less together; and though it is also desirable that it should have known or easily ascertainable boundaries, it is better to devote a little more trouble to arranging this than to take as blocks areas that already have defined boundaries (which gaonburas' circles very often have not), but in which the houses are scattered or unmanageably numerous.

Manner in which circle list was prepared.

10. The system followed in most districts was to call in to headquarters the officers who had been deputed to make the local enquiries in connection with the preparation of the village registers, and to form blocks in consultation with them and with especial reference to the map. As each block was formed, it was demarcated on the map; and by these means this very important desideratum was secured, that there was no area, whether occupied or not, which was not included in some block, the enumerator of which thus became responsible for counting any persons who might settle there later on. Supervisors were,

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Taking the Census.

Preliminary arrangements

as a rule, supplied with maps of their circles, which proved of the greatest use to them, more especially in districts like Sylhet, in which the supervisors were non-officials, who were frequently insufficiently acquainted with the areas in which they had to work. Blocks thus formed on the basis of maps and local knowledge were far more suitable for the object they were to serve than blocks based on any fixed system could possibly have been; while the free use of the maps, and constant testing by supervisors and others, prevented all danger of overlapping or omissions.

Size of blocks.

11. The standard size of the block was fixed at 60 houses; but it was pointed out that this number was liable to variation according to the comparative density or sparsity of the population. The majority of officers approve of the size prescribed; but some seem to think it was too large, while a small minority say that it was unnecessarily small. Personally, I am among those who think it was too large; and though this struck me at an early period of the house numbering, from which time forward I made a point of suggesting reductions in the size of the larger blocks in the different districts I visited, I did not fully realise the amount of work involved until the night of the census, when I visited several blocks while the enumerators were going their rounds. I found that the time taken between calling up the inmates of one house and performing the same operation at the next never took less than 5, and very often occupied as much as $7\frac{1}{2}$ minutes. The total time taken by the enumerators of all the blocks in the circle which I visited gave an average of rather less than 6 minutes per house, at which rate it would take 5 hours to get round a block of 45 houses. In one case an enumerator, who had 45 houses in his block, took 6 hours to complete his final round. I do not think volunteer enumerators can fairly be asked to spend more than five hours at their work on the final census night, nor, if asked, do I think that they will do it. The only result of giving them larger blocks is to cause the work to be scamped, and I am, therefore, of opinion that, except when there are special reasons—such, for instance, as an insufficient number of persons qualified for the post,—the block should not in future be allowed to exceed 45 or, at the very outside, 50 houses.

The block should not be a unit in abstraction.

12. There is another point which may conveniently be referred to here; and that is that the block should be formed solely with reference to the actual enumeration, and should not be treated as a unit for abstraction and tabulation. I tried to treat it as such on the present occasion, and with this object in view issued instructions to the effect that villages which it was desired to show separately should be formed into separate blocks, and should not be lumped together with other villages. This, I now think, was both unnecessary and confusing—unnecessary, because I had afterwards to abandon the idea of abstracting by blocks, and confusing, because it led in some cases to one enumerator being appointed to the charge of two blocks. The block should be the area allotted to one enumerator; and nothing more. To prevent villages from being mixed up one with the other, all that is needed is to prescribe that a separate book must be issued for each village. When a village lies partly in one block and partly in another, separate books should be issued for each part. In cases when two or more villages are formed into one block, separate books should be given to the enumerator for each village in his block. If this is done, it will be easy to obtain village totals after the census, and there will be no danger of confusion in forming blocks.

Discrepancies in original return of houses.

13. The only other difficulty experienced in connection with the preparation of the circle list was, that the number of houses shown in the village registers was often found to be incorrect; and this sometimes made it necessary to alter the original distribution of blocks at a later stage of the operations. This was partly due to the carelessness of the testing officers, and partly also to the delay which occurred in the definition of a 'census house,' which was not issued until August. At future censuses the preliminary circular prescribing the preparation of the village register should contain a full and final definition of the term. The delay on the present occasion was due to there being no sufficient information regarding the working of the definition prescribed in Assam in 1881, which, moreover, had not been universally followed, while the standard adopted elsewhere did not appear to be suited to the local conditions of this province. It was, therefore, necessary to make enquiries and consult deputy commissioners; and this took time. The definition which was eventually formulated will be discussed in a subsequent paragraph, where, it is hoped, sufficient material will be found to enable final orders on the subject to be issued in ample time on the occasion of the next census.

14. Statement No. 1 shows the number of charges, circles, and blocks which were formed in each subdivision:

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Statement No. 1, showing the number of Census divisions in each subdivision.

District.	Subdivision.	Population.	Number of charges.	Number of circles.	Number of blocks.	Average number of houses per block.	Average number of persons per Charge.	Circle.	Block.
Cachar Plains	Silchar	267,673	21	212	1,185	52·12	12,746·33	1,262·60	225·88
	Hailakandi	99,869	3	54	348	59·11	33,289·66	1,849·42	286·97
Sylhet	North Sylhet	482,341	10	221	2,145	46·74	48,234·10	2,182·53	224·86
	Habiganj	508,854	7	178	1,938	53·16	72,693·42	2,858·73	262·56
	Sunamganj	413,381	6	105	1,577	44·73	68,896·83	3,936·96	262·13
	South Sylhet	365,379	4	183	1,489	54·48	91,344·75	1,996·60	245·38
	Karimganj	384,638	5	135	1,521	51·61	76,927·60	2,849·17	252·88
Goalpara	Dhubri	317,781	8	125	1,024	53·99	39,722·62	2,542·24	310·33
	Goalpara	134,523	5	50	498	54·08	26,904·60	2,690·46	270·12
Kamrup	Gauhati	498,544	21	61	1,786	54·91	23,740·19	8,172·85	279·13
	Barpeta	135,705	7	22	549	51·89	19,386·42	6,168·40	247·18
Darrang	Tezpur	125,637	5	74	559	48·79	25,127·40	1,697·79	224·75
	Mangaldai	182,124	8	40	580	63·00	22,765·50	4,553·10	314·00
Nowgong	Nowgong	344,141	11	45	1,183	56·13	31,285·54	7,647·57	290·90
Sibsagar	Sibsagar	160,304	16	100	609	56·02	10,019·00	1,603·04	263·22
	Jorhat	181,152	11	121	750	52·94	16,468·36	1,497·12	241·53
	Golaghat	115,818	7	18	490	49·02	16,545·42	6,434·33	236·36
Lakhimpur	Dibrugarh	190,619	11	39	687	64·06	17,329·00	4,887·66	277·46
	North Lakhimpur	63,434	2	16	237	50·45	31,717·00	3,964·62	267·65
North Cachar	North Cachar	18,941	1	1	23	163·78	18,941·00	18,941·00	823·52
Naga Hills	Naga Hills	122,867	5	33	530	65·50	24,573·40	3,723·24	231·82
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	Shillong	133,383	9	64	273	103·38	14,820·33	2,084·10	488·58
	Jowai	64,521	6	7	150	75·40	10,753·50	9,217·28	430·14
Garo Hills	Garo Hills	121,570	7	24	1,030	56·61	17,367·14	5,065·41	118·02
North Lushai	North Lushai (Civil and Military) ..	2,044	1	1	4	71·25	2,044·00	2,044·00	511·00
	Total for the Province	5,435,243	197	1,929	21,165	52·86	27,590·06	2,817·64	256·85

Note.—The figures here given do not quite agree with those in statement No. 2. This statement has been prepared from the charge and circle abstracts, and statement No. 2 from Deputy Commissioners' reports. The difference is due in some cases to one officer having held charge of two census divisions, and in others to two officers having been appointed to one such division.

Taking the Census.

Preliminary arrangements

15. Concurrently with the preparation of the census registers, it was necessary to arrange for the agency to be employed. The officers who were deputed to test the village registers on the ground had accordingly been instructed to submit lists of persons able and willing to act as supervisors and enumerators. In the plains the supply was in most places plentiful; but there were tracts in all districts in which the number of literate men was insufficient. The *punjis* in the south of Sylhet, the submontane tract in the Goalpara subdivision, the Mikir hills in Nowgong, and Sadiya in Lakhimpur, are among the places in which the want of a sufficient staff of enumerators was most severely felt. Wherever possible, the difficulty was got over by the deputation of mandals, literate peons, &c., to do the work; and the entertainment of paid enumerators was thus to a large extent avoided. In a few cases only was it necessary to employ paid men. In the hills, the wildness of the country, the illiteracy of the different tribes, and the large distances to be traversed were very serious obstacles in the way of a census; and it was with much difficulty that the deputy commissioners managed to collect a sufficient staff of enumerators.

Agency.

This difficulty was so serious, that there was, at first, some discussion as to whether a census of any sort was practicable in the Garo Hills. In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills the labours of the missionaries have resulted in a slight spread of education; but in the other hill districts nearly all the enumerators were foreigners. Clerks, school-masters, military police, and forest subordinates were all made use of; but even then assistance had to be brought from outside. In the Garo Hills "the paid enumerators had to be obtained from the Goalpara and Mymensingh districts; and it was with difficulty that men could be found to do the work." In North Cachar, also, enumerators had to be imported from the plains. The rate of pay given to each was

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made as small as possible; but it was seldom that payments could be avoided altogether, and even officials had to be given small sums to cover the expenses that they were obliged to incur in moving from village to village.

16. Statement No. 2 shows the total number of census officers employed in each district, and the number of each class whom it was necessary to pay, either in remuneration for their services or to cover actual expenses incurred while travelling on census work. It will be observed that no paid enumerators or supervisors were employed in the Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, and Nowgong districts, while, except in the hill tracts, the number entertained elsewhere was insignificant in comparison with the total number of census officers employed. The total number of enumerators appointed at this census was 20,079, of whom 165 were paid. In 1881, 202 enumerators were remunerated out of a total number of 14,640, so that, while the total number of enumerators entertained has increased by 37·15 per cent., the number whom it was necessary to reward for their services has been reduced by 18·31 per cent.; and this notwithstanding the fact that the Naga Hills district and the hills portion of the Garo Hills, for which the population was only estimated in 1881, were on this occasion actually censused.

Statement No. 2, showing the total number of Census Officers of all classes in each district.

District.	Charge Superintendents.	Inspectors, &c.	Supervisors.			Enumerators.		
			Total.	Paid.	Unpaid.	Total.	Paid.	Unpaid.
Cachar	20	36	331	10	321	1,515	15	1,500
Sylhet	33	128	825	2	823	8,471	33	8,438
Goalpara	13	12	256	..	256	2,075	..	2,075
Kamrup	27	..	84	..	84	2,302	..	2,302
Darrang	15	2	135	..	135	1,218	..	1,218
Nowgong	10	3	56	..	56	1,313	..	1,313
Sibsagar	28	40	261	..	261	1,650	2	1,648
Lakhimpur	14	1	75	..	75	1,008	12	996
North Cachar	1	..	..	..	..	18	8	10
Naga Hills	4	..	2	1	1	50	20	30
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	12	..	60	..	60	306	14	292
Garo Hills	6	..	22	3	19	153	61	92
Total of Province ..	183	222	2,107	16	2,091	20,079	165	19,914

17. The four tables below deal with the *personnel* of the census agency:

Statement No. 3, showing the Personnel of the Charge Superintendents employed at the Census of 1891.

	Status of Census Officers employed.	Cachar Plains.	Sylhet.	Goalpara.	Kamrup.	Darrang.	Nowgong.	Sibsagar.	Lakhimpur.	North Cachar.	Naga Hills.	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	Garo Hills.	Total.
1	Assistant Commissioners	..	2	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	7
2	Extra Assistant Commissioners	1	4	1	1	2	1	3	2	..	..	2	..	17
3	Sub-Deputy Collectors	2	1	..	1	2	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	10
4	Tahsildars	2	1	..	11	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	18
5	District and Assistant Superintendents of Police ..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	1	10
6	Inspectors of Police	1	5	1	2	1	1	3	2	..	..	1	..	17
7	Sub-Inspectors of Police	4	10	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	18
8	Head Constables	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
9	Deputy and Assistant Conservators of Forests ..	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	6
10	Forest Rangers	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
11	Executive and Assistant Engineers ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	3
12	Public Works and Local Board Subordinates ..	1	..	2	..	2	2	4	1	..	..	..	..	12
13	Deputy and Sub Inspectors of Schools	3	4	2	3	2	2	3	1	..	..	..	..	19
14	Masters, Pandits, &c., of Government and Aided Schools	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	4
15	Civil and Assistant Surgeons	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	3
16	Government Office Clerks	2	..	1	6	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	14
17	Mauzadars	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	3
18	Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of Municipalities ..	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
19	Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	5	..	10
	Total	20	33	13	27	15	10	28	14	1	4	12	6	183

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Statement No. 4, showing the Personnel of the Inspectors and general Census Officers employed at the Census of 1891.

	Status of Census Officers employed.	Cachar Plains.	Sylhet.	Goalpara.	Kamrup.	Darrang.	Nowgong.	Sibsagar.	Lakhimpur.	North Cachar.	Naga Hills.	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	Garo Hills.	Total.
1	Assistant Commissioners	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
2	Extra Assistant Commissioners	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
3	Sub-Deputy Collectors and Tahsildars	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
4	Sub-Registrars	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
5	Inspectors of Police	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
6	Sub-Inspectors of Police, Head Constables, &c.	7	35	11	..	..	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	59
7	Officers of the Forest Department	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
8	Executive and Assistant Engineers	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
9	Public Works Subordinates	1	5	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	8
10	Sub-Inspectors of Schools	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
11	Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
12	Government Office Clerks	20	55	..	..	..	1	18	..	..	..	..	..	94
13	Mauzadars	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	15
14	Others	4	8	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	13
	Total	36	128	12	..	2	3	40	1	..	..	..	..	222

Statement No. 5, showing the Personnel of the Supervisors and Assistant Supervisors employed at the Census of 1891.

	Status of Census Officers employed.	Cachar Plains.	Sylhet.	Goalpara.	Kamrup.	Darrang.	Nowgong.	Sibsagar.	Lakhimpur.	North Cachar.	Naga Hills.	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	Garo Hills.	Total.
1	Mauzadars	..	..	12	10	26	36	32	37	..	..	..	..	153
2	Mandals	..	..	9	25	36	8	79	..	..	..	..	9	166
3	Supervising Kanungos	..	..	..	9	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	15
4	Sub-Inspectors of Police and Head Constables	..	7	1	1	..	..	..	6	..	1	6	1	23
5	Officers of Forest Department (Foresters, &c.)	5	2	3	4	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	6	24
6	Public Works Subordinates	2	..	4	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	5	2	16
7	Sub-Inspectors of Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	1	4
8	Schoolmasters, Pandits, &c.	20	41	22	3	2	2	1	4	..	..	..	..	95
9	Civil and Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	6
10	Government Office Clerks	8	15	4	26	17	2	9	15	..	..	15	2	113
11	Postmasters	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	4
12	Pound-keepers	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
13	Municipal and Local Board Members	10	30	6	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	3	..	52
14	Members of Panchayats	11	12	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47
15	Pleaders and Muktiyars	..	5	7	4	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	19
16	Money-lenders and Traders	3	10	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39
17	Mirasdars, other Landowners, and Cultivators	91	546	51	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	690
18	Tea-garden Managers and Clerks	170	85	..	..	51	..	135	..	..	..	1	..	442
19	Others	7	67	84	1	..	4	1	2	..	..	27	1	194
	Total	331	825	256	84	135	56	261	75	..	2	60	22	2,107

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Taking the Census.

House numbering.

Statement No. 6, showing the Personnel of the Enumerators employed at the Census of 1891.

	Status of Census Officers employed.	Cachar Plains.	Sylhet.	Goalpara.	Kamrup.	Darrang.	Nowgong.	Sibsagar.	Lakhimpur.	North Cachar.	Naga Hills.	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	Garo Hills.	Total.
1	Mauzadars and Mandals	1	3	12	270	94	126	79	73	..	8	4	6	676
2	Schoolmasters, Pandits, &c.	75	348	96	238	92	133	151	81	2	11	90	15	1,332
3	Officers of the Police Department (Head Constables, &c.)	4	38	3	18	3	18	1	12	..	12	5	13	127
4	Officers of the Forest Department (Foresters, &c.)	6	13	12	9	1	4	..	2	2	..	2	9	60
5	Officers of the Public Works Department	2	..	1	2	..	..	..	3	2	8	27	1	46
6	Government Office Clerks	15	33	30	30	30	12	5	13	1	8	43	6	226
7	Hospital Assistants and Compounders	2	11	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	20
8	Postmasters	..	3	..	..	..	3	4	1	..	..	..	..	11
9	Government Peons	4	100	..	6	..	7	..	1	2	2	..	1	123
10	Pound-keepers	1	24	1	1	4	7	7	..	..	..	..	..	45
11	Members of Municipalities, Local Boards, and Panchayats	60	33	209	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	317
12	Tea-garden Clerks and Muharrirs	557	318	3	39	238	96	273	232	..	..	..	..	1,756
13	Railway and other Clerks	7	29	168	23	..	2	7	36	1	..	..	2	275
14	Money-lenders and Traders	54	1,030	173	1	13	31	11	1	1	..	2	11	1,328
15	Mirasdars, other Landowners, and Cultivators	718	5,906	1,290	1,144	725	842	1,068	519	4	..	10	61	12,287
16	Priests	1	179	28	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	217
17	Others	8	403	47	515	9	32	44	34	2	1	121	17	1,233
	Total	1,515	8,471	2,075	2,302	1,218	1,313	1,650	1,008	18	50	306	153	20,079

It will be seen that all departments were freely indented on. The executive staff and establishments furnished 1,661 census officers; the Educational Department came next, with 1,456; then the Police Department, with 311*; the Forest, with 95; and the Public Works, with 87; while the comparatively small Medical Department contributed 42. I am much indebted to the heads of these departments for the openhanded way in which they placed the whole of their resources at the disposal of the census.

18. Practically, all charge superintendents and inspectors were officials; and this was also the case in regard to supervisors, except in Sylhet, Cachar, and Goalpara, where there is no mofussil revenue agency. Of the vast army of enumerators, who numbered in the aggregate over 20,000, the great majority were necessarily private persons. About 13 per cent. were officials; and the remainder consisted chiefly of clerks on tea gardens, &c. (10 per cent.), money-lenders and traders (6 per cent.), and last, but not least, land-occupants and cultivators, from which class no less than 61 per cent. of the total number of enumerators was drawn. District officers bear conspicuous testimony to the willingness and care with which these volunteer census officers carried out the duties entrusted to them. Some of them grumbled at first, and a few applied for exemption from the work; but when these preliminary objections had been overcome, they applied themselves to the task in right good earnest, and for several months without a murmur devoted a considerable portion of their time to the due performance of the onerous duties of their posts. In fact, it was often found that these unpaid enumerators frequently worked harder and more conscientiously than the official agency with which they were associated. The latter looked upon the work as an irksome addition to their regular employment. The volunteer enumerator, on the other hand, was stimulated by the novel sensation of being an agent of the *Sirkar*, and was, besides, animated by a full appreciation of his position, and of the compliment which was implied in his selection in preference to his fellow-villagers.

House Numbering.

19. Certificates of appointment were issued to census officers at the beginning of October. The first thing requiring the attention of the enumerators was the numbering of all the houses in their blocks; and for this purpose it was necessary to define what was to be taken as

Definition of 'house.'

* The assistance rendered to the Census by the Police Department is by no means adequately illustrated by the mere number of census officers drawn from that source. In three districts the whole of the labour of preparing the census registers fell upon the Police, while a very large proportion of those employed as census officers occupied the position of charge superintendents, inspectors, and supervisors.

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constituting a 'house.' This is a point which has been much discussed in connection with Indian censuses. It may be regarded as— Taking the Census.

House numbering.

(1) 'the building,' as in England, where the enumerators are instructed to treat the space within the external and party walls of a building as a house:

(2) 'the quarters, or flat,' which has usually been taken as the census 'house' in Scotland:

(3) 'the collection of buildings contained in one enclosure or compound,' which again may be regarded as distinguished from other compounds, either by the wall or fence which partitions it off, or by the fact of its having a separate independent entrance from the common way.—This is what in one form or another was finally taken as constituting a 'house' in most provinces of India in 1881. In Bombay, for instance, the house was defined as being 'the dwelling place of one or more families having a separate independent entrance from the common way'; and in Bengal as 'the several buildings or rooms which go to make up the homestead, whether inhabited by one or more families.'

(4) 'the dwelling-place of a family.'—This was the idea on which the definition of a 'house' in Assam was based at the census of 1881, *viz.*, 'the homestead where the members of a family live in commensality, and including also their servants.'

It was decided at the Agra Conference of officers who had been census superintendents in 1881 that, looking at the extreme variety of dwellings prevalent in India, the only use made of the return in the tables was of insignificant statistical value. Census superintendents were, therefore, left free on the present occasion to frame for their respective provinces the definitions which would be most suitable for administrative purposes, *i.e.*, which would be most easily understood by the enumerators, and admit of most general application. The choice lay between the collection of buildings lying in one compound and the buildings occupied by one family, the European idea of a house as an edifice, or part of an edifice, being, obviously, quite unsuited to the conditions of an ordinary Indian village. As has already been observed, the enclosure is generally taken in other parts of India in preference to the family, the reason being that the former is generally well defined; while the question of family amongst Hindus is in most parts inextricably mixed up with commensality, and frequently complicated by families becoming separate but continuing to occupy the same buildings and, while using separate *chulas*, to cook under a common roof.

Apart from the general objection, that the adoption of the compound as the distinguishing feature of a house only throws back the difficulty, and does not obviate the necessity of giving separate sub-numbers to the sets of buildings occupied by different families when the same courtyard is shared by the members of more than one household, the enclosure is a thing which it is often very difficult to distinguish in villages in this province. One or more sides of a compound are usually enclosed by a mud wall, fence, or ditch; but it is not at all uncommon to find no boundary marks at all, while even when they exist on several sides, there is often at least one side on which there is no distinguishing mark to show where one compound ends and the next begins. The independent entrance is equally difficult to recognise. Houses are erected without system or order, and frequently in places where the only exit on to the public road is through the land of another, along a path which may, perhaps, already be used by the occupants of several neighbouring houses. Whether the path is a common path or not is frequently a subject of dispute, the settlement of which is often difficult; and it would never do to burden the enumerators with the decision of the question. In the hill districts, again, the enclosure, or separate compound, is almost unknown. For these reasons, the district officers who were consulted in the matter were almost unanimous in rejecting the compound as the thing to be understood by 'house.'

The family, on the other hand, is a much simpler matter in this province than in other parts of India. The proportion borne by true Hindus to the total population is much smaller than elsewhere; while even amongst Hindus the large commensal families, such as exist in other provinces, are practically unknown. It is equally uncommon to find separated branches of a family formerly joint continuing to reside under the same roof. The villager's house in Assam is made of bamboos and grass, and is easily erected or removed, so that when brothers become separate in food and property, they almost invariably remove to separate homesteads. The family is what is commonly understood as *ghar* by the Assamese; and for this, as well as for the reasons already given, it was finally decided to define a house as '*the homestead, consisting of one or more buildings, which are occupied by the members of one family, living under a common head, and their servants.*' The element of

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commensality was not brought into the definition, partly because Hindu widows usually eat separately, and partly because it was feared that it would lead to the omission of non-commensal servants.

House numbering.

Two exceptions were made to the definition. The first was in the case of bungalows occupied by Europeans, and was suggested by the experience of 1881, when it was found that, although Europeans, as a rule, filled in the schedules fairly accurately so far as they themselves were concerned, they made very serious mistakes in recording the religion and castes of their native servants. It was accordingly decided on this occasion that the schedules for the latter should be filled in by the enumerators, and that the use of the European's household schedule should be confined to the entry of the persons resident in the bungalow itself. With this object in view, it was settled that the bungalow should be numbered as one house and the servants' quarters as another. The second exception was of more extensive application, and referred to houses of an exceptional nature, such as those in coolie lines on tea gardens, police lines, jail wards, &c. Here it was ruled that each dwelling-place having a separate independent entrance from the common way should be treated as a house. The exception was necessary, because the class of buildings referred to bore no resemblance to the ordinary village homestead, and were often occupied by persons other than the members of a family. As the enumerators of these special houses were seldom or never called upon to number also houses of the ordinary type, there was no danger of confusion from the introduction of this exception to the general rule.

From what I saw of house numbering when on tour, I have no hesitation in saying that the definition adopted was well suited to the local conditions of the province; and this opinion is borne out, not only by the almost unanimous testimony of district officers, but also by the figures showing the average population per house—a subject which will be dealt with in another chapter.

I have discussed this matter in some detail, not merely in order to justify my departure from the conception of 'house' as defined in other parts of India, but also in order to furnish sufficient material to enable the superintendent of the next Assam census to decide what he will call a 'house' at the very commencement of the work. An epitome of the opinions of district officers regarding the definition prescribed by me is given below:

Deputy Commissioner of Cachar.—*Bari* would be simpler. So far as the standard definition coincided with mess, it was fully understood by the enumerators.

Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet.—Definition of 'house' seems as good a one as could have been adopted. The percentage of mistakes was practically *nil*.

Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara.—The best that could be devised for this district; applies exactly to the peculiar conditions of this district.

Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup.—The definition was simple and easily understood by the enumerators.

Deputy Commissioner of Darrang.—I think the prescribed definition was accurately understood by supervisors and enumerators alike, and that the definition suits the circumstances of this valley. I visited many hundreds of houses myself, and found none which was misdescribed.

Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong.—Best idea conveyed by the term 'house.'

Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar.—So far as villages and towns are concerned, the definition of 'house' was well understood and acted on.

Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur.—The definition of 'house' was generally well understood.

Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills.—Definition appears to be suitable.

Deputy Commissioner of Khasi and Jaintia Hills.—There was no difficulty in making enumerators understand what a 'house' was, as each Khasi homestead has only one dwelling-house.

Deputy Commissioner of Garo Hills.—The definition of 'house' is the one most suitable to the circumstances of this district.

The only objection to the definition which I have received is that of the Chairman of the Sylhet Municipality, who, interpreting 'family' in the strict sense, says that the definition was unsuitable to towns, and proposes instead, 'all the buildings under one head, whether head of family or head member of company or firm.'

House numbering.

20. The instructions were that house numbering should be commenced as soon as certificates of appointment had been issued to the enumerators. The dates on which it actually began varied from the 1st of October in Mangaldai and Sibsagar to the 15th November at Dhubri, where there had been some delay in carrying out the preliminary stages of the work. It was completed in most places by the middle of November, and everywhere in ample time to allow of the commencement of the preliminary record on the 15th January.

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The rules provided for the constant and careful checking of the work of the enumerators throughout the whole of November and December; and the reports which have been received from district officers show that these instructions were very fully acted up to.

Taking the Census.

House numbering.

Statement No. 7 shows, as far as possible, the actual amount of testing of the work of house numbering, which was carried out by the different officers in each district. It should, however, be borne in mind that, in many cases, a good deal more testing was done than was reported, as many officers kept no account of their work. All officers are fully satisfied with the amount of testing done, and the accuracy of the enumerators' work as shown thereby; with the exception of the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup, who says: "Half of my charge superintendents were tahsildars, burdened with the collection of land revenue and local rates due on the 15th December. They seem to have attached more weight to the collection of revenue than to the testing of house numbering * * . I am not satisfied with the way in which they tested the house numbering." As has already been stated, very few errors on the part of the enumerators were found in the course of the testing. Mr. Anderson says: "I visited many hundreds of houses myself and found none which was misdescribed. * * Every house was numbered. * * The only unnumbered houses which I discovered had, obviously, been omitted on purpose. One was in a temporarily deserted *pam;* and the others were haunted houses." The Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur thinks that even the small amount of error there was would have been minimised, if the definition of a house had been printed on the loose block lists issued to the enumerators. This idea is, I think, a good one, and might with advantage be acted on at the next census.

Statement No. 7, showing the testing of house numbering carried out by the different Census Officers.

Subdivision.	Testing by		
	District Officers and Charge Superintendents.	Inspectors.	Supervisors.
Silchar	....	"Greater part tested."	
Hailakandi	28 per cent.	....	Not stated.
Sylhet Municipality ..	....	"All houses tested."	
North Sylhet	19 per cent.	....	81 per cent.
Sunamganj	....	92 per cent.	
Karimganj	....	Over 99 per cent.	
South Sylhet	30 per cent.	64 per cent.	100 per cent.
Habiganj	18 per cent.	30 per cent.	100 per cent.
Dhubri	50 per cent.	....	100 per cent.
Goalpara	32 per cent.	....	100 per cent.
Gauhati	....	"All or nearly all blocks visited."	
Barpeta	16 per cent.	....	22 per cent.
Tezpur	....	"Nearly all."	
Mangaldai	14 per cent.	....	33 per cent.
Nowgong	....	"Very largely tested."	
Sibsagar	....	"75 per cent. by all officers."	
Jorhat	....	"Testing very minute."	
Golaghat	56 per cent.	....	78 per cent.
Dibrugarh	....	63 per cent by all officers.	
North Lakhimpur ..	52 per cent.	....	Not stated.

Method of affixing numbers.

21. Lime was recommended as the most suitable method of numbering houses; but the use of paper tickets was also allowed, where other means were not available. The materials actually used were lime, paper, coal-tar, chalk, ink, and charcoal; but the most common were lime and paper. Of the two, I much prefer lime; and this appears also to have been the opinion of most officers who used both. One of the principal objections urged against it,—that it could not be used in the case of houses with unplastered wattle walls,—was overcome in Golaghat, Nowgong, and elsewhere by the simple expedient of causing a small portion of the wall, sufficient to carry the number, to be plastered with mud for the purpose. The use of paper tickets was simpler, and was on this account preferred by the enumerators, where not expressly directed to use lime. But there can be no question as to the merits of the two methods of numbering. Lime numbers are more permanent* and more conspicuous. They attract the eye at once; and the absence of such a

* The only ardent advocate of paper tickets is the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang, who says that he found them more permanent than lime, which washed off when exposed to rain. Neither lime nor paper will stand excessive rain in exposed positions; but excessive rain is not common in the cold weather months, and it is just as easy to place lime numbers in fairly protected positions as it is paper. The general impression is, that lime is more permanent than paper; and this was certainly my own experience. In Dhubri, Goalpara, and Dibrugarh I found that in some cases paper tickets had disappeared from houses to which they had been affixed for only two or three days; and the same was also the case in Jorhat, where the enumerators attributed the destruction of their tickets to the voracity of the crows. In all these places the disadvantages of the paper tickets were so patent, that lime numbers were very generally substituted for them.

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number is far more easily detected than that of a small paper ticket, which moreover, when not kept in the interior of a house, is usually hidden away under the eaves, where its discovery is often a matter of detailed investigation. Where there is no alternative to using paper, the ticket should be firmly gummed on to small pieces of wood, which should be hung up in a conspicuous position in front of the house. Wherever possible, however, the use of lime should be insisted on.

Numbers to be affixed to a house.

22. The practice regarding the numbers to be affixed to a house varied from district to district. In some places the charge, circle, block, and house numbers were all noted. Elsewhere the circle, block, and house, the block and house, and often only the house, numbers were given. The point is not of much importance; but as all unnecessary work should be avoided, I may note that it would usually suffice to mark the number of the house only, or, at most, that and the block number.

Wilful removal of house numbers.

23. The only instance in which house numbers were interfered with was in Nowgong, where some people got an idea that the numbering was the precursor of a house tax; and thinking it unfair to be assessed twice, they in some cases pulled down the numbers which had been affixed to the temporary houses in their cold weather cultivation. This was soon put a stop to by the deputy commissioner. As a rule, the numbers were preserved with great solicitude, paper tickets being often carefully kept inside the house in bamboo *chungas*. The Deputy Commissioner of Tezpur reports that he visited a Mikir village in which he found the numbers of the houses written on the drums of the occupants, who had been forbidden by their enumerator to use these instruments again until the census was over. In many places the people appear to have been anxious to have their houses numbered; and the Deputy Commissioner of the Garo Hills records a case in which a man followed a charge superintendent twenty miles in order to inform him that, owing to a mistake on the part of the village headman, his house had not been numbered.

General remarks.

24. The general system prescribed in regard to house numbering was, in my opinion, suitable to the conditions of this province; and no changes have been suggested by district officers. There is no necessity for commencing house numbering earlier than October 1st; and there is, I think, no doubt that this portion of the work should be entrusted to the enumerators, as on the present occasion. In some provinces it is done by permanent officials of the patwári class; but I do not think that this plan would answer in Assam. Not only are there no such officers available in many districts, but even where there are, I think it is a distinct advantage to make the enumerators number the houses for themselves, so as to give them as long a time as possible in which to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with their blocks. Besides, the labour incurred by each man in numbering his own block is trifling compared with that which would be thrown on the mandal, if he had to number all the houses in his circle. The only point regarding which I am in doubt is whether it is better to number houses by the block or by the village. Block numbering was adopted on the present occasion; and I think, on the whole, it is preferable to numbering by villages. But the matter is not one of much importance.

The Preliminary Record.

Instruction of enumerators.

25. Before the enumerators could be entrusted with the work of filling in the schedules, it was necessary that they should be very fully instructed as to what they had to do. The headings of the schedules had been made as simple as possible; and a copy of the rules, describing how the different columns should be filled in, was bound up in each enumeration book. But the persons whom it was necessary to employ were frequently of a very low standard of intelligence, while their educational attainments often consisted of nothing more than a bare knowledge of reading and writing. Some localities were more advanced, and there better men were procurable; but every district contained numerous backward tracts, in which it was difficult to secure a sufficient agency possessed of even the very rudimentary qualifications mentioned above. The only hope of obtaining accurate work lay, therefore, in a prolonged course of careful instruction beforehand; and this point was frequently insisted on in the instructions which were issued to district officers, who fully realised its importance, and did their utmost to make their enumerators understand the rules. In the first instance, charge superintendents and supervisors were made to study the rules for the guidance of the enumerators, and also the more detailed instructions in the Code for charge superintendents and supervisors. The more difficult points were carefully explained to them by district officers, who also tested their knowledge by making them carry out test enumerations

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in loose schedules supplied for the purpose. In some districts they were also trained in classes presided over by the deputy commissioner or some specially selected officer. When they were found to be proficient, they were deputed to teach the enumerators. Each charge superintendent was made responsible for seeing that every supervisor and enumerator in his charge was well posted in the rules; and the supervisors were in the same way made responsible for the proper education of their enumerators. In addition to what was thus done by these officers, nearly every deputy commissioner and subdivisional officer in the province took a prominent part in the work of instruction. Mr. Anderson, Deputy Commissioner of Darrang, writes: "I personally met and instructed the enumerators in every mauza except those in charge of the extra assistant commissioner and tahsildar. In each case I held a test enumeration, comprising as many foreigners as possible and other persons difficult to enumerate"; and the general standard of work was so high, that it is impossible to call even this very excellent record exceptional.

This work of instruction is generally reported to have been a matter of great difficulty. It was hard to cause the enumerators to understand what was wanted, and harder still to make them remember their instructions, and act on them when they began to fill in their schedules. The most successful method is generally agreed to have been that of practical application of the rules by means of test enumerations. Under this system the enumerator was given a loose schedule, and told to fill in the necessary particulars for a few passers-by or the residents in the nearest house; and when he had done this, the schedule was examined by the charge superintendent or supervisor, who corrected the mistakes which had been made and, after quoting the rule, pointed out what the correct entries should have been. In addition to the forms indented for for actual census operations, a considerable number of loose schedules for instruction purposes was issued to all districts; but in many cases the supply sent is reported to have been insufficient, and manuscript forms had to be used. At future censuses a more liberal allowance of loose schedules should be given. The result of all the care bestowed on the instruction of the enumerators was a success—moderate as compared with what it might have been had a better educated agency been available, but still far greater than it would have been with the same material had less trouble been taken to render it as efficient as possible.

In some subdivisions the enumerators filled in the entries, in the first instance, on manuscript forms, and did not copy them into their enumeration books until they had been examined and corrected by their supervisors. This resulted in a much clearer and more legible record in the enumeration books; but I am not sure whether it was not making too great a demand on the goodwill of the volunteer enumerators.

The preliminary record.

26. As it is impossible to secure a sufficient agency to enable details for the whole of the population to be entered in the schedules on the night of the census, it is the practice in India to let the enumerators go round their blocks some time beforehand, and enter in their enumeration books all persons who ordinarily reside in each house. On the night of the census they have thus merely to bring the record up to date, by striking out the entries relating to persons who have died or gone away, and filling in the prescribed particulars for newcomers or infants born since their first visit. This preparatory filling in of the schedules is called the preliminary record.

Date of commencement of preliminary record.

27. In fixing the date for the commencement of the preliminary record three things had to be taken into consideration. It was necessary to allow sufficient time to enable the enumerators to fill in their schedules for all persons in their blocks, and also to permit of these entries being thoroughly tested by charge superintendents and supervisors. But it had also to be borne in mind that the earlier the period when the preliminary record was written up, the more changes would there be to be recorded on the night of the census. In Assam the 15th January was the date selected for the commencement of this work.* It was thought that this would enable the enumerators to get their books written up by the end of January, which would leave the whole of February for superior officers to check and correct the entries they had made.

Most officers agree in thinking that the date selected was a suitable one; but a few are of opinion that it did not allow sufficient time for examining the schedules. One deputy commissioner (who was himself most energetic in this work) says: "I think the preliminary record should occupy a longer space of time. The schedules should be filled up in November; and then each village should be taken in hand by the superintendents in turn." I do not think that these remarks show a sufficient appreciation of the desirability of leaving as few changes as possible to be recorded on the night of the census. In my opinion the degree of error in an Indian enumeration varies in almost direct proportion

* Except in towns, where the work was begun somewhat later, as less time was there required for checking the entries made by the enumerators.

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with the amount of work which each enumerator has to perform on the final census night; and although the enumerator, sometimes, took more time over the preliminary record than had been anticipated, I still think that the 15th January was, on the whole, the best date that could have been fixed.

Testing the preliminary record.

28. From what has already been said regarding the intelligence of the enumerators, it will be readily understood that it was impossible to rely altogether on instructions imparted beforehand. In order to secure accurate results, it was also necessary to test their work very closely. In the instructions it was laid down that every single entry should be tested by the supervisors and as much as possible by charge superintendents and other superior officers.

Statement No. 8 is an attempt to show in tabular form the amount of testing which was actually carried out in each district:

Statement No. 8, showing the percentage of testing of the Preliminary Record by Census Officers.

Subdivision.	Percentage of Testing by			Remarks.
	Charge Superintendents.	Inspectors.	Supervisors.	
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	
Silchar	12	....	32	Entries.
Hailakandi	....	....	....	Figures not given. Subdivisional officer, charge superintendents, supervisors, and others tested about 50 per cent. of the entries.
Sylhet Municipality ..	....	....	....	Figures not given. Supervisors visited every house in every block; charge superintendent and inspectors also tested entries.
North Sylhet	27	....	72	Blocks. Number of entries tested not given.
Habiganj	13	7	44	Entries.
Sunamganj	2	13	59	Ditto.
South Sylhet	2	17	55	Ditto. Number of entries tested by one officer not reported.
Karimganj	....	....	....	Figures not given. But from the date of commencement of the preliminary record up to the 26th February charge superintendents, inspectors, and supervisors were all busy with testing.
Dhubri	6	10	69	Entries.
Goalpara	35	16	100	Blocks.
Gauhati	16	Below 1	35	Entries.
Barpeta	31	7	68	Ditto.
Tezpur	3	....	5	Ditto. "The figures are far below the truth, as no account was kept by the testing officers."
Mangaldai	8	1	20	Ditto.
Nowgong	23	....	53	Ditto.
Sibsagar	....	....	....	15 per cent. of the entries by general and charge superintendents and supervisors.
Jorhat	....	....	....	27 per cent. of the entries by charge superintendents and supervisors.
Golaghat	33	....	50	Houses.
Dibrugarh	3	2	13	Entries. Information as to the amount of testing done is incomplete. In Sadiya Mr. Needham verified about 90 per cent. of entries.
North Lakhimpur	....	....	....	94 per cent. of entries tested by superintendents, supervisors, subdivisional officer, and others.
North Cachar	....	....	....	Subdivisional officer tested all but seven books.
Naga Hills	....	....	....	In Kohima the Assistant Commissioner tested houses in 15 out of 65 villages. Assistant Surgeon tested enumerators' work in 1,050 houses in Dimapur. In Wokha the tahsildar tested 63 out of 69 villages. Mr. Muspratt tested over 1,450 houses in 38 villages. Deputy Commissioner also tested work in two villages.
Shillong	....	....	....	Deputy Commissioner examined many schedules and explained difficulties. Preliminary record had to be revised in many instances.
Jowai	....	....	....	Supervisors devoted a good portion of their time to testing.
Garo Hills	....	....	....	Exact figures not given. Entries were tested by Deputy Commissioner and others. In some charges, charge superintendents visited 1,282 out of 5,123 houses; and in some mauzas 3,600 schedules were tested.

The statement is defective, partly because very few reports show the whole amount of testing that was carried out, and partly because the testing reports submitted by subordinate officers cannot altogether be relied on. My meaning is best explained by the following quotation from the report of Mr. Greenshields, Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur:

> The information as to the amount of testing done is incomplete, and much testing was done which was not formally reported; *e.g.*, in my own case I verified some thousands of entries, but have not kept any record of the actual number. The making of such a record and counting entries checked takes time, which can be better employed on actual work.

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He adds:

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On the other hand, many of the returns of checking cannot be relied on. The mauzadars were pressed to submit returns; and I have no doubt that many, knowing they had to report something, submitted false returns. Much of the testing reported, doubtless, means only scrutiny of entries.

I do not think that false reports were very common; but there is no doubt that a great deal of testing was done and not reported. The actual amount of testing carried out was undoubtedly much more than would appear from the tabular statement.

29. The results of the test were, on the whole, very creditable to the enumerators, and the number of mistakes discovered was not by any means as bad as might have been anticipated.

Analysis of mistakes.

There was, however, scarcely a column which did not give trouble to the enumerator. The column for religion was, as a rule, well understood, and correct entries were generally made, except, perhaps, in the case of tea garden coolies. But column 3 (*Sect of religion*) gave difficulty. It was not so much that the enumerators had failed to grasp what sort of information was needed, as that the persons enumerated were frequently quite unable to answer the questions put to them. They knew they were Hindus or Musalmans, as the case might be; but they had no idea whether they were Saktas or Vaishnavas, Sunnis or Shiahs. In the case of Hindus the name of the Gosain often gave a clue to the correct entry; while as regards Musalmans I fancy the enumerators acted on the assumption, that every Assamese Musalman is a Sunni, if he cannot say he is something else. The information in this column was only abstracted for Christians, as, in view of the doubtful accuracy of the return, to have done so for Musalmans and Hindus would have been a waste of time and money. I think that the column should be omitted from the schedules at the next census.

There was some difficulty regarding the proper entry for Musalmans in column 4. The recognised divisions are Shekh, Saiad, Moghal, and Pathan; but as the standard rule prescribed the entry of tribe or race in the case of persons other than Hindus and Jains, and as 'Shekh' in Assam is a term applied indiscriminately to all converts to Muhammadanism without any regard to their real origin, it at first seemed desirable to avoid the use of this term, and endeavour to secure entries of the actual race, such as Kachari, Assamese, Manipuri, &c. But it was found in practice that Musalmans strongly objected to return themselves thus, and that the entries so made would be of little or no value. It was, therefore, eventually decided to allow 'Shekh' to be entered for all persons describing themselves as such. Among Hindus there was little difficulty in deciding what constituted a caste; but, notwithstanding this, the question as to what entry should be made often gave more trouble than the whole of the other columns combined. The greater portion of the so-called Hindus of Assam are converted aborigines, with whom caste has never acquired that degree of fixity which it has attained elsewhere, and who regard it less as a religious institution than as a standard of social position. This being so, there is a constant struggle amongst the more wealthy and respectable members of the lower grades of Hindu society to raise themselves to a higher position by asserting their claim to rank as members of some superior caste. With this object in view, they often pay large sums to obtain in marriage the daughters of Kayasths, Vaidyas, &c., and lose no opportunity of getting themselves described by the assumed title in bonds, leases, and other documents. To these persons, column 4 of the schedule was a source of great excitement, not only because it furnished an opportunity to get themselves acknowledged as belonging to the desired caste in an official document, but also because the idea had gone abroad (fostered, no doubt, by the greater detail required on this occasion), that the schedules of the present census were intended to furnish a final and authoritative record of the social status of the whole population. They, therefore, endeavoured to make the enumerators enter them as they returned themselves, while the latter, when they belonged to better castes, were determined not to admit claims which they knew to be unfounded. Apart from the fact that an admission of all these claims would have led to utterly untrustworthy results, there were other difficulties in the way of settling the matter by directing that the statements of the persons enumerated should be accepted in all cases. This is very clearly shown by the Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet; and I cannot do better than quote his remarks *in extenso*. He says:

Changs, Jugis, Telis, Banias, Halwa Das, Sahas, Maharas, all raised objections to their caste being entered as such, but proposed, and indeed insisted upon, some other expression being used. Where the expression was merely fanciful, such as Namasudra for Chang, no great harm was done in yielding to their objections; but when the alternative expression was positively misleading, and could not be accepted, there was a great deal of trouble. * * The

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census staff were firmly opposed to these misleading or inaccurate entries of caste; and until reference could be had to me, the work was stopped. It was impossible, for instance, to get a Kayasth enumerator to write a Teli as Kayasth. For me to have told the Kayasth enumerator to write down what they told him would have been to destroy my influence for ever, as I should have been considered guilty of abetting a false entry. I was obliged to enter into the merits of every dispute brought to my notice, and decide whether the case was doubtful or beyond all reasonable doubt, one way or the other.

Apart from these difficulties, the enumerators had often to deal with Nepalese and Bengali castes, &c., the names of which they had never even heard before; and, to make matters worse, these foreigners were often themselves unable to give an intelligible answer to the enumerators' enquiries.

Column 5 was difficult only because sub-castes are, in some cases, uncommon. Where real sub-castes existed, the correct entry was usually made; but when there was no real sub-caste, all sorts of fanciful terms were invented, and the sub-caste and Brahmans and others, which appeared in the sample schedules, were freely appropriated. The column was sometimes useful as containing the real caste, when an incorrect entry had been made in column 4. Thus, in the Garo Hills, some of the Hajongs and Rajbangsis returned themselves as Rajbangsis and Gupta Khatris respectively in column 4, but gave their real tribal name in column 5 of the schedule. In the case of Gurkhas it may be said that it was the rule to find the real caste in column 5 instead of in column 4; and had only one column been provided in the schedule, the return for Nepalese castes would have been very incomplete.

Column 6 (*Sex*) was sufficiently intelligible for any one, and was nearly always filled in correctly. Sometimes, however, the word 'infant' was entered in this column in the case of children less than one year of age; and in one abstraction book from the Khasi and Jaintia Hills it was found in the abstraction office that the enumerator had shown as females persons with the male prefix to their names and *vice versâ*. The matter was enquired into locally and the entries corrected.

Column 7 (*Age*) presented more difficulty. It was not that people often wilfully misstated their ages, although the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur found that elderly Assamese dames were by no means free from the prevailing feminine vanity of trying to make themselves out to be younger than they really are: it was the gross ignorance regarding ages, both among the enumerators and the people censused by them, that made the age return so untrustworthy. All officers agree in testifying to the uselessness of trying to get any accurate estimate of ages from native enumerators. To quote from the report of the Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong:

> We all know how utterly vague and unreliable are the ideas of the Assamese on the subject of age. To look for correct returns of ages from our enumerators would be absolutely hopeless. To illustrate some of the absurdities discovered in this connection, I may mention that sons were often found entered as older than their parents; and frequently a difference of four or five years only was shown between the ages of mothers and their daughters.

The entries regarding civil condition were, as a rule, correct; but there were two points regarding which difficulties were experienced. The first was the want of a proper word for 'widower.' The word '*borola*' in Assamese, in its strict sense, has this meaning, and was so used in the heading of the schedules. But it is, also, often loosely used to signify a man without a wife, whether bachelor or widower; and this was the cause of some confusion. I particularly pointed out that its exact force should be fully explained to the enumerators; and this was very generally done. But in some places this explanation appears to have been insufficient; and some few bachelors may thus appear amongst the widowed. In the Bengali-speaking districts the term '*stri maryache*' (wife deceased) was used for want of a better translation. The other difficulty consisted in the objection on the part of Hindu enumerators to recognise as valid marriages the somewhat primitive rites which precede cohabitation amongst the aboriginal races, whether converts to Hinduism or otherwise. The enumerators were told that they were not to go beyond the statements of the persons concerned, and in this they generally acquiesced; but it is possible that, in some cases, such couples have been entered as unmarried instead of married.

Parent tongue and birthplace presented difficulties only in the case of imported tea garden coolies and other foreigners. Special arrangements were made for checking the entries in places where foreigners were numerous; and instructions were issued to secure the entry of the birth district instead of the village or thana, which is what most coolies would return, if allowed to. No doubt many of the incorrect entries originally made were put right by the supervisors afterwards, but a considerable number were allowed to remain; and these were the cause of an immense amount of trouble afterwards in the abstracting office.

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Column 11 was often filled in very vaguely. The enumerators understood in a general way what should be shown, but very few of them studied the rule with sufficient care to ensure accuracy in details; and general entries, such as service, cultivator, &c., were frequently made in direct opposition to the instructions on the subject. There was some difference of practice in the entry of dependents; but this was of no importance, as dependents and workers were not abstracted separately.

The education columns were filled in fairly correctly, the only error being that languages were sometimes shown in column 13 against persons returned as learning in column 12. But mistakes of this sort were easily eliminated in the abstracting office.

Column 14 was filled in fairly correctly, the only mistakes being that persons were sometimes entered as deaf or dumb only, or as blind of one eye.

Two minor matters connected with the filling in and correction of the schedules may be mentioned here. There was on this occasion no uniformity of practice as regards the filling in of the serial number in column 1. The instructions were, that it was not to be entered until after the final census; but it was not stated whether fresh numbers should be given for each house, or whether there should be only one set of serial numbers for the whole book. The actual practice varied considerably; sometimes the numbers were filled in for the house, and sometimes for the book. At the next census it should be laid down that it should be for the book. More stress should also be laid on the point that the number must not be entered until after the final census. On this occasion the rule was often disregarded, and the numbers were consequently useless. The second point I have to mention is of more importance. The rules clearly provided for the use of ink by the enumerators,—black ink for the preliminary, and red ink for the final record. It was taken for granted that the supervisors and charge superintendents would also conform to this rule; but this was by no means always the case. In many instances corrections were made in pencil; and when this was done, much trouble was given to my office, as it was uncertain whether the corrections thus made were *bonâ-fide* or had been inserted, as was sometimes the case, by some mischievous abstractor in my office. The latter only had pencils, so that, had all the corrections made in the districts been made in ink, the difficulty I have mentioned would not have been experienced. To obviate similar trouble at the next census, the instructions should clearly provide for the use of ink by superior census officers as well as by the enumerators.

The Final Census.

The final census.

30. The final census was taken on the night of the 26th February. In order to reduce, as much as possible, the number of alterations that would be required to bring the preliminary record up to date, the enumerators had been told to enter on their first round the persons ordinarily resident in each house, and to omit mere temporary visitors, who were not likely to remain until after the 26th February. With the same object in view, notices were issued in all districts, requesting the people, so far as possible, to be present in their own houses on the night of the census; to remain awake and keep lights burning until the enumerators had visited them; and to avoid fixing that date for weddings, *bhaonas*, or other gatherings. Travelling was discouraged; and markets which would ordinarily have been held on the 26th or 27th February were either closed altogether for that week, or were held on some other day. Touring officials were requested not to move their camps between the 23rd and 28th February; and were asked to inform the district officers concerned of the place where they would be encamped during that period. These instructions are said to have been very generally attended to; and the work of the enumerators on their second round was in consequence very much facilitated.

Wherever possible, some second person, usually the *gaonbura* or chaukidar, was associated with the enumerator, and directed to go ahead and warn the occupants of each house in turn to be ready for his visit, so as to avoid delay when the enumerator himself reached the house.

Special arrangements.

31. It was not, however, to be expected that all persons could arrange to be in their own houses on the night of the census. That there would be some travellers was inevitable; and special arrangements had to be made to ensure the enumeration of persons who were unable to pass the night at home. Travellers and carters were directed to halt before nightfall; and to arrange to stop for the night in some village, and not by the roadside. On roads where there was likely to be much night traffic, patrol enumerators were appointed; and the more frequented stages and halting places were censused by special men. At less important points, the duty of including travellers devolved on the ordinary

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Taking the Census.

The Final Census.

enumerators, who were told to visit the serais, *namghars*, and all other places in their blocks at which travellers were in the habit of spending the night. To prevent double enumeration, tickets were supplied to all road enumerators for issue to the persons enumerated by them, to be preserved as a proof that they had already been censused, in case a second enumerator should wish to count them again. These arrangements were very carefully made in all districts; and the number of travellers who escaped being censused must have been very insignificant.

Supervision of the final census.

32. To make sure that the enumerators really went their rounds, all charge superintendents and supervisors were directed to visit as many blocks as possible. They were assisted in this by all Government servants, schoolmasters, &c., who had not previously been engaged in census work, but were called upon to help on this occasion so as to strengthen the supervising staff to the utmost. The courts were closed from the 25th to the 27th February; and the clerks thus set free were similarly deputed to assist in the work of supervision, and a very strong superior staff was thus obtained. The Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar writes:

> The arrangements were elaborate and comprehensive; and a very large number of blocks was actually visited by some one or other of the superior officers. * * In the town and the Nagar Mahal mauza a supervisor accompanied each enumerator to every house during the night.

It is generally reported that the superior staff did their work well, and that the supervision was as close as the sparse population and jungly nature of the country would permit. But it was impossible that every enumerator should be visited while at work, and many had to be left to go their rounds or not as they chose.

Accuracy of the final census.

33. The general opinion of deputy commissioners is, that their enumerators, as a body, did their work well; and an examination of the books of schedules in my office shows that there was hardly a block in which red ink* alterations were not recorded. But I am not sure that the work was done quite as thoroughly as it should have been. I have no doubt that enumerators did, as a rule, go their rounds, and pay a visit to each house in their blocks. But I am not equally satisfied as to the thoroughness with which they corrected and brought the record up to date. I fancy they often confined themselves to shouting out to the inmates, "Has any one come or gone since my first visit?" and took the answer to this question as final. Others, more careful, might read out the names entered at the preliminary record, and strike out such as were said to have died or gone away. They would then say, "Has any new person come?" and would be content with the answer they received. It is obvious that both these methods would lead to more erasures than additions. Persons who had gone away would in nearly all cases be struck out; but there would be considerable danger of new arrivals being omitted. I visited several blocks on the census night, and found that much trouble and cross-questioning were necessary before one could be certain that the schedule contained the name of every person in the house; and I cannot help suspecting that the enumerators did not, in all cases, take the necessary amount of trouble. It is difficult to verify a theory of this kind by a reference to figures; but so far as I have been able to do so, I think that they bear out my views. I took 223 enumeration books at random, and counted the number of red ink additions and erasures. The total population recorded in these books at the preliminary record was 29,370. At the final census there were 1,787 erasures and 1,626 additions, the net result being a decrease of 151. At the same rate there would be a decrease of 26,000 in the total synchronously censused population of the province. The floating population returned at the census was 29,165; and there was also a large number of travellers, &c., who were entered in special enumeration books. These would, to a large extent, account for the decrease compared with the preliminary record in the number of persons censused in houses; but I am not satisfied that they do so altogether. In any case the point is one on which more stress should be laid at the next census; and the attention of all census officers should be drawn to the danger of omissions, if great care is not taken. Instead of reading over the names entered at the preliminary record, and asking if they are correct, the enumerators should be told to make the head of the house give a list of all the persons residing with him, and to tick off the names of all persons he mentions, entering the necessary details for all not returned before. If any persons who were entered during the first round are not mentioned, the enumerator should enquire more particularly about them, and should not pass on to the next house until he is satisfied that the record is complete. The enumerators should be warned that their red ink entries will be very carefully tested next day, and that special enquiries will be made into all cases in which

* The use of red ink was prescribed at the final enumeration, to distinguish the entries made then from those of the preliminary record, which was written up in black ink.

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Taking the Census.

The Final Census.

the final census brings out a decrease on the population returned at the preliminary record. On the present occasion all possible means were adopted to secure the maximum of supervision on the night of the census itself. In 1901 this supervision might with advantage be supplemented by a more careful scrutiny in the course of the next day.

Testing of the final record.

34. On the morning after the census the enumerators repaired to some central place, which had been notified by the supervisor beforehand, and made over their books to him for examination of the entries made at the final census, which were distinguished from those of the preliminary record by being in red ink. On the present occasion, the instructions regarding the examination of these entries were directed mainly to securing accuracy in the details regarding each person enumerated; and when doubtful entries appeared, the supervisor was told to verify them by local enquiry, if necessary. I have already said that, at the next census, it would also be advisable to cause enquiries to be made into the completeness of the final record, as well as into the accuracy of the particulars noted against each person returned. The rule, that when a person's name was scratched out the pen should be drawn through all the entries relating to him, was not by any means universally obeyed; and its neglect caused a good deal of trouble in the abstracting office. At future censuses, supervisors should be specially told to see that this rule is strictly adhered to, and to correct cases in which it has been neglected while examining the red ink entries.

District totalling.

35. When the entries made at the final census had been passed as correct, the enumerators were detailed to prepare sex totals of the population recorded in their enumeration books. The system prescribed was that of independent totalling by two men; and the supervisors were told in no case to accept the figures as correct unless the two totals agreed. In cases of difference the orders were, that the supervisor was to prepare the totals himself. When the books for a circle had all been totalled, the supervisor posted these figures in a circle abstract, which he added up and made over to his charge superintendent. The latter incorporated the results in a charge abstract, which he sent in to the deputy commissioner or subdivisional officer. From the charge abstract, subdivisional totals were prepared. The totals for subdivisions were then added up for districts; and as soon as this had been done, the figures were telegraphed to the Census Commissioner at Simla and to myself at Gauhati. Independent totalling was prescribed for the circle and charge abstracts in the same way as for the abstracts prepared by the enumerators. Had the instructions in this respect been fully acted up to, mistakes would have been almost impossible. As they stand, the results of most districts are fairly good; but it is doubtful whether the somewhat laborious process prescribed was in all cases adhered to. The Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur says: "While watching the preparation of abstracts, I observed a tendency on the part of superintendents and others to ignore the principle laid down, *viz.*, that of independent compiling by the enumerators." And no doubt the same tendency occurred also elsewhere.

36. Statement No. 9 compares the results of the rough totalling in the districts with the figures obtained after detailed compilation in my office. Most of the differences are very slight, and when this is not the case, are due to mistakes in the charge and circle abstracts rather than in the figures furnished by the enumerators. The largest discrepancy occurred in Sibsagar, and was due to the entire omission from the charge abstract of a circle containing a population of 6,054 persons.* The greater part of the discrepancy in the Goalpara district is due to a similar mistake, the second page of a circle† abstract having been overlooked, and the first page only posted in the charge abstract. The decrease in Lakhimpur is almost entirely accounted for by an error in one enumerator's abstract; and the same may be said of the small discrepancy in Cachar Plains.‡ The rough total prepared by the subdivisional officer of North Cachar tallies exactly with the figures compiled in my office. Amongst other subdivisions, the best results are given by North Lakhimpur, where the difference amounts to only 21 males, the number of females being exactly the same in the original and final return. Excluding the comparatively large errors in Goalpara and Sibsagar, the whole difference between the rough totals and the revised figures is

Statement No. 9, comparing the results of the rough totalling with the figures obtained after detailed compilation.

District.	Population.		
	District Totals.	Final Figures.	Difference.
Cachar	367,600	367,542	−58
Sylhet	2,154,081	2,154,593	+512
Goalpara	450,336	452,304	+1,968
Kamrup	633,724	634,249	+525
Darrang	307,387	307,761	+374
Nowgong	344,036	344,141	+105
Sibsagar	451,374	457,274	+5,900
Lakhimpur	254,280	254,053	−227
North Cachar	18,941	18,941	.....
Naga Hills	122,077	122,867	+790
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	197,690	197,904	+214
Garo Hills	121,219	121,570	+351

* Charge Abhoypur, Circle No. I.

† Circle I of Charge III in the Goalpara subdivision.

‡ The error consisted in the enumerator carrying forward the figures posted in the abstract in one enumeration book to the abstract in his second book, so that the supervisor when posting the results in his circle abstract entered the population of the first book twice over.

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Taking the Census.

Special arrangements

only 3,156 on a population of 4,523,621, or about 1 in 1,433. Considering the numerous points at which errors may creep in, and the limited time allowed for the preparation of the figures, I do not think it can be said that these results are unsatisfactory. Such as they are, however, I think they could have been still further reduced, had the same care been taken in supervising the posting of entries into the charge and circle abstracts and checking the totals of these abstracts as was evinced in securing accurate figures from the enumerators. This, therefore, is a point on which considerable stress should be laid on the occasion of the next census.

37. If the system of collecting totals which had been prescribed had been properly acted on, there is no reason why the figures for the plains districts should not have been available at the end of the first week in March, and those for the hills within another week at the outside. Statement No. 10 shows the dates on which the telegrams reporting the figures were actually received from each district. The deputy commissioners of Lakhimpur, Darrang, Sibsagar, the Garo Hills, and the Naga Hills got in their figures with fair punctuality. But there was much unnecessary delay in Sylhet, owing to one of the subdivisional officers having misunderstood the instructions, and examined all the totals entered in the enumeration books after they had reached his office; while the figures for Kamrup did not reach me until the 3rd April, or eleven days after those for Sylhet, the next latest district. The instructions on the subject were sufficiently precise and clear; and there was no reason why the deputy commissioner should not have been able to report his total population at least as soon as the deputy commissioners of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur.

Statement No. 10, showing the dates on which rough totals were received from each district.

District.	Date of Receipt of Rough Total.	Date of Receipt of Revised Figures.
Cachar	13th March 1891.	....
Sylhet	23rd " "	25th March 1891.*
Goalpara	13th " "	....
Kamrup	3rd April "	....
Darrang	8th March "	10th " "
Nowgong	14th " "	27th " "
Sibsagar	8th " "	....
Lakhimpur	6th " "	13th " "
North Cachar	17th " "	....
Naga Hills	14th " "	....
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	21st " "	....
Garo Hills	12th " "	22nd " "

* Several petty revisions were received after this date.

Collection and despatch of enumeration books.

38. While the totals were being prepared, the collection of the enumeration books was also in progress. The supervisor collected all the books relating to his circle, and arranged them in the serial order of blocks. He then tied up the bundle lengthways and across, and made it over to the charge superintendent. When the latter had got all the books for his charge, he sent them in to the subdivisional headquarters, whence they were despatched to the abstracting office. This work was carried out with a fair degree of dispatch and system; and I have nothing special to remark in connection with it.

Special Arrangements.

Special arrangements for the census.

39. In thus rapidly reviewing the general course of census operations, I have omitted to notice the special arrangements that had to be made for the census of tea gardens, boats, steamers, and of elephant hunters, rubber cutters, &c. In all these cases the general instructions alone were insufficient, and had to be modified or supplemented by additional special rules.

Tea gardens.

40. In the case of tea gardens the general principle was, that the duty of enumerating all persons residing on each estate should be entrusted to the managers concerned. Special rules were drawn up for their guidance; and deputy commissioners were requested to arrange for each garden to be visited twice, either in person or by some European assistant. The first visit was prescribed for purposes of instruction; and the second for the testing of the preliminary record. Mr. Pittar describes this portion of the operations in his district as follows:

Mr. Fordyce, the Deputy Conservator of Forests, was deputed to look after tea garden arrangements. The numbering of houses and their division into blocks were on a good many gardens carried out under his instructions and supervision. Mr. Duncan, the two extra assistant commissioners, and myself, all visited tea gardens in different directions. I encouraged managers as much as possible to refer their difficulties to me; and some did so, and even sent in books for correction. All the gardens were visited at some time or other; and only one or two at most were not visited after the preliminary record commenced * *. On the whole, great interest was taken by the enumerators. The quality of the work varied directly with the interest taken by the managers; and naturally so. * * The preliminary record was tested on nearly every garden. Not only

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were the books scrutinised, but houses were visited, and entries carefully checked. * * Not a single omission was discovered. * * I can answer for the correctness of the population; but, of course, some errors must be expected in the more difficult columns.

Taking the Census.

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Several deputy commissioners have pointed out that the definition of a 'house' was not furnished in the printed instructions for the enumeration of tea gardens. This was an oversight, which should be rectified at the next census. The census of tea gardens gave much trouble in all tea districts, on account of the amount of European supervision which it involved, and the difficulty which deputy commissioners experienced in obtaining estimates of the forms which were required for each garden. But this was not complicated by any unwillingness or disinclination to do the work on the part of the planters. On the other hand, it is generally reported that they were most anxious to render all possible assistance.

Boat census.

41. The census of the boat population was another matter calling for special instructions. In the case of rivers forming the boundaries of districts the first thing to be done was to decide to which district the boats in motion should be considered to belong. Questions of this sort were discussed and settled long before the census—mostly during November and December. Lists of ghats were prepared, and special ghat enumerators appointed, wherever necessary. Patrol enumerators were also appointed, where necessary, to go up and down the rivers, and enumerate boats in motion which had escaped elsewhere. On the larger rivers the work continued for three days, so as to ensure the inclusion of all boats; but on the smaller rivers one day was usually deemed sufficient. To facilitate matters, orders were issued beforehand directing boatmen, if possible, to put in at some recognised ghat and pass the night of the 26th February there. The Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara says that, in consequence of these orders, 206 boats were moored at the Dhubri ghat on the night of the census, although the number usually found there hardly exceeds a dozen. The danger of double enumeration was obviated by the issue of tickets to each boat as enumerated. The boatmen were told to preserve their tickets as a proof of enumeration, and to prevent their boats from being counted again. I think that the boat census was everywhere well and efficiently carried out. Careful arrangements were made beforehand; and the result shows that they were not made in vain. Nearly every district shows a larger boat population than was returned at the previous census.

Steamers.

42. The census of mail and cargo steamers was effected through the agents, the necessary forms being supplied by the Superintendent of Census Operations in Bengal. The steamer clerks were the enumerators, and were instructed at Goalundo and Narainganj in Bengal, and at Dhubri, Tezpur, and Dibrugarh in this province. The only special rule prescribed was, that they should write up the schedules beforehand for all persons who would not arrive at their destination and leave the steamer before the night of the census. The schedules were left at the first ghat reached on the morning of the 27th February. Special arrangements were made for the census of the *Koladyne*, *Kestrel*, and other Government steamers.

Other special measures.

43. The railway census was effected through the railway authorities, and that of cantonments by the military. Jails were similarly enumerated under the superintendence of the officers in charge. The officers of the Forest Department were made responsible for counting all boat cutters, &c., in the forest reserves; and special steps were taken to secure the enumeration of elephant hunters and of persons who had gone beyond the 'Inner Line' to cut rubber or to trade. The instructions regarding these special arrangements are reproduced in the Appendix; and it is, therefore, unnecessary to discuss them here in detail, more especially as I have no improvements to suggest for adoption at the next census.

Non-synchronous tracts.

44. I have hitherto confined my remarks to those portions of the province which were censused synchronously. When less than twenty years ago it was considered impossible to carry out a synchronous census of the regulation districts of Bengal, it could scarcely be expected that the time should have yet come when such an operation would be feasible in the more remote and sparsely peopled portions of a frontier province like Assam. The whole of the plains portion of the province was censused synchronously; but in the hills it was necessary to make exceptions to the general rule, and to allow a more gradual enumeration to be substituted, wherever the sparsity of the population or the want of agency rendered it impossible to count the people in one and the same day. A considerable advance, however, was made in the methods adopted at this census as compared with those of 1881. On that occasion the enumeration of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills lasted four weeks, while that of North Cachar was spread over a period of three months. The

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population of the hills portion of the Garo Hills district was then arrived at by multiplying the number of houses ascertained by actual counting by the average number of persons per house found in certain test villages where a detailed enumeration was carried out. In the Naga Hills no attempt at taking a census was made, except in the station of Kohima. On the present occasion Shillong, Jowai, Cherra Punji, and Shella were censused synchronously; and so also were some of the British possessions in the Khasi Hills and the cart road between Shillong and Gauhati. In the rest of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district the operations were concluded within a fortnight instead of a month, which was the period allowed in 1881. In North Cachar a synchronous census was successfully carried out, the only difference between the procedure here and in the plains being in the method of effecting the final enumeration. There were not enough literate men to go round all the villages on the night of the 26th February; and it was accordingly arranged that on that night the village headmen should act as enumerators, and report next day to the supervisors any changes that might have taken place since the preliminary record was last brought up to date. This plan is said to have answered very well. In the Garo Hills, Tura and the plains portion of the district were censused synchronously, as on the previous occasion. In the hills a detailed house-to-house enumeration, lasting about seven weeks, took the place of the rough estimate of 1881. In the Naga Hills an actual enumeration was effected not only of the old portion of the district, but also of Mokokchang, which was added to the district so recently as 1889. The station of Kohima and the Kohima-Golaghat cart road were censused on the night of the 26th February. The total population thus gradually enumerated amounts to slightly over 400,000, or less than 8 per cent. of the total population of the province. The balance, or over 92 per cent., was censused synchronously.

There are two areas which I have not yet referred to. Manipur was carefully censused under the direction of the Durbar; but the papers had not been despatched when the late rising took place, and they were consequently destroyed, like nearly everything else. There are, therefore, no figures available for that state.* The other area is North Lushai, or that portion of the Lushai hills which is subject to the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam. In this tract the civil and military population were censused on the 26th February. For the Lushais an estimate has been framed by the Political Officer, similar to that framed for the Garo Hills in 1881. The figures thus furnished are, of course, only approximate; but as they were based on the personal enquiries of the Political Officer during his tours through the hills, it is believed that they are very fairly accurate.

45. The omission of the final round constituted the main point of divergence in the system of censusing the hill districts from that followed in the plains. In other respects the general instructions were followed, wherever it was possible to do so; but there were, naturally, many points of detail regarding which special arrangements were necessary. These were settled in each case in consultation with the deputy commissioners. Extracts from their reports will be found in Appendix A; and it is, therefore, unnecessary to discuss the matter at length here. It will suffice to say that the arrangements in each district were made with such care and foresight, and carried out with such careful supervision and thoroughness, that there can be no doubt whatever as to the accuracy of the figures returned. I have not a single suggestion to make for future censuses, beyond what has been thrown out in the reports which have been submitted; and my only regret is, that want of space has made it necessary to confine the quotations from these reports to very brief extracts, which, though they give a general idea of the course of the operations in each district, are not by any means sufficient to show the minute care with which every step of the work was carried out. Mr. Teunon's report on the operations in the Garo Hills, in particular, gives a most useful and interesting account of the way in which obstacles were surmounted and a highly successful result arrived at, in the face of difficulties which, at the outset, were thought to be almost insuperable. These reports will furnish most valuable assistance to the officers on whom will fall the duty of conducting the next census in the hill districts.

General Remarks.

Date of the census.

46. In many respects the date of the census was convenient. It was at a season of the year when rain does not commonly fall; and although, as a matter of fact, the weather was threatening, and rain actually fell in some places during the day or two immediately preceding the

* After things had quieted down, I wrote to the Superintendent of the State, enquiring whether he could not furnish me, at least, with a rough estimate of the population in time for inclusion in my report; but he replied that he was far too busily engaged in reducing chaos to order to be able to comply with my request.

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final census, it cleared up in time, and the night of the 26th February was everywhere quite fine. It was also bright moonlight, so that the climatic conditions were all that could be desired. But the date was awkward in one respect. The cold weather is the season when the hill tribes shift their houses and open out new *jhums*; while in the plains many cultivators reside at that period miles away from their regular homes in temporary houses near their mustard cultivation. Both in the plains and in the hills there was thus a good deal of movement going on during the period fixed for the enumeration, which would not have happened had the census been taken two months later; and this necessitated not only greater care in continuing the search for new hamlets and houses until the very end of the operations, but also added very materially to the labours of the enumerators during their final round. There were, also, a few special circumstances which interfered somewhat with the taking of the census. The most important of these was the Arddhodaya Joga, which attracted thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the country to the banks of the Ganges during the period intervening between the preliminary enumeration and the final census. This unusual movement of the people, of course, involved extra work; it also interfered with census arrangements, in that a large number of our census officers in Sylhet and elsewhere filed petitions to be excused from their duties, on the ground that they wanted to perform the pilgrimage. In many cases, no doubt, there was a genuine desire to visit the Ganges on this sacred occasion; but it is not improbable that some of these applications for exemption were not altogether *bonâ-fide*. It was not, however, always possible to test the good faith of the applicants; and a number of trained men had to be relieved, and new hands appointed in their place, at a very late stage of the operations. In Sadiya there was a large gathering of Khamtis, Singphos, and others to celebrate the opening of a new temple; but as the people dispersed some days before the final census night, the ceremony did not much interfere with the enumeration. Another result of the date of the enumeration may be noticed here. In the cold weather many hillmen come down from beyond the frontier to trade, and there are also numerous temporary visitors from Bengal, Nunias working on the roads, buffalo-dealers, &c.; and all these were counted as part of the population of Assam. On the other hand, many European planters were away at the time, and the annual stream of coolie immigration had scarcely set in. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that the results, so far as the total population is concerned, were about the same as they would have been had the census been taken two months later. In the latter case, however, the population censused would have been more permanent: it would have contained fewer hillmen and more Europeans and garden coolies.

The Census Act.

47. The necessity for a Census Act is obvious. It is not that it is necessary to compel people to become enumerators, nor that it is often needful to use the provisions of the Act against persons who have accepted that office—but the labour involved in the work is long and tedious, and a man after having taken up the appointment may, in some cases, tire of it at the eleventh hour, or he may be envious of the better fortune of a neighbour, who has been made a supervisor, and may thus wish to throw up the work, when it would be too late to nominate and train a successor; and it is necessary to provide against cases of this sort, which, though rare, do undoubtedly occur. Even in England, where the preliminary arrangements are all carried out by permanent employés, and the actual filling in of the schedules is done by the enumerated themselves, and where, besides, the comparatively easy work of the enumerators is fairly well remunerated, it is found necessary to have an Act, to which recourse may be had as a last resort; and that necessity is clearly much greater in India, where the enumerator has to devote a considerable amount of his time for several months to his work, and is, as a rule, paid nothing for doing it. The Act of 1891 followed closely the enactment passed on the occasion of the previous census. It empowered local governments to appoint census officers, and punish them, if they refused or neglected to act without reasonable cause; it declared the liability of persons in charge of troops, jails, boarding-houses, &c., and occupants of land on which more than fifty persons lived or were employed, to take the census of the persons under their charge or on their property, &c.; it empowered the district magistrate to call on landholders and others to give assistance; and finally, it made it compulsory to give true answers to the questions necessary to the proper filling in of the schedules. Any breaches of its provisions were made punishable with a fine not exceeding Rs. 50. By notifications in the *Assam Gazette*, the powers of the local government were delegated to district magistrates; and similar powers were also given to subdivisional officers, except in regard to prosecutions, which district magistrates alone were authorised to sanction. The general opinion of officers is, that the Act was quite sufficient to meet all contingencies. A few subdivisional officers complain of the delay involved in securing the sanction of district magistrates to

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prosecutions, and suggest that, in future, the powers should be delegated to all officers in charge of subdivisions. I am not myself in favour of this proposal. An Act of the sort is only intended to meet extreme cases; and considering that the services which it is desired to enforce are, in most instances, purely voluntary, it is desirable that very great discretion should be exercised in resorting to penal measures. The Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong observes that, although it is very seldom that the Act has to be put into force, the maximum penalty of Rs. 50 is barely sufficient to cover all possible contingencies. He says it is very unlikely that such a case would occur; but supposing that some extremely wrongheaded landholder absolutely refused to give any assistance in the census of his estate, a fine of Rs. 50 would be a very inadequate punishment. Until cases of this sort are proved to occur—and none such have ever occurred in this province,—I do not think there is any necessity for raising the limit imposed by the Act of 1890. A more pertinent criticism is, that the Act was passed too late. The necessity for bringing it into force at an early stage of the operations had been pointed out by the Census Commissioner; but it did not pass through Council until October 1890, and the Provincial notifications thereunder did not, therefore, issue until the beginning of November. The superintendents who attended the recent Simla Conference expressed an opinion, that it should be passed not later than the end of July preceding the census; and in this view I fully concur.

The use of the Census Act is well illustrated by the prosecutions instituted under it. In 19 out of 25 subdivisions no prosecutions were instituted. The total number in the other five subdivisions was only 46; and of these, only 10 cases ended in conviction. The persons concerned in the other cases were merely warned, or bound over to appear at a date after the census, and then discharged on its being ascertained that they had, in the meantime, performed their duties satisfactorily,* or else they were acquitted, because it was found that they were unfit for the work, or had reasonable grounds for declining to undertake it. The total number of enumerators was 20,079, so that the proportion against whom proceedings were taken was only ·22 per cent., and the number actually punished only ·05 per cent. It is thus clear that the advantage of the Act lay, not in its being a means of punishing recusant census officers, but rather in its deterrent effect, as a power in the background which district officers could invoke, should they find it absolutely necessary to do so. The enumerators knew that if they neglected the work they had undertaken to perform, they would be liable to be punished for their neglect; and knowing this, they did their work well.

Attitude of the people.

48. At the census of 1881 various wild rumours regarding the objects of Government gained currency amongst the more ignorant classes of the people; and when officers tried to reassure them by reminding them that a similar operation had been performed in 1872, they sometimes found that that census had been entirely forgotten. This time we had less difficulty in this respect. The work in 1881 was done far more thoroughly than it had been in 1872; the people, therefore, remembered it, and knew that no very serious calamity had followed. As a rule, therefore, the present census excited no widespread feelings of fear or discontent. But it was generally felt that Government must have some object in carrying out the operations in such a thorough and painstaking way; and as the real objects were not understood by the masses of the people, they attributed the census to motives which were more easily intelligible to them, the general belief being that it was the precursor of a capitation tax, or an increase in the land revenue, or else was the means by which the number of persons available for impressment might be ascertained.

The Deputy Commissioner of Cachar writes:

> In the census of 1881 only sub-inspectors and head constables of police were generally appointed as charge superintendents; but on the present occasion extra assistant commissioners, sub-deputy collectors, and tahsildars were engaged to carry on the work; and the care and attention devoted to it raised suspicions in the minds of the people. Babu J. C. Das, Extra Assistant Commissioner, when explaining the objects of the census and reassuring the people in his charge, was requested to assign the reason why such a respectable officer as himself was engaged in such petty work, unless Government intended to have the enquiry made carefully with the object of finding data for a future assessment.

But although there was a certain amount of suspicion, there was no active opposition; on the other hand, it is generally reported that all assistance required was very readily given, particularly amongst people of the better class, who showed a general desire to make the record as accurate as possible.

* This excellent idea originated, I believe, with Mr. Luttman-Johnson, who was Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet at the time of the 1881 census.

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A few rare instances of wild misapprehension are reported. In Balaganj, for instance, the lower classes gave credence to a rumour, that the enumerators would mark their foreheads with caustic on the census night; and one old woman was found to be in an agony of terror lest her son's head should be cut off on account of his absence from home on that occasion. The Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara found a reluctance on the part of widows to be enumerated as such, and in some cases to enter their names at all, as there was a vague rumour that Government intended to carry off Hindu widows and get them mated incontinently. The Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur reports a case in which two youths went to a man's house on the 26th February before the enumerator had gone round, and persuaded his wife and daughters that the girls would be taken away to be married to soldiers, and so induced the latter to go off with them. Enquiry showed that the mother was the only dupe, and that the lasses were privy to the elopement. Mr. Greenshields also says that some classes of Kacharis and Ahoms thought that it was intended to ascertain who were true Hindus, and that those who ate fowls would be classed as Musalmans. He adds that in one village the fowls were actually buried alive, so that the owners might not be suspected of eating them. The Naga visitors in the same district were also uneasy at the operations; and a number of that tribe, who were working in a new garden at Margherita, absconded the morning after the census, but returned to their work shortly afterwards on finding that no ill results had supervened. In Sibsagar a few cases are reported in which the extortion of a few annas was brought home to enumerators, or persons who pretended to be enumerators.

Comedy of census.

49. Before closing this chapter, I may mention one or two of the more amusing items recorded in the schedules. Of course, we had, "Drinks his mother's milk" returned as the occupation of an infant; and the same was also described as, "The usual business of a baby". Another maligned babe was described as, "Thief (dependent)"; and a man in hospital as, "Applying medicine to his syphilitic sores". In the column designed to show the state of education, a Manipuri enumerator wrote, "Can't write, but plays the drum," the latter accomplishment being, apparently, considered sufficient to remove its possessor from the category of the illiterate. In this connection may also be mentioned the reply of a deputy commissioner to the question, "How far the objects of the census were understood by the people." He said that the objects of the census had not been explained to him; and he was not, therefore, in a position to say whether the people understood them or not.

Manner in which instructions should be issued.

50. In conclusion, I should like to say a few words regarding the time at which the instructions for the census should be issued by the census superintendent. Two courses are open. Either a full account of the whole of the operations, containing complete and final instructions on all points, may be issued at the outset; or the first circular may simply give a general outline of the operations, and leave details to be provided for by subsequent circulars issued at intervals as the work progresses.

The latter was the course pursued on the present occasion; and though there seems to be some difference of opinion on the subject, it is the course I should recommend for adoption in future. Instructions regarding each stage of the work must, of course, be issued in ample time to allow of the necessary arrangements being made; but so long as this point is attended to, it seems to me that the longer the issue of the instructions is delayed, the better. At the outset, the census superintendent is, usually, no more of a specialist than the officers to whom his instructions are to be issued. He is not in a position to form an independent opinion on the way in which the different operations should be conducted; and he should not, therefore, do more at the beginning than furnish a general outline of the work, and prescribe the manner in which the earlier stages of the same are to be carried out. He can then take time to consider the best means of conducting the later operations of the census, to study the way in which they were performed on previous occasions in different provinces, and to consult local officers when necessary. So long as the delay causes no practical inconvenience, it seems to me that the longer the census superintendent takes to mature his arrangements the better.

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Printing of forms.

CHAPTER II.—THE PRINTING AND SUPPLY OF SCHEDULES AND OTHER FORMS.

Difficulty in arranging for the supply of forms.

51. So many different forms are required for a census, and such vast numbers of each, that their full and timely supply is a matter requiring very careful arrangement. I propose, therefore, to note briefly, for future guidance, the manner in which this branch of the work was conducted on the present occasion, the difficulties which were experienced, and the measures which should be adopted to prevent their recurrence in future.

Supply of enumeration books—Translation into vernaculars.

52. The most important forms of all were those which went to make up the enumeration books in which the statistics of the population were recorded. In addition to the census schedules, each book contained an enumerator's abstract, a set of instructions to enumerators, a specimen schedule, and a block list.* These forms had to be printed in four languages,† namely, Assamese for the Naga Hills and the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley proper, Bengali for the Surma Valley, Goalpara, and the Garo Hills, Khasi for the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, and Manipuri for Manipur. The Assamese version was prepared under my superintendence, and corrected in accordance with suggestions from deputy commissioners. For the Bengali-speaking districts, the translation adopted by the Superintendent of Census Operations in Bengal was taken as the basis, a few modifications being made to suit local differences of dialect in consultation with the deputy commissioners of the districts concerned. The Khasi translation was prepared by the Deputy Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and the Manipuri by the Political Agent of the Manipur State. The schedules in the Khasi and Manipuri languages were printed locally at the Assam Secretariat Press, but the Bengali and Assamese forms, which constituted by far the greater part of the total supply, were printed in Calcutta by the Superintendent of Government Printing, Bengal.

Preliminary indents and despatch.

53. While this work was in progress, steps were being taken to ascertain the probable number of schedules required for each district. It was not possible to get a final estimate until the census registers had been prepared; but, as this was a work which would take time, and the experience of the last census had shown the urgent necessity of getting as much of the printing as possible completed and the forms distributed at a very early date, district officers were asked to submit preliminary indents based on the requirements of the previous census and such other information as might be available. These preliminary indents came to hand during May and June, and were at once examined carefully in my office, so that as soon as the proofs had been finally passed I was in a position to issue orders to print. The forms ordered for the Brahmaputra Valley were got ready for despatch in time to enable me to arrange for their distribution by means of the Government steamer *Koladyne*, which left Goalundo on the 8th July with the annual opium supply. The Sylhet and Cachar forms were shipped on board the same steamer two months later, when on its way to the Surma Valley in connection with the Chief Commissioner's tour. By these means the cost of freight was reduced to a minimum, and a large proportion of the forms required was distributed to the different subdivisions before the close of the rains.

Final indents for enumeration books.

54. When the circle list was completed, revised estimates were called for.‡ These were received during September, October, and November. In many cases there was a considerable difference between the numbers indented for in the first instance and those asked for after the circle list had been completed. The statement on the next page compares the number of schedules asked for at the preliminary indent, with the requirements notified after the circle list had been completed. The indents for forms in each language are shown separately.

* For a definition of these terms see Circular No. 2, reprinted at page xxxix of Appendix B.

† A few books in English and Hindi were also used. In the case of the latter, the North-Western Provinces version was adopted.

‡ See my Circular No. 6, dated the 15th August 1890.

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Statement No. 11, comparing the number of Schedules originally estimated for with those asked for in the final indent.

Subdivision.	Number of Forms indented for																Number of Forms supplied.											
	Original Indent.						Final Indent.						Excess or Deficiency.							On Original Indent.						On Final Indent.						
	Books of 60 schedules.	Books of 24 schedules.	Books of 12 schedules.	Books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total schedules.	Books of 60 schedules.	Books of 24 schedules.	Books of 12 schedules.	Books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total schedules.	Books of 60 schedules.	Books of 24 schedules.	Books of 12 schedules.	Books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total schedules.	Total number of schedules indented for.	Books of 60 schedules.	Books of 24 schedules.	Books of 12 schedules.	Books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total schedules.	Books of 60 schedules.	Books of 24 schedules.	Books of 12 schedules.	Books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total schedules.	Total number of schedules supplied.
BENGALI.																															
Silchar and Gunjong ..	235	589	..	..	..	28,236	285	689	..	..	500	34,136	+50	+100	..	....	+500	+5,900	34,136	500	1,250	..	..	3,680	63,680	50	140	..	..	500	6,860	70,540
Hailakandi	85	215	..	..	..	10,260	85	215	..	..	....	10,260	....	....	..	....	....	....	10,260	167	426	....	....	1,320	21,324	..	..	..	..	....	....	21,324
Total Cachar	320	804	..	..	..	38,496	370	904	..	..	500	44,396	+50	+100	..	....	+500	+5,900	44,396	667	1,676	....	....	5,000	85,004	50	140	..	..	500	6,860	91,864
North Sylhet	425	2,479	..	..	..	84,996	518	3,122	..	..	....	106,008	+93	+643	..	....	....	+21,012	106,008	446	2,604	....	....	3,200	92,456	93†	544	..	..	160	21,372	113,828
Sunamganj	375	2,187	..	..	..	74,988	455	2,228	..	..	....	80,772	+80	+41	..	....	....	+5,784	80,772	394	2,296	....	....	2,800	81,544	80	99†	..	..	100		
Habiganj	500	2,917	..	..	..	100,008	824	3,033	..	..	....	122,232	+324	+116	..	....	....	+22,224	122,232	525	3,063	....	....	3,750	108,762	264‡	41	..	..	610	6,394	87,938
South Sylhet	350	2,042	..	..	..	70,008	620	2,439	..	..	....	95,736	+270	+397	..	....	....	+25,728	95,736	367	2,145	....	....	2,626	76,126	50	131	..	..	60	19,044	127,806
Karimganj	350	2,042	..	..	..	70,008	560	2,319	..	..	....	89,256	+210	+277	..	....	....	+19,248	89,256	367	2,145	....	....	2,624	76,124	270*	397	..	..	1,134	26,862	102,988
Total Sylhet	2,000	11,667	..	..	..	400,008	2,977	13,141	..	..	....	494,004	+977	+1,474	..	....	....	+93,996	494,004	2,099	12,253	....	....	15,000	435,012	977	1,489	..	..	3,300	97,656	539,668
Garo Hills	17	375	..	..	..	10,020	100	1,100	..	..	500	32,900	+83	+725	..	....	500	+22,880	32,900	45	1,013	....	....	1,000	28,012	55*	102	..	..	400	6,148	34,160
Dhubri	908	1,230	..	..	6,000	90,000	297	1,506	..	..	7,112	61,076	−611	+276	..	....	+1,112	−28,924	61,076	727	983	....	....	2,500	69,712	..	648	..	..	600	16,152	85,864
Deduct inter-district transfers.	..	....	..	..	..	....	..	....	..	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	−418*	−483	....	....	....	−26,119	..	..	..	..	....	....	−26,119
Total Dhubri	..	....	..	..	..	....	..	....	..	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	309	940	....	....	2,500	43,600	..	648	..	..	600	16,152	59,759
Goalpara	605	821	..	..	4,000	60,004	157	685	..	..	5,692	31,552	−448	−136	..	....	+1,692	−28,452	31,552	484	636	....	....	1,500	46,284	..	140	..	..	192	3,552	49,836
Deduct inter-district transfers.	..	....	..	..	..	....	..	....	..	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	−264‡	....	....	....	....	−15,840	..	..	..	..	..	....	−15,840
	..	....	..	..	..	....	..	....	..	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	220	636	....	....	1,500	30,444	..	140	..	..	192	3,552	33,996
Total Goalpara	1,513	2,051	..	..	10,000	150,004	454	2,191	..	..	12,804	92,628	−1,059	+140	..	....	+2,804	−57,376	92,628	529	1,596	....	....	4,000	74,044	..	788	..	..	792	19,704	93,748
Total Bengali forms ..	3,850	14,897	..	..	10,000	638,528	3,901	17,336	..	..	13,804	663,928	+51	+2,439	..	....	+3,804	+65,400	663,928	3,340	16,528	....	....	25,000	622,072	1,082	2,519	..	..	4,992	130,368	752,440
ASSAMESE.																															
Gauhati	606	985	..	..	..	60,000	1,205	3,044	..	..	1,442	146,798	+599	+2,059	..	....	+1,442	+86,798	146,798	910	1,475	....	....	4,800	94,800	¶295	721	..	..	1,400	36,404	131,204
Barpeta	404	656	..	..	..	39,984	404	656	..	..	....	39,984	....	....	..	....	....	....	39,984	606	985	....	....	3,200	63,200	..	..	..	..	....	....	63,200
Total Kamrup	1,010	1,641	..	..	..	99,984	1,609	3,700	..	..	1,442	186,782	+599	+2,059	..	....	+1,442	+86,798	186,782	1,516	2,460	....	....	8,000	158,000	295	721	..	..	1,400	36,404	194,404
Tezpur	222	107	..	..	..	15,888	110	536	..	..	459	19,923	−112	+429	..	....	+459	+4,035	19,923	360	174	....	....	1,500	27,276	..	252	103	..	..	7,284	34,560
Mangaldai	364	178	..	..	..	26,112	364	178	..	..	....	26,112	....	....	..	....	....	....	26,112	590	286	....	....	2,500	44,764	..	150	..	..	..	3,600	48,364
Deduct inter-district transfers.	..	....	..	..	..	....	..	....	..	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	−150‖	....	....	....	....	−9,000	..	..	..	..	..	....	−9,000
	..	....	..	..	..	....	..	....	..	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	440	286	....	....	2,500	35,764	..	150	..	..	..	3,600	39,364
Total Darrang	588	285	..	..	..	42,000	474	714	..	..	459	46,035	−112	+429	..	....	+459	+4,035	46,035	800	460	....	....	4,000	63,040	..	402	103	..	..	10,884	73,924

NOTE.—Details of the supply of enumeration books by districts and subdivisions are given in Appendix C.

* Transferred from Dhubri.
† Supplied from the reserve at Sylhet.
‡ Transferred from Goalpara.
§ Returned to the reserve at Dhubri.
¶ Supplied from the reserve at Gauhati.
‖ Transferred to the Naga Hills.

Printing of forms.

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Statement No. 11, comparing the number of Schedules originally estimated for with those asked for in the final indent—continued.

Subdivision.	Number of Forms indented for — Original Indent.						Final Indent.						Excess or Deficiency.						Total number of schedules indented for.	Number of Forms supplied — On Original Indent.						On Final Indent.						Total number of schedules supplied.
	Books of 60 schedules.	Books of 24 schedules.	Books of 12 schedules.	Books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total schedules.	Books of 60 schedules.	Books of 24 schedules.	Books of 12 schedules.	Books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total schedules.	Books of 60 schedules.	Books of 24 schedules.	Books of 12 schedules.	Books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total schedules.		Books of 60 schedules.	Books of 24 schedules.	Books of 12 schedules.	Books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total schedules.	Books of 60 schedules.	Books of 24 schedules.	Books of 12 schedules.	Books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total schedules.	
																ASSAMESE—*contd.*															
Nowgong	842	1,020	..	..	..	75,000	994	1,534	..	..	....	96,456	+152	+514	..	....	....	+21,456	96,456	864	1,048	..	..	5,000	81,992	105*	240	..	..	..	12,060	94,052
Sibsagar	450	1,375	..	..	15,000	75,000	550	1,525	..	..	15,000	84,600	+100	+150	..	....	....	+9,600	84,600	333	1,019	..	..	10,000	54,436	..	162	..	..	..	3,888	58,324
Jorhat	322	986	..	..	5,000	47,984	322	986	..	..	5,000	47,984	....	....	..	....	....	....	47,984	239	739	..	..	5,000	36,836	..	..	..	..	..	....	36,836
Golaghat	240	734	..	..	5,000	37,016	240	734	..	..	5,000	37,016	....	....	..	....	....	....	37,016	178	543	..	..	5,000	28,712	..	..	..	..	..	....	28,712
Total Sibsagar	*1,012*	*3,095*	..	..	*25,000*	*160,000*	*1,112*	*3,245*	..	..	*25,000*	*169,600*	*+100*	*+150*	..	....	....	*+9,600*	*169,600*	*750*	*2,291*	..	..	*20,000*	*119,984*	..	*162*	..	..	..	*3,888*	*123,872*
Dibrugarh	567	457	..	..	..	44,988	235	416	..	..	....	24,144	*—331*	*—41*	..	....	....	—20,844	24,144	586	472	..	..	2,000	48,488	..	50	..	..	..	1,200	49,688
North Lakhimpur ..	189	153	..	..	..	15,012	50	321	..	..	....	10,704	*—139*	+168	..	....	....	—4,308	10,704	195	138	..	..	1,000	16,492	..	100	..	..	..	2,400	18,892
Total Lakhimpur ..	*756*	*610*	..	..	..	*60,000*	*286*	*737*	..	..	....	*34,848*	*—470*	*+197*	..	....	....	*—25,152*	*34,848*	*781*	*630*	..	..	*3,000*	*64,980*	..	*150*	..	..	..	*3,600*	*68,580*
Naga Hills	*940*	*385*	..	..	..	*65,640*	*750*	*250*	..	..	*800*	*51,800*	*—190*	*—135*	..	....	*±800*	*—13,840*	*51,800*	*600*	*250*	..	..	.....	*42,000*	*150†*	..	..	..	*800*	*9,800*	*51,800*
Total Assamese forms ..	*5,146*	*7,036*	..	..	*25,000*	*502,624*	*5,225*	*10,180*	..	..	*57,701*	*585,521*	*+79*	*+3,144*	..	....	*2,701*	*+82,897*	*585,521*	*6,311*	*7,139*	..	..	*40,000*	*529,996*	*650*	*1,675*	*103*	..	*2,200*	*76,636*	*606,632*
																KHASI.															
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	360	104	..	..	300	24,396	375	570	..	1,000	15,000	61,180	+15	+466	..	+1,000	+14,700	+36,784	61,180	476	298	..	..	3,200	38,912	..	..	..	1,000	..	10,000	48,912
																HINDI.															
Cachar	..	....	..	..	1,700	1,700	..	....	..	..	200	200	....	....	..	....	—1,500	—1,500	200	..	....	..	..	....	....	..	10	..	..	200	440	440
Naga Hills	..	....	..	..	..	....	4	....	..	..	....	240	+4	....	..	....	..	+240	240	..	....	..	..	....	....	10	..	..	..	..	600	600
Total Hindi forms ..	..	....	..	..	*1,700*	*1,700*	*4*	....	..	..	*200*	*440*	*+4*	....	..	....	*—1,500*	*—1,260*	*440*	..	....	..	..	....	....	*10*	*10*	..	..	*200*	*1,040*	*1,040*
																ENGLISH.															
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	5	42	..	..	400	1,708	20	40	..	..	440	2,600	+15	—2	..	....	+40	+892	2,600	..	....	..	..	....	....	20	15	..	..	..	1,560	1,560
																MANIPURI.															
Manipur	400	1,675	..	..	300	64,500	338	2,058	..	..	300	69,972	—62	+383	..	....	....	±5,472	69,972	..	....	..	..	....	....	338	2,056	..	120	300	71,124	71,124
Total	*9,761*	*23,754*	..	..	*37,700*	*1,193,456*	*9,863*	*30,184*	..	*1,000*	*67,445*	*1,383,641*	*+102*	*+6,430*	..	*+1,000*	*+19,745*	*+190,185*	*1,383,641*	*9,127*	*23,965*	..	..	*68,200*	*1,190,980*	*2,000*	*6,275*	*103*	*1,120*	*7,692*	*290,728*	*1,481,708*

* Supplied from the reserve at Gauhati.

† Transferred from Mangaldai.

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Printing of forms.

55. In addition to the supplies noted above, which reached the districts during November, December, and the early part of January, reserve stocks were placed at Sylhet, Goalpara, and Gauhati. It was hoped that these reserves would suffice to meet all requirements in excess of the final indents; but it soon became apparent that this was not the case, and additional supplies had to be issued up to a very late stage of the operations. The earlier demands were met by indent from the Superintendent of Printing, Bengal, who complied with them with great promptitude. I was on tour in the Surma Valley during the latter part of December and the first week in January, and enquired very carefully into the requirements of each subdivision. The forms then ordered, which arrived about the end of January, were in most cases found sufficient; where this was not the case, requirements were in nearly all cases fully met by transfer from the Sylhet reserve. There was thus very little difficulty in that valley in connection with the supply of schedules, and the number of cases in which the enumerators had to do a portion of their work on manuscript forms was quite inconsiderable.

Reserve stocks and supplementary indents.

Statement No. 12, showing the reserve stocks of schedules.

Where stored.	Books of				Loose schedules.
	60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.	
Sylhet ..	..	1,232	500	..	2,000
Goalpara ..	42	206	100	..	..
Gauhati ..	400	1,247	500	150	3,996

In the Brahmaputra Valley more trouble was experienced. In several districts, officers had reported that they had more books of schedules than they needed, and transfers were consequently made to meet supplementary requirements elsewhere. Subsequently the same officers sent in emergent indents for more forms. Further emergent indents continued to be received up to the 19th February, and it was with considerable difficulty that I was able to meet these demands. I was fortunately at Gauhati throughout February, and was thus able to supervise in person the distribution of forms from the reserve stock there. As soon as it became evident that the supply would be insufficient, I arranged to have some more schedules printed in Shillong. These were printed and despatched by the Superintendent of the Assam Secretariat Press with praiseworthy promptitude; and with their aid I was enabled to meet all demands save one, which reached me on the 19th February. This is the only instance in which forms asked for could not be supplied, and in which, therefore, I was obliged to sanction the use of manuscript.* The following statement gives details of the schedules asked for and supplied on supplementary indents.

Special difficulties in the Brahmaputra Valley.

* I had, however, in several districts to relax the rule which required the use of a separate schedule for each house.

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Printing of forms.

Statement No. 13, showing the number of Forms asked for in supplementary indents and their supply.

| Subdivision. | Number of Forms indented for. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Number of Forms supplied. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

56. But although all requirements were very nearly met, this was only done with great difficulty and at considerable cost, a good deal of which might perhaps have been avoided had the subject been better understood and more carefully attended to. **Printing of forms.**

Analysis of difficulties in framing indents.

The first difficulty experienced was that the original indent for forms had to be prepared before the circle list was ready. The estimate then framed was, therefore, a very rough one, and the consumption of forms at the previous census, on which it was generally based, was misleading. On that occasion the forms were indented for in ample time; but there was great delay in their supply, so much so, that the indent for Karimganj did not reach that subdivision until the 23rd January, or less than a month before the census. It was not, therefore, clear to what extent the difficulties experienced on that occasion were due to a short supply of forms as distinguished from the delay which took place in providing them. Then, again, the schedule of 1881 was double the size of that used at this census, so that a smaller number sufficed for the enumeration. For these reasons the preliminary indent from nearly all districts was far smaller than the actual requirements, so that, although in some cases I supplied a considerably larger number of forms than had been asked for, the deficiency, as compared with actual requirements, was still very considerable. I have already suggested that at future censuses the preparation of the census registers should be taken in hand six months earlier than was done on this occasion; and if this proposal is adopted, accurate information regarding the number of blocks and the houses contained in each, will be available in ample time to enable an approximately correct estimate to be formed by the end of the June preceding the enumeration.

Statement No. 14, showing the consumption of schedules:

Census of	Number of Schedules.						
	Total.	Bengali.	Assamese.	Khasi.	Hindi.	English.	Manipuri.
1881 ..	627,110	310,000	276,020	23,200	1,660	4,230	12,000
1891 ..	1,760,652	891,028	734,988	60,912	1,040	1,560	71,124

57. But it was not only the original rough estimates which were in fault; the final indents were also considerably below what they should have been. Several causes contributed to this. In the first place, I should mention a misapprehension of my own. The rule was that a separate page was to be taken for each house. The schedules contained spaces for the entry of eight persons on each page, and with a little crowding ten persons could be so entered. The average number of persons per house being five, it seemed to me that the extra number of forms required to provide for the enumeration of houses, the occupants of which could not all be entered on the same page, would be comparatively small; but, as a matter of fact, such cases were far more numerous than I had anticipated. Another mistake of a similar nature was that I did not make sufficient allowance for wastage owing to forms being spoilt by inaccurate entries which had to be recopied, and to forms remaining unused. The enumeration books originally supplied were of two sizes, containing 60 and 24 pages respectively. But the size of blocks varied, and many books were thus only partly filled in, the schedules remaining blank being in consequence wasted. Another cause of error was want of sufficient care on the part of district officers in estimating their requirements. The matter was tedious and uninteresting, and the examination of the circle list, with a view to estimating the number of enumeration books of each size required, was perhaps left too much to subordinates. On a future occasion, not only should the circle lists be completed earlier and the estimates based on them be sent in by the end of June at the latest, but the extreme importance of the subject should be impressed on district officers, and their personal attention to the matter solicited. Having got these estimates, they should be examined carefully in the Census Superintendent's office, and should be dealt with most liberally. The additional cost of a few extra schedules is very slight, and is of no account, compared with the importance of avoiding all danger of a short supply. It should also be remembered that forms supplied at an early date can be transmitted far more cheaply than forms despatched in a hurry at the last moment. On this occasion, had the full supply required been provided in the first instance, the total cost of freight would have been purely nominal. **Causes of error in final indents.**

58. I have not yet mentioned the supply of forms for gardens. On this occasion great difficulty was found in getting estimates of their requirements from managers. As the same trouble will probably always be experienced, I should suggest that schedules be provided for this purpose on the estimated population of each garden, an allowance of two pages being made for every five persons.* **Supply of enumeration books for tea gardens.**

* It should be made clear that deputy commissioners are to include the schedules required for tea gardens in their estimates. Several officers omitted to do so on this occasion.

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Printing of forms.

Size of enumeration books.

59. The next point for consideration is the size of the enumeration book, *i.e.*, the number of schedules which should be bound up in each book. In 1881 the books were all of the same size, and contained 20 pages each. At the present census two sizes were selected, containing 60 and 24 pages respectively,* the intention being that the book of 60 schedules should be used in the first instance for each block of sufficient size, and the smaller book taken for the smaller blocks, or when the book of 60 schedules was found insufficient. As a matter of fact, I found that the book of 24 schedules was much more widely used than that of 60 schedules.

In fixing the size, two things require to be taken into consideration: first convenience in the actual enumeration; and, secondly, the requirements of the compiling office. For the enumeration all that is needed is that each enumerator should be provided with a separate book, while in the subsequent compiling operations, within certain limits, the larger the size of the book the better. In abstraction, the books are first posted on sheets, and the results on each sheet are subsequently entered separately in the tabulation registers. The amount of work involved in tabulation varies in most registers directly with the number of sheets to be posted; and for this portion of the work, the smaller the number of sheets, *i.e.*, of books, the better. Another advantage of larger books is that the supervising and test-slip writing staff have proportionally less work to do. On the other hand, mistakes are frequently made in abstraction, and each mistake means re-abstraction of the whole book. The book should not, therefore, be too large. No inconvenience was, however, experienced on this occasion from the use of books of 60 schedules, and, so far as I can see, there would be a net gain if only one book were used for each block. I have recommended that in future the size of a block should never be allowed to exceed 45 or, at the most, 50 houses;† and if this suggestion is followed the number of pages used for a block will not often exceed 60. What, therefore, I should recommend is that books be printed of one uniform size of 50 pages, and that a separate book be issued for each block, or, where a block includes more than one village, for each village in the block.‡ To meet cases in which 50 pages are insufficient, a spare supply of schedules should be provided, tied up five together; and a number of these should be issued to each supervisor, who will make them over to such of his enumerators as require them. Enumerators who use these spare schedules should be instructed to sew them into their enumeration books, and to include the population recorded on them in the abstract provided in each enumeration book. There would be no practical difficulty in this arrangement, as on the present occasion, notwithstanding the fact that the enumerators were provided with separate books, the population in each of which they were told to show separately, they in several districts, of their own accord, sewed all their books together, and the same would doubtless have been done in all other districts had instructions been issued to this effect.§

Other forms supplied.

60. In addition to the enumeration books, the following forms were supplied:

Parwanas of appointment to supervisors and enumerators.
Demi-official letters of appointment to tea planters.
Household schedules.
Separate specimen schedules for certain exceptional tracts.
Codes for charge superintendents and supervisors.
Loose block lists.
Loose sheets of instructions to enumerators.
Instructions for the enumeration of tea gardens.
Boat tickets.
Instructions to boat enumerators.
Travellers' tickets.
Charge and circle abstract forms.

The number of each of these forms supplied to each district is shown in statement No. 15.

* Smaller sizes were subsequently printed to meet emergent indents.

† See *ante*, page 4.

‡ Or when a block contains parts of two villages the population of which it is desired to record separately, for each village in a block.

§ Whether the use of loose schedules is prescribed or not, the instructions should provide for the entry of the whole population of the block, or for each village in the block, in one abstract instead of in a separate abstract for each book, as was done on this occasion.

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Statement No. 15, showing the number of Minor Forms supplied to each Subdivision.

Subdivision.	Parwanas of Appointment.			Specimen Schedules.		Code for Charge Superintendents and Supervisors.			Loose Block Lists.					Loose Sheets of Instructions to Enumerators.				Instructions for the Enumeration of Tea Gardens.		Boat Tickets.	Instructions for the Enumeration of Boats.		Traveller's Tickets.				Charge and Circle Abstract Forms.			
	Enumerator's (in Bengali).	Supervisor's (in Bengali).	Planter's (in English).	Householder's schedules in English.	In Bengali.	In Assamese.	In English.	In Bengali.	In Assamese.	In English.	In Bengali.	In Assamese.	In Khasi.	In Manipuri.	In Bengali.	In Assamese.	In Khasi.	In Manipuri.	In English.	In Assamese.	In Bengali.	In Bengali.	In Assamese.	In Bengali.	In Assamese.	In Khasi.	In Manipuri.	In Bengali.	In Assamese.	In Khasi.	In Manipuri.
Silchar and Gunjong	1,100	180	185	500	...	50*	25	100	...	...	1,750	...	...	...	800	...	...	...	185	...	600	150	...	600	...	...	...	350	...	...	...
Hailakandi..	300	30									683	...	...	...	300	...	...	...						100	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
Total	*1,400*	*210*	*185*	*600*	...	*50*	*25*	*100*	...	...	*2,433*	...	...	...	*1,100*	...	...	...	*185*	...	*600*	*150*	...	*700*	...	...	...	*450*	...	...	...
North Sylhet	3,040	304	35	65	...	...	50	240	...	...	4,783	...	...	...	2,000	...	...	...	50	...	2,300	100	...	300	...	...	...	300	...	...	...
Sylhet Municipality	80	10	...		...	...		...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....	4	...	50	...	...	...	20	...	...	...
Sunamganj	2,160	216	...	10	...	...		130	...	...	2,690	...	...	...	1,800	...	...	...	...	...	2,000	150	...	50	...	...	...	200	...	...	...
Habiganj	2,800	280	10	25	...	...		200	...	...	3,588	...	...	...	2,000	...	...	...	10	...	2,500	150	...	100	...	...	...	300	...	...	...
South Sylhet	2,000	200	60	90	...	...		150	...	...	2,512	...	...	...	1,200	...	...	...	100	...	1,600	150	...	100	...	...	...	200	...	...	...
Karimganj	2,000	200	40	60	...	...		160	...	...	2,512	...	...	...	1,200	...	...	...	60	...	1,600	80	...	200	...	...	...	200	...	...	...
Total	*12,080*	*1,210*	*145*	*250*	...	...	*50*	*880*	...	...	*16,185*	...	...	...	*8,200*	...	...	...	*220*	...	*10,000*	*634*	...	*800*	...	...	...	*1,220*	...	...	...
Garo Hills	300	50	...	20	250	...	6	30	...	...	1,058	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	100	10	...	5,000	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
Dhubri	1,225	193	10	40	...	...	24	120	...	...	1,710	...	...	...	500	...	...	...	5	...	1,000	75	...	500	...	...	...	200	...	...	...
Goalpara	600	60	10	20	...	...		60	...	...	1,140	...	...	...	300	...	...	...	5	...	1,000		...	200	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
Total	*1,825*	*253*	*20*	*60*	...	...	*24*	*180*	...	...	*2,850*	...	...	...	*800*	...	...	...	*10*	...	*2,000*	*75*	...	*700*	...	...	...	*300*	...	...	...
Gauhati	1,500	120	90	190	...	...	14	...	60	...	...	3,282	...	...	...	1,200	...	...	90	90	900	...	200	...	300	...	...	...	200	...	...
Barpeta	1,000	80		10	...	...		...	30	...	...	1,591	...	...	...	800	...	...	...	...	300			...	50	...	...	...	75	...	...
Total	*2,500*	*200*	*90*	*200*	...	...	*14*	...	*90*	...	...	*4,873*	...	...	...	*2,000*	...	...	*90*	*90*	*1,200*	...	*200*	...	*350*	...	...	...	*275*	...	...
Tezpur	375	45	50	300	...	...	24	...	40	...	...	534	...	...	...	400	...	...	50	50	300	...	40	...	100	...	...	...	100	...	...
Mangaldai	625	50	40	200	...	...		...	40	...	...	876	...	...	...	600	...	...	40	40	300	...	25	...	50	...	...	...	100	...	...
Total	*1,000*	*95*	*90*	*500*	...	...	*24*	...	*80*	...	...	*1,410*	...	...	...	*1,000*	...	...	*90*	*90*	*600*	...	*65*	...	*150*	...	...	...	*200*	...	...
Nowgong	1,500	150	75	200	...	...	20	...	54	...	...	1,912	...	...	...	1,500	...	...	75	75	800	...	60	...	200	...	...	...	250	...	...
Sibsagar	1,200	120	250	300	...	...	37	...	60	...	...	1,352	...	...	...	1,700	...	...	250	300	900	...	150	...	200	...	...	...	200	...	...
Jorhat	550	48		250	...	...			70	...	...	968	...	...	...	900	...	...			300	...		...	200	...	...	...	150	...	...
Golaghat	320	32	150	150	...	...			30	...	...	721	...	...	...	400	...	...			300	...		...	100	...	...	...	150	...	...
Total	*2,070*	*200*	*400*	*700*	...	...	*37*	...	*160*	...	...	*3,041*	...	...	...	*3,000*	...	...	*250*	*300*	*1,500*	...	*150*	...	*600*	...	...	...	*600*	...	...
Dibrugarh	750	60	150	600	...	...	25	...	60	...	...	1,058	...	...	...	600	...	...	150	150	1,000	...	40	...	300	...	...	...	300	...	...
North Lakhimpur	250	20	50	100	...	...		...	20	...	...	353	...	...	...	200	...	...	50	50	200	...	30	...	50	...	...	...	100	...	...
Total	*1,000*	*80*	*200*	*700*	...	...	*25*	...	*80*	...	...	*1,411*	...	...	...	*800*	...	...	*200*	*200*	*1,200*	...	*70*	...	*350*	...	...	...	*400*	...	...
Naga Hills	70	5	...	25	...	110	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	500	...	...	...	100	...	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	300	50	30	270	...	...	38	...	...	20	200	...	1,200	...	...	...	350	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	10,400	...	...	...	200	...
Manipur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	340	...	...	...	198	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	400	...	...	...	300
Total	*24,045*	*2,503*	*1,235*	*3,425*	*250*	*160*	*271*	*1,195*	*499*	*20*	*22,726*	*12,647*	*1,200*	*340*	*10,200*	*8,400*	*350*	*198*	*1,120*	*755*	*18,000*	*869*	*545*	*7,200*	*2,050*	*10,400*	*400*	*2,070*	*1,725*	*200*	*300*

* For North Cachar.

NOTE—The whole supply of loose schedules has been shown in statements 11 and 13, as they were used both for purposes of instruction and enumeration and no separate account of number devoted to each purpose has been kept.

Printing of forms.

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Printing of forms.

I have very little to note regarding these forms, except that the definition of 'house' should be given in the loose block lists and in the instructions for the enumeration of tea gardens, and that the code for charge superintendents and supervisors should be issued at an earlier date, and a more liberal supply of the same distributed to each district. I have suggested elsewhere * that a larger number of loose schedules for instruction purposes should in future be furnished.

In accordance with the opinion of the Census Commissioner, the issue of household schedules was confined to the limits of 1881, and I see no reason for a more extended resort to these schedules in future. Their use gives additional trouble to the enumerators; they are, besides, written in English, and are often less correctly filled in than they would be if the work were done by the enumerators themselves. They are also a source of trouble in the compiling office, which should be avoided as far as possible.

61. I cannot conclude this chapter without acknowledging the obligation under which Mr. Lewis, Superintendent of Government Printing in Bengal, and Mr. Petty, at that time Superintendent of the Assam Secretariat Press, more especially the former, have placed me by the prompt way in which they answered every call I made on them, and supplied me with forms asked for at the shortest notice with as little delay as possible. But for their ready help, the difficulty in meeting the emergent indents for more schedules, to which I have already referred, would have been altogether insurmountable.

* *Ante*, page 13.

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CHAPTER III.—COMPILATION OF THE RESULTS.

Compilation of the results

Preparatory arrangements.

62. The first steps necessary in regard to the compilation of the results were to decide on the distribution and location of the work, to arrange for the preparation, translation, and supply of forms, and for the establishment which was to be employed.

A central office decided on.

63. As regards the way in which the compilation was to be carried out, three courses presented themselves. The first was to perform all the operations in a central office under the direct personal control of the Census Superintendent, the second to distribute it over two or three central offices under his control, and the third to leave the abstraction and tabulation* in each district to be conducted by the regular district staff under his general supervision, the final operations, or compilation, alone being carried out in the Census Superintendent's office. It was at first proposed to open two central offices, one at Sylhet and the other at Gauhati; but this plan was abandoned, owing to the time which would be required to travel from one centre to the other. A second plan suggested was to have a head office at Gauhati and open a second subsidiary office at Dhubri, but eventually it was decided to carry out the whole of the work at Gauhati. This conclusion was arrived at in consideration of the advantages to be derived from the concentration of all the work in one office and the greater amount of personal supervision which could thus be devoted to it by the Superintendent himself. These advantages were doubtless very great, but they were accompanied by several drawbacks. The great difficulty in connection with the operations was the want of a sufficient staff of properly educated men. This was alleviated to some extent by the deputation to the census office of some two hundred mandals, but the insufficiency of the staff nevertheless continued to be a great obstacle in the way of a prompt conclusion of the work. The office was always undermanned, and such local agency as was obtainable was of a very inferior stamp.

District offices recommended for future censuses.

64. The arrangement I should strongly recommend for future censuses is that of independent abstraction and tabulation in each district for the Brahmaputra Valley, and of a central office at Sylhet for the abstraction of the Surma Valley schedules.

The districts of the Assam Valley are all small and manageable, so that the labour cast on individual officers would not be very great; while, with the large establishments of mandals which exist everywhere, the work could be very easily and rapidly brought to a conclusion. The whole of abstraction and tabulation could in fact be completed within two to three months of the date on which the census is taken.

For the Surma Valley there would be more difficulty; and I should therefore be disposed to have the schedules of Sylhet and Cachar worked out at a central office, which should, I think, be made the headquarters of the Provincial Superintendent, a selected member of the subordinate executive service being appointed to assist him as Deputy Superintendent. Particular care should be devoted to the selection of a strong superior staff for this office, so that the commencement of the work may be efficiently guided and supervised, and a number of men trained to perform the more difficult task of compilation, which could be taken up as soon as the tabulation registers from the Brahmaputra Valley districts begin to come in. If this course is pursued, it seems probable that the compilation of all, except one or two tables, could be completed for the Brahmaputra Valley while the tabulation of the abstraction sheets of Sylhet and Cachar is going on, and the whole of the work might thus be concluded at a much earlier date than was found possible on the present occasion. District tabulation has been tried with marked success in other provinces; and it seems to me that it might well be given a trial in Assam, where the sparse population is an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of collecting a sufficient and suitably qualified agency at any one place.

Arrangements for office accommodation.

65. Having decided on the location of the office at Gauhati, the next thing was to secure accommodation. The cantonment buildings were very kindly placed at my disposal by the military authorities. One of these served as a record room, and the others went some way towards providing room for the abstractors, &c. But as they were not in themselves sufficient, sheds had to be erected; and this was done during January and

* Definitions of these and other technical terms will be found at pages xxxix and xl of Appendix B.

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Compilation of the results

February, during which time also huts were built for the mandals deputed to work in the office. It was also necessary to arrange for office furniture. A number of planks were lent to me by the Deputy Conservator of Forests, Mr. Copeland; and these were supported on bamboo trestles, and made to serve as desks, the abstractors being seated on bamboo benches. For a certain number, more comfortable seats, &c., were secured by the loan of tables and benches from the high school and from the supply in the charge of the Director of Land Records; but these did not go very far, and the greater number had to be content with the more primitive arrangements already described. The record-racks were made of bamboo, and the expenditure on all kinds of furniture was kept as low as possible.*

Abstraction and other forms.

66. At the same time the forms to be used were drafted† and translated, and indents sent to Calcutta. The first instalments came to hand just in time, but I found subsequently that I had considerably underestimated my requirements, and further supplies had to be ordered later on. On a future occasion at least 50 per cent. more forms than enumeration books should be indented for, and their supply should be obtained at an earlier date. It is true that the forms were received in time on the present occasion, but they did not arrive a day before they were wanted; and the possibility of any hitch in this respect should in future be avoided by an earlier indent.

Establishment for the census office.

67. I now come to the collection of the necessary establishment. Hundreds of men were required, and the local supply was very limited. As a nucleus, 200 mandals were deputed from the different districts; for the remainder I had to content myself with whatever was available locally. I soon found that men of the standard of office clerks were not to be obtained in anything approaching the requisite number, and I had, therefore, to fall back on the class from which our mandals are recruited. Of these, large numbers were available; but they were slow and untrustworthy, and required far more training and supervision than a better class of men would have needed.‡ And this brings me to the question of superior establishment. In this matter I was greatly handicapped. At the outset I had hoped to carry on the work with a much smaller superior staff than was actually required; and when I discovered my mistake, I found much difficulty in adding to the small staff I had previously got together. On a future occasion particular attention should be devoted to this matter, and all departments should be pressed to lend the services of as many of their permanent employés as they can possibly spare. The abstractors should work in small gangs of from 20 to 30 at the outside, and a permanent clerk should be placed in charge of each gang to see that they work diligently and to check the sheets abstracted by them. Better men are also required for the testing department, in which, on this occasion, I had largely to employ mandals and others of the same stamp.

Abstraction.

68. The census was taken on the 26th February, and three days later the abstraction office was opened, work being commenced on the Gauhati town books. 42 Muharrirs were employed on the 1st March; by the 10th March the number had risen to 323, and by the 20th to 483. On the 1st April 503 men were employed. The average number at work monthly in the abstracting rooms is shown in statement No. 16 in the margin. The progress was slow at first, as the men had to learn their work. There was also a good deal of delay at the beginning, on account of the want of method on the part of supervisors and in the record room.§

Statement No. 16, showing the average number of men employed in the Abstracting Rooms monthly.

Month.	Superior staff.	Totallers, sorters, checkers, &c.	Abstractors, re-abstractors, and test-slip writers.	Total.
March 1891 ..	13	35	296	344
April „ ..	17	41	361	419
May „ ..	19	51	338	408
June „ ..	18	35	231	284
July „ ..	12	13	108	133
August „ ..	12	14	120	146

Note.—This is exclusive of the men engaged in the record room and in index-writing and other miscellaneous work. It is also exclusive of absentees.
The figures for July and August refer almost entirely to test-slip writing and reabstraction.

As the work became more familiar and mechanical, the daily outturn increased. The average outturn per head during each month and the total monthly outturn is shown in statement No. 17 on the next page:

* The exact cost is noted on page 47.

† *i.e.*, the subsidiary forms. The actual abstraction and tabulation forms were those prescribed by the Census Commissioner.

‡ Of course, I got them on the pay usually given to mandals; but they were in the long run dear even at that, although I took care, so far as possible, to appoint only such men as had passed the survey, the middle vernacular, or other similar examinations.

§ It is unnecessary to describe here the methods which were adopted to expedite the issue and collection of books and sheets; the information would be of use only to the officer who will superintend the operations of the next census, and for him it will be available in manuscript.

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Statement No. 17, showing the Daily Average Work per head and the total Outturn during each month.

Month.	Average outturn per head.								
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	XI.	XI.(a).
March 1891	1,021	1,294	1,341	1,242	2,027	2,098	65	1,365	22
April „	1,141	1,433	1,512	1,499	2,526	2,310	243	1,459	24
May „	1,279	1,786	1,424	1,610	2,620	2,565	306	1,555	29
June „	1,415	1,887	1,478	1,798	3,659	3,266	228	1,614	38
July „	....	....	....	....	....	....	228	....	32
	Total monthly outturn.								
March 1891	1,499,786	1,261,695	1,517,882	1,409,851	1,084,589	1,329,046	5,699	1,250,987	4,095
April „	1,492,093	1,676,635	1,504,616	1,577,640	2,065,094	1,919,573	15,278	1,493,445	7,625
May „	1,469,171	1,855,303	1,180,917	1,479,970	2,202,842	2,121,515	4,066	1,658,518	11,882
June „	974,193	641,610	1,231,828	967,782	82,718	185,109	11,850	1,033,293	12,948
July „	....	....	....	....	....	....	6,165	....	5,608
Total	5,435,243	5,435,243	5,435,243	5,435,243	5,435,243	5,435,243	43,058	5,435,243	43,058

Note.—The figures denote the number of persons for whom the necessary information was abstracted except in the case of sheets VII and XI (*a*) where they refer to books. Special sheets for Christians and the British born, &c., are not shown in this statement.

The abstraction of sheets I, II, III, IV, V, VI, and XI was finished before the end of June; VII and XI (*a*) were finished in July; and the special sheets for Christians, the ages of 50,000 persons by annual periods, &c., were completed in the course of the same month.

Tabulation.

69. As soon as abstraction had made sufficient progress, a start was made with tabulation, which was commenced with a small staff on the 1st of June. It was impossible to do much until abstraction had been concluded, owing to the want of sufficient men; and the work done during the first month was, therefore, very small in quantity, and was undertaken more with a view to gaining a practical experience of this branch of the operations than for any other reason. The average number of persons employed monthly on this work is shown in statement No. 18. Tabulation was concluded by the end of November, the earlier registers having been finished two months earlier, as with them the task grew easier at each succeeding stage. In regard to the caste and occupation registers, however, the entries became more numerous as the work progressed, and tabulation was thus a more time-taking and tedious process than abstraction. The total number of sheets tabulated monthly in each register is shown in the following statement:

Statement No. 18, showing the Strength of the Staff employed monthly on Tabulation.

Month.	Supervising staff.	Checkers, totallers, sorters, comparers, &c.	Tabulators and test-slip writers.	Total.
May 1891 ..	....	....	2	2
June „ ..	7	23	12	42
July „ ..	12	27	68	107
August „ ..	11	41	84	136
September „ ..	19	82	169	270
October „ ..	19	74	152	245
November „ ..	15	58	69	142

Statement No. 19, showing the total monthly Outturn on Tabulation.

Month.	Register No.									
	IV.	V.	VI(*a*).	VI(*b*).	VI(*c*).	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.
May 1891	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	17,044	17,044
June „	896	896	896	896	896	896	896	896	....	....
July „	5,397	5,397	5,197	5,397	5,397	5,314	5,941	6,932	1,504	1,504
August „	13,745	11,994	14,890	14,021	12,951	19,074	12,491	10,899	24,510	24,510
September „	23,020	24,771	21,875	22,744	23,814	17,774	23,730	24,331	....	....
October „	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
November „	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058

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Statement No. 19, showing the total monthly outturn on Tabulation—continued.

Month.	Register No.—*continued.*									
	XII.	XIII.	X(*a*).	XI(*a*.)	XII(*a*).	XIII(*a*).	XIV.	XV.	XVI.	XVII.	XVIII.
May 1891	17,044	17,044	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....
June „	....	....	....	....	....	....	896	896	....	....	.....
July „	1,504	1,504	....	....	....	....	7,953	6,868	....	....	3,737
August „	24,510	24,510	11,840	11,462	10,927	10,927	4,627	2,495	1,504	1,504	7,406
September „	....	....	31,218	31,596	32,131	32,131	7,480	3,008	....	....	19,078
October „	....	....	....	....	....	....	19,502	7,963	....	....	12,837
November „	....	....	....	....	...	....	2,600	21,828	....	....	.....
Total	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	43,058	1,504	1,504	43,058

Compilation.

70. Tabulation was followed by compilation or district totalling. Here, again, there was very little difficulty in regard to the earlier tables. These were completed and printed off by about the end of December, and the staff was then concentrated on the completion of the various tables in which castes and occupations were dealt with. During the earlier stages no classification had been allowed, and each caste and sub-caste and every occupation found in the schedules had been given a separate place in the tabulation registers, the bulk of which was consequently enormous. It was impossible to carry these numerous entries into the district totals; and at this stage, therefore, the process of classification commenced. All synonymous occupations expressed in different terms were collected under one head, and meaningless and unimportant caste subdivisions were weeded out. After this, the registers were totalled by circles, and the process of elimination was then carried a step further. Occupations belonging to the same head in the classification scheme were added together, so that the charge totals only showed those occupations which were to appear in the final tables. In the same way only those sub-castes were retained which it was proposed to show separately in the tables, and castes returned under various synonyms* were collected under one head. The difficulty of preparing district totals was thus considerably reduced, but it was still very great, and it was not until March that these tables were eventually completed. Their compilation formed by far the most difficult task in the work of the compiling office, and the want of a better educated agency was more severely felt at this stage than at any other, except possibly during the first few weeks of abstraction.

Special observations.

71. I have given above a general outline of the compiling operations, and will now proceed to notice the more important points in connection with the different stages of the work. The minor details and rules will not be mentioned, as they are not of any general interest.†

Each final table, or set of tables combining the same details, was obtained by means of a separate abstraction sheet. The sheets used were—

Sheet I, combining sex, age, religion, and civil condition.
„ II, „ sex, age, religion, and education.
„ III, „ sex, age, and occupation,
„ IV, „ sex, religion, caste, and education.
„ V, „ sex and parent tongue.
„ VI, „ sex and birth place.
„ VII, for recording infirmities by sex, age, caste, and religion.
„ XI, „ „ marriage by sex, age, and caste.

There were, besides, several minor sheets for abstracting Christians by sect, &c., and a totalling form XI(*a*) subsidiary to sheet XI. A separate sheet was used for each enumeration book.‡

Method of abstraction.

72. There are two ways of recording the information in these sheets. Either the whole may be worked up for the same book at once by a gang of men, one of whom reads out the entries while the others write from his dictation, or else the entries for each working sheet may be picked out separately by men working independently in different rooms without the possibility of communicating their totals to one another. The former plan was

* *e.g.*, Chandál, Chang, Charál, Nishád, and Namasudra; Ganak, Daibajna, Achárjya Lagnáchárjya, Grahácharjya, and Suryabipra; Nápit and Chandrabaidya; Dhobá and Suklábaidya, &c.

† The office rules, as drawn up originally, will be found in Appendix E. These were subsequently modified in some respects and largely added to in others; but, the subject being purely technical, these subsequent notes and orders have not been printed. They will, however, remain on record in manuscript for the information of the Superintendent of the next Assam Census.

‡ I had originally intended to abstract by blocks, but the inconvenience of dealing with several books in one sheet was so great that I had to abandon the attempt. I have recommended elsewhere (*ante*, page 32) that all the schedules for a block, or for each village in a block should be bound up together in future; and, if this be done, the number of sheets used will be reduced considerably, and tabulation will be proportionally facilitated, as at that stage the sheet is the unit for which separate entries are made, and the fewer sheets there are, the fewer entries will there be.

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adopted in almost all provinces in 1881. It has the merit of being more expeditious and of requiring a smaller supervising staff; but it encourages fudging, and is thus less likely to produce accurate results than the silent system. The latter was accordingly prescribed on the present occasion, and should, I think, invariably be adhered to in future. **Compilation of the results**

Testing.

73. To ensure uniformity between the different sheets, a form of test slip* was provided, in which the sex totals of all the sheets were entered, together with such other details as afforded opportunity for comparison with other sheets, namely, the age periods in sheets I, II, III, and XI, the totals by religion in I, II, IV, and XI, the details for civil condition in I and XI, and for education in II and IV. Where discrepancies were found, reabstraction was ordered.†

The percentage of reabstraction carried out on each sheet is shown in statement No. 20 in the margin. On the whole, about 15 per cent. of the original sheets which were reabstracted were found to contain mistakes. This can scarcely be considered a high percentage when it is remembered that many of the sheets were selected for reabstraction on account of discrepancies brought to light by the test slips.

Statement No. 20 showing the percentage of reabstraction carried out in each sheet.

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Sheet I	26·08	Sheet V ..	12·92
„ II	19·73	„ VI ..	18·02
„ III	15·23	„ VII ..	28·23
„ IV	20·2	„ XI ..	15·4
XI(a)		..	55·99.

Special checkers.

74. I should here notice a difficulty against which I had failed to provide. I had not fully grasped the vast amount of work involved in the filling in and comparison of these test slips, and had provided a very inadequate staff for the purpose. The men I had employed almost immediately fell into arrears; and, although the testing department was at once greatly strengthened, it never properly caught up the abstractors. The delay in checking was quickly noticed by the latter; and, knowing that detection and consequent punishment would not immediately follow, they took to fudging on a large scale. For the first few weeks the work they did was extremely accurate, as they had been warned of the serious consequences of carelessness or fudging; but as soon as they found that these serious consequences did not immediately ensue, the quality of their work fell off, and the abstraction done during the first fifteen days of April was so inaccurate that nearly all of it had to be done over again. As soon as this was discovered, additional measures were taken to prevent fudging. The worst offenders were dismissed, the supervising staff of each room was strengthened, and special checkers were appointed.‡ It was the duty of the latter to partially abstract§ a large percentage of books into check registers. The details picked out by them were compared with the abstraction sheets the very day they were abstracted, and errors thus detected were punished by an immediate fine. In this way all systematic fudging was immediately put a stop to, and the character of the work improved immediately, so much so that from that time on not a single case of wilful fudging was discovered, and even small accidental mistakes became comparatively rare. I cannot lay too much stress on the value of this method of ensuring accuracy. The test slips furnished a valuable means of removing all errors before the next process of the work (tabulation) was taken up, but the checkers were at least equally useful in reducing the number of errors that were made. The number of sheets checked in the abstraction rooms in the manner I have just described is shown in statement No. 21 below:

Statement No. 21, showing the Checking done in the Abstraction Rooms and Errors found.

Agency.	Sheet No.											
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	XI.	XI(a).	XII.
By the Supervising Staff.												
Number of sheets checked	2,456	1,831	2,214	2,049	1,794	2,288	114	386	61	2,640	2,329	....
Ditto errors found	483	330	336	321	187	223	....	3	....	588	445	....
By Special Checkers.												
Number of sheets checked	5,288	3,807	3,063	3,884	2,540	2,756	....	579	497	3,912	2,116	271
Ditto errors found	783	356	742	381	190	267	....	3	....	513	292	8

* Reproduced in Appendix E.

† In the case of very small differences of a minor nature (*e.g.*, in the age detail), the necessary adjustment was sometimes made direct from an inspection of the test slip, but this was done very sparingly, and only where the uniformity of the figures in the majority of sheets showed what the correct number should be.

‡ On the 15th April.

§ That is to say, a few details were noted for each book examined. The forms of these check registers are given in Appendix E.

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Compilation of the results

Recommendations for the future.

75. To facilitate close supervision in future, I should recommend a large reduction in the number of abstractors employed under one supervisor. On the present occasion the number was sometimes as high as 70 or 80; in future, I think it should never exceed 20 or 30 at the very outside. I should be disposed to simplify considerably the form of test slip, and to have the figures for each sheet entered in it by the supervisor of the room in which the sheet is abstracted, the very day that the abstraction is done. Arrangements should be made, as far as possible, to secure the complete abstraction of a circle in all sheets within the shortest possible time, and to provide for the inspection of the test slips as soon as all sheets have been entered in it, so as to enable mistakes to be detected and brought home to the offender at the earliest possible date. The additional safeguard against wilfully careless work provided by the establishment of special checkers working in the abstraction rooms should also be maintained; and the supervisor should further be supplied with the enumerators' abstracts prepared in the districts, so that he may compare them with the results obtained in the compiling office, and ascertain the cause of any differences which may be found.

Checking of tabulation registers.

76. In tabulation the supervision was still closer than in abstraction. The unit of work was the circle, all the sheets in a circle being made over to one tabulator, who worked at them until he had posted the whole into his register. As soon as this had been done, the register was made over to a totaller, who checked the additions and prepared circle totals, after which it was examined by a special checker, who again tested the totals, and also compared a certain percentage of the entries with those shown in the abstraction sheets. When this had been done, the registers were arranged by sorters and tied up by charges or thanas in covers, on which the necessary details regarding the contents were duly noted. When the different registers for the same circle had been completed, their totals were compared; and, if discrepancies were found, the entries in fault were traced and corrected: when they were found to agree, they were posted in the tabulation test slips for detailed comparison. For the earlier districts tabulated, this comparison was carried out by circles; but as very few mistakes were discovered and the process was somewhat laborious, it was subsequently arranged to enter charge totals only in the test slips, and by this means the rate of progress was considerably accelerated. Owing mainly to the very detailed system of check, the number of mistakes discovered was very small.

Special difficulties—mistakes of the enumerators.

77. I will now mention briefly some of the special difficulties which were experienced owing to mistaken entries by the enumerators, or to the misreading of these entries by the abstractors. The schedule was in some respects very elaborate, and the enumerators were often puzzled to find an answer to all the questions which were asked. Thus, column 4 provided for the entry of the caste, and column 5 for the subdivision of the caste. Where there was a true subdivision, it was usually recorded; but where there was not, all sorts of wrong entries were made. Thus, we found Rarhi entered as a sub-caste of Dom; and often still more absurd returns were discovered,—as, for instance, Pathan as a subdivision of Sekh, Kolita as a subdivision of Koch, &c. In some of these cases the additional column, though apparently giving contradictory results, was really of use in enabling an accurate return to be obtained.* In Chapter I, I have noticed how all the subordinate castes tried to elevate themselves by claiming a higher position, and the discrepancies sometimes seemed to indicate a desire on the part of the enumerators to compromise between what they knew to be the facts and what the enumerated asked them to write. It was thus assumed that a Kolita Koch was really a Koch, and a Pathan Sekh a Sekh, *i.e.*, that the inferior caste was the real one. Where the entry was not in itself obviously wrong, there was more difficulty, as enquiries had to be made from district officers, and these took time. Pending their receipt it was frequently impossible to take any action in the way of removing or classifying these caste subdivisions, and they thus went to swell the bulk of the ledgers in some cases up to the very end of the work.

It would be impossible to lay down any rules for the guidance of enumerators regarding the caste subdivisions which should be entered, as to do so would surely result in the description of nearly every person enumerated under one or other of the subdivisions mentioned. But I think at a future census the classification might be carried out at an earlier stage of the compiling operations than was done on this occasion. A complete list of all castes and caste subdivisions returned has been compiled; and from this it should be possible to decide, before tabulation commences, what entries are

* It was also of great use in enabling us to classify under their true caste most of the persons shown as Sudras in column 4.

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to be retained and how they are to be classified. When this has been decided on, lists should be prepared accordingly, and the abstraction sheets should be examined with reference to these lists, and the necessary classification and elimination carried out by a gang of classifiers specially trained for this work. If this be done, the labour of tabulation and the subsequent operations will be much reduced. Compilation of the results.

I have mentioned this difficulty first, because it was the most serious one of all. There were, however, many similar ones. Sometimes, for instance, the caste was shown in column 2, instead of the religion. To facilitate classification of these entries under their proper heads, two lists were prepared,—one showing castes which are undoubtedly Hindu, and the other containing Animistic tribes, either wholly unconverted or in process of conversion. As converts from these tribes always describe themselves as Hindus as soon as they become such, it was assumed that when they did not do so, they were still Animistic by religion. The members of recognised Hindu castes were, of course, in all such cases entered as Hindus.

In columns 9 and 10 the entries were often insufficient or incorrect, and in these cases they had to be supplemented. Whenever possible, this was done by a reference to the district officers concerned, but it was impossible to do so in the great majority of cases; and I had, therefore, to ascertain the correct entry as nearly as possible by examining the other columns of the schedules.* Thus, if the entry of the birth place of an Oraon or a Munda speaking his tribal dialect was illegible or indefinite, it was assumed that he came from Chota Nagpur; when the birth place of a person belonging to an Assamese caste and speaking the Assamese language was otherwise unidentifiable, it was assumed that he was born in the district of enumeration.

In the same way, the source of livelihood of a person was occasionally, although very rarely, omitted; and when this happened, it was taken as being the traditional occupation of the caste to which the person belonged, or of the head of the family in which he was residing at the time of the census.

In the infirmity column, persons were found entered as deaf only, as blind of one eye, &c. In such cases it was assumed that the infirmity did not belong to the category for which information was required, and it was accordingly omitted from tabulation. As will be shown in Chapter VI, this course has resulted in the omission of some who were really blind; but this could not be helped. Full instructions had been issued regarding the way in which persons afflicted with the infirmities which it was desired to record should be entered, and when they were not so entered, the only possible course was to assume that they were not so afflicted.† As no amount of care and instruction seems likely to ensure a proper description of these infirmities by the enumerators, I should suggest that in future the abstraction of this information be pushed through at a very early date, and that detailed notes be kept of each infirmity incorrectly returned (such as deaf, *kana*, &c.), and that lists of these cases be sent to district officers for enquiry by the end of April at the latest. The results of their enquiries should be reported by July or August, and each case should then be included in the return or left out of account, according as it is found to be a true case of blindness or deaf-mutism or the reverse. At the same time it might be possible to ascertain the proportions of lunatics and idiots respectively amongst the persons shown as of unsound mind, by selecting a certain percentage of the cases reported in each district, for local enquiry by the Civil Surgeon or other qualified officer.

Misreadings in the compiling office.

78. The second kind of difficulty in connection with the entries was due to misreadings in my office. Assam is peculiar in the excessive proportion which its immigrants bear to the total population of the province; and as these immigrants are recruited from many different parts of India, the number of foreign castes is very great, and the names of many of them are very similar,‡ while they are all equally foreign to the ears of the abstractors. We had thus much difficulty in securing their correct entry in the various sheets and registers; and, notwithstanding all the care that was taken, misreadings were numerous, so much so that hundreds, I might say thousands, of entries in the registers were found to be quite meaningless, and had to be rectified by a second reference to the enumeration books. The entries relating to birth place and parent tongue were less numerous; but so far as they went, they gave almost as much trouble as the castes. In regard to the details of occupation, the main difficulty was in connection with the Sylhet return. The character and idiom of Assamese differ in various ways from Bengali; and as most of my abstractors were Assamese, they often misunderstood the entries made by

* Occasionally, when the entry was that of a district, village, or thana, the birth district was discovered by an examination of the Postal Guide.

† The only alternative was to include all, and this would have resulted in a far greater error in the opposite direction.

‡ *e.g.*, Koiri, Korá, Korwá, Kharwár, and Kharia, all of which are foreign castes, which appeared in our schedules. So also Agariá, Agharia, Aghor, Aghori, and Aguri.

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Compilation of the results.

the Bengali enumerators of Sylhet. These mistakes were, however, less numerous than those in the caste column, and were thus more easily rectified.

It would save a great deal of work in future if the abstraction sheets be examined as soon as they are completed, and all doubtful entries verified at once by reference to the schedules. Misreadings which are allowed to remain involve additional entries in the circle totals, &c., and become more and more difficult to trace as the work progresses.

Payment by results.

79. One more point, and I have done. The original plan was to pay the abstractors and tabulators strictly by results, *i.e.*, to total their monthly work and monthly mistakes, and pay each man exactly the proportion of the pay on which he was engaged, which the ratio of his outturn and mistakes bore to the average outturn and mistakes of all the muharrirs working on the same sheet or register. In practice, it was found that this scheme was too elaborate to be applied to several hundred men, and it was therefore slightly modified. Registers of outturn and mistakes were kept up as originally proposed; but instead of making elaborate calculations of the pay due to each, fines and rewards were imposed on inspection of the registers; the men who did most work and made fewest mistakes being rewarded, and those at the other end of the list fined to the same extent. The muharrirs, who were remarkable neither for special excellence nor the reverse, received their grade pay for the number of days they worked.*

* The men, being temporary hands, were only paid for the days on which they actually worked, and drew no pay for days when they were absent.

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CHAPTER IV.—THE COST OF THE CENSUS.

Cost of the Census.

80. The expenditure on account of the census naturally falls under three main heads: (1) the cost incurred in taking the census, (2) the amount spent on compiling and publishing the results, and (3) the charges on account of superintendence, that is to say, the pay of the Census Superintendent and his personal office establishment.

General remarks.

81. The first of these heads may be further subdivided into the cost of printing and despatching the schedules and other necessary forms, and that incurred on the actual census operations in the districts.

Enumeration, printing, &c.

The cost of printing is an unavoidable charge, which requires no explanation. The great majority of forms were printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, Bengal; and the census was debited with the amount fixed by him as the cost of the paper and of the printing.

The only item on which any economy could be effected was that of freight; and regarding this I have already stated that the cost was kept as low as possible by distributing the great bulk of the forms during the rains in the Government steamer *Koladyne*. Had the indents originally submitted been sufficient, the total charges on account of freight would have been very trifling; it was on the carriage of subsequent supplementary indents that the greater part of the expenditure shown under this head was incurred. The total expenditure per head of the population on account of paper and printing amounted to only one-sixteenth of a pie.*

Statement No. 22, showing the expenditure on paper and printing.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Cost of paper..	2,597	10	2
Printing and binding	1,104	4	4
Despatching from press and freight	760	7	3
Total	4,462	5	9

82. The expenditure in the districts was a more uncertain charge, regarding which a good deal of care had to be exercised. When additional work has to be done, the usual idea is that some one must be paid for doing it, and there was some difficulty in making it clearly understood that the census was, wherever possible, to be carried out by the ordinary district staff assisted by a purely volunteer agency. The number of items on which expenditure might possibly be incurred, unless rigid economy was practised, was so large that it was thought advisable to limit it by allotting a fixed grant to each district. It was explained that the allotment of a grant did not justify an equivalent expenditure, if such an expenditure was not absolutely necessary; but that it was to be treated as a maximum beyond which expenditure would, in no case, be permitted, and within which all necessary charges might be incurred under certain rules of audit and account.† Deputy commissioners were

District expenditure.

* Calculated on the total population, excluding the Khásis and Syntengs, the schedules for whom were printed locally.

† *Cf.* letter No. 3712G., dated the 30th January 1893, from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to my address.

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Cost of the Census.

asked to submit estimates showing the heads under which expenditure was anticipated and the charges which it was proposed to incur on each. These estimates were very carefully examined with reference to the proposals of other district officers and the actual expenditure in 1881. Exceptional items were struck out, and estimates were reduced where they appeared to be unnecessarily heavy. After this had been done, the allotment for each district was fixed.

The amounts budgetted for and allotted to each district and the actual expenditure in 1881 are shown in the marginal statement No. 23. It will be seen from the last column of this statement that the actual charges were in all cases kept well within the limits allowed by the budget grants. The total expenditure was only Rs. 4,639, against a budget allotment of Rs. 8,381, and was less than half of the amount disbursed under this head in 1881, when the area actually censused was considerably less than on the present occasion. The expenditure was lowest in the case of Sylhet, Kamrup, Sibsagar, and Nowgong, and especially in the last-mentioned district, where the total cost only amounted to Rs. 41, or Re. 1 for every 8,393 persons enumerated. It should, however, be borne in mind that the conditions of the different districts vary enormously, and that the actual expenditure incurred is not a trustworthy guide to the degree of economy with which the operations were carried out. In the hill districts the difficulties encountered were far greater than in the plains; and, taking this into consideration, I should be disposed to say that the enumeration of the Naga Hills district was carried out with as great a regard to economy as that of any other district in the province. The figure shown against Cachar includes the cost of censusing the North Cachar subdivision.

Statement No. 23, showing district allotments and expenditure.

District.	Expenditure in 1881.	Estimate for 1891.	Budget allotment for the census of 1891.	Actual expenditure in 1891.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cachar	750*	890	800	516
Sylhet	3,035	2,800	1,848	891
Goalpara	1,320	7,641	1,200	248
Kamrup	470	384†	384	210
Darrang	290	200†	200	133
Nowgong	697	135	135	41
Sibsagar	1,010	800	404	132
Lakhimpur	428	500	500	295
Naga Hills	.... ‡	600	600	563
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	6264	1,160	1,100	652
Garo Hills	1,432‖	3,250	1,050	883
Manipur	....	200	160	75
Total	10,058	18,560	8,381	4,639

Statement No. 24, showing the number of persons censused in each district for each rupee spent.

District.	Number of persons censused for each rupee spent.
Cachar	749
Sylhet	2,418
Goalpara	1,824
Kamrup	3,020
Darrang	2,314
Nowgong	8,393
Sibsagar	3,464
Lakhimpur	861
Naga Hills	218
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	304
Garo Hills	137
Total for the Province ..	1,180

The way in which the expenditure incurred in each district was distributed over the different heads is shown in statement No. 25.

The figures entered in this statement show that very careful economy was observed in all districts. With the exception of Kamrup, where a clerk and four peons were for a short time entertained before the fact came to my knowledge, Sylhet, Cachar, and Goalpara, where there is no revenue agency to assist the regular staff, were the only districts in which additional office establishments were entertained. The total remuneration given to census officers was Rs. 2,926, of which almost the whole amount was spent in the hill

* The enumeration of North Cachar was spread over three months in 1881, and expenditure was thus proportionately less.

† The Deputy Commissioners of Kamrup and Darrang originally asked for Rs. 1,374 and Rs. 400 respectively, but reduced their estimates to the amounts shown above on my again addressing them on the subject.

‡ Not censused in 1881.

§ In 1881 the enumeration lasted a much longer time, and fewer paid men were therefore required.

‖ The plains portion only was actually censused.

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Statement No. 25, showing in detail the total expenditure incurred in each district.

Heads of Expenditure.	Cachar.*	Sylhet.	Goalpara.	Kamrup.	Darrang.	Nowgong.	Sibsagar.	Lakhimpur.	Naga Hills.	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	Garo Hills.	Manipur State.	Total.
A.—ENUMERATION.													
I.—District Charges.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment.													
Clerks	59 13 5	448 5 0	75 0 0	32 4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	615 6 5
Servants	.....	.....	.....	44 2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	44 2 0
Remuneration to non-officials.													
Superintendents ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Supervisors ...	16 0 0	8 0 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24 0 0
Enumerators ...	375 4 1	81 0 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	12 0 0	46 0 0	420 0 0	472 7 10	836 0 9	.....	2,242 12 8
Total Establishment ...	*451 1 6*	*537 5 0*	*75 0 0*	*76 6 0*	.....	.....	*12 0 0*	*46 0 0*	*420 0 0*	*472 7 10*	*836 0 9*	.....	*2,926 5 1*
Allowances.													
Travelling expenses ...	.....	2 4 0	.....	2 3 0	.....	.....	.....	27 2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	31 9 0
Total Allowances ...	.....	*2 4 0*	.....	*2 3 0*	.....	.....	.....	*27 2 0*	.....	.....	.....	.....	*31 9 0*
Contingencies.													
House numbering ...	.....	.....	2 12 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 14 0
Lights	.....	0 10 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	.....	.....	1 0 0	0 10 9	.....	.....	1 0 0	.....	6 6 9
Red ink, &c. ...	.....	25 14 9	42 10 2	3 12 0	2 9 0	.....	23 9 0	18 7 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	116 13 11
Petty stationery ...	25 14 3	174 8 0	20 4 0	22 8 0	8 5 0	.....	20 5 0	13 3 3	31 11 0	30 7 3	7 1 6	.....	354 3 3
Hire of boats ...	13 8 0	6 8 0	33 14 0	62 12 3	22 14 0	14 10 0	.....	112 8 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	266 10 3
Carriage of forms from and to steamer ghat ...	.....	14 7 0	2 10 0	8 14 0	6 10 0	20 13 0	16 3 9	10 6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	79 15 9
Distribution of forms ...	15 15 0	11 2 0	21 11 0	30 3 5	71 4 0	.....	11 3 0	60 8 2	110 15 0	28 7 0	34 12 0	74 11 0	470 11 7
Postage charges ...	10 0 0	69 7 6	4 4 6	.....	10 5 0	.....	28 12 0	0 2 6	.....	20 5 0	.....	.....	143 4 6
Telegram charges ...	.....	29 5 0	23 3 0	2 4 0	11 1 0	.....	3 7 0	4 2 0	.....	5 10 0	3 11 0	.....	82 11 0
Miscellaneous ...	.....	19 4 0	20 9 0	....	.....	5 4 0	15 7 0	1 0 0	.....	94 7 0	0 3 0	.....	156 2 0
Total Contingencies ...	*65 5 3*	*351 2 3*	*173 7 8*	*131 13 8*	*133 0 0*	*40 11 0*	*119 14 9*	*222 1 8*	*142 10 0*	*179 4 3*	*46 11 6*	*74 11 0*	*1,680 13 0*
Grand total ...	**516 6 9**	**890 11 3**	**248 7 8**	**210 6 8**	**133 0 0**	**40 11 0**	**131 14 9**	**295 3 8**	**562 10 0**	**651 12 1**	**882 12 3**	**74 11 0**	**4,638 11 1**

*Includes North Cachar.

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Cost of the Census.

districts and other backward tracts, such as North Cachar, Sadiya, and the *punjis* in South Sylhet. No charges whatever were incurred on this account in Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, and Nowgong, and only Rs. 12 were spent in Sibsagar. The expenditure on contingencies was also very small. House numbering and lights cost only Rs. 10 for the whole province, and red ink and petty stationery Rs. 117 and Rs. 354 respectively. The charges on account of the hire of boats seem to have been higher than was necessary in Kamrup and Lakhimpur, but elsewhere very little was spent on this account. The cost of distributing forms was heavy in the hill districts, where carts cannot be used; in the plains districts due economy appears to have been exercised, except perhaps in Darrang and Lakhimpur, where a good deal more was spent on this account than elsewhere. Postage and telegram charges were in some cases debited to the census instead of against the district contingent grants.*

The actual cost of the district operations per head of the population amounted to less than one-sixth of a pie. Including paper and printing, the cost of censusing each person was less than a third of a pie.

Expenditure in the compiling office.

83. The cost of tabulating the results was more expensive. The information required by the Government of India was most elaborate, and necessitated the employment of a large staff for many months. The details of the expenditure, so far as I have been able to calculate it up to the present time, are shown in statement No. 26. The total very closely works up to the amount estimated in my budget, but there is considerable divergence in details. I had expected that abstraction would have cost a good deal more than it actually did, but had not reckoned on the heavy bill I should have to meet for testing the abstraction sheets and for the later stages of the work. The compilation of castes and occupations was a most tedious operation, which not only lasted for more than two months longer than I had anticipated, but at the same time swallowed up the whole of the surplus which the savings under abstraction had led me to expect. The total cost of the compiling operations was Rs. 47,637, or 1·7 pies per head of the population. The cost of the actual census and of the compilation of the results taken together amounted to Rs. 56,738, which represents a cost of about 2 pies for the complete census of each individual in the community.

Statement No. 26, showing the total expenditure on abstraction, tabulation, and compilation.

	Rs.
Abstraction and record ..	10,610
Testing Department ..	4,123
Tabulation and record ..	12,100
Compilation ,, ..	8,673
Abstraction contingencies ..	2,248
Printing abstraction and tabulation forms ..	2,583
Paper and printing of report ..	6,055
Freight of sheets and registers, &c.	1,245
Total	47,637

Superintendence charges.

84. I now come to the charges under the head 'Superintendence', that is to say, to the sums drawn from the census grant on account of my deputation allowance and personal establishment. The total amount is noted in the margin. The total amount spent from first to last on account of the census after deducting Rs. 500 as the estimated receipts on account of the sale of waste paper, &c., amounts to Rs. 74,769, or 2·6 pies per head of the population. The statement given on the next page shows the expenditure incurred in each year under the different heads in the form of account prescribed by the Census Commissioner for India.

Statement No. 27, showing the charges under 'Superintendence'.

Heads of Expenditure.	1890-91.	1891-92.	Estimate, 1892-93.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Deputation allowance of Superintendent of Census ..	2,112	2,304	576	4,992
Travelling allowance of Superintendent	1,605	353	.....	1,958
Office establishment	2,454	948	165	3,567
Messengers	192	170	8	370
Contingencies	772	404	29	1,205
Add—Pay of substitute	2,680	3,000	750	6,430
Total	9,815	7,188	1,528	18,531

* The Census Commissioner's orders to get this amount written back were received after the Comptroller's accounts were closed, when it was too late to correct the debit.

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Statement No. 28, showing the total expenditure incurred in each year.

Cost of the Census.

Main head.	Sub-head.	Actuals, 1890-91.		Actuals, 1891-92.		Estimate, 1892-93.		Grand total.	
		Sub-head.	Main head.	Sub-head.	Main head.	Sub-head.	Main head.	Sub-head.	Main head.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Part A.—Enumeration. I.—District charges.	1. District office establishment ...	659 8 5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	659 8 5	.....
	2. Contingent charges of establishment..	1,470 14 7	.....	2 12 0	.....	.....	.....	1,473 10 7	.....
	3. House numbering	3 14 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 14 0	.....
	4. Lights, ink, &c.	120 3 2	.....	3 1 6	.....	.....	.....	123 4 8	.....
	5. Remuneration of census officers.	2,328 12 8	.....	38 0 0	.....	.....	.....	2,366 12 8	.....
	6. Special travelling allowances...	31 9 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	31 9 0	.....
	7. Freight of schedules, &c., from station and landing places	79 15 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	79 15 9	.....
	Total I.—District Charges ...	.....	4,694 13 7	.....	43 13 6	.....	.....	.....	4,738 11 1
II.—Enumeration printing.	8. Paper for schedules, &c., at press	2,597 10 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,597 10 2	.....
	9. Printing and binding ...	1,104 4 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,104 4 4	.....
	10. Despatching from press ...	760 7 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	760 7 3	.....
	Total II.—Paper and Printing, A ...	.....	4,462 5 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,462 5 9
	Total Enumeration	.....	9,057 3 4	.....	43 13 6	.....	.....	.....	9,101 0 10
III.—Tabulation Office.	11. Office rent	.....	.....	99 2 8	.....	.....	.....	99 2 8	.....
	12. Office furniture and repairs, &c.	805 12 0	.....	46 12 6	.....	.....	.....	852 8 6	.....
	13. Record establishment ...	15 10 10	.....	1,171 3 5	.....	137 2 1	.....	1,323 15 4	.....
	14. Correspondence and accounts establishment	2 13 8	.....	318 0 0	.....	28 0 0	.....	348 13 8	.....
	15. Menial establishment ...	34 1 0	.....	633 2 8	.....	19 0 0	.....	686 3 8	.....
	16. Working staff, including superintendence officials ...	.....	.....	5,568 7 9	.....	.....	.....	5,568 7 9	.....
	17. Working staff, clerks specially entertained	135 3 10	.....	25,280 12 10	.....	959 13 3	.....	26,375 13 11	.....
	18. Travelling allowances to and from the office	368 15 0	.....	833 4 9	.....	.....	.....	1,202 3 9	.....
	19. Freight of schedules, &c., to office	315 6 9	.....	191 9 0	.....	.....	.....	506 15 9	.....
	20. Petty stationery and contingencies	176 5 3	.....	595 8 11	.....	17 5 2	.....	789 3 4	.....
	Total III.—Tabulation Office ...	.....	1,854 4 4	.....	34,737 15 6	.....	1,161 4 6	.....	37,753 8 4
IV.—Tabulation printing.	21. Papers for sheets, registers, and final tables and report at press.	1,780 5 2	.....	1,196 4 6	.....	.....	.....	2,976 9 8	.....
	22. Printing of forms, tables, and reports	175 12 5	.....	3,385 9 9	.....	2,100 0 0	.....	5,661 6 2	.....
	23. Freight of sheets, &c., to office ..	459 13 1	.....	723 3 11	.....	62 5 0	.....	1,245 6 0	.....
	Total IV.—Paper and Printing, B ...	.....	2,415 14 8	.....	5,305 2 2	.....	2,162 5 0	.....	9,883 5 10
	Total Compilation	.....	4,270 3 0	.....	40,043 1 8	.....	3,323 9 6	.....	47,636 14 2
V.—Superintendent.	24. Provincial Superintendent's deputation allowance ...	2,112 0 0	.....	2,304 0 0	.....	576 0 0	.....	4,992 0 0	.....
	25. Pay of substitute of Superintendent	2,680 2 10	.....	3,000 0 0	.....	750 0 0	.....	6,430 2 10	.....
	26. Travelling allowance of Superintendent	1,604 12 4	.....	353 0 0	.....	.....	.....	1,957 12 4	.....
	Total V.—Superintendent's Personal Charges	.....	6,396 15 2	.....	5,657 0 0	.....	1,326 0 0	.....	13,379 15 2
VI.—Superintendent's Office.	27. Superintendent's office establishment	2,482 5 3	.....	1,108 15 8	.....	173 0 0	.....	3,764 4 11	.....
	28. Travelling allowance for ditto ...	164 3 0	.....	17 14 0	.....	.....	.....	182 1 0	.....
	29. Office contingencies for ditto ...	417 4 6	.....	403 10 0	.....	28 14 0	.....	849 12 6	.....
	30. Construction of Superintendent's office building	355 0 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	355 0 0	.....
	Total VI.—Superintendent's Establishment	.....	3,418 12 9	.....	1,530 7 8	.....	201 14 0	.....	5,151 2 5
	Total Superintendence	.....	9,815 11 11	.....	7,187 7 8	.....	1,527 14 0	.....	18,531 1 7
	Grand total	.....	23,143 2 3	.....	47,274 6 10	.....	4,851 7 6	.....	75,269 0 7

The above includes only such charges as would not have been incurred except on account of the census. Travelling allowance drawn by touring officers while on census work was debited to the head from which they drew their pay, and was not charged in the accounts against the census. Similarly, my pay (but not my deputation allowance) was charged against Provincial, and the salary of my substitute (an extra assistant commissioner of the lowest grade) was debited against the census grant.

85. The next statement is an attempt to show the actual cost of the census irrespective of the heads of accounts under which the expenditure was brought to book.

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Cost of the Census.

Statement No. 29, showing the total Cost of the Census Operations in Assam.

Main Head.	Sub-Head.	Actuals, 1890-91.		Actuals, 1891-92.		Estimate, 1892-93.		Grand total.	
		Sub-head.	Main head.	Sub-head.	Main head.	Sub-head.	Main head.	Sub-head.	Main head.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
PART A.—ENUMERATION. I.—District Charges.	1. District office establishment	659 8 5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	659 8 5	.....
	2. Contingent charges of establishment	1,470 14 7	.....	2 12 0	.....	.....	.....	1,473 10 7	.....
	3. House numbering	3 14 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 14 0	.....
	4. Lights, ink, &c.	120 3 2	.....	3 1 6	.....	.....	.....	123 4 8	.....
	5. Remuneratoin of census officers	2,228 12 8	.....	38 0 0	.....	.....	.....	2,266 12 8	.....
	6. Special travelling allowances	31 9 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	31 9 0	.....
	6(a) Travelling allowance paid to stationary officials ...	1,015 1 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,015 1 0	.....
	7. Freight of schedules, &c., from stations and landing places ...	79 15 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	79 15 9	.....
	Total I.—District Charges	.....	5,609 14 7	.....	43 13 6	.....	.....	.....	5,653 12 1
II.—Enumeration. Printing.	8. Paper for schedules, &c., at press ...	2,597 10 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,597 10 2	.....
	9. Printing and binding	1,104 4 4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,104 4 4	.....
	10. Despatching from press	760 7 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	760 7 3	.....
	Total II.—Paper and Printing, A.	.....	4,462 5 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,462 5 9
	Total Enumeration	.....	10,072 4 4	.....	43 13 6	.....	.....	.....	10,116 1 10
PART B.—ABSTRACTION AND COMPILATION. III.—Tabulation Office.	11. Office rent	.....	.....	99 2 8	.....	.....	.....	99 2 8	.....
	12. Office furniture and repairs	805 12 0	.....	46 12 6	.....	.....	.....	852 8 6	.....
	13. Record establishment	15 10 10	.....	1,171 2 5	.....	137 2 1	.....	1,323 15 4	.....
	14. Correspondence and accounts establishment	2 13 8	.....	318 0 0	.....	28 0 0	.....	348 13 8	.....
	15. Menial establishment	34 1 0	.....	633 2 8	.....	19 0 0	.....	686 3 8	.....
	16. Working staff, including superintendence officials ...	.....	.....	5,568 7 9	.....	.....	.....	5,568 7 9	.....
	17. Working staff, clerks specially entertained	135 3 10	.....	25,280 12 10	.....	959 13 3	.....	26,375 13 11	.....
	18. Travelling allowances to and from the office	368 15 0	.....	833 4 9	.....	.....	.....	1,202 3 9	.....
	19. Freight of schedules, &c., to office	315 6 9	.....	191 9 0	.....	.....	.....	506 15 9	.....
	20. Petty stationery and contingencies	176 5 3	.....	595 8 11	.....	17 5 2	.....	789 3 4	.....
	Total III.—Tabulation Office	.....	1,854 4 4	.....	34,737 15 6	.....	1,161 4 6	.....	37,753 8 4

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Statement No. 29, showing the total Cost of the Census Operations in Assam—continued.

Main Head.	Sub-Head.	Actuals, 1890-91.		Actuals, 1891-92.		Estimate, 1892-93.		Grand total.	
		Sub-head.	Main head.	Sub-head.	Main head.	Sub-head.	Main head.	Sub-head.	Main head.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
PART B.—ABSTRACTION AND COMPILATION—*contd.* IV.—Tabulation Printing.	21. Paper for sheets, registers, final tables, and report at press ...	1,780 5 2	.....	1,196 4 6	.....	.....	.....	2,976 9 8	.....
	22. Printing of forms, tables, and reports	175 12 5	.....	3,385 9 9	.....	2,100 0 0	.....	5,661 6 2	.....
	23. Freight of sheets, &c., to office	459 13 1	.....	723 3 11	.....	62 5 0	.....	1,245 6 0	.....
	Total IV.—Paper and Printing, B	.....	2,415 14 8	.....	5,305 2 2	.....	2,162 5 0	.....	9,883 5 10
	Total Compilation	.....	4,270 3 0	.....	40,043 1 8	.....	3,323 9 6	.....	47,636 14 2
PART C.—SUPERINTENDENCE. V.—Superintendent.	24. Provincial Superintendent's deputation allowance ...	2,112 0 0	.....	2,304 0 0	.....	576 0 0	.....	4,992 0 0	.....
	24(a) Excess of salary of the Superintendent of Census Operations paid from provincial revenues after deducting the salary of his substitute, which was charged against the census grant	8,264 10 9	.....	6,847 5 10	.....	3,327 15 9	.....	18,440 0 4	.....
	25. Pay of substitute of Superintendent	2,680 2 10	.....	3,000 0 0	.....	750 0 0	.....	6,430 2 10	.....
	26. Travelling allowance of Superintendent	1,604 12 4	.....	353 0 0	.....	.....	.....	1,957 12 4	.....
	Total V.—Superintendent's Personal Charges ...	.....	14,661 9 11	.....	12,504 5 10	.....	4,653 15 9	.....	31,819 15 6
VI.—Superintendent's Office.	27. Superintendent's office establishment ...	2,482 5 3	.....	1,108 15 8	.....	173 0 0	.....	3,764 4 11	.....
	28. Travelling allowances for ditto	164 3 0	.....	17 14 0	.....	.....	.....	182 1 0	.....
	29. Office contingencies for ditto	417 4 6	.....	403 10 0	.....	28 14 0	.....	849 12 6	.....
	30. Construction of Superintendent's office building ...	355 0 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	355 0 0	.....
	Total VI.—Superintendent's Establishment ...	.....	3,418 12 9	.....	1,530 7 8	.....	201 14 0	.....	5,151 2 5
	Total Superintendence	.....	18,080 6 8	.....	14,034 13 6	.....	4,855 13 9	.....	36,971 1 11
	Grand total	.....	32,422 14 0	.....	54,121 12 8	.....	8,179 7 3	.....	94,724 1 11

Cost of the Census.

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Cost of the Census.

86. The following statement shows the expenditure incurred on account of the census operations in Assam and other provinces:

Statement No. 30, comparing the Expenditure in Assam and other Provinces.

Province, &c.	Total net cost, including charges, under superintendence.	Total net cost, excluding charges, under superintendence.	Population.	State charge, including superintendence, per 1,000 persons.	State charge, excluding superintendence, per 1,000 persons.
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
1. Assam	74,769	56,738	5,476,833	13·65	10·36
2. Bengal	6,78,489	6,56,809	71,270,302	9·52	9·21
3. Bombay	2,03,509	1,95,709	18,901,123	10·77	10·35
4. Burma	1,27,003	1,15,923	7,605,560	16·77	15·24
5. Central Provinces	1,11,314	1,06,774	10,784,294	10·32	9·90
6. Madras	4,20,849	4,02,659	35,630,440	11·81	11·30
7. North-Western Provinces ...	4,76,967	4,59,967	46,903,102	10·17	9·80
8. Punjab	1,79,024	1,67,424	20,866,847	8·58	8·02
Total Provinces	*22,71,924*	*21,62,003*	*217,438,501*	*10·45*	*9·94*
9. Ajmere	9,432	7,332	542,358	17·40	13·51
10. Andamans	206	206	15,609	.....	.....
11. Coorg	2,129	1,809	173,055	12·30	10·45
12. Bangalore	1,050	860	100,081	.....	.....
13. Quettah, &c.	864	864	27,270	.....	.....
14. Rajputana	11,974	11,724	11,973,788	.....	.....
15. Central India	35,236	34,236	10,211,786	.....	.....
Railways and Cantonments ...	9,731	9,731	.....	.....	.....
Printing Reserve	18,500	18,500	.....	.....	.....
India (Local)	*89,122*	*85,262*	.....	.....	.....
Census Commissioner	1,55,329	94,479	.....	.....	.....
Total India	*2,44,451*	*1,79,741*	.....	.....	.....
Grand total	**25,16,375**	**23,41,744**	.....	.....	.....
Berar and Hyderabad Contingent, &c.	52,688	48,138	3,054,371	17·25	15·76

In the last two columns I have given the cost of the census per 1,000 persons, (*a*) including and (*b*) excluding charges on account of 'Superintendence,' *i.e.*, the deputation allowance of the Census Superintendent, the pay of his substitute and of his personal establishment and contingencies. These charges are more or less fixed and unavoidable, and vary very little in comparison with the population to be dealt with.* In comparing the cost of the census in different provinces, these charges should, therefore, I think be excluded. If this be done, the comparative cost of the operations in Assam is lower than in Burma, Ajmere, Madras, and Coorg, and is very slightly higher than in Bombay, the Central Provinces and the North-Western Provinces. In Bengal the work has been done at a cost of about a rupee per 1,000 less than in Assam, while in the Punjab the saving, as compared with this province, amounts to rather more than Rs. 2 per 1,000. Compared with the cost of the English census, the figures for Assam and other parts of India are remarkably low. The cost of the English census of 1872 was £5 5*s.* 7½*d.*, and that of 1881 £4 14*s.* 8*d.*, or, taking the rupee at 2*s.*, the cost in England is four or five times as great as it is in Assam.

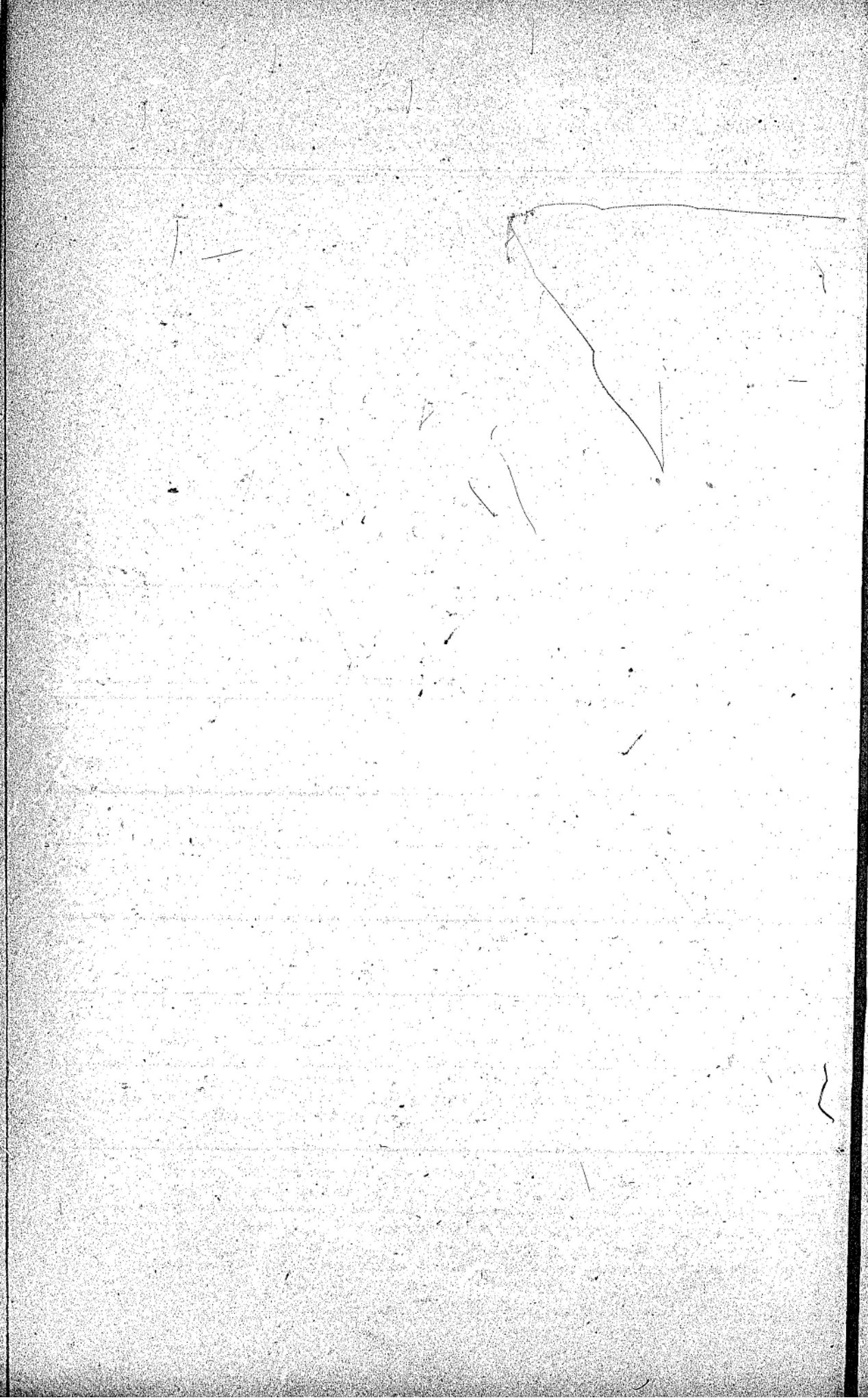
* Besides, in Assam a substitute for the Provincial Superintendent was appointed at the expense of the Census, whilst in some of the other Provinces no such charge was incurred.

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PART II.

THE RESULTS OF THE CENSUS.

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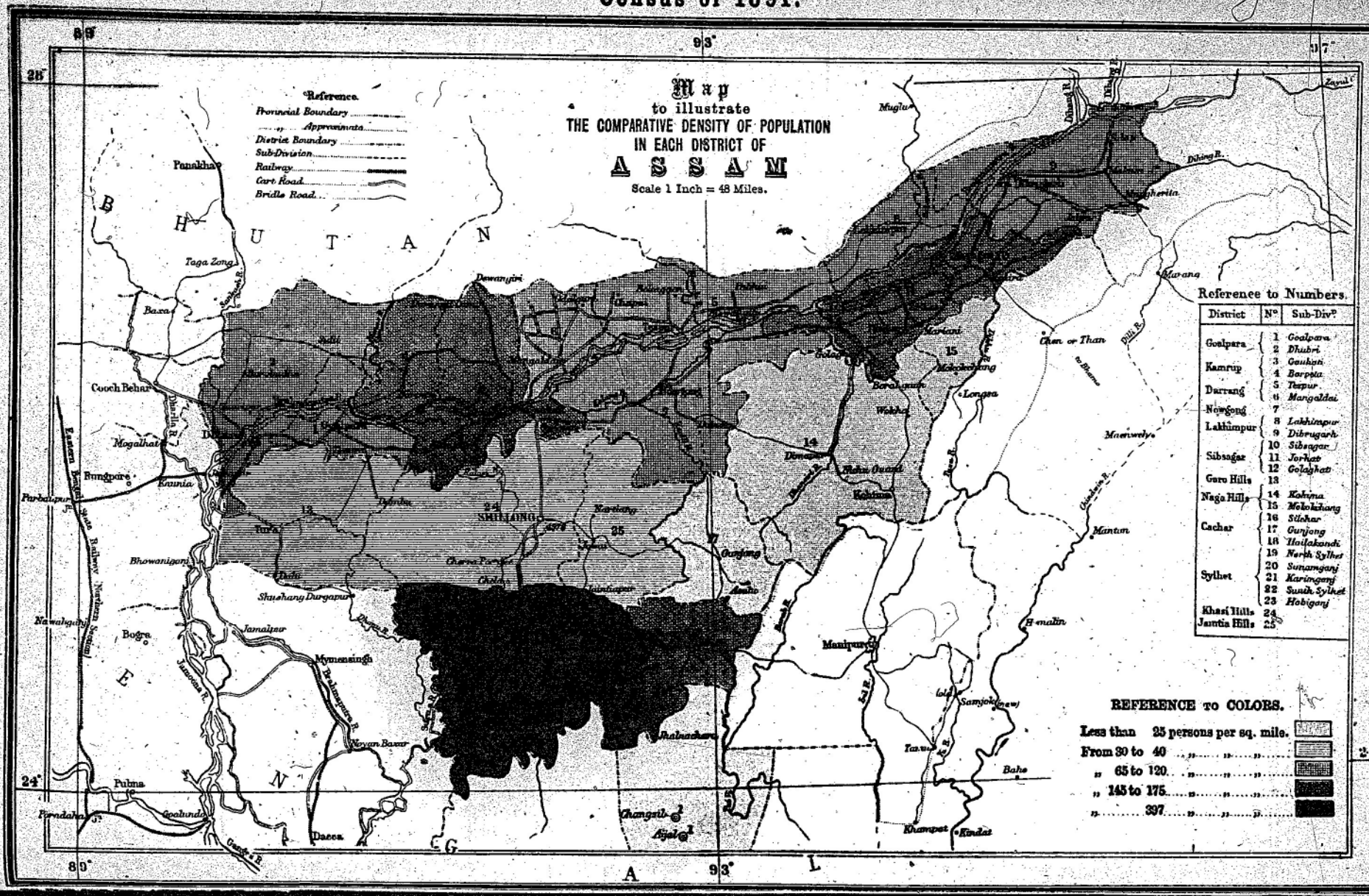
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CHAPTER I.—STATISTICS OF AREA AND POPULATION.



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Census of 1891.


Map
to illustrate
THE COMPARATIVE DENSITY OF POPULATION
IN EACH DISTRICT OF
ASSAM
Scale 1 Inch = 48 Miles.
Reference.
Provincial Boundary
" Approximate
District Boundary
Sub-Division
Railway
Cart Road
Bridle Road
Referenee to Numbers.
District | N° | Sub-Div.
Goalpara | 1 Goalpara | 2 Dhubri
Kamrup | 3 Gauhati | 4 Barpeta
Darrang | 5 Tezpur | 6 Mangaldai
Nowgong | 7
Lakhimpur | 8 Lakhimpur | 9 Dibrugarh
Sibsagar | 10 Sibsagar | 11 Jorhat | 12 Golaghat
Garo Hills | 13
Naga Hills | 14 Kohima | 15 Mokokchung
Cachar | 16 Silchar | 17 Gunjong | 18 Hailakandi
Sylhet | 19 North Sylhet | 20 Sunamganj | 21 Karimganj | 22 South Sylhet | 23 Habiganj
Khasi Hills 24
Jantia Hills 25
REFERENCE TO COLORS.
Less than 25 persons per sq. mile.
From 30 to 40 " " "
" 65 to 120 " " "
" 145 to 175 " " "
" 397 " " "
BHUTAN
ENGAL
Panakha
Taga Zong
Baxa
Cooch Behar
Mogalhat
Rungpore
Kaunia
Parbatipur
Bhowanigunj
Dubi
Shushang Durgapur
Nawabganj
Bogra
Jamalpur
Mymensingh
Jamoona R.
Nevyan Bazar
Pubna
Pundaha
Goalunda
Dacca
Ganges R.
Dhansiri R.
Muglu
Dikhu R.
Dhing R.
Sibsagar
Mariani
Jorhat
Golaghat
Bokakhat
Dimapur
Kohima
Mokokchung
Wokha
Mao-mi-dy
Chen or Than
Dilli R.
to Bhamo
Longsa
Barelipunji
Mangkachang
Muvang
Zayul
Manipur
Samjok (new)
Bahe
Khampet
Rindat
Changsil
Ajial
Mantun
Gunjong
Amsoi
Nartiang
Jowai
Cherra Punji
Cholera
Jaintiapur
Dhala R.
Eastern Bengal State Railway
Northern Assam Railway
Lohit R.
Dihong R.
Dibong R.
Kopili R.
Jhanji R.
Barak R.
Surma R.
Kushiara R.
Manipur R.
Lohit R.
Tista R.
Jamoona R.
Padma R.
Brahmaputra R.
Kopili

PART II.

THE RESULTS OF THE CENSUS.

CHAPTER I.—STATISTICS OF AREA AND POPULATION.

IMPERIAL TABLES I, III, AND IV, AND SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE I.

General description.

Area and population.—General description.

IN many ways Assam is a country full of interest. It is peopled largely by numerous races of the Mongolian stock, which differ amongst themselves in language, religion, and customs. The investigation into the affinities of these tribes is a task which would amply repay the enquirer, and, though it has hardly yet been commenced, the chances of successful research are fast passing away, as many of the tribes concerned are rapidly losing their language, religion, and traditions, in fact their very identity, in the folds of a steadily proselytising Hinduism.

General remarks.

From the point of view of religion the country is not less interesting. The *Purans* and *Tantras* are full of references to Kámarupa as the scene of numerous mythological occurrences, while the favour in which it is held by the gods is proverbial.* Many sacred shrines are situated within the province, and pilgrims from other countries still flock to Kámákhya and the Brahmakund. It is in Assam that the Tantrik worship is said to have originated, while in later times the country was a fertile field for the propagation of the neo-Vaishnava doctrines of Chaitanya.

Historically, Assam has always been a border land. It was the most easterly acquisition of the early Aryan invaders of India. When their power declined, numerous aboriginal races ruled the land in turn, until at last it was conquered by the Ahoms, who crossed the Patkoi at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and founded in Upper Assam the most westerly kingdom of the Shans. They gradually extended their sway westwards, and overthrew in succession the Káchári, Chutiyá, and Koch Kings. They were in their turn attacked by the Musalmans, but, though defeated for a time, they succeeded in the end in maintaining their independence and in stopping the eastward advance of the Generals of the Emperors of Delhi.

2. Assam is still a frontier province, and forms the north-eastern corner of the Indian empire. It is bounded on the west by Bengal and on the other three sides by mountain ranges covered with dense jungles and inhabited by numerous wild tribes. Beyond them lie Tibet on the north, China on the east, and Burma on the south. It comprises the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surma rivers and the range of hills, commonly called the Assam range, which divides them.

Geographical description.

The Brahmaputra Valley, which forms the northern portion of the province, is an alluvial plain, stretching about 450 miles from east to west, with an average breadth of about 50 miles, and an area of 20,869 square miles. It is intersected throughout its length by the Brahmaputra, which is fed by numerous affluents from the hills on both sides of the valley. Owing to the alluvial nature of the soil, and the rapidity of its current, the Brahmaputra is constantly changing its course, and its banks are consequently for the most part sandy *churs*, which go under water in the rains, and are but sparsely cultivated during the cold weather. Further inland the valley has a higher level, rising gradually towards the hills. Here floods are rare, and, the soil being more fertile, permanent cultivation takes the place of the shifting agriculture practised on the less hospitable *churs*. The districts of the Brahmaputra Valley are Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur.

The Brahmaputra Valley.

* "Elsewhere deities are scarce, but in Kámárupa they are found in every house."

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Area and population.—General description.

The Surma Valley.

The Surma Valley consists of the district of Sylhet and the plains portion of Cachar, and lies between the Assam range on the north and the Lushai hills on the south. The area is 7,886 square miles, or barely one-third of that of the Brahmaputra Valley. It is watered by the Barak, which rises in the Barail range, and takes an exceedingly tortuous course through Manipur and Cachar until it reaches the Sylhet district, where it divides into two branches. One of these flows through the northern and the other through the southern portion of the district, both eventually reuniting at a point on the Sylhet-Tipperah boundary a few miles west of Habiganj.

The elevation of the Surma Valley is considerably lower than that of the Brahmaputra Valley, and in the rains the greater portion of the country is heavily flooded. But as the current of the rivers is torpid, their tendency is to deposit fresh soil instead of to carry it away, so that when the waters subside, the land is left more fertile instead of being rendered unfit for cultivation, as is usually the case when the Brahmaputra overflows its banks.

The Assam range.

The Assam range, which divides these two valleys, is a metamorphic formation, allied, in the western part at least, to the Bengal gneiss, but overlapped in most parts by very much newer strata, including limestone and carboniferous measures. It comprises the districts of the Garo Hills, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the North Cachar Hills (subdivision), and the Naga Hills. In the valleys, permanent cultivation can be carried on without much trouble, but on the hills themselves irrigation is difficult and tedious, and is not resorted to until the pressure of population upon the soil begins to be felt. In the greater part of the hill districts, therefore, the cultivation is of a fluctuating nature, and it is but seldom that permanent village sites and fields are to be met with.

Ethnological and social conditions.

3. The ethnological and social conditions of these three portions of the province are as diverse as their physical characteristics. The inhabitants of the Surma Valley, whatever their origin, are now nearly all Hindus or Musalmans, speak Bengali, and differ in no way from their neighbours in the districts of Eastern Bengal. The people of the hill districts, on the other hand, are of pure Mongolian stock, speak their own languages, and have not as yet to any great extent attorned to Hinduism. In the Brahmaputra Valley, a large proportion of the people can still be traced to a non-Aryan origin, but most of them speak Assamese, a language allied to Bengali; the majority are already professed Hindus, and of those not yet converted, large numbers are yearly becoming disciples of the Vaishnava Gosains in the Majuli and elsewhere.

To enable the different characteristics of these very dissimilar tracts to be clearly seen, separate totals have been given for each in the census tables.

Climate.

4. The main general characteristics of the climate are its great humidity and its comparatively low and equable temperature. The latter is conducive to health, and in open plains and highly-cultivated tracts the country cannot be called unhealthy. But where cultivation is sparse, and more especially under the hills, the moisture of the atmosphere encourages the growth of masses of rank vegetation, from which result malarial fevers, which in some parts are fearfully prevalent. The humidity of the climate is also indirectly prejudicial to health, in that it is peculiarly favourable to the development of parasites of all kinds, "men and animals being alike affected with an universality which can hardly be surpassed elsewhere."* The *beri-beri* of tea gardens and the so-called *kalá-azár*, which has had such fatal results in the lower districts of the Brahmaputra Valley, are alike said to be due to the prevalence of one of these parasites.

* Surgeon Giles's Report on *Kala-azar*.

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Area and population.

Area and density.

5. No records are available of any accurate census taken in the time of native rulers. A rough return of the population of Sylhet was made in the time of Akbar, and Biswa Singh, the Koch King of Kámarupa, is said to have counted his people, but as the exact boundaries of his kingdom are uncertain, the quotation of the figures then returned would be misleading.

Previous censuses.

Since the British occupation numerous attempts have been made to ascertain the population of the different districts. Sylhet was censused as early as 1789 by Mr. John Willis, who found a population of 492,945 persons living in 103,637 houses. Although estimates of the population were framed as early as 1835, the first actual counting of any other district appears to have been that of Kamrup in 1840, when the population was returned as 271,944. The extreme inaccuracy of this enumeration was proved eight years later, when the population was stated to be 387,775. The earlier figures for other districts being equally unreliable, no useful purpose will be served by dwelling on them. I accordingly pass on to the first general census of the province, merely noting as a matter of curiosity the numbers returned in some districts at the earlier enumerations referred to above.

Statement No. 1, showing the population returned at some of the earlier censuses.

District.	Year of enumeration.	Population.
Sylhet	1789	492,945
	1853	1,393,500
Goalpara	1853	141,638
Kamrup	1848	387,775
Darrang	1841-42	185,569
Nowgong	1852*	241,300
Sibsagar	1841-42	157,352
	1852	180,000

* Including Rengma and Angami Nagas and North Cachar.

The census of 1872.

The first systematic attempt at an enumeration of the whole province was made in 1872, when Assam was still a part of Bengal. On that occasion the Government of India had expressed a desire that a detailed enumeration should be carried out throughout Bengal on the same day, the date originally fixed being the 1st January 1871. Owing to financial and other reasons, the census was not actually taken until a year later. The proposal to effect a synchronous enumeration had in the meantime been decided to be impracticable, and the only condition prescribed was that it was to be concluded everywhere by the 1st March 1872. The time actually taken in carrying out the census in this province varied from a week in Sylhet to a fortnight in Goalpara, a month in Kamrup and Nowgong, and two months in Cachar, where the operations were hampered by the work in connection with a Lushai expedition which was in progress at the time. This census, though far more reliable than any of the preceding ones, still hardly pretended to scientific accuracy. But it laid the foundation on which future censuses could be based, and paved the way for the first synchronous enumeration of the people, which was carried out successfully in 1881. The figures for the latter will be discussed in connection with the tables based on the present enumeration, which forms the second synchronous census of this province.†

Area and Density.

Area, density, and population.

6. The area of Assam, including the newly-added Lushai country, is 49,004 square miles.‡ It is rather more than half as large again as Ireland and more than twice the size of Belgium and Holland taken together. The population, which is 5,476,833, slightly exceeds

† A detailed account of the operations has been given in chapter I. It is there explained (pages 21-22) that about 8 per cent. of the population who resided in the more inaccessible portions of the hill districts were enumerated more gradually.

‡ Only a portion of the province has been regularly surveyed, so that the area quoted above is only approximate. The figures I have given vary from those adopted in previous reports, as they are in part the result of new calculations, made at my request in the Surveyor General's Office. There was unfortunately some little delay in computing the areas, and, as I was unable to defer printing my tables until the information was available in full, I was compelled for several districts to take the old figures. The difference between them and the revised figures since received is, however, very slight. In the case of the Naga Hills I retained the old figures, because those supplied by the Surveyor General did not appear to include the new subdivision of Mokokchang. The total area as given above does not include the large uncensused tracts in Lakhimpur and elsewhere which lie beyond the Inner Line, but it does include an estimate of the area of that portion of the Lushai country which is under the Assam Administration, and for which an estimate of the population has been framed. It is also inclusive of the area of rivers, hills, and uncultivated wastes.

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Area and population.

Area and density.

that of Ireland; the number of persons per square mile is 111, or about the same as in Servia. Statement No. 2 in the margin compares the area, population, and density of population in Assam with the corresponding figures for several European countries and for the Central Provinces, Burma, Coorg, and Ceylon. With the exception of Burma and of Coorg, Assam is the most thinly-peopled province in the Indian Empire. This, however, is in no way due to any want of fertility in the soil, as there are immense stretches of land, which at present are waste, but which would yield ample crops were the population numerous enough to make their cultivation possible. It seems probable that Assam could sustain at least three times the number of persons at present inhabiting it.*

Statement No. 2, showing the area population, and density of population in Assam and certain other countries.

Country.	Year of census.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Persons per square mile.
Assam	1891	49,004	5,476,833	111
Norway	1875	123,305	1,806,900	15
Sweden	1880	170,979	4,565,668	27
Ireland	1881	32,583	5,174,836	159
Scotland	"	30,417	4,033,103	132
Bulgaria	1888	37,860	3,154,375	83
Belgium	1889	11,373	6,093,798	536
Holland..	"	12,648	4,548,596	360
Greece	"	25,041	2,187,208	87
Servia	1890	19,050	2,096,043	110
Denmark	"	14,124	2,185,159	155
Central Provinces	1891	115,936	12,041,374	103
Burma	"	211,430	8,098,014	38
Coorg	"	1,583	173,055	109
Ceylon	"	25,364	3,008,239	118

Note.—The population of Ceylon is that given in the provisional totals. Final figures are not available.

Area and density of population of districts.

7. The distribution of the total area and population over the different districts, the order in which they stand in these respects, and the density of the population in each district are shown in statement No. 3, below:

Statement No. 3, showing the proportion which the area and population of each district bears to the total area of the Province, &c.

District.	Percentage of area to total area.	Order as regards area.	Percentage of population to total population.	Order as regards population.	Number of persons per square mile.	Order of density.	Number of acres available for each person.
Cachar Plains	5·0	12	7	5	148·6	4	4·3
Sylhet	11·0	3	39	1	397·9	1	1·6
Goalpara	8·0	4	8	4	114·3	5	5·5
Kamrup	7·5	6	12	2	173·2	2	3·6
Darrang	6·9	8	6	7	90·0	7	7·1
Nowgong	6·6	10	6	6	105·6	6	6·0
Sibsagar	5·8	11	8	3	160·1	3	3·9
Lakhimpur	7·6	5	5	8	68·2	8	9·4
North Cachar	3·5	13	0·3	13	10·9	13	58·3
Naga Hills	11·7	2	2	10	21·5	11	29·7
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	12·3	1	4	9	32·7	10	19·5
Garo Hills	6·5	9	2	11	37·1	9	17·2
North Lushai	7·6	7	0·7	12	12·4	12	51·3

* The tea industry has hitherto been the main cause of whatever progress has taken place; but there are large mineral resources, which only await development, and which are now at last beginning to attract attention; it seems probable that these, with the railway schemes for opening up the country which have recently been sanctioned, will effect a vast improvement before the time comes for taking another census.

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Area and population.

Area and density.

The Khasi and Jaintia and the Naga Hills districts stand first in respect of area, but they consist to a large extent of rocky and uncultivable uplands, and their population is consequently sparse. Their combined area is double that of Yorkshire, but they contain only about one-ninth of the population of that county. The next largest district is Sylhet, which contains very nearly two-fifths of the total population of the province. With the exception of a large belt of jungle at the foot of the hills along the southern boundary and of a smaller similar tract towards the north, the whole of the district is very densely peopled. It is equal in area to Durham, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmoreland; its population is larger by 33 per cent. than that of these four counties taken together. The next district, Goalpara, is about the size of North Wales, and is equally densely peopled. Lakhimpur comes next in size, and then Kamrup with an area equal to that of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, but only about 70 per cent. of their combined population. The smallest district in the province is North Cachar,* which is somewhat larger than Somersetshire, but has less than 4 per cent. of its population.

Population densest in the west.

As a general rule, it may be said that the density of the population is greatest in the west, and decreases gradually towards the east. In the hill districts, the order of density runs directly from west to east, and in the Surma Valley, Sylhet is more thickly peopled than Cachar. In the Brahmaputra Valley, the order of the districts in regard to density is Kamrup, Sibsagar, Goalpara, Darrang, Nowgong, and Lakhimpur. The greater density in Kamrup and Sibsagar is probably attributable to the special causes which will be explained below; excluding these two districts, the density of the population decreases steadily from west to east. This greater pressure of population in the west is not to be explained by the fertility of the soil or salubrity of the climate, as in both respects the eastern portion of the province would seem to be superior. Some of the most fertile tracts of Assam lie in Lakhimpur and the south of Nowgong, where at present there is little or no population, while the submontane portions of Sylhet, Goalpara, and Kamrup are probably at least as unhealthy as any portion of Upper Assam, and the climate of the Garo Hills cannot for a moment be compared with that of the hill districts further east. Other reasons must, therefore, be sought for, and the main one appears to be that the eastern districts have suffered more from the ill effects of wars and an unsettled frontier than those further west. Manipur, as is well known, has not only experienced periodical internal dissensions, but has also frequently been overrun by the Burmese and other invaders. Cachar also has not been free from similar troubles, although it has not suffered from them to the same extent as Manipur. Nowgong was laid waste by the Burmese during the years 1824-26, and to this day vast tracts of fertile land are covered with heavy jungles, in which large tanks and avenues of trees point plainly to a more prosperous past. Darrang under native rule was continually exposed to raids by the Bhutias, Akas, and Daflas, and Lakhimpur to similar oppression by the Abors, Singphos, and other tribes. The Nagas were not attacked from outside, but until the occupation of the district by the British, in 1866, they suffered still more severely from internecine warfare, a continued series of treacherous attacks and equally treacherous reprisals. Kamrup contained the capital of successive dynasties down to the time of the Koch Kings, and was subsequently the seat of rule of the last Ahom rulers. Sibsagar was the home of the Ahoms from the time they entered Assam, and contained their capital until about 1770, when the revolt of the Moamarias led to the removal of the seat of Government to Gauhati. These two districts were therefore better guarded against attack from outside, while

Causes of density of population.

* This is really a subdivision of the Cachar district, but is treated as a separate district for census purposes, because the local conditions existing there are quite different from those obtaining in Cachar plains.

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Area and population.

Houses and house room.

the fact of their containing the capital doubtless attracted settlers from other districts. A special reason for the dense population of Sylhet is that it adjoins the crowded districts of the Ganges delta, and was besides an integral part of Bengal from the time of its conquest by Shah Jalál in the fourteenth century until a very recent date, in fact until 1874, when for administrative reasons it was incorporated in the Chief Commissionership of Assam. Geographically, linguistically, and ethnologically it is, and always will be, more nearly allied to the adjacent districts of Eastern Bengal than to any portion of Assam.

Houses and House room.

House accommodation of the people.

8. The next point for consideration is the house accommodation of the people. At the earlier enumerations an attempt was made to discriminate between houses 'of the better sort' and inferior houses, but as the results were unreliable, the distinction was abandoned at the census of 1881,* and on the present occasion it was decided not to revive it. Iron roofs are generally used in towns and in the better kind of village shops, but elsewhere the materials commonly used for houses throughout Assam are posts of wood or bamboo, with mud-plastered wattled walls and a thatched roof, and the only general difference between the dwellings of the wealthier classes and of the poor is that the former are larger, are constructed on higher plinths, have better posts, and are more elaborately fenced in. No hard-and-fast line could be drawn between a house of the better sort and an inferior one, and the difficulties of classification which have been experienced elsewhere would therefore apply with great force to the dwellings in this province, should an attempt be made to re-introduce the old classification.

Overcrowding.

9. The materials of which houses are constructed are extremely plentiful: bamboos grow in profusion in every homestead, and thatch and reeds for the roof and walls can usually be procured at a trifling cost; in fact in the Brahmaputra Valley they can be got nearly everywhere from uncultivated Government land, and cost nothing more than the labour involved in cutting and bringing them to the homestead. Under these circumstances overcrowding is practically unknown. As soon as the want of house room begins to be felt, another hut is erected, and, in the same way, as soon as a house falls into disrepair, it is at once either thoroughly repaired, or pulled down and replaced by a new one. So far, therefore, as their houses are concerned, the condition of the masses of the people is one of great comfort.

Average number of persons per house.

10. Statement No. 4 in the margin shows the number of occupied houses in each district, and the average number of persons occupying each. It has already been explained† that in Assam the house has been taken as the homestead, where the members of one family reside under a common head with their servants, or, in other words, as

* The following extract from a memorandum of suggestions for the census of 1881, which was prepared in the India Office, gives a *resumé* of the reasons which led to this decision:

"In their Resolution of 1869, the Government of India said that 'it seems desirable to ascertain roughly how many houses belong to the better class. The dwelling-houses in each enclosure should therefore be entered under the headings 'of the better sort', 'of the inferior sort', the Local Government in each province determining for the guidance of the enumerators what description of house should come under either class. The object is to distinguish substantial houses, whatever the material, from huts, hovels, and houses of unsubstantial construction.' This distinction seems to have been generally attempted, except in Bengal, where no endeavour was made to draw such a line. The result is, however, not always satisfactory: where so much is left to the discretion either of the district officers or of the enumerators in each village and town, it is evident that little reliance can be placed on the proportions shown as existing between the better and the inferior class of houses.—On the whole, it appears doubtful if the distinction is worth the trouble involved."

Houses.

† See above, page 9.

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the family rather than the structure. That the definition adopted was well understood is apparent from the very slight differences between the average population per house returned in each district; differences which, slight as they are, are still capable of explanation. The main disturbing element is the tea garden population. This consists largely of immigrant adults, who reside in lines built for them on the gardens. Their families, as a rule, are very small, and consist on the average of from 3 to 4 persons. Taking the average per house to be $3\frac{1}{2}$, and deducting the garden population and the number of houses occupied by them on this assumption from the total population and houses, the balance will represent the figures for the indigenous population, amongst whom the average per house in the different districts is remarkably uniform. With the exception of the Naga Hills and Goalpara, the average in all districts lies between 5·0 in Kamrup, Sylhet, and three out of the four hill districts, and 5·3 in Nowgong. The higher figure for Goalpara is probably due to the fact that at the commencement of the operations the *bari*, or enclosure, was taken as the house, and although orders were subsequently issued to correct this mistake, it is probable that in some cases local officers neglected to introduce the standard definition in the place of that originally adopted. In the Naga Hills the average per house is only 3·5. This is attributed by the Deputy Commissioner to the fact that newly-married couples invariably remove to new houses, and that the old and infirm do not occupy the same dwellings as the relatives on whom they are dependent, but reside in separate huts of their own, a practice which is said to be especially marked in the villages of the Ao Naga tribe. In Nowgong the figures are somewhat higher than elsewhere on account of the great number of Mikirs in that district, amongst whom it is customary for large numbers of relatives to remain together under a common roof. Excluding these exceptional cases, it may be said that the average household consists of five persons, *viz.*, the husband and wife, a couple of children, and one other dependent or relative. This, of course, is merely the average. Many houses contain as many as 15 or 20 inhabitants, and many others only 2 or 3.

Area and population.

Houses and house room.

Statement No. 4, showing the average population per house in each district of Assam.

District.	Population.	Number of houses.	Average number of persons per house amongst the total population.	Average number of persons per house, excluding the foreign population.
Cachar Plains ..	367,542	82,338	4·4	5·1
Sylhet	2,154,593	433,492	4·9	5·0
Goalpara	452,304	82,228	5·5	5·5
Kamrup	634,249	126,568	5·0	5·0
Darrang	307,761	63,760	4·8	5·1
Nowgong	344,141	66,405	5·1	5·3
Sibsagar	457,274	97,853	4·6	5·1
Lakhimpur ..	254,053	55,970	4·5	5·1
North Cachar ..	18,941	3,767	5·0	5·0
Naga Hills ..	122,867	34,719	3·5	3·5
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	197,904	39,461	5·0	5·0
Garo Hills	121,570	23,948	5·0	5·0

The average number of persons per house in Assam, as compared with that returned in other provinces, is shown in statement No. 5. The difference between Assam and some of the other provinces in this respect is due mainly to differences of definition, and consequently no conclusions can be drawn from the comparison. The Assam figures correspond closely with those of Berar, Hyderabad, Ajmere, Bengal and Madras, and lie midway between the average population per house in England and Wales in 1881 (5·37) and in France in 1872 (4·68).

Statement No. 5, showing the average population per house returned in the different provinces.

Ajmere	5·2	Madras	5·2
Bengal	5·2	North-Western Provinces	5·6
Berar	4·8	Punjab	6·5
Bombay	5·5	Baroda	4·5
Burma	5·6	Central India	5·2
Central Provinces ..	5·9	Hyderabad	5·0
Coorg	6·5	Rajputana	5·5
Assam (including gardens)	4·8		
„ (excluding „)	5·0		

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Towns.

Area and population.

Towns.

11. The urban population* is exceptionally small, being only 1·8 per cent. of the total number of inhabitants of the province. The country is still very sparsely peopled, there are no large industries to encourage the growth of towns, and the main occupation of the vast majority of the population is agricultural. Tea gardens also tend to prevent the formation of large towns, as it is the policy of the managers to promote local markets and encourage traders to open shops near their gardens, which, when opened, are also resorted to by the villagers of the neighbourhood. Such towns as exist are all either sadr or subdivisional headquarters, and, except in a few cases, where the propinquity of a steamer ghat or other circumstances make their position more than ordinarily advantageous, are dependent chiefly on officials and wholesale dealers for their existence.

Statement No. 6, showing the population of towns and the proportion which the urban population of each district bears to the total population of the district.

District.	Town.	Population.	Percentage of the population to total population of district.
Cachar	Silchar	7,523	2·0
Sylhet ..	Sylhet	14,027	1·2
	Habiganj	4,161	
	Sunamganj ..	3,139	
	Karimganj	3,349	
	Maulvi Bazar ..	2,629	
	Total	27,305	
Goalpara ..	Dhubri	4,825	2·3
	Goalpara	5,440	
	Total	10,265	
Kamrup ..	Gauhati	10,817	3·1
	Barpeta	9,342	
	Total	20,159	
Darrang	Tezpur	4,011	1·3
Nowgong	Nowgong	4,815	1·3
Sibsagar ..	Sibsagar	5,249	2·1
	Jorhat	2,159	
	Golaghat	2,211	
	Total	9,619	
Lakhimpur	Dibrugarh	9,876	3·8
Naga Hills	Kohima	1,781	1·4
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	Shillong	6,720	3·3
Provincial total ..	.....	102,074	1·8

The extreme scantiness of the urban population is best illustrated by a comparison with the proportion returned in other countries. The urban population of Bengal is exceptionally small, yet even there the proportion is three times greater than it is in Assam; in Bombay it is nearly ten times, and in England and Wales nearly 37 times as great. The only tracts in the whole of India in which the rural population predominates to the same extent as in Assam are the Feudatories under the Central Provinces Administration.

Statement No. 7, comparing the urban population of Assam with that of some other countries.

Province.	Year of enumeration.	Percentage of urban to total population.
Assam	1891	1·8
Bengal	1881	5·3
Bombay	1881	17·8
Burma	1881	11·4
Central Provinces	1881	6·8
" " Feudatories	1881	1·5
Madras	1881	9·7
England and Wales	1881	66·6
United States	1880	22·5

Sylhet is the largest and, next to Gauhati, the most ancient town in the province. It was the capital of the country of the same name under the Hindu rulers, the last of whom, Gaur Gobind, was conquered by Shah Jalál† and his Darwishes in the fourteenth century. It continued to be the headquarters under Musalman rulers, and has remained the same since the district was acquired by the British in 1775. The town is situated on the banks of the Surma, and as the river traffic with Cachar is conducted along the southern branch of the Barak, and local trade on

Statement No. 8, showing the population of Sylhet.

Year of enumeration.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1872	16,346	9,314	7,532
1881	14,407	8,587	5,820
1891	14,027	7,976	6,051

* The definition of a town for the purposes of the census was "a place the population of which is not less than 5,000, or which is under the operation of some Municipal Act, or which is of a distinctly urban character."

† Shah Jalál's tomb is still to be seen at Sylhet. An interesting account of this Saint is given by Dr. Wise, Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873, page 278.

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the Surma does not come beyond Chhatak, Sylhet town is out of the general line of trade. Its importance has of late years been diminished by the formation of new subdivisions in the district, and, as it has no considerable industry* of its own, there is reason to believe that the decrease in the population brought out at the last two enumerations is due to purely natural causes, and will continue.

Gauhati, which stands next in point of size, is the most ancient town in Assam. It is mentioned in the *Jogini Tantra* as the capital of Mahirang Dánab, of Narakásur, the guardian of Kámákhya, and of his son Bhogdatta, who gave his daughter to Duryodhana, and fought on his side in the Mahábhárata. The first historical notice of the town is that by Hiouen Thsang, who visited it about 640 A.D. Even at that time it must have been a place of considerable antiquity, as the name by which it was known was Pragjyotishpur, or 'the city of departed g[illegible]' and the ruler is stated to have been the descendant of a long line of kings. It was afterwards the capital of the later Koch Rajas, was taken possession of by Mir Jumla in 1663 A.D., and a few years later again changed hands and became the property of the Ahoms. It was the seat of Government of the Ahom Viceroy of Lower Assam until 1788, when Gauri Nath Singh was constrained to retreat thither before the advance of the Moamarias. When the Brahmaputra Valley came under the East India Company, on the conclusion of the Burmese War, it was placed under a Commissioner, whose headquarters were at Gauhati, and continued to be so until 1874, when the Chief Commissionership was formed, and Shillong was selected as the seat of Government. Since that time the place has fallen off in importance, and owing to this cause and the prevalence of *kala-azar*, to which further reference will be made in the next chapter, its population is now stationary. Like Sylhet, Gauhati has no special industry, but it is the great centre of the mustard trade, and it is possible that, with the railway which is now under construction, the prosperity of the town will again revive.

Statement No. 9, showing the population of Gauhati.

Year of enumeration.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1872	11,492	7,119	4,373
1881	11,695	7,011	4,684
1891 ..	9,817	6,552	4,265

Dibrugarh is the most, in fact the only really rising town in the province. In 1872, it was little more than a village; nine years later its population had increased by more than 150 per cent., and during the last ten years it has added to its inhabitants a number almost equal to its total population in 1872. The place is very favourably situated, within a few miles of the steamer terminus; it is on the line of railway, and is the headquarters of a thriving and progressive district, possessing a large number of successful gardens and great mineral resources, which are only now beginning to be opened out. Without doubt, Dibrugarh has a future.

Statement No. 10, showing the population of Dibrugarh.

Year of enumeration.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1872	2,774	1,581	1,193
1881	7,153	4,281	2,872
1891	9,876	6,100	3,776

Barpeta, which comes next, is in every way the exact opposite of Dibrugarh. It is situated in the midst of a backward and purely agricultural population, and has no trade or industry to support it,† and its position amongst towns is solely due to its being the site of a celebrated Mahapurushia *sattra*. The ground is held to be sacred, and the limited area of the *sattra* is, therefore, crowded with adherents

Statement No. 11, showing the population of Barpeta.

Year of enumeration.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1881	11,332	5,429	5,903
1891	9,342	4,544	4,798

* Bangles are made in shell and lac, wooden toys are manufactured, and ivory is carved, but none of these industries are of any great importance.

† A certain amount of jewellery and pottery is made at Barpeta, but neither industry is of any great consequence.

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Area and population.

Villages.

of the sect, who hold that it is better to die in Barpeta than to live elsewhere, and who eke out a livelihood by agriculture combined with petty trade in pottery and agricultural produce. The place has no future before it, and its population is rapidly being diminished by the ravages of *kala-azar*, a disease to which the overcrowded state of the *sattra* and the insanitary habits of the people living there is highly favourable.

Statement No. 12, showing the population of Silchar.

Year of enumeration.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1872	4,925	3,999	926
1881	6,567	5,202	1,365
1891	7,523	5,728	1,795

Silchar, the sadr station of the Cachar district, is steadily increasing in population. Its situation on the banks of the Barak river is not unfavourable, but it has no special industry, and there seems to be no prospect of its becoming a town of any great importance for many years to come.

The other towns barely deserve separate mention. Shillong has a population of 6,720, which consists chiefly of the cantonment population and officials, and of the traders and others, who derive a livelihood from their custom. Sibsagar, Nowgong, Dhubri, Tezpur, and Sunamganj have all added considerably to the population returned in 1881; Goalpara, on the other hand, shows a decrease; and the population of Habiganj, Jorhat, and Golaghat is very nearly stationary.

Villages.

Villages—definition of the term.

12. Before discussing the distribution of the people by villages, it is necessary to explain what is locally understood by the term. In most provinces there is very little room for doubt on the subject. As a general rule, a village in India consists of a collection in one place of a number of houses occupied by persons living under a common constitution and sharing the lands attached to the village, which moreover are clearly demarcated from lands appertaining to other communities in the neighbourhood. In Assam there are no such villages. Amongst the Angamis, and a few other tribes, who until very recently were engaged in constant warfare with their neighbours, we find permanent and semi-fortified villages, the inhabitants of which are bound together by common interests and live for protection within the same ring fence. But, as a general rule, in the hills as well as in the plains, the people live in houses scattered promiscuously about the country, wherever the ground happens to be suitable for a homestead, and is conveniently situated for their cultivation. Occasionally the houses are crowded together into a small space, but this is accidental, and is merely due to the want of a sufficient quantity of high ground. Where such land is plentiful, villages are long and straggling. The houses have large compounds, and are often placed considerable distances apart, so that it is frequently hard to say to which village any particular house or group of houses belongs. There are besides no village lands, that is to say, no lands to the cultivation of which the inhabitants of any specified village have an exclusive or even a preferential right. A man may settle down and cultivate wherever it suits him, and if the land he takes up is too distant from his house, he promptly moves the latter to a new and more convenient site.* With this want of fixity of site and boundaries, it was difficult to frame a satisfactory definition of a 'village'. In many districts it was necessary to treat it as a collection of houses bearing a separate name. But this did not altogether solve the difficulty. Sometimes one group of houses bore two names, or a separate name had been acquired by a few

* The least permanent villages of all are those of the Kacharis and Lalungs and cognate tribes. The unsettled habits of the Khásis in this respect, as described by the Deputy Commissioner, have been noted at page 2 above.

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Area and population.

Villages.

outlying houses, which really were only a hamlet belonging to some neighbouring large village. It was impossible to lay down any general rule, saying when such places should be treated as one village and when as two; each case had to be treated on its merits by the local officer responsible, and it is hard to say to what extent uniformity of practice has been attained.

I have not yet referred to what is often a valuable auxiliary when other means of defining a village fail, that is to say, to the survey and the areas demarcated as revenue villages. In the hill districts there has been no revenue survey, and in Sylhet the *thak* villages are too straggling and indefinite to be of much use. They are said to have been resorted to at the census of 1872, but were almost entirely abandoned in 1881, and no attempt was made to revert to them on the present occasion. In Cachar the survey village is better known, and was often found useful. But it was in the Brahmaputra Valley that most use was made of the survey. Since 1881 cadastral operations have been in progress, and the greater part of four districts had been surveyed by the time the census was taken. The land being temporarily settled, there was a plentiful supply of local revenue officers, tahsildars, mauzadars, and mandals, and to all of these the survey villages with which they were concerned were well known. They were besides compact and of a suitable size. In all such tracts, therefore, the straggling, undefined groups of habitations were left out of account, and the survey village was taken as the basis of the census. It is true that by so doing two separate hamlets were sometimes treated as a single village, and that sometimes a collection of houses previously known by one name was split up into two villages, but this could not be helped. The great desideratum was a definite unit on which to base the census divisions, and the survey village answered this purpose admirably. To sum up, the village in the cadastrally-surveyed portions of the Brahmaputra Valley and Cachar was the area which formed the revenue survey village. Elsewhere, it was a group of houses bearing a separate name; in rare instances these groups of houses were compact, but, as a general rule, they were long and straggling. Sometimes outlying hamlets were included in the parent village, at other times each hamlet was treated separately.

In view of the indeterminate nature of Assam villages, any detailed scrutiny of the results of the census, so far as their number and population are concerned, would be a superfluous refinement, and I shall therefore treat this portion of the census statistics very briefly.

13. The total number of villages returned at the census is 17,160, but this is exclusive of uninhabited villages and hamlets which have been amalgamated with larger villages in the neighbourhood. Including the latter, the total number of villages amounts to 24,007. Taking the villages shown as such at the census, the average number of persons per village is 319. Nearly half of the population reside in villages containing from 200 to 499 persons, and nearly half of the remainder in villages containing more than 500 and less than 1,000; 13 per

Statement No. 13, showing the number of villages in the province, the average number of persons in each, and the percentage which the population of villages of different sizes bears to the total population.

—	Number of villages.	Average number of persons per village.	Percentage to total population.
Villages containing 1-199 persons ..	6,893	102	12·89
" " 200-499 " ..	7,758	318	45·09
" " 500-999 " ..	1,878	671	23·00
" " 1,000-1999 " ..	509	1,326	12·34
" " 2,000-2,999 " ..	80	2,359	3·44
" " 3,000-4,999 " ..	28	3,609	1·85
" " 5,000-9,999 " ..	7	7,373	·94
" " 10,000 and over " ..	2	12,411	·45

NOTE.—Towns are included in this statement.

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Area and population.

cent. of the people live in hamlets where there are less than 200, and 19 per cent. in places the population of which exceeds 1,000.

Visitors.

14. The marginal statement shows the average number of persons per village in each district, the number of acres per village, and the average distance between each. The largest population per village in any plains district is in Cachar, and the smallest in Darrang. Excluding these extremes, the variations in the other plains districts are slight. It has already been explained that, owing to the comparatively recent date at which the Naga Hills were brought under British administration, the people have not yet abandoned the habit, acquired during generations of warfare, of collecting together in large villages on defensible sites. It is therefore only natural that the average village population should be larger there than in the older hill districts, where the *Pax Britannica* was established at a much earlier period, and the sense of security being consequently greater, the people have begun to break up into small villages and settle on sites more conveniently situated for their cultivation. In North Cachar, the extremely small hamlets of the Mikirs have brought down the average.

Statement No. 14, showing the average population, areality, and proximity, of the villages in each district.

District.	Average number of persons per village.	Number of acres per village.	Proximity or average distance* between each village in miles.
Cachar Plains	575	2,475	2·11
Sylhet	330	531	0·98
Goalpara	411	2,300	2·03
Kamrup	404	1,494	1·64
Darrang	275	1,958	1·87
Nowgong	378	2,291	2·03
Sibsagar	349	1,395	1·58
Lakhimpur	324	3,043	2·31
North Cachar	90	5,766	3·03
Naga Hills	191	5,701	3·20
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	148	2,906	2·29
Garo Hills	120	2,082	1·93

Details are not given for North Lushai, as the area of that tract is only an estimate.

The smallest average area attached to each village is in Sylhet, where it is only 531 acres; the largest average in any plains district is in Lakhimpur. As a general rule, the area per village varies, as might have been anticipated, with the density of the population.

Another way of viewing the distribution of villages is by examining their proximity, *i.e.*, the average distance between each. I have shown this in the last column of statement No. 14 above,* but would point out that the average distances there given assume each village to be a point. They take no account of the area of the village sites nor of the straggling nature of many of the villages, and are in reality a less reliable test of density than the figures given in the column showing the average number of acres per village.

Visitors.

Visitors.

15. The number and percentage of visitors is shown in statement No. 15. Figures are not quoted for the hill districts, as they are available only for the portions which were censused synchronously. The return shows a larger proportion of visitors in Cachar than in any other district.† Sylhet comes next, and then the different districts of the Brahmaputra Valley,

* The distances in this column have been arrived at by the following calculation, which is in use in England, and was also used in Bombay and the Punjab at the census of 1881:

Let N = Number of hexagons in 100 square miles,

n = Number of villages in the same area. $\therefore n = 3N$.

Let d = Distance between each village, or, in other words, the length of the sides of the hexagons.

Then area of one hexagon $= \frac{3d^2\sqrt{3}}{2}$, and of N hexagons $= 3N \cdot \frac{d^2\sqrt{3}}{2} = \frac{n \cdot d^2\sqrt{3}}{2} =$ (by hypothesis) 100 square miles. $\therefore d^2 = \frac{200}{n\sqrt{3}}$

$\log d = \frac{\log (200)}{2} - \frac{\log (3)}{4} - \frac{\log (n)}{2} = 1{\cdot}7231235$ (a constant) $- \frac{\log n}{2}$.

† Owing possibly to transport arrangements in connection with the Lushai expedition.

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Area and population.

The floating population.

which, with the exception of Nowgong, present but slight differences in this respect. The census was taken at a time of the year when marriages are usually performed, and the people generally travel more than in the rains, so that there were probably more visitors to be censused than there would have been at any other season of the year. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that this return is taken from the rough totals furnished by deputy commissioners, and was not checked by detailed compilation in my office. It should also be pointed out that there was no separate column in the schedule in which to enter visitors, and that they were distinguished from residents simply by the addition of the letter V after their names, a distinction which the enumerators may in some instances have omitted to make, or, if made, to notice when totalling the population of their books.

Statement No. 15, showing the number of visitors in each district.

District.	Number of visitors.	Percentage on total population.
Cachar ..	16,814	4·5
Sylhet ..	78,921	3·6
Goalpara ..	12,150	2·6
Kamrup ..	16,381	2·5
Darrang ..	7,382	2·4
Nowgong ..	6,807	1·9
Sibsagar ..	13,089	2·8
Lakhimpur ..	6,923	2·7

The Floating Population.

16. Our communications by water have much improved since 1881. At that time the only steamers were those used to tow cargo flats, which passed up and down the Brahmaputra and Surma rivers at irregular intervals, and took weeks on their journey to and from Goalundo. Since then daily mail steamers, which do the same journey in a few days and run with great regularity, have been introduced, and passenger traffic has thereby been greatly stimulated.

The floating population.

Statement No. 16 shows the number of persons censused on the different rivers of the province. The corresponding figures for 1881 are added for comparison. The total population afloat on the 26th February 1891 amounted to 29,165, against 20,501 ten years previously. Part of the increase is doubtless due to the fact that many persons of the Sylhet and Goalpara districts were censused on the river on their return from the Arddhodaya Joga, and part also possibly to the very careful arrangements which were made on the present occasion to secure the complete enumeration of the floating population. But, after making allowances for both these causes, the amount of the increase is still somewhat unexpected, for it is clear that although the improved steamer communications encourage travelling, they also tend to reduce the number of persons afloat at any given moment.*

Statement No. 16, comparing the floating population with that returned in 1881.

District.	Census of 1881.			Census of 1891.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
Cachar	1,998	1,944	54	2,169	2,112	57
Sylhet	8,347	7,903	444	12,969	11,982	987
Goalpara	3,553	3,318	235	5,629	5,315	314
Kamrup	2,552	2,532	20	3,061	2,962	99
Darrang	811	804	7	1,633	1,467	166
Nowgong	355	353	2	1,137	1,130	7
Sibsagar	1,919	1,740	179	1,667	1,602	65
Lakhimpur	952	799	153	895	871	24
Garo Hills	14	14	....	5	5	....
Total	20,501	19,407	1,094	29,165	27,446	1,719

Out of the total number of 29,165 persons afloat, 2,684 were censused on board steamers. Unfortunately, the corresponding details for 1881 are not available, and without them it is difficult to say to what extent the practice of travelling by river has really increased. But it is certain that many persons now travel by steamer who formerly travelled by boat; and that the real increase in the travelling population is, therefore, greater than is shown by the bare figures I have quoted.

Statement No. 17, showing the portion of the floating population which was censused on board steamers.

Sylhet ..	94	Darrang ..	1,229
Goalpara ..	465	Sibsagar ..	280
Kamrup ..	397	Lakhimpur	219

* For instance, suppose the journey from Gauhati to Dibrugarh by boat takes five weeks, and the corresponding trip by steamer five days; then if 100 persons start daily from Gauhati to Dibrugarh, there would always be 100 × 35 = 3,500 persons on their way to that place if they all travelled by boat, against only 100 × 5 = 500 if they all went by steamer; in other words, given an equal annual number of travellers by water, the number actually afloat at any given moment would be seven times as great if boats were the means of travelling, as it would be if steamers were entirely resorted to. The converse also holds good, and the census of 500 persons on steamers means seven times as many travellers as the same number of persons counted in boats.

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Area and population.

The floating population.

To obtain a true view of the constitution of the floating population, it would be necessary to know their occupations and the purpose of their journeys. The standard instructions did not provide for the latter item of information, and I regret that I did not perceive the importance of the former in time to tabulate it separately. It may, however, be said that of the 2,684 persons on steamers, about 1,200 were engaged on board in different capacities, and that the remaining 1,484* were passengers, including probably a considerable number of immigrant coolies. Of those enumerated in boats, the great majority were probably boatmen. There are no data on which an accurate estimate can be framed; but, roughly speaking, it may be assumed that not more than 3,000 of the persons so censused in the Surma Valley and 900 in the Brahmaputra Valley were travellers.†

The trade statistics of the province show that the total value of the exports from and imports into Assam by boat has risen during the last ten years from 120 to 186 lakhs, and the value of the inter-provincial steamer trade from 406 to 568 lakhs. The gross increase in the value of goods carried by steamer is double that of goods carried by boat, but the proportional increase of the latter is 50 per cent., against only an increase of 40 per cent. in the steamer trade. Boats monopolise the greater part of the trade in lime, rice, gram, kerosine and other oils, salt, sugar, tobacco, oranges, and potatoes. The more expensive articles of merchandise, such as tea, piece-goods, liquors, and metals, and also coal and mustard, are for the most part carried by steamer. No returns are available to show the increase in the river-borne trade within the province; but it may safely be asserted that the greater part of it is carried by boat, and that much of the produce, *e.g.*, mustard, which is eventually taken out of the province in steamers, is first carried for a considerable distance by boat. If the increase in the total river-borne trade of the province may be judged by that shown in the inter-provincial returns, it would appear that it amounts to 43 per cent.; and, looked at from this point of view, the growth of the floating population is not so surprising as at first sight it appeared.

17. The percentage which the floating population bears to the total population of each district is shown in the margin. It is highest in Goalpara, which is the terminus of the boat trade with Bengal. Sylhet, Cachar, Darrang, and Kamrup come next with very nearly equal figures, and last come the three districts of Upper Assam,—Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, and Nowgong. The low position of Nowgong is due to Darrang having practically monopolised the floating population of the Brahmaputra. Its inland floating population is proportionately more numerous than that of any other district. As already explained, the whole of the cotton from the Mikir Hills is brought down the Kallang by boat, and this channel is also extensively used, in preference to the Brahmaputra, by the boatmen who bring down mustard from the Majuli to Gauhati.

Statement No. 18, showing the percentage which the floating population bears to the total population of each district.

Cachar	.. ·59	Darrang	.. ·53
Sylhet	.. ·60	Nowgong	.. ·33
Goalpara	.. 1·24	Sibsagar	.. ·36
Kamrup	.. ·48	Lakhimpur	·35

The month of February is one in which the boat traffic of the Brahmaputra Valley is at its minimum. It is not until April that much trade is done in mustard, while the boats of Bengali traders do not begin to ascend the Brahmaputra until the end of June. Had the census been taken in that month, or in July, a much larger floating population would have been returned.

* The equivalent of about 10,388 persons travelling by boat.

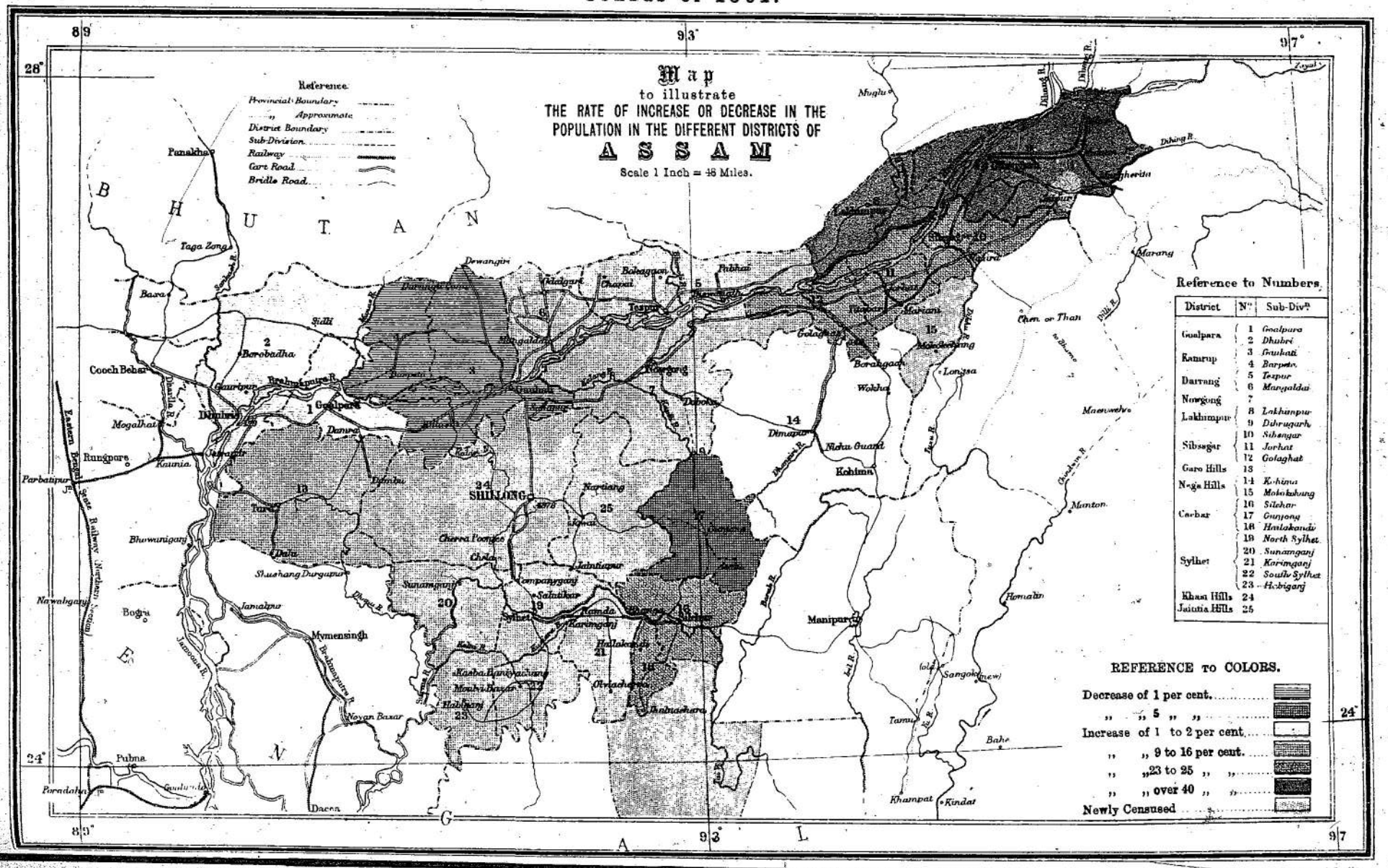
† Had these persons travelled by steamer, the numbers would have been about 430 and 130 respectively.

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CHAPTER II.—VARIATIONS IN THE POPULATION.

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Census of 1891.



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CHAPTER II.—VARIATIONS IN THE POPULATION.

IMPERIAL TABLE II.

Variations in the population.

Introductory remarks.

18. In the previous chapter the main characteristics of the population as it stood on the night of the 26th February 1891 were discussed. It is now proposed to consider the changes which have taken place during the last ten years and the causes from which they have resulted. An examination of these causes in full detail would involve the discussion of the ages and birth places of the people and other subjects, which will be dealt with in subsequent chapters, and, as it seems advisable to leave these matters to be fully treated in their proper place, the considerations referred to in this chapter will be those of a general nature only.

In treating of the increase in the number of inhabitants of a country, it is usual to refer at some length to the theories of Malthus, regarding which so many diverse opinions have from time to time been expressed. But in dealing with the population of a backward and sparsely peopled province like Assam, such a discussion seems to be unnecessary. The doctrine advocated by Malthus, in its present form at least, proclaims an undoubted ultimate truth,* the practical importance of which depends entirely on the existing density of the population, and, as in Assam there is land enough and to spare for the support of many generations at the present rate of increase, the question whether the soil will suffice to support the population which may be expected to exist at some future period is too remote to require investigation.

Birth rate.

19. The growth of the population is dependent chiefly on the extent to which the birth rate exceeds the death rate, and on the amount of immigration which takes place. As regards the birth rate, it is found in European countries that the number of children born annually depends largely on the prosperity of the people; prudential considerations have begun to operate except only amongst the poorest classes, and people do not usually marry until they are able to support a family. But in Assam prudence enters very little into the calculations of the people. A man is often prevented from marrying as soon as he otherwise would, by the necessity of paying a heavy price for his wife; but as soon as he has collected enough money for this purpose, he marries, without thinking of the future, or of his ability to support any children that may be born to him.† Under these conditions, it is evident that the birth rate must be a high one, and it will be shown further on‡ that this *a priori* conclusion is fully borne out by the age statistics of the people.

Death rate.

20. The birth rate is very high, and if the mortality were normal the rate of increase would be a very rapid one. Unhappily this is not the case. The death rate exceeds that of European countries in at least as great a proportion as the birth rate. The longevity of a people is partly dependent on climatic and other physical causes, and partly on their social habits. As regards the former, I have already noted§ that the climate of Assam is not in itself unfavourable

* Dr. Farr and others have attacked it, but their arguments apply solely to the form in which the case was originally put, *viz.*, that population tends to increase in geometrical and the means of subsistence in arithmetical progression. But, leaving aside this somewhat too definite form of expression, there can be no doubt that population *unchecked* tends to increase at a greater pace than the fertility of the soil. The population never actually outgrows the productiveness of the soil, because checks always, as a matter of fact, exist, and this is exactly what Malthus wished to lay stress on. Checks are of two classes, positive and preventive. To the former belong deaths from sickness, famine, &c., and to the latter prudential restraints on population, which may either take the form of late marriage or of measures to prevent conception after marriage. But, positive or preventive, some check must always operate ultimately, and if prudential considerations do not effect the needful restraint on the growth of population, positive checks will certainly do so.

† In fact, he often borrows the money wherewith to purchase his wife, in other words, he goes into debt to get married.

‡ See chapter IV. § See page 52.

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Variations in the population.

to health, except where, owing to the scanty population, rank vegetation is allowed to grow unchecked. It is to the habits of the people rather than to the climate that the heavy mortality is to be attributed. Although not to be depended on as showing the actual number of deaths which occur, the vital statistics returns may perhaps be taken to show the relative degree of mortality due to different diseases. From the figures there furnished, it appears that 'fevers' account for more than half the total number of deaths, and fever is a thing which can be prevented to a large extent if proper precautions are taken. The soil is waterlogged for several months of the year, but the liability to fever from this cause could be minimised if the people built their houses on platforms or well raised plinths and used *machán*s to sleep on. This, however, they usually neglect to do. Then, again, in the cold weather the evil effects of the damp fogs which are prevalent throughout the plains districts, could be avoided if the people used woollen clothes and blankets, but they seldom wear anything except cotton or silk. A large proportion of the deaths returned as due to 'fevers' is to be attributed to *kála-azár*, a disease which recent enquiries have shown to be quite distinct from fever, and to be due to the attacks of a parasite (*anchylostoma duodenalis*). The heavy mortality from this cause was first noticed* in 1882 in certain villages along the northern terai of the Garo Hills, and in 1884 the number of deaths became so great that a special relief work was organised. Since that date the disease has spread gradually through the Goalpara subdivision and throughout that portion of the Kamrup district which lies on the south bank of the Brahmaputra. It has now reached the Nowgong district, and for several years past a number of deaths in North Kamrup and Mangaldai have also been reported to be due to this disease. The mortality attending its progress has been terrible, and tracts which before its advent were covered with thickly peopled and prosperous villages have been left by it deserted and uncultivated. Whole villages have thus disappeared, and large areas of land have been thrown out of cultivation.† It has been shown that the spread of *kála-azár*, or *anchylostomiasis*, is chiefly effected through the dejecta, and that even the most simple sanitary measures would suffice to bar its progress. But the people neglect the simplest precautions; they ease themselves either in the immediate neighbourhood of their houses, or on the bank of the stream or tank from which they get their water supply, and thus the spread of the disease is much facilitated. The same want of common cleanliness accounts largely for the high mortality from cholera, which ranks next to fevers in the length of its annual death-roll. It can scarcely be called endemic in the province, and owes its origin in nearly all cases to importation from Bengal, but, the taint having once been introduced, the uncleanly habits of the people and the want of all precautions in connection with their water supply‡ afford it every opportunity of spreading. The number of deaths from bowel-complaints seems also to be largely due to the impurity of the water which the people drink, and to their eating unripe fruit and failing to properly cook their rice. It will be seen, therefore, that, although the death rate is excessively heavy, it is due largely to preventible causes, and there is room for hope that, with the spread of education and a knowledge of the first principles of cleanliness and sanitation, a perceptible improvement will take place, and result in a more rapid increase of the population.

Statement No. 19, showing the number of deaths in Assam during 1890 from different causes.

Cause of death.	Number of deaths.
Cholera	15,074
Small-pox ..	1,392
Fevers	73,026
Bowel-complaints ..	12,462
Injuries	1,686
Other causes ..	27,158

Immigration.

21. Next to the relative proportion of the births and deaths, immigration is an important factor in the growth of the population. In Assam the tea industry has created an enormous demand for labour

* It was then stated that, though not observed by our officials, the disease had been known to the villagers for 20 years previously. [Sanitary Report for 1882, page 21.]

† Three years ago, before the full effect of the disease had made itself felt, the loss of revenue on this account in Kamrup alone was estimated at more than Rs. 49,000.

‡ The Assamese will take any water except well water. I have frequently seen people drink from foul pools covered with slime, and, on asking them how they could use such filth, have been told that the water was excellent.

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and the requirements of the coal mines at Margherita and of the Public Works Department throughout the province are also considerable. Land is available to an unlimited extent at very moderate rates, and the great mass of the indigenous population are able to support themselves in comfort by their cultivation, so that at the most they will only work for others at certain seasons of the year. The local labour supply is thus extremely limited, and the demand has, therefore, to be met by indent on other provinces, where the population is denser, and the land is insufficient to support everybody. The result is a constant influx of immigrants, the majority of whom, after the expiry of the term of the labour contracts under which they come to the province, either renew their agreements or settle down as cultivators, or else take employment as carters, &c. **Variations in the population**

Besides those who come to Assam under agreements to labour, there is a large foreign trading population, but persons of this class seldom settle permanently in the province. They stay here for a number of years, until they have secured a competency, and then retire, to pass the remainder of their life in their family home in Bengal or Rajputana.

It might have been thought that the amount of available land, the fertility of the soil, and the low rents, prevailing would have induced some portion at least of the overcrowded cultivators of Bengal to find their way to Assam and take up land here. But this does not appear to be the case. Indian peasants are ignorant and wanting in energy and enterprise, and are slow to leave their homes. The coolies for tea gardens come to Assam because they are more than usually indigent, and are specially recruited and brought to the province at the expense of the persons for whom they are to labour. No such inducements exist to bring ryots to Assam to take up land for cultivation, and they, therefore, do not come. A certain number of persons from the neighbouring Bengal districts of Mymensing, Dacca, and Rangpur have crossed the boundary and settled down in Sylhet and Goalpara, but this can scarcely be called immigration. They have only moved a few miles from their original homes, and the accident of boundary alone has brought them within the limits of Assam. Practically, the only real and permanent immigrants are the coolies, who come up under labour contracts, and settle down in the province after their agreements have expired.*

Changes in the population of districts.

22. I will now refer briefly to the variations in the population of each district, and having done this, will proceed to discuss the net results for the province generally.

The growth of the population of Cachar Plains during the decade under review is shown in the margin. The total increase is 73,804, or over 25 per cent., of which 19·9 per cent. is due to natural increase, ·2 per cent. to new immigrants from other districts, and 5 per cent. to immigrants from other provinces. The figures showing the natural increase are probably somewhat above the mark. At the census no distinction was drawn between persons born in North Cachar and those born in Cachar Plains. For the purpose of the statement given above, I have assumed that there has been no intermigration between these two tracts, but it is doubtful how far this assumption is justifiable. Taking the two portions of the district together, the natural growth in the ten years is

Cachar.

Statement No. 20, showing the variation in the population of Cachar Plains.

Year of Census.	Total population.	District born.	Immigrants	
			from other districts.	from other provinces.
1891	367,542	249,365	25,380	92,797
1881	293,738	190,831	24,667	78,240
Gain or loss .	+73,804	+58,534	+713	+14,557
Percentage of gain or loss.	+25·1	+30·6	+2·8	+18·6
Percentage on total population.	+25·1	+19·9	+·2	+5·0

* Besides the coolie population, a certain number of Nipalese from the local regiments and military police battalions settle down in the province when they take their pension, but their total number is inconsiderable. The extent to which time expired coolies settle down in the province will be more fully discussed in the chapter on birth place.

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Variations in the population.

18·2 per cent.*, or 16·9 per thousand per annum,† a figure which is slightly below that furnished for Cachar Plains alone, but which is still sufficiently high. The district is a healthy one, the soil is rich, rents are low, and there is a good market for all produce. Under these circumstances a rapid increase of population might well be anticipated.‡

The rate of growth is somewhat greater in the sadr subdivision than in Hailakandi, where the population is denser, and there is less waste land available for settlement. There has been comparatively little fresh immigration from other districts, the total increase over 1881 being only 713.§ These local immigrants are, for the most part, persons from Sylhet who come to Cachar to take up land for ordinary cultivation.‖ They settle chiefly in the western portion of the district, and, as the amount of waste land in this direction is now extremely small, it seems probable that the growth of population from this cause has nearly come to an end, that is to say, unless the settlers of this class consent to move further from their original homes in quest of land, a contingency which seems to be doubtful. The immigrants from other provinces are chiefly tea garden coolies. Their number has risen from 78,240 in 1881 to 92,797, being an increase of 18·60 per cent. in the course of ten years. As already stated, the subject of immigration will be more fully dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

Statement No. 21, showing the changes in the population of each subdivision of Cachar Plains.

Subdivision.	Population.		Gain or loss.	Percentage.
	1891.	1881.		
Silchar	267,673	211,821	+55,852	+26·3
Hailakandi ..	99,869	81,917	+17,952	+21·9
Total	**367,542**	**293,738**	**+73,804**	**+25·1**

23. Marginal statement No. 22 gives details of the growth of the population of Sylhet. The total increase amounts to 185,584, or 9·4 per cent., of which 111,627, or ·52 per cent. per annum, is due to natural growth, and the remainder to immigration. The increase amongst persons born in the district only amounts to 5·8 per cent. in the ten years.¶ The district is very densely peopled, compared with other parts of the province, and there is comparatively little room for increase. The climate generally is reported to be salubrious, but the terai at the foot of the Garo Hills in the Sunamganj subdivision is extremely unhealthy,** and in that tract there has been a decrease in the population. The number of settlers from other districts of Assam is very slightly greater than it was ten years ago.

Sylhet.

Statement No. 22, showing the variation in the population of the Sylhet district.

Year of Census.	Total population.	District born.	Immigrants	
			from other districts.	from other provinces.
1891	2,154,593	2,033,631	5,892	115,070
1881	1,969,009	1,922,004	5,756	41,249
Gain or loss ..	+185,584	+111,627	+136	+73,821
Percentage of gain or loss.	+9·4	+5·8	+2·3	+178·9
Percentage on total population.	+9·4	+5·7	....	+3·7

The immigrants from outside the province, on the other hand, have increased vastly in numbers. Ten years ago Sylhet scarcely deserved the name of a tea district, but since then a large area has been planted out, and its exports of tea during the season of 1890-91 amounted to 17,005,843lb, a quantity which was exceeded only in the district

* This is without allowing for any part of the natural increase leaving the district. If this were taken into consideration, the figure would be somewhat higher, but as the emigration which exists is mainly from North Cachar to the Naga Hills, it is impossible to calculate the loss on this account the Naga Hills not having been censused in 1881.

† If r=rate of increase per head, Population_{1891} (*i.e.*, population $_{1881}$ + natural increase) = $\text{Population}_{1881} \times (1+r)^{10}$ ∴ log. $(1+r) = \frac{\log P_{91} - \log P_{81}}{10}$ and r=·0169.

‡ It is possible that the increase may be due to a slight extent to a more careful enumeration. There are many *punjis* on land belonging to tea gardens which are very liable to be overlooked both by the managers and the village enumerators of the neighbourhood, unless very careful arrangements are made. Some of these may possibly have been lost sight of in 1881, when it was stated that the district officers of Cachar did not devote sufficient attention to the census.

§ This is in addition to the annual immigration necessary to keep up the strength of the immigrants returned in 1881. Taking the death rate to be as little as 35 per 1,000, this alone would require an annual immigration of 863 persons from other districts, and 2,638 persons from other provinces.

‖ The great bulk of the existing population of the district consists of persons whose ancestors immigrated from Sylhet (*cf.* Hunter's 'Statistical Account of Assam', volume II, page 394)

¶ The rate would be slightly higher if we take into account the emigration to other districts. 24,701 persons born in Sylhet were censused in other districts on this occasion, against 19,124 in 1881, and, making allowance for this, the increase comes to 6·09 per cent or ·58 per cent. per annum.

** It is reported that the people suffer much from fevers of which the symptoms, as described, are very similar to those presented by *kála-azár*,

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of Sibsagar. This rapid expansion of the tea industry has brought a considerable number of foreign coolies into the district, and it is mainly owing to this that the immigrant population has increased to such an extent. All foreigners, however, are not tea garden coolies. Many of them are cultivators from the adjacent districts of Bengal, especially from Tipperah and Mymensingh. Unfortunately details of the birth districts of the immigrants censused in 1881 are not available, and it is thus impossible to say to what extent this immigration from adjacent Bengal districts for cultivation purposes has increased. I am not aware that the subject has ever attracted much attention, and it was not noticed by the Deputy Commissioner in his report on the results of the census. In the absence of definite information on the subject, there appears to be no reason to believe that this form of immigration has increased much of late years, and it may therefore be assumed that the greater part of the excess of the foreign born population over that returned in 1881, is due to the growth of the tea industry.

Variations in the population.

Statement No. 23, showing the settlers in Sylhet from certain Bengal districts.

District of Birth.	Number.
Hill Tipperah	878
Tipperah	10,819
Mymensingh	12,603
Dacca	4,547

Examining the changes in the population of each subdivision separately, it appears that the greatest increase is in South Sylhet (16·2 per cent.), where the expansion of the tea industry has been greater than in any other part of the district. The immigrants from Tipperah to Sylhet have also contributed to the increase in the population of this subdivision. Karimganj, which has a large garden population in the Chargola Valley, comes next with 12 per cent., then Sunamganj with 8 per cent., and North Sylhet with 7·9 per cent. The increase is least marked in Habiganj, where it only amounts to 5·5 per cent. This subdivision is the most densely peopled part of the district, and has a smaller coolie population than any other subdivision except Sunamganj, where there are no tea gardens, and where the increase is possibly due in part to immigration from Mymensing.

Statement No. 24, showing the changes in the population of each subdivision of the Sylhet district.

Subdivision.	Population. 1891.	Population. 1881.	Gain or loss.	Percentage.
North Sylhet ..	482,341	446,762	+35,579	+ 7·9
Habiganj ..	508,854	482,051	+26,803	+ 5·5
Sunamganj ..	413,381	382,560	+30,821	+8·0
South Sylhet ..	365,379	314,215	+51,164	+16·2
Karimganj ..	384,638	343,421	+41,217	+12·0
Total ..	**2,154,593**	**1,969,009**	**+185,584**	**+ 9·4**

24. The net result of the changes which have taken place in the population of the Goalpara district during the last ten years are shown in statement No. 25. I have already referred to the ravages of *kála-azár* in this district, and my remarks are fully borne out by the figures in this statement. The total population has increased by 1·36 per cent., but this result is solely due to the large number of immigrants who have entered the district of late years. The indigenous population shows a decrease

Goalpara.

Statement No. 25, showing the variation in the population of the Goalpara district.

Year of Census.	Total population.	District born.	Immigrants from other districts.	Immigrants from other provinces.
1891	452,304	401,827	5,338	45,139
1881	446,232	422,276	997	22,959
Gain or loss ..	+6,072	—20,449	+4,341	+22,180
Percentage of gain or loss.	+1·36	—4·8	+435·4	+96·6
Percentage on total population.	+1·36	—4·58	+0·97	+4·97

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Variations in the population.

of 20,449, or 4·8 per cent., of which 8,344, or 1·9 per cent., is attributable to an increase in the number of emigrants to other districts,* and the remainder to the very heavy mortality due to the spread of *kála-azár*. This, however, only represents the net reduction in the population due to *kála-azár*. The actual loss is much greater, as will appear if we consider the changes in the population of each subdivision separately. In the sadr subdivision, where the disease has not spread to any great extent, and there has, moreover, been a considerable immigration from the neighbouring Bengal districts, there has been an increase of 35,771 persons, or 19·36 per cent. In the Goalpara subdivision, on the other hand, the ravages of *kála-azár* are chiefly responsible for a reduction of 29,699 persons, or 18·08 per cent.

Statement No. 26, showing the changes in the population of each subdivision in the Goalpara district.

Subdivision.	Population.		Gain or loss.	Percentage of gain or loss.
	1891.	1881.		
Dhubri	317,781	282,010	+35,771	+19·36
Goalpara	134,523	164,222	−29,699	−18·08
Total	**452,304**	**446,232**	**+6,072**	**+1·26**

The immigrants into Goalpara from other districts are mostly ryots of the Barpeta subdivision of Kamrup, who have crossed the Monas and taken up land on the west bank of that river. The increase in the number of persons who were born in other provinces is due partly to the small Christian colony of Santhals, which in 1881 had only just been started, but mainly to a large influx of cultivators from the adjoining Bengal districts, and especially from Rangpur. There is also a slight increase of 861 in the number of persons censused in Goalpara, but born in the North-Western Provinces.

Statement No. 27, showing the number of immigrants from certain Bengal districts.

Born in	Number.
Mymensing	2,609
Dacca	1,176
Rangpur	22,788
Kuch Behar	1,217

Kamrup.

25. The prevalence of *kála-azár*, which has kept down the population of the Goalpara district, has caused a considerable net decrease in the population of Kamrup, which is now only 634,249, against 644,960 in 1881. The district born population has decreased by 20,479, or 3·2 per cent., the net loss being reduced by a slight increase in the number of immigrants from other districts of Assam and from outside the province. There has been an increase in the number of emigrants to other districts, the number of persons born in Kamrup and censused in other parts of the province having risen from 6,962 ten years ago to 17,196. Allowing for this, the falling off in the indigenous population is reduced to 10,245, or 1·6 per cent., which is wholly owing to the mortality from *kála-azár*. Between the years 1872 and 1881 the number of the inhabitants of this district rose from 561,681 to 644,960, an advance of 14·83 per cent., and although this was in part due to the more thorough counting of the people which was effected in 1881, there is no doubt that there was a substantial increase of population during these nine years. The only cause which has prevented further growth is the mortality from this disease, but for which, it is not unreasonable to suppose that a further advance of at least 10 per cent. would have been recorded.

Statement No. 28, showing the variation in the population of the Kamrup district.

Year of Census.	Total population.	District born.	Immigrants	
			from other districts.	from other provinces.
1891	634,249	616,148	6,688	11,413
1881	644,960	636,627	2,448	5,885
Gain or loss	−10,711	−20,479	+4,240	+5,528
Percentage of gain or loss ..	−1·6	−3·2	+173·2	+93·9
Percentage on total population	−1·6	−3·1	+·65	+·85

* Strictly speaking, the loss by emigration is greater than this, as the emigrant population is constantly being diminished by deaths. Thus, 5,602 persons born in Goalpara were censused in other districts in 1881, and to keep up their number an annual emigration of 196 persons would be required, and a further undefined amount of emigration would be required to keep up the gradually increasing emigrant population which settled in other districts during the years 1881-91. On the other hand, I have not taken into account the gain from the offspring of immigrants who have settled in the district since 1881, and on the whole the gain and loss may be left out of consideration as balancing each other.

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On this assumption the population now recorded is less by 75,000 persons than it would have been had there been no deaths from *kála-azár*.* Variations in the population.

The extent to which this disease is responsible for the decrease in the population becomes more clear when the figures for each subdivision are examined separately. The decrease in the sadr subdivision for which it is chiefly responsible has swallowed up the whole of the slight increase in Barpeta, where the mortality from this cause is comparatively slight, and this notwithstanding the fact that the gain from immigration has gone almost entirely to the sadr subdivision. Assuming there to have been no migration of the population between the two subdivisions, and that Barpeta has benefited to the full extent of the excess immigration from Goalpara, but not by that from elsewhere, the total loss sustained by the sadr amounts to 4·01 per cent. The decrease may be still further localised by dividing the sadr subdivision into the part lying on the north bank of the Brahmaputra and the tract on the south bank. The north bank has been comparatively free from *kála-azár*, and its population has been growing slowly. The south bank, on the other hand, which contains the afflicted tracts, shows a very heavy decrease. Its population in 1881 was 172,125, and this has now fallen to 151,802, or by nearly 12 per cent. If figures were available to compare the district-born in this tract in 1881 with those now returned, the decrease would be still greater, as this part of the district contains the town of Gauhati and almost all the tea gardens, so that its immigrant population is larger than in 1881 and its district born population less by the same amount.

Statement No. 29, showing the changes in the population of each subdivision of the Kamrup district.

Subdivision.		Population. 1891.	Population. 1881.	Increase or decrease.	Percentage.
Gauhati	North bank	346,742	339,805	+6,937	+2·04
	South bank	151,802	172,125	−20,323	−11·80
	Total ..	498,544	511,930	−13,386	−2·61
Barpeta		135,705	133,030	+2,675	+2·01
**Total of district .. .. ..

Variations in the population.

favourable both to tea and ordinary crops, prices of food-grains are high, there is a large demand for labour for its flourishing gardens, and trade is comparatively brisk.

Statement No. 31, showing the changes in the population of each subdivision of the Darrang district.

Subdivision.	Population.		Gain or loss.	Percentage of gain or loss.
	1891.	1881.		
Tezpur	125,637	91,362	+34,275	+37·51
Mangaldai	182,124	181,971	+153	+ 0·08
Total	307,761	273,333	+34,428	+12·60

This subdivision is, therefore, as progressive as Mangaldai is backward, a fact which is clearly proved by the figures noted in the margin. There is a considerable emigration from Mangaldai to the sadr subdivision, and some also to other districts, but as birth place was recorded by districts and not by subdivisions, it is impossible to give exact figures. It may, however, be stated that nearly all the emigration to other districts is from Mangaldai, and that most of the immigrants who enter the district go to the Tezpur subdivision. Taking the district as a whole, the increase during the decade amounts to 34,428, or 12·60 per cent., to which the natural growth of the population only contributes six persons, practically, the whole increase being due to immigrants from other districts and provinces. Even allowing for emigration, the natural growth only amounts to 1,319 persons, or 0·44 per cent. It has long been known that the population of Mangaldai is stationary, but this fact has usually been attributed to the emigration of Kácháris to Upper Assam. It appears, however, that this is not the case, and if, as seems probable, the natural population of the sadr subdivision is increasing, that of Mangaldai must be gradually decreasing, as has already been seen to be the case in Kamrup and Goalpara. The explanation furnished for these districts, however, will not altogether suffice to explain the state of things in Mangaldai. *Kála-azár* has appeared there it is true, but the mortality from this disease has not as yet reached the appalling dimensions to which it has attained lower down the valley. The vital statistics returns are still too untrustworthy to enable them to be applied with any certainty to the elucidation of the causes for the stationary condition of this subdivision. It may, however, be noted that they agree in their general character with the results shown by the census, insomuch as they show a heavier mortality in the Darrang district* than in any other except Kamrup and Goalpara, and that the extent to which the births recorded are exceeded by the deaths is second only to the figures for Kamrup. So far as the classification of deaths given in the sanitary reports may be relied on, it appears that the high mortality is mainly accounted for, as in Goalpara and Kamrup, by the large number of deaths from 'fevers'.

The emigrants to other districts are more than made up for by settlers from Goalpara, Kamrup, and Nowgong; some of these are cultivators, but the majority are probably coolies on tea gardens, as also are most of the immigrants from other provinces.

27. The changes in the population of Nowgong are shown in statement No. 32.

Nowgong.

Statement No. 32, showing the changes in the population of the Nowgong district.

Year of Census.	Total population.	District born.	Immigrants from other districts.	Immigrants from other provinces.
1891	344,141	319,487	7,795	16,859
1881	310,579	297,963	3,368	9,248
Gain or loss	+33,562	+ 21,524	+ 4,427	+ 7,611
Percentage of gain or loss ..	+ 10·81	+ 7·22	+131·44	+ 82·30
Percentage on total population ..	+ 10·81	+ 6·93	+ 1·43	+ 2·45

The total increase of population amounts to 33,562, or 10·81 per cent., of which 21,524, or 6·93 per cent., is due to the natural growth of the population, 1·43 per cent. to immigration from other districts, and 2·45 per cent. to an increase in the number of persons born in other provinces. The natural growth of the population would have been considerably greater had it not been for the extent to

* The sanitary reports do not give figures for subdivisions separately.

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Variations in the population.

which emigration to other districts has taken place since the last census. The number of persons born in Nowgong but censused in other districts in 1881 was only 3,460, against 14,454 at the present enumeration. But for this emigration, the natural increase would have amounted to 32,518, or 10·4 per cent. in the ten years, *i.e.*, at the rate of slightly less than 1 per cent. per annum. The emigration is mainly due to Mikirs who have crossed the Naga Hills boundary, and to *chapori* cultivators who have taken up land in the Darrang district. The immigrants from within the province are chiefly from Goalpara, Kamrup, and Darrang, some of whom are cultivators and others tea garden coolies. Those from other provinces are almost all of them persons recruited to work in the tea gardens.

28. Sibsagar is one of the most progressive districts in the province. It contains numerous tea gardens, its soil is fertile and its climate is healthy. No special epidemics have devastated the district during the past ten years, and it is, therefore, natural that its population should show a considerable increase over 1881. The total increase amounts to 87,000, or 23·49 per cent. Of this, 40,095, or 10·83 per cent., represents the natural increase, 2·55 per cent. is due to immigration from other districts, and 10·11 to immigration from other provinces. The number of persons born in Sibsagar, but censused in other districts, in 1891 was 6,689, against 1,911 ten years ago. Counting these, the total natural growth amounts to 12·1, or 1·15 per cent. per annum. Of these emigrants, two-thirds have entered the Lakhimpur district and the greater part of the remainder have gone to Darrang and Nowgong. The emigrants to Lakhimpur are nearly balanced by the immigrants from that district, while the settlers from Nowgong and Darrang considerably exceed the number of persons who have left Sibsagar for those districts. The immigrants from Goalpara and Darrang are nearly all of them tea garden coolies, as also are most of the persons who have come to the district from other provinces.

Sibsagar.

Statement No. 33, showing the changes in the population of the Sibsagar district.

Year of Census.	Total population.	Born and censused in district.	Immigrants	
			from other districts.	from other provinces.
1891	457,274	354,224	13,087	89,963
1881	370,274	314,129	3,629	52,516
Gain or loss	+87,000	+40,095	+ 9,458	+ 37,447
Percentage of gain or loss ..	+ 23·49	+12·76	+ 260·62	+ 71·31
Percentage on total population ..	+ 23·49	+ 10·83	+ 2·55	+ 10·11

The increase which has taken place in each subdivision is noted in the margin. Unlike the other districts of the Brahmaputra Valley, the local conditions are very much the same throughout, and the increase is very uniformly distributed. The sadr subdivision stands first with a gain of 24·10 per cent., and Jorhat comes last with 23·09 per cent.

Statement No. 34, showing the changes in the population of each subdivision of the Sibsagar district.

Subdivision.	Population.		Gain or loss.	Percentage of gain or loss.
	1891.	1881.		
Sibsagar	160,304	129,166	+ 31,138	+ 24·10
Jorhat	181,152	147,164	+ 33,988	+ 23·09
Golaghat	115,818	93,944	+ 21,874	+ 23·28
Total	**457,274**	**370,274**	**+87,000**	**+ 23·49**

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Variations in the population.

29. The next district to be mentioned is Lakhimpur, which is, without exception, the most progressive and promising district in Assam. Its area is returned as 3,724 square miles, but this is exclusive of a large tract beyond the Inner Line, which is not yet administered. Its real area is undetermined, but it is at least twice that mentioned above. The climate is exceptionally favourable to tea, as well as to ordinary cultivation, and minerals abound; of the latter, coal has been worked for some years, and petroleum is now being obtained in marketable quantities. From every point of view the district has great advantages. The price of food-grains being high, cultivation is more than usually remunerative; the tea industry is prosperous, and the wages of coolies are high; there is also a large demand for labour for the mines, and where everything else is so flourishing, trade also is more thriving than elsewhere. In 1872 the population of the district was only 121,267; by 1881 it had risen to 179,893, or 48·34 per cent., and during the last ten years the growth has been equally rapid, the figures for the present census showing a population of 254,053, or more than double the number of persons living in the district less than 20 years ago. But even these statistics fail to bring out clearly the rate of progress in the sadr subdivision, which is by far the most prosperous portion of the district.

Lakhimpur.

Statement No. 35, showing the changes in the population of the Lakhimpur district.

Year of Census.	Total population.	Born and censused in district.	Immigrants	
			from other districts.	from other provinces.
1891	254,053	164,912	8,404	80,737
1881	179,893	135,487	3,619	40,787
Gain or loss	+74,160	+29,425	+4,785	+39,950
Percentage of gain or loss ..	+41·22	+21·71	+132·21	+97·95
Percentage on total population ..	+41·22	+16·36	+2·65	+22·21

Taking the increase by subdivisions, the sadr shows an advance of over 51 per cent. on the return for 1881, against a comparatively small increase of 18 per cent. in North Lakhimpur. Figures are not available for the previous census to enable the causes of the increase to be analysed by subdivisions. Taking the district as a whole, the natural growth amounts to 29,425, or 16·36 per cent. of the total increase; the immigrants from other districts account for 2·65 per cent. and those from other provinces for the remaining 22·21 per cent. The natural growth would amount to 18·8 per cent. in the decade, or 1·73 per cent. per annum, if the emigration from the district which appears to have taken place since 1881 be included, the number of Lakhimpur-born persons who were censused elsewhere being 5,069 at the present census, against only 674 in 1881. These emigrants are cultivators, who have crossed the boundary of the two adjacent districts, Sibsagar and Darrang; their loss is more than counterbalanced by the immigration of other cultivators from those districts. The immigrants from Lower Assam and from other provinces are principally persons who came to the district as tea garden coolies, but the number includes also a fair sprinkling of traders.

Statement No. 36, showing the increase in each subdivision of the Lakhimpur district.

Subdivision.	Population.		Gain or loss.	Percentage of gain or loss.
	1891.	1881.		
Dibrugarh	190,619	126,143	+64,476	+51·1
North Lakhimpur ..	63,434	53,750	+9,684	+18·0
Total	254,053	179,893	+74,160	+41·2

North Cachar.

30. I have already alluded to North Cachar in discussing the variations in the population of Cachar Plains. This tract is really a subdivision of the Cachar district, but has been separately treated, because it is only administratively connected with Cachar Plains, and its local conditions are quite distinct. It is, however, difficult to trace the variations in its

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population apart from those of the plains portion of the district. At the census, persons born there were shown simply as born in Cachar, and the birth places of the persons who had left the subdivision and settled in the Naga Hills were similarly returned. The population censused in the subdivision amounts to only 18,941, against 20,120 ten years ago. There is thus a decrease of 1,179, which is attributed by the subdivisional officer partly to the absence of persons working as coolies in Lushai-land and elsewhere, and partly to emigration to the Naga Hills. The latter district was not censused in 1881, and it is thus impossible to ascertain what was the number of the Cachar-born population then resident there. The present census shows the number to be 2,989, and it is not improbable that a number of these are recent settlers from North Cachar. The return for the Khasi and Jaintia Hills shows 728 persons born in Cachar, against only 202 in 1881, and no doubt a number of the new settlers are immigrants from North Cachar. On the whole, therefore, it is probable that the decrease during the last decennium is entirely due to emigration, and not to an excess of deaths over births.* **Variations in the population.**

Naga Hills.

31. No detailed comparison with the results of 1881 can be instituted in the case of the Naga Hills district, as it was not censused on that occasion. A very careful estimate, however, was framed by the Deputy Commissioner, who calculated that the population then amounted to 94,380.† The population, as now ascertained by a regular census, amounts to 122,867, of whom 26,416 were found in the Mokokchang subdivision, which has been included in the district since 1881. The remainder (96,451) represents the number of persons living in the area for which the estimate referred to above was framed, and the close agreement between the two results shows how accurate that estimate was.‡ The district contains nearly three thousand settlers from Cachar, most of whom are Kacha Nagas from the North Cachar subdivision, and slightly over seven thousand persons from Nowgong, these latter being chiefly Mikirs, whose habits are notoriously migratory. Immigration properly so called, that is to say, immigration from other provinces, does not exist, the only residents of this class being men in the local regiment or police battalion, or otherwise in Government service, together with a very small number of traders from Bengal, none of whom are permanently settled in the district.

Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

32. The population of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills has risen from 169,360 in 1881 to 197,904 at the present census, the net increase being 28,544, or 16·85 per cent. Of this, 25,776, or 15·58 per cent., is due to natural growth, 2,150, or 1·27 per cent., to immigration from other districts, and 618, or 0·36 per cent., to settlers from other provinces. The number of emigrants is larger than in 1881; and if these are taken as part of the natural growth, the gain will be 16·73 per cent. for the decade, or 1·56 per cent. per annum,—a rate of increase which would be thought considerable in any country. The reason for this high figure appears to be that the greater part of the district is entirely free from malarious jungles, and that the people are industrious, and in consequence very well to do.

Statement No. 37, showing the variation in the population of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district.

Year of Census.	Total population.	Born and censused in the district.	Immigrants.	
			from other districts.	from other provinces.
1891	197,904	191,149	3,857	2,898
1881	169,360	165,373	1,707	2,280
Gain or loss	+28,544	+25,776	+2,150	+618
Percentage of gain or loss .	+16·85	+15·58	+125·3	+23·1
Percentage on total population.	+16·85	+15·22	+1·27	+0·36

* The population appears to have been decreasing steadily for a number of years. In 1856-57 it is stated to have amounted to 29,428 (Allen's Report), and in 1875 it was estimated at 37,775. There is, however, some uncertainty regarding the boundaries at the time of these estimates.

† Including 1,380 persons, who were regularly censused in the station of Kohima.

‡ It was, however, followed by another estimate two years later, in which the population was considerably overstated.

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Variations in the population.

The sadr subdivision shows a somewhat more rapid rate of increase than Jowai, the reason apparently being partly that the former contains the headquarters station, Shillong, which is also the capital of the province, and partly that Jowai has a rather unhealthy terai, and is inhabited by opium-eating Lalungs and Mikirs, as well as by persons of Khasi extraction. The migration between the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and other districts is very slight, and consists mainly of cultivators, who cross and recross the boundary when they change their old clearances for new ones. The other foreigners are chiefly officials and traders settled in Shillong.

Statement No. 38, showing the changes in the population of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills by subdivisions.

Subdivision.	Population.		Increase.	Percentage.
	1891.	1881.		
Shillong ..	133,383	112,912	20,471	18·1
Jowai ..	64,521	56,448	8,073	14·3
Total ..	197,904	169,360	28,544	16·8

33. There was no regular census of the whole of the Garo Hills district in 1881. The plains portion was censused synchronously, but in the hills an estimate was framed by applying to the ascertained number of houses the average population per house found in certain test villages. A comparison of these results with those of the actual census carried out on this occasion shows an increase of 12,022, or 10·97 per cent., of which 9,568, or 8·73 per cent., is due to natural growth, and 2·38 per cent. to immigration from other districts, while the number of persons born in other provinces shows a slight decrease. Nearly all the immigrants from other districts come from the adjacent district of Goalpara, and are found chiefly in the plains mauzas, from which there has been, to a less extent, a corresponding emigration across the Goalpara boundary. The total number of persons of other provinces censused in the district is less by 161 than in 1881, although the figures then returned were for a small portion of the district only.* The decrease would have been greater still had it not been for the presence of two elephant-catching parties in the district at the time of the census,† who numbered in all about 900 souls. Including persons born in the Garo Hills but censused elsewhere, the natural growth of the population amounts to 12·21 per cent. in the ten years, or 1·14 per cent. per annum. As the district has in parts suffered very severely from *kála-azár*, it is improbable that this increase is altogether real. It seems likely that part at least is due to the population having been slightly underestimated in 1881.

Garo Hills.

Statement No. 39, showing the variation in the population of the Garo Hills district.

Year of Census.	Total population.	Born and censused in district.	Immigrants from other districts.	Immigrants from other provinces.
1891	121,570	107,645	5,853	8,072
1881	109,548	98,077	3,238	8,233
Gain or loss ..	+12,022	+9,568	+2,615	−161
Percentage of gain or loss.	+10·97	+9·76	+80·76	−1·96
Percentage on total population.	+10·97	+8·73	+2·38	−0·14

Changes in the total population of the province.

34. Turning now to the increase in the population of the province generally, it will be seen from the statement in the margin that there has been a net advance of 595,407, or 12·19 per cent. Of this, 365,445, or 7·48 per cent., represents the natural growth, and 229,962, or 4·71 per cent. the increase due to immigration. The real natural increase is, however, somewhat less, as the figures given in the statement include a population of 70,050 in North Lushai and the Mokokchang subdivision of the Naga Hills, which were not included in the operations of 1881. Excluding the inhabitants of these tracts, the natural growth amounts to 6·09 per cent. in

Statement No. 40, showing the changes in the population of the province generally.

Classes contributing to the increase.	Population.		Gain or loss.	Percentage.	Percentage on total population.
	1891.	1881.			
Persons born in the province.	4,966,161	4,600,716	+365,445	+7·94	+7·48
Persons born in other provinces.	510,672	280,710	+229,962	+81·92	+4·71
Total ..	5,476,833	4,881,426	+595,407	+12·19	+12·19

* At the same time this was the only part of the district in which foreigners would be found to any appreciable extent.

† Those of the Government Khedda Department and of the Mahárája of Shushang Durgapur.

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Variations in the population.

the 10 years, or ·59 per cent. per annum. The natural growth of the different districts has already been discussed. The general result appears to be that the population of the eastern portion of the province is advancing far more rapidly than that of the western districts. The natural increase in Cachar is more than three times as great as in Sylhet. In the Brahmaputra Valley, Goalpara shows a considerable decrease in its natural population, and so also does Kamrup, though to a less extent. The population of Darrang is stationary, that of Nowgong is growing at the rate of 10 per 1,000 per annum, and that of Sibsagar at the annual rate of 11·5 per 1,000, while in Lakhimpur the rate reaches 17·3 per 1,000, which is approximately the same as in Cachar, the eastern district of the Surma Valley. The growth of the population in the hill districts cannot be stated with any degree of accuracy.

Natural growth.

Immigration.

The increase in the number of immigrants from other provinces is remarkable; the number of persons born elsewhere is 510,672, against 280,710 in 1881, being an increase of nearly 82 per cent. in the course of the decade. This subject will be more fully dealt with in the chapter on birth places, but I may state here that out of the total number of immigrants about 424,000, or 83 per cent., are probably persons who originally came to the province as garden coolies, and that of the remainder, some 61,000, or nearly 12 per cent., are cultivators from adjacent districts of Bengal. I have calculated that on the average an annual immigration of close upon 39,000 persons must have taken place in order to keep up the number of immigrants censused in Assam in 1881, and produce the increase over that number which has been recorded at the present census.*

Emigration.

The loss to the province by emigration during the inter-censal interval has been very slight. The total number of persons born in Assam who were censused in other provinces in 1881 was 41,038, and the number has now risen to 43,611, so that the net increase of persons born in the province who have emigrated during the decade over the number of such persons who were absent in 1881, but have since returned, is only 2,573. The total net emigration of persons born in Assam is therefore represented by this figure, plus the number required to keep up the emigrant population of 1881, which at the assumed death rate of 35 per 1,000 would involve an annual exodus of 1,687 persons.

Comparison with other provinces.

35. The rate of increase during the past ten years in Assam is compared with that in other provinces in statement No. 41. The growth of the population is less than in Lower Burma, and is also below that returned for Madras and Bombay, where the figures represent a recovery from the famine of 1877, but, with these exceptions, the rate of increase in Assam exceeds that of other provinces. The Punjab comes next with an advance of 10·42 per cent., and then the Central Provinces with 9·51. But, as I have already pointed out, the comparatively rapid increase in this province is largely due to the greater number of immigrants, who bear a higher proportion to the total population than was shown at the census of 1881 for any province except Berar and Lower Burma. Excluding the increase due to immigration, the rate is only 7·48 per cent., or less than in any province except Bengal and the North-Western Provinces and far less than the vast areas of waste land and the general prosperity of the inhabitants would have led one to anticipate.

Statement No. 41, comparing the rate of increase in Assam with that in other provinces.

Province.	Percentage of increase.
Assam	+12·17
Bengal	+ 6·49
Berar	+ 8·38
Bombay	+14·31
Lower Burma	+22·29
Central Provinces	+ 9·51
Madras	+15·51
North-Western Provinces ..	+ 6·46
Punjab	+ 10·42

* On the assumption that immigrants who were settled in the province in 1881 die at the normal rate of 35 per 1,000 per annum and the non-acclimatised new arrivals at the rate of 40 per 1,000.

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Variations in the population.

Conclusion.

36. I have explained that the slow rate of progress is due to a heavy death rate rather than to a deficiency in the annual number of births, and this point will be further dwelt on in connection with the age statistics of the people. It has already been pointed out that much of the mortality is avoidable, and it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when a better knowledge of the laws of health and sanitation may cause much of this needless loss of life to disappear, and with it the painful anomaly of an exceptionally slow rate of natural increase in a country where the population is unusually sparse and the main obstacle in the way of a more rapid growth of its material prosperity is the want of a sufficient number of inhabitants to reclaim its fertile soil from the jungles which now infest it.

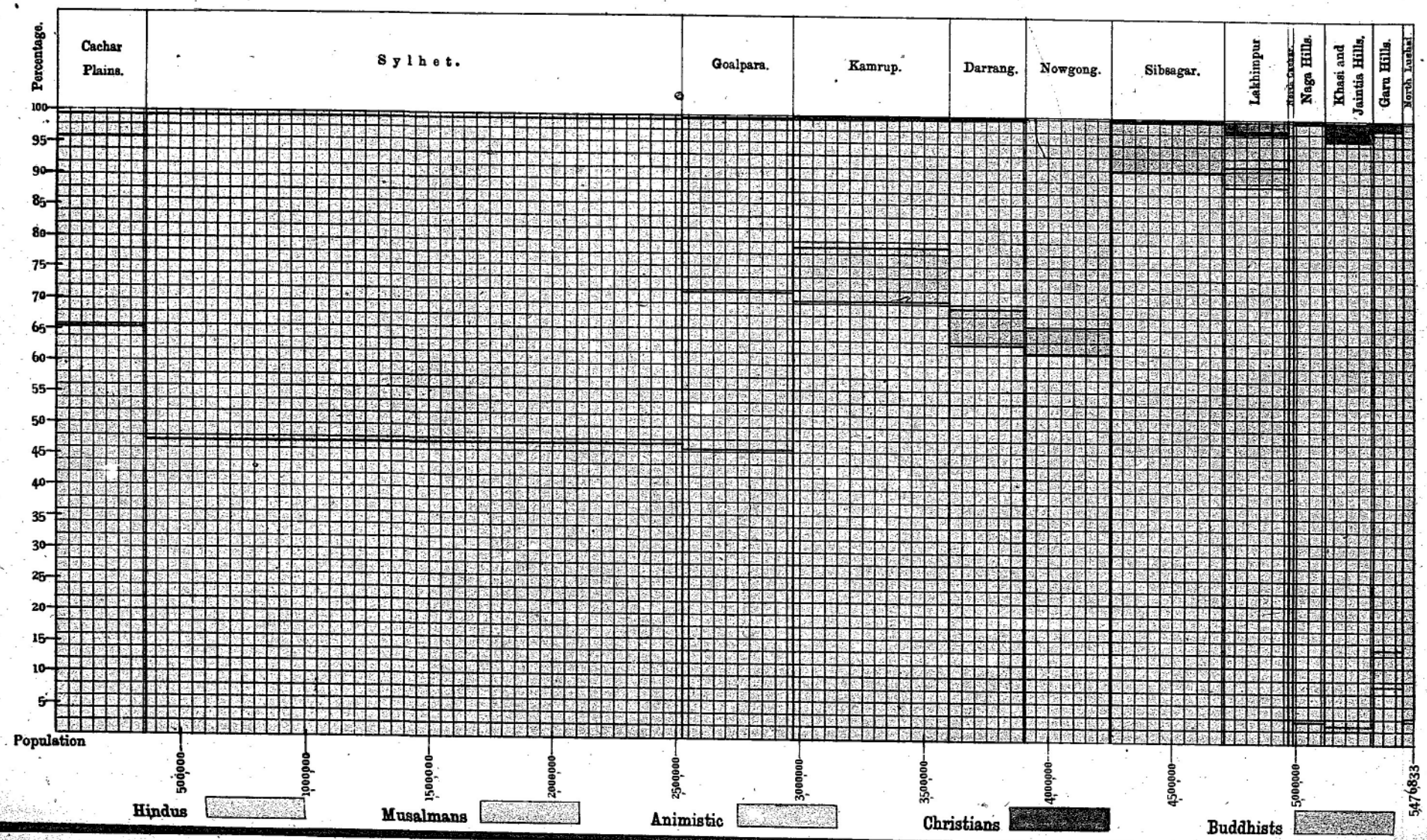
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CHAPTER III.—THE RELIGIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

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Diagram shewing the Number of Persons belonging to each of the Main Religions in Assam.

The total population of all religions is shewn horizontally, the percentage which the members of each religion bear to the total population is shewn vertically.
The absolute population of each small square is 1,000.



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CHAPTER III.—THE RELIGIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

IMPERIAL TABLES V AND VI.

Religions.

Early religious history.

37. Very little is known about the early religious history of Assam. The Buddhists of the present day are all foreigners, either Shans or Bhutias; but there seems to be every reason to believe that the doctrines of Sakya Muni were widely spread amongst the indigenous population of the province at some previous period of its history. Traces of Buddhist architecture are discernible in the temples of Kámákhya, Singheswar, and Hájo, and the latter contains a statue of Buddha, which the common people call the Mahámuni, and which is still visited by Buddhist pilgrims from Bhutan and Tibet. Another statue of Buddha is to be seen carved in the rock on the bank of the Brahmaputra below the dâk bungalow at Gauhati, and a ruined temple at Singri Parbat is, like Hájo, in great repute amongst the Bhutias.* In the life of Sankar Deb, we are told how he met with and converted two Buddhists in the Nowgong district, and the account of Ralph Fitch, who travelled in India in the sixteenth century, shows that Buddhist principles were still powerful amongst the people in the western part of the Koch kingdom.† But the influence of that religion must even then have been on the decline. Hinduism had for years been the religion of the rulers of the country, and to-day there are no traces of Buddhism remaining, except possibly in the general laxity regarding caste,‡ and the monastic constitution of the Vaishnava Sattras on the Majuli and elsewhere. The date when Buddhism was introduced into Assam is unknown; but we have it on the authority of Hiouen Tsang, the celebrated Chinese traveller who toured through India during the years 629 to 645 A.D., that at that period Buddhism was unknown. He visited Kámarupa at the invitation of the king Kumár Bháskara Varman, and in his description of the country says "the people adore and sacrifice to the Devas, and have no faith in Buddha; hence from the time Buddha appeared in the world, even down to the present time, there never as yet has been built one *Sángharáma* as a place for the priests to assemble. There are as many as a hundred Deva temples and different sectaries to the number of several myriads."§ There were, however, signs that Buddhist tenets were even then beginning to gain ground. There were some disciples of 'the pure faith' who said their prayers in secret, and the king, though he had no faith in Buddha, much respected *Srámanas* of learning. He was, besides, apparently a vassal of Siláditya II of Kanouj, and at his summons attended one of the great Buddhist conferences assembled by that monarch. It appears, therefore, that the Buddhist period lay somewhere between the middle of the seventh and the end of the fifteenth century, and it seems not improbable that the Pál kings of Assam were an offshoot of the Buddhist line of that name who ruled in Bengal‖ from 855 to 1040 A.D., and that Buddhism was at its zenith in Assam during their tenure of power.

* It is more particularly in favour amongst barren women. Prajna Debi, the emblem of creative power, is venerated by the Buddhists, just as the *linga* is adored amongst certain sects of Hindus.

† "There they be all Gentiles and will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds, and for all living animals. If a man catch or buy any quick thing in other places, and bring it thither, they will give him money for it, or other victuals, and keep it in their hospitals or let it go. They will give meat to the ants." (*Apud* Blochmann, Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1873, page 240.)

‡ This is also capable of other explanations, such as the small proportion of Aryan immigrants, or the influence of the Vaishnava teachings of Sankar Deb.

§ Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World', volume II, page 196. A writer in the *Calcutta Review*, November 1867, makes Hiouen Thsan tell quite a different tale, but this is because he wrongly identified Vaisali with Kamrup.

‖ Rai Gunabhi Ram Barua, in his 'Buranji' (page 42), says the Assam Pál dynasty was Buddhist, but does not quote his authority. The coincidence in name, &c., with the Bengal Pálas makes it probable that this was the case, and further confirmation is derived from the fact that Assam is said to have been conquered by Deva Pala of Bengal, Circa 900 A.D. (Dutt's 'Ancient India', volume III, page 244).

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Religions.

Hinduism.

38. But whether Buddhism was ever the State religion or not, it is clear that it was preceded, as it was followed, by Hinduism. What the tenets of the earlier Hindu rulers were is a matter of some uncertainty. The king of Kámarupa at the time of Hiouen Thsang's visit is described as of the race of Naráyan Deb, and the Brahman of Upper Assam who housed the Ahom king Chudángphá during his helpless childhood was also a worshipper of Vishnu.* In the Jogini Tantra, Krishna is said to have given the kingdom of Kámarupa to the Asura, Narak, and when he thought fit to kill him, to have similarly befriended his son Bhogdatta. On the other hand, Kamrup is the place where the Tantrik worship is said to have originated, and is, besides, the scene of many of the adventures of Siva, which are described at length in the Jogini Tantra and other religious works.†

Hindu sects.

Saktism.

39. The Hindus of the present day belong chiefly to two sects,—the Vaishnava and the Sákta. Of these, in their present form, the Sákta is the more ancient. Its fundamental element is the worship of the female principle, the procreative power of the divinity as manifested by personified desire.‡ The adherents of this sect base their observances on the Tantras, a series of religious works in which the various ceremonies, prayers, and incantations are prescribed in the form of a dialogue between Siva and his wife Párbati. The followers of the Tantras consider them to be a fifth Veda of equal antiquity and superior authority.§ Their religious ceremonies have frequently been the subject of adverse criticism. Robinson says‖ that some of the formulas used at the festival in honour of Kámákhya relate to things that can never become the subject of description, and that "the most abominable rites are practised and licentious scenes exhibited, which it is scarcely possible to suppose the human mind could be capable of devising." I am not aware on what authority he framed this extremely strong denunciation, but his statements are supported by other writers, and have not, so far as I know, been contradicted. It is well known that dancing girls are maintained at all the principal temples, and it seems certain that a great deal of licentiousness is permitted under the guise of religion.¶

The main doctrinal divergence between Sáktas and Vaishnavas is that the former believe in the efficacy of sacrifices, whereas the latter do not. At the present day goats and pigeons are daily offered by the Sáktas, and the sacrifice of buffaloes is not infrequent. In former times, human beings were also immolated at the shrine of Kali. When the temple of Kámákhya was rebuilt in 1565 A.D., Nar Naráyan consecrated it with numerous sacrifices, including 140 men, whose heads he offered to the goddess on copper plates.** Similar sacrifices were frequently offered at the copper temple at Sadiya, and at Beltolah in Kamrup. It was owing to the seizure of four British subjects for this atrocious purpose that the Raja of Jaintia was deposed in 1835.

Vaishnavism.—Sankar Deb.

40. It is not to be wondered at that the public mind should have revolted against such a religion almost as soon as it was established. The leader of the revolt was Sankar Deb,†† the great grandson of

* Page 13 of the 'Asam Buranji' by Kasi Nath Tamuli Phukan.

† It is, for instance, the place where part of Sati's body fell, and the place where Kamdeo recovered his form after Siva had turned him to ashes. The island of Umanand in the Brahmaputra is said to have been constructed by Siva to screen himself during the day when returning late one morning from an amatory visit to the goddess Kámákhya.

‡ *Cf.* Wilson's 'Religion of the Hindus', Chap. VI, page 240.

§ The exact date at which they were written is uncertain. Some of them are referred to in the Puráns, and are, therefore, presumably, of greater antiquity. The Jogini Tantra, which deals more particularly with Assam, in its present form, is probably not more than 200 or 300 years old. It is however, difficult to fix exact dates, as in each fresh copy additions and alterations have been made. A copy of the Jogini Tantra, in the possession of a Brahman of Howli Mohanpur, contains references to events which occurred at the beginning of the present century.

‖ 'Descriptive Account of Assam', page 258.

¶ An interesting account of Sáktism is given by Professor Monier Williams in his work on 'Religious Life and Thought in India'. He sums up the principal rites as follows:

1. The drinking of wine and liquors of various kinds.
2. The eating of meat.
3. The eating of fish.
4. The eating of parched or fried grain.
5. Sexual union.

** MSS. 'Purushnameh' in the possession of Raja Lakhinarayan Kuor of Howli Mohanpur.

†† Sankar Deb is said to have been born in 1449 and to have died in 1569 A.D. There is evidence that he lived in the reign of Nar Naráyan, 1528-1584 A.D., and of the Ahom King Chuhumung, *alias* Swarga Naráyan, 1497-1539, but the exact dates of his birth and death cannot be verified.

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Religions.

Chandibar Káyastha. He was born at Botodroba in Nowgong, and preached a purified Vaishnavism, in which he inculcated the doctrine of salvation by faith and prayer rather than by sacrifices. He had spent twelve years in Bengal, during which time he had learnt from Chaitanya the principles of the new religion which he afterwards propagated in Assam. He at first took up his abode in Ahom territory, but was subjected to much petty persecution, owing to the enmity of the Brahmans, who had the ear of the Ahom king. Eventually one of his disciples was killed, and he then went to Barpeta, where he proclaimed the new religion far and wide.

Bamunias.

He had appointed Mádhab Deb, a Káyastha like himself, as his successor, but on his death this nomination was not universally accepted, and several of his Brahman disciples broke off, and formed separate sects of their own. The chief of these were Deb Dámudar, Hari Deb, and Gopál Deb, who founded numerous Sattras, of which the most important are Auniáti, Dakhinpát, Garumur, and Kurua Báhi. The main difference between their tenets and those held by Mádhab and his followers is that the former pay more attention to the distinctions of caste, and are not so uncompromising in their hostility to idols and sacrifices. The present Goseins deny the account of the origin of their sects quoted above, and repudiate all connection with Sankar Deb and other Sudra divines. Amongst his own followers, Mádhab attained even a greater repute than Sankar Deb. He was himself more of an ascetic than Sankar Deb, but permitted greater laxity to his followers, who are known as Mahápurushias. The headquarters of the sect is at Barpeta. In Lower Assam the Mahápurushia form of Vaishnavism is more generally professed, while in Upper Assam the Bámunia tenets of Dámudar, Hari Deb, and Gopál Deb predominate.

Mahapurushias.

Moamarias.

The only important Sudra Sattra in Upper Assam is that of the Matak or Moamaria Gosein, whose followers are drawn from the lower castes, and chiefly from the Doms and Haris. The Gosein is a Kalita, and the sect is presumably an offshoot of the reformation effected by Sankar Deb.* Its adherents were persecuted by the later Ahom rulers, who tried to convert them forcibly to Sáktism, until eventually they rebelled and drove the Ahom king to Gauhati. They were in their turn defeated, and the conflict continued until Captain Welsh came to the assistance of the ruling prince. The sect still has a considerable number of adherents in the Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts.

Sakta revival.

41. Between the Mahápurushias and the Bámunias no room was left for the old Sákta form of religion, which was almost entirely stamped out. It was afterwards revived by the Ahom King Rudra Singh, who wished to adopt Hinduism, and, being too proud to take the *Saran* from a subject, imported Krishnarám Bhattáchárji from Nuddea. Krishnarám was a Sákta, and was given the temple of Kámákhya, from which he took the name of Parbatia Gosein. On the accession of Lakshmi, Rudra Singh's youngest son, the Parbatia Gosein refused to recognise him on the score of illegitimacy, and he therefore imported a new priest, who was also a Sákta, and was the first of the Na Goseins. These, with the Náti Goseins, who are descended from the Parbatia Goseins, are the chief heads of the Sákta worship in Assam, and, owing to the favour in which they were held by the Ahom kings, they have succeeded in regaining a good deal of the ground lost by the Sáktas in consequence of the preaching of Sankar Deb and his followers.†

Latter-day tendencies—Sakta or Vaishnava.

42. The ignorance of the common people regarding the tenets which they nominally profess is so great, and the return of sect was therefore so untrustworthy, that it was thought to be useless to attempt to

* The tradition is that Anirodh, the founder of the sect, was one of four disciples to whom some property had been entrusted by their Gosein; that he stole the property, and being detected was put into a basket and thrown into the river. He landed near Nowgong, and lived on the Moamari *bil*, from which comes the name 'Moamaria'. Another explanation of the name is that it was applied to the members of the sect in contempt, because they were in the habit of catching and eating the *Moa* fish. The other title of the Gosein is derived from the Matak country, in which the majority of his followers formerly resided.

† There are still a few pre-Vaishnava Sáktas whose Goseins are called *Mukali Mura*, from their habit of wearing no head-gear.

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Religions. tabulate the information contained under this head in the census schedules. It is impossible, therefore, to gauge the tendency of each sect to increase or die out by reference to actual figures. I am, however, inclined to think that Sáktism has more vital force than Vaishnavism. Many Vaishnavas are attracted by the more realistic worship of the Sáktas, and offer sacrifices at Kámákhya, despite the remonstrances of their spiritual guides.*

Brahmoism.

43. One sect of Hindus, if it can be described as such, still remains to be mentioned. I refer to the Brahmos. The persons of this persuasion have been included as Hindus in Table VI, partly because they desired to be classified as such, and partly because many actually returned themselves as Hindus in the enumeration schedules, so that the number returned as Brahmos does not by any means adequately represent the real number of persons who belong to this modified form of Hinduism. Details of those who did return themselves separately have been given in Provincial Tables V and VI, which show the number to be 148 males and 91 females, total 239, a figure which, as already stated, is far below the actual facts. It seems unnecessary to give any detailed account of the rise, progress, and tenets of Brahmoism, as the sect appertains to Bengal rather than to this province, and has been fully described by Professor Monier Williams. Most of its adherents are immigrants from Bengal, and it has made very little way amongst the indigenous Assamese. There is, however, a small mission at work amongst the Khásis, which is said to be meeting with fair success.

Growth of Hinduism cannot be ascertained by comparison with the figures of 1881.

44. The total number of Hindus enumerated in Assam is 2,997,072, or 54·72 per cent. of the population. It is unfortunately impossible to compare these figures with those returned in 1881, as on that occasion only one column was provided in the schedules for religion and caste, and the return was therefore in many cases defective. In the case of the hill tribes, the tribe only was returned, and no distinction could, therefore, be made afterwards between those who were Hindus and those who were not. It was thus necessary to class the whole of each tribe either as Hindu or Animistic, and there were no figures to show to which category the majority of the tribe belonged. The rule adopted appears to have been that tribes on the frontier which were altogether beyond Hindu influence were shown as Animistic, and those which were beginning to come under that influence as Hindu. Whether this method of classification was the best possible or not is immaterial; whatever had been the classification adopted in the census office, the defect in the original schedules would have made it impossible to prepare a numerically correct return. On this occasion, religion has been returned separately from caste, and the persons in each aboriginal tribe who have returned themselves as Hindus have been shown as such, while those who did not so return themselves have been entered as belonging to animistic forms of belief.† A basis has therefore been laid for future comparison.

* I have given the above outline of the rise of Vaishnavism and the Sákta revival in the Brahmaputra Valley, as I cannot find that any account thereof has previously been printed. But it is only a sketch, and necessarily a very brief one, as any more detailed account would be out of place in a Census Report. For fuller particulars, the Guru Charitra, Sankar Deber Jiban Charit, and the Guru Bhatima may be consulted. A considerable amount of information may also be found in notes by two Extra Assistant Commissioners now serving in Assam, Mr. M. N. Ghose and Rai S. C. Banerjee, but these unfortunately are in manuscript. The description I have given of the tenets of the Sáktas and Vaishnavas applies also to these sections in the Surma Valley. I have not given an account of the religious history of that valley as in its main features it differs in no respect from that of Eastern Bengal. It seems not improbable that Sáktism is the Vedic Hinduism as modified by the Shamanistic tendencies of the non-Aryan converts, while Vaishnavism is a revival in a modified form of Buddhist thought and feeling. The rejection of sacrifices and disregard of castes shown by the Vaishnavas seem to be survivals of Buddhist views, while the Vaishnava monasteries with their crowds of resident Bhakats remind one forcibly of the Buddhist Sangháráma. Similarly Sáktism seems to have derived some of its most objectionable rites from the previous practices of its converts. The human sacrifices, for instance, to which reference has been made above, seem to be quite foreign to Vedic Hinduism (*vide* page 247, *et seq.* of Wilson's 'Religion of the Hindus'), and the practice in Kuch Behar, as described in the 'Haft-Iqlim' is essentially pagan:—"There is a cave in this country, which, according to the belief of the people, is the residence of a Deo. The name of the Deo is 'Ai', and the people are zealous in their worship * * They likewise kill on the same day the Bhogis, who are a class of men that have devoted their lives to Ai, saying that Ai has called them. From the time they become Bhogis, they may do what they like: every woman is at their command, but after one year they are killed." (Blochmann, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873, page 240.) That pre-Aryan beliefs have not yet died out is shown by the fact that even now many villages have their sacred grove and their Grám debtá, to whom the people sacrifice when any exceptional calamity comes upon them. On such occasions also exorcism and divination are still practised amongst the lower castes.

† I know that, as a general rule, a native of India is looked on as a Hindu, if he does not definitely say that he is something else; and the principle adopted in Assam in 1881 was exactly the same as that followed in other provinces, *e.g.*, the Punjab, where Mr. Ibbetson said "Every native who was unable to define his creed, or described it by any other name than that of some recognised religion, or of a sect of some such religion, was held to be and classed as a Hindu." But it should be remembered that Assam is scarcely India, and that Hinduism here is a foreign and not an indigenous religion. It is spreading it is true, and in time possibly the assumption that a man is a Hindu if he is not anything else, will be as applicable here as elsewhere. But this is not yet the case. There are large masses of people still untouched by Hinduism, and to assume that they are Hindus because they do not deny it is to vitiate our returns *pro tanto*.

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The Hindu Propaganda.

45. But, although figures cannot be given to show the extent to which Hinduism has spread during the past ten years, it is well known that the work of proselytisation is steadily going on. The time-honoured theory that a man cannot become a Hindu unless he is born a Hindu* has long since been demolished, and the methods in which the conversion is effected have been the subject of some interesting notes by Sir A. C. Lyall and others.†

Conversion by fiction.

46. The first, and perhaps the most important, may be described as conversion by fiction. The Brahmans ingratiate themselves with the head of the tribe, discover that he is a Hindu of unexceptionable antecedents, whose ancestors have for some reason thought fit to conceal their identity, and present him with a brand new genealogy, in which his descent is traced back to some god in the Hindu Pantheon or potentate in Hindu mythology. Thus, the Koch kings are said to be descended from Siva, who, assuming the form of Haria Mandal, had intercourse with his wife, who was no other than an incarnation of Párbati. While furnishing a divine origin for the king, the rest of the tribe were not forgotten; it was explained to them that they were Kshettriyas who had fled eastwards to escape from the wrath of Parasuráma, and had remained there ever since disguised as Meches and Koches. The Káchári kings of Hiramba were similarly converted, and, after their ancestry had been satisfactorily traced back to Bhim, the two chiefs, Krishna and Govind Chandra, were placed about 1790 A.D. in the body of a large copper image of a cow, and thence produced as reclaimed Hindus to an admiring people. The whole of the Kácháris of that part of the country were also admitted to be of Kshettriya origin, and were allowed to assume the thread on declaring their adherence to the orthodox faith. The conversion of the Manipuris happened in precisely the same way. Arjun was alleged to have been the founder of the royal family, while the masses of the people, like the Kácháris, were admitted to be concealed Kshettriyas; and to this day a Nága or Kuki, on conversion, is at liberty at once to describe himself accordingly, and to assume the sacred thread. For the Ahoms, Indra‡ was selected as the progenitor of the kings, but no special origin appears to have been assigned to the common people, so that an Ahom on conversion takes as low a place in the Hindu caste system in his own estimation as he does in that of orthodox Hindus.

Other methods.

47. The above method of conversion seems to have been reserved for ruling princes and powerful tribes, and no new cases have occurred during the present century. It has the advantage of immediately furnishing large masses of new converts, but it involves concessions which the Brahmans are not inclined to make without a prospect of getting an equivalent in return. Members of the tribes whose ancestry has already been invented continue to claim admittance to their reputed caste on conversion, but other aboriginals are kept on a much lower footing. Sometimes they change their name and enter a caste specially reserved for them, and sometimes they become Hindus without changing their tribal appellation. But in either case their position is a comparatively low one. In the Assam Valley the 'Koch' is the great caste for converts. It is curious how this word, which was originally used to designate a tribe, the members of which in Eastern Bengal and Goalpara discard the term on entering the Hindu system, should have survived in Assam as the name of a recognised Hindu caste,

* Each person's statement as to his religion has been accepted. It is therefore unnecessary to enter upon a discussion of what is and what is not a Hindu. It is sufficient to say that the term includes alike the aboriginal convert who places himself under the protection of a Gosein and the Brahman who believes not in the Vedas nor observes the ceremonies prescribed there, but who hesitates to sever himself from the social system of his race. I may, however, quote the views of a recent writer in the *Calcutta Review*, who is himself a Hindu. He says that the Hindus are those people of India who belong to a hierarchy of caste, and that what the Hindus or a major portion of the community do is Hinduism. He adds that Hinduism is not a religious organisation, but a purely social system. The definition thus given may be criticised as vague and negative, but I believe it is the best which can be supplied. A Hindu, it seems to me, is a person who recognises caste.

† The different methods of conversion have been well summarised by Mr. Risley at pages xvi, xvii, volume I of his 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal'.

‡ Indra enters also into the traditions of the Mon-Anam races, and Forbes tells us that he alone of the great Vedic gods has been admitted into Buddhist mythology ('Languages of Further India', page 41). It is thus a question whether the Ahom Kings brought their tradition regarding their descent from Indra with them to Assam, or whether it was manufactured for them here by the Brahmans.

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Religions. into which are absorbed converts from amongst the Káchári,* Lálung, Mikir, and other aboriginal tribes. Perhaps the idea was that members of other tribes should not be allowed to assume the same name on conversion as that reserved for the dominant tribe, but that, when converted, they were thought to be well enough rewarded if permitted to denote themselves by the appellation borne by the latter before they embraced Hinduism. But even this name cannot be adopted all at once. When a Káchári first puts himself under the protection of a Gosein, he is called a Sarania.† At this stage, Hinduism is little more than a name. He eats pigs and fowls, and continues to drink strong liquor. After a time he modifies his mode of living somewhat, and becomes a Modáhi, and then after several generations, when he has given up or concealed his taste for all forbidden food and drink, and become, in outward appearance at least, a ceremonially pure Hindu, he is accepted as a Kámtáli or Bor Koch. This, however, is a matter of many years, as *madh* and pig's flesh are dear to the aboriginal palate, and many a man who would fain be admitted as a true Hindu remains outside the pale, because it is not in him to forswear the nourishing diet of his ancestors.‡

In the eastern portion of the Brahmaputra Valley, where the Goseins are of the Vaishnava persuasion, the fiction implied by this change of name is not considered necessary,§ and a Káchári, Ahom or other aboriginal‖ continues to retain his tribal appellation. In the Surma Valley, excluding the Kácháris and Manipuris, who claim to be Kshettriyas, there are very few aboriginal tribes. A few Tipperahs, however, are to be found in Sylhet; some of these have been converted, and now bear the name 'Rarh', a term the origin of which seems to be uncertain.

Inducements to conversion.

48. The inducements to conversion are not always apparent. Occasionally a Gosein goes amongst the people with much pomp and ceremony, and invites converts to come forward;¶ but as a general rule, it would seem that it is more the effect of the exclusiveness of their Hindu neighbours than the efforts of the Goseins which induces these rude tribes to change their social status. For, after all, it is a matter of social position more than anything else. Hinduism asks for very little in the way of dogma or belief: a man may be a theist or shamanist, it is all one, so long as he conforms to certain prescribed usages; and if he consents to conform to these, he is rewarded by a recognised place in the Hindu system without being troubled with questions regarding the orthodoxy of his religious beliefs.** It is the desire to rise in the social scale which induces the Káchári or Ahom to call himself a 'Hindu'; and, considering the little that is asked in return, it is a wonder that the process of conversion, if the word may be used in this connection, does not make even more rapid progress than it at present appears to be doing.

Tribes now in process of conversion.

49. The tribes amongst which most progress has been made in the past are those the rulers of which were flattered by the illustrious ancestry provided for them by the Brahmans, and were thereby induced to make Hinduism a State religion. Thus, after Sib Sing embraced that religion, the Ahoms, who held aloof, were looked upon as a separate and lower caste, and the same was also the case with the Koch, who declined to become Hindus. Amongst these tribes, therefore, the great majority are now Hindus. The tribes in the hills, on the other hand, have as yet come but very little

* The theory of a Kshettriya origin has only been allowed for the Kácháris of the kingdom of Hiramba or Cachar. Those of the Brahmaputra Valley are ignorant of the more noble ancestry claimed by their kinsmen in the North Cachar Hills.

† The exact term varies. In Darrang and Kamrup it is Sarania; in Nowgong, Phairi or Saru Koch. Heremia Koch is another synonym.

‡ Even the Kámtáli Koch indulge in pig's flesh in secret, and I well remember the efforts made by a local Gosein in Mangaldai some years ago to induce this class to exclude pork and other forbidden food from their diet. Some few promised to do so, but the majority declined, and even those who bound themselves by promises soon forgot them.

§ The 'Bhagavata Purana', which is the great authority for the Vaishnavas, teaches that all castes, and even the 'Mlecchas', may learn to have faith in Vishnu.

‖ Here and elsewhere 'aboriginal' is used in a loose sense as a convenient way of referring to the non-Hindu element in the population.

¶ The Vaishnava Goseins of Upper Assam are said to display the greatest anxiety to secure converts.

** It has already been pointed out that there is much in the religious beliefs of people belonging to castes which rank much higher than the Koch which is quite foreign to the Hinduism of the Vedas or even of the Puránas. The Pantheon of the Hindus, as of the Romans, has room for all the tribal gods of its aboriginal converts.

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into contact with Hinduism, and as a rule have not been brought to any great extent under its influence. A few Khásis bordering on the plains of Sylhet have adopted the Vaishnava form of Hinduism under the influence of a preacher of their own race, and a few Mikirs in Nowgong have entered the Koch caste. But these are cases in which people belonging to the hill tribes have come into contact with people of the plains. Those who reside in the hills still retain their ancient animistic forms of worship. **Religions.**

There is a third class of aboriginal tribes which have not been converted *en masse* under the influence of fiction and the authority of their rulers, and which do not reside outside the influence of Hinduism. It is amongst these tribes that the process of conversion which has been described above is at the present day going on. The precise extent to which each tribe appears to have come under Hindu influence will be discussed in the caste chapter; it will suffice here to say that the tribes most amenable to Hinduism appear to be the Ahoms and the Chutiyas,* while the most steady resistance to conversion is offered by the Káchárís of the Brahmaputra Valley. It may be added that the Vaishnava Goseins of Upper Assam seem to be more successful in obtaining converts than the Sáktas or Mahápurushia Vaishnavas lower down the valley.

Strength of Hindus in each district.

50. Statement No. 42 shows the number of Hindus in each district of the province and the proportion which the professors of this religion bear to the total population. As would naturally be expected, the ratio is highest in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, where the process of converting the aboriginal tribes has been carried much further than in Lower Assam, and nearly all of them have now accepted Hinduism and have placed themselves under one or other of the numerous Vaishnava Goseins of that portion of the country. In Kamrup, Darrang, and Nowgong the proportion of persons of animistic beliefs is larger, and Muhammadanism has made more progress, but not so much as in Cachar, Sylhet, and Goalpara, and especially in the two last mentioned districts. In the Naga, and Khasi and Jaintia Hills the proportion of Hindus is very small; in the Garo Hills the somewhat larger proportion is due, not to the progress of Hinduism amongst the Garos, but to the fact that that district includes a considerable plains area in which Hindus are more numerous.

Statement No. 42, showing the number and proportion of Hindus in each district.

District.	Number of Hindus.	Percentage of Hindus to total population.
Cachar Plains	239,934	65·28
Sylhet	1,016,068	47·15
Goalpara	209,482	46·31
Kamrup	445,197	70·19
Darrang	195,937	63·66
Nowgong	214,269	62·26
Sibsagar	418,725	91·56
Lakhimpur	227,234	89·44
North Cachar	8,221	43·40
Naga Hills	4,438	3·61
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	4,567	2·30
Garo Hills	11,393	9·37
North Lushai (Civil and Military) ..	1,607	78·62
North Lushai (estimated)	.....	.....
Total for the Province	2,997,072	54·72

51. The strength of the Hindu element in Assam, as compared with other provinces, is shown in statement No. 43. The percentage of Hindus is lower than in any other province except the Punjab and Burma, in the former of which the Musalmans and in the latter the Buddhists largely predominate. In Assam the number of Hindus is much larger than that of any other religion taken singly. It bears a lower ratio to the total population than in other provinces, because in addition to the Musalmans, there is a much larger number of persons of animistic forms of belief than there is in any other part of India.

Statement No. 43, comparing the strength of the Hindu religion in Assam with that in other provinces.

Province.	Percentage of Hindus.	Province.	Percentage of Hindus.
Assam	54·72	Mysore	94·51
Bengal	65·37	Bombay	74·80
Burma	2·36	Berar	90·76
Central Provinces ..	75·36	Madras	91·43
North-West Provinces and Oudh	86·27	Punjab	40·74
Central India ..	84·22	Hyderabad	90·33
		Rajputana	87·50

* At page 66 of the last Census Report it was stated that the old priestly classes—the Ahom Deodhais and the Chutiya Deoris—still resisted the advance of Hinduism, but even these have given way, and now accept the ministrations of Hindu Goseins. They have not however as yet abandoned strong drink and swine's flesh.

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Religions.

Rise of Muhammadanism.

52. Muhammadanism in the Surma Valley practically dates from the conquest of Sylhet by Sultan Sikandar and Shah Jálal about 1384 A.D. There were apparently a few Musalmans before that date, as the story which is current regarding the conquest of the country ascribes it to the desire to avenge a Musalman whose child had been killed by the Hindu ruler Gaur Gobind, because a kite had carried off a portion of the flesh of a cow which he had sacrificed, and dropped it in the house of a Brahman. But even if there were previously a few Musalmans in Sylhet, their number must have been very small, and there is no doubt that the real growth of this religion originated with the Muhammadan conquest. In the Brahmaputra Valley the Musalman religion obtained no converts until a much later date. The earliest believers in that faith who settled in the eastern districts were the remnants of the army of Turbuk, who were taken prisoners after that general's defeat in 1632. Lower Assam was frequently invaded by the Musalmans, but no permanent occupation was effected until 1637, when Goalpara and part of Kamrup were permanently annexed to the empire, after the death of Parikhit Narayan, the Raja of the western Koch kingdom. The upper portion of the valley never formed part of the Musalman dominions.

Brief description of the Musalmans of Assam.

53. In the Brahmaputra Valley, the Musalmans are commonly known as 'Gorias', a term which connotes their origin from Gour, the headquarters of the Nawabs of Bengal. The great majority of persons professing this faith are, as in Eastern Bengal, local converts from amongst the lower castes and aboriginal tribes, who on conversion describe themselves as Shekhs. There are a few families of Saiads and Moghals, who are descendants of officials under the Musalman régime, and also some Pathans, who are mostly immigrant traders. To describe the religious belief of the indigenous followers of Muhammad I cannot do better than quote the following extract from the last Census Report:

The Musalman peasantry of the Assam Valley, like those of Bengal, are extremely ignorant of the elements of their faith. Some of them have never heard of Mahomet; some regard him as a personage corresponding in their system of religion to the Ram or Lachman of the Hindus; others again believe that the word is an appellation expressive of the unity of God; while some of the better educated explain that Mahomet is their Dangar Pir, or chief saint, the minor saints being four individuals named Hoji (Hajji), Ghoji (Ghazi), Aulliya, and Ambiya. Abu Hanifa appears as the son of Ali. The Koran is hardly read, even in Bengali, and in the original Arabic not at all; and many of those who have heard of it cannot tell who wrote it. Yet any Muhammadan peasant, when asked, will be able to repeat a few scraps of prayer in Arabic with a pronunciation of surprising accuracy, though his explanations of their supposed meaning are often ingeniously wide of the mark. Allahu Akbar, for instance, is supposed to mean Allah Ekbar, a testimony to the oneness of the Deity, and Khatimunnabiyyin signifies the Nabi, or saint, to whom worship (*khataun*) is due.

The Musalmans have borrowed the ecclesiastical machinery of the Hindus. They have their Goseins, or spiritual preceptors, to some one of whom every Musalman is bound to attach himself. The names of these personages, originally Arabic or Persian, have usually been corrupted almost beyond recognition. Those most famous in Upper Assam have their seats in the Jorhat subdivision of the Sibsagar district. Occasionally they bear the title of 'Diwan', while their local names are derived from their place of residence, or from the name of the first saint of the line whose successors are distinguished from him by the appellation 'deka', or 'youth'. Thus, the present Halungapuria Gosein is Akondeka, son of Kurpuldeka; the Bakirpiria Gosein (called after the first Pir of the line, one Bakir) is Aoldeka; and the successor of the deceased Hak khoa (or Vegetarian) Diwan is called 'Diwan deka'. These Musalman Goseins have their own Sattras or establishments of resident disciples (Bhagat), who, however, are not bound to celibacy. They collect their tribute from non-resident disciples by means of village officers of their own, called gaonburas, each of whom is assisted by a barik, or peon. The gaonbura is appointed by investiture with a turban at the hands of the Gosein. He receives no direct emoluments, but is entitled to the highest place at village entertainments on the occasion of religious festivals, weddings, funerals, &c.

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The condition of the local Musalmans appears to have been even more degraded at the time of Mir Jumla's invasion in 1662: **Religions.**

> The Muslims whom we met in Assam are Assamese in their habits and Muhammadans but in name. In fact, they like the Assamese better than us. A few Musalman strangers that had settled there kept up prayers and fasts, but they were forbidden to chant the Azan and read the word of God in public.*

It is possible, however, that this refers to the descendants of the prisoners taken at Turbuk's invasion mentioned above, who are known as Morias, and until quite recently were exceptionally lax in their religious observances. They had abandoned the practice of circumcision, and become as unrestrained in their diet and drink as the hill tribes themselves. Latterly they have become more strict, and are now rapidly assimilating themselves to the general Musalman population. The Muhammadans of the province describe themselves as Sunnis; but it is clear that they have but little knowledge of the dogmas on which the sectarian divisions are based.

Distribution of Musalmans by districts.

54. Considering the ignorance of their religion displayed by the Musalmans of this province, it is not to be expected that they will succeed in increasing their numbers by converting persons of other persuasions. There is no organised system of proselytisation, and such few persons as attorn to that religion do so for special reasons. Statement No. 44 shows the number of Muhammadans returned at the last two censuses and the proportion which they bear to the total population. The actual number of the persons professing this faith has increased in each district along with the general population. The proportion which they bear to the total population has not changed much. In Cachar Plains and Lakhimpur, owing to a larger proportion of immigrants of other religions, the percentage of Musalmans has declined; in Sylhet, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, North Cachar, the Naga Hills, and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills there has been a nominal increase. The only districts in which the increase is at all marked are Goalpara, Kamrup, and the Garo Hills. In the case of Goalpara, the explanation probably is that the immigrant agricultural population which has entered the district from Eastern Bengal during the past ten years consists more largely of Musalmans than of Hindus, while in the Garo Hills it is said to be due to the presence of a number of Musalmans with the elephant-catching party which was working in the district when the census was taken.

Statement No. 44, showing the number and proportion of Musalmans in each district.

District.	Number of Musalmans.		Percentage on total population.	
	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.
Cachar Plains	92,393	112,846	31·45	30·70
Sylhet	1,015,531	1,123,984	51·57	52·16
Goalpara	104,777	124,455	23·48	27·51
Kamrup	50,452	55,350	7·82	8·72
Darrang	15,504	18,454	5·67	5·99
Nowgong	12,074	14,137	3·88	4·10
Sibsagar	15,665	19,805	4·33	4·33
Lakhimpur	5,824	8,086	3·23	3·18
North Cachar	3	15	·01	·07
Naga Hills	94	209	·10	·17
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	570	820	·31	·41
Garo Hills	4,135	5,597	3·77	4·60
North Lushai (Civil and Military) ..	.....	216	.....	10·56
North Lushai (estimated) ..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total for the Province ..	1,317,022	1,483,974	26·98	27·09

The distribution of Musalmans as shown by the above statement is exactly what might be expected from the account which has been given of the growth of that religion in Assam. Sylhet, which was under Muhammadan rule for nearly four centuries, shows by far the highest proportion of Musalmans; next comes Cachar, which is peopled mainly by immigrants from Sylhet, and Goalpara, which belonged to the Delhi empire for a hundred and fifty years, follows closely on Cachar. The proportion of

* Extract from the *Fathiya i' Ibriyah*.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872, page 83.

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Religions. Musalmans in the other districts is insignificant, and decreases steadily as one goes up the valley. The permanent Musalman population of the Garo Hills is to be found in the plains mauzas. In the other hill districts, persons of this religion are for the most part immigrants,—traders, servants of Europeans, and the like.

Comparison with other provinces.

55. The total number of Musalmans in the province is 1,483,974, or 27·09 per cent. The number and proportion in other provinces is shown in statement No. 45 in the margin. The percentage of Musalmans is highest in the Punjab; Bengal stands second, and Assam third in this respect, and is followed at some distance by Bombay and the North-West Provinces, where the proportion of Musalmans is only about half what it is in Assam. In proportion to the total population, there are four times as many Musalmans in Assam as there are in Madras. As already explained, the high proportion of Musalmans in this province is due to the large number found in Sylhet, Cachar, and Goalpara, the three Bengali speaking districts. Leaving these out of account, the proportion which Musalmans bear to the total population in the rest of Assam is only 4·9 per cent., or less than in any other part of India except the Central Provinces, Mysore, and Burma.

Statement No. 45, comparing the strength of the Musalman religion in Assam with that in other provinces.

Province.	Percentage of Musalmans.	Province.	Percentage of Musalmans.
Assam	26·98	Madras	6·20
Bengal	31·22	North-West Provinces. .	13·44
Berar	7·02	Punjab	51·35
Bombay	18·36	Baroda	8·01
Burma	4·52	Central India ..	5·51
Central Provinces ..	2·48	Hyderabad	9·41
Coorg	7·03	Rajputana	8·53
Mysore	4·79		

Christians.

56. The total number of Christians in the province is 16,844, of whom 1,699 are returned as foreign, 383 as Eurasian, and the remainder, or 14,762, as native. Those classed as foreign are Europeans (including Americans) and a few Armenians, but the great majority come from the British Islands. The number of Eurasians is less than might have been expected; and it is possible that some persons of this class have returned themselves as Europeans.

Distribution by districts.

Statement No. 46 shows the number and distribution of Christians by districts now and in 1881:

Statement No. 46, showing the number of Christians in Assam and their distribution by districts.

District.	Number of Christians.						Percentage on total population.	
	1881.		1891.					
	Europeans and Eurasians.	Natives.	Europeans and Eurasians.			Natives.	1881.	1891.
			Total.	Europeans.	Eurasians.			
Cachar Plains	291	476	321	273	48	488	·26	·22
Sylhet	115	264	387	278	109	256	·01	·02
Goalpara	121	392	85	52	33	1,547	·11	·36
Kamrup	101	265	72	52	20	876	·05	·14
Darrang	136	235	207	183	24	642	·13	·27
Nowgong	50	204	63	63	....	354	·08	·12
Sibsagar	342	462	317	274	43	1,048	·21	·29
Lakhimpur	227	610	363	305	58	1,243	·46	·63
North Cachar	....	....	1	1	....	....	....	·005
Naga Hills	22	3	20	20	....	211	·02	·18
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	212	1,895	203	164	39	6,941	1·24	3·60
Garo Hills	14	656	30	21	9	1,154	·01	·97
North Lushai (Civil and Military) ..	....	....	13	13	....	2	....	·73
Total for the Province	1,631	5,462	2,082	1,699	383	14,762	·14	·30

Note.—In 1881 Europeans and Eurasians were not shown separately.

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The largest number of Europeans is in Lakhimpur ; then come Sylhet, Sibsagar, and Cachar Plains. In all these districts the tea industry has attracted the majority of persons of this class, as is also the case in Darrang, which stands next on the list. In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, on the other hand, the Europeans returned are mainly officials residing at Shillong, the headquarters of the Local Administration. Most of those who are not officials are missionaries of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission. Of the native Christians nearly half of the total number were censused in one district, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills; the next largest number is returned in Goalpara; Lakhimpur comes next, then the Garo Hills, and then Sibsagar. The number returned elsewhere is insignificant. **Religions.**

Mission enterprise.

57. The Christian religion is the only one for the propagation of which organised measures are taken. In Assam there are several missions. Judging by their results, the most important of these is that of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, already referred to, who for many years past have been working amongst the Khásis. This race appears to be more than usually receptive of Christianity, and the number of Christians amongst them has risen from 1,895 in 1881 to 6,941 at the present census. The next missions to be mentioned are those of the American Baptists, who have stations at Tura, Gauhati, Nowgong, Sibsagar, and Mokokchang. A fair amount of success has attended their efforts, and the number of native Baptists now reported amounts to 3,718, against 1,475 ten years ago. The greater part of the increase is found in Goalpara and the Garo Hills. In Nowgong the number is almost stationary, the increase during the last ten years being only 29, or less than three new converts a year. Next, in point of numbers, come the missions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, whose converts have risen from 640 to 1,324. The most important of these missions is that conducted amongst the Kácháris in the north of the Darrang district by Mr. Endle, whose converts appear to have risen from 194 to 509 in the course of the decade under review. There is a small colony of Christian Santhals of the Lutheran Church in Goalpara, but this is rather a settlement of persons converted to Christianity elsewhere than a centre of mission work in the generally accepted use of the term. The total number of native Christians has risen during the last ten years from 5,462 to 14,762. A small proportion of the increase is due to the immigration to tea gardens of Christian Uriyas and Santhals, but by far the greater part is the result of the labours of the missionaries of different denominations within the province. But the above figures by no means adequately represent the labours of the missionaries. Besides converting upwards of 9,000 persons to Christianity in the course of the past ten years, they have opened schools amongst the people and have been the means of spreading education in backward tracts. They have also in some places opened dispensaries, which are presided over by medical missionaries, and in various ways have helped to civilise the backward races amongst whom their chief work lies.

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Religions.

Sect of Christians.

58. In the case of Christians, the sects were also tabulated, and are shown in Supplementary Table A, Parts I and II, from which I have prepared the following proportional statement :

Statement No. 47, showing the percentage which the adherents of each sect bear to the total number of Christians of each race, and the percentage which the sectarians of each race bear to the total number of adherents of each sect.

Sect.	Races distributed by Sect.				Sects distributed by Race.			
	European.	Eurasian.	Native.	Total.	European.	Eurasian.	Native.	Total.
Church of England ...	60·62	34·47	8·97	14·76	41·43	5·31	53·26	100
Presbyterian ...	17·72	3·13	·05	1·89	94·06	3·75	2·19	100
Free Church of Scotland ...	·71	.....	.....	·08	100·00	.....	...	100
Baptist ...	2·65	·52	25·18	22·36	1·20	·05	98·75	100
Congregationalist ...	·58	.....	·02	·08	76·92	.....	23·08	100
Methodist ...	1·41	1·31	46·06	40·55	·35	·08	99·57	100
Catholic Apostolic ...	·12	.....	.....	·01	100·00	.....	...	100
Anabaptist ...	.....	·52	.....	·01	.....	100·00	...	100
Salvation Army ...	·06	.....	.....	.....	100·00	.....	...	100
Unitarian ...	·71	.....	·08	·14	50·00	.....	50·00	100
Lutheran ...	·65	.....	5·28	4·69	1·39	.....	98·61	100
Swedenborgian ...	·06	.....	.....	.....	100·00	.....	...	100
Wesleyan ...	·12	.....	.....	·02	66·67	.....	33·33	100
Quaker ...	·06	.....	.....	.....	100·00	.....	...	100
Protestants, unspecified ...	7·29	12·79	11·43	11·04	6·67	2·63	90·70	100
Roman Catholic ...	7·12	47·26	2·93	4·36	16·48	24·66	58·86	100
Armenian ...	·12	.....	.....	·01	100·00	.....	...	100
	100	100	100	100	10·09	2·27	87·64	100

More than 60 per cent. of the total number of European Christians are members of the Established Church, over 17 per cent. are Presbyterians, and 7 per cent. are Roman Catholics. The total number of Europeans of other religious persuasions is inconsiderable. Amongst Eurasians, Roman Catholics are most numerous, and next to them members of the Church of England. Native Christians belong chiefly to the Methodist persuasion, the next largest number being Baptists; rather less than 9 per cent. belong to the Church of England. This distribution by sect of Native Christians is explained by the relative strength of the proselytising agencies at work in the province to which reference has already been made.

Buddhists.

59. Assam is surrounded by countries the inhabitants of which are Buddhists. On the north are the Bhutias, on the east the Shans, and on the south the Burmese. In describing the early religious history of the province, I have already said that there is reason to believe that at some previous period the inhabitants of Assam itself were also followers of Sakya Muni.

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Religions.

At the present day, however, the only Buddhists are recent settlers from the Shan country, or Bhutias who have come down to trade. The indigenous inhabitants of the province have forsaken Buddhism for Hinduism.

60. Statement No. 48 shows the number of Buddhists returned in each district now and in 1881. The great majority are found in Lakhimpur, where they are Shans—Khamtis, Phakials, &c. There is a slight falling off as compared with 1881, which is explained by the fact that the Singphos, who are mostly animistic, were then shown under this head.* The Buddhists of Sibsagar and the Naga Hills are also of Shan origin,—Turungs, Aitoneas, and the like.† Most of those censused in Kamrup and Darrang are Bhutias, who visit the plains during the cold weather for purposes of trade. The Buddhists of Goalpara and the Garo Hills are the descendants of the Shan auxiliaries who accompanied the Burmese in their invasion of Assam in 1824-26, some of whom settled in the province after their defeat by British troops. Excluding Shans and Bhutias, I find returned as Buddhists a few Chinese, Mughs, and Burmese, some Singphos and Doániyas, and also some residents of Nipal, Limbus, Thapas, &c.

Distribution by districts.

Statement No. 48, showing the number and proportion of Buddhists in each district.

District.	Number of Buddhists.		Percentage on total population.	
	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.
Cachar Plains ..	....	2	....	·0007
Sylhet	....	8	....	·0003
Goalpara	79	112	·01	·02
Kamrup	690	813	·106	·12
Darrang	723	519	·26	·16
Nowgong	....	40	....	·011
Sibsagar	275	987	·07	·21
Lakhimpur	4,657	4,462	2·58	1·75
Naga Hills	....	360	....	·29
Khasi and Jaintia Hills..	....	2	....	·001
Garo Hills	139	392	·12	·32
Total for the Province	6,563	7,697	·13	·14

61. Owing to their isolation, the Buddhists of Assam know very little of the real tenets of the religion which they profess. The inhabitants of the small settlements in Goalpara and the Garo Hills have almost entirely forgotten their old belief, although they still assert that they are disciples of 'Godma' (Gautama). Those in the Naga Hills and Sibsagar are also backward, but still have their priests and sacred books. The Khamtis are somewhat more advanced, and with them Buddhism has more meaning and vitality.‡

Buddhism in Assam.

The date of the conversion of the Shans is unknown. They themselves assert that it took place B.C. 324, while the Burmese say that it occurred in 1556 A.D., when most of the Shan States became tributary to the Emperor of Pegu. The Ahoms, who are the chief Shan tribe in this province, were never Buddhists, and as they came to Assam in 1228 A.D., it is clear that the conversion of their neighbours who subsequently immigrated must have taken place after that date.

62. The number of Buddhists in other provinces is noted in the margin. Though scarcely so great as might have been anticipated from the position of Assam in the middle of Buddhist countries, the number is larger here than in any province except Burma and Bengal. There was at one time a slight immigration from the Shan country to Assam, but this has now ceased, and there seems to be no probability of the number of Buddhists in this province increasing to any considerable extent.

Comparison with other provinces.

Statement No. 49, comparing the number of Buddhists in Assam with that in other provinces.

Province.	Number of Buddhists.	Province.	Number of Buddhists.
Assam ..	6,563	Madras ..	1,535
Bengal ..	155,809	North-West Provinces ..	103
Berar ..	1	Punjab ..	2,864
Burma ..	3,251,584	Mysore ..	9
Central Provinces.	17		

* Singphos, or Kakhyens, as they are called in Burma, are occasionally converted to Buddhism, but the great majority are still *Nat* worshippers.

† Judging from a comparison of the figures, some of the Sibsagar Buddhists must have been shown under other heads in 1881. No Buddhists were then returned in the Naga Hills, as on that occasion the population of that district was merely an estimate.

‡ They have recently built a large new temple near Sadiya.

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Religions.

63. The Jains are all foreigners, chiefly from Rajputana, who come to Assam for purposes of trade. They are for the most part wealthy merchants, who deal in all sorts of country produce. Statement No. 50 shows the number returned in each district now and in 1881. The increase is to a large extent only apparent, and is due chiefly to many persons of this sect having been classed as Hindus in 1881. None of them reside permanently in the province. They stay for a few years, and as soon as they have earned a competency return to their own country. There is therefore no probability of any considerable increase in the number now returned. Nearly all of them are found in the Brahmaputra Valley; by far the largest settlement is in Goalpara, and the next largest in Gauhati, the number decreasing steadily as one goes eastwards. The Jains do not seem to thrive in the Surma Valley, where the total number is only 119, the reason probably being that they have not the same superiority over the local traders of Sylhet and Cachar as they have over the more sluggish and slow-witted Assamese.

Jains.

Statement No. 50, showing the number and proportion of Jains in each district.

District.	Number of Jains.		Percentage on total population.	
	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.
Cachar Plains	..	47	..	·01
Sylhet	..	72	..	·003
Goalpara	39	488	·008	·107
Kamrup	20	182	·003	·02
Darrang	27	126	·009	·04
Nowgong	32	171	·01	·04
Sibsagar	37	144	·009	·03
Lakhimpur	3	118	·001	·04
North Cachar	..	..	..	..
Naga Hills	..	20	..	·01
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	..	..	..	..
Garo Hills	..	..	..	..
North Lushai	..	..	..	..
Total for the Province ..	158	1,368	·003	·023

64. Sikhs have been returned in only two districts,—Goalpara and Nowgong. There is a Sikh temple at Dhubri, where 20 persons of this religion were censused, while in Nowgong 63 were found near Roha, where there is a small Sikh settlement. In 1881, 14 Sikhs were enumerated at Dhubri and none elsewhere.

Sikhs.

65. The beliefs of those tribes who have not yet been converted to either of the great Indo-Aryan religions and who have retained the religious ideas of their forefathers, remain to be discussed. Before doing so, I would draw attention to the great importance of this subject, the more so, as there is a tendency at the present time to underestimate the practical value of the comparative study of language and religion, and to press the claims of the science which deals with the physical characteristics of man,—his hair, colour, and more especially the measurement of the proportions of his head, nose, &c.,—in other words of anthropometry. Language and religion, it is said, are no test of race. True,—and if race were all we wish to know regarding the different tribes, language and religion would help us but little: anthropometry alone would be of use. But is race the only point of interest? Suppose that in the distant future the civilisation of the West disappeared, and the nations of Europe lost all record of their past and were scattered over the face of the earth: would the philosophical observer of the time to come be satisfied with an examination of their physical type, from which he would learn that the English and Germans are of the same stock, and that the Celts of Ireland, Scotland, and France are closely allied? Or would he wish to know something of the political organisation and national life of the, to him, prehistoric time? and, if so, where would he look for a guide? Max Müller answers the question thus: "How did men form themselves into a people before there were kings or shepherds of men? Was it through community of blood? I doubt it. Community of blood produces families, clans, possibly races; but it does not produce that higher and purely moral feeling which binds men together and makes them a people. It is language and

Animistic beliefs.

Importance of a comparative study of religion.

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religion that make a people, but religion is even a more powerful agent than language."* Both sciences are of use, and each has its separate place. For probing into the ancient organisations of the past our only guides are religion and language; should we wish to analyse the constitution of a nationality and break it up into its constituent parts, we must have recourse to anthropometry. Religions.

66. The first thing that strikes an enquirer into the religious beliefs of the hill tribes of this frontier is the extraordinary uniformity of principle which underlies them all, and which they share in common not only with each other and with the north Turanian tribes, but also with the Dravidians of southern India. There can be no greater mistake than to assume that each tribe has its own individual beliefs, differing widely from those of others and circumscribed by the narrow tribal limits. The facts are quite the reverse, and the religion of these tribes—Shamanism,† Animism, *Nat* worship, or whatever name may be applied to it—is everywhere practically the same. There are differences, it is true, but they are differences of practice or detail rather than of fundamental principles, and are far less important than those which divide the Sáktas from the Vaishnavas, or Unitarians from the members of the Salvation Army. Uniformity of belief.

67. Considerations of space and time alike forbid a detailed examination of the beliefs of each of the tribes on this frontier. A brief description of the main features which are common to almost all the tribes is all that can be given here.‡ There is a vague but very general belief in some one omnipotent being, who is well disposed towards men, and whom therefore there is no necessity for propitiating. Then come a number of evil spirits, who are ill disposed towards human beings, and to whose malevolent interference are ascribed all the woes which afflict mankind. To them, therefore, sacrifices must be offered. These malevolent spirits are sylvan deities, spirits of the trees, the rocks and the streams, and sometimes also of the tribal ancestors. There is no regular priesthood, but some persons are supposed to be better endowed with the power of divination than others. When a calamity occurs, one or more of these diviners, shamans, or soothsayers, is called on to ascertain the particular demon who is offended, and who requires to be pacified by a sacrifice. This is done either by devil dancing, when the diviner works himself into a paroxysm of drunkenness and excitement, and then holds converse with the unseen spirits around him, or by the examination of omens,—eggs, grains of rice, or the entrails of a fowl.§ Outline of Animistic tenets.

There is a profound belief in omens of all sorts: no journey is undertaken unless it is ascertained that the fates are propitious, while persons who have started on a journey will turn back should adverse omens be met with on the way.

One peculiarity in connection with their sacrifices may be mentioned. On all necessary occasions goats, fowls, and other animals are offered to the gods; but it is always assumed that the latter will be contented with the blood and entrails,—the flesh is divided amongst the sacrificer and his friends, the presiding soothsayer usually getting the lion's share.

* 'Lectures on the Science of Religion', page 85. Max Müller also points out (page 90) that there is a natural connection between language and religion, and that therefore the classification of languages is applicable also to the ancient religions of the world.

† '*Shaman*' is the word used to denote the magician priest of the north Asian demonolaters. Caldwell derives it from '*Sramana*', the Sanskrit term for a Buddhist ascetic. The objection to the use of the word to denote demon worshippers generally is that it refers to a particular method of divination, which is perhaps not invariably practised.

‡ In some cases a further account of the peculiar tenets of particular tribes will be found in the chapter on castes, &c.

§ See, for instance, Dalton's 'Ethnology', *passim*, and Hodgson's account of Divination amongst the Bodo (Essays, volume 1, page 135). Compare Marco Polo's account of demonolaters in Central Asia (Colonel Yule's edition, volume II, page 53), Holt Hallett's description of the same practice amongst the Shans ('A thousand miles on an Elephant', page 105) and Caldwell's article on the ancient religion of the Dravidians, reprinted at page 579 of his grammar of the Dravidian languages.

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Religions.

68. The Animistic population of Assam is 969,765, or 17·70 per cent. of the total number of inhabitants. The distribution over the different districts is shown in statement No. 51. The largest proportion of *Nat* worshippers is in North Lushai and the Naga Hills, where it amounts to over 95 per cent. of the total population. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills follow closely with 93 per cent., and the Garo Hills with 84 per cent. Next comes North Cachar, where the conversion of the Kácháris to Hinduism has brought the number of Animistics down to 56 per cent. In the plains districts, the proportion is highest in Nowgong, where the Mikirs are found in large numbers; it is also considerable in Darrang, Goalpara, and Kamrup. In the other districts the numbers are very small. From what has already been said, it will have been seen that Animism is a religion of a very low type. It is professed by the most backward tribes of the province, and there is no probability of its ever gaining converts from the ranks of other religions. On the other hand, the spread of education and the influence of Hinduism is yearly reducing the number of persons who still cling to the superstitions of their forefathers, and it seems probable that in time demon worship as a form of religion will disappear from the province. Unfortunately, for the reasons already explained,* it is impossible to utilise the figures returned in 1881 as a means of ascertaining the rate at which these primitive beliefs are losing ground.

Strength of Animistic population and its distribution by districts.

Statement No. 51, showing the number and proportion of persons of Animistic beliefs in each district.

District.	Number of persons of Animistic beliefs.	Percentage on total population of district.
Cachar Plains	13,899	3·78
Sylhet	13,818	·64
Goalpara	116,112	25·67
Kamrup	131,759	20·77
Darrang	91,870	29·85
Nowgong	115,044	33·42
Sibsagar	16,243	3·55
Lakhimpur	12,546	4·93
North Cachar	19,704	56·51
Naga Hills	117,607	95·71
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	185,364	93·66
Garo Hills	103,004	84·72
North Lushai	41,795	95·78
Total for the Province ..	**969,765**	**17·70**

69. The strength of the Animistic population of Assam, as compared with other provinces, is shown in statement No. 52. The proportion is larger than in any other province of India. The Central Provinces rank second in this respect, and the Central Indian Agency third. The proportion of the Animistic population in other provinces is comparatively insignificant.

Comparison with other provinces.

Statement No. 52, comparing the strength of the Animistic population in Assam with that in other provinces.

Province.	Percentage on total population.	Province.	Percentage on total population.
Assam	17·70	Bombay	3·42
Bengal	2·95	Burma	3·84
Berar	1·40	Central Provinces ..	15·19

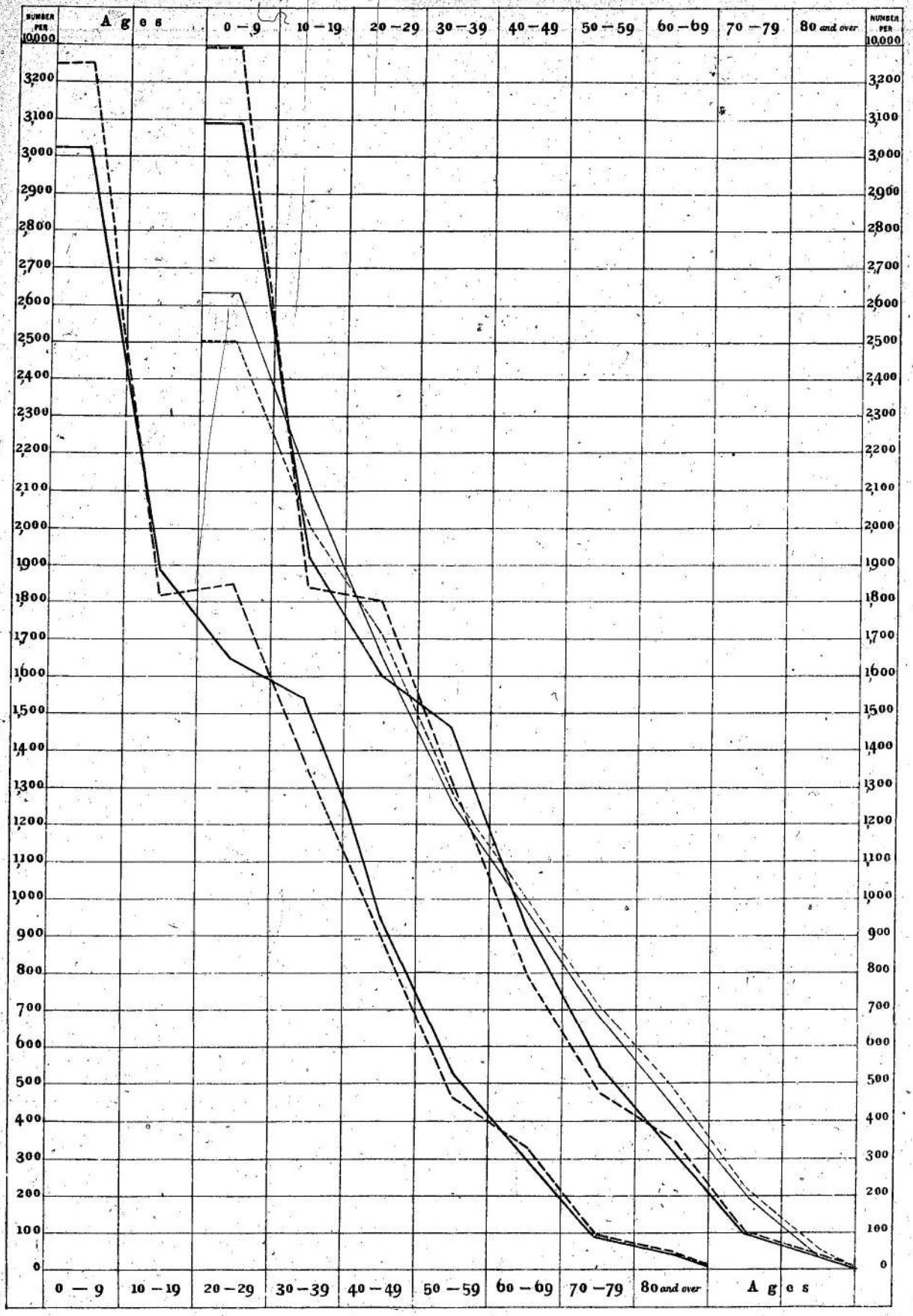
* *Supra*, page 82.

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CHAPTER IV.—AGE AND SEX.

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Diagram shewing the Number of Persons per 10,000 living at each Age-period.



The curves to the left illustrate the ages of the total Population of the Province, and those to the right the Ages of the Indigenous Population excluding tea garden immigrants: the ages to which the first mentioned curves are drawn are shewn at the foot, and those pertaining to the latter curves at the top of the diagram. The English line of life is added for comparison and is shewn in thin lines

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CHAPTER IV.—AGE AND SEX.

IMPERIAL TABLE VII AND PROVINCIAL TABLE VII.

(1) Age.

Age and Sex. — Age.

General remarks.

70. The present chapter deals with the physiological condition of the people, their ages, and the proportions of the sexes. The total number of persons, male and female, returned at each age period is shown in statement No. 53. For the first five years of life the ages were abstracted separately, and for subsequent years in quinquennial periods up to sixty. The figures are for completed years of life. Thus the group 5—9 includes all persons who are over five years and have not yet completed their tenth year, or, in other words, have not yet reached their tenth birthday.

Statement No. 53, showing the total number of persons, male and female, returned at each age period.

Age period.	Total.	Males.	Females.
Under 1 year ..	191,720	94,802	96,918
1 ..	104,775	51,103	53,672
2 ..	187,142	90,627	96,515
3 ..	195,941	94,944	100,997
4 ..	188,749	92,852	95,897
5— 9 ..	834,018	421,669	412,349
10—14 ..	574,396	318,995	255,401
15—19 ..	433,512	209,006	224,506
20—24 ..	456,708	211,958	244,750
25—29 ..	491,042	247,018	244,624
30—34 ..	462,068	242,038	220,030
35—39 ..	321,285	188,014	133,271
40—44 ..	321,021	174,272	146,749
45—49 ..	154,625	90,712	63,913
50—54 ..	201,032	109,123	92,809
55—59 ..	66,889	38,117	28,772
60 and over ..	248,820	123,658	125,162

Errors in the return.

71. A very cursory examination suffices to show that the results as they stand cannot represent facts. It is, for instance, impossible that the number of children aged one year should be barely half that of children two years of age, or that the number of persons in the group 20—24 should exceed that in the group 15—19. Almost all officers, when reporting on the census operations in their districts, dwelt at length on the inaccuracy of the age return, and pointed out that very few natives are able to tell their age with any degree of precision. Their animadversions on this branch of the statistics which have been collected appear at first sight to be borne out by the figures quoted above, and it is, therefore, advisable that, before discussing them, I should clear the ground by examining their value, and the extent to which, and conditions under which, they may be relied upon.

Tendency of errors to eliminate each other.

The first point to notice is that the numbers dealt with are large, and that the mistakes made by individuals tend to eliminate each other. There is, so far as can be ascertained, no general tendency to overestimate or underestimate ages.* The age reported is a rough approximation, which may be above or below the facts, but which has no particular tendency in either direction. If, therefore, the numbers dealt with are

* There is no *general* tendency. In *special* instances there is such a tendency, as will be noted further on.

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Age and Sex. Age.

sufficiently large, the errors disappear, and a result is obtained which is approximately accurate, the approach to absolute correctness varying in direct proportion with the number of persons included in the return. It should further be pointed out that the mistakes which are made are all within a certain limit, and that the larger the groups of ages selected for examination, the smaller is the amount of error remaining.*

Preference for round numbers.

There is, however, one disturbing element, which must be mentioned. When a person cannot state his exact age, he usually selects as an approximation what he thinks is the nearest round number,—20, 25, 30, &c., as the case may be. A person 23 years of age, for example, is far more likely to describe himself as 25 than as 22, 23, or 24, and this point has to be borne in mind, and the error corrected, so far as possible, before any use is made of the return.

Disturbing effect of immigrant population.

Another defect in the statement given above is that the province contains an exceptionally large proportion of immigrants, and as the ages of these persons do not conform to those of the natural population† their inclusion in the return vitiates the proportion which the number of persons returned at the age periods when immigrants are most numerous bears to that at the other age periods when their number is insignificant. This defect in the return renders it impossible to make use of it to the same extent as would have been admissible had it contained only persons born in the province. I have endeavoured to eliminate the errors thus involved, as far as possible, by tabulating the ages of the tea garden population separately, and in the diagram have drawn two age curves, one showing the line of life of the total population, while in the other the ages of the persons residing on tea gardens have been excluded. It will be seen that the latter curve is much more uniform in its character, but even this curve does not show the true age distribution of the indigenous inhabitants of the province. The tea garden population is not wholly composed of immigrants, and quite half of the total number of immigrants live outside garden limits. It was impossible to tabulate the ages for persons as distinguished from areas, and I, therefore, took the population living on tea gardens as representing the nearest approach which could be obtained to what was wanted. The exclusion of the return for tea gardens has reduced the divergence from the natural age distribution to some extent, but it has by no means wholly removed it.

Error due to date of record of ages.

There is still one minor cause of error, which may be briefly referred to. The ages were recorded at the preliminary enumeration which was carried out a month or more before the final census. During the interval, about one-twelfth of the population had entered another year of life, but no alteration was made in the ages previously entered. The extent to which the table is affected in consequence is insignificant, except in regard to infants under one year of age, where the number recorded is probably slightly above what it would otherwise have

* The truth of this assertion may be seen by reference to the diagram showing the ages of the population (facing page 95), in which the curve has been drawn to decennial periods, and proceeds, as it should do, steadily downwards.

† Very few immigrants come to the province under 20 or over 45.

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Age and Sex. Age.

been; at other ages, the time involved being inconsiderable, it may be assumed that the increase due to accessions of persons from the previous year of life is balanced by deaths and the transfer of other persons to the succeeding year.

To sum up, it may be stated that, although there are numerous errors in the ages reported for individual persons, these errors tend to disappear in the provincial total. Such mistakes as remain are chiefly due to the preference shown for round numbers; a preference which can, in many cases, be accurately gauged, and the consequent error eliminated. After this correction has been applied, the ages as returned may be taken as approaching, more or less closely, to the true age distribution of the province, the degree of error remaining becoming less and less as the groups dealt with are enlarged. The practical value of the return is, however, much diminished by the presence of a large immigrant population.

Proportional age distribution.

72. The actual ages of the people have been shown above in statement No. 53. The proportional age distribution per 10,000, both including and excluding tea gardens, is given in statement No. 54 below. The corresponding figures for 1881 are added for comparison, and also the mean distribution, calculated on the results of both censuses combined, together with the age distribution recorded in some of the other provinces and in a few European countries.

Statement No. 54, showing the proportional age distribution per 10,000 of the population.

Country and year of Census.		AGES.																
		0—1	1 year.	2 years.	3 years.	4 years.	Total 0—4.	5—9.	10—14.	15—19.	20—24.	25—29.	30—34.	35—39.	40—44.	45—49.	50—54.	55—59.	60 and over.
Assam, 1891 ..	Males ..	339	183	324	339	332	1,517	1,507	1,140	747	754	883	865	672	623	324	390	136	442
	Females	368	203	366	383	364	1,684	1,364	969	852	928	928	835	605	557	242	352	109	475
„ excluding gardens.	Males ..	347	188	333	347	340	1,555	1,535	1,152	763	754	849	822	632	611	320	399	140	468
	Females..	374	207	373	389	370	1,713	1,586	969	806	913	885	804	490	562	244	362	112	500
„ 1881 ..	Males ..	263	281	345	366	398	1,653	1,485	1,053	734	764	929	827	648	535	388	336	214	434
	Females	299	306	387	416	418	1,826	1,387	890	795	847	1,013	762	562	489	334	338	195	532
„ excluding gardens.	Males ..	264	291	353	374	408	1,690	1,502	1,055	744	762	909	795	620	522	389	338	222	452
	Females	300	313	394	421	425	1,852	1,387	886	701	833	1,024	740	556	488	340	343	200	550
1891 and 1881 combined, excluding gardens.	Males ..	306	239	343	360	374	1,622	1,519	1,103	754	758	879	809	626	566	354	368	182	460
	Females	337	260	383	405	397	1,782	1,484	927	833	878	954	772	523	525	294	352	156	525
Bengal, 1891 ..	Males ..	234	234	292	350	320	1,430	1,549	1,139	757	711	882	859	631	631	356	409	165	481
	Females	235	248	321	381	320	1,505	1,438	902	763	840	935	856	554	634	319	442	168	644
Bombay, 1881 ..	Males ..	265	199	233	243	281	1,221	1,438	1,275	816	828	974	889	654	505	429	402	186	383
	Females	279	218	260	279	296	1,332	1,418	1,077	781	917	961	878	585	463	454	451	194	489
Lower Burma, 1881 ..	Males ..	223	244	284	313	285	1,349	1,340	1,213	867	888	882	844	647	570	394	351	206	449
	Females	256	279	328	356	325	1,544	1,475	1,189	1,037	861	768	670	523	509	354	360	206	506
North-West Provinces, 1881.	Males ..	261	216	189	263	283	1,212	1,339	1,262	804	869	952	934	533	687	321	482	147	458
	Females	280	236	218	299	294	1,327	1,288	1,011	726	937	954	930	529	722	309	525	146	596
All India, 1881 ..	Males ..	263	220	243	295	297	1,318	1,432	1,214	811	799	896	885	587	642	344	436	161	475
	Females	276	257	271	329	303	1,436	1,383	1,006	779	905	925	881	527	645	317	464	157	591
England and Wales, 1881.	Males ..	298	270	278	273	272	1,391	1,241	1,109	1,003	880	776	665	589	533	433	385	302	693
	Females	282	257	265	260	258	1,322	1,184	1,048	959	912	800	679	597	545	453	402	319	780
Scotland, 1881 ..	Males ..	307	278	288	285	278	1,436	1,266	1,143	1,054	926	762	623	544	504	409	370	283	680
	Females	281	249	261	259	252	1,302	1,148	1,029	974	915	782	646	588	546	458	418	322	872
Germany, 1885 ..	Males ..	289	270	259	254	246	1,318	1,210	1,088	961	850	757	659	603	555	488	408	338	765
	Females	273	258	248	243	235	1,257	1,159	1,044	934	841	760	661	613	567	501	429	369	859
Holland, 1879 ..	Males ..	320	284	270	262	248	1,363	1,137	1,035	932	784	728	624	631	583	495	448	403	807
	Females	315	272	262	255	240	1,345	1,109	1,005	899	775	734	635	630	582	496	454	416	920
Hungary, 1880 ..	Males ..	347	266	275	267	270	1,425	1,102	1,044	919	779	809	726	680	651	495	416	315	639
	Females	333	258	267	260	265	1,383	1,073	1,025	1,002	887	791	737	631	632	450	443	312	634

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Age and Sex. Age.

Age return of children.

73. The ages quoted in this statement are reduced proportionally from the age return as actually recorded in the schedules. The figures, both of the present census and of that of 1881, disclose numerous irregularities which require explanation. The first point for note is the distribution by age of children under 5 years. In 1881, the number shown in the table increased steadily at each year of age up to 5. At this census, the number returned at each of these earlier ages is almost equal, with the sole exception of the children shown as one year old, who are considerably fewer in number than infants, or children aged 2, 3, or 4. The reason for this result appears to me to be that great stress was laid on the rule that children under one year were to be entered as 'infants', and that the exact age in months was not to be shown. The stress laid upon this rule has produced a much better return of infants than in 1881, when the entry of the age in months was often mistaken for years in the course of abstraction. But the same reason which led to a more accurate return of infants led also to an inadequate entry of children aged one year. The standard appears to have been whether a baby was still being suckled or not. If it was, it was shown as an infant, and if not, it was returned as aged 2, 3, or even 4. Making allowance for errors due to this cause, the number of children returned at each of these ages would be very nearly equal, whereas there should really be more infants under one year of age than children aged one year, more children of the latter age than of the age of two, and so forth. The vital statistics returns show that the birth rate has of late been decreasing slightly, but the small falling off which has taken place is not sufficiently marked to be the sole cause of the result to which I have alluded. It is, no doubt, partly due to a decreasing birth rate, but the main explanation appears to be that we are here dealing with annual periods, and I have already premised that the reliability of the age return varies in direct proportion with the magnitude of the age periods dealt with. The most that can be said regarding the figures under discussion is that they are less out of accord with facts than those returned by most provinces in 1881.*

Year.	Number of births.
1888	141,792
1889	139,870
1890	137,537

Ages from 5 to 19.

74. Proceeding to the next three groups of ages, it seems that there has been a general tendency to underestimate the ages of persons between the years of 10 and 19, and that this is most marked in the case of females. The group 5—9 is thus larger than it should be, and the next two groups smaller. In the case of females this is readily explained by the fact that parents of unmarried girls who have reached the age of puberty do not like to admit their true age, but it is more difficult to understand why the ages of boys should be understated. The fact, however, remains that this has been done, at least to some extent.

The later years of life.

75. In the later years of life the figures seem to be more reliable, and the errors that exist are chiefly due to the preference for round numbers, to which reference has already been made. The extent to which this cause of error has affected the return will be clearly seen on a reference to the age statistics of 50,000 persons abstracted in annual periods, which has been prepared expressly with this object, and is published as provincial table IX. It will be seen that the mistakes due to this cause lie chiefly between the ages of 15 and 60, and that the favourite numbers in the case of men are the fives and tens, while, except at 25, women more frequently select the even tens as approximations to their true age.

* The return was, however, in many provinces largely affected by the famine.

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The round numbers eliminated.

76. I give below the proportions at the groups '15—19' to '60 and over' of the two censuses combined (excluding gardens), as they would be if the excess returned at the round numbers be distributed proportionally over the two years immediately above and below these numbers.*

Statement No. 55, showing the distribution at certain ages after eliminating irregularities due to the preference for round numbers.

	15—19.	20—24.	25—29.	30—34.	35—39.	40—44.	45—49.	50—54.	55—59.	60 and over.
Males	826	757	945	738	661	497	375	328	194	440
Females	924	855	997	696	566	460	313	324	148	524

The figures thus presented show much greater uniformity, the only exception to a progressive decrease in the number in each group being at 25—29, which seems to be an exceptionally favourite age with both sexes, particularly with females.

Comparison with other countries.

77. But, even after the elimination of this mistake, it is evident that quinquennial periods are still too small to enable one to feel confident that they represent the actual ages of the people, so that before comparing the figures with those of other countries and drawing conclusions as to the relative duration of life in Assam and elsewhere, it is safer to combine these results into decennial periods.

Statement No. 56, comparing the age distribution per 10,000 of the population in Assam with that in certain other countries.

Age.	Assam, 1891.		Bengal, 1881.		Bombay, 1881.		Lower Burma, 1881.		North-West Provinces, 1881.		England, 1881.		Scotland, 1881.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—9 ..	3,090	3,293	2,979	2,943	2,659	2,750	2,689	3,019	2,551	2,615	2,632	2,506	2,702	2,450
10—19 ..	1,915	1,835	1,896	1,665	2,091	1,858	2,080	2,226	2,066	1,737	2,112	2,007	2,197	2,008
20—29 ..	1,693	1,798	1,593	1,775	1,802	1,878	1,770	1,627	1,821	1,891	1,656	1,712	1,688	1,697
30—39 ..	1,454	1,294	1,490	1,410	1,543	1,463	1,491	1,193	1,467	1,469	1,254	1,276	1,167	1,234
40—49 ..	931	806	987	953	934	917	964	863	1,008	1,031	966	998	913	1,004
50—59 ..	539	474	574	610	588	645	557	566	629	671	687	721	653	740
60 and over.	468	500	481	644	383	489	449	506	458	596	693	780	680	872

Note.—The figures for Assam do not include tea gardens.

The great difference between Indian and European countries in regard to age, is the large excess of children and deficiency of old persons in the former, and as the rate at which the population is increasing in India is not more rapid than in Europe, this difference in the age constitution of the people clearly indicates a much higher rate of mortality in India. The excess of children, which characterises India generally, is more marked in Assam than in the figures for any other province, and from this it might be supposed that the general high rate of mortality prevalent in India is higher in Assam than anywhere else. This, however, by no means follows. The people, as a whole, are younger in a growing community than in one where the population is

* The method is as follows :

Let x_{20-24} represent the number of persons at the age 20—24; x_{25} = number returned at age 25; and so forth.

Thus, the excess returned at age 25 is approximately—

$$x_{25} - \frac{x_{22} + x_{24} + x_{26} + x_{27}}{4}$$

and the portion of this excess belonging to x_{22} and x_{24} (i.e., the number to be added to the age period 20—24 and deducted from the age period 25—29) will be—

$$\frac{\left(x_{22} + x_{24}\right) \times \left(x_{25} - \frac{x_{22} + x_{24} + x_{26} + x_{27}}{4}\right)}{x_{22} + x_{24} + x_{25} + x_{26} + x_{27}}$$

Similarly, we must deduct from the age period 20—24 and add to 15—19

$$\frac{\left(x_{18} + x_{19}\right) \times \left(x_{20} - \frac{x_{18} + x_{19} + x_{21} + x_{22}}{4}\right)}{x_{18} + x_{19} + x_{20} + x_{21} + x_{22}}$$

and similarly for the other age periods.

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Age and Sex. Age.

stationary,* and the returns of other provinces which I have quoted are those for the census of 1881,† when in many provinces the famine had reduced the population and left its mark on the age distribution. Famine attacks the young chiefly, and the excess of children under five years of age in Assam is probably mainly due to the fact that the famine had not touched this province.‡ The nearest approach to the Assam proportion of children is furnished by Bengal, where the effects of the famine were less felt than elsewhere, and it is probable that the results of the present census for other provinces, when published, will show at least as large a proportion of children as Assam. But although Assam does not compare very unfavourably with other parts of India, it is far behind the results recorded in Europe. The reasons for the higher mortality are various. The climate is less healthy, there is an utter absence of sanitary precautions, the natural water supply is inferior, and lastly many of the tribes seem to be racially disqualified for a long life. It is, for instance, a matter of common observation that the Kachâris and Khâsis seldom attain to any great age. They are a healthy people, and suffer less from fever and other diseases than the Hindus around them, and yet they generally die at a comparatively early age. The only reason that can be assigned is that the race is by nature a short-lived one.

78. This supposition is to some extent borne out by the following proportional statement, in which the age distribution of the persons returned under the four main religions is exhibited:

Age distribution by religion.

Statement No. 57, showing the age distribution of 10,000 persons by Religions.

AGE PERIODS.	DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 PERSONS.							
	HINDU.		MUSALMAN.		CHRISTIAN.		ANIMISTIC.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Under 1 year	317·6	351·5	368·7	397·9	278·3	349·1	363·1	371·7
1 year	165·8	189·7	179·1	197·1	225·6	245·8	245·3	253·6
2 years	290·1	332·8	341·4	391·3	270·5	347·9	410·7	430·5
3 years	305·5	354·0	362·6	412·7	313·1	322·7	416·1	428·3
4 years	299·2	334·8	367·6	399·4	278·4	361·7	384·7	398·1
0—4 years	1,378·2	1,562·8	1,619·4	1,798·4	1,365·9	1,627·2	1,819·9	1,884·8
5—9	1,423·6	1,512·7	1,680·8	1,759·0	1,162·7	1,331·0	1,512·4	1,427·1
10—14	1,110·5	935·7	1,279·2	1,053·1	1,084·2	1,118·0	1,012·3	938·6
15—19	768·0	826·7	755·8	925·8	781·1	1,036·0	658·5	810·1
20—24	801·9	944·0	718·8	933·6	905·5	1,062·5	661·8	867·8
25—29	922·3	967·3	842·7	867·1	1,152·6	1,102·8	804·5	899·9
30—34	902·2	879·2	801·3	741·9	1,066·2	784·0	836·6	840·6
35—39	697·9	540·3	606·2	407·0	792·4	573·5	687·4	549·3
40—44	652·3	583·0	544·6	477·4	580·3	513·0	650·3	598·3
45—49	343·3	262·5	280·9	188·9	371·5	242·0	528·8	263·0
50—54	413·4	377·7	331·3	308·7	313·1	233·2	408·6	341·4
55—59	150·9	123·8	96·6	70·7	99·9	84·4	152·1	123·7
60 and over	435·5	484·3	442·4	468·9	234·6	292·4	466·8	458·4

It will be seen from this statement that the proportion of children under five years of age is higher amongst the animistic tribes than amongst any other class. There are fewer old people than amongst Hindus, but more than amongst Musalmans

* This was pointed out in the English Census Report for 1851, volume I, pages xix and xx. A fuller statement of the same point is given in Newsholme's 'Vital Statistics', page 70.

† The details for the present census had not been received for more than one or two provinces when this chapter went to press.

‡ The effect of the famine on the juvenile population is clearly shown by the following statement showing the number of children under 5, per 10,000 of the population in 1872 and 1881 respectively in Bengal, Bombay, and the North-West Provinces:

PROVINCE.	1881.	1872.
Bengal ..	1,465	1,696
Bombay ..	1,321	1,666
North-West Provinces	1,267	1,652

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and Christians. In the case of the latter, the total number being small, the deficiency of old persons seems to be largely due to the fact that the Europeans and Eurasians included under this head usually leave the province when they have earned a competency, or served out their time for pension. It is less easy to explain the lower mean age observable in the Musalman community.

The birth rate.

79. These considerations lead naturally to the birth and death rates of the province. It is admitted that the rates furnished by the vital statistics returns are not to be relied on as showing the absolute number of births and deaths which occur annually, and the question is whether the results of the census can be made use of, to furnish a more trustworthy estimate of the annual gain and loss of life. In 1881, attempts were made to prepare life tables in several provinces, but an inspection of the various methods adopted shows that they all involve assumptions which do not admit of definite proof. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the attempt to prepare a similar table for Assam would in any case be worth the time which it would require, while the extent to which the natural age distribution has been disturbed by the immigrant population is so great as to preclude the possibility of constructing such a table with any approach to even the doubtful degree of accuracy which would otherwise be attainable. I shall, therefore, not attempt to ascertain the probable duration of life at each successive year of age. Without going into such detail, it is, however, possible to form an approximate estimate of the annual number of births and deaths. In 1881 the North-Western Provinces Census Superintendent furnished certain statistics relating to a special class of the community*, which had been prepared with more than ordinary accuracy, and which are believed to be quite as reliable as such statistics can be made. These statistics were subsequently examined by a professional actuary, Mr. G. F. Hardy, F.I.A., F.R.A.S., whose Note on the rate of mortality in India was published in the Census Commissioner's Report on the census of 1881.† Mr. Hardy came to the conclusion that these statistics were sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes, and, premising that there is no reason to suppose that the rate of mortality amongst children varies to any great extent in the different provinces, he used them for the construction of mortality tables for the earlier years of life. Assuming that the rate of mortality does not vary much from province to province, and that the statistics of the proclaimed clans are really accurate, the only other thing required for the calculation of the birth rate is the knowledge of the number of persons living aged 0—9. To obtain an accurate estimate of this number is very difficult. We have already seen that the ages of children between the years 10 and 15 are much under stated, and that this is especially the case with females. This being the case, it seems advisable to leave females out of account and to calculate the birth rate of the total population on the number of males only. A rough approximation of the real number of boys aged 5—9 may be obtained by redistributing the number returned by means of the graphic method. By this method it appears that the number is approximately 1,333, and adding to this the number returned as less than 5 years of age, all of whom, it may be assumed, are under 9, we get a total of 2,888 boys under 10 years of age out of every 10,000 of the male population. If we redistribute these according to Mr. Hardy's mortality table, the number living and dying at each age will be that shown in the margin. From this it appears that the annual number of births amounts to 49·31 per 1,000, excluding the garden population. Including gardens, the number would be about 1 per 1,000 less. The estimates of the birth rates framed by Mr. Hardy on the same data

Statement No. 58, showing the probable age distribution of males under 10 years of age.

Age.	Number living.	Number dying.
At birth ..	493	139
0-1 ..	354	33
1-2 ..	321	18
2-3 ..	303	12
3-4 ..	291	9
4-5 ..	282	6
5-6 ..	276	5
6-7 ..	271	4
7-8 ..	267	4
8-9 ..	263	3
9-10 ..	260	2

* The birth and death statistics of the clans proclaimed under the Criminal Tribes Act, which are collected under police supervision.
† Volume I, page 142.

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for several of the larger provinces vary from 53 per 1,000 in five non-famine periods in Madras to 45·1 in the North-Western Provinces. The estimate I have given makes the following assumptions: First, it assumes that the data furnished by the proclaimed clans are reliable; secondly, that these data are applicable to Assam, *i.e.*, that the rate of juvenile mortality in the two provinces is approximately the same; and thirdly, that the calculation of the number of boys under 10 years of age is correct. Fourthly and lastly, it assumes that the annual rate of increase has been uniform during the period under consideration. It may be said that a birth rate based on so many assumptions is not worth much, and I admit that it is only a rough approximation. It is, however, better than no estimate at all, and appears from other considerations to be very near the truth. The mean annual birth rate in England during the 20 years, 1861 to 1880,* was 35·3, and at the census of 1881 the number of married women under 45 was 2,639,819, or 10 per cent. of the total population. In Assam the number of married women between the ages of 15 and 39, which may be taken as the child-bearing age in this country, is 844,408, or 15½ per cent. of the total number of persons in the province, excluding tea gardens. The potentiality of production is thus 50 per cent. higher than in England, and this being the case, and there being an utter want of all prudential checks on the increase of population, it is natural that the birth rate also should be 50 per cent. higher than in England.

The death rate.

80. Given the number of births per thousand, and knowing the natural annual increase, the number of deaths can be easily calculated. We have already found† that the annual natural rate of increase per thousand is 7·28, and if the birth rate is 49·3 per thousand, the death rate must be represented by the difference, namely, 42 per thousand. More than half of this mortality occurs amongst children under 10 years of age, and is doubtless largely due to the neglect which they suffer in the matter of proper food and clothing. If the population were stationary, this death rate would give 23·8 years as the average duration of life; but as the population is increasing slightly, the real average duration of life is slightly higher. The figure thus obtained approaches very nearly to the mean age of the population. From a rough calculation based on the uncorrected table, excluding tea gardens, it appears that the mean age of both sexes combined is 23·21, that of males being 23·68 and of females 22·72.

The correspondence between the proportion borne by the birth rate as calculated above to the number of married women of child bearing age with the same proportion in England, and the near agreement between the average duration of life shown by the estimated death rate and the mean age of the living as ascertained from the age table, shows that the birth and death rates given above are approximately correct. If they err at all, it is in the direction of slightly underestimating the annual number of births and deaths.‡

Productive strength of the population.

81. The last point for consideration is the strength of the productive portion of the population, *i.e.*, of the part which consists of the workers or breadwinners, as distinguished from the very young and the very old, who are unable to earn anything for themselves, and thus require to be supported out of the earnings of the first-mentioned section of the community. Taking the province as a whole, it seems probable that for men the productive age may be taken as extending from 15 to 59, and for women from 15 to 44, *i.e.*, that all persons living between these ages are capable of adding to the wealth of the province. On this assumption the percentage of men of productive

Statement No. 59, comparing the productive strength of the population in Assam with that in other countries.

Country.	Percentage of persons of productive ages.	
	Males.	Females.
Assam, 1891 ..	52·94	46·05
Bengal, 1881 ..	53·09	45·82
Bombay, 1881 ..	56·83	45·85
Lower Burma, 1881 ..	56·49	43·66
North-West Provinces, 1881 ..	57·29	47·98

* The birth rate has decreased since, but I take these years as those affecting the return of 1881.

† *Supra*, page 76. Excluding Kamrup and Goalpara, the natural increase is 10·7 per 1,000 and the death-rate proportionally less.

‡ This is clear from my very moderate estimate of the true number of children less than 10 years of age. If both sexes had been included in the calculation and no correction been applied to allow for the under statement of children between the ages 10 and 14 the birth rate as calculated above would have risen to 54 per 1,000. It may therefore be safely assumed that the birth rate in Assam is approximately 50 per 1,000; it may be somewhat higher, but is almost certainly not lower.

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ages is 52·94, and of women 46·05. The corresponding figures for a few other countries are noted in Statement No. 59. From this table it appears that Assam compares unfavourably in this respect with other parts of India, but it must be borne in mind that owing to the famine the proportion of children in other parts of India was unusually small at the time of the last census. In a country where the great bulk of the people are cultivators who consume most of what they grow themselves, it seems unnecessary to discuss their economic value. More accurate information regarding the prosperity of the country and the wealth it contains is obtainable in other ways.

(2) Sex.

Proportion of females to males.

82. The proportion which the number of females in each district bears to that of males at each age period and in the total population is shown in the following statement:

Statement No. 60, showing the average number of females at each age to 1,000 males of the same age.

DISTRICT.	All ages.	Under 1 year.	1 year.	2 years.	3 years.	4 years.	5—9 years.	10—14.	15—19.
Cachar Plains	890·9	1,013·5	1,086·3	1,090·7	1,041·07	1,008·1	987·9	767·3	1,080·1
Sylhet	957·05	1,004·7	1,047·5	1,081·07	1,092·5	1,030·1	997·7	775·7	1,115·3
Goalpara	911·4	1,038·3	1,042·4	1,104·1	1,067·9	1,061·3	944·2	804·9	1,097·8
Kamrup	975·6	1,059·4	1,076·7	1,075·4	1,105·7	1,038·5	959·3	797·7	991·4
Darrang	907·04	1,016·9	1,023·8	1,041·3	1,039·7	1,019·4	959·1	803·7	970·8
Nowgong	935·6	1,070·8	1,034·7	1,052·2	1,037·7	1,038·8	955·3	809·2	1,017·4
Sibsagar	897·4	1,049·2	1,069·2	1,017·8	1,037·5	1,028·6	981·4	815·4	940·04
Lakhimpur	862·5	968·3	1,036·9	1,010·6	967·3	1,042·3	964·4	810·7	1,033·2
North Cachar	1,035·3	1,023·02	1,062·9	955·9	985·9	1,000·0	1,006·3	1,003·1	1,369·5
Naga Hills	975·3	1,052·1	1,111·02	1,036·5	1,015·9	1,005·7	882·4	920·1	1,285·5
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	1,091·8	997·08	1,018·2	1,077·5	1,018·5	1,065·8	1,004·9	968·5	1,191·6
Garo Hills	956·01	1,005·5	950·9	969·3	985·1	1,003·4	970·9	924·1	1,258·3
Total for the Province (excluding North Lushai)	**941·9**	**1,022·3**	**1,050·2**	**1,064·9**	**1,063·7**	**1,032·7**	**977·8**	**800·6**	**1,074·1**

Statement No. 60, showing the average number of females at each age to 1,000 males of the same age—continued.

DISTRICT.	20—24.	25—29.	30—34.	35—39.	40—44.	45—49.	50—54.	55—59.	60 and over.
Cachar Plains	1,082·8	899·7	824·7	629·2	727·9	579·9	797·7	687·9	948·6
Sylhet	1,208·1	1,005·2	918·4	694·07	877·2	707·1	930·9	732·6	1,011·3
Goalpara	1,068·01	869·9	819·5	641·09	768·9	654·9	832·4	853·1	1,088·3
Kamrup	1,183·09	1,050·7	1,074·1	867·1	928·8	752·2	824·6	750·6	1,121·8
Darrang	1,101·2	1,106·7	897·7	725·3	781·5	654·5	739·7	764·5	923·2
Nowgong	1,109·6	1,012·6	958·7	788·7	826·2	716·3	762·7	710·4	932·4
Sibsagar	1,083·3	988·7	841·4	673·02	750·2	673·2	723·4	663·6	856·1
Lakhimpur	1,047·4	893·5	729·5	565·2	677·01	683·9	742·7	798·4	864·3
North Cachar	1,223·4	1,214·09	930·2	804·5	969·1	970·9	888·5	842·5	956·7
Naga Hills	1,228·1	1,077·2	1,010·03	744·2	970·6	752·9	886·9	809·7	958·6
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	1,239·9	1,174·6	1,092·5	980·9	1,159·5	1,047·4	1,168·9	1,082·8	1,311·4
Garo Hills	1,410·04	1,160·4	982·07	660·04	871·8	764·7	859·1	800·7	892·1
Total for the Province (excluding North Lushai)	**1,154·7**	**990·3**	**909·0**	**708·8**	**842·0**	**704·5**	**850·4**	**754·8**	**1,012·1**

Taking the population as a whole, there are only 941·9 females to every 1,000 persons of the opposite sex. In European countries females almost invariably outnumber males, but in India the reverse is nearly always the case. The tendency of each successive

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Age and Sex.

Sex.

census is, however, by more accurate enumeration, to reduce the excess of males. To this rule, the figures quoted above seem, at first sight to form an exception. In 1872 the proportion of females to 1,000 males was only 939, but at the more thorough enumeration of 1881 it rose to 949. Why then has it now fallen to 941? The answer will be found in the immigration statistics. In 1881 the total foreign born population numbered 280,609, of whom 163,664 were males and 116,945 were females. The number of immigrants at the present census is 510,672, including 297,301 males and 213,371 females; in other words, the excess of immigrant males over females is greater by 37,211 than it was in 1881. If this foreign born population be excluded, the number of females per 1,000 males rises to 968, against 966 at the previous census.

Proportion of females to males, excluding gardens.

83. In discussing the ages of the population, I pointed out to what an extent the normal returns are affected by the inclusion of a large proportion of immigrants, who are for the most part adults. It is equally clear from what has been said above that the true proportions of the sexes are obscured by the same cause. A second proportional table, in which this disturbing element has been excluded as far as possible, is accordingly given below:*

Statement No. 61, showing the average number of females at each age to 1,000 males of the same age.

DISTRICT.	Proportion of females to 1,000 males, excluding the whole of the foreign born.	Proportion of females to 1,000 males, excluding tea gardens.							
		All ages.	Under 1 year.	1 year.	2 years.	3 years.	4 years.	5—9.	10—14.
Cachar Plains	903·35	893·6	1,017·2	1,021·9	1,084·7	1,052·7	1,012·0	995·9	749·1
Sylhet	970·34	960·4	1,005·5	1,048·3	1,082·2	1,093·3	1,080·7	1,000·1	775·7
Goalpara	979·69	911·8	1,038·4	1,042·6	1,104·5	1,068·1	1,061·5	944·3	804·3
Kamrup	990·01	976·5	1,057·6	1,073·1	1,074·1	1,105·3	1,057·1	959·5	797·8
Darrang	942·13	948·1	1,002·4	1,025·7	1,042·6	1,040·1	1,032·9	960·7	819·2
Nowgong	948·86	940·9	1,077·4	1,033·1	1,051·1	1,036·0	1,036·5	939·5	862·0
Sibsagar	917·83	914·9	1,058·7	1,070·8	1,017·9	1,038·5	1,029·3	979·4	818·2
Lakhimpur	913·72	866·3	947·3	1,029·5	1,012·9	961·8	1,053·0	937·2	797·8
North Cachar	1,039·82	1,035·3	1,023·0	1,062·9	955·9	985·9	1,000·0	1,006·3	1,063·1
Naga Hills	992·79	975·3	1,052·1	1,111·0	1,036·5	1,015·9	1,005·7	882·4	920·1
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	1,112·78	1,091·8	998·2	1,018·3	1,077·5	1,018·5	1,065·8	1,004·8	968·2
Garo Hills	1,067·96	986·0	1,005·5	950·9	969·3	985·1	1,003·4	970·9	924·1
Total for the Province (excluding North Lushai)	**968·87**	**951·0**	**1,022·6**	**1,046·0**	**1,065·6**	**1,066·0**	**1,034·5**	**979·0**	**800·1**

DISTRICT.	Proportion of females to 1,000 males, excluding tea gardens—*continued.*								
	15—19.	20—24.	25—29.	30—34.	35—39.	40—44.	45—49.	50—54.	55—59.	60 and over.
Cachar Plains	1,089·7	1,037·7	843·9	804·0	646·7	784·6	603·3	804·2	663·7	944·7
Sylhet	1,122·6	1,211·2	1,004·8	922·2	700·4	888·3	711·2	935·5	729·1	1,009·3
Goalpara	1,088·6	1,068·7	870·4	820·4	641·6	769·3	656·1	833·5	852·8	1,089·3
Kamrup	991·7	1,193·5	1,050·0	1,076·3	870·9	983·2	734·5	826·8	751·9	1,125·5
Darrang	997·5	1,133·4	1,070·7	984·4	838·2	879·9	732·6	782·8	816·2	946·7
Nowgong	1,011·6	1,100·7	1,026·1	966·6	810·4	847·8	744·0	771·3	722·5	933·4
Sibsagar	931·4	1,038·4	992·3	898·4	755·9	819·3	742·9	741·8	665·4	852·3
Lakhimpur	1,016·7	938·0	869·5	751·3	651·0	755·6	751·4	770·7	792·7	874·8
North Cachar	1,369·5	1,223·4	1,214·0	930·2	804·5	969·1	870·9	888·5	842·5	956·7
Naga Hills	1,285·5	1,228·1	1,077·2	1,010·0	744·2	970·6	752·9	896·9	809·7	958·6
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	1,191·5	1,239·9	11,74·7	1,092·4	980·6	1,159·7	1,047·5	1,168·6	1,082·8	1,311·4
Garo Hills	1,253·3	1,410·0	11,6·4	982·0	660·0	871·8	764·7	859·1	800·7	892·1
Total for the Province (excluding North Lushai)	**1,080·3**	**1,150·4**	**991·8**	**930·2**	**736·9**	**874·5**	**726·3**	**863·2**	**760·0**	**1,015·2**

* I have already explained that I have not been able to exclude the whole of the foreign born population, *supra*, page 96.

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84. The first point which strikes any one acquainted with European statistics as curious is that, notwithstanding a general excess of males, the number of females less than one year of age is greater than that of males in nearly every district as well as in the provincial total, whereas in Europe, while the total number of females exceeds that of males, the proportion of the sexes at birth is exactly the reverse.* The figures are, however, very similar to those of most other Indian provinces, but appear to have escaped the notice of the census authorities in England, who in their report on the census of 1881, said, "it is a law to which, so far as we are aware of, there is no exception, that the male births in a community invariably outnumber the female births," and proceeded to explain the circumstance by saying "there are some reasons for believing that one, at any rate, of the causes that determine the sex of an infant is the relative ages of its father and mother, the offspring having a tendency to be of the same sex as its elder parent. As a general rule, the father is the elder parent, and thus it would follow that males would predominate among the offspring."† If this were really so, we should expect to find a much larger proportion of male births in India than in England, as in this country the difference between the age of husband and wife is almost invariably far greater than it is in England. The facts being so exactly the reverse, some other explanation must be sought for, and it seems to me not improbable that the causes lie in a circumstance of which the characteristic put forward above, though not itself the cause, is frequently a prominent feature. The theory I refer to may be stated as follows. The tendency of males is towards female offspring, while that of females is to produce males, and the sex of the child depends on which of these tendencies predominates, *i.e.*, on the comparative vitality of the parents. As people grow older, their vitality gradually decreases, so that other things being equal, the comparative vitality of a husband and wife who have both reached sexual maturity will generally be found to correspond with their ages. It is thus easy to see how in Europe, where marriages prior to sexual maturity are almost unknown, it is found that the sex of a child is usually determined by the superior vitality of the younger parent, and is thus of the opposite sex, *i.e.*, is of the same sex as the elder parent. But where marriage takes place before maturity, it is clear that age is no longer a safe guide. The sexual vitality of a person many years past maturity may still be greater than that of an immature child, and this I venture to think in part explains the difference in the proportion of the sexes at birth in Europe and India. In the latter country the husband at marriage is many years older than his wife, but as the latter usually gives birth to children before she has attained full maturity, her vital powers are less than those of her husband, and female children are the result. This view, like the one already mentioned, is, however, still only a theory, but it can claim to explain existing facts over a larger area than the former‡

Proportion at birth.

Statement No. 62, comparing the average number of females under one year of age to 1,000 males of the same age in Assam and certain other countries.

Province.	Number of females per 1,000 males under 1 year of age.	Country.	Number of females per 1,000 males under 1 year of age.
Assam	1,022	England	998
Bengal	1,017	Scotland	982
Berar	1,033	Ireland	962
Bombay	1,015	France	979
Sind	936	Germany	983
Lower Burma ..	1,007	Prussia	974
Central Provinces ..	1,018	Saxony	991
Madras	975	Bavaria	1,009
North-West Provinces	1,018	United States (whites).	965
Oudh	1,003	Ditto (coloured).	1,015
Punjab	950	Canada	964

* The Provincial Vital Statistics Returns show 353,792 male and 323,115 female births during the five years from 1886 to 1890. This gives only 913 males per thousand females, but the returns are so unreliable that no argument can be drawn from them. The value of Indian Vital Statistics is relative and not absolute, as has been well pointed out by Dr. Cornish in his report upon the Madras famine.

† Report on the Census of England and Wales, volume IV, page 15.

‡ It is, however, not improbable that no general explanation is required, and that the difference is chiefly one of race. In the United States of America amongst the whites, males predominate at birth, whilst the reverse is the case amongst the coloured population.

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Age and Sex.

Sex.

which, moreover, is contradicted by the state of things in India.* Other hypotheses have also been put forward, the oldest of which is perhaps the one which says that the sex is inherent in the germ itself.† It has, again, been suggested that sex is determined by the season of the year at which conception takes place,‡ or, according to others, by the degree of ovular maturity at the time. But none of these diverse views have as yet passed beyond the realm of theory, and the real causes which produce sex must still be regarded as uncertain.

Proportion at other ages.

85. The excess of females shown in the first year of life increases up to the third year, after which the proportion begins to fall until the age period 10—14 is reached; in the next two groups of ages it steadily rises, and then falls rapidly through the groups of ages 25—29, 30—34, and 35—39; it rises again at 40—44, drops at 45—49; at 50—54 there is another rise, and at 55—59 another fall; while at '60 and over' the proportion of females again rises and exceeds that of the males. The proportion of the sexes at each age will be more clearly followed by a reference to the accompanying diagram, on which three curves are traced. One shows the proportion on the total population, while the two others illustrate the relative numbers of the sexes in the hill districts, and amongst the tea garden population respectively, these being the places in which the greatest variations from the general average are found.

It is difficult to explain satisfactorily the irregular character of these curves, but it is clear that it is largely the result of a greater degree of inaccuracy in the return of the ages of women. Women are more ignorant than men of all questions touching their age, and the result of this is clearly seen by the height of the curve at the groups containing a multiple of 10, *viz.*, 30—34, 40—44, 50—54, and 60 and over.§ The approximations to their true ages made by the male portion of the community are more accurate, and the resort to these round numbers is, therefore, in their case less marked. Another cause of variation is the wilful falsification of ages where women are concerned. Even in England the inaccuracies due to this cause are considerable‖ and they are certainly not less so in India. Thus the proportion of females, which is slightly below unity at 5—9, falls rapidly at the next quinquennial period, 10—14. No doubt a portion of the decrease is due to a higher mortality on account of the change in the

* Even in European countries, age, as might be expected, if the alternative theory is correct, is no invariable guide. This will be evident from the following statistics collected by Hofacker and Sadler, which were quoted by Mr. Baines in his Report on the Census of the Bombay Presidency in 1881:

	Hofacker.	Sadler.	
1. Father younger than mother	90·6	86·5	Average number of male births to 100 female births.
2. Father and mother of equal age	90·0	94·8	
3. Father older by 1 to 6 years	103·4	103·7	
4. Ditto by 6 to 9 „	124·7	....	
5. Ditto by 6 to 11 „	....	126·7	
6. Ditto by 9 to 18 „	143·7	....	
7. Ditto by 11 to 16 „	....	147·7	
8. Ditto by 16 years and over	....	163·2	
9. Ditto by 18 „	200·0	....	

† Against this view it may be urged that oscillations in the proportions of the sexes in the same country at different times, and amongst different classes of the community, *e.g.*, the English clergy, are by no means unknown, and these seem to argue in favour of the result being due to relatively secondary causes.

‡ For a discussion of this theory, *vide* Mr. Kitts' Report on the Census of Berar in 1881.

§ This has already been noticed at page 98 above.

‖ This is clearly shown by the following extract from the Report on the Census of England and Wales in 1881:

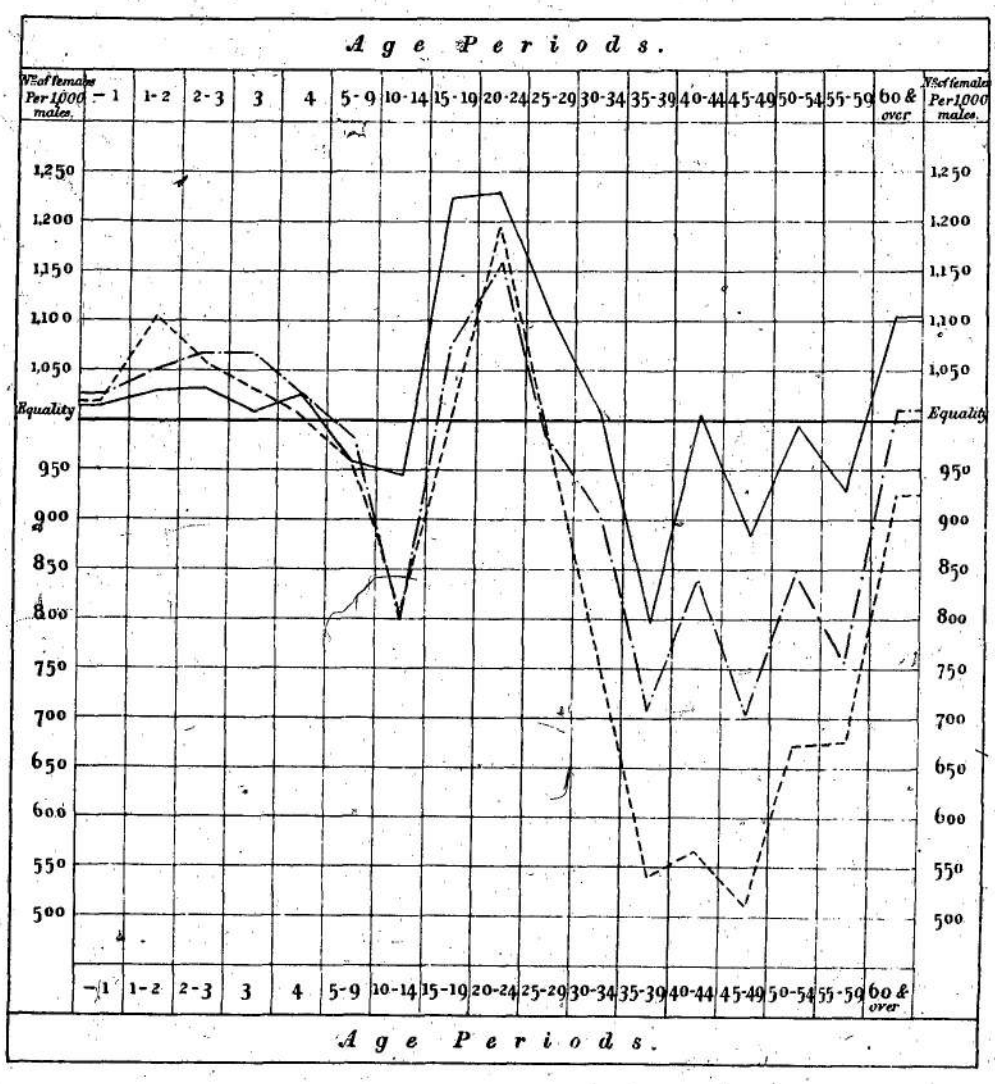
"*Wilful misstatement of age by girls and women.*—There remains yet another form of inaccuracy in the age returns, which differs from those as yet mentioned in being of a wilful character. Many persons, and notably many women, desirous of being thought to be younger than they really are, return themselves as under 25 or as under 30, when their true age is even considerably beyond these limits.

"On the other hand, we find reason to believe from careful examination of the age tables that a not inconsiderable number of girls who are not yet fifteen return themselves as being of that or of more advanced age, probably with the view of getting more readily taken as servants. In consequence of this the number of girls of the 10—15 years period of life, as given in our tables, is too low. Probably a similar overstatement of age on the part of many young women occurs in the next age period, 15—20 years of age, and with a similar object. This age period, however, receiving a certain number from below that do not rightly belong to it, and losing above a certain number that should rightly be retained, counterbalances its losses by its gains, and is, therefore, probably not very incorrect as regards the total assigned to it. But not so the next age period, 20 and under 25 years of age. Young women under 20, as already explained, often state themselves to be over that age, while many others, who are 20 or more, state themselves to be under 25; so that this age period receives at both ends without counterbalancing loss, and thus the total of women returned as in this period of life comes to be very much too high.

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Diagram shewing the Number of Females per 1,000 Males at the different ages.

The proportion in the Hill Districts, where the Number of Females exceeds that of Males, and of the Tea Garden population amongst whom the reverse is the case, are shewn separately.



Total Population ——·——·——

Hill Districts ————————

Tea Gardens - - - - - - - - -

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female organisation which takes place during these years,* and also to premature conception and child birth. But this cannot entirely explain the decrease, and there seems to be no doubt that a great part of it is due to an intentional understatement of ages. An orthodox Hindu who neglects to give his daughter in marriage before she reaches the age of puberty commits a crime, and he is, therefore, almost certain to understate the age of unmarried girls who have really arrived at that period of life. Possibly also some girls of 13 and 14 who have gone to live with their husbands have been shown as 15 years and over, but whether this be so or not, it is clear that the female population returned at 15—19 and 20—24 includes a considerable number of women of higher ages, who were unwilling to admit that they were no longer young. But, excluding differences due to mere artificial causes, it appears to be a fact that the mortality amongst women is greater than it is amongst men, so that, although more girls are born than boys, the proportions are soon reversed by the larger number of deaths amongst the former.

Proportion in the different districts.

86. Comparing the figures by districts, the largest excess of females during the first year of life is found in Kamrup, Sibsagar, and Nowgong; the smallest in Lakhimpur and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where males predominate at birth, and in Darrang, the Garo Hills, and Sylhet, where the excess of females is nominal. It is impossible to explain these variations, at least without local investigations of a far more searching character than it is possible to make. It is impossible even to test the theory of the sexes stated above, because, as will be explained in the next chapter, cohabitation does not always immediately follow marriage. But I may note that, so far as the marriage statistics furnish any guide, they seem to go against the theory. In Nowgong, for instance, infant marriages are comparatively few, and in Sibsagar also they are below the average for the province; in Sylhet, on the other hand, such marriages are more common than in any other district; and in Darrang they are above the average.

At subsequent ages, the figures for the different districts present a general uniformity, and in almost all cases the general result is a net deficiency of women. In North Cachar, with the exception of the ages 2 and 3, there is a steady excess of females at all ages up to 25—29, after which the proportion decreases, partly owing to the understatement of the ages of women between 30 and 50, and partly, it may be, because the latter years of life are comparatively unfavourable to women. A further explanation of the excess of women between 15 and 29 is to be found in the fact that the census was taken in the cold weather, and that a number of the men were away in other districts either for purposes of trade or working as coolies.

The deficiency of females in the Naga and Garo Hills districts is entirely due to the plains population. Amongst the animistic tribes of both districts there is a net excess of women amounting in the case of the former district to 39, and in that of the latter to 614 on the total animistic population.

* The higher mortality amongst females apparent from these figures agrees with the statistics for the proclaimed clans, to which reference has already been made, which show the mean annual mortality per 10,000 of each sex to be as follows:

SEX.	AGE.											
	0—1.	1—2.	2—3.	3—4.	4—5.	5—6.	6—7.	7—8.	8—9.	9—10.	10—11.	11—12.
Males	2,354	1,333	786	506	384	291	245	181	150	132	120	137
Females ..	2,378	1,509	1,103	762	522	390	299	266	219	172	170	226

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Age and Sex.

Sex.

Proportion by religion.

87. Taking the population by religion the proportions of the sexes in each are shown in the following statement, in which, as before, the figures represent the number of females to every 1,000 males censused at each age period:

Statement No. 63, showing the average number of females to 1,000 males of the same age in each of the main religions.

Age periods.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Buddhist.	Jain.	Animistic.
Under 1 year	1,021·1	1,018·0	1,116·9	891·0	909·0	1,032·3
1 year	1,056·1	1,038·4	790·1	1,283·0	1,000·0	1,051·3
2 years	1,058·4	1,081·4	1,145·2	1,038·4	500·0	1,057·1
3 „	1,069·3	1,073·5	917·5	773·1	1,000·0	1,039·7
4 „	1,032·5	1,024·9	1,157·2	1,079·6	1,142·8	1,043·7
5—9	980·5	987·2	1,019·3	986·8	575·0	951·7
10—14	777·5	776·6	918·2	804·3	122·6	935·2
15—19	993·2	1,155·0	1,181·0	1,150·1	103·6	1,240·9
20—24	1,086·3	1,225·3	950·3	916·8	184·2	1,322·5
25—29	967·8	970·6	851·9	648·2	105·8	1,124·4
30—34	899·2	873·4	654·7	682·9	112·5	1,013·5
35—39	714·3	633·3	644·4	489·0	50·5	806·0
40—44	824·7	826·9	787·2	553·6	94·5	927·9
45—49	705·4	634·2	580·0	609·7	17·5	806·8
50—54	843·1	879·1	663·0	693·8	103·4	842·7
55—59	756·8	690·3	752·8	472·5	142·8	820·6
60 and over	1,026·0	999·8	1,110·0	668·4	272·7	990·4
All ages	**922·7**	**943·3**	**890·4**	**774·7**	**156·3**	**1,008·6**

I will not again discuss the proportions at each age, as to do so would be a waste of time. The general results are that the animistic tribes contain more women than men, whilst amongst all other religions there is a marked excess of males. With the Jains, this is explained by the fact that all of them are foreigners from other provinces, and that they rarely bring their women with them. They are only temporary settlers, and their families are, as a rule, left in their permanent home in Rajputana or elsewhere. The same explanation is also, to a large extent, applicable to Christians, as amongst the European community the number of females is proportionately very small. The low proportion amongst the Buddhists is due to the fact that many of them are temporary visitors, Bhutias from Bhutan and Khamtis from beyond the Inner Line,—and that the great majority of these persons have left their wives at home. The low proportion amongst Hindus is attributable to the fact that the great bulk of the immigrant population was returned under this head, and this class, as already explained, contains many more men than women.

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88. In the following table the proportion of the sexes in the total population at each age period in Assam is compared with the corresponding figures for other provinces and certain European countries: Age and Sex.

Statement No. 64, comparing the number of females to 1,000 males at each age period in Assam and certain other countries.

Province or Country.	0—4.	5—9.	10—14.	15—19.	20—24.	25—29.	30—34.	35—39.	40—44.	45—49.	50—54.	55—59.	60 and over.	All ages.
Assam	1,047	979	800	1,080	631	991	930	736	874	726	873	760	1,015	968
Bengal	1,065	938	801	1,019	1,195	1,071	1,006	886	1,015	906	1,092	1,027	1,352	1,011
Berar	1,055	1,008	814	1,059	1,229	912	837	712	853	773	886	786	972	936
Bombay	1,042	942	806	914	1,059	943	948	854	877	1,010	1,071	997	1,223	955
Burma	1,003	965	860	1,048	850	761	696	709	783	789	900	877	987	877
India	1,034	926	795	922	1,088	991	955	861	964	885	1,021	936	1,195	959
England and Wales ..	1,003	1,006	997	1,008	1,093	1,087	1,077	1,069	1,079	1,103	1,104	1,111	1,187	1,055
Scotland	976	976	968	994	1,063	1,105	1,117	1,161	1,166	1,204	1,215	1,224	1,377	1,076
Ireland	971	977	957	1,040	1,060	1,120	1,161	1,128	1,128	1,047	1,095	1,068	1,075	1,043
France	984	996	985	999	1,057	958	985	993	986	1,001	1,028	1,015	1,067	1,005
Italy	964	966	959	1,025	1,017	1,027	1,027	1,005	1,010	996	1,020	986	980	995
Austria	1,011	1,004	1,011	1,043	1,046	1,052	1,067	1,055	1,050	1,072	1,146	1,104	1,068	1,047
Canada	968	972	956	1,008	1,029	1,007	989	987	977	949	954	924	886	929
United States America (whites)	967	975	966	1,024	984	927	924	957	971	935	901	893	748	961
Ditto ditto (coloured)	996	999	964	1,024	1,043	984	986	1,023	1,106	1,036	910	797	935	993
Chili	967	944	932	1,076	1,043	1,059	956	1,033	957	1,033	941	995	1,091	1,000

Note.—The tea garden population has been excluded from the proportions quoted for Assam.

There is very little to notice in the figures for Indian provinces, which on the whole show a general resemblance to those returned for Assam. But on turning to European figures, a vast difference is apparent. The difference of the proportions at birth has already been commented on, and a possible explanation of the same has been suggested. The variation in the proportions at other ages and on the total population is not less marked. The only general resemblance is in the common deficiency of females of the age 10—14, but this is only apparent, and is explained differently in the East and in the West. In India, as has already been noted, it is due mainly to the intentional understatement of the age of girls who have attained puberty, but are not yet married, while in England it is thought that the error is due to the overstatement of their ages by girls who wish to obtain employment as servants. With this apparent exception, there is no point of resemblance. In Assam the excess of females, which is found at the earlier ages, disappears at 25, from which period onwards there is a steady deficiency of women. In European countries, on the other hand, it is after this age that the excess of women becomes most marked. In other words, in India mortality is apparently greater amongst females, whilst in Europe the males die earlier. In the latter case, the explanation is that men are more exposed than women, and that the wear and tear of life falls more heavily upon them. There is also a much larger emigration of men than women. In Assam none of these causes apply. The total emigration is inconsiderable, and may be disregarded. The condition of women is also very different to what it is in England, for here, as in other parts of India, they share in all the labours of the men. It is true that a woman is not allowed to touch the plough, but it is she who transplants the paddy seedlings, and who spends hours husking rice. When she has leisure from her other duties, she goes out fishing and passes half the day standing in water up to her middle, catching the small fry that are found in the flooded fields. In her ordinary life, therefore, she is quite as exposed to wear and tear as men are,

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Age and Sex. — Sex.

while the special burdens which fall on her sex everywhere are particularly heavy in India. She is usually married long before she has reached full maturity, and often becomes a mother at the earliest possible moment. This heavy strain upon the strength of a half-grown girl is rendered still more severe by the treatment to which she is subjected at the time when childbirth takes place. She is relegated to a solitary outhouse, and is attended, not by a trained doctor, but by an ignorant midwife, whose duty it is to rub and roll her about so as to increase her pain. After the child is born, she is held to be unclean for thirty days, during which time all food, except pulse, rice, and molasses, are forbidden to her.* What wonder if, with treatment such as this, female mortality is higher in India than in England?

Female infanticide.

89. Before concluding this chapter, I may mention one cause which sometimes operates to keep down the number of women. I refer to female infanticide, which was at one time so common in some parts of India that a special Act had to be passed to suppress it. The causes of female infanticide fall under two main heads. Sometimes the practice originates in a want of sufficient food for the whole of the community, which induces the members of it to kill their female children, and thus reduce the number of persons for whom sustenance is required. The other main cause is the practice of hypergamy, which prevails in some parts of the country, and which necessitates the payment of a large sum for husbands. Many parents being unable to sustain the necessary expenditure, and wishing to avoid the odium which they would incur if they let their daughters grow up without marrying them are thus driven to kill female children as soon as they are born. The practice of hypergamy is unknown in Assam,† and female infanticide due to this cause does not, and never has existed. But female infanticide due to physical difficulties is not altogether unknown. It was practised until very recently amongst several Naga tribes, and the present census shows that it was common amongst the Kacha Nagas up to a much later date than has usually been supposed. The practice has, however, now been put a stop to, and the tribes amongst which it formerly existed were always too few in number for it to have had any appreciable effect, even while it lasted, on the proportions of the sexes in the province generally.

* *cf.* Dr. Wise's account quoted by Mr. Risley in 'Tribes and Castes', volume I, page 210.

† Men who have passed the B. A. and F. A. Examinations of the Calcutta University, and even 'failed' Entrance candidates, are said nowadays to command a price in the matrimonial market. But this is a custom of very recent growth, and is of course quite optional.

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CHAPTER V.—MARRIAGE.

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Diagram shewing the Tendency towards Marriage at each age-period in Assam.

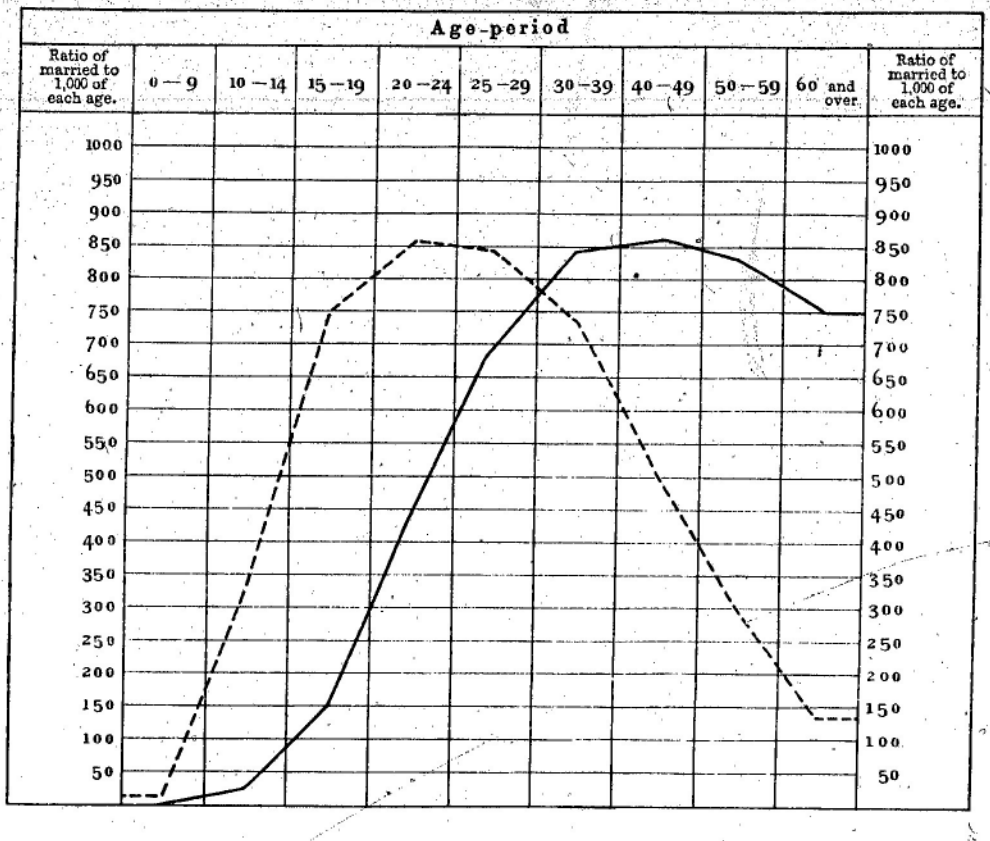
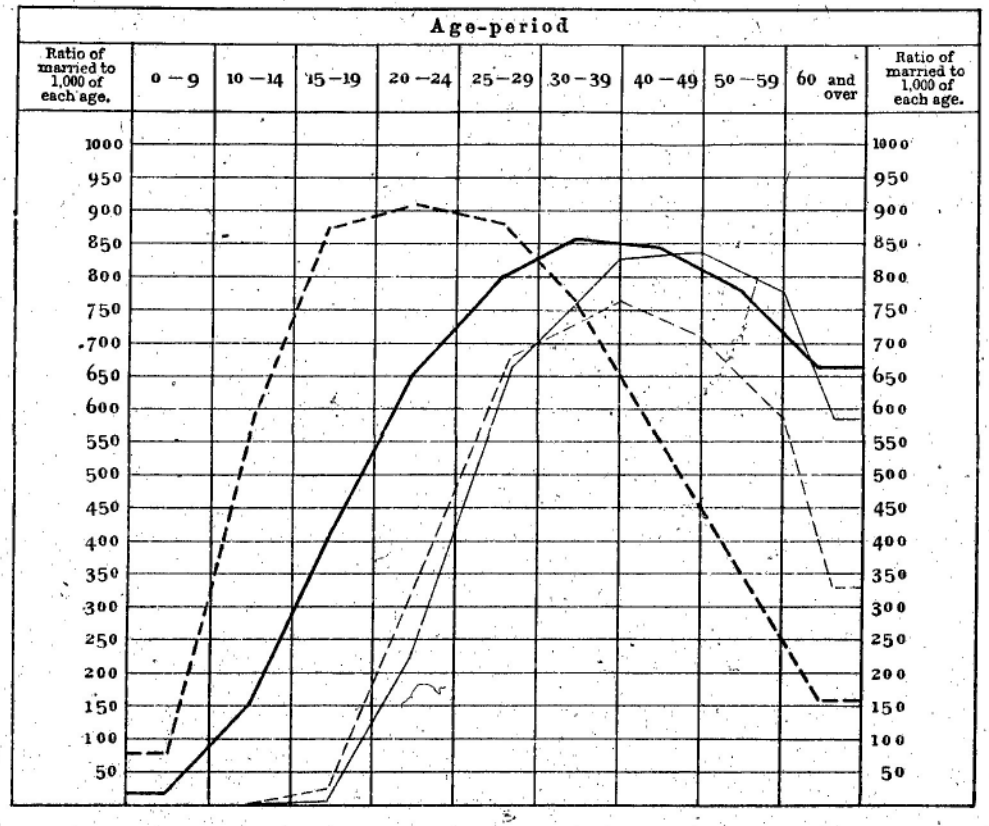


Diagram illustrating the same Tendency (a) in Bombay and (b) in England and Wales.

The Bombay curves are drawn in thick lines, and those of England and Wales in fine lines.



Reg. No. 63. Supdt. Census, Assam.—Mar. 92.—600.

Litho., S. I. O., Calcutta.

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CHAPTER V.—MARRIAGE.

IMPERIAL TABLE No. VIII.

Marriage.

General remarks.

90. In the preceding chapter the ages of the population were discussed and the proportions of the sexes at each age period examined. It is now proposed to deal with the condition of the people in regard to marriage, or in other words those sexual relations on which the propagation of the human race depends.

91. The distribution of the total population amongst the married, single, and widowed is shown in the margin. The figures shown in this statement depend so much upon the practices permitted or enjoined by the different religions that it is impossible to draw conclusions for the province generally until the results have been analysed for each religion separately. I will accordingly commence by discussing the marital relations of the people belonging to each religion, and will then return to the consideration of the figures for the total population. But, before doing so, I will mention one or two points which affect the accuracy of the figures. The first is in connection with the vernacular translation of 'widower'. There was no lack of words for 'widow', but it was more difficult to find an equivalent for a man who had lost his wife. The only Assamese word is *borola*, which is an exact translation of the English word 'widower', and was adopted as the term to be used in the schedules. It was subsequently found that in some places the term is also loosely used to designate any man without a wife, whether he ever had one or not.* To avoid mistakes owing to this loose use of the term, the particular attention of district officers was drawn to the point, and the necessity of impressing the proper use of the term on their enumerators was pointed out. As a rule, the matter was properly explained to the enumerators, but in one or two districts the point was not sufficiently noticed, and as a result some of the unmarried have apparently been classed amongst the widowed.† The total number of such mistakes is, however, small and only affects the proportions to a very slight degree. Another possibility of error is in regard to remarried widows. The practice is forbidden amongst Hindus, but the prohibition does not apply to the Musalmans or the hill tribes, nor is it by any means universally attended to even amongst the lower castes of Hindus. With the exception of a few of the higher Hindu castes, widow remarriage is common amongst all classes of the population. But although Brahmanism has been unable to prevent the practice, it has succeeded in bringing it into disrepute and in lowering the general

Statement No. 65, showing the distribution of the total population at each age by civil condition.

Age.	Single		Married.		Widowed.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—4 ..	424,079	443,370	241	485	8	144
5—9 ..	430,311	401,117	1,125	10,670	233	562
10—14 ..	310,693	168,586	7,594	83,682	708	3,133
15—19 ..	177,041	46,662	30,546	167,797	1,417	10,047
20—24 ..	116,483	14,579	91,318	210,920	4,157	19,251
25—29 ..	67,569	7,328	170,687	206,221	8,762	31,075
30—34 ..	29,679	3,690	199,338	170,013	13,021	46,327
35—39 ..	11,836	1,699	161,034	89,457	12,144	42,115
40—44 ..	7,002	1,572	151,691	73,789	15,579	66,888
45—49 ..	2,740	585	78,357	26,586	9,615	36,742
50—54 ..	2,694	737	91,736	29,080	14,693	62,992
55—59 ..	829	221	31,182	7,706	6,106	20,755
60 and over ..	2,581	809	92,676	16,305	28,401	108,048
All ages ..	1,573,539	1,090,955	1,110,525	1,097,301	114,844	448,079

* Notwithstanding the fact that there is a special word, '*dungua*', to denote bachelors.

† This is especially the case in Kamrup. In the Surma Valley and Goalpara 'widower' was rendered as '*stri mariyachhe*'.

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Marriage.

estimation of the solemnity and validity of these second marriages. Widows who contract a second alliance are known by a special name (*dhemani*, *batalu*, &c.), and are not, as a rule considered to hold the same position as women married for the first time. To guard against the danger of these second marriages being ignored, it was noted in the instructions that women so conditioned should be shown as *dhemani*, if the enumerators had scruples against entering them as married, and persons thus returned were afterwards treated as married in the tabulation office. It is possible that, notwithstanding these instructions, some few women of this class have been shown as widowed, but it is improbable that this has been done to any appreciable extent.

Marriage amongst the Hindus.

92. The following table shows the civil condition and age of the Hindu population of the province from several different points of view. It gives the absolute numbers of the single, married, and widowed returned at each age period, the distribution of 10,000 persons of each condition by age, and, lastly, the distribution by condition of 10,000 persons of each age period :

Statement No. 66, showing the distribution of Hindus in respect of civil condition.

AGE.	TOTAL HINDUS.						DISTRIBUTION OF CONDITION BY AGE.						DISTRIBUTION OF AGE BY CONDITION.					
	SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.		SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.		SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
0—4 .	214,710	224,476	101	223	5	82	2,465	3,976	2	4	1	3	9,995	9,986	5	10	..	4
5—9 .	221,148	210,559	574	6,693	174	332	2,539	3,729	9	114	23	12	9,966	9,677	26	308	8	15
10—14.	168,911	86,551	3,687	46,126	493	1,912	1,939	1,533	60	782	64	67	9,759	6,431	213	3,427	28	142
15—19.	104,201	26,427	14,674	86,070	837	6,409	1,196	468	240	1,460	109	226	8,704	2,222	1,226	7,239	70	539
20—24.	73,969	8,046	48,498	114,740	2,543	12,997	849	143	794	1,946	328	457	5,918	593	3,880	8,450	202	957
25—29.	45,432	3,547	92,815	114,266	5,512	21,325	522	63	1,519	1,938	718	750	3,160	255	6,456	8,212	384	1,533
30—34.	21,362	1,977	110,636	93,346	8,629	31,138	245	35	1,811	1,583	1,124	1,095	1,519	157	7,867	7,381	614	2,462
35—39.	8,927	933	91,727	48,451	8,130	28,326	103	17	1,501	823	1,059	997	821	120	8,432	6,234	747	3,646
40—44.	5,297	843	85,620	40,691	10,764	42,326	61	15	1,402	690	1,402	1,489	521	101	8,420	4,852	1,059	5,047
45—49.	2,185	331	44,644	13,723	6,688	23,700	25	6	731	233	871	834	408	87	8,342	3,635	1,250	6,278
50—54.	2,132	407	51,917	14,608	10,388	39,316	25	7	850	248	1,353	1,383	331	75	8,057	2,689	1,612	7,236
55—59.	685	125	18,507	3,842	4,330	13,836	8	2	303	65	564	487	291	70	7,868	2,158	1,841	7,772
60 and over	2,043	358	47,538	6,754	18,304	62,543	23	6	778	115	2,384	2,200	301	51	7,003	970	2,696	8,979
Total..	871,002	564,580	610,938	589,533	76,777	284,242	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	5,588	3,925	3,920	4,099	492	1,976

NOTE.—The numbers in columns 8 to 13 must be read vertically, and those in columns 14 to 19 horizontally.

Prevalence of marriage.

93. To the Hindu marriage is an obligatory religious ceremony, which each man ought to perform in order to beget a son who may perform his funeral ceremonies and rescue his soul from hell. If the first marriage prove barren, a second wife should be taken in order that the necessary offspring may be obtained. In other cases there is no religious injunction regarding a second marriage, but there is no prohibition against it. A Hindu therefore may have as many wives as he pleases, but in practice he seldom takes more than one. One, however, he is bound to have. It is equally incumbent on a Hindu parent to see that his daughters are duly married, so that almost all Hindus, males as well as females, are married at some period or other of their lives. This will appear by reference to statement No. 66 above, from which it will be seen that the percentage of Hindus of the age of 40 and over who are unmarried is extremely small, and is easily accounted for by special causes. Bachelors of this age are many of them socially disqualified for marriage, and comprise persons afflicted with leprosy, blindness and other infirmities, criminals

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and beggars, and the outcasts of the population generally. Of the old unmarried males not otherwise disqualified, the greater part consists of persons who have refrained from marriage for religious reasons. Certain sects of ascetics abjure marriage, and some of the Vaishnava Goseins and the disciples who reside in their Sattras are also celibates. It is very doubtful whether any Hindu male to whom marriage is not impossible, or forbidden for the reasons mentioned above, goes through life a bachelor. Elderly spinsters are still more uncommon, one reason being that there are no religious sisterhoods amongst the Hindus of this province, and another that there is a greater demand for wives than for husbands. Marriage.

94. Marriage amongst the Hindus of Assam is almost invariably by purchase, or, as a Hindu would prefer to say, the *asura* is the prevalent form of marriage.* The price paid for a bride varies considerably; on a general average it may be placed roughly at from Rs. 60 to Rs. 70, but very much larger sums are often paid, more especially by the Sháhás of Sylhet when they wish to procure a bride from the Káyastha or Vaidya castes. One result of this practice of buying wives is to raise the age of males at marriage, as they cannot take a wife until they can afford to pay for her.

Age at marriage.

In early times girls were by no means invariably married before puberty, but in the Puranik period infant marriage was looked on as obligatory, and Parásara says—"the mother, the father, and the elder brother of a girl go to hell on seeing her menstruant while yet unmarried." Yajnavalkya has it that the guardian of a girl becomes guilty of causing a miscarriage if he has not given her away before her menses appear. In Assam these later views have not as yet much force, and child marriage is still uncommon, except possibly amongst a few of the higher castes. Amongst the lower castes, which consist largely of converts from the aboriginal tribes, it is more usual than not for a girl to attain puberty while still unmarried, and her age at marriage depends a good deal upon her personal qualifications, the position of her parents, and the value they set upon her. Statement No. 66 on page 112 shows that out of 10,000 girls under 4 years of age only 10 are married; 308 are married out of the same number aged 5 to 9; and 3,427, or slightly more than a third of 10,000 girls, between the ages of 10 and 14. It is probable that the great majority of those returned as married at the last mentioned age period are over 12 years of age. It should also be remembered that marriage in India does not always mean cohabitation. In the case of a girl who has not attained puberty two ceremonies are performed. The first is really more a betrothal than a marriage, and after it has been concluded the girl returns to her father's house, where she resides until she reaches the menstrual period, when a second ceremony is performed, on the conclusion of which she is taken to her husband's house and cohabits with him. It may be suggested that it would have been more useful to have treated as married, for the purposes of the census, only those girls who had gone to live in their husbands' houses, and this would doubtless have been desirable had it been possible to see that such instructions were duly carried out. But this was not the case. The Hindu looks on a girl as married as soon as the first ceremony is performed, and no amount of instruction would have induced the enumerators to make uniform entries on any other basis. Besides, to have tried to insist on this would have been to encourage inquisitive questions, which would be objected to everywhere, and nowhere more so than in India. The system followed was therefore the only one possible, and the figures I have quoted must be accepted with this reservation, that they include girls who are only betrothed as well as girls who are really married. At the next age period, 15 to 19, 7,239 out of every 10,000 women are married. The proportion of married women is highest at 20 to 24, where it amounts to 8,450 out of 10,000 of all conditions. Above that age the proportion slowly declines, owing to the gradually increasing number of widows.

* It is common even amongst the Brahmans, to whom this form of marriage is specially declared inappropriate. When Subdivisional Officer of Mangaldai, I remember an attempt which was made by an influential Gosein to induce the local Brahmans to abandon the practice. Promises were made, but they were not adhered to, and the old practice of taking money for their daughters was continued.

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Marriage. The later period of life at which men marry is clear from the fact that at the age 20 to 24 where the proportion of wives is highest, the ratio of married men only slightly exceeds that of girls married at 10 to 14, and the highest proportion of husbands is not reached until fifteen years later, in the period 35 to 39. From this age on to the end of the table, the proportion of husbands is almost stationary, while that of married women rapidly declines, until at last it is barely one-third of that of the married men. The same facts may be expressed in another way, by saying that less than half the wives are over 30, while the same proportion of husbands are over 40 years of age. On a rough calculation the mean age of Hindu husbands is 38·82 years, while that of married women is only 28·03, against 43·1 and 40·7 respectively in England and Wales.

Widow remarriage.

95. According to the Hindu religion,* widows are not allowed to marry again, but the practice obtains everywhere to some extent. In the Surma Valley the custom is confined to the lower castes,—Malis, Chandals, and Patnis. It was formerly also practised by the Hálwá Dás, but is said of late to have been discontinued by them, and to be falling into disrepute even amongst the low castes mentioned above. A remarried widow, however, still occupies the legal position of a wife, and her children can perform the *sraddh*, and are therefore entitled to inherit. A religious ceremony of an informal character is performed on the occasion of her remarriage.

In the Brahmaputra Valley, widow remarriage is permitted by all castes except Brahmans, Ganaks, and Káyasthas. It is, however, dying out amongst the Kalitas, and is regarded by all classes of Hindus as not altogether proper. It is resorted to mainly by the poorer people; but even with them a remarried widow is not received with very much respect. A distinction is, however, drawn between virgin widows and widows whose previous marriage has been consummated.† The odium which attaches to the latter does not exist in the case of the virgin widow, as local custom allows the supplementary marriage ceremony, or *Sántibiyá*, which precedes consummation, to be performed by a second man if the person who went through the first ceremony is dead. In this case, therefore, there is a regular religious ceremony, instead of simply a feast and public acknowledgment, which is all that usually accompanies the second union of an ordinary widow.‡ But in both cases alike the marriage is looked upon as binding, and the children can inherit.

Proportions of the widowed.

96. From the disrepute in which widow remarriage is held, and from the disparity of age between husband and wife, it might be expected that the number of widows would be excessive, and that this is actually the case is shown by the figures in the tabular statement. Under 10 the number of widows is inconsiderable, but after that age the number steadily increases until at 40, when the proportion of husbands is at its highest, the number of widows exceeds that of married women. Out of the total number of Hindu females, 1 in every 5 is a widow. The number of widowers, on the other hand, is less than 1 in 20.

Excess of husbands over wives.

97. One peculiarity in the return deserves separate mention. The figures show an excess of husbands over wives to the extent of 21,405, and this notwithstanding the fact that polygamy is permitted, and actually exists to a certain limited extent. The explanation lies in a circumstance to which I have several times had occasion to refer, namely, in the disproportion of the sexes in our large immigrant population. The number of foreign born males censused in Assam exceeds that of females by nearly 84,000, and assuming that two-fifths§ of this number

* That is to say, according to modern Hindu religion. The practice has no foundation either in early Hindu law or custom (*vide* Mayne's 'Hindu Law', page 86) and Dutt's 'Ancient India', *passim*.

† Known as *Ekbiydr bari* and *Dobiydr bari* respectively. The same distinction was made by Manu, who opposed the remarriage of ordinary widows, but permitted that of virgins.

‡ That is to say, if she was originally married by the regular ceremony. If her first union was merely a state of concubinage, she is permitted to perform the regular ceremony when taking a second husband.

§ This is the proportion of husbands to the total number of males, and it seems justifiable to assume that not less than this proportion is to be found amongst the immigrant population, which comprises a far larger proportion of men from 15 to 55 years of age than the indigenous population does. It is true that amongst immigrant coolies the men who come without wives are generally unmarried, but the disproportion of the sexes is greatest in the cases of immigrants outside tea gardens, amongst our large floating population, Bengali clerks, &c., most of whom are married.

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were married, more than 33,000 husbands were censused here whose wives were living elsewhere. This being so, and the great majority of the foreign born having been returned as Hindus, the reason for the difference between the number of husbands and wives is easily understood. Excluding immigrants, it is probable that there is a slight excess of married men. **Marriage.**

Divorce.

98. The divorced have not been returned separately, but are included amongst the widowed. It is, therefore, not possible to say to what extent the practice prevails in Assam. According to the Hindu religion, marriage is a religious sacrament, which once performed can never be undone. Divorce therefore is not recognised,* but it is nevertheless by no means rare amongst the lower castes. There is no particular or recognised form of separation; but the husband or wife who is dissatisfied settles the matter,—the husband by ejecting the wife, and the wife by going off with another man or returning to her parents' house. Many such separations occur, but whether they would be recognised as valid divorces in our courts is still a matter of some uncertainty. †

Musalman marriages.

99. I commenced the discussion of the effect of religion upon marriage by examining the figures for Hindus, because Hinduism is the religion of more than half the total population of the province, and is moreover the type to which all others tend to conform, and with which they may most conveniently be compared. I will now proceed to examine the figures for the Muhammadan religion, which ranks next to Hinduism, so far as the number of its professors in this province is concerned. In statement No. 67 below the details of civil condition are given in the same form as has already been furnished for Hindus:

Statement No. 67, showing the distribution of Musalmans in respect of civil condition.

AGE.	TOTAL MUSALMANS.						DISTRIBUTION OF CONDITION BY AGE.						DISTRIBUTION OF AGE BY CONDITION.					
	SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.		SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.		SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
0–4 ..	123,579	129,336	81	152	2	45	2,785	4,243	3	5	1	4	9,993	9,985	7	12	...	3
5–9 ..	128,039	123,457	271	3,074	39	183	2,885	4,049	9	101	22	17	9,976	9,743	21	243	3	14
10–14..	95,613	44,591	1,972	30,340	96	933	2,155	1,462	65	994	55	85	9,788	5,878	202	3,999	10	123
15–19..	48,657	4,790	8,821	59,429	233	2,440	1,097	157	292	1,947	133	221	8,431	719	1,529	8,918	40	366
20–24..	27,985	1,083	26,144	62,322	756	3,849	631	36	865	2,042	430	349	5,099	161	4,763	9,267	138	572
25–29..	13,327	562	49,478	55,765	1,545	6,133	300	18	1,637	1,827	879	556	2,071	90	7,689	8,928	240	982
30–34..	4,058	377	55,153	42,779	1,978	10,287	91	12	1,824	1,402	1,126	933	663	70	9,014	8,005	323	1,925
35–39..	1,163	191	43,422	19,743	1,707	9,386	26	6	1,436	647	972	851	251	63	9,380	6,734	369	3,201
40–44..	652	203	38,851	17,193	2,085	16,995	15	7	1,285	563	1,187	1,541	157	59	9,342	4,999	501	4,912
45–49..	191	62	20,014	4,838	1,243	8,704	4	2	662	159	708	789	89	46	9,331	3,556	580	6,398
50–54..	207	84	23,175	5,633	1,914	16,523	5	3	767	185	1,089	1,498	82	38	9,161	2,533	757	7,429
55–59..	58	18	6,656	983	660	4,090	1	1	220	32	376	371	79	35	9,026	1,931	895	8,034
60 and over.	221	138	28,252	2,917	5,318	30,720	5	5	933	96	3,022	2,785	66	41	8,363	864	1,571	9,095
Total.	443,750	304,912	302,290	305,168	17,566	110,288	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	5,811	4,233	3,959	4,236	230	1,531

NOTE.—The numbers in columns 8 to 13 must be read vertically and those in columns 14 to 19 horizontally.

* The Code of Manu permits the repudiation of a wife under certain circumstances.

† The footnote *E* on page 82 of Mayne's 'Hindu Law', to the effect that the usage has been affirmed in Assam, is not quite correct. All that was ruled in the case there referred to was that the custom of divorce might be recognised if established, even though opposed to the *Dáyá Bhága*. The case was remanded for a finding on the actual custom, and the decision then arrived at was that the custom of divorce had not as a matter of fact been established. The parties in the case were of the Kalita caste.

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Marriage.

100. With the Muhammadans, marriage is a purely civil matter, and is not in any way mixed up with religion. The price is paid and the woman is taken, and there is an end of it. A Musalman is allowed as many as four legitimate wives, and may in addition keep any number of concubines. But as a general rule the majority of Musalmans in Assam are monogamous. The prominent feature in the figures in the above statement, as compared with those for Hindus, is the fact that the proportions of single men and women are considerably, and those of married persons slightly, larger than with Hindus, whilst the percentage of the widowed is very much less. But a good deal of the divergence is apparent rather than real, and is due to the difference in the ages of the two classes under discussion,—a circumstance which not infrequently vitiates superficial comparisons of the condition of different communities.* As I have already pointed out, a large proportion of the immigrants is included in the return for Hindus; and as these are for the most part of ages varying from 15 to 50, the proportion of juvenile persons, and therefore of single and young married persons, is much lower amongst Hindus than it is amongst Musalmans. No conclusions can therefore be drawn from the figures representing the absolute numbers of the persons of each condition, and we must turn for comparison to the distribution amongst the single, married, and widowed of 10,000 persons of each age period. Looked at from this point of view, the proportions in the two religions are almost identical for the two earlier age periods. At 10—14 the divergence in the case of males is very slight, but there is an excess of 572 married females per 10,000 amongst the Musalmans, which rises to nearly 1,700 at the next group of ages. At 20—24 the Musalmans show an excess of nearly 900 married males and over 800 females as compared with the Hindus,—an excess which continues in the case of husbands to the end of the list of ages, but as regards the wives gradually disappears, until at 45—49 the proportion of Hindu wives exceeds that of Musalmans, and continues to do so during all the remaining age periods. The total excess of married and single persons is entirely due to a smaller number of widows and widowers. Notwithstanding the total excess of single persons amongst the Musalmans, the proportion of unmarried males at the higher ages is much smaller than amongst Hindus, and this is probably due to the absence amongst the Musalmans of all religious motives for celibacy. The excess of Musalman spinsters is due to the larger number of young unmarried girls; the proportion of unmarried women at the higher ages is less than amongst Hindus. The average age of married males amongst the Musalmans is 38·52, and of females 26·07.

Marriage customs and age at marriage.

101. As regards widows, it follows from the absence of all religious interference with marriage that there is no prohibition regarding their remarriage. A Musalman widow is as free to marry as is an unmarried girl. But in practice such remarriages are not held in very good repute, and are mainly confined to the lower grades of Musalman society, which, however, include the great bulk of the Muhammadan community. Turning to the proportional figures in the statement, it will be seen that up to 15—19 the differences are very slight, but that from that age to 35—39, there is a considerably smaller number of Musalman widows. After that age the figures once more become uniform, and during the last three age periods there is a slight excess of widows amongst the Musalmans. The figures for widowers follow those for widows up to 35—39, but after that age, instead of tending to uniformity with the proportions shown for Hindus, the divergence becomes more marked, so that between the ages of 40 and 60 there are only half as many Musalman widowers as there are Hindus who have lost their wives. The explanation of these figures which seems most probable is that Musalman widows

Widow remarriage.

* This was well pointed out by Dr. Farr in his exposure of certain erroneous conclusions regarding the unhealthiness of the occupation of dressmakers, "Vital Statistics", page 459.

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between 20 and 35 find second husbands more readily than their Hindu sisters do, and that their second husbands are usually widowers whose age is over 40 when they marry them. If this supposition is correct, it would explain not only why there are comparatively so few widows under 35 and so few widowers over 40, but also why the proportion of widows rises rapidly after the age of 35 is past. Marriage.

Divorce.

102. As marriage is a purely civil contract, divorce is freely allowed to Musalmans, but it is seldom resorted to. The few persons affected by divorce have been included amongst the widowed, but it is clear from the generally small proportions of this class that their numbers cannot have been largely swelled by this artificial form of widowhood.

Excess of wives over husbands.

103. The absolute number of wives slightly exceeds that of husbands. The total number of the former is 302,290 and of the latter 305,168, so that the excess is 2,878, or 0·9 per cent. The true surplus of wives is probably slightly more than this, as the enumerated husbands are inclusive of foreign born Musalmans who were in the province without their wives at the time of the census, either for purposes of trade or as boatmen or *khalasis* on steamers. This difference in the proportions of married men and women is, of course, due to polygamy, which, as already stated, is freely permitted to Musalmans, although apparently not very frequently resorted to in practice. So far as the figures go, they show that at the most only 9 Musalman husbands out of 1,000 have more than one wife.

Marriage amongst the hill tribes.

104. The tribes of animistic beliefs rank next in point of number. Their condition in regard to marriage is shown in statement No. 68 below:

Statement No. 68, showing the distribution of the Animistic Tribes in regard to civil condition.

AGE.	TOTAL ANIMISTIC.						DISTRIBUTION OF CONDITION BY AGE.						DISTRIBUTION OF AGE BY CONDITION.					
	SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.		SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.		SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
0–4 ..	84,039	87,726	58	108	1	16	3,350	4,061	3	5	....	3	9,993	9,986	7	13	..	2
5–9 ..	69,590	65,568	276	899	19	47	2,774	3,035	14	45	10	9	9,958	9,858	39	135	3	7
10–14 ..	44,754	36,321	1,907	7,151	114	275	1,784	1,682	100	362	57	53	9,568	8,302	408	1,635	24	63
15–19 ..	23,203	14,843	6,886	21,748	338	1,168	925	687	360	1,100	170	223	7,636	3,931	2,263	5,760	111	309
20–24 ..	13,648	5,241	16,084	32,858	850	2,346	544	243	841	1,662	426	448	4,463	1,296	5,259	8,124	278	580
25–29 ..	8,189	3,138	27,329	35,155	1,658	3,508	326	145	1,429	1,778	832	670	2,203	751	7,351	8,410	446	839
30–34 ..	3,901	1,290	32,422	33,120	2,333	4,768	156	60	1,695	1,675	1,170	911	1,009	329	8,387	8,454	604	1,217
35–39 ..	1,586	559	27,959	20,748	2,218	4,295	63	26	1,462	1,049	1,113	821	499	218	8,803	8,104	698	1,678
40–44 ..	951	512	26,446	19,957	2,654	7,417	38	24	1,382	1,009	1,331	1,417	317	183	8,800	7,157	883	2,660
45–49 ..	306	187	13,251	7,848	1,637	4,225	12	9	693	397	821	807	201	153	8,721	6,401	1,078	3,446
50–54 ..	330	244	16,221	8,674	2,333	6,995	13	11	848	439	1,170	1,336	175	153	8,590	5,451	1,235	4,396
55–59 ..	78	78	5,866	2,027	1,082	2,766	3	3	307	148	543	528	111	127	8,349	5,076	1,540	4,797
60 and over.	300	306	16,573	6,538	4,699	14,522	12	14	866	331	2,357	2,774	139	143	7,683	3,060	2,178	6,797
Total.	250,875	216,008	191,278	197,731	19,935	52,348	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	5,429	4,635	4,139	4,242	432	1,123

NOTE.—The numbers in columns 8 to 13 must be read vertically and those in columns 14 to 19 horizontally.

Marriage customs.

The particular customs of each tribe in connection with marriage will be noted in the chapter on castes, and the more important general features of their marriage customs alone will be noted here. As a rule, women are looked on as a species of property, to be bought with a price or by

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Marriage. service in the father's house.* So long as a woman remains unmarried, chastity is not usually expected of her, and she may dispense her favours to whomsoever she pleases.† But when once she is married and has become the property of another, this freedom is no longer tolerated. Adultery is very severely punished, and the complaisency of Mishmi husbands, who care nothing for the fidelity of their wives so long as they are not deprived of their services, is altogether exceptional. The Garos and Khásis alone do not purchase their wives. With them the woman takes a much higher position than she does elsewhere, and marriage is based on courtship and mutual inclination, and not on purchase. In fact, with the Garos it is the woman or her father who invariably takes the initiative in matters matrimonial, and a youth who ventures to make the first advances is severely punished. But, whatever its basis, marriage is in all cases a purely civil matter, into which religion never enters. The bridegroom makes a more or less public and formal acknowledgment of the marriage, which sometimes takes the form of a feast, and sometimes consists merely in escorting his bride from her parents' house to his own. As a general rule, child marriage is not permitted, and where it is found, it is nominal rather than real. Sometimes a father bespeaks for his son the daughter of another man as soon as she is born, and the two are looked upon as married. But the arrangement is in reality nothing more than a betrothal: cohabitation is not permitted before maturity, and the actual parties can, if they so desire, refuse to carry out the engagement entered into by their parents. One noteworthy point in the unions of these rude races is the comparative equality of the age of husband and wife at marriage. Girls marry later than is the practice with Hindus and Musalmans, while the excess of females, as compared with males, operates to lessen the demand for wives as compared with husbands, and consequently to keep down the price of the former.‡ Men are thus enabled to marry at an earlier age than they otherwise would do.§ Divorce‖ and widow remarriage are freely permitted.

The ages of the married.

105. The distribution of the persons of each condition per 10,000 of the population of all ages differs both from that of Hindus and of Musalmans. Taking the total population, the proportion of unmarried men is smaller, and that of husbands larger, while widowers are fewer than amongst Hindus, but in excess of those returned for Musalmans. There is a large excess of spinsters and a slight excess of wives, the number of widows being very much smaller than with either of the other classes under comparison. But, again, a good deal of the divergence is due to a difference in the ages of the populations compared, and accurate conclusions can be drawn only from a comparison of the proportions of the single, married, and widowed returned at each age period. During the first nine years of life there is very little to notice. The numbers of the married and widowed are in all cases almost imperceptible. But at 10-14 a difference begins to appear, as the married males amongst the hill tribes at that age are nearly double the number shown against Hindus and Musalmans, while the number of married girls is less than half as large. During the next age period the difference is almost equally marked. The proportion of married

Statement No. 69, showing the proportion of the married per 10,000 of the population at the age 10-14 amongst Hindus, Musalmans, and the Animistic tribes.

Religions.	Males.	Females.
Hindus ..	213	3,427
Musalmans ..	202	3,999
Animistic ..	408	1,635

* I speak of the general practice. Marriage by capture still survives, at least symbolically. Thus, a Káchári often lies in wait for his bride, and carries her forcibly to his house. The parents profess great anger at first, but shortly come to terms, and are appeased by the usual presents. With the Meches, if a man and woman are agreed, but the parents of the latter object to the match, the man seeks an opportunity of seizing the girl by the hand in the presence of witnesses, and if he succeeds in doing this, the marriage is completed. He must, however, give the usual presents to the parents. Similar practices prevail amongst other tribes also, but they are discouraged by our courts, and are gradually dying out.

† This is not invariably the case, e.g., it is not permitted by the Kácháris.

‡ This again is only a general statement and does not apply to all tribes. Amongst the Kácháris there is a scarcity of women, and wives command at least as high a price as amongst their Hindu neighbours.

§ The comparatively higher age of men at marriage amongst the Hindus and Musalmans is a necessary consequence of the disproportion of the sexes.

‖ To this statement also there are one or two exceptions. Amongst the Kukis, for example, divorce is permitted only for adultery, and not for minor causes.

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males rises to 2,263, against 1,226 Hindu and 1,529 Musalman husbands of the same age, while the married women number only 5,760 out of every 10,000 women of that age, against 7,239 and 8,915 respectively. The number of husbands and wives gradually approaches equality, until at 30—34 the husbands are slightly in excess. It may be noted that this is also the period at which Hindu and Musalman husbands become more numerous than married women; but in the case of these religions the excess there established rapidly increases at each succeeding age period, instead of doing so gradually, as is the case amongst the hill tribes. With the latter 5,076 wives are returned out of 10,000 women between the ages of 55 and 60, and 3,060 at 60 and over, against 2,158 and 970 respectively for Hindus and 1,931 and 864 for Musalmans. **Marriage.**

As in other cases, the proportion of the unmarried at the higher ages is small. There are more spinsters at these ages than amongst either Hindus or Musalmans. The number of bachelors is greater than that of Musalmans, but less than with the Hindus, the excess in the case of the latter being due, as already stated, to celibacy from religious motives.

The widowed.

106. The number of widowers is larger than with the Musalmans, but less than with Hindus. Owing to the comparative equality of the ages of husbands and wives, the number of the former who survive their wives must naturally exceed that amongst husbands of the other two religious persuasions, but the excess is considerably reduced by the greater prevalence of re-marriage. The greater equality of age tends also to reduce the number of widows, especially at the higher ages, and this tendency is further augmented by the absence of any objection to remarriage. On the other hand, there is a total excess of females as compared with males, and this to some extent reduces the number of women who can secure a second husband.

The prevalence of remarriage affects the mean age of husbands and wives, that of the former being 38·76 years, against 38·82 returned for Hindus, and of the latter 31·96, against 28·03. We have already seen that men marry younger amongst the hill tribes, and that their age is more nearly equal to that of their wives, and are thus more likely to survive them. The average age of Animistic husbands would therefore be much lower than that of Hindus, were it not that many remarry, and thus increase the number of husbands at the higher ages. The higher average age of married women amongst the hill tribes is similarly due in part to the remarriage of widows, and partly to the higher age at which girls marry for the first time.

Polygamy.

107. Most of the tribes allow polygamy. It is especially common amongst the Singphos, Mishmis, and Miris, but nearly all tribes permit it to a limited extent. It prevails to a small extent even amongst the Khásis, while with the Garos a man is obliged to add to his matrimonial liabilities by marrying his wife's mother when his father-in-law dies if he wishes to succeed to the property of the latter. The actual extent to which polygamy obtains is shown by the figures, which give 191,278 husbands and 197,731 wives, or 6,453 more wives than husbands; in other words, three husbands in every 100 marry more than one wife.

Polyandry.

108. The opposite practice of polyandry is of much more rare occurrence, but at the same time it is not altogether unknown. The patriarchal or fraternal form, according to which a woman enters a family as the wife of several brothers or other near relations still flourishes amongst the Bhutias, and in a modified form amongst the Daflas.* Colonel Dalton asserts that in the case of Miris, also, brothers who are too poor to buy separate wives will combine and purchase one between them from the proceeds of their joint labour.†

So far as I am aware, the other or matriarchal form of polyandry is at the present day unknown in Assam. But there appear to be traces of its existence at some previous time amongst the Khásis and also amongst the Garos. With these tribes, inheritance goes through the female,‡ and the children belong to the clan of the mother, who remains

* Dalton's 'Ethnology', page 36. See also the note on Daflas in the chapter on castes.

† 'Ethnology', page 33.

‡ Even a Seim is succeeded by his sister's son and not by his own.

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Marriage. with her own people instead of entering the family of her husband. These customs seem to point to a time when the women of one clan were shared in common by the men of another clan, or at least took husbands from different families, and the paternity of a child was therefore so uncertain as to make it necessary to trace all relationship through the mother, in whose clan the children consequently remained.

Origin of polygamy, &c.

109. The matrimonial customs of these tribes throw some light on the origin of polygamy and polyandry. The generally accepted view is that, as the proportion of the sexes almost universally tends to unity, the normal condition of mankind is monogamy; but that when, owing to wars or other causes, the mortality is heavier amongst men than amongst women, the natural result is polygamy. Polyandry, on the other hand, is said to result from a scarcity of women, due to female infanticide in countries where this practice is resorted to. This theory is an attractive generalisation, and in some cases it probably furnishes the true explanation of polygamy or patriarchal polyandry. But apart from the objection that it does not account for matriarchal polyandry, which is merely promiscuity tempered by exogamy, it seems that a simpler explanation is to be found. It has already been stated that the women of the different tribes are treated as a kind of property. They are bought by the husband just as he would buy a mithun or a cow, and the number he buys is simply regulated by his means. Dalton, speaking of the Mishmis, says that the number of wives a man possesses is an indication of wealth, some chiefs having as many as sixteen. So with the Miris. There is no limit to the number of wives a man may possess except his means, and when he dies, his heir becomes the husband of all of them, except only his own mother. But, as has already been seen, poorer men who have not the means to buy separate wives occasionally join together and purchase one between them. Thus, in a community where the numbers of each sex are practically equal, we find that some men are polygamous, others monogamous, and others again are polyandrous. The tendency is to monogamy, as the sexes are nearly equal, and every man looks on a wife as a necessity and strives to gain one for himself. But the selfishness of the richer men leads them to indulge in a plurality of wives at the expense of the poorer, who are thus sometimes forced to share their wives with others. No doubt, an excess or deficiency of women might lead to an extended resort to polygamy or polyandry,* as the case might be, but the inequality of the sexes is in no way a necessary condition precedent to the recognition of these practices.

Marriage amongst Christians.

110. The persons professing other religions are found in such small numbers, that in discussing their civil condition I shall confine myself to the absolute figures, and shall not give proportions which at some ages would in their case only tend to mislead. The number of Christians of each condition at the different age periods is noted in the margin. There are a few cases of infant marriage amongst this class, but they are comparatively rare, and marriage as a rule takes place at a later age than with any other religion. At 10—14, for example, only 541 girls out of 10,000 are married, against 3,427 amongst Hindus and 3,999 in the case of Musalmans.

Statement No. 70, showing the number of married, single, and widowed Christians at each age period.

AGE.	TOTAL CHRISTIANS.					
	SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—4 ..	1,216	1,289	1	1	....	1
5—9 ..	1,036	1,052	....	4	....	....
10—14 ..	948	829	14	48	4	10
15—19 ..	604	398	88	401	4	23
20—24 ..	504	131	364	669	19	43
25—29 ..	367	52	628	740	32	83
30—34 ..	229	27	672	508	49	87
35—39 ..	103	13	547	358	56	84
40—44 ..	54	11	424	303	39	93
45—49 ..	38	4	261	112	30	76
50—54 ..	14	2	339	91	26	92
55—59 ..	6	2	71	29	13	36
60 and over ..	2	3	173	69	34	160
Total ..	**5,121**	**3,813**	**3,484**	**3,333**	**305**	**788**

* It does not always do so. For instance, until very recently female infanticide was practised amongst several of the Naga tribes, and there was in consequence a great deficiency of women, but polyandry never resulted from it. Amongst the Khasis, on the other hand, there is an extraordinary excess of women, but polygamy is less common with them than with some other tribes where the proportion of the sexes is more even.

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Marriage.

The proportion which the married bear to the total population is about the same as with Hindus; that of bachelors and spinsters, and particularly the latter, is greater, and of the widowed considerably less. The total number of Christians is less than 17,000, and the effect of their civil condition on the total figures for the province is extremely slight. It is, therefore, unnecessary to discuss them in detail. The only point worthy of note is that to which I have already drawn attention, namely, the comparative late age at which marriage takes place amongst them.

Buddhists.

111. The Buddhists of the province number less than 7,000, and in their case also I shall refrain from giving proportional figures. The absolute numbers of married, single, and widowed persons at each age period are shown in statement No. 71. The proportion of the married up to the age of 25 is lower than amongst any other class, not even excluding the Christians. The proportion of the married males at each age tends to conform with that of Hindus, while that of married females is, on the whole, similar to the corresponding figures relating to the women of the hill tribes. The total number of Buddhists being so small, a detailed examination of the figures is unnecessary.

Statement No. 71, showing the number of married, single, and widowed Buddhists at each age period.

AGE.	TOTAL BUDDHISTS.					
	SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0— 4 ..	490	479	....	1	....	....
5— 9 ..	451	449	3	....	1	....
10—14 ..	362	279	6	14	....	3
15—19 ..	269	200	24	130	....	7
20—24 ..	283	77	133	293	5	16
25—29 ..	188	29	305	274	13	25
30—34 ..	91	19	332	243	28	46
35—39 ..	47	3	287	151	30	24
40—44 ..	35	2	290	139	29	55
45—49 ..	13	....	139	63	12	37
50—54 ..	5	....	161	71	30	65
55—59 ..	1	3	73	15	17	25
60 and over ..	9	4	127	26	48	93
Total ..	2,244	1,544	1,880	1,420	213	396

The Buddhists of this province purchase their wives. Polygamy is permitted, but is not very largely resorted to. Divorce is allowed, and so also is the remarriage of widows.

There is an excess of 460 husbands, as compared with wives, the greater part of which is accounted for by the Bhutias censused in Kamrup and Darrang, in which two districts alone the excess of husbands amounts to 377. The explanation is partly that the Bhutias are polyandrists, and partly that they are temporary visitors, and only a few of them bring their wives down to the plains. In Lakhimpur the excess is probably due to Khamti visitors from beyond the Inner Line, who had come to trade and left their wives at home.

Jains and Sikhs.

112. The Jains are all foreigners, and scarcely require mention here. The excess of husbands is entirely due to the fact that their homes are elsewhere, and that they do not usually bring their wives with them to Assam. The total number of Jains censused in this province is less than 1,400. The Sikh population is still smaller, and need not be considered.

Restrictions on marriage.—Endogamy.

113. Although not strictly connected with the census statistics, the restrictions on marriage which exist in this province may be briefly noticed here. These restrictions are of two kinds. The first is that of endogamy, according to which persons are prohibited from marrying outside a certain class, and of which an extreme example is furnished by the Hindu caste system. Marriage between persons of different castes is strictly forbidden; in fact, the prohibition is often carried further, and there are many castes which have split up into sub-castes, between the members of which intermarriage is likewise forbidden. With the hill tribes there is usually no definite prohibition against marriage beyond the tribal limits, but endogamy is nevertheless well established in practice. The Abors view with abhorrence the idea of their girls marrying outside their own tribe,* and even where different tribes live

* That there have been cases of interbreeding is not denied, but they are rare, and where they have occurred, they have generally been the result of intercourse with female slaves rather than with wives of a foreign race. Thus, before the establishment of British rule in Assam, the Singphos filled their villages with female slaves captured in raids on villages in the plains, from whom sprang the mixed breed known as Duânias. The same practice prevailed extensively amongst the Khâsis, many of whose present clans were thus founded by female slaves.

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Marriage.

near each other on perfectly friendly terms, like the Káchárís, Mikirs, Kukis, and Kacha Nagas in North Cachar, it is very seldom that cases of intermarriage occur.

Exogamy.

114. There is also an inner limit within which marriage is not allowed. Thus, the Musalman may not marry any relative in the direct line, nor his sister, his aunt, or his niece. The Hindu is forbidden to marry a woman who is descended from the same paternal ancestor within six degrees, and in the higher castes there is this further restriction, that he may not marry a woman of the same *guttra*,* or patronymic, as his father or his mother. A similar prohibition is common amongst the hill tribes, which are nearly always divided into clans. Each clan is supposed to consist of persons who are descended from a common ancestor, and marriage within the clan is forbidden. In most cases children enter the clan of their father, but with the Garos and Khásis they become members of the clan of their mother. But, whichever rule is current, the prohibition extends only to marriage within the clan to which a person belongs, and does not include the clan of both parents, so that the rule of exogamy does not always avail to prevent the marriage of persons who are very closely connected. This is sometimes guarded against by special prohibitions, but these are usually limited to very near relatives, such as a sister or an aunt.†

Marriage statistics for the total population.

115. The figures for each important religion having been reviewed, the statistics for the province generally will be easily understood.

Statement No. 72, showing the distribution by civil condition of the total population of the province.

AGE.	TOTAL ALL RELIGIONS.						DISTRIBUTION OF CIVIL CONDITION BY AGE.						DISTRIBUTION OF AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.					
	SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.		SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.		SINGLE.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
0—4 ..	424,079	443,370	241	485	8	144	2,695	4,064	2	4	....	3	9,994	9,986	6	11	..	3
5—9 ..	420,311	401,117	1,125	10,670	233	562	2,671	3,677	10	97	20	12	9,968	9,727	27	259	5	14
0—14 ..	310,693	168,586	7,594	83,682	708	3,133	1,975	1,545	68	763	62	70	9,740	6,601	238	3,276	22	123
5—19 ..	177,043	46,662	30,546	167,797	1,417	10,047	1,125	428	276	1,529	123	224	8,471	2,078	1,461	7,474	68	448
0—24 ..	116,483	14,579	91,318	210,920	4,157	19,251	740	134	822	1,922	362	430	5,496	595	4,308	8,618	196	787
5—29 ..	67,569	7,328	170,687	206,221	8,762	31,075	429	67	1,537	1,879	763	694	3,735	300	6,910	8,430	355	1,270
0—34 ..	29,679	3,690	199,338	170,013	13,021	46,327	189	34	1,795	1,550	1,135	1,034	1,226	168	8,236	7,727	538	2,105
5—39 ..	11,836	1,699	164,034	89,457	12,144	42,115	75	16	1,477	815	1,057	940	629	128	8,725	6,712	646	3,160
0—44 ..	7,002	1,572	151,691	78,289	15,579	66,888	45	14	1,366	714	1,356	1,493	402	107	8,704	5,335	894	4,558
5—49 ..	2,740	585	78,357	26,586	9,615	36,742	18	5	706	242	838	820	302	91	8,638	4,160	1,060	5,749
0—54 ..	2,694	737	91,796	29,080	14,693	62,992	17	7	826	265	1,279	1,406	247	86	8,407	3,133	1,346	6,787
5—59 ..	829	221	31,182	7,796	6,106	20,755	5	2	281	71	532	463	217	77	8,181	2,709	1,602	7,214
60 and over.	2,581	809	92,676	16,305	28,401	108,048	16	7	834	149	2,473	2,411	209	64	7,494	1,303	2,297	8,633
Total ..	1,573,539	1,090,955	1,110,525	1,097,301	114,844	448,079	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	5,622	4,138	3,968	4,162	410	1,700

NOTE.—The numbers in columns 8 to 13 must be read vertically, and those in columns 14 to 19 horizontally.

* It will be explained in the Caste Chapter that the restrictions of the *guttra* are not much observed in Assam even by the Brahmans.

† Sometimes marriage between near relations is enjoined. A Garo, for instance, is supposed to marry his cousin, and should his uncle die it is considered right that he should also espouse the widow, his aunt.

In his recent work Mr. Latourneau suggests that the origin of exogamy and marriage by capture is to be ascribed to the jealousy of the father of the family or progenitor-in-chief in the primitive hordes from which the present tribes are descended, which compelled the younger males, who were allowed to remain within the horde, to procure their wives by capture from outside ('Evolution of Marriage', page 169). But by far the most plausible explanation with which I am acquainted is that put forward by Mr. S. E. Peal, of Sibságar, in a manuscript paper, which he very kindly lent me. His view is that within the tribe all women were common property, and that no single man could claim an exclusive right (such as the word 'marriage' implies) to any of the women of his tribe, such a right being only recognised in the case of women captured in war from other tribes. This theory explains not only the origin of marriage by capture and exogamy (which, as already explained, is of very little use as a bar to consanguineous marriages), but also why the unmarried girls of a clan are in many cases allowed to have free intercourse with the bachelors of their own clan, with whom marriage would be absolutely impossible. It explains also the very low position occupied by married women amongst many of our hill tribes, as, if this theory of the origin of marriage is correct, the wife was originally nothing more or less than a slave.

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Marriage.

This aggregate result is of course produced by the special customs of each of the classes which are included in it. The Hindus form the bulk of the population, and the proportions for the whole province are, therefore, on the whole, more similar to those already quoted for Hindus than to those shown for other religions. But the number of widows has been reduced by the practice of remarriage prevalent amongst the Musalmans and hill tribes, &c. The age of males at marriage is brought down by the earlier period at which the men of the hill tribes take wives unto themselves, and that of married women raised owing to the comparative absence of child marriage amongst the hill tribes, the Christians, and the Buddhists.

Comparison with other provinces.

116. The local peculiarities in respect of marriage are best illustrated by a comparison with the statistics for other countries. I have accordingly exhibited in the following statement statistics for some other Indian provinces and also for several European countries:

Statement No. 73, comparing the distribution by age of 10,000 persons of each sex and civil condition in Assam with the corresponding figures for other countries.

Country or Province.		All ages.		0–14.		15–24.		25–39.		40–49.		50 and over.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Assam 1881	Unmarried	5,622	4,138	9,915	9,113	6,973	1,305	1,611	212	367	102	225	71
	Married	3,968	4,162	77	853	2,895	8,071	7,888	7,789	8,682	4,979	7,959	2,155
	Widowed	410	1,700	8	34	132	624	501	1,999	951	4,919	1,816	7,774
Bengal 1881	Unmarried	4,651	2,937	9,165	7,454	4,377	290	823	69	233	39	159	30
	Married	4,946	4,913	810	2,438	5,437	8,872	8,753	7,686	8,979	4,976	8,074	2,212
	Widowed	403	2,150	25	108	186	838	424	2,245	788	4,985	1,767	7,758
Bombay 1881	Unmarried	4,587	3,026	9,267	7,575	4,042	446	850	140	351	99	303	79
	Married	4,888	5,143	696	2,326	5,713	8,960	8,580	8,008	8,544	5,411	7,391	2,595
	Widowed	525	1,831	37	99	245	594	570	1,852	1,105	4,490	2,306	7,326
Lower Burma 1881.	Unmarried	5,791	5,191	9,996	9,978	7,511	4,561	1,978	463	633	180	416	197
	Married	3,818	3,892	4	21	2,364	5,115	7,561	8,766	8,536	8,017	7,797	4,686
	Widowed	391	917	...	1	125	324	461	771	831	1,803	1,787	5,117
North-West Provinces 1881.	Unmarried	4,495	2,992	9,109	8,000	3,782	373	1,156	77	569	53	474	42
	Married	4,847	5,291	859	1,960	5,850	9,220	8,125	8,540	8,185	6,156	6,901	2,778
	Widowed	658	1,717	32	40	368	407	719	1,383	1,246	3,791	2,625	7,180
England and Wales 1881	Unmarried	6,628	6,285	10,000	10,000	9,275	8,623	3,431	3,274	1,457	2,001	1,140	1,961
	Married	3,044	2,896	...	...	716	1,360	6,366	6,339	8,016	6,680	7,069	4,282
	Widowed	328	819	...	...	9	17	203	387	527	1,319	1,791	3,757
Prussia 1885	Unmarried	6,242	5,794	10,000	10,000	9,634	8,702	3,086	2,355	893	1,030	676	855
	Married	3,435	3,325	...	...	363	1,282	6,799	7,283	8,762	7,663	7,512	4,981
	Widowed	323	881	...	...	3	16	115	362	345	1,307	1,812	4,164
Austria 1880	Unmarried	6,151	5,771	10,000	9,998	9,541	8,202	3,230	2,626	1,194	1,484	962	1,388
	Married	3,554	3,416	...	2	456	1,775	6,665	7,029	8,516	7,321	7,482	4,909
	Widowed	295	813	...	...	3	23	105	345	290	1,195	1,556	3,703
France 1886	Unmarried	5,513	5,041	10,000	10,000	9,298	7,656	3,402	2,484	1,578	1,524	1,094	1,275
	Married	3,954	3,934	....	...	680	2,265	6,373	7,025	7,855	7,291	7,020	5,345
	Widowed	533	1,025	...	..	22	79	225	491	567	1,185	1,886	3,380

Note.—In England the persons under 15 who were returned as 'married' were included in the group 15—24. (See foot-note to page v, Volume III. of the English Census Report for 1881.)

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Marriage. Taking first the proportions of the single, married, and widowed on the total population, it will be noticed that the number of bachelors in Assam is larger than in any of the Indian provinces under consideration except only Lower Burma, but, with the single exception of France, is considerably less than in any European country. The number of married men is less than in any Indian province except Burma, but is larger than in any European country. The proportion of widowers is very slightly higher than in Bengal and Lower Burma, but is considerably lower than in Bombay and the North-West Provinces. Lower Burma is the only province of India which contains a larger proportion of spinsters and a smaller number of married women and widows than Assam; in Europe, on the other hand, all the countries compared contain more spinsters and fewer wives and widows.

In regard to the age at marriage, Assam approaches more nearly to that obtaining in European countries than any of the provinces under comparison, except only Lower Burma, the reason being that this province contains a large aboriginal population, part of which is still Animistic, and part, though now professing Hinduism, has not yet conformed to the common Hindu practice in regard to child marriage. The only other point for note is the high proportion of widows aged 50 and over, as compared with other provinces, and for this I have no explanation to offer.* The prominent feature of the return, when compared with European countries, is the comparatively early age at which marriages are effected in this province. But, although marriages are early as compared with Europe, they are exceptionally late for India, and it seems, therefore, unnecessary to go further into the question here. The comparison is one which affects other provinces much more than it does Assam.

Statement No. 74, showing the number married in Assam and other provinces at the age 0—14.

Province.	Males.	Females.
Assam	77	854
Bengal	810	2,438
Bombay	696	2,326
Lower Burma	4	21
North-West Provinces	859	1,960

117. I will now compare the figures of the present census with the results obtained in 1881. Proportional figures are given below:

Comparison with 1881.

Statement No. 75, comparing the civil condition of the people recorded at the present census with the corresponding figures for 1881.

Year of Census.		Age. All ages. Males.	All ages. Females.	0—14. Males.	0—14. Females.	15—24. Males.	15—24. Females.	25—39. Males.	25—39. Females.	40—49. Males.	40—49. Females.	50 and over. Males.	50 and over. Females.
1891..	Single	5,622	4,138	9,915	9,113	6,973	1,305	1,611	212	367	102	225	71
	Married ..	3,968	4,162	77	853	2,895	8,071	7,888	7,789	8,682	4,979	7,959	2,155
	Widowed ..	410	1,700	8	34	132	624	501	1,999	951	4,919	1,816	7,774
1881..	Single	5,400	4,115	9,876	9,237	5,842	1,492	1,315	253	443	136	287	86
	Married	4,249	4,275	120	740	4,018	7,914	8,307	8,031	8,790	5,677	8,019	2,855
	Widowed ..	351	1,610	4	23	140	594	378	1,716	767	4,187	1,694	7,059

Before discussing the tendencies disclosed by this comparison, I should note that it is assumed that both sets of figures are equally accurate. The supervision exercised by superior officers during the whole course of the operations on this occasion was perhaps more thorough than in 1881, and it is possible that a greater amount of accuracy has thus been obtained, but it seems doubtful whether any considerable difference in the results can be attributed to this cause. It should, however, be remembered that the present census includes details for two hill districts, which were not censused in

* Widows in Assam are better treated than in many other parts, but it would perhaps scarcely be safe to found any argument on this fact.

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1881, and that the number of immigrants has increased considerably, and these changes in the constitution of the population have had a certain effect on the distribution of the people by civil condition. **Marriage.**

The figures show a considerable increase of bachelors and a slight increase of widowers, with a corresponding decrease in the number of married men; the proportion of spinsters is almost the same as it was in 1881, but there are fewer wives and more widows. The increase of bachelors occurs almost entirely under the age period 15—24, and seems to be mainly due to the greater excess of males, owing to an increase in the number of the foreign born of that sex. The larger the number of males, the longer is the average time which each man must wait before he can secure a wife. This result seems, therefore, to be, to a great extent, artificial, and argues no change in the customs of the people. But there is another, and far more important, fact which is disclosed by these figures.

In paragraph 95 above I drew attention to the fact that widow remarriage is steadily falling into disrepute, and observed that the Hindu castes which have any pretensions to social respectability are gradually abandoning the practice. I said that the Hálwa Dás of Sylhet and the Kalitas of the Brahmaputra Valley who formerly had no scruples on the subject, now claim to have given up marrying widows, and that even the lowest castes are beginning to follow their example. These observations are fully borne out by the comparative statement above. The proportion of widows per 10,000 of the population is now 1,700, against 1,610 in 1881, and the increase is entirely accounted for by the falling off in the proportion of married women above the age of 25. Where widow remarriage is practised, the second husband is usually a man who has lost his first wife, and the increase of widows and widowers at the higher ages clearly shows that these second unions are far less common than they used to be.

118. Having examined the marriage statistics for each religion, it seems unnecessary to take up the figures for each district in any great detail. I shall therefore treat this portion of the subject very briefly. The proportion of the married, single, and widowed of each sex per 10,000 of the population in the different districts is noted in statement No. 76. As the ages of the population vary from district to district, it would be unsafe to draw conclusions from this brief abstract regarding the marriage customs of each district. But its main features are clear enough. There are more widows, and therefore fewer cases of remarriage in Sylhet and Goalpara, which are nearest to Bengal, and the number of widows decreases steadily as we go eastwards. In the Brahmaputra Valley the number is highest, as has already been stated, in the Goalpara district; it is somewhat less in Kamrup, less again in Darrang, Nowgong, and Sibsagar, and least in the extreme east, namely, in Lakhimpur. Cachar in the same way has far fewer widows than Sylhet. Of the hill districts, the Garo Hills has the smallest number of widows, as the rule is that the heir must marry the deceased's wife if he

Civil condition by districts.

Statement No. 76, showing the distribution by civil condition of 10,000 persons of each sex in each district.

District.	Unmarried.		Married.		Widowed.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Cachar Plains	5,337·0	4,040·5	4,326·7	4,489·7	336·3	1,469·8
Sylhet	5,832·5	3,786·9	3,849·3	4,147·2	318·6	2,065·9
Goalpara	5,284·1	3,838·2	4,368·3	4,264·7	347·6	1,897·1
Kamrup	5,620·2	4,273·4	3,911·4	3,996·6	468·4	1,730·0
Darrang	5,353·4	4,379·1	4,059·8	4,228·8	586·8	1,392·1
Nowgong	5,827·4	4,864·3	3,679·9	3,863·6	492·7	1,272·1
Sibsagar	5,607·1	4,701·4	3,768·5	4,084·7	624·4	1,213·9
Lakhimpur	5,405·9	4,620·9	4,019·1	4,246·0	575·0	1,133·1
North Cachar	5,867·2	5,073·2	3,759·9	3,517·4	372·9	1,409·4
Naga Hills	5,031·7	4,196·1	4,421·5	4,493·5	546·8	1,310·4
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	5,637·7	4,663·0	3,978·4	3,953·7	383·9	1,383·3
Garo Hills	5,762·9	4,269·1	4,503·9	4,880·6	233·2	850·3
North Lushai (Civil and Military)	5,283·8	....	4,505·8	....	210·4	....

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Marriage. wishes to succeed to the property. Next come the Naga Hills and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the high proportion of widows in the latter district being due to the excess of women and the natural preference of men for virgin wives wherever they can get them. The largest number of widows in any hill district is found in North Cachar. I have no satisfactory explanation to offer for this circumstance, but, as the total population of the subdivision is very small, no special significance need be attached to it.*

The number of wives is chiefly affected by the number of the widowed. In Sylhet and Goalpara, for example, the proportion of the unmarried women is lower than in any other district, but, as so few widows remarry, the proportion of married women is considerably lower than in Cachar Plains, the Naga Hills, and the Garo Hills, in which districts the proportion of spinsters is much higher, but widows remarry more freely. The connection between widows and spinsters is less obvious, but there appears to be a tendency for spinsters to increase as widows diminish.† The largest proportion of spinsters is found in Nowgong, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur, where widows are fewest. The number of spinsters decreases in the remaining districts in the following order: Darrang, Kamrup, Cachar Plains, Goalpara, Sylhet, while the ratio of widows increases in the same order, except that in this case Cachar Plains stands before Kamrup. This connection, so far as it has been established, is only natural, as it seems obvious that the more men marry widows, the less pressing will be the demand for virgin wives, and the higher will be the ages of the latter at marriage.‡

Fecundity of women.

119. One point remains to be mentioned. The child-bearing age for women in this country may be taken as lying between 15 and 39. The number of women who give birth to children before they reach the age of 15 is very small, and that of women who have children when over 40 is smaller still. Taking the total number of births per annum at 261,000,§ there are thus 29 births annually for every 100 married women of a child-bearing age, or, on the average, a married woman gives birth to a child every three or four years during this period of her life.‖

* In 1881 the corresponding proportion of widows was only 1,153. Fluctuations are constantly occurring, and the smaller the population dealt with the larger will be the variations from the mean. 'In England, the marriage rate fell from an average of 16·4 persons per 1,000 living in the five years preceding the census of 1871 to 15·3 in the quinquennium ending with 1880, and if such variations are possible in a population of nearly 25,000,000, it is clear that they will be much greater where less than 19,000 are under consideration.

† That is to say the degree to which child marriage prevails tends to vary inversely as the prevalence of widow remarriage.

‡ The matter may be put another way by saying that child marriage is enjoined and widow remarriage prohibited by Hinduism, and that the relative prevalence of these practices depends on the hold which that religion has on the people. But the relation between the two practices seems to be a necessary one irrespective of religion. If child marriage is not allowed, men will marry widows; if they cannot marry widows, the demand for virgin wives will increase, and girls will in consequence be married at an earlier age.

§ At the rate of 48·31 births per 1,000 per annum (*cf.* page 101 above).

‖ This result is much the same as that arrived at by Mr. White in his Report on the Census of the North-West Provinces in 1881, page 84. In England the number of births to a marriage has been estimated at 4·57.

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CHAPTER VI.—INFIRMITIES.

IMPERIAL TABLES XII & XII (*a*) TO XV & XV (*a*).

General Observations.

120. The present chapter is devoted to a general discussion of the infirmities regarding which information was collected at the census, *viz.*, insanity, deaf-mutism, blindness, and leprosy. A full exposition of these statistics and the conclusions to be drawn from them could only be furnished by a medical specialist, and I shall therefore confine myself to a general examination of the figures and of the more obvious facts which they represent, and shall leave the more technical portion of the subject for the consideration of any one better qualified than myself who may care to undertake the task.*

Infirmities.

Introductory remarks.

Accuracy of the return.

121. The degree of accuracy of the figures here presented requires some explanation. The collection of information regarding infirmities is always a difficult matter, even in England, and there is everywhere considerable danger of omission. Relatives feel ashamed of the defects which it is desired to register, and conceal them whenever it is possible to do so. In England it seems that the insanity returns are those most open to suspicion. In this country, I doubt if there has been much concealment under this head, and am inclined to suspect that leprosy is the disease which is most likely to be hidden from the enumerators.

Accuracy of the return.

Next to the danger of omission may be mentioned the even greater danger of misdescription. Thus, the enumerators were told to show only congenital deaf-mutism, and not to enter under this head persons who were deaf or dumb only. These instructions were not always adhered to, and in many cases entries of 'deaf' or 'dumb' only were found. Where a person was entered as 'dumb,' it was taken for granted that deafness also existed, and persons thus returned were treated as real deaf-mutes in the compiling office. Where 'deaf' alone was entered, it was assumed that the persons so described were deaf only, and no account was taken of them. It was possible that amongst the number some may have been deaf-mutes, but it was certain that many more were not, and the only possible course was, therefore, to disregard the whole of these entries.†

A somewhat similar difficulty was experienced in regard to the blind. The enumerators were specially told to avoid entering as such persons who were only one-eyed or were only partially blind. When the correct term applicable to the true 'blind' (*andha*) was found in the schedules, the entry was of course accepted and tabulated. But there is another expression (*kaná*), which, though strictly speaking, means one-eyed, is also often loosely used in the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley proper to denote persons who have lost the sight of both eyes, and this word was sometimes found in the schedules. Bearing in mind the true meaning of the word, it was impossible to treat the persons thus shown as 'blind', and so far as it was used as descriptive of the true blind, the return has, in consequence, been vitiated by its use. I selected for special enquiry a certain number of cases in each of the districts in which the term was used, with the result that out of 58 persons so returned, 40 were really blind of both eyes, and the others were either blind of one eye or had impaired vision.‡

* The portion of the return which deals with leprosy was supplied to the Leprosy Commission, which recently concluded its sittings at Simla.

† It may be suggested that all such cases should have been enquired into locally, but this was not feasible. Even the test enquiries regarding certain entries of the blind and lepers which will be mentioned presently were found a heavy task by many officers, and they could not have undertaken more within the very limited time allowed. My proposals on these points for future censuses will be found in Chapter III, page 41 above.

‡ In four cases the supposed entry of *kand* was found to be a misreading for *kala* (deaf).

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Infirmities.

Accuracy of the return.

In the case of leprosy the danger was one of incorrect diagnosis.* The enumerators were warned to avoid entering as lepers persons who were merely suffering from skin discoloration, and considerable care was exercised in the selection of the proper vernacular expressions in the instructions on the subject. But as the general opinion appeared to be that no amount of care would furnish trustworthy results, it seemed advisable to test the return by special enquiry, and I accordingly selected a certain percentage of entries in each district, and asked district officers to have the persons in question examined by competent officers and inform me of the result, which is exhibited in statement No. 77.

Statement No. 77, showing the number of lepers examined in each district, and the result of examination.

District.	Number of cases enquired into.	True lepers.	Number of persons incorrectly described as lepers.	Dead.
1	2	3	4	5
Cachar	28	23	1	4
Sylhet	158	130	15	13
Goalpara	72	57	5	10
Kamrup	27	24	2	1
Darrang	9	4	*	5
Nowgong	19	16	3	..
Sibsagar	80	67	5	8
Lakhimpur	19	16	1	2
Naga Hills..	1	1	*	..
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	18	13	2	3
Garo Hills	8	7	1	...
Total	**439**	**358**	**35**	**46**

* Not reported.

Out of 439 persons whose cases were actually enquired into, 358 were reported to be true lepers, 46 were dead, and only 35 were reported to be suffering from albinoism, sores, and diseases other than leprosy.* On the whole, therefore, enquiry has vindicated the accuracy of the return, and the proportion of wrong entries has been proved to be very small. The errors of addition are probably not more than sufficient to balance the omission of persons who were really lepers, but who, from various causes, escaped being classed as such.

To sum up, there seems to be no ground to impugn the return of the insane; the numbers of the deaf-mutes and blind as shown in the census tables are slightly below the truth, while in the case of lepers, the mistakes of wrong omission and inclusion probably balance one another, and the return as it stands very nearly represents the actual number of persons in the province who are suffering from this painful malady.†

Causes of excess of infirmities over 1881.

122. There is one more point to which attention should be drawn. The tables for all infirmities show an enormous increase in the number afflicted, as compared with 1881, an increase which, if true, would be truly alarming, but which I think is in reality only apparent. I have consulted numerous officers on the subject, and the opinion of all of them is that which I hold personally, namely, that none of these infirmities are increasing at a perceptible rate. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the excess shown is mainly due to the greater amount of care bestowed on the taking of the census on the present occasion, and also in part to the method in which the information contained in the schedules was tabulated. In 1881, in Assam as in other provinces, the infirmity sheet was filled in by the muharrir, who read out the entries in the schedules to the abstractors working on the other sheets, and, as the latter was his main duty, it appears not unlikely that he occasionally omitted to notice an entry in the infirmity column. At this census, the information was abstracted by muharrirs employed solely on this work, so that much greater accuracy was naturally to be expected.

* It is unfortunate that, owing to various reasons, the enquiries I had asked for were very imperfectly carried out in several districts, particularly in the Naga Hills, where the Deputy Commissioner is of opinion that Naga sores have often been wrongly returned as leprosy.

† I have discussed the chances of inaccuracy at some length, because my want of professional knowledge has prevented me from entering more than very superficially into the medical and physiological aspects of these statistics, and I am not without hope that some one better qualified than I am may be persuaded to take up the consideration of the different questions involved. Should this be the case, it is only right that the enquirer should be in a position to judge for himself how far the figures before him may be relied upon.

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Insanity.

Distinction between lunatics and idiots.

123. In England, as in most European countries, a distinction is drawn at the census between idiots and imbeciles, the congenitally weak-minded and the demented on the one hand, and lunatics, or those suffering from the more acute forms of mental disease, on the other. But, even in Europe, the distinction is admittedly difficult, and the accuracy of the return under each head is doubtful. In India, at recent enumerations no attempt has been made to classify the different kinds of unsoundness of mind, as, however valuable such a classification would be if correctly carried out, the difficulties in the way have been proved by past experience to be insurmountable. Table XII, therefore, includes all forms of mental aberration, idiocy, imbecility, and lunacy, and it is impossible to say to what extent these different forms of mental disease have contributed to the total. In England, the lunatics returned exceed the idiots very nearly in the ratio of 3 to 2, but this proportion can scarcely be taken as any guide to the ratio existing in India. Not only is there some doubt as to the accuracy of the English details and the completeness of the English return of idiots, there is also no possibility of comparison in communities so differently situated. It is found, for instance, that idiots are more common in agricultural countries, and Assam is as essentially rural in its character as England, in general, is urban. Then, again, there are vast differences in the social habits of the people, the age at, and the restrictions on marriage, and the degree of mental wear and tear to which the people of the two countries are exposed.

Judging merely from observation, it seems probable that the idiots largely exceed the lunatics. Nearly every village has its *crétin*, but persons with more acute mental derangements are comparatively seldom met with. It is, however, impossible to verify this supposition by a reference to figures, or to the proportions existing in other countries.

Distribution of the insane by districts.

124. The following statement shows the number and proportion of the insane in each district, as compared with 1881:

Statement No. 78, showing the number and proportion of the insane in each district.

District.	Total number of persons of unsound mind returned.						Average number of persons of whom one is insane.		Distribution by districts per 1,000 of the total number insane.	Average number of females to 100 insane males.
	1881.			1891.						
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total	Males.	Females.	1881.	1891.		
Cachar Plains	160	102	58	224	105	119	1,835·8	1,640·8	74	113
Sylhet	661	371	290	1,229	711	518	2,978·8	1,753·1	407	72
Goalpara	316	201	115	442	257	185	1,412·1	1,023·3	146	71
Kamrup	120	77	43	325	191	134	5,374·6	1,951·5	108	70
Darrang	54	34	20	202	131	71	5,061·7	1,523·5	67	54
Nowgong	41	22	19	95	50	45	7,575·0	3,622·5	31	90
Sibsagar	80	64	16	155	104	51	4,628·4	2,950·1	51	49
Lakhimpur	38	24	14	69	36	33	4,734·0	3,681·9	23	91
North Cachar	...*	...	...	42	22	20	.....*	450·9	14	90
Naga Hills	...*	...	...	59	35	24	.....*	2,082·4	19	68
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	48	24	24	102	57	45	3,528·3	1,940·2	34	78
Garo Hills	...*	...	...	78	38	40	.....*	1,558·5	26	105
Total for the Province ...	**1,518**	**919**	**599**	**3,022**	**1,737**	**1,285**	**3,215·6**	**1,798·5**	**1,000**	**74**

* Information not collected in 1881.

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Infirmities.

Insanity.

The most notable feature in this statement is the enormous increase in the number of persons returned as insane, the main cause for which has been explained above.* The local distribution is also somewhat curious. Excluding North Cachar, the figures for which are too small to draw conclusions from, the proportion of the insane is highest in Goalpara, where there is one to every 1,023 of the population; then come the Garo Hills with one in 1,558, and then Cachar and Sylhet. In the Brahmaputra Valley the prevalence of insanity decreases towards the east. The only apparent exception is Darrang, but the figures for that district are unduly increased by the population of the Asylum in Tezpur, which contains lunatics from other districts of the Brahmaputra Valley and from the hill districts.† Distributing the inmates of the Asylum over the districts from which they were received, the number of persons out of whom one is insane in the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley proper would be as noted in the margin. I am unable to explain the comparative immunity from this affliction enjoyed in these districts as compared with Goalpara and the Surma Valley, nor can I say why the number of the insane should be greater in the hill districts than it is here, unless it be that the excess in those districts is due to a greater prevalence of *crétinism*, a form of mental unsoundness which is always more common in hilly countries than elsewhere.‡

Statement No. 79, showing the number of persons out of whom one is insane in the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley, after distributing the inmates of the Tezpur Lunatic Asylum over the districts from which they were received.

District.	Number out of whom one is insane.
Kamrup	1,812·04
Darrang	2,152·17
Nowgong	3,246·61
Sibsagar	2,805·36
Lakhimpur	3,299·38

Proportions of the sexes.

125. The proportion of females to males discloses some curious variations, the reason for which it is by no means easy to fathom. In Cachar Plains and the Garo Hills there are actually more insanes amongst women than amongst men, while in Sibsagar the proportion falls to 49 and in Darrang to 54. The ratio in the latter district, however, is affected by the figures for the Lunatic Asylum, which contains also persons from other districts. Excluding the latter, there are 89 females to 100 males, or more than the average for the province. The variations in the other districts are less marked, and tend to correspond more or less closely with the provincial proportion of 74 insane females to 100 males.

Distribution by religion.

126. The number of persons out of whom one is insane in each of the principal religions is shown in statement No. 80. From this it appears that this complaint is most common amongst Buddhists, that Hindus rank next in this respect, and after them the hill tribes, that it is comparatively uncommon amongst Musalmans, and still more so amongst the members of the small Christian community. It is difficult to find any satisfactory explanation for these variations, but I may note that the difference between the figures for the hill tribes, Musalmans, and Christians is

Statement No. 80, showing the number of persons out of whom one is insane in each of the main religions.

Religion.	Number out of whom one is afflicted.
Buddhist	1,539
Hindu	1,672
Animistic	1,933
Musalman	2,013
Christian	2,105

* *Supra*, page 128.

† The population of the Asylum on the 26th February 1891 was 119, including 91 males and 28 females.

‡ The difficulty in explaining the variations is greatly enhanced by the want of information regarding the distribution of the insane over idiots and lunatics. The causes of lunacy amongst the insanes under treatment in the Tezpur Lunatic Asylum in 1890 are reported to be as follows:

Use of *ganja* and *bhang*	25
„ opium	9
„ spirits	11
Fever and other physical causes	15
Total physical causes	**60**
Moral causes	20
Unknown	62
Grand total	**142**

Out of 80 cases in which the cause of insanity is recorded, 25 were due to the *ganja* habit, which is especially common in Goalpara. So far, therefore as the number of the insane is swollen by lunatics, this fact may help to account for the greater prevalence of insanity in Goalpara. But, as I have already said, it seems probable that the great bulk of persons returned as insane are really *crétins*.

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Infirmities. Insanity.

very slight and that all of them show a much smaller prevalence of insanity than Hindus and Buddhists. In the two last mentioned communities, owing in the one case to the caste system and in the other to the small number of persons in each settlement, intermarriage is more common than amongst Musalmans, and it is not impossible that this is the cause of a larger amount of insanity. On the other hand, intermarriage probably prevails to a greater extent amongst the hill tribes than amongst any of the other classes under reference.

Comparison with other countries.

127. The prevalence of insanity in this province, as compared with other countries, is shown in the margin. With the exception of Lower Burma, the number exceeds that returned in any other province at the previous census, but is considerably below that for any European country, except Italy, the figures for which it very nearly approaches. The smaller number of persons of unsound mind in India is, I think, largely due to there being far fewer lunatics here than in Europe. The life of an Indian peasant is, as a rule, calm and placid, and there is little to cause him worry or anxiety, whilst in Europe the mental wear and tear is yearly becoming greater. Another reason is possibly that mentioned by Surgeon C. W. S. Deakin, F.R.C.S., in discussing the number of persons of unsound mind returned in the North-Western Provinces in 1881, *viz.*, that in India the data given in census reports are mostly collected by non-professional persons, and thus many persons who have suffered from harmless manifestations of mental disease, or whose attacks are periodical, have not been returned as insanes, although they would have been considered as such in Europe.*

Statement No. 81, comparing the number of insanes per 10,000 of the population in Assam and certain other countries.

Province or Country.	Number of the insane per 10,000 of the population.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.
Assam, 1891 ..	11	6	5
Bengal, 1881 ..	9	5	4
Bombay „ ..	9	6	3
Lower Burma, 1881 ..	19	11	8
Central Provinces, 1881 ..	5	3	2
Punjab, 1881 ..	10	6	4
Ceylon „ ..	22	13	9
England and Wales, 1881 ..	64	31	33
Scotland, 1881 ..	77	38	39
Italy, 1880 ..	14	8	6
Austria „ ..	41	22	19
United States, America, 1890.	67	35	32

The proportion of the sexes amongst the insane in Assam is more similar to that existing in European countries than in the other provinces of India. In the latter, males, as a rule, largely predominate, whilst in Europe the numbers are very nearly equal.†

Distribution.

128. The age distribution of the insane is shown in the marginal statement. The number of the insane at the lower ages is very small. This is partly due to the natural reluctance of parents to admit even to themselves that their children are not of sound mind until advancing years place the matter beyond all doubt, and partly to the fact that lunacy, or the more violent form of mental derangement, does not usually attack children, but is more common in middle life. The increase in the number of the insane, which appears to occur after childhood is past and before old age has come on, is probably chiefly to be ascribed to the fact that most of the lunatics included in the return were entered under those ages.

Statement No. 82, showing the distribution by age per 10,000 of the insane.

Age period.	Males.	Females.
0—4	188	164
5—9	530	498
10—14	691	701
15—19	645	879
20—24	835	918
25—29	1,289	1,136
30—34	1,582	1,284
35—39	1,048	895
40—44	1,192	1,012
45—49	627	498
50—54	576	879
55—59	201	218
60 and over	645	918

* Census Report, 1881, page 146.

† One reason for an excess of males amongst the insane in India is that the ranks of lunatics are largely recruited from those who indulge in an excessive consumption of drugs and spirits, and these are nearly always males. Thus, of the lunatics treated in the Tezpur Asylum during the year 1890 whose lunacy was attributed to excessive indulgence in drugs and spirits, 41 were males, and only 4 were females. Still, as I have already said the number of lunatics in Assam, as compared with idiots, is probably very small, and hence this excess of male lunatics does not much affect the proportion of the sexes in the total of the insane.

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Infirmities.
Insanity.

A more lucid way of displaying the age statistics of the insane is by comparing the number afflicted at each age period with the total population living at that age. This has been done in statement No. 83, in which the English figures* have been added for comparison. Excluding the greater number of persons shown as insane at the English census, to which allusion has already been made, the chief points of difference are in the larger proportion of insanes under four years, and the much smaller proportion, especially amongst females, at the higher ages, a state of things which is possibly due in part to less care being taken of persons thus afflicted in Assam than in England, and partly to a smaller number of persons becoming imbeciles in their old age in this country.

Statement No. 83, showing the proportion of the insane to 100,000 persons of each age.

Age period.	Assam.		England.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—4 ..	5·6	4·7	15·9	10·8
5—14 ..	28·6	23·0	99·3	70·0
15—19 ..	53·5	50·3	203·4	163·3
20—24 ..	68·4	48·2	277·7	226·4
25—39 ..	100·5	71·2	485·4	472·9
40—59 ..	109·4	100·8	651·9	782·2
60 and over ..	90·5	94·2	694·6	886·4

Note.—In England the last two age periods are 40—64 and 65 and over.

Relative prevalence of insanity amongst the indigenous and foreign population.

129. There are no accurate data from which the relative prevalence of insanity amongst the indigenous and the foreign born population may be gauged. The details were not tabulated by nationality and the caste return is an uncertain guide, as there are many castes common both to Assam and to other provinces. The number of the insane amongst purely foreign castes is only 134, or barely 4 per cent. of the total number thus afflicted, but there can be no doubt that the real number is higher than this. † On an average of ten years, the inmates of the Tezpur Asylum are found to consist of 48 per cent. natives of the province, and 52 per cent. persons born elsewhere. ‡ But this fact is not of much use in determining the relative prevalence of insanity. Foreigners have fewer friends, and would thus come to the Asylum in proportionally larger numbers, and, besides, these figures relate to lunatics rather than to the insane generally, as idiots very seldom find their way to the Asylum. The most that we can say is that, having regard to the information furnished by the census and the Lunatic Asylum returns, it seems probable that lunacy is relatively more, and idiocy less, common amongst immigrants than amongst the indigenous population, a conclusion which agrees closely with what would naturally be expected on *a priori* grounds. The immigrants, as a class, are far more intemperate in their habits than the indigenous population, and are thus more likely to become lunatics. Idiocy is usually from birth, and as idiots very seldom travel, they are likely to be less numerous amongst the castes composed of foreigners§ than amongst the native born.

* Census of 1881.

† i.e., that a considerable number of the afflicted amongst castes common to Assam and Bengal are foreigners.

‡ From a reference to the enumeration books I find that out of 119 inmates of the Asylum at the time of the census 50 were born in other provinces and 69 in Assam.

§ Of course, some persons of these foreign castes were born in Assam, but the majority have immigrated.

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Deaf-Mutes.

130. It has already been explained that an attempt has been made to show under this head only such persons as are congenitally deaf and dumb, and to exclude those who have become deaf owing to old age or other causes. The figures for each district are shown below in the same form as that given in paragraph 124 above to illustrate the prevalence of insanity :

Distribution of the deaf-mutes by districts.

Statement No. 84, showing the number and proportion of Deaf-Mutes in each district.

District.	Total number of Deaf-Mutes.						Average number of persons of whom one is a Deaf-Mute.		Distribution by districts per 1,000 of the total number of deaf-mutes.	Average number of females to 100 male deaf-mutes.
	1881.			1891.			1881.	1891.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.				
Cachar Plains ...	225	140	85	179	105	74	1,305·5	2,053·3	38	70
Sylhet ...	966	669	297	1,469	888	581	2,038·3	1,466·7	314	65
Goalpara ...	325	194	131	483	274	209	1,373·0	936·4	103	76
Kamrup ...	318	177	141	463	260	203	2,028·1	1,369·8	99	78
Darrang ...	134	78	56	443	240	203	2,039·7	694·7	94	84
Nowgong ...	193	118	75	326	181	145	1,609·2	1,055·6	70	80
Sibsagar ...	215	150	65	382	224	158	1,722·2	1,197·0	82	70
Lakhimpur ...	70	43	27	319	170	149	2,569·9	796·4	68	87
North Cachar ...	.....*	.....	.....	19	11	8	.....*	996·8	4	72
Naga Hills ...	.....*	.....	.....	249	148	101	.....*	493·4	53	68
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	132	70	62	200	109	91	1,283·0	989·5	43	83
Garo Hills ...	.....*	.....	.....	149	73	76	.....*	815·9	32	104
North Lushai (Civil and Military).	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	...
Total for the Province	**2,578**	**1,639**	**939**	**4,681**	**2,683**	**1,998**	**1,893·4**	**1,161·1**	**1,000**	**74**

* Information not collected in 1881.

Here, again, owing to more careful enumeration, there is a considerable increase over the figures of 1881, which is shared by all districts except Cachar, where there has been a decrease, for which I am quite unable to account.† Speaking generally, this infirmity is most prevalent in the hill districts ; it is somewhat less common in the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley, still less so in Sylhet, and least of all in Cachar. The difference between districts in regard to the number of deaf-mutes is very marked, but not more so than it is amongst the different counties in England and Wales, where the proportion varies from one in 3,140 in Montgomeryshire to one in 1,266 in Anglesey. So far as it is most common in the hill districts, the facts agree with those observed in England, where deaf-mutism is much more common among the natives of mountainous tracts than elsewhere.‡ A possible explanation of this fact may be found in the greater number of consanguineous marriages in sparsely populated tracts, such as hill districts usually are.§ Consanguinity of parents is

† An examination of the schedules shows that 126 persons in Cachar were entered simply as deaf, and it is possible many of these were really deaf-mutes who were entered as 'deaf' only, the rules on the subject notwithstanding.

‡ Census Report for 1881, volume IV, page 65.

§ I have already shown that the rules of exogamy in vogue amongst hill tribes have no real effect in preventing consanguineous marriages, *supra*, page 122.

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Infirmities.
Deaf-mutism.

a recognised cause tending to deaf-mutism,* and if this is the explanation, it may also account for the greater prevalence of the infirmity in the Brahmaputra Valley than in Sylhet and Cachar, and for the larger proportion of deaf-mutes in Darrang and Lakhimpur, as compared with Sibsagar and Kamrup.

It does not appear that there is any connection between the prevalence of deaf-mutism and idiocy in Assam similar to that which has been alleged to exist in European countries.

Proportions of the sexes.

131. The proportion of the sexes amongst the deaf-mutes is more uniform in the different districts than is the case with the insanes. In the province generally, there are 74 female deaf-mutes to 100 males, and only two districts, the Garo Hills and Lakhimpur, show a divergence of more than 10 from this general average. The excess of males, which occurs in all countries, is usually attributed to the fact that deaf-mutism is a congenital defect, and that all such defects are more common amongst males than amongst females.

Distribution of the deaf-mutes by religions.

Statement No. 85, showing the number of persons out of whom one is a deaf-mute in the principal religions of Assam.

Religion.	Number out of whom one is a deaf-mute.
Hindu	1,240
Musalman	1,527
Christian	1,122
Buddhist	214
Animistic	847

132. The extent to which deaf-mutism prevails amongst the different religious communities is shown in the margin. So far as any conclusions can be drawn from these figures, they seem to illustrate the influence of consanguinity on deaf-mutism, to which reference has been made above. The total number of Buddhists is by no means large, and they are scattered about the country in very small communities, so that the intermarriage of near relations is frequently almost a necessity. The animistic tribes, who have no effective rules of exogamy, and are resident in the more sparsely peopled tracts, show the next highest proportion of deaf-mutes. Then come Christians, who have no theoretical restrictions on marriage, but are limited in their choice of wives owing to the practical necessity of marrying persons of the same religion. Deaf-mutism is less common amongst the Hindus than amongst the above classes, as they have a larger choice of wives, but it is more prevalent amongst Hindus than it is amongst Musalmans, who have no restrictions on marriage similar to those which are imposed by the caste system on persons professing the Hindu religion.

* This is clearly shown in the following table from the census returns for Ireland quoted by Surgeon Deakin:

Offspring of	Congenital deaf cases.	Acquired deaf cases.	Total.
First cousins	80	5	85
Second „	60	3	63
Third „	31	1	32
Fourth „	7	....	7
Fifth and sixth cousins	14	....	14
Total	192	9	201

There are also other causes which are said to induce deaf-mutism, such as fright and morbid mental impressions of the mother during gestation, and also hereditary predisposition to the affliction.

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133. The number of deaf-mutes per 10,000 of the population, as compared with other countries, is shown in statement No. 86. The proportion is precisely the same as that found to exist in Berar in 1881; it is slightly lower than the figures for Bengal and the Punjab, but higher than those for the other provinces quoted. Compared with European statistics, deaf-mutism is considerably more prevalent than in England, Ireland, or the United States, but less so than in Austria or Hungary. The proportion of females to males is very similar to that existing in other provinces and also in European countries.

Comparison with other countries.

Statement No. 86, comparing the number of deaf-mutes per 10,000 of the population in Assam and certain other countries.

Province or Country.	Number of Deaf-Mutes per 10,000 of the population.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.
Assam, 1891	18	10	8
Bengal, 1881	24	15	9
Berar „	18	10	8
Bombay „	14	8	6
Lower Burma, 1881 ..	12	7	5
Central Provinces „ ..	14	8	6
Punjab, 1881	22	13	9
Ceylon „	3	2	1
England and Wales, 1881 ..	11	6	5
Ireland, 1881	15	8	7
Austria, 1880	26	15	11
Hungary, 1881	26	14	12
United States, America, 1890	13	7	6

134. The age distribution of the deaf-mutes remains to be considered. In the proportional statement in the margin is shown the distribution by age of 10,000 deaf-mutes of each sex. The first point that strikes the eye is the extraordinarily small number returned under the age period 0—4, less than half as many being shown under this age as under 5—9, although, as deaf-mutism is almost invariably from birth, the number under five years of age should be greater than the number between the years of 5 and 10. The explanation is the same as that already given as partially accounting for the small number of the insane at the same age, namely, that parents do not like to admit the existence of this defect in their children until they reach an age at which it is impossible any longer to doubt the truth. This tendency is well known to English statisticians, and is met by a correction in the numbers actually returned, on the assumption that the proportion of deaf-mutes amongst children 0—4 to the total population of that age is the same as that of those aged 5—9 to the total population censused at that age. Applying a similar correction to the Assam return, the total number of deaf-mutes in the province rises from 4,681 to 5,314, and the average number of persons out of whom one is a deaf-mute falls to 1,011, against 1,161 in the uncorrected return.

Age distribution.

Statement No. 87, showing the age distribution of the deaf-mutes per 10,000.

Age periods.	Deaf-Mutes.	
	Males.	Females.
0—4	805	931
5—9	2,136	2,137
10—14	1,629	1,632
15—19	1,118	1,086
20—24	950	996
25—29	764	791
30—34	738	776
35—39	526	481
40—44	376	400
45—49	190	125
50—54	321	245
55—59	119	50
60 and over	328	350

The proportion which the deaf-mutes bear to the total population recorded at each age period is shown in the margin, the figures for the English censuses of 1851 and 1881 being added for comparison. Except for the rise in the proportion of deaf-mutes aged 60 and over, which may be due in part to the erroneous description as deaf-mutes of persons who have lost their hearing in their old age, the Assam figures in general tend to conform with those of the English return of 1851, and show a rapid decline in the proportion which the deaf-mutes bear to the total population at each age period; in other words, they disclose an excep-

Statement No. 88, showing the proportion of deaf mutes to 100,000 persons of each age.

Age period.	Assam.		England, both sexes.	
	Males.	Females.	1881.	1851.
0—4	50·90	41·89	14·1	21·2
5—14	136·86	112·76	59·0	81·8
15—19	143·53	96·65	56·4	67·4
20—24	120·80	81·20	59·3	63·2
25—39	80·34	68·40	56·8	55·9
40—59	65·49	49·36	53·4	49·7
60 and over	71·16	55·92	56·0	44·2

Note.—The last two age periods in the English returns are 40—64 and 65 and over.

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Infirmities. Blindness.

tionally high rate of mortality amongst persons thus afflicted.* The English figures for 1881 are less similar; they show a larger number of deaf-mutes in the later years of life and a deficiency in the earlier years, the latter it is said being due to a slightly decreasing proportion of deaf-mutes at birth, and the former to their greater longevity owing to the great improvements which have of late taken place in that country in regard to the way in which this unfortunate class is treated and cared for.

The Blind.

Distribution of the blind by districts.

135. The statistics of the blind have been slightly vitiated by the use, or rather misuse, of the word *kaná*, to which reference has already been made, and this fact must be borne in mind in considering the bearing of the following statement:

Statement No. 89, showing the number and proportion of the blind in each district.

District.	Total number of the Blind.						Average number of persons of whom one is blind.		Distribution by districts per 1,000 of the total number of the blind.	Number of females to 100 males.
	1881.			1891.			1881.	1891.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.				
Cachar Plains	236	125	111	326	177	149	1,244·6	1,127·4	56	84
Sylhet	1,406	774	632	2,793	1,511	1,282	1,400·4	771·4	479	84
Goalpara	399	217	182	635	318	317	1,118·3	712·2	109	99
Kamrup	466	291	175	421	231	190	1,384·0	1,506·5	72	82
Darrang	174	109	65	141	74	67	1,570·8	2,182·7	24	90
Nowgong	134	84	50	223	119	104	2,317·7	1,543·2	38	87
Sibsagar	125	92	33	251	131	120	2,962·1	1,821·8	43	91
Lakhimpur	75	51	24	162	90	72	2,398·5	1,568·2	28	80
North Cachar	9	5	4	38	20	18	2,235·5	498·4	7	90
Naga Hills	.....	.....	.....	152	64	88	.....	808·3	26	137
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	186	98	88	221	104	117	910·5	895·4	38	112
Garo Hills ...	.....	.....	... ..	469	192	277	.....	259·2	80	144
North Lushai (Civil and Military).	.....	.....	.....	.....	... ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total for the Province ...	3,210	1,846	1,364	5,832	3,031	2,801	1,520·6	931·9	1,000	92

The proportion of the blind is extraordinarily high in the Garo Hills,† and is much above the average in North Cachar, Goalpara, and Sylhet; it is also rather high in the Naga Hills and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. In Cachar Plains the figures are below the provincial average, while the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley are comparatively free from this affliction. In fact, two districts, Kamrup and Darrang, show a smaller proportion of blind persons now than they did in 1881. Coupled with the largely increased return of the blind in other districts and in the province generally, it is difficult to explain this difference by ascribing it to changes in the method of enumeration or the degree of instruction imparted to the enumerators. The only reason I am able to assign is that it was in these two districts that the word *kaná* was most commonly found in the schedules, and that persons so designated, who were excluded from the return on this occasion, were possibly classed among the true blind in 1881. The forms of blindness

* The same results might be produced by an enormous annual increase in the number of deaf-mutes born, but this alternative may be rejected as altogether improbable.

† This may in part be accounted for by the extremely malarious character of the district (fever being a recognised cause of blindness), and partly also by the elevation, as it is found that blindness is more common in elevated regions; but this latter explanation simply accounts for the greater number of the blind, as compared with the plains districts, and not for the excess over the other hill districts of the province.

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being so uncertain and the causes thereof so numerous, it is impossible to assign reasons for the varying degree of prevalence in different parts of the province. Infirmities. Blindness.

Proportion of the sexes.

136. There is in general great uniformity in the different districts in the proportion which blind females bear to males; the provincial average rate is 92 females to 100 males, and the only districts which differ widely from this average are the Naga Hills, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and the Garo Hills, in other words, the hill districts. The excess of blind females in these latter districts is partly due to the relatively large proportion of females in the general population (102 females to 100 males, against 92 females out of the same number of males in the plains districts), and partly perhaps to the larger number of females at the higher ages where blindness is most common. The portion of the total excess of females amongst the blind which is to be attributed to blindness in the later years of life is shown in the margin.

Statement No. 90, showing the degree to which the excess of females amongst the blind in the hill districts is due to blindness at the higher ages.

District.	Total excess of blind females over blind males.	Excess amongst persons aged 50 and over.
Naga Hills	24	22
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	13	10
Garo Hills	85	49

Distribution of the blind by religion.

137. Turning to the distribution of the blind by religion, we find that blindness is most common amongst the hill tribes. The proportion of the blind amongst Hindus is somewhat higher than amongst Musalmans, and persons of the latter persuasion are again more liable to this affliction than Christians. No persons have been returned as blind in the small Buddhist population. Without further information regarding the forms of blindness prevailing, it is impossible to assign reasons for the varying prevalence of the complaint amongst the different religious communities.

Statement No. 91, showing the comparative prevalence of blindness in each of the main religions.

Religion.	Number out of whom one person is blind.
Hindu	952
Musalman	993
Christian	1,684
Buddhist	.....
Animistic	785

Comparison with other countries.

138. Following previous practice, I will now illustrate the extent to which the people of Assam are afflicted with blindness by collocating for comparison the corresponding proportional figures for certain other countries. It appears that blindness is less common in Assam than in any other Indian province, and is only slightly more prevalent than in the majority of European countries. The explanations which may be offered for this are that ophthalmia and small-pox, which are often fertile sources of blindness, are less prevalent in Assam than elsewhere, that the houses in which the people live are larger and better ventilated, and that the climate is moister and more equable than in other parts of India.* Blindness is most common in the Punjab, where there is most glare, heat and dryness, and is much more prevalent in Sind, where somewhat similar conditions exist, than in other parts of the Bombay Presidency. In the cooler and more humid climate of Bengal the affliction is far less common, and if this reasoning holds good, it is only

Statement No. 92, showing the proportion of the blind per 10,000 of the population in Assam and certain other countries.

Province or Country.	Number of blind per 10,000 of the population.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.
Assam, 1891	21	11	10
Bengal, 1881	29	14	15
Bombay, „	53	24	29
Lower Burma, 1881 ..	31	15	16
Central Provinces, 1881 ..	52	22	30
Madras, 1881	32	15	17
Punjab, „	102	48	54
England and Wales, 1881 ..	17	9	8
Scotland, 1881	17	9	8
Ireland, 1881	23	11	12
Italy, 1881	15	8	7
Austria, 1880	18	10	8
United States, America, 1890	19	10	9

* Surgeon-Major Campbell informs me that the comparative immunity from blindness is most marked in the case of blindness due to cataract.

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Infirmities. Blindness.

natural that it should be still more rare in Assam, where the climate is quite as humid and much more equable than in Bengal. A further explanation is that nearly 10 per cent. of the population of Assam consists of immigrants, and that the blind rarely leave their own country.* Another peculiarity in the Assam figures is that there are, as in Europe, more blind persons amongst the males than amongst the females, whereas in other parts of India the reverse is nearly everywhere the case. The difference seems to be partly due to the excess of males† owing to immigration (so far as the immigrant population is afflicted with blindness, which, as already stated, is probably to a comparatively slight extent) and partly to the absence of an increase of females as compared with males at the higher ages when blindness is most prevalent.

139. From the proportional statement in the margin, which shows the distribution by age per 10,000, it will be seen that blindness is an affliction which usually comes on late in life, and that the number of persons who lose their eyesight in early years is comparatively small. Out of 10,000 blind persons of each sex only 1,875 males and 1,504 females, lose their sight before they reach the age of 20, while two-fifths of the total number are over 60 years of age. Blindness is thus essentially a disease of old age.

Age distribution.

Statement No. 93, showing the age distribution of the blind per 10,000.

Age period.	Blind.	
	Males.	Females.
0—4	373	282
5—9	528	443
10—14	548	393
15—19	426	386
20—24	449	428
25—29	419	436
30—34	495	518
35—39	439	425
40—44	788	778
45—49	425	460
50—54	815	1,003
55—59	432	385
60 and over	3,863	4,063

Comparing the age distribution of the blind of both sexes, it appears that there is a slightly greater proportion of young males than of young females, and that at the higher ages there are comparatively more females: in other words, the mean age of the female blind is somewhat greater than that of the male blind.

140. The proportion of the blind per 100,000 of the population at each age period and the corresponding figures for England and Wales are shown in statement No. 94. This statement shows more clearly the fact already noticed, *viz.*, the far greater prevalence of blindness amongst the aged. Out of the total population less than 5 years of age, only 1 male in 3,792 is blind and only 1 female out of every 5,261 persons. But of the people who attain the age of 60, 1 male in 105 has lost his eyesight, and 1 female in 109. The total number of the blind is less in England and Wales than in this country, but there is comparatively little difference in the proportionate prevalence of blindness at different ages.

Comparison with English statistics.

Statement No. 94, showing the proportion of the blind to 100,000 persons of each age.

Age period.	Assam.		England and Wales.			
			1872.		1881.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—4	26·63	17·79	18·9	18·0	17·2	16·1
5—14	44·01	35·04	34·5	26·7	31·2	26·3
15—19	61·24	48·10	45·1	35·8	44·9	32·8
20—24	64·16	49·02	51·8	39·0	49·1	35·9
25—39	60·55	64·55	87·1	50·6	80·0	49·4
40—59	180·96	221·52	200·2	145·9	194·7	133·6
60 and over	946·96	909·22	724·5	744·6	689·7	692·9

Note.—In England and Wales the last two age periods are 40—64 and 65 and over.

* This is the explanation adduced by Dr. Farr for the comparatively small proportion of the blind in the United States of America, 'Vital Statistics' page 54.

† Amongst persons of unmistakeably foreign castes, the blind males number 170 and females only 125, but, as already explained, it is impossible to identify all foreigners, as many castes are common to Assam and other provinces.

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Lepers.

141. The only infirmity still remaining to be discussed is leprosy, the statistics for which are furnished in the usual form below: **Infirmities.** **Leprosy.**

Statement No. 95, showing the number and proportion of lepers in each district.

District.	Total number of Lepers.						Average number of persons of whom one is a Leper.		Distribution by districts per 1,000 of the total number of lepers.	Average number of females to 100 male lepers.
	1881.			1891.			1881.	1891.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.				
Cachar Plains ...	242	175	67	427	305	122	1,213·7	860·7	63	40
Sylhet	1,439	1,095	344	2,927	2,369	558	1,368·3	736·1	435	23
Goalpara ...	515	387	128	874	680	194	866·4	517·5	130	28
Kamrup... ...	352	237	115	426	313	113	1,832·2	1,488·8	63	36
Darrang	90	57	33	294	199	95	3,037·0	1,046·8	44	47
Nowgong ...	122	82	40	323	238	85	2,545·7	1,065·4	48	35
Sibsagar ...	320	227	93	720	542	178	1,157·1	635·1	107	32
Lakhimpur	119	88	31	354	254	100	1,511·7	717·6	53	39
North Cachar ...	5	4	1	25	17	8	4,024·0	757·6	4	47
Naga Hills	.....*	.....	.....	126	77	49	*.....	975·1	19	63
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	109	56	53	94	56	38	1,553·7	2,105·3	14	67
Garo Hills ...	.....*	.....	.....	137	78	59	*.....	887·3	20	75
North Lushai (Civil and Military)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	...
Total for the Province.	**3,313**	**2,408**	**905**	**6,727**	**5,128**	**1,599**	**1,472·9**	**807·9**	**1,000**	**31**

* Information not collected in 1881.

Except in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where I am inclined to agree with the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner that the decrease is due to a more careful training of the enumerators, and the consequent exclusion of other diseases from the return, all districts show a considerable increase in the number of lepers now reported, as compared with 1881. I have consulted a number of officers on the subject, and all agree that there has been no perceptible increase in the number of lepers, and the difference must, therefore, be attributed, as in the case of the other infirmities, to the greater degree of accuracy attained at the present census.

The largest proportion of lepers is found in Goalpara, and the next largest in Sibsagar, which is closely followed by Lakhimpur, Sylhet, and North Cachar. After these districts, come Cachar Plains, the Garo Hills, and the Naga Hills in the order in which I have named them, and lastly Darrang, Nowgong, Kamrup, and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. This distribution is sufficiently puzzling, and all that can be said regarding it, is that it seems to corroborate the view now generally held, that leprosy depends more on the food and habits of the people, than on the locality in which they live. It is curious that the number of lepers should be so high in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, as two centuries ago, the Musalman historian of Mir Jumla's invasion asserted that the inhabitants of Upper Assam were free from this disease.* As its spread has not been noticed since our occupation of the province, it seems not improbable that the disease attained its present prevalence during the disastrous anarchy which attended the revolt of the Moamorias and the invasion of the Burmese.

* *'Fathiyah i' Ibriyah'.—Apud* Blochmann, 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal', 1872, page 77.

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Infirmities. Leprosy.

Proportion of the sexes.

142. The figures show a large excess of male lepers, the provincial average being only 31 females to 100 males. It is difficult to say why males should be so much the greater sufferers, and it seems probable that a good deal of the difference is due to intentional concealment of the disease where women are concerned. Leprosy is generally regarded as a social disqualification, and, except amongst the beggar class, persons suffering from the disease would not readily admit it. In the case of men, who are constantly mixing with others, and whose clothing is scanty, concealment would usually be difficult,* and it is probable that a fairly exhaustive return of male lepers has been obtained. But women are almost always more secluded; they are also better clad, and the general disinclination to acknowledge the existence of the disease, which has been noted above, would be much more marked where the women of a family are concerned. This supposition, that the disproportion of the sexes is much accentuated by the concealment of female lepers, appears to be borne out by the figures for the different districts.† The excess of males is most marked in Sylhet and Goalpara, and especially in Sylhet, where the proportion of Muhammadans, who are most reticent regarding their females, is larger than in any other district. In the hill districts, on the other hand, where there is no special delicacy regarding women, the proportion of female lepers is almost three times as high as in Sylhet and Goalpara.‡

Distribution of lepers by religion.

Statement No. 96, showing the prevalence of leprosy amongst the main religions.

Religion.	Number out of whom one person is a leper.
Hindu	779
Musalman	897
Christian	2,105
Buddhist	1,282
Animistic	766

143. Looked at from the point of view of religious distribution, it would seem that the hill tribes are most liable to the disease, then the Hindus, and next to them the Musalmans. It is less prevalent amongst the Buddhists, and least so amongst the Christians. It would perhaps be unsafe to draw conclusions from the figures for hill tribes, as in two out of the three hill districts it was found impossible to test the correctness of the return to any considerable extent after the census had been taken, and the deputy commissioners in both cases admit the possibility of hill sores having sometimes been mistaken for leprosy. There is also some danger in attempting to generalise from the figures showing the relative prevalence of the disease amongst Hindus and Musalmans, as the higher proportion shown for the former is chiefly due to the greater number of females shown as suffering from leprosy amongst the Hindus. Taking males only, the return shows a much smaller difference, *viz.*, 1 in 527 for Hindus and 1 in 568 for Musalmans.

* I am speaking of the masses of people,—the peasantry.

† The following extract from a letter from Mr. Pittar, Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar, who was the only officer who answered my enquiries on this subject at all fully, may be quoted in explanation of the low proportion of female lepers:

* * * * * *

"*First.*—Parents or guardians often try to conceal the disease, if it happens to occur in a female member, and this they can always do so long as the disease does not appear in an advanced stage. The reasons for such concealment are many.

"*Second.*—Our enumerators in many cases were not allowed to see females. They had instructions even for not asking the names of females unless willingly given, and it is only natural that they avoided giving offence by putting delicate questions about female infirmities. They could not also help accepting any replies given by the head of the family, unless they actually knew the females they enumerated.

"*Third.*—If there be any truth in the theory that leprosy is contagious, men are more liable to contagion, as they go about more than the females.

"*Fourth.*—Men of course, go in for more outdoor work and dress more scantily, and are thus much more subject to vicissitudes of climate and variation of weather than the females.

"*Fifth.*—Syphilis is much more common in the males than in the females. From statistics collected from limited areas, the proportion can be estimated approximately at an average of five males to one female. There can be no doubt that this disease by deteriorating the quality of the blood leads in some cases to the production of true leprosy."

* * * * * *

‡ It should, however, be noted that in Lower Burma, where there is no special tendency to conceal the afflictions of females, the proportion of the sexes amongst the lepers is much the same as in Assam.

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144. The prevalence of leprosy in Assam is compared with that in other provinces in statement No. 97 in the margin. With the single exception of Berar, the disease appears to be more common here than in any other part of India, a result which is not only contrary to general opinion, but also one for which it is difficult to find any adequate explanation. The moisture of the atmosphere and the extent to which fish enters into the diet of the people have sometimes been put forward as favourable to the spread of leprosy, and if these circumstances have anything to do with it, it is not surprising to find a considerable amount of leprosy in Assam. Another cause which has sometimes been suggested is the want of wholesome and sufficient food. It cannot be said that the peasantry of this province are ever in want of sufficient food, but it may be that the coarse cold-weather rice, which is largely consumed by the lower castes of Hindus and the aboriginal tribes, is unwholesome.*

Comparison with other countries.

Statement No. 97, comparing the prevalence of leprosy in Assam with that in other provinces.

Province.	Number of Lepers per 10,000 of the population.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.
Assam, 1891	24	18	6
Bengal, 1881	16	12	4
Berar „	27	21	6
Bombay „	12	9	3
Lower Burma, 1881	13	10	3
North-West Provinces, 1881 ..	8	6	2
Punjab, 1881	7	5	2

145. The distribution of lepers by age is noted in the margin. Comparatively few of them are under 25 years of age, the years at which the greatest numbers are found being between 25 and 45. From the proportion which the number of lepers at each age bears to the total population of that age, it appears that there is a progressive increase in the liability to the disease as people grow older.

Distribution by age.

Statement No. 98, showing the distribution of 10,000 lepers by age.

Age period.	Number of Lepers.	
	Males.	Females.
0— 4	31	119
5— 9	142	338
10—14	376	719
15—19	472	744
20—24	608	794
25—29	878	1,051
30—34	1,277	1,245
35—39	1,361	982
40—44	1,469	1,207
45—49	805	550
50—54	1,065	807
55—59	351	306
60 and over	1,166	1,138

Statement No. 99, showing the proportion of lepers to 100,000 persons of each age.

Age period.	Males.	Females.
0— 4	3·77	4·27
5—14	35·77	25·30
15—19	111·00	53·00
20—24	147·19	51·88
25—39	260·29	87·63
40—59	458·97	138·15
60 and over ..	483·59	145·41

As the disease is one which attacks persons at all ages, it is impossible to form from the tables any estimate of the effect of leprosy upon the duration of life, and no other statistics are available to throw any light upon this point. I may, however, mention that out of 439 persons entered as lepers, who were actually traced in connection with the special enquiries made subsequent to the census with a view to ascertaining the correctness of the return, 46 were found to be dead. The enquiries were made on the average about nine months after the date of the census, so that the deaths amongst these 439 persons were at the rate of 136 per thousand per annum, or considerably more than three times the assumed normal death rate.† If the mortality in general amongst lepers is as high as it appears to have been amongst this limited number, the prevalence of the disease is very inadequately represented by the figures showing the proportion of the population suffering from it at one and the same time.

* The form in which they take their food may tend in the same direction. Their rice is often imperfectly cooked, they delight in rotten fish, and consume putrid meat as readily as if it were fresh.

† I have calculated the death rate on the total number of 439 persons, although 35 of them were found not to be lepers, to allow for any misdescriptions that may have been made amongst the persons who were dead when the enquiry was made. The true death rate amongst the lepers was, therefore, in all probability even higher than I have stated it to be.

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Infirmities.

Leprosy.

Contagiousness of leprosy.

Where so much difference of opinion exists amongst the highest authorities, it would be presumptuous for me to attempt to discuss the means by which leprosy is spread, but the following statement, showing the distribution of lepers over the different census circles in each district is not uninstructive:

Statement No. 100, showing the distribution of Lepers over the different census circles in each district.

District.	Total number of circles in district.	Number of circles containing no lepers.	Number of circles containing 1 leper.	Total number of lepers in these circles.	Number of circles containing 2 lepers.	Total number of lepers in these circles.	Number of circles containing 3—4 lepers.	Total number of lepers in these circles.	Number of circles containing 5—6 lepers.	Total number of lepers in these circles.	Number of circles containing 7—9 lepers.	Total number of lepers in these circles.	Number of circles containing 10 to 14 lepers.	Total number of lepers in these circles.	Number of circles containing 15 to 19 lepers.	Total number of lepers in these circles.	Number of circles containing 20 lepers and over.	Total number of lepers in these circles.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Cachar ..	266	123	45	45	34	68	35	117	16	88	11	85	2	24	..	..	..	..
Sylhet ..	822	148	116	116	133	266	194	685	107	575	61	483	49	544	10	170	4	88
Goalpara ..	175	23	23	23	19	38	41	142	30	163	14	113	15	176	5	86	5	133
Kamrup ..	83	15	12	12	10	20	20	63	4	28	9	61	5	63	3	51	5	128
Darrang ..	114	41	24	24	9	18	18	65	10	52	6	47	4	47	1	19	1	22
Nowgong ..	45	8	4	4	3	6	7	22	2	11	5	43	10	116	4	68	2	53
Sibsagar ..	239	90	39	39	25	50	31	109	18	98	11	83	14	155	9	143	2	45
Lakhimpur ..	55	8	5	5	7	14	6	22	5	27	13	98	5	53	3	50	3	85
North Cachar ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	25
Naga Hills ..	33	15	3	3	3	6	2	8	4	22	1	7	3	34	1	18	1	28
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	71	42	11	11	5	10	6	19	2	11	3	21	2	22	..	..	..	..
Garo Hills ..	24	5	1	1	4	8	3	12	2	11	4	30	3	37	1	16	1	22
Total ..	**1,928**	**518**	**283**	**283**	**252**	**504**	**363**	**1,264**	**200**	**1,086**	**138**	**1,071**	**112**	**1,271**	**37**	**621**	**25**	**627**

More than a quarter of the total number of circles contain no lepers at all; considerably more than half the total number of lepers is found in 312 circles, in each of which the number of lepers exceeds 7, and considerably less than half in the remaining 1,616 circles.

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Infirmities by Caste.

Infirmities by caste.

146. The distribution of the four infirmities recognised at the census amongst the different castes and tribes is shown in Tables XIIA to XVA. In the following abstract I have shown the number of persons out of whom one is afflicted for each of the main castes, &c.:

Infirmities. By caste.

Statement No. 101, showing the comparative prevalence of infirmities amongst some of the principal Castes and Tribes.

Castes, &c.	Number of Persons out of whom one is afflicted.			
	Persons of unsound mind.	Deaf-mutes.	The blind.	Lepers.
Ahom	2,437	744	1,419	386
Bairagi	533	960	200	240
Barui	4,516	2,509	1,613	1,613
Bauri	6,430	846	1,891	353
Bhuinmali	1,018	1,643	1,132	578
Bhuiya	32,186	4,598	1,694	975
Bhumij	4,126	1,875	1,473	859
Boria	5,619	775	1,021	2,043
Brahman	1,088	1,327	1,196	1,292
Chamar	2,235	2,235	662	1,191
Chutiya	5,480	1,124	2,039	923
Dhoba	759	.....	517	607
Dom	928	585	440	397
Dosadh	1,774	1,774	645	1,182
Ganak	1,483	1,826	1,582	1,826
Garo	1,735	855	263	837
Goala	1,002	1,726	634	971
Hajong	1,058	1,058	250	369
Halwa Das	1,708	1,238	510	549
Hari	4,540	1,236	3,405	851
Hira	2,516	838	838	1,118
Jaladha	2,103	450	.....	450
Jugi	1,851	1,132	930	976
Kachari	2,080	723	1,789	746
Kaibartta (Jaliya)	1,202	1,051	363	601
Kalita	2,295	1,294	1,567	1,535
Kamar	2,471	2,281	1,235	3,294
Kayastha	783	1,443	481	655
Kewat	5,359	1,231	2,024	1,686
Khamti	1,519	102	.....	1,013
Khasi	2,032	1,154	1,142	1,731
Koch }	2,000	1,049	1,388	994
Rajbansi }	916	853	571	461
Kuki	482	1,447	437	1,254
Kumar	1,696	2,826	1,272	820
Lalung	5,242	1,092	1,191	903
Mahimal	5,281	3,417	1,238	1,419
Malo (Jhalo)	2,509	2,509	427	528
Manipuri	1,251	2,641	1,658	1,064
Mech	1,132	900	1,300	240
Mikir	2,107	1,693	1,756	519
Miri	4,678	575	1,559	243
Munda	5,150	3,565	2,317	2,015
Naga	2,320	413	699	1,159
Namasudra (Chandal)	1,769	1,245	733	699
Napit	1,221	1,649	1,064	999

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Infirmities.
By caste.

Statement No. 101, showing the comparative prevalence of infirmities amongst some of the principal Castes and Tribes—continued.

Caste, &c.	Number of persons out of whom one is afflicted.			
	Persons of unsound mind.	Deaf-mutes.	The blind.	Lepers.
Native Christian	1,845	983	1,476	1,845
Pathan	2,617	1,454	1,090	1,189
Patni	1,505	1,622	661	593
Rabha	1,885	719	840	1,026
Saiad	2,021	1,102	1,102	932
Santhal	1,290	11,610	1,451	774
Shaha	674	1,574	633	633
Shekh	1,936	1,289	988	874
Sutradhar	1,673	2,390	1,045	697
Synteng	1,173	697	555	3,043
Teli	890	1,370	937	774
Tipperah	1,237	2,886	1,443	787
Average for the Province	**1,798**	**1,161**	**931**	**807**

Insanes.

147. The figures for the insane call for no particular notice.

Deaf-mutes.

In the case of the deaf-mutes, it is noteworthy that of the 16 castes or tribes in which the proportion of persons thus afflicted is highest, no less than 10* are tribes of unconverted aborigines, one (Rajbansi) is the caste taken by aboriginal Koches on their conversion to Hinduism, and three (Bauri, Koch, and Hira) are castes of non-Aryan origin. Only one caste (Boria) has any claims to Aryan extraction, and that one is the caste recruited from persons who have offended against the Brahmanical rules governing the relations of the sexes.

These figures seem to support the supposition mentioned in paragraph 130 above, *viz.*, that deaf-mutism is largely to be attributed to consanguineous marriages, which are more common amongst the hill tribes than amongst persons of other religions.

The blind.

The distribution of blindness permits of no such general explanation. It is most common amongst religious mendicants, and next to them amongst the Garos and their kindred tribe, the Hajongs.† It is extremely prevalent amongst the Kaibarttas and Málos, and is also more than usually common amongst three other fishing castes, the Doms, Pátnis, and the Namasudras. The Mahimals, on the other hand, though they also are fishermen, enjoy comparative immunity from this affliction. Of the more respectable Hindu castes, blindness is most prevalent amongst the Káyasthas, Goálas, and Hálwá Dás.

Leprosy.

Leprosy, like deaf-mutism, seems to be most widely spread amongst the aboriginal tribes. Excluding religious mendicants, the Hálwá Dás is the only respectable Hindu caste in which the disease is unusually common. The chief sufferers are the Mech, Miri, Hájong, Ahom, Jaladha, Rajbansi, Koch, and Mikir tribes.

*Ahom, Garo, Jaladha, Káchári, Khamti, Mech, Miri, Naga, Rabha, Synteng.

† The Káchári, Lálung, Chutiyá, and other Bodo tribes are particularly free from this infirmity.

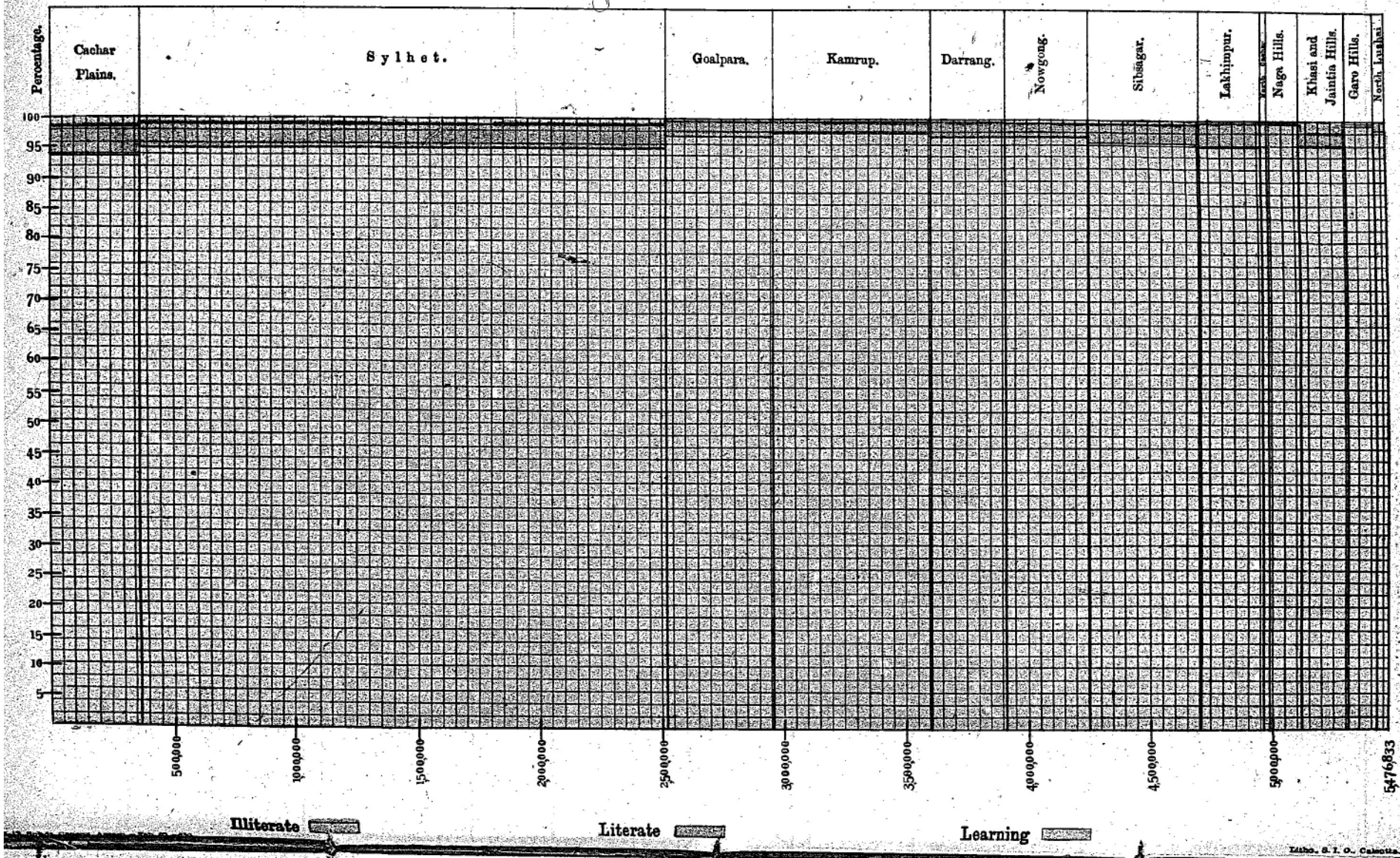
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CHAPTER VII.—EDUCATION.

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Diagram shewing the State of Education in the different Districts of Assam.

The total population of each district is shewn horizontally; the percentage borne to the total population by the illiterate, literate, and learning, is shewn vertically. The absolute population of each small square is 1,000.



Litho. S. T. O., Calcutta.

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CHAPTER VII.—EDUCATION.

IMPERIAL TABLE IX.

148. The information collected at the census regarding education was of a very general character, and merely divided the population into three broad classes,—the learning, the literate, and the illiterate, *i.e.*, persons altogether devoid of education. The instructions were that persons at school or otherwise under instruction should be shown as learning, those able to read *and* write, but not under instruction, as literate, and those who were unable to read *and* write, and were not under instruction, as illiterate. No attempt was made to ascertain the degree of education possessed by the learners and the literate. **Education.**

General remarks.

The state of education in the province is fully discussed in the annual reports of the Director of Public Instruction, and my remarks on the subject will, therefore, be confined to a brief examination of the more prominent features of the return.

149. The number of persons per 1,000 of the population in each district who are learning, literate, and illiterate is shown in the following proportional statement:

Proportional figures for each district.

Statement No. 102, showing the number of learning, literate, and illiterate persons in each district per 1,000 of the population.

District.	Learning.		Literate.		Illiterate.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Cachar Plains	25·9	1·2	88·8	2·5	885·3	996·3
Sylhet	23·2	1·0	69·2	2·2	907·6	996·8
Goalpara	12·7	0·7	44·8	1·4	942·5	997·9
Kamrup	11·6	0·5	46·4	1·1	942·0	998·4
Darrang	9·8	0·3	42·4	1·3	947·8	998·4
Nowgong	12·2	0·7	45·8	1·4	942·0	997·9
Sibsagar	14·4	0·8	57·0	1·8	928·6	997·4
Lakhimpur	10·8	0·7	65·2	2·7	924·0	996·6
North Cachar	1·8	...	10·8	...	987·4	1,000
Naga Hills	3·4	0·3	14·4	0·4	982·2	999·3
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	28·4	13·7	38·3	10·5	933·3	975·8
Garo Hills	3·8	0·9	11·0	0·9	985·2	998·2
North Lushai (Civil and Military) ..	...	...	352·3	...	647·7	...
Total for the Province ...	**17·6**	**1·3**	**58·0**	**2·2**	**924·4**	**996·5**

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Education.

Degree of education amongst males.

150. In the province generally, out of every 1,000 males, 18 are learning, 58 are literate, and 924 are altogether uneducated. Excluding the small civil and military population of North Lushai, the proportion of literate males is highest in Cachar Plains, where 89 out of every 1,000, or 1 in 11, are able to read and write, and are not attending school. Sylhet comes next, with 69 per 1,000, or 1 in 14, and then Lakhimpur, with 65 per 1,000.

In Sibsagar 57 out of every 1,000 are able to read and write. The proportions in the other districts of the Brahmaputra Valley are very uniform, and range from 46 per 1,000 in Kamrup to 42 in Darrang. Amongst the hill districts the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district ranks first, with 38 literate males out of every 1,000 of the population; then follow the Naga Hills with 14, and the Garo Hills and North Cachar with 11.

The order in which the districts stand in regard to learning is much the same as above, except that in this respect the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district ranks first, with 28 per 1,000, while Lakhimpur, which is first of all the Brahmaputra Valley districts in respect of the literate, has a smaller proportion of learning than any other district in that valley except Darrang.

If the amount of education imparted to the rising generation were a constant quantity, and there were no foreigners to disturb the natural results, the proportion which the learning bear to the literate in each district would only vary to a very slight extent. This, however, is not the case. In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills there are only 38 persons no longer under instruction who can read and write to every 28 still at school, while in Lakhimpur there are 65 literate persons for every 10 that are being taught. The high proportion of learners amongst the Khasis clearly shows that the education of the people is progressing much more rapidly now than it has been in the past. In Lakhimpur, on the other hand, the comparatively low ratio is largely due to the presence of foreigners,—Europeans, Bengali Babus, and Marwari traders,—who swell the ranks of the literate without adding to the number of learners to any appreciable extent. In the other districts of the Brahmaputra Valley the proportion of learners to literate is approximately 1 in 4, while in Sylhet and Cachar combined it is about 1 in 3.

Degree of education amongst females.

151. The condition of the male portion of the community in respect of education is backward, but that of females is infinitely more so. Out of every 1,000 women, only 1·3 are learning and only 2·2 are literate. The only district in which female education has made any considerable progress is the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where out of every 1,000 of the total female population, 13·7 girls are at school, and 10·5 women no longer under instruction are able to read and write. The high position accorded to women amongst the Khásis has been alluded to elsewhere; and to this and to the efforts of the missionaries must be attributed the comparatively large extent to which they have acquired at least the rudiments of education. Elsewhere, the largest proportion of learners is in Cachar. Sylhet comes next, with 1·0 per 1,000, and then the Garo Hills with 0·9. In Sibsagar 0·8 out of every 1,000 females are at school; in Goalpara, Nowgong, and Lakhimpur the proportion is only 0·7; it falls to 0·5 in Kamrup, and to 0·3 in Darrang and the Naga Hills. No girls are under instruction in North Cachar.

The position of the different districts in respect of literate women is slightly different. Excluding the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, to which reference has already been made, Lakhimpur stands first, with 2·7 per 1,000. Cachar follows closely, with 2·5, and Sylhet with 2·2. The proportion in Sibsagar is 1·8, in Goalpara and Nowgong 1·4, in Darrang 1·3, in Kamrup 1·1, and in the Garo Hills 0·9. In the Naga Hills it is only 0·4, while in North Cachar not a single woman has been returned as literate.

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Comparison with the departmental returns.

152. Before going further into the subject, it is advisable to compare the results brought out by the census with those reported in the departmental returns. The following statement shows the number of boys and girls under instruction in 1881 and 1891 as returned by the census enumerators and by the officers of the Educational Department:

Statement No. 103, comparing the Census figures for the learning with those of the Educational Report.

District.	1881.				1891.			
	Census Figures.		Departmental Figures.		Census Figures.		Departmental Figures.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Cachar	2,178	63	2,912	113	5,047	204	4,856	301
Sylhet	18,037	176	11,373	135	25,502	1,058	25,290	1,623
Goalpara ...	1,804	90	2,803	119	2,993	141	4,680	251
Kamrup... ...	3,482	80	6,135	126	3,730	142	9,958	479
Darrang... ...	1,484	15	3,110	55	1,588	41	3,526	67
Nowgong ...	1,300	38	3,749	95	2,164	116	5,495	201
Sibsagar ...	2,828	79	4,485	62	3,482	168	8,350	448
Lakhimpur ...	962	57	2,243	28	1,473	79	2,876	122
Naga Hills ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	210	15	249	48
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	1,130	450	1,851	819	2,687	1,412	2,536	1,046
Garo Hills ...	171	20	422	36	235	51	499	94
Total	**33,376**	**1,068**	**39,083**	**1,588**	**49,111**	**3,427**	**68,315**	**4,680**

This comparison discloses some curious points of difference. That the census should show a smaller number of females under instruction in each district than have been reported by departmental officers would not be very surprising; and if the discrepancies were confined to the statistics for girls, the explanation might be sought for in the general reticence regarding women which has been referred to in the chapter on infirmities and elsewhere. The differences are, however, in many districts most noticeable in the case of males. In Cachar and Sylhet, where there are many private schools, there is very little difference between the two sets of statistics, so far as they refer to males; and the little there is, is due to a larger number of learners having been recorded in the census tables, which is also the case in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. But in the other districts the departmental returns show a very much larger number than the census, only about half the number of persons shown as learning in these districts in the Education Reports having been entered as such by the enumerators. I am unable wholly to explain these discrepancies. They are possibly due in part to the enumerators of the Brahmaputra Valley districts having put a somewhat strict interpretation on the expression 'learning', and entered as such only those children who, having acquired a knowledge of reading and writing, were engaged in studying other subjects to which that knowledge is a necessary preliminary. Any one who is acquainted with our primary schools knows that large numbers of the scholars are engaged in copying the alphabet on plantain leaves. Their names are borne on the roll, but they are by no means regular attendants; and if such scholars were not shown as learners by the enumerators, we have at once an explanation of the difference in the numbers recorded at the census, as compared with the departmental returns showing the number of boys at school. The figures in the latter are inclusive of all pupils whose names are borne on the registers; but the percentage of attendance at a schools is only

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Education. 74·31 of the total strength, so that if we exclude absentees, the 68,315 boys at school is reduced to 50,082. On the other hand, 8,706 boys under 14 have been returned by the census enumerators as literate. Most of them were probably still at school, and were wrongly shown as literate, owing to the instructions on the subject not having been studied with sufficient care. If we add these to the number shown as learning, the total for the province rises to 57,817, as compared with a daily average attendance of 50,082. Looked at from this point of view, the discrepancies in the total number of learners recorded in the two sets of returns under comparison is not so striking.

As stated above, the differences between the census figures and those of the Director of Public Instruction are less marked in the case of girls. The former show 3,427 girls as under instruction; and if to this we add 914, the number of girls less than 14 years of age who have been entered as literate, the number rises to 4,341, against 4,680 girls on the rolls of the various schools and an average daily attendance of 3,505.

Progress of education during the past ten years.

153. But whichever set of statistics we refer to, one fact is clear. Both agree in showing that education is making rapid strides. At the census of 1881, 33,376 males were recorded as under instruction, and the number has now risen to 49,111. The number of girls who are receiving the benefits of education has advanced during the decade from 1,068 to 3,427. According to the census the number of literate men is 162,553, against 79,644 ten years ago, and during the same period the number of women able to read and write has risen from 1,786 to 5,761. There is, doubtless, ample room for further improvement; but these figures show that, though undoubtedly backward, education is by no means at a standstill, and that every year the ranks of ignorance are yielding to the progressive spirit of the times. If each successive decade disclose the same rate of progress as has occurred since 1881, in 60 years the whole male population will be either literate or under instruction, and the whole of the females in 130 years. It cannot, however, be expected that the same proportional increase will occur in each decade as has taken place in the past, when education was still in its infancy.

Education by religion.

154. The effect of religion on education is shown in the following statement:

Statement No. 104, showing the prevalence of Education amongst the principal Religions.

Religion.	Learning.		Literate.		Illiterate.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Hindu	22·1	1·0	79·8	2·4	898·1	996·6
Musalman	14·3	0·7	39·7	1·0	946·0	998·3
Christian	160·0	131·6	313·4	155·8	526·6	712·6
Buddhist	11·3	0·9	112·8	2·4	875·9	996·7
Jain	43·1	.....	721·1	10·8	235·8	989·2
Animistic	4·8	1·2	7·8	0·6	987·4	998·2

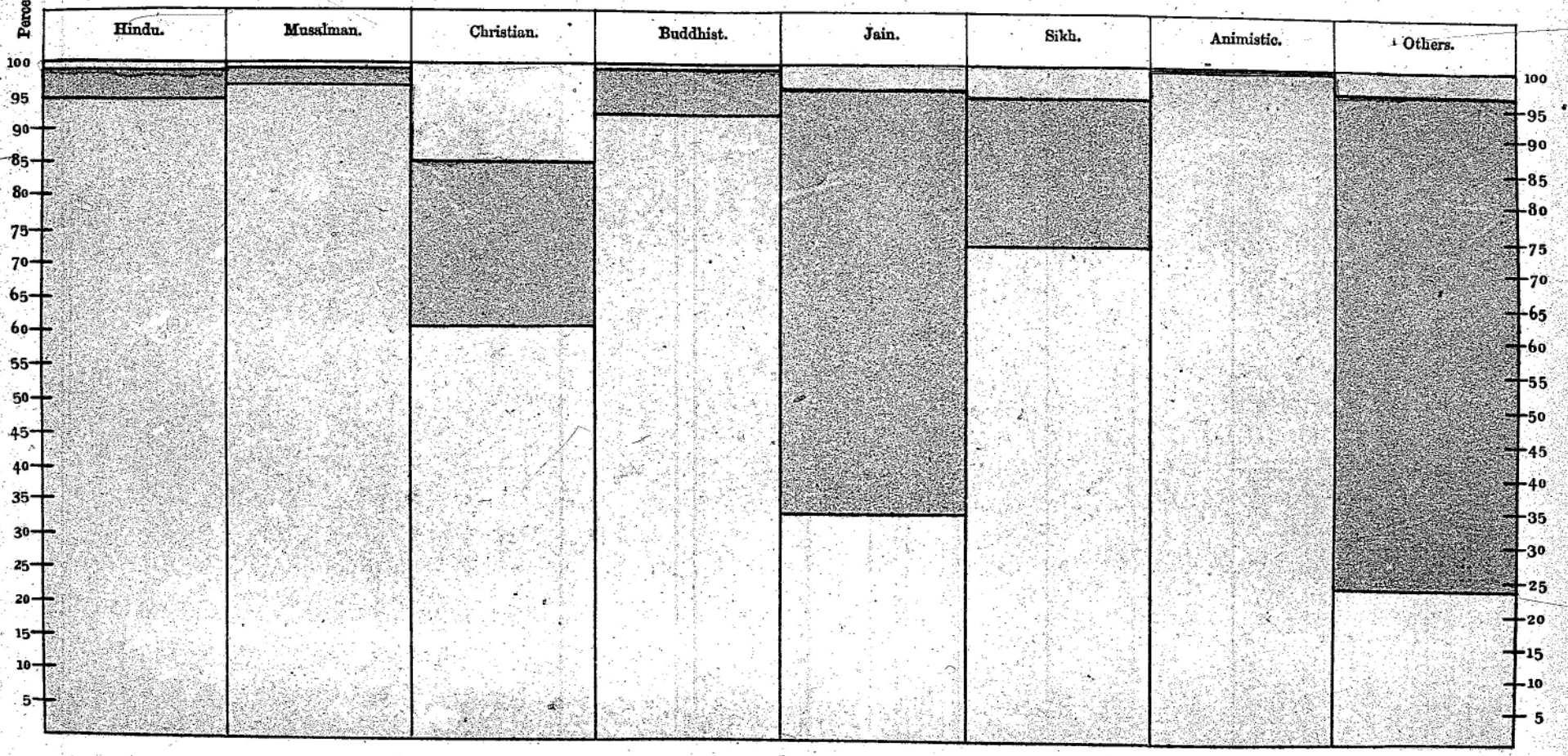
Literate males.

The largest number of literate males is found amongst the Jains. These people are all foreigners, who come to Assam to trade, and usually leave their families behind them. This being the case, it is only natural that the great majority of those censused in this province should be able to read and write. Christians come next, with 313 literate males per 1,000. The efforts of the missionaries have resulted in a considerable spread of education amongst their converts, but the proportion is also raised by the large number of immigrants of this religion, almost

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Diagram shewing the proportions of the Illiterate, Literate, and Learning returned under each Religion.

This diagram only shews proportional figures, and does not attempt to represent the absolute numbers returned under each head.



Illiterate

Literate

Learning

No. 14, Supdt. Census, Assam.—Feb. 92.—600.

Litho., S. I. O., Calcutta.

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all of whom are literate. Of the other religions, the Buddhists take the first place with 112·8 per 1,000, Hindus follow with 79·8, then Musalmans with 39·7, and lastly the Animistic tribes with only 7·8. The high position of the Buddhists is noteworthy, especially as their education is to a large extent independent of our schools. The Khámtis and Phákiáls have a written character of their own, and it is in this that most of them read and write. It is remarkable that the proportion of literate Hindus should be exactly double that of educated Musalmans. The backward condition of the Animistic tribes in regard to education is very marked. Education.

Males under instruction.

Turning to the figures for males under instruction, it will be noticed that Christians rank above the Jains, as well as persons of all other religions, the reason for the secondary position of the Jains being that already stated, namely, the comparative absence of Jain children, who usually remain in their own country when their fathers come to Assam. The order of the other religions in this respect is the same as in the case of the literate, except that Buddhists rank below Hindus and Musalmans, instead of above them. The low proportion which Buddhist learners bear to the number of literate can only be explained on one of two suppositions: either education is dying out amongst them, or else many learners have been shown as illiterate or literate, as the case may be, because they were studying at home and were not attending the Government schools.*

Literate females.

In regard to female education, the number of literate women is far higher amongst the Christians than amongst any other section of the community. Out of every 1,000 females, 155·8 are literate. Jain women come next with 10·8 per 1,000, then Hindus and Buddhists with 2·4, and Musalmans with 1·0. The Animistic tribes are again at the bottom of the list with 0·6 per 1,000 of the female population.

Girls under instruction.

Of females under instruction, the largest proportion is again claimed by the Christians, 131·6 out of every 1,000 females of this religion being returned at the census as learning. The Animistic tribes rank second with 1·2, then the Buddhists and Hindus with 0·9, and the Musalmans with 0·7. No Jain females have been shown as under instruction.

Comparison with other countries.

155. The position of Assam in respect of education, as compared with European countries and other provinces of India, is shown in statement No. 105. To avoid artificial discrepancies, owing to differences of classification, the pupils and the literate have been combined under one head. The figures given for other provinces are those of 1881, as the tables for the present census have as yet been received for one or two provinces only. Compared with European countries, Assam is very backward, and so also is it in comparison with Burma. It stands below Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, but ranks higher than the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, and the Central Provinces. Its position in the list would be higher if it were not for the large proportion which the uneducated Animistic tribes bear to the total population of the province. Excluding these, the number of the instructed to every 1,000 of the population rises to 88, or 1 per 1,000 more than was recorded in Bengal in 1881.

Statement No. 105, showing the number of the instructed per 1,000 in Assam and certain other countries.

Country.	Number of the instructed per 1,000.		Number of the illiterate per 1,000.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Assam, 1891	76	4	924	996
Bengal, 1881	87	3	913	997
Bombay „	112	7	888	993
Burma „	461	36	539	964
Central Provinces, 1881 ..	47	2	953	998
Madras, 1881	138	9	862	991
North-Western Provinces, 1881 ..	58	2	942	998
Punjab, 1881	63	2	937	998
Ireland, „	554	501	446	499
Italy, 1880	377	236	623	764
Portugal, 1878	250	108	750	892
Chili, 1885	281	221	719	779

* The distribution by age of Buddhist males under instruction is peculiar, *viz.*, 0—14, 28 learners; 15—24, 17; and 25 and over 4.

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Education.

Education by age.

156. More light is thrown on these statistics, when they are considered in connection with age. In the following statement the distribution of the population at each age period in respect of education is shown in proportional figures :

Statement No. 106, showing the proportion of the learning, literate, and illiterate per 1,000 males and females at each age period.

Age.	Learning.		Literate.		Illiterate.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—14	33·8	2·6	7·5	·8	958·7	996·6
15—24	19·9	·8	93·7	4·5	886·4	994·7
25 and over	1·1	·2	94·3	2·6	904·6	997·2

Amongst males 25 and over, 904 in every 1,000 are illiterate, but amongst those between 15 and 24 years of age the number is reduced to 886, that is to say, the younger group contains 18 more males per 1,000 who are literate, as compared with people in the older group. Similarly, the number of females over 25 who are illiterate is 3 per 1,000 greater than that of those under that age.

The age statistics, so far as they go, tend to show that the number of the learning has been understated at the census. According to the census figures, the proportion of illiterate persons under 15 years of age is 958·7 per 1,000, or 72·3 per 1,000 higher than the proportion of the illiterate between the ages of 15 and 25; and although the former includes infants who are too young to learn, the exclusion of children under 5 only reduces the proportion to 935 per 1,000, which is still considerably higher than the corresponding figures for males aged 15—24, a result which is clearly not in accordance with facts. The difference may to a large extent be explained by the immigrant population, which contains many literates and few persons under instruction, but it would seem also to be partly due to the fact that the census return of the learning is defective.

Education by caste.

157. The last form in which information regarding education has been presented is in combination with caste. In supplementary table C the number of English-knowing persons in each caste has been shown, while table D gives similar details of the learning, literate, and illiterate.

Statement No. 107 below shows the number of persons in each of the main castes out of whom one is literate or learning.

Statement No. 107, showing the number of persons in each of the principal castes out of whom one is learning or literate.

	Number of persons out of whom one is learning or literate.		Number of persons out of whom one is learning or literate.		Number of persons out of whom one is learning or literate.
Agarwál ...	2	Bhát ...	6	Chhatri ...	3
Ahom ...	27	Bhuinmáli ...	51	Chutiyá ...	35
		Bhuiyá ...	110		
Bábhan ...	13	Bhumij ...	50	Dámi (Darzi) ...	15
Bágdi ...	49	Bhutiyá ...	32	Dhobá ...	38
Baidya ...	2	Bind ...	19	Dhobi ...	120
Bairági ...	25	Boriá ...	80	Dholi ...	135
Bániá ...	9	Bráhman ...	3	Dom (Pátni) ...	46
Barna Brahman ...	7	Bráhmo ...	1	Dosádh ...	41
Bárui ...	18				
Báuri ...	104			Ganak ...	9
Bediyá ...	44	Chámár ...	51	Gandhabanik ...	5
Bhar ...	55	Chásá ...	14	Gareri ...	14

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Education.

	Number of persons out of whom one is learning or literate.		Number of persons out of whom one is learning or literate.		Number of persons out of whom one is learning or literate.
Gáro	357	Korá	101	Oswál	2
Ghási	53	Kuki	194		
Goálá	24	Kumár	38	Pán	44
Gond	44	Kurmi	34	Pási	85
Gorait	19			Páthán	9
Gurung	3	Lálung	240	Patiá	29
		Lohár	25	Phákiál	9
Hajám	13				
Hájong	257	Mahaliá	91	Rábhá	217
Hálwa Dás	17	Máhárá	27	Rájbhar	32
Hálwai	7	Mahesri	2	Rájput	18
Hári	31	Máhili	51	Rájwár	84
Hirá	52	Máhimal	149	Rautiá	16
		Málo (Jhálo)	127		
Jaladhá	197	Mállah	12	Sadgop	9
Joláhá	14	Mangar	5	Saiad	7
Jugi	26	Manipuri	16	Sálai	52
		Madak (Mayará)	7	Sannyási	7
Káchári	78	Mech	111	Santhal	78
Káhár	17	Mehtar	18	Saraogi	2
Kaibartta	45	Mikir	330	Sárki	2
Kálitá	22	Miri	115	Sarnakár	22
Kalwár	7	Moghal	13	Sháhá	5
Kámár	25	Muchi	13	Shekh	36
Kándu	14	Mukhi	65	Sikh	4
Kapáli	13	Mundá	97	Sonár	15
Káyastha	4	Mushahar	111	Sutradhar	22
Kewat	28			Synteng	112
Khairá	74	Nágá	568	Tánti	27
Khámti	9	Namasudra	82	Teli	13
Kharwár	119	Nápit	20	Thápá	4
Khási	39	Nat	21	Tipperah	132
Khatri	3	Native Christian	3	Turi	66
Khyen	22	Newár	8		
Koch	40	Nuniá	32	Uriyá	56
Rájbansi	33				
Koiri	34	Oráon	128	Vaisya	11

The first point for notice is the very high degree of education possessed by the Baniá castes. Of the Agarwáls, Mahesris, Saraogis, and Osswáls, half the total number are literate; with the Khatris the ratio is 1 in 3, and with the Kalwárs, whom Mr. Risley considers to be a "degraded offshoot of one of the numerous branches of the Baniás," the proportion is 1 in 7.

The proportion of the literate is also high amongst Nipali immigrants, *viz.*, 1 in 2 amongst the Sárkis, 1 in 3 amongst Gurungs, 1 in 4 amongst Thápás, and 1 in 5 amongst Mangars.

Turning to indigenous castes, the proportion is highest amongst the Baidyas (1 in 2); Brahmans follow next with 1 in 3, Káyasthas with 1 in 4, Bháts with 1 in 6, and Barna Brahmans with 1 in 7. Amongst the castes of the Nava Sákha group, the Madak ranks first with 1 in 7; then the Sadgop with 1 in 9, the Teli with 1 in 13, the Bárui with 1 in 18, and the Nápit with 1 in 20. At the bottom of the group are two castes, to which Srotriya Brahmins refuse to minister, *viz.*, the Tánti (1 in 27) and the Kumár (1 in 38).

So far, therefore, the degree of education is found to vary with the social position of the castes concerned. Most of the castes hitherto mentioned are found only

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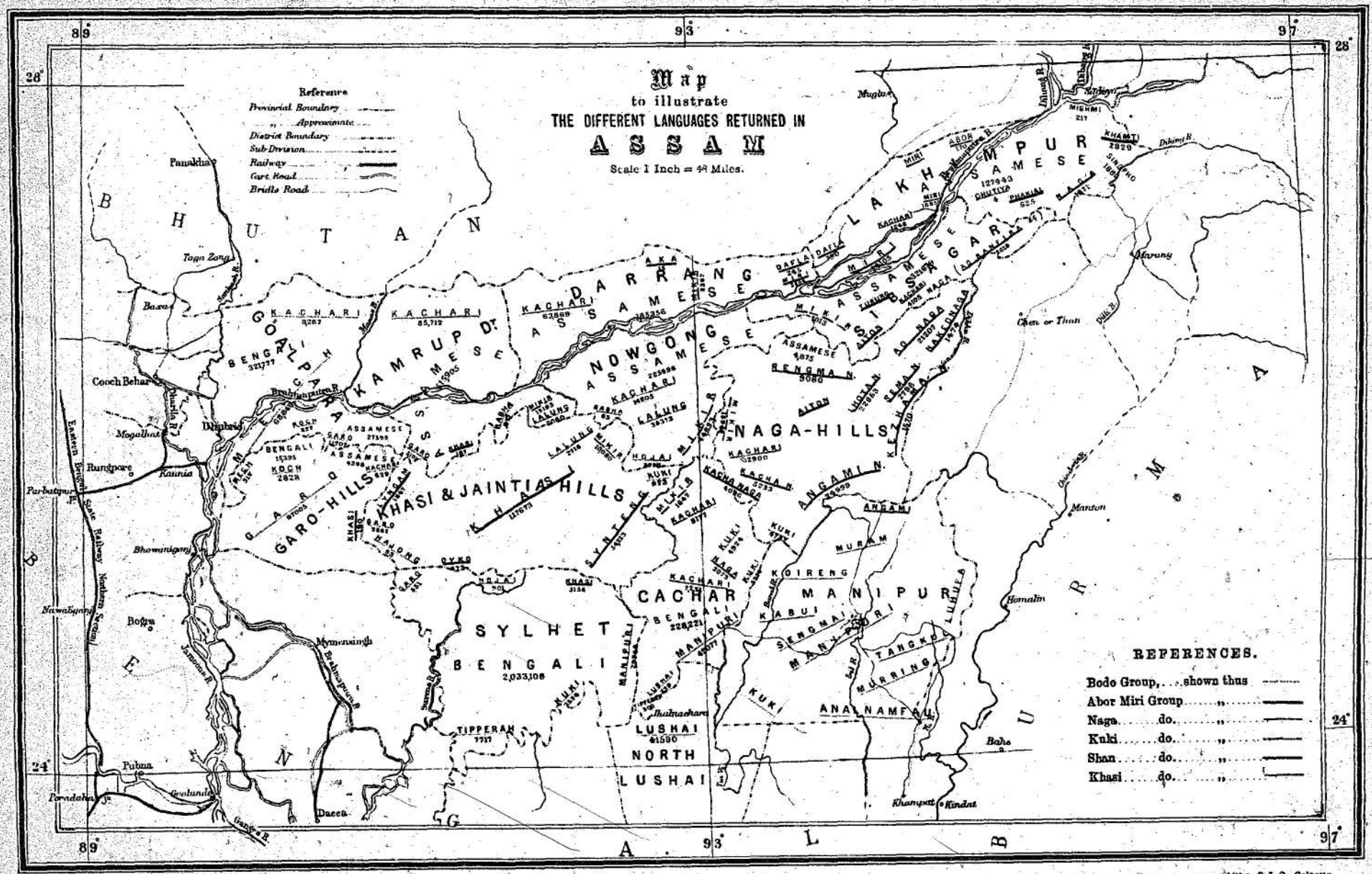
Education. in Sylhet, Cachar, and Goalpara, but the same general rule applies also to the castes peculiar to the Brahmaputra Valley, where the Kalitá is better educated than the Kewat, the Kewat than the Koch, and the Koch than the Hírá. So also amongst the Musalmans, education is most widely spread amongst the Saiads, then come the Páthán and Moghals, and then the Shekhs or ordinary cultivating Musalmans. At the bottom of the list stands the degraded fishing caste of Máhimals. There are, however, exceptions to the general rule, which throw some light on the causes of the struggle for the improvement of their social position, which is going on amongst some of these castes, and to which further reference will be made in chapter X. The chief exceptions in the Surma Valley are in the case of Sháhás (1 literate in every 5), Hálwa Dás (1 in. 17), Jugi (1 in 26), and Hári (1 in 31). These castes are not satisfied with their present low social position, and are all trying to rise higher and assimilate themselves to some superior caste. From the figures showing the degree of education possessed by the different castes, it is clear that one reason at least for this desire to rise is that the true relative position of the different social groups has changed since usage stereotyped their nominal table of precedence, which is thus no longer in accordance with facts. Some castes have sunk, while others have risen, and the latter naturally wish to obtain general recognition of this fact.

Turning now to the aboriginal tribes, we find that, with two or three exceptions, the degree of education varies with the extent to which they have come under Hindu influence. The completely Hinduised Manipuri heads the list, and is followed in order by the Ahom, Rájbansi, Koch, and Chutiyá, and then by the Khási, Káchári, Mech, Miri, Tipperah, Kuki, Rábhá, Lálung, Hájong, Mikir, Gáro, and Nágá. The chief divergence between this order and that showing the progress of Hinduism amongst these tribes, is in the case of the Khási and Káchári tribes, for whose higher degree of education there is a special reason, *viz.*, the existence of Christian missions in their midst. The Kukis also are perhaps less fully Hinduised than the Lálungs and Rábhás, whom they excel in respect of education.

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CHAPTER VIII.—THE LANGUAGES OF THE PEOPLE.

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Reg. No. 55, Supdt. Census, Assam.—Mar. 92.—600.

Litho. S. I. O., Calcutta.

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CHAPTER VIII.—THE LANGUAGES OF THE PEOPLE.

IMPERIAL TABLE X.

General remarks.

158. When information regarding parent tongue and birth place was first asked for at an Indian census, it was thought that by these means the nationality of the people would be ascertainable. It was, however, afterwards recognised that it would be difficult to obtain the required data from these tables, and the idea was in consequence abandoned. The more detailed information regarding caste, &c., which has been collected on the present occasion has furnished a much better guide to nationality. I shall, therefore, confine myself in this chapter to a general discussion of the distribution and classification of the different languages returned, and shall only refer to birth place and race so far as may be necessary for the elucidation of these subjects. **Languages.**

Philological classification.

159. In Imperial Table X, the arrangement of languages is purely geographical. An attempt at a philological classification is given below.*

Statement No. 108, showing the Languages returned in Assam, arranged philologically.

Language.	Total for the Province.			Both Sexes.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Surma Valley.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Hill districts.
Semitic Family—						
1. Arabic ...	39	29	10	17	22	.....
2. Hebrew ...	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Total Semitic Family ...	*40*	*30*	*10*	*18*	*22*	.....
Aryan Family—						
A. Indic—						
1. Punjabi ...	160	137	23	10	71	79
2. Hindi—						
(*a*) Hindi ...	229,456	135,679	93,777	124,904	102,554	1,998
(*b*) Urdu ...	847	332	515	585	232	30
(*c*) Garhwáli ...	23	20	3	23	.....	.....
(*d*) Márwári ...	5,475	4,166	1,309	1,225	4,144	106
Total Hindi ...	*235,801*	*140,197*	*95,604*	*126,737*	*106,930*	*2,134*
3. Gujáráti ...	26	21	5	1	25	.....
4. Máráthi—						
(*a*) Máráthi ...	85	56	29	53	30	2
(*b*) Goá-deshi ...	3	3	.....	.....	3	.....
Total Máráthi ...	*88*	*59*	*29*	*53*	*33*	*2*
5. Bengali ...	2,741,947	1,406,286	1,335,661	2,261,329	463,469	17,149
6. Assamese ...	1,414,285	724,626	689,659	3,461	1,403,474	7,350
7. Uriya ...	11,867	6,416	5,451	7,097	4,742	28
8. Páli ...	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Total Indic... ...	*4,404,175*	*2,277,743*	*2,126,432*	*2,398,688*	*1,978,745*	*26,742*

* This classification is practically that given at pages 33, *et. seq.*, volume II of Professor Sayce's 'Introduction to the Science of Language', the main point of divergence being in the distribution by sub-groups of the languages found on this frontier.

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Languages.

Statement No. 108—continued.

Language.	Total for the Province.			Both Sexes.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Surma Valley.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Hill districts.
ARYAN FAMILY—*contd.*—						
B. Eranic—						
1. Pashtu ...	333	318	15	127	192	14
2. Persian ...	108	61	47	80	27	1
3. Armenian ...	2	2	.....	.....	2	.....
Total Eranic ...	443	381	62	207	221	15
C. Keltic—						
1. Welsh ...	8	5	3	1	.....	7
Total Keltic ...	8	5	3	1	.....	7
D. Italic—						
1. French ...	19	16	3	.....	17	2
2. Italian ...	2	2	.....	.....	1	1
3. Portuguese ...	5	3	2	.....	4	1
Total Italic ...	26	21	5	.....	22	4
E. Slavonic—						
1. Polish ...	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Total Slavonic ...	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1
F. Teutonic—						
1. English ...	2,061	1,430	631	600	1,236	225
2. German ...	14	9	5	1	3	10
Total Teutonic ...	2,075	1,439	636	601	1,239	235
G. Scandinavian—						
1. Danish ...	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....
2. Swedish ...	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Total Scandinavian ...	2	2	.....	.....	2	.....
Total Aryan Family ...	4,406,730	2,279,592	2,127,138	2,399,497	1,980,229	27,004
TURANIAN (UGRO-ALTAIC) FAMILY—						
1. Turki... ...	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Total Turanian (Ugro-altaic) Family ...	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY—						
A. Northern—						
1. Oraon ...	9,433	5,152	4,281	1,378	8,055	.....
2. Dhangari ...	156	77	79	.....	156	.....
3. Mal ...	7	4	3	....	7	.....
4. Khand ...	1,341	699	642	698	639	4
Total Northern ...	10,937	5,932	5,005	2,076	8,857	4
B. Southern—						
1. Tamil ...	34	20	14	1	25	8
2. Telugu ...	2,734	1,373	1,361	1,669	1,064	1
Total Southern ...	2,768	1,393	1,375	1,670	1,089	9
Total Dravidian Family.	13,705	7,325	6,380	3,746	9,946	13

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Languages.

Statement No. 108—continued.

Language.	Total for the Province.			Both Sexes.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Surma Valley.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Hill districts.
KOLARIAN FAMILY—						
1. Santháli ...	19,191	10,258	8,933	6,095	13,096	.....
2. Kol ...	8,871	4,556	4,315	5,793	3,046	32
3. Mundari ...	20,227	10,690	9,537	1,179	19,048	.....
4. Kurku ...	181	94	87	.....	181	.....
5. Kharriá ...	982	599	383	96	886	.....
Total Kolarian Family...	*49,452*	*26,197*	*23,255*	*13,163*	*36,257*	*32*
TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY—						
A. Nipal—						
1. Nipáli ...	14,315	10,930	3,385	1,683	7,990	4,642
2. Mangar ...	9	7	2	.....	.....	9
3. Kámi ...	4	4	.....	.....	4	.....
4. Limbu ...	218	208	10	.....	193	25
Total Nipal... ...	*14,546*	*11,149*	*3,397*	*1,683*	*8,187*	*4,676*
B. Himalayan—						
1. Tibetan ...	78	61	17	.....	78	.....
2. Bhutia ...	1,303	895	408	.....	1,301	2
Total Himalayan ...	*1,381*	*956*	*425*	.....	*1,379*	*2*
C. Assam—						
(*a*) Bodo Group—						
1. Chutiya ...	7	5	2	.....	6	1
2. Garo ...	120,473	59,639	60,834	571	18,948	100,954
3. Hajong ...	999	525	474	901	.....	98
4. Kachari ...	197,330	100,572	96,758	8,017	177,426	11,887
Ditto Hojai ...	2,799	1,396	1,403	.....	2,778	21
Total Kachari ...	*200,129*	*101,968*	*98,161*	*8,017*	*180,204*	*11,908*
5. Koch ...	3,604	1,969	1,635	.....	322	3,282
6. Lalung ...	40,204	20,343	19,861	5	37,481	2,718
7. Mech ...	69,217	34,307	34,910	.....	68,866	351
8. Rabha ...	509	305	204	1	508	.....
9. Tipperah ...	8,017	4,130	3,887	8,017	.....	.....
Total Bodo Group ...	*443,159*	*223,191*	*219,968*	*17,512*	*306,335*	*119,312*
(*b*) Nága Group—						
1. Angami ...	26,880	13,700	13,180	.....	.....	26,880
2. Ao	21,152	10,126	11,026	.....	.....	21,152
3. Kacha ...	5,233	2,703	2,530	.....	.....	5,233
4. Kezhama ...	1,570	837	733	.....	.....	1,570
5. Lhota ...	2,161	1,087	1,074	.....	.....	2,161
6. Rengma ...	104	53	51	.....	.....	104
7. Sema ...	2,164	1,068	1,096*	.....	.....	2,164
8. Naga unspecified*	43,593	22,194	21,399	3,073	3,567	36,953
Total Nága Group ...	*102,857*	*51,768*	*51,089*	*3,073*	*3,567*	*96,217*
(*c*) Mikir ...	90,236	46,803	43,433	1,076	60,456	28,704
Total Mikir ...	*90,236*	*46,803*	*43,433*	*1,076*	*60,456*	*28,704*
(*d*) Kuki Group—						
1. Kuki ...	18,813	9,058	9,755	6,794	2	12,017
2. Lushai ...	41,839	20,918	20,921	245	3	41,591
3. Manipuri ...	72,323	37,532	34,791	71,822	399	102
Total Kuki Group ...	*132,975*	*67,508*	*65,467*	*78,861*	*404*	*53,710*

* This includes persons speaking the above dialects who were returned by the enumerators simply as speaking 'Naga'. The caste table really furnishes a better guide to the number of persons speaking each Naga dialect.

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Languages.

Statement No. 108—continued.

Language.	Total for the Province.			Both Sexes.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Surma Valley.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Hill districts.
Tibeto-Burman Family—*contd.*						
C. Assam—contd,						
(*e*) Abor-Miri Group—						
1. Abor ...	173	*110*	63	....	173	.....
2. Miri ...	35,530	*17,652*	17,878	....	35,530	.....
3. Dafla ...	1,035	*569*	466	....	1,035	....
Total Abor-Miri Group ...	*36,738*	*18,331*	*18,407*	....	36,738	....
(*f*) Unclassed Languages—						
1. Aka ...	19	*18*	1	.....	19	.....
2. Mishmi ...	217	*118*	99	.....	217	.....
3. Singpho ...	1,886	*971*	915	.....	1,886	....
Total Assam ...	*808,087*	*408,708*	*399,379*	*100,522*	*409,622*	*297,943*
D. Burma—						
1. Burmese ...	14	*8*	6	12	.....	2
2. Arakanese ...	1	*1*	.....	.....	1	.....
3. Magh ...	22	*10*	12	22	.....	.....
Total Burma ...	*37*	*19*	*18*	*34*	*1*	*2*
Total Tibeto-Burman Family.	*824,051*	*420,832*	*403,219*	*102,239*	*419,189*	*302,623*
Tai or Shan Family—						
1. Khamti ...	2,945	*1,562*	1,383	.....	2,933	12
2. Phakial ...	625	*330*	295	.....	625	.....
3. Aiton ...	2	*1*	1	.....	.....	2
4. Turung ...	.....	(Not returned separately.)				.....
5. Shan, unspecified.	639	*339*	300	.....	190	449
Total Tai or Shan Family.	*4,211*	*2,232*	*1,979*	.....	*3,748*	*463*
Khási Family—						
1. Khasi ...	121,897	*57,266*	64,631	3,469	380	118,048
2. Synteng ...	54,213	*24,943*	29,270	.....	.....	54,213
3. Dyko ...	673	*373*	300	.....	.....	673
4. Lyngam ...	1,847	*899*	948	.....	.....	1,847
Total Khási Family ...	*178,630*	*83,481*	*95,149*	*3,469*	*380*	*174,781*
Mongolian Family—						
1. Chinese ...	13	*13*	.....	2	11	.....
Total Mongolian Family...	*13*	*13*	.....	*2*	*11*	.....
Grand total ...	**5,476,833**	**2,819,703**	**2,657,130**	**2,522,135**	**2,449,782**	**504,916**

The immense number and variety of the languages found in this little corner of the world is extraordinary, and although of those mentioned above, many are spoken only by immigrants, the number in use amongst the indigenous inhabitants of the province (which have been printed in antique type) is still larger than in any country of the same size in any other part of the earth.*

* The number would nevertheless have been much larger had figures for the languages spoken in Manipur been available. Amongst the languages spoken in that State may be mentioned Undro, Sengmai, Chairel, Miyang, Kapui, Koireng, Phudang, Kupome, Muram, Murring, and Anal Namfau. Then again Banfera, Joboka, and other Naga dialects do not appear in the table, as they were not shown separately by our enumerators, who entered them simply as 'Naga'.

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Aryo-Indic Languages.

160. Of the languages proper to the province, the first two to be mentioned are Bengali and Assamese, both of which are of the Aryo-Indic family. Bengali is spoken by the great bulk of the people in Goalpara, Sylhet, and the plains portion of Cachar. Assamese is the parent tongue of the Musalmans and Hindus, including the Hinduised aborigines, of the Brahmaputra Valley. Both languages are too well known to require detailed description, and I shall confine myself to the following quotation from the Census Report of 1881, in which the peculiarities of Assamese, and its claims to rank as a separate language, are very clearly stated:

Assamese and Bengali.

Between Bengali and Assamese there has been waged a battle of the dialects to which some interest attaches, and which has not altogether been composed to rest. A few years ago it was the fashion for Government officials to assert that Assamese was only a corrupt and vulgar dialect of Bengali, a *patois* bearing to it the same relation which Yorkshire bears to the literary English, and that it ought in no way to be encouraged, but to be crushed out as quickly as possible, by using Bengali as the official tongue and teaching it in schools. This view was earnestly opposed by those educated Assamese who cherished a feeling of patriotic pride in their country, and who claimed for their speech the position of a distinct dialect and a literary tongue; they were warmly supported by the American missionaries settled at Sibsagar, who were the first to print educational works in Assamese; and in the end they won the day. Assamese is recognised as a separate tongue, and is taught in all primary schools in the Brahmaputra Valley, while instruction is conveyed only through the medium of Bengali in the middle schools, in default of a complete set of educational works in the Assamese language. The real position of the facts in this controversy appears to be as follows. All over the Bengali-speaking area, there is much fluctuation and variation of idiom; the vernacular dialect of Western Bengal differs strongly from that of Central Bengal, and still more strongly from that of Eastern Bengal; but the language which in its fixed and literary form is called Bengali is a special dialect (that of Nadiya), which has been selected and cultivated as the standard speech, and which differs in some degree, greater or less, from every vernacular dialect. The gradations in the popular utterance from west to east are insensible, but on reaching the easternmost extremity of the Bengali area, the Brahmaputra Valley, these insensible variations are found to have become so great that the speech of the west is hardly understood in the east. Assamese is, properly speaking, only one of many dialects springing probably from one central origin, the majority of which dialects are ordinarily grouped under the name of Bengali, but it has received a literary form under the Assam kings (for indigenous Assamese literature in the shape of Boranjis, Kirtans, and translation of Sanskrit religious poems, is far from inconsiderable), and this has tended to stereotype its dialectical peculiarities, and it stands in undeniable opposition to literary Bengali. Probably the vernacular of Sylhet, and still more so that of Cachar, would appear to the speaker of Western Bengali equally foreign and difficult with that of Nowgong or Sibsagar; and had Sylhet ever acquired a literature we might have been entitled to speak of the vernacular of that district as a distinct tongue, as we do of Assamese; but it has no literature of its own; its literary standard is that of Nadiya, and thereby its distinctiveness is lost. Assamese differs materially from Bengali in grammatical forms; its plural is formed in a different way from the Bengali plural; the feminine gender is shown in a different way; there is much difference in the conjugation of verbs, especially in the present and future tenses; and it differs also in idiom, in the syntax and collocation of words. There is also an important difference in its vocabulary; it has an infusion of non-Aryan words, picked up from various tribes, who have been welded together into the population of Assam, and it retains a considerable proportion of Prakritic words, for which Bengali has substituted Sanskritic words. There is a further difference in pronunciation, which more than anything else tends to make interchange of ideas difficult between a speaker of Bengali and of Assamese, *viz.*, the change of the letters *sh* and *s* to *h* and of *chh* and *ch* to *s*.

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Tibeto-Burman Languages.

Languages. Tibeto-Burman.

General remarks.

161. Leaving these two languages of the Aryo-Indic family, we come upon a large number of languages, all of which, with the exception of the small Khasi family and a few Tai or Shan dialects, bear traces of close resemblance. They belong to the great family of Tibeto-Burman languages.* Our knowledge regarding many of them has increased greatly of late years, but a great deal has still to be learnt, while the comparison of one language with another and the examination of their affinities and points of difference is a subject which has hitherto been scarcely touched. It must, therefore, be understood that the classification (if such it can be called) which I have adopted above is purely tentative, and will undoubtedly require considerable modification when more is known of the true relationship of these languages to each other and to the languages of Tibet, Arracan, and Upper Burma.

Their general kinship with Tibetan, which is now admitted, was first pointed out by Robinson, who founded his conclusions chiefly on a series of short grammatical sketches which he contributed to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.† His method was attacked by Brian Hodgson, who pointed out that no conclusions could be drawn from grammatical resemblances, until it was known how far these resemblances, many of which were shared by a much larger group of languages, were peculiar to those under comparison. He argued, therefore, that lists of vocables were really a better test.‡ Now, there can be no doubt that much of the grammatical structure of these languages is common not only to that of other languages on this frontier, but also to many others, as will be seen by comparing the brief account of the Káchári grammar on the next page with the late Bishop Caldwell's description of the main characteristics of the Dravidian languages as distinguished from those of Sanskritic origin.§ At the same time the vocables of these nomad forms of speech are so constantly changing that it is often difficult to trace linguistic kinship through their aid alone. Max Müller points out that "The most necessary substantives, such as father, mother, son, daughter, have frequently been lost and replaced by synonyms in the different dialects of Turanian speech, and the grammatical terminations have been treated with the same freedom", and Sayce, that neither grammar nor vocables alone can be accepted as sufficient evidence, but that the test of linguistic kinship is agreement in structure, grammar, and roots taken together. I have neither the time nor qualifications needed for a detailed examination of the affinities of these languages, and shall accordingly confine myself to noting briefly some of the main features of the structure of those languages of which grammars have been published, and furnishing in some cases short lists of vocables. It should, however, be clearly understood that only the most general conclusions can be drawn from these fragmentary sketches, which I have given simply in order to bring together some of the main results which have been arrived at.

I have already pointed out‖ that, although language is no proof of race, it has a more than philological value. An enquiry into the affinities of the tongues spoken on and around this frontier would clear up many of the doubtful points regarding the origin and migrations of the various tribes, of which we at present know so little, and now that our knowledge of the different languages has been so much increased by the

* This family was called Tamulic by Hodgson, and Gangetic and Loohitic by Max Müller. The term Indo-Chinese has also sometimes been applied to it or parts of it. Mr. Cust, I believe, was the first to use the term Tibeto-Burman, which seems to be more suitable than any other which has hitherto been suggested. The term Tibeto-Assam, which is used to denote the languages of this family which are found in Assam, is less felicitous, as it combines a geographical with a philological classification. This, however, cannot well be avoided until the affinities of these languages are better known than they are at present.

† Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1849, pages 183 and 310, 1851, page 126, and 1855, page 307.

‡ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1849, pages 451-460, reprinted at page 1, volume II of his 'Essays on Indian subjects'.

§ 'Grammar of the Dravidian Languages', page 51.

‖ *Supra*, page 92.

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publication of outline grammars, it is to be hoped that some one with the requisite scientific and linguistic attainments will take up the enquiry, and arrange and classify the material, of which so much is now ready to hand. Languages. Tibeto-Burman.

162. The first languages to be mentioned are those to which Brian Hodgson has given the generic name of Bodo, a term which, in its more limited application, applies to the tribe of that name, otherwise called Káchári, whose language is more widely spoken than any other of the group. The Bodo group.

The Káchári language has been made accessible by the researches of Brian Hodgson and more recently by the Rev. Mr. Endle, whose grammar not only gives an excellent description of the idiom, but also conclusively establishes the identity, with slight dialectic differences, of the Káchári speech of the North Cachar Hills with that spoken in the Brahmaputra Valley. The census shows that Káchári is the parent tongue of 197,330 persons, who are distributed over every district in the province, but are chiefly found in Goalpara, Kamrup Darrang, Nowgong, and North Cachar. The Kácháris are gradually being converted to Hinduism, and when this process is completed, many adopt Assamese as their parent tongue, at least as soon as they drop their distinctive racial name. Many, indeed, take to Assamese while still calling themselves Káchári, and the census returns show that there are 47,028 persons of the Káchári tribe in excess of the number shown as conversing in the tribal tongue. The language is, I think, undoubtedly dying out. Kachari.

The following short outline of Káchári grammar is given for comparison with that of other languages of the group. In Káchári inanimate objects have no gender; that of animate objects is denoted by a qualifying word placed after the noun, the particular word used varying according to the class of objects referred to. There are only two numbers, singular and plural, the former being sometimes made more emphatic by the addition of a word meaning 'one'; the latter is denoted by the postposition 'fur' or 'frá'. Case is denoted by affixes which are added to the nominative form, the only modification being the occasional insertion of an euphonic 'i' between the stem and the termination. Adjectives sometimes precede, but usually follow, the noun they qualify, the case-ending in the latter alternative being attached to the adjective, and not to the noun. They undergo no change in termination to make them agree with the gender or number of the noun they qualify. The comparative is formed by adding some word meaning 'than' to the dative of the word with which the comparison is made, and 'sin' to the adjective which immediately follows it. The superlative is formed in the same way, some word signifying 'all' being placed before the word compared. Grammatical sketch.

The numerals only run up to ten, higher numbers being expressed by the use of the word 'zakhai', meaning a group of four. Thus, fifteen is three groups of four, *plus* three. Different prefixes are used with numerals according to the class of noun referred to, 'sa' being used for human beings, 'ma' for irrational animals, 'gáng' for flat things, and so forth.

There are three personal pronouns which are used without distinction of gender, and are declined in the same way as nouns. Possession is denoted simply by the use of the genitive. There is no true relative pronoun;* its place is usually supplied by the participle. Thus, 'the man whom I saw yesterday has run away' is expressed in Káchári by 'the yesterday seen man has run away'. There are interrogative and demonstrative pronouns, which are declined in the usual way, except that the former seldom take the plural affix.

* A borrowed relative, 'zi', is sometimes used.

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Languages. Tibeto-Burman.

The imperative is the simplest form of the verb, the different tenses being denoted by affixes, which remain unchanged for all persons, numbers, and genders. Potentiality is expressed by the use of the infinitive with the auxiliary verb 'hánŭ', to be able. The past participle is frequently used as a noun, and in such cases is declined as such. The passive is formed by prefixing the past participle to the different tenses to the verb 'záanŭ', to be, and the causative by conjugating 'hŭnŭ', to give, with the infinitive of the main verb. Negative verbs are formed by inserting 'á'* between the stem and the termination, except in the imperative, when 'dá' is prefixed to the stem. Adjectives are often conjugated like verbs, and verbs are frequently compounded with other verbs, the latter only being declined in such cases. †

Adverbs are often separate words, but are also frequently formed from the corresponding adjective by adding 'hŭí' or 'ŭí'. Sometimes they are declined like nouns. The relations of space and position are expressed by postpositions. Conjunctions are very sparingly used, their place being largely taken by participles. 'I saw and called him', for instance, would be expressed as 'I seeing him called'.

Hojai and Hajong.

163. The Hojais, as will be explained in the chapter on castes, are true Káchárís, remnants of the old kingdom at Dimapur, whose special name is derived from the fact that they live on hills (Káchári 'Haju'= hill) just as their brethren in the plains often call themselves Dŭimásá, or people of the 'rivers'. Damant says that their speech is the purest form of the Káchári language. In any case, Mr. Endle has shown that it is not a separate language, but simply one of several dialects. I have accordingly classed it as a dialect under the main head 'Káchári', as the latter is the more general and better known expression. Less is known regarding the Hajongs and their language, but the general opinion is that the name is simply a local designation of a section of the Bodo tribe and tongue, but as it is uncertain whether it is more nearly allied to Garo or Káchári I have thought it best to enter it as a separate form of speech.

Moran.

164. One Bodo form of speech has escaped notice at the present census and also in 1881. The Moráns of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur have a tribal tongue of their own. It is fast disappearing, and, owing probably to their desire to rank as Ahoms, was not entered as a language in a single instance in the census schedules. It is evidently very closely allied to Káchári (although the Moráns are said to deny all connection with that people), as will be seen from the Káchári equivalents, which I have added to the following list of Morán words collected by Lieutenant Gurdon:

English.	Morán.	Káchári.	English.	Morán.	Káchári.
Water	di	dŭi.	Rain	makuhang	nákhá.
Salt	sim	Sankhri, (Sham Tipperah.)	Tree	senphang	bangpháng.
Paddy	mai	mai.	Cloths	hingka	hi.
Rice	mairum	mairang.	Head	khero	khârâ.
Cooked rice	miyám	mikhám.	Body	han	mâdam.
Flesh	mohan	bidot (Tipperah, muihán).	Teeth	hatai	háthai.
Sun	sán	sán.	Hand	hapka	ákhai.
Moon	dán	dán.	Foot	happatola	atheng (yapha talá='sole', Tipperah.)
Stars	hatarai	hátorkhi.	Male	hiwa	hôá.
Heaven	dansa	akhrangsá.	Female	hichi	hingzháu.

* Sometimes also 'i' or 'e'.

† This failure to realise the distinction between the verb and other parts of speech is found in nearly all the languages of the world except the Indo-European and Syro-Arabian families, and is attributed by Byrne to inferior mental power ('Principles of the Structure of Language', volume II, page 275).

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Chutiya.

165. I have said that the Káchári language is dying out. Chutiyá has already practically disappeared from the realm of current speech. It was formerly the tongue of the Chutiyás, who were the dominant race of Eastern Assam until they were overthrown by the Ahoms, but the whole of the tribe now speak Assamese. Seven persons were returned at the census as speaking Chutiyá, but it is believed that the conversational medium even of these is Assamese, and that Chutiyá is only a secondary language, of which they have but a very fragmentary and traditional knowledge.*

Garo.

166. The Gáro language is spoken by the Gáro tribe, which has its home in the hills to which it has given its name. The very close affinity to Káchári, both in its vocabulary and grammatical structure, is clearly seen from the vocables, forms of declension, and sentences given by Mr. Endle in the note prefixed to his Káchári Grammar. A few further points of resemblance are noted briefly below. Adjectives in Gáro, as in Káchári, generally follow the noun they qualify, the case-ending being attached to the adjective, and not to the noun. They undergo no change to make them agree with the gender and number of the noun. Comparison is expressed by the dative case of the noun, to which is added some word meaning 'than'. The superlative degree is formed by the use of a word signifying 'all', and the word 'than' affixed to the adjective. The numerals differ from Káchári in being arranged on a decimal system, but so far as the Káchári numerals go, the words used are practically identical. There is this further similarity, that the Gáro numerals, like the Káchári, take varying prefixes according to the class of objects to which they are applied. When human beings are referred to, 'shák' (Káchári 'sa') is prefixed; for irrational animals the corresponding prefix is 'mang' (Káchári 'ma'), and for inanimate objects 'ge' (Káchári 'gang' or 'thai'). The conjugation of the verb is similar to the Káchári, but the particles used are different.† The potential mood, as in Káchári, is expressed by words signifying ability, &c., added to the infinitive of the main verb. Except in the imperative, where 'dá' precedes the verb as in Káchári, the negative is expressed by the addition of the word 'já' (Káchári 'á') after the verb, and the same particle is also used to make adjectives express a negative quality. The interrogative particle 'má' (Káchári 'ná') is usually placed, as in Káchári, at the end of the sentence.‡

Koch.

167. The Gáro Hills and Goalpara are the only districts in which Koch appears as a language.§ It seems doubtful whether it is really a separate language, or is merely a Gáro dialect. The only reliable information regarding it which I have been able to trace is the vocabulary furnished by the late Captain Williamson to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.‖ An inspection of this vocabulary shows that the language has a Bodo basis, with a considerable admixture of Bengali words and expressions. Thus, the numerals are all Bengali, and so also are the words for silver, cultivator, God, before, behind, &c. The great bulk of the vocabulary is, however, Bodo,¶ and appears, on the whole, to be more similar to Gáro than to Káchári. This, however, is not invariably the case, as will be seen from the following illustrations:

English.	Koch.	Káchári.	Gáro.	English.	Koch.	Káchári.	Gáro.
Eye	múkún	megan	mukrun.	Come	fai	fai	ríbá.
Mouth	kákham	khugá	kushik.	Water	tí	dŭi	chhi.
Tongue	thelai	thilai	srí.	Die	thíná	thoinŭ	síná.
Eat	sá	zá	chhá.	I am	ăn danna	áng danga	ana hon.

* The few persons returning this language as their mother tongue were probably priests, or Deori Chutiyás, who still use their old language at some of their religious ceremonies.

† There are, however, resemblances, *e.g.*, the Garo 'enga', signifying the present definite, corresponds to the Káchári 'dangman', and 'khing' the sign of the future, to the Káchári 'gan'.

‡ The Garo forms have been gathered from Robinson's Skeleton Grammar (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1849, page 207). A fuller grammar has been published by the missionaries, but this I have not seen.

§ In the Naga Hills 454 persons were returned as speaking Koch, but further enquiry has elicited the fact that the persons in question were really Káchárís, and that the entry of Koch was due to a mistake on the part of the enumerator.

‖ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1869, page 14. A vocabulary is also given in the late Sir George Campbell's 'Specimens of the Languages of India', but this compilation, which would otherwise be so valuable, unfortunately teems with misprints.

¶ No doubt more careful enquiry would elicit Bodo equivalents for the Bengali words in Captain Williamson's Vocabulary.

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Languages.

Tibeto-Burman.

The construction is a curious mixture of Bodo and Bengali, but too little is known about it to enable me to describe it at all fully or accurately. On the whole, it seems advisable for the present to treat Koch as a separate language of the Bodo group rather than to include it under Gáro or Káchári.

Mech.

168. Mech is returned as the tongue of the tribe of that name, the home of which (so far as Assam is concerned) is in the Goalpara district. The language is very closely allied to the Káchári, so closely, indeed, that it seems doubtful whether it should not be classed as a dialect of that language rather than as a distinct tongue. I am not aware that any Mech grammar has ever been published, but a vocabulary was prepared by the late Dr. A. Campbell,* and a vocabulary and some sentences are also given in Sir George Campbell's 'Specimens of the languages of India', which, however, is unfortunately full of misprints.

Lalung.

169. The great bulk of the Lálung-speaking people reside in Nowgong,† a comparatively small number only being found in Kamrup and the Khási and Jaintia Hills. There is no grammar of the language, but the vocabulary collected by a late subdivisional officer of Jowai presents fewer points of resemblance to Káchári than does any other language of the group. We cannot, however, base any very strong argument on this, as words are constantly changing, and although verbal resemblances are less common, they are not by any means wanting, as may be seen from the following list:

English.	Lálung.	Káchári.
Fish	nga	nga.
Paddy	mai	mai.
Rice	rong	mairang.
Fire	nor	ât (Tipperah 'hor').
Father	phá	ápá.
Goat	prúm	burmá.
House	noh	nŭ.
Head	khabal	khârâ.
Sun	sál	sán.
Tiger	michah‡	mosá.
Tongue	chilli	silai.
Water	tea‡	dŭi.
Come	phoi‡	fai.
Bring	lava	labo.

Rabha.

170. Rábhá has been returned as a language by a few persons in Kamrup, Darrang, and Nowgong. It is clearly a language of the Bodo group, but very little is known regarding it. Damant, writing twelve years ago,§ said that the Maitrai Rábhás had up to that date retained their own dialect, which bore a close resemblance to Gáro and Koch. He gives a list of 20 words, most of which are clearly allied to the corresponding words in other languages of the Bodo group. Whether it is a separate language or only a dialect of some other Bodo language is uncertain. It is rapidly disappearing, and this is probably the last census in which it will appear as a spoken language.

Tipperah.

171. Tipperah is the language of the people of Hill Tipperah, and belongs more to Bengal than to Assam, the only persons speaking it in this province being the immigrants along the southern border of the Sylhet district. The close affinity of the language with Káchári has been clearly

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1839, page 623. This vocabulary refers to the Meches of Darjeeling.

† Those residing in the part of the Nowgong district north of the Kallang are said to have entirely forgotten their old tribal language.

‡ The differences in these and other cases would be less marked if the system of spelling were more uniform.

§ Note on the locality and population of the tribes between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi rivers.

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proved by Mr. Endle, and the comparative vocabulary prepared by Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S., shows that the number of words which cannot be traced to a common origin is extremely small. Languages. Tibeto-Burman.

172. I have several times mentioned that various languages of this group are disappearing. This fact is clearly shown by a comparison with the return of 1881. The number of persons speaking Gáro has increased owing to the better enumeration of the Gáro Hills district, and there are more Tipperahs than before, owing to immigration. The increase under Mech is probably due to some confusion between this language and Káchári.* With these exceptions, the falling off in the number speaking the languages of this group is very marked. Only 200,129 persons now speak Káchári, against 263,186; Lálung is the language of 40,204, against 46,920; and Hájong of 999, against 1,246. But the most marked defection from their mother tongue is shown by the Rábhás, of whom only 509 now acknowledge that they speak their tribal language, against 56,499 returned under that head ten years ago.† It is strange that these tribes, which have been for centuries in the province, and have until recently maintained their own languages intact, should be now so rapidly taking to Assamese in preference to the forms of speech of their ancestors. The only reasons I can offer are the better communications of the present day and the greater amount of trade and travel which have in consequence taken place. Thousands of Kácháris, &c., leave their homes for a few months annually to work on tea gardens and roads, and while away from home they must perforce speak Assamese. I myself was for three years in the centre of the Káchári population of the Brahmaputra Valley, and during the whole of that time had only on two or three occasions to employ an interpreter as a medium of communication with Káchári litigants. The process will doubtless continue at an annually increasing rate, and the entire extinction of all these languages, in the same way as Chutiyá has already been extinguished, is probably only a matter of a very few years.

Tendency of Bodo languages to die out.

Statement No. 109, comparing the persons returned as speaking Bodo languages with the figures for the census of 1881.

Language, &c.	Census of	
	1891.	1881.
Gáro	120,473	112,248
Hájong	999	1,246
Hojai	2,799	263,186
Káchári	197,330	
Lálung	40,204	46,920
Mech	69,217	57,890
Rábhá	509	56,499
Tipperah	8,017	3,984

173. The next group of languages consists of those spoken in the Naga Hills, which I have classed together as the Naga group. There is unfortunately a great deal of vagueness regarding these languages, and our census officers seemed to think that the general term 'Naga' was a sufficient description of them all. The result is that the language table gives a very imperfect view of the strength and distribution of the different languages of the group, and the caste return is really a better guide than the language table as indicating the number of persons speaking each Naga dialect. The relation which the principal languages of the group bear to one another and to the Bodo group is clearly set forth in the following valuable note from the pen of Mr. A. W. Davis, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills district:

The Naga group.

All the tribes in this district, which we lump together under the general term Naga, speak languages which are at the present day, whatever they may have been in the remote past, so different that a member of one tribe speaking his own language is quite unintelligible to a member of the next tribe. That these languages were derived from the same stock is, I think, best shown by a comparison of word lists from the various languages. I have therefore given below lists of words from the following Naga dialects and Manipuri, *i.e.*, Angámi, Lhota, Semá, Áo (Chungli and

* It will be seen in the chapter on castes and tribes that there has been a large increase of persons described as of the Mech tribe, and a decrease amongst the Kácháris of the Goalpara district.

† I think there must have been some mistake about the number then returned.

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Languages.

Tibeto-Burman.

Mongsen).* From these lists, and from the more detailed comparison between Angámi on the one hand and Káchári and Mikir on the other, which will be found below, I think that there is good evidence to show that not only Manipuri, but also Bodo and Mikir, are derived from the same stock as the languages spoken by the various Naga tribes. Further, in order to show more clearly the common origin of the various Naga dialects, I have made a special comparison between the Angámi and Áo Naga languages. I have taken these languages for special comparison for the reason that the tribes in question are separated from each other by the Lhota, Rengmá, and Semá tribes, and have from time immemorial never had any connection with each other:

English.	Angámi.	Semá.	Lhota.	Áo.	
				Mongsen.	Chungli.
One	po	láki	ekhá	akhe	akha.
Two	ke-ná	ki-ni	eni	aná	aná.
Three	sê	ke-tü	etham	asam	asam.
Four	dá	bidi	mézü	peli	pezü.
Five	pengu	pungu	mungo	pangá	pangu.
Six	suru	saghá	tirok	tirok	tirok.
Seven	te-ná *or* teniá	sini	ti-ing, scang	teni	tenet.
Eight	tettá	tichá	tizá	taset	thi.
Nine	tekwo *or* tepfü	teku	toku	tekhü	teku.
Ten	kerr'	chighi	táro	tará	terr'.

	Kacha Naga.	Manipuri.	Káchári.	Tamlu.	Mikir.
One	kat	amá	se	huk	isi.
Two	ganá	ani	ne	ngi *or* ni	hini.
Three	gújúm	ahum	tham	cham	ke-tham.
Four	mádai	mari	bre	peli	phili.
Five	mingao	mangá	bá (bongá)	ngá	phongo.
Six	súrúk	taruk	do, ro	wok	therok.
Seven	sená	taret	sni	nyet	therok-si.
Eight	dasát	nipal	zat	tset	nerkep.
Nine	shugui	mápal	skho	chhú	sirkep.
Ten	gáréo	tará	za, zi	an	kep.

The resemblance all through is very great, it being borne in mind that in making comparisons of words between the different hill languages, the first syllable of any word should always be left out, being merely a prefix denoting either a noun or adjective.

The resemblances which strike one most at first sight are those between the words for 'two', 'five', 'six', and 'nine'.

The words for 'three' are identical in the Lhota, Káchári, and Mikir languages.
Ditto ditto Áo, Manipuri, and Tamlu.

The words for 'four' are identical in the Áo (Mongsen), Manipuri, Káchári, Tamlu, and Mikir, if it is remembered that the syllables me, mă, pe, pă, be, bă are interchangeable in the Naga dialects.

Again, we have great resemblances in the Angámi, Semá, Áo (Mongsen), and Káchári words for 'seven'.

The words for 'eight' in Angámi, Semá, and Lhota are almost the same.

The same thing happens with this same number in the Áo (Mongsen), Kacha Naga, Káchári, and Tamlu dialects.

It will be observed that in forming the words for 'eight' and 'nine' Manipuri and Mikir use the same methods, *viz.*,—

Mikir, 8 = nerkep = 10—2.
Manipuri, 8 = nipal, or nipan = 10—2; 'pan' = 10 in the Tablung Naga dialect, not given in the lists.
Mikir, 9 = serkep = 10—1.
Manipuri, 9 = mapal or mapan = 10—1.

* These two dialects differ as much from each other as from other Naga dialects, as will be seen on a reference to some word lists furnished by Mr. Davis, which have been printed as Appendix G.

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The words for 'ten' used in all languages except Káchári, Tamlu, and Mikir are practically identical.

Tibeto-Burman Languages.

English.	Angámi.	Semá.	Lhota.	Mongsen.	Chungli.	Manipuri.
Water	dzü	ázu	otsü	átsü	tsü	ishing.
Fire	mi	ámi	omi	ámü	mi	mai.
Fish	ko	áká	ongo	ángo	ngo	ngá.
Flesh	themo, chö	áshi	oso	ásá	shi	sá.
Sticks	si, sâ	ásü	otsang	ásüng	süng	sing.
Pig	the-vo	ágvo	wokoro	áok	ák	ok.
Paddy	telhá	ághu	otsok	átsak	tsak	pháu.
Rice	{shoko / telháko}	átikishi	otsang	áchang	chang	cheng.
Rice (cooked)	tiê	ákená	otsi	áchá	chi	chák.
Mat	zopra	áyupu	ophak	ápak	pák-ti	phak.
Cloth	kwê, pfê	áphi	oscü	ássü	ssü	phi.
Smoke	mikhu	ámikhu	omiekhu	mükholi	mükhozhü	maikhu.
Thatch	zoghá	ághi	tesü	á-i	ázzü	i.
Cultivation	le	álu	oli	álu	lu	láu.
Tiger	tekhu	ámisipu	mhárr	ákhu	keyi	kei.
Spear	rongu	áni, ángu	otso	áni	ni	ta.
Liquor	zu	ázi	soko	ázi	yi, vü	yu.
House	ki	áki	oki	áki	ki	yim, sang.
Load	kâ	ákwo	ohá	áku	ku	pôt.
Sun	tináki	átsunkyihe	engi	tsungi	ánü	numit.
Road	chá	álá	olam	yemang	lemang	lambi.
Cow	mithu	ámishi	mangsü	mássü	náshi	sal.
Fowl	thevü	ágvu	hono	án	án	yel.
Child	nâ, nu	nu	ongo	ningchará	{chir / tanur}	machá.
Father	pu, pfö	ápu	opu	ábá	obá	ipá.
Mother	zo, pfü	ázá	opvü	ávü	ochá	imá.
Husband	nupfö	kimi	orapvü	nebáyá	tekinungpo	máwá.
Wife	kimá	nipfü	okikhamm	nenü	tekinungtsü	muttu.
Red	{kemerri / kehá}	ákuhü	rakhiá	temaram	temaram	ángangbá.
Black	keti	áketsu	nyiká	tanák	tanák	ámubá.
White	kekra, kechá	...	emhuá	tenen	temessung	ángoubá.
Good	kevi	ákivi	mhoná	{táru / tepung}	táchung	aphabá.
Bad	keshâ	ákesá	'mmho	támáru	tamáchung	phatabá.
True	ketâ	ákutso	otscotsco	tetsá	atangchi	áchumbá.
False	ketidji	ámiki	'ntsá	temárák	tiázü	minambá.
Hot	kelê	ákelu	tsco-á	telem	telem	asábá.
Cold	{kemekhu si / mekhu si}	myimá	{temekhung / ásuk}	ások	aingbá.
Die	sá	ti	tchhi	ásü	ásü	si.
Do	chi	si	lyu	tá	si	táu.
Eat	chi	che	tso	chi	chiung	chá.
See	ngu	züti	mhu	ngu	ngu	yeng.
Arrive	tso	to	cháná	tung	tung	thung.
Buy	kri	khi	shi	li	li	lei.
Sell	zê	zê	yê	yuk	yuk	yon.
Cry	krá	khá	khiá	chep	chep	kap.
Laugh	nu	nü	emáthá	mani	manü	nok.
Give	tsü, pi	tsü	pi	ki	áketsü	pi.
Take	le	lu	pen	tsá	ági	láu.
Carry	pfü	kapfü	pu	ápen	ápen	pu.
Run	thá	pove	yung	chen	chin	chen.
Call	ke	ku	tsá	chá	chá	káu.

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Languages.

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These lists, together with those given of the numerals above, show, I think, pretty clearly that the Naga languages and Manipuri are all very closely connected. The resemblances between the Áo Naga dialects and Manipuri are especially striking. Thus we find :

Ao.	Manipuri.	English.
Ngo	ngá	fish.
Ásá	sá	flesh.
Süng	sing	sticks.
Áok	ok	pig.
Chang	cheng	rice.
Áchá	chák	rice (cooked).
A-i	i	thatch.
Lu	láu	cultivation.
Keyi	kei	tiger.
Yi	yu	liquor.
Tá	táu	do.
Tung	thung	arrive.
Li	lei	buy.
Chen	chen	run.
Chep	kap	cry.

N.B.—In making comparison between the various hill languages the following common vowel and consonantal changes must be borne in mind. These changes occur not only between different languages, but in the same language in different dialects of it. They are for vowels :

		Examples.
á to í	...	má, mí = man (Ang.),
í „ ê	...	mí, mê = fire (Ang.),
e „ u	...	(Ang.) le = lu(S.) = fields,
â „ u	...	nâ, nu = child (Ang.),
o „ u	...	thenuma, thenomi = woman (Ang.),

and for consonants,

f = sh	...	tefü, teshu = dog (Ang.), fü, shi = say (Áo),
kw = pf, ph	...	kwê, pfê = cloth (Ang.) = phi (S.),
t = ch	...	tino, chino = khel (Ang.),
k = ch	...	ki, chi = house (Ang.),
ts = t	...	kemetsu (S.) = all = kemete (Ang.),
ts = ch	...	tsedâ, chedâ = now-a-days (Ang.),
kr = ch	...	krá, chá = white (Ang.),
y = l	...	yung, aling = bamboo tie (Áo),
j = d	...	ji, di = is not (Ang.),
y = v	...	yi, vü = liquor (Áo),
z = y	...	zok, yok = send (Áo),
zh = y	...	zha, ya = help (Ang.),
m = p	...	pete, mete = all (Ang.),
p = b	...	pa, ba = he (Áo),
kr = khkri	...	(Ang.) = khi (S.) = buy,
r = gh	...	soru (Ang.) = six = soghá (S.).

These negative particles are mo, ma, te, de, he, á, e, sho, sa tivi, na, 'm, dá, ri, kanu.

These negatives are distributed over the following languages :

Negative particles used in the Naga Languages, Káchári, Mikir, and Manipuri, with the method in which they are used.

		Ordinary.	Negative Imperative.
Angámi	...	mo, lho	hê, sho.
Semá	...	mo, lho	tivi, sá.
Lhota	...	'm, 'n	ti.
Áo	...	ma	ti.
Tamlu	...	na	te.
Kacha Naga	...	ma	sho.
Manipuri	...	de, te, tre, loi	kanu.
Káchári	...	á	dá.
Mikir	...	e	ri.

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These languages may be divided into two classes :

(1) Those in which the negative follows the root of the word it qualifies.
(2) Those in which it precedes the root.

To class (1) belong Angámi, Semá, Kacha Naga, Káchári, Manipuri, and Mikir, *i.e.*,

Angámi	...	vor=come	vor*mo*=not come.
Semá	...	gwagi=come	gwagi*mo*=not come.
Káchári	...	nu=see	nu*á*=not see.
Manipuri	...	lák=come	lák*de*=not come.
Mikir	...	vang=come	vang*ve*=not come.

To the second class belong the Áo, Lhota, and Tamlu languages, *i.e.*,

Áo	...	alli=is	*ma*lli=is not.
Lhota	...	li=is	*'n*li=is not
Tamlu	...	ang=is	*na* ang=is not.

In Káchári though the ordinary negative follows the root of the verb it qualifies, the imperative negative precedes that root, thus—

Káchári	...	nu=see	dá-nu=see not,

while—

Angámi	...	ngu=see	nguhê=see not.

In Angámi also there is a trace of the negative particle preceding the verbal root in the phrase 'm-bá-wê=it is not, where 'm=mo=not, bá is the substantive verb and -wê the verbal termination.

These constructions must be relics of the time when in the Naga languages the negative particles were used indifferently either before or after the word they qualified.

There is one point with reference to the use of the negative particles in which all the languages mentioned above agree, *i.e.*, they all of them use a form for the imperative negative different to that used in the ordinary conjugation of the negative verb, thus :

Angámi	...	povor*mo*=he has *not* come. vor*he*=*don't* come.
Áo	...	pá maro=he has *not* come. *tá*ro=*don't* come.
Manipuri	...	má lak*dé*=he has *not* come. lák*kanu*=*don't* come.
Sema	...	pá gwagi*mo*=he has *not* come. gwagi*tivi*=*don't* come.

And so on for all the other languages.

The word for 'bad'.

In nearly all these languages the word for 'bad' is merely the word for 'good' used with the negative particle. Thus—

Manipuri ... a*pha* ba=*good*,
pha TA ba=bad, *i.e.*, NOT *good*,

here pha=good, while ta=not, the initial 'a' and final 'ba' are merely adjectival formative particles.

Káchári ... găhám=good,
hám-*á*=*not* good=bad,
here á=not; the gă in 'găhám' is the adjectival prefix.

Áo ... ta-*chung*=*good*,
ta *má* chung=*not* good=bad,
ta=adjectival prefix má=not,

Lhota ... mho=good,
'mmho=not good=bad,
here 'm=not.

Tamlu ... mayang=good,
na mayang=*not* good=bad.

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Angámi and Semá have separate words for 'bad', *i.e.*, keshâ and ákesá, but the word for 'good' with the negative particle 'mo' is as frequently used to express 'bad' as the special words, thus—

Angámi ... kevi=good,
vi *mo*=*not* good=bad,
Semá ... ake vi=good,
vi *mo*=*not* good=bad,

'ke' and 'ake' are adjectival prefixes.

Comparison showing the resemblance between the Angámi, Mikir, and Káchári (Bodo) languages.

At the time of the last census, 1881, the Mikir language was classed by Mr. Lyall as an outlier of the Bodo group. That the two languages are derived from the same stock and do not at present differ much more from each other than the various Nága languages do from each other is I think pretty evident from an examination of the lists of words and sentences given by Mr. Lyall. I shall now try and demonstrate the fact that the Káchári and Mikir languages are pretty closely connected with the Naga group of languages. In order to show this connection, I shall take sentences from the Angámi Naga languages. In the word lists given at the end I have made comparisons with other languages, specially Áo.

Numerals.

As far as numerals are concerned, the resemblance that exists between Káchári and the Naga dialects has been referred to in the short notes appended to the lists of words given to show the general connection of all the Naga dialects known to us at present. To this it is not necessary to refer again. I shall now take the resemblances that exist in Káchári, Mikir, and Angámi in the method of forming words and sentences.

Formation of Adjectives.

These are formed from substantives by the following prefixes:

Gă	...	Káchári.
Kă, ke	...	Mikir.
Kă, ke	...	Angámi.

Examples—

Káchári	...	det = greatness	gădet = great.
Mikir	...	the = greatness	ke the = great.
Angámi	...	di = greatness	kedi = great.

The resemblance here is not only in the method of formation, but also in the word: 'det', 'the', 'di' are all the same word.

The change from final 'et' to 'á' or 'í' is not an uncommon one in the Naga languages:

cf. Áo ... tenet *or* teni = seven,
akhá *or* akhet = one,
taká *or* taket = hand,

'det' and 'di' are therefore the same word.

Again *cf.* (Mikir) ... phere = fear = pri (Angámi), ka phere = afraid = kepri.
(Mikir) ... do = abide = to (Angámi), kedo = abiding = keto.
(Mikir) ... chok = beat = vü (Angámi), kechok = assault = kevü.

Method of forming Causatives.

This is done in a similar way in all three languages. In Bodo by the prefix fă, fĕ (pu, Hill Káchári), in Mikir and Angámi by the prefix 'pe', thus—

Numa (Hill Káchári) = ngu (Angámi) = to see.
Punuma (Hill Káchári) = pengu (Angámi) = to cause to see.

Cf. also—Si (Angámi) = know, pesi = to inform.
Thi (Mikir) = die, pethi = to kill.
Ran-nu (Káchári) = to be dry, fa-ran-nu = to cause to dry.
Să-le (Angámi) = to be dry, pe-să-le = to cause to dry.
Si-nu (Káchári) = to be wet, fĕ-si-nu = to wet (act.).
Che-le, tse-le (Angámi) = to be wet, petse-le = to wet (act.).
Mesen (Mikir) = good, pemesen = to cause to be good.
Kevi (Angámi) = good, pevi = to improve.

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These examples are, I think, sufficient to show that the method of forming causatives in the three languages is identical.

The formation in Káchári and Angámi of compound verbs from two verbs, the first giving the method and the second the result, is similar in both languages. The compounds from the word to 'kill'—(Káchári) 'thát', (Angámi) 'kri'—show this resemblance very clearly, thus—

Káchári ...	gau	to shoot,	gau-that-nu	to shoot and kill.
Angámi ...	jê		jê-kri-le	
Káchári ...	bu	to strike,	bu-that-nu	to beat to death.
Angámi ...	vü		vü-kri-le	
Káchári ...	dan	to cut,	dan-that-nú	to cut and kill.
Angámi ...	du		du-kri-le	

In Angámi the word tsê = break, is used in a similar way, *e.g.*,—

Kedá = to trample on, kedá tsê = to break by trampling on.
Bê = to handle, bê tsê = to break.
Vü = to strike, vü tsê = to strike and break.

Formation of Intensitive Verbs.

The method followed in both languages is the same, *i.e.*, intensitives are formed by a particle following the verbal root. Thus—

Káchári ... mai habai
Angámi ... polê lê áwe } = he has cut his paddy,

but—

Káchári ... mai ha *khang* bai
Angámi ... p o l ê lê *prê* áwe } he has finished cutting his paddy.
his paddy cut *all entirely* } is

Here khang (Káchári) = prê (Angámi).

Again—

Káchári ... boi gamini mansuifra thoi-bai.
Angámi ... lu rená má sá-te.
that village men die did.

Káchári ... boi gamini mansuifra boibu thoi-tra-bai.
Angámi ... lu rená má peteko sá {*pu* / *kwi*} te.
that village men all die *completely* did.

Here tra (Káchári) = pu, kwi (Angámi).

Káchári ... lamai au mansuifur fai-dang.
Angámi ... cha nu nu themá ko vor-zhuwe.
road along men coming are.

and—

Káchári ... lamai au mansuifur fai *su* dang.
Angámi ... cha nu nu themáko vor {*pi** / *sê*} zhuwe.
road along men coming *much* are.

Here su (Káchári) = pi, se (Angámi).

In all these sentences it will be observed that the intensitive particles are used in precisely the same way.

Formation of the Negative Verb.

The method by which this is done is the same in both Káchári and Angámi, *i.e.*, both languages affix a particle to the verbal root. In Káchári this particle is 'á', in Angámi '-mo', thus—

Káchári ... nu = see, nu-á = not see.
Angami ... ngu = see, ngu-mo = not see.

Definité Article.

This is expressed in a similar way in both languages. In Káchári it is expressed by the addition of the vowel 'á' to a noun, and in Angámi by the addition of '-u', thus—

Káchári ... dau za-lai-á gasip dang.
Angámi ... vü dzü-u khu báwe.
English ... cock the crowing is.

* These are alternative expressions.

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The above resemblances in word formation and the structure of sentences between Angámi Naga on the one hand and Káchári and Mikir on the other are, I think, very striking, and go far towards establishing the fact that all these languages are derived from the same source.

I append word lists giving words in Mikir and Káchári, which have almost exact equivalents in some of the Naga languages.

The following abbreviations are used in these lists to indicate the particular Naga language from which the specimen is taken:

Ang. = Angámi. S. = Semá
Lh. = Lhota. M. = Manipuri.
H. K. = Hill Káchári. K. Naga = Kacha Naga.

Pronunciation—

å = a in b*a*ll ê = a in pr*ay*.
á = a in m*a*ster ü = German *ü*.
a = u in b*u*ll.

List of words in Mikir that are similar to words in the Naga dialects.

English.	Mikir.	Naga.
Abide	do	to (Ang.).
Abode	ke-do-adim	ke-to-ki (Ang.).
Ache	keso	-chi (Ang.), sü (S.).
Afraid	kaphere	kepri (Ang.).
Ascend	thur	á-to (Áo).
Assault, to	chok	á-sok. (Áo).
Cast away	vár	vá (Ang.).
Cup	bong	bung (Áo), bu (Ang.) = receptacle.
Cut	thu	du (Ang.).
Dead	kethi	keti (S.).
Descendants	asoasu	aso (Áo) = born.
Ear	no	nie (Ang.).
Eat	cho	chi (Ang.), chá (M.).
Egg	voti	vüdzi (Ang.), a-ti (Tamlu).
Fall	klo	krü (Ang.).
Father	po	po (Ang.).
Female	pi	nupi (M.), pfü (Ang.).
Fire	me	mi, me (Ang.).
Give	pi	pi (Ang., Lh., M.).
Pig	phák	ák (Áo).
Paddy	sok	tsak (Áo).
Rice	sáng	chang (Áo), cheng (M.).
Yawn	kohê	kehê (Ang.).
Fowl	vo	vü (Ang.).
Great	kethe	kedi (Ang.).
Village	rong	rena (Ang.).
Day	ni	ni (Áo, M.).
How many	keán	keyá (Áo), keiá (M.).
Speak	pu	pu (Ang.).
Sun	árni	anü (Áo.).
Carry	pon	pu (M.), pfü (Ang.).
Ignorant	kelu	keloho (Ang.).
Name	men	nung (Áo), ming (M.).
Ripe	kemen	kemê (Ang.).
Rope	á-rĭ	ke rê (Ang.).
Shield	chong	tsung (Áo).
Snake	phírui	perr (Áo).
Stomach	pok	ta-bok (Áo).
Stone	ár-long	lung (Áo).
Sword	nok	nŏk = dao (Áo).
Tail	arme	mi (Ang.).

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English.	Mikir.	Naga.
Cloth	pê	pfê (Ang.), phi (S.).
Tiger	te-kê	tekhu (Ang.).
Tooth	so	hu (Ang.).
Youth	riso	krisá (Ang.).
You	náng	nang (Áo, M.).
Write	tok	tu (Ang.).
I	ne	ni (Áo, S.).

Similar Words in Káchári and Nága dialects.

English.	Káchári.	Naga.
I	ang	á (Ang.).
Thou	náng	nang (Áo, M.).
Fire	at	â (Tamlu).
Water	dui	dui (K. Naga), dzü (Ang.), tsü (Áo).
Hand	a-khai	te-ká (Áo).
Fish	nga	nga (M.), ngo (Áo), ongo (Lh.).
Cow	mosau	á-mishi (S.), massu (Áo), nashi (Áo), mangsü (Lh.).
Bird	dau	pe-rá (Ang.).
Egg	dau-dui.	vüd zü (Ang.), a-ti (Tamlu).
Tiger	mosá, misi (H. K.)	ámisipu (S.).
Madh	zau, ju (H. K.)	zu (Ang.), yi (Áo).
Eat	zá, ji (H. K.)	chá (M.), chi (Ang., S., Áo).
Walk	thá	tá = run (Ang.).
Sit	zâ	zhü = lie down (Ang.).
Laugh	mĭnĭ	mănı (Áo), nü (Ang.).
Go	tháng	to (Ang.).
Cook	sang	chá (Ang.), su (Áo).
See	nu	ngu (Ang.), ngu (Áo).
Bamboo	ô-á	wa (M.) á-u (Áo).
Say	bung	pu (Ang.).
Now	dá da' nu	thá (Ang.), thanü (Áo) = to-day.
Cut	dán	dá (Ang.).
Wet	si	tse, chê (Ang.).
Great	gadit	kedi (Ang.).
Bitter	gakhá	ta-ká (Áo), kekfü (Ang.).
Long	galáu	tulu (Áo).
Deep	ga-thán	ke-su (Ang.).
Tall	gazáu	kechá (Ang.).
Cry, to	gab	krá (Ang.).
Village	gámi	ghá (S.), ghina (S.).
Fear	gi	ki (M.).
Say	han	hái (M.).
Chase	há su	há (S.), ho (Ang.).
Cloth	hi	phi (S.), ssü (Áo).
Head	khoro	to-kolák (Áo).
Quickly	mámár	mhái (Ang.).
Grave	mangkhor	mokru (Ang.).
Body	mâdam	themo (Ang.).
Eye	megan	mhi (Ang.), mek (Mikir).
Husk rice, to	sáu	tu (Ang.).
Stay	thá	thá (Ang.) = stand.

With a fuller vocabulary of the Káchári language and with a more extended knowledge of the other Naga dialects except Angámi than I have at present, it would doubtless be possible to make great additions to these word lists. Enough, though, I think have been given to show the resemblance that exists between Káchári and Mikir on the one hand and the Naga dialects on the other.

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The Káchári words and sentences used in this Note have been taken from the Reverend S. Endle's 'Outline Grammar of the Káchári Language'.

The Mikir words used have been taken from the Reverend R. E. Neighbor's 'English and Mikir Vocabulary'.

Comparison showing points of resemblance in words and structure of the language between the Angámi and Áo Naga (Chungli) languages, with notes by the Reverend E. W. Clark.

At first sight there would appear to be scarcely anything in common between these two languages. In sound they are very different. The Áo shows a great preference for the nasal 'ng' sound as a termination, as in the words 'asüng' to-morrow, 'tazung' good, &c. This sound does not occur at all in the Angámi language.

Again, the negative particle in Áo precedes the root which it qualifies; in Angámi it follows it, *e.g.*, 'aro' come, 'maro' not come. Angámi—'vor' come, 'vormo' not come.

The only trace that I can find in Angámi of the negative preceding a verbal root is in the phrase ''mbá' = Áo,'másü'. Here the 'm is the negative.

But now to trace the resemblances between the two languages. To do this let us first compare the numerals in the two languages from one up to twenty :

English.	Angámi.	Áo.
One	po	akha.
Two	kena	ana.
Three	se	asam.
Four	da	pezü ('peli' Mongsen).
Five	pengu	pungu.
Six	suru	tirok.
Seven	tenia, tena	tenet ('teni' Mongsen).
Eight	teta	thi ('taset' Mongsen).
Nine	tekwu *or* tepfu	teku.
Ten	kerr'	terr'.
Eleven	kerr opokrü *or* kerr di po.	teri akha.
Twelve	kerr o kena	teri ana.
Thirteen	kerr o se	teri asam.
Fourteen	kerr o da	teri pezü.
Fifteen	kerr o pengu	teri pungu.
Sixteen	kerr o suru	metsü mapen tirok.
Seventeen	mekwu pemo tena	metsü mapen tenet.
Eighteen	mekwu pemo teta	metsü mapen thi.
Nineteen	mekwu pemo tekwu	metsü mapen teku.
Twenty	mekwu, mepfu, mechi	metsü, mekhi (Mongsen).

The resemblances in this list between the words for 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 10 are very striking. Above 10 we find the same method used in the formation of the numerals. In forming 17, 18, 19 both languages employ the same methods, these numbers being denoted by the expressions 'the 7 below 20,' '8 below 20,' and '9 below 20' respectively. In Áo, however, this method of notation begins at 16, or one place further back than in the Angámi.

[*Note by Mr. Clark.*—For 'one' I think 'aka,' 'ka' are true forms.
" 'three' " 'asüm' better than 'asam'.
" 'six' " 'terok' or 'trok' better than 'tirok'.
" 'ten' " 'ter' " " 'tirr'.
" 'sixteen,' &c., 'maben' is, I think, rather better than 'mapen', but *b* and *p* are easily changed one for the other.

'Maben' means 'not brought', so 'metsü maben trok' is '20 not brought 6'.
'Mapen' and 'pemo' are identical words.—E. W. C.]

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Pronouns (Personal).

These present considerable points of resemblance. They are—

English.	Angámi.	Áo.
I	a, i, ene	ni, ngi.
Thou	no	na.
He	po	pa.

Dual.

English.	Angámi.	Áo.
We two (inclusive of person addressed)	avo	ona (Mongsen).
We two (exclusive of the person addressed)	hena	.....
You two	nena	nena.
They two	luna, una	pana (Mongsen).

Plural.

We (inclusive)	uko	.....
We (exclusive)	heko	onoke.
Ye	neko	nenoke.
They	hako, luko, uko	parenoke.

The forms 'i', 'ene' given for 'I' in Angámi are Eastern Angámi variations. They are not unlike the Áo 'ni'. The words for 'thou' in both languages are practically the same, as also are the forms for 'he'. Both languages form the dual and plural in a very similar manner.

[*Note by Mr. Clark.*—

Singular.	Plural.
I—ni	We—ononok, onoke, ozo, ozoe.
Thou—na, nae	Ye—nenok, nenoke.
He, she, it—pa, pae	They—parenok, parenoke, pare.

The letter *e* is a nominative case-ending, which may be omitted if such omission causes no confusion, but not otherwise. Of course, you can select from these forms.

Dual.

'Kena' *or* 'küna', *lit.*, my two, but meaning both of us. 'Ne na', *lit.*, your two, meaning both of you. 'Tena', the two, that two, meaning both of them.

The dual 'na' *is* evidently from 'ana' two, and this dual 'na' can only be used for two; if more than two are included a similar form, 'prungla' must be used. Hence 'ona' would be improper, because *o* would mean 'our' and 'our' added to the person addressed would mean at least three. Yet 'ona' may be used, though I have not heard it. The 'ke' in 'kena' and the 'ne' in 'nena' are possessive forms. 'Pana' may be occasionally heard, but 'tena' is much more used. The dual is quite common, as 'ita anü na' both moon and sun, 'tanur-o tetzür na' both the child and its mother.—E. W. C.]

The following list gives a few words in the two languages, which are very similar or identical:

English.	Angámi.	Áo.
House	ki	ki.
Fire	mi	mi.
Smoke	mikhu	mukhozü.
Man	ma, mí	ami (Mongsen).
To-day	thá	tanü.
Call, to	ke, che	chá.
Eat, to	chi	achi, chiung.
Salt	metsa	metsü.
Water	dzü	tsü.

English.	Angámi.	Áo.
Liquor	zu	yi.
Blood	te-za	a-zü.
Laugh, to	-nü	menü *or* mani.
Give, to	tsü	aketsü.
Red	kemeri	temeram.
Tell, to	pu, si,-she	shi, ffü (Lungkam).
One day	konha	kanyü.
Cooked rice	tie	chiu.
To see	ngu	angu.

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Languages.

Tibeto-Burman.

[*Note by Mr. Clark.*—Today, 'tanü' probably from 'anü' the sun, but 'nü' also means day, as 'pa nü' that day, 'qei nü?' how many days?

To call, 'aza, za', or 'aja, ja'.

To eat, 'achi, chi', 'chiung', or 'chiyong'.

Water, 'tzü'.

To laugh, 'menü' not 'manü'. To laugh at one 'menütsü'.

To give, 'kü' or 'gü', as 'kü nüm küa' me to give. This 'küa' is an irregular imperative for 'küang', and the pronunciation is 'kwa' or 'kwang'.

To give to another 'agütsü' or 'akütsü' which is not infrequently pronounced 'aketsü'.

One day, 'ken nü', usual form, though, 'ka nü' is correct.

Cooked rice, 'chi' or 'zi'.—E. W. C.]

Again, let us take the example of a word which is apparently very different in the two languages. Such a word is Angámi 'zogha'=thatching-grass='a-i' (Mongsen). Here 'zo' is a generic and 'gha' a specific term specifying the kind of grass, '-gha' therefore is 'thatch'. Now, in the Sema language, the language most closely connected with Angámi, thatch='a-ghi', 'a' being the prefix placed before all substantives in the Sema language: cutting off this prefix, we have—

Sema.	English.	Angámi.
ghi	thatch	gha.

These words are identical, for 'i' and 'a' are commonly interchanged in the two languages. Now between—

Sema.	English.	Áo.
a-ghi	thatch	a-i (Mongsen).

there is scarcely any difference in pronunciation, and the words may be fairly said to be identical. We have thus 'zogha' = 'a-i'. This method could be easily applied to other words.

[*Note by Mr. Clark.*—Yes, 'a-i' pronounced 'ai-i' or 'aei' is Mongsen for thatching-grass, and in Zungi it is the word for all other kinds of grass except thatch. 'A-i' or 'aei' in Zungi is a general term for weeds and all grass but thatch, and would include that when growing as a weed on a cultivation.—E. W. C.]

From a comparison of the subjoined list, I think it may be fairly assumed that the Áo termination 'r'= the Angámi 'ma' or 'mi'=man (*homo*):

Áo.	English.	Angámi.
Tambu*r*	old man	ketsa *ma.*
Tantsi*r*	old woman	ketsa pfu *ma.*
Tanu*r*	child	nichu*ma.*
Tebu*r*	male	tepfo*ma.*
Ayi*r*	maid	reli*ma* or ali-*ma.*
Asong*r*	young man	krisa*ma.*
Tata*r*	village elder	peyu*ma.*
Tetsü*r*	woman	thenu*ma.*
Taka*r*	a rich man	keni*ma.*
Temetü*r*	one who knows	kesi*ma.*
Taru*r*	a comer	kevor*ma.*

Again, take the phrase—

Áo	...	Na ko yim 'r?
English	...	You what village man (are)?
Angámi	...	No ki ra ma?

and the answer to the question:

Áo	...	Ni Lungkam nung 'r.
English	...	I Lungkam of man (am).
Angámi	...	A Lungkam no ma we.

Cf. also Angámi 'Hurukre no ma' = Hurukre's men, and the corresponding Áo phrase, which would be 'Hurukre nung'r'.

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It being established then that Áo ''r'='ma'= man, we have the following identical words in the two languages:

Áo ... 'te-bu-r'= male.
Angámi ... 'te-pfo-ma' = male.

Here 'te' is a mere prefix, the essential part of the word is in Áo 'bu' and Angámi 'pfo', which may be taken to be identical words, '-pfo' in Angámi being a common male termination for animals as well as men.

Again—

Áo ... 'a-yi-r'= a maiden.
Angámi ... 're-li-ma' *or* 'a-li-mi'= a maiden.

Here the essential part of the word in both languages is Ao 'yi', Angámi 'li', and as 'y' and 'l' are commonly interchangeable, *cf.* (Mongsen) 'aling'= (Chungli) 'yung'='a bamboo tic', the identity of 'ayir' and 'relima' is established.

Again (Áo) 'ta-nu-r' = child.
Cf. Angámi 'nu'= child.

Formation of Nouns of Agency in the two languages.

Assuming Áo ''r'='ma' (Angámi), we find that the formation of these nouns is the same in both languages. Thus, in Angámi they are formed by prefixing 'ke' and affixing '-ma' = man to the verbal root, *e.g.*, 'vor'= come, 'kevorma'= the comer.

In Áo these nouns are apparently formed by prefixing 'te' and affixing ''r'='ma'= man to the verbal root, thus 'aro'= come, 'te-aru-r'='tarur'= the comer.

N.B.—In both languages the prefixed particle is the common adjectival prefix.

Other examples are—

Angámi ... 'ni '= is possessing, 'kenima'= a rich man.
Áo ... 'aka'= is possessing, 'takar,' = a rich man.
Angámi ... 'si' = know, 'kesima' = the knower.
Áo ... 'met'= know, 'temetür'= the knower.

[*Note by Mr. Clark.*—Am sorry to say I must disagree with you *in toto* as to meaning of Áo termination 'er', which I once spelled 'ür'. Am confident it is a present tense form of an old verb 'to be'. There is another such form 'ar'. If I am right, then the stem of 'er' is 'e', which is the termination of a negative participle, as 'pa omü-zümbie ao', he not speaking (or without speaking) went, and the stem of 'ar' is 'a', the termination of a positive participle, as 'pa ozümbia ao' he having spoken went.

When by inflection or the composition of words in Áo two vowels come together, one disappears or the two coalesce and form a new vowel, so when 'er' is affixed to a word ending in a vowel, the 'e' is usually dropped.

'Tainbur' is from 'tain' mature or old, 'bu' man, and 'er' is; 'the man is old' or 'an old man'. 'Tantzür', old woman, is formed in same way from 'tzü' as a base. 'Tanur' is from 'anu', 'nu' to be small or little and 'er' is, with the prefix 'te' or 't', which in such places ='the', so 'tanur'= the little one, or the little ones. 'Te-bur'='te bu er' the man is, or it is a man or a male of the human race.

'Asangur', a young man, is probably from 'asang-va-er'.
'Takar' for 't-aka er' the one who has, the rich one.
'Temeter' = the know-er.
'Tarur '='laru-er'= the come-r.

The 'er' in these last two instances changes a verb into a verbal noun or participial noun both in the Áo language and in the English, as in neither case does the 'er' mean man.

'Im'= village.
'Im-er'= village-r.
'Na ko imer?' or 'qei imer?' You what villager?

'Tarur' and the like may be simply emphatic present tense forms, the prefix 't' or 'te' in such cases simply giving emphasis, and so 'tarur' may mean come, is or *has* come, or is arriving, so in future 'tarutsü', *will* come; in like manner 'aben', 'ben', to bring, 'tabener' *has* been brought, or the action of bringing is just being completed.

'Nunger' as a noun is peculiar, a noun formed from a postposition or a suffix having the force of a postposition. It has equivalents in English, as 'ins-and-outs'.

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Languages. Tibeto-Burman.

'Ayir' or 'aeir', a maiden, could be spelled 'a-ir', the 'y' is not essential, sometimes omitted and sometimes not; 'aeir' means not only a maiden, but may also be applied to a young married woman.—E. W. C.]

Similarity in the construction of sentences.

Angámi	...	tie chile ro a ki nu vorche.
Áo	...	chiu chiunge rang uzzü ki tange arungma.
English	...	rice eaten having my house to come.
Angámi	...	a saha ze kerr' chi-to (idi) vorrawe.
Áo	...	ni sahab ten u chimpitsü aro.
English	...	I saheb with conversation to have have come.
Angámi	...	po ngu ro a ki pushiche.
Áo	...	pa ngu ra ke tang shiokang.
English	...	him having seen me to tell.
Angámi	...	sileche nichu-u mu pozo.
Áo	...	shishiang tanur -o tetzü.
English	...	arise the child and his mother.
Angámi	...	una ze Israel kiju nu votache.
Áo	...	na anir Israel lim aè o-ang.
English	...	the two taking Israel land to go.
Angámi	...	heko le le pre lete.
Áo	...	onoke alu ru ma ogwo.
English	...	we fields cut all have.

Here, the similarity of the construction for 'all', 'entirely', is very marked, it being represented in both languages by a particle following the verbal root.

Kacha Naga.

174. Empeo or Kacha Naga is spoken by the tribe of that name which inhabits the north-western portion of the Naga Hills district and the east part of the North Cachar subdivision. From Mr. Soppitt's grammar of the language, it seems that the rules regarding the gender, number, and case of nouns are precisely the same as in Káchári.* The adjective invariably follows the noun. It is not inflected for the different genders and numbers. Comparison is effected by affixes to the noun compared, the adjective remaining unchanged. Thus 'boys are stronger than girls' is rendered 'girls than boys strong'. There are separate words for the numerals from one to ten, and for twenty, a hundred, and a thousand, intervening numbers being expressed by multiples of these. Different prefixes are used according to the class of objects referred to, 'hâng' for human beings, 'gâng' for money, 'bâng' for trees. The prefix is attached to the last numeral, thus sixty-nine men would be 'men sixty and (prefix) nine'. The description of Káchári pronouns applies also to Kacha Naga. It may be noted, however, that the personal pronoun may be combined with the substantive verb, and that, although the participle is used in preference, there is also a relative pronoun. The verb is conjugated as in Káchári, except that the imperative mood has a distinctive affix. Like Káchári, adjectives and nouns may be conjugated as verbs. The passive is formed by the use of the perfect participle with the different tenses of the verb 'to be'. A few intensitive particles are in use, and are inserted between the stem and the termination. Causative verbs are formed by appending the verb meaning 'to give' to the infinitive of the main verb. The negative force is given by adding 'mak' to the stem. In the imperative the negative follows the stem, as in other tenses, but greater force is given by inserting it once before and again after the stem. Adverbs may be declined like nouns. Words corresponding to the English prepositions follow, instead of preceding, the noun. There are a few conjunctions, but they are very rarely used.

* The exact particles used differ as much as other vocables.

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The following list compares a few Kacha Naga words with the equivalents in Angámi Naga, Káchári, and Kuki. The corresponding Manipuri words are added to save repetition when the Kuki languages come to be discussed: Tibeto-Burman.

English.	Káchári.	Angámi Naga.	Kacha Naga.	Kuki.	Manipuri.
Water	dui	dzü	douî	dûî	ishing.
Fire	at	mi	mi	mê	mai.
Fish	nga	ko	hâkâ	nâ	ngâ.
Flesh	bidat	themo	hêmêi	mhê	sâ.
Pig	oma (vák, Garo)	thevo	gabâk	vôk	ok.
Paddy	mai	telhā	jeo	bûhôm	phâu.
Rice	mairang	telhāko / shoko	shibi	bûfai	cheng.
Cloth	hî	kwê, pfê	pai	pûn	phi.
Tiger	mosa	tekhu	hârâgdi	kâmgêï	kei.
House	nŭ	ki	gi	în	yim, sang.
Cow	mosaŭ	mitha	godômpui	serhât	sal.
Fowl	dán	thevü	enrûi	âr	yel.
Father	ápá	pu, pfö	âpêo	gapâ.	ipâ
Mother	âî	zo, pfü	âpûi	ânû	imâ.
Good	gŭhám	kevi	îdâ	âsâ	a-pha-ba.
Bad	hâmá	keshâ *or* vimo	shiâda	shâmâk	phata-ba.
Die	thoi-nŭ	sá	jai-râ	âtî-rôshê	si.
Eat	zá-nŭ	chi	têo-râ	âfâk-rôshê	châ.
See	nŭ-nŭ	ngu	nâö-râ	en-rôshê	yeng.
Buy	bŭi-nŭ	kri	lû-râ	erjâ-rôshê	lei.
Laugh	mĭnĭ-nŭ	nü	mômdâ-râ	âmî-rôshê	nok.
Give	hŭ-nŭ	tsü, pi	pê-râ	pê-rôshê	pi.
Take	lang-nŭ	le	têtâ-râ	lâ-rôshê	lâu.

Mikir.

175. Mikir is the language of the tribe of that name which is found chiefly on the hills on the east, south, and south-west of the Nowgong district. Mr. C. J. Lyall, I.C.S., C.I.E., has shown that the language is more nearly allied to the Bodo, and therefore to the Tibeto-Assam family, than to the Khási. He says:

The country which, from its geographical nomenclature, we should look upon as the home of the Mikir race is tolerably extensive, and includes a large area of hills in which there are now few or no Mikirs. The characteristic elements of Mikir topographical nomenclature are *Láng*, river, water; *Lángso*, small stream; *Inglong*, mountain; *Long*, stone; *Rong*, village; *Sár*, chief. In the isolated mountainous block which fills the triangle between the Brahmaputra on the north, the Dhansiri Valley on the east, and the Kopili and Kalang Valleys on the west, these names are found everywhere, as well in the southern part now inhabited by the Rengma Nagas from the hills across the Dhansiri as in the northern portion included in the Nowgong district, and known more particularly as the Mikir Hills. They are also found in considerable numbers to the south of the Lángkher Valley, in the mountains now inhabited by Kukis, Kutcha Nágas, and Kácháris (*e.g.*, *Lángreng* = 'water of life', *Lángting*, *Long-lai*, &c.) as far south as the courses of the Jhiri and Jhinam. In the centre of North Cachar they are rarer; but there is a considerable group of Mikir names again to the west of this tract, about the head waters of the Kopili and on the southern face of the hills north of Badarpur. Mikirs also abound, mixed with Lálungs, on the northern face of the Khási and Jaintia Hills, and along the courses of the Kopili and Umkhen rivers. Across the Brahmaputra the topographical nomenclature shows no trace of them, though there are a few recent colonies of the race in Darrang.

They are thus essentially a people of the lower hills and adjoining low lands of the central portion of the range stretching from the Garo Hills to the Pátkoi. Their neighbours are (1) the Santengs of Jaintia on the west; (2) Bodos or Kácháris on the south; and (3) Assamese on the north and east, where the country is inhabited at all; and, intermixed with them, are recent colonies of Kukis and Rengma Nágas, and older ones of Lálungs and Hill Kácháris.

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Languages.

Tibeto-Burman.

To what linguistic and national group they should be affiliated, whether to the Bodo (Káchári, Lálung), Nága, or Khási (Santeng), is a question the answer to which must be sought in their language. Mr. Neighbor's very full vocabulary of Mikir (Calcutta, 1878) and the little Mikir catechism in the Assamese character printed at Sibsagar in 1875 afford the means of making an examination of the problem. Khási is well known; and so also is Bodo, from Mr. Brian Hodgson's Essays and from the Reverend Mr. Endle's sketch of Káchári grammar. Of the neighbouring Nága dialects, unfortunately, we know nothing as yet.*

The vocabulary of Mikir does not appear to afford many coincidences with the neighbouring tongues. The nouns especially seem to be generally quite different in it and in Bodo and Khási. But a nominal vocabulary of a hill language almost invariably shows a strong tendency to local divergence. Even in the Khási and Jaintia Hills, where there can be no doubt that the race throughout is the same and the language closely akin, the nouns employed vary immensely in neighbouring tracts. We must look rather to the pronouns, the numerals, the system of word-building, and the structure of the language as exemplified in the sentence, for our affinities. And here, I think, there are sufficient indications to warrant us in declaring Mikir to be the kinsman of Bodo rather than of Khási.

The following are the personal pronouns in the three languages:

English.	Mikir.	Bodo.	Khási.
I	ne	áng	nga.
Thou	náng	nang	me.
He, she, it	lá	bí	u, ka.
We	né-tum	zang-phur	ngi.
Ye	náng-tum	nang-sur	phi.
They	lá-tum	bí-sur	ki.

Although, except in the second person, the words used in Mikir differ from those in Káchári the formation of the plural is in principle the same in both languages. The following are the numerals in the three languages:

	Mikir.	Bodo.	Khási.
1	i-si	se, sŭi (Lalung, *jessa*)	wei, shi.
2	hi-ni	ne, nŭi	ár.
3	ke-thom	thám	lai.
4	phili	bre, brŭi	sau.
5	phong-o	bá	san.
6	therok	ḍá	hinriw.
7	therok-si	sni	hiniew.
8	nerkep	zát	phra
9	sirkep	skhô	khandai.
10	kep	zŭ, zi	shiphew.

Here there are no coincidences between Mikir and Khási; but the first three numerals in Mikir and Bodo appear to present the same elements; and if we consider the Bodo preference for the *b*-sound, and the Mikir for the *p* and *ph*, there is an apparent relationship in the words for 4 and 5 (the Garo word for 5 is *bonga*). The *the* in *therok* may be the Bodo *dá*. After 6 the list in Mikir is differently constructed from that of the other two; 7 is evidently 6 + 1, and 8 is 10—2, and 9 is 10—1.

* This note was written ten years ago. Since then, grammars of several Nága dialects have been published.

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In the declension of nouns the machinery used by Mikir, though it differs in detail from that of Bodo, exhibits the same principles, *viz.*, the employment of postpositions. The following appears to be its scheme:

Singular.

ARLENG, man.

Nom.	Arleng-si (*lit.*, man-one).
Acc.	Arleng-ke.
Dat.	Arleng-áphán (= man-for).
Gen.	Arleng (placed *before* the governing word).
Abl.	Arleng-ápen (= man-from).
Loc.	Arleng-árlo (= man-in).

Plural.

Nom.	Arleng-átum, árleng-tá.
Acc.	Arleng-átum-ke.
	&c. &c.

Compare this with Bodo:

Singular.

MÁNSUI, man.

Nom.	Mánsŭi-á.
Acc.	Mánsŭi-kho.
Dat.	Mánsŭi-nŭ.
Gen.	Mánsŭi-ni (*ni* sometimes omitted).
Abl.	Mánsŭi-ni-phrai.
Loc.	Mánsŭi-áu.

Plural.

Nom. Mánsŭi-phur (with case-endings as above).

The formation of adjectival from verbal or root-stems in both languages presents some resemblances. In Bodo the characteristic formation is the prefix *ga* (in Garo also *gă*, *go*, *gu*); as *hám* = 'being good', *găhám* good; *det* greatness, *gedet* great; *dán* newness, *gadán* new. In Mikir, *ke*, *ka*, *ki* appear to perform the same functions; *reng* live, *kereng* alive; *phere* fear, *kaphere* afraid; *do* abide, *kedo* inhabiting; *thi* die, *kethi* dead; *ráp* help, *keráp* helping; *the* greatness, *kethe* great. The formation of diminutives by a subjoined enclitic syllable (Mikir *so*, Bodo *sa*) is another point of resemblance, *e.g.*, *láng* river, *láng-so* brook; compare Bodo: *dŭi* river, *duisá* brook.

A very striking point of resemblance is in the formation of negative verbal stems. In Bodo this is effected by the addition of the syllable *-á* to the verbal root, which is then conjugated exactly like a simple stem; as, *nu* see, *nuá* not see. In Mikir the subjoined vowel is *-e*; but before it, if the root begins with a consonant or consonantal group, the consonant or group is repeated, thus, *un* be able, can, *un-e* cannot; *thek* know, *thek-the* know not; *pu* speak, *pu-pe* speak not; *práng* open, *práng-pre* open not.

In the imperative, however, both languages agree in using other machinery. Thus *see* (imper.) is in Bodo *nu*, in Mikir *thek-non*; *see not* (imper.) is in Bodo *dá-nu*, in Mikir *thek-ri-non*; or *thek-ri*.

The structure of the sentence in both languages is strikingly similar. Examples:

"Did you call us?"

BODO.—*Nang zang-phur-kho ling-nai ná?*

"You us (*acc.*) call-did?"

MIKIR.—*Náng netum-ke láng-lo má.*

"The tiger ate the cow."

BODO.—*Mossaiá mossaw-kho zábai.*

LALUNG.—*Misá másu chágá.*

MIKIR.—*Teke-si chaynong-ke cholo.*

"Tiger (*nom.*) cow (*acc.*) ate."

"I will eat and come again."

BODO.—*Ang zá-ná-nai phai-pháphin-gan.*

MIKIR.—*Ne cho-det-si váng-voi-phák-po.*

"I eat-having come-repeat-will."

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Languages. Tibeto-Burman.

In all these sentences the order of the words and structure of the phrase is exactly the same in both languages.

It is needless to quote the corresponding combinations in Khási, for they differ completely from those in Mikir in form and syntactical arrangement.

As regards vocabulary, a thorough search among word-lists, and a further investigation of the corresponding sounds of the languages, would, no doubt, disclose many more points of likeness between Mikir and Bodo than are apparent on the surface. I give below a few coincidences which I have found on a hasty search:

English.	Bodo.	Mikir.
Eat	zá (*Lalung* chá)	cho.
Run	khát	kát.
Go	thang	dám.
Need, must	náng	náng.
Remain	thá	do.
Come	fai	váng.
Die	thoi	thi.
Say	búng	pu.
Wash (clothes)	su	chok.
Face	makhángá	meháng.
Great	gedet	kethe.

Turning to Garo and Dhimal, admittedly of the Bodo stock, further coincidences are found thus:

English.	Garo.	Dhimal.	Mikir.
Eye	makar	mí	[illegible]k.
Egg	tau-chi (fowl)	tui	vo-ti (fowl).
Elephant	.....	nária	ing-nár.
Fire	.....	me	me.
Head	.....	pu-ring	phu.
Hog	vák	.....	phák.
Iron	shurr	chir	ing-chin.
Leaf	(*Bodo*) lai	lhává	lo.
Mouth	ho-tong	.....	ing-ho.
Name	mung	ming	men.
Stone	long	.....	árlong.
To-day	thing-ni	ná-ni	pi-ni.
To-morrow	ga-náp	.....	pe-náp.
Stand-up	chap	jap	ár-jáp.
Give	.....	pi	pi.
Strike	tok	.....	thok-ni.
Ripe	(*Bodo*) ga-mang	.....	ke-men.
Sweet	„ ga-doi	.....	ke-dok.
Bitter	„ ga-khá	.....	ke-ho.

The only point of resemblance which I have been able to find between Mikir and Khási is in the formation of the causal verb. In Khási this is made by prefixing *pan* to the root, as, *iá* die, *paniáp* kill; *bhá* good, *panbhá* make good. In Mikir *pe, pi,* is similarly used: *mesen* good, *pemesen* make good; *pleng* being full [full (adj.), *kepleng*], fill *pipleng*; *me* well, *peme* heal; *phi* die, *pethi* kill. It is possible that we have here no borrowing, but merely an analogous formation, for *pan* in Khási means 'to produce', and *pi* in Mikir 'to give, yield'. In Bodo causals are formed by the means of *hŭ-nŭ* 'to give,' but there the auxiliary *follows* the verb turned into a causal.

176. The exact position of the language in the Tibeto-Assam family is still a matter of some uncertainty. Its close connection with the Bodo group is apparent from the

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above note; Mr. Davis in his note on pages 168-171 has shown that it also resembles the Naga languages, while Captain Forbes has pointed out its similarity to Burmese and Kuki, and has given a short comparative vocabulary, which I reproduce below:* Languages. Tibeto-Burman.

English.	Burmese.	Mikir.	Kuki.
One	ta	isi	khat.
Two	hnit	hi-ni	ni.
Three	thóng	ke-thom	thum.
Four	lay	phi-li	li.
Five	ngâ	pho-ngo	ra-nga.
Bitter	khâ	kê-ho	akhai.
Eye	myet(k)	mêk	mit.
Eyebrow	myet-kon	mêkûm	kemitkho.
Fire	mee	mê	mei.
Fruit	a-thee	áthê	...
Great	kyee	kê-thê	...
House	eim	hêm	in.
Nose	na-koung	no-kan	nakûi.
Rice	tsan	sáng	changchang.
Tail	a-myee	armê	amei.

Many of these resemblances are, however, common also to the Naga and Bodo groups, and the place which Mikir should occupy among the Tibeto-Assam languages cannot be determined until the grammar, structure, and vocabularies of all of them have been subjected to careful comparison and analysis.

177. The term Kuki is applied to several tribes allied to the Lushais, who are settled in Assam, and also to their language. Each tribe has slightly different dialects, Rangkhol, Poi, Jansen, Thadoï, &c., but they are all very similar to each other, not only in their grammar, but also in their vocables. Mr. Soppitt has given us a grammar of the Rangkhol-Kuki dialect. The rules regarding the number, gender, and case of nouns may be described in precisely the same words as those already used to explain the corresponding portion of Káchári grammar. The adjective always follows the noun. Like Káchári it undergoes no change of termination to make it agree with the number and gender of the noun. It has a negative form. The comparative and superlative degrees are formed by changes in the termination of the adjective, the noun compared remaining apparently in the nominative case. The numerals only go up to ten, 'twenty' being expressed by 'two-tens', 'thirty' by 'three-tens', &c. There are words for a hundred, a thousand, &c., but these appear to be new formations. The numerals follow the noun, and take separate prefixes when applied to inanimate objects and irrational animals; when human beings are referred to, no prefix is used. Kuki.

There are three personal pronouns, and also demonstrative and interrogative pronouns as in Káchári. Relative pronouns are mentioned by Mr. Soppitt.† The description I have given of the Káchári verb applies exactly to the Kuki, of which the imperative is the simplest form. The potential mood has a special affix, as in Miri, instead of being formed by the addition of an auxiliary verb. The construction of the passive is the same as in Káchári and Kacha Naga, the past participle of the principal verb being used with the different tenses of the verb meaning 'to be'. The negative force is given by adding 'mak' (changing to 'noni') to the tense termination of the verb. The negation never precedes the verb, as it does in the imperative mood in Káchári and some of the Naga languages. The causative is formed, as in Káchári, by the use of a word meaning 'to

* 'Languages of Further India', pages 72-73.

† I do not, however, find that they are used. In the sentences in Mr. Soppitt's grammar, on the other hand, I find the relative avoided in the same way as has been described in the case of Káchári and Miri. For instance, 'There was a big male which he fired at' is turned thus 'There was a big male, This male he fired at' (page 70). Similarly, 'The man whom I saw yesterday', is rendered 'The man yesterday seen' (page 43).

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Languages.

Tibeto-Burman.

give' combined with the root of the principal verb. As in Káchári, adjectives are often conjugated like verbs, and verbs are frequently compounded with other verbs. The other parts of speech call for no remark, except that postpositions take the place of prepositions, and conjunctions are very sparingly used. Short lists of Kuki vocables will be found in Mr. Davis's note and in the paragraph dealing with Kacha Naga. The numerals, which are noted below, are similar to those of the languages for which they are given in Mr. Davis's note above:

One	en-kât.	Six	gărúk.
Two	en-ní.	Seven	sárí.
Three	en-túm.	Eight	gărít.
Four	mílí.	Nine	gúók.
Five	ringáh.	Ten	shóm.

I note below a few other resemblances:

English.	Kuki.	Káchárí.
Day	shún	sán.
Water	dŭi	dŭi.
Egg	âr-dŭi (fowl water)	bi-dŭi (fowl water).
Male	ûjâl	zalá (sign of masculine).
Blood	âti	thoi.

178. Lushai is the language of the Lushais, a tribe of the Kuki-Lushai family. It is spoken in the tract of country to which the tribe has given its name, and also to a small extent in Cachar. From the comparison made by Mr. Soppitt, it appears that the structure of the sentences in the Kuki dialects and Lushai is very similar, but that there is a good deal of difference in the vocabulary. Out of 64 words given, 30 are the same in Lushai and Rangkhol Kuki, and 11 more vary very slightly; the remaining 23 appear to be altogether different. The apparent differences could probably be considerably reduced in number if care were taken to see that the words compared are exact equivalents.

Lushai.

179. Manipuri is spoken by the tribe of that name, which constitutes the dominant race in the Manipur State, and of which numerous settlers are found in Cachar and Sylhet. The language is known to us through the grammar of the late Mr. Primrose.*

Manipuri.

The plural of nouns denoting human beings is formed by adding 'sing' to the word. The plural of other nouns is denoted by the addition of some word meaning 'all' or 'many'. Inanimate objects are neuter. The gender of animate objects is shown by affixes, which vary according as men or animals are referred to. Adjectives undergo no change to denote gender or number. They appear to follow the noun. There are the usual personal, interrogative, and demonstrative pronouns, which are declined like nouns. Relative pronouns are not used, their place being taken by participles as in almost all the other languages on this frontier. Conjugation is effected by affixes to the root, as in Káchári. Numerous tenses are given, but they all seem to be resolvable into three, the present ending in 'i' or 'li', the past in 'ê' or 'lê', and the future in 'gani' or 'gê', continuance being expressed in all cases by the insertion of the letter 'r' before these affixes; distance by the similar insertion of 'khî'; the expectation of an equivalent by 'khir', &c. These particles apparently correspond to the intensitive particles used with the Káchári verb.† The Manipuri verb has a negative form, as in the Káchári and other languages, but it has not been very fully described. Some affinities of Manipuri with the Naga languages have been noted by Mr. Davis. There are also some points of resemblance to the Kuki-Lushai dialects; but, in the

* An earlier and somewhat scantier sketch was furnished by Mr. Damant in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of 1875.

† See Endle's Káchári Grammar, page 29.

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absence of more detailed information than is at present available, it is difficult to say to which it is more nearly allied. The general opinion is that it is nearer akin to Kuki, but this must perhaps still be considered an open question.*

The Abor Miri group.

180. The last group of Tibeto-Assam languages to be mentioned is the Abor Miri, in which I include Abor, Miri, and Dafla. Abor and Miri have been shown by Mr. Needham to be practically identical, while the differences exhibited by the Dafla idiom are not greater than those found to exist between some of the languages of the Bodo group.

Miri.

The Miri language has been made known to us by Mr. Needham; and the brief notice of its grammar, which is given below for comparison with Káchári, is abstracted from his work on the subject.

Inanimate objects have no distinction of gender; that of animate objects is denoted by different words or by suffixes, which vary according as human beings or irrational animals are spoken of. There are two numbers, singular and plural, the latter being formed by the addition of 'kiding'. Case is denoted by the following affixes: 'á' (nom.), 'em' (obj.), 'lok' (instr.), 'ma' (dat.), 'ka lok' (= of from, as in Káchári) (abl.), 'ka' (gen.), and 'lå' (loc.), all of which are added to the crude form without any modification.

Adjectives usually precede, but sometimes also follow, the noun they qualify. They undergo no change for number or gender. The comparative is formed by adding 'punum', (= than) to the accusative of the noun and affixing the comparative sign 'ya' to the positive degree of the adjective. The superlative is formed by the insertion of words signifying 'than all' before the comparative form of the adjective. The numerals do not go beyond ten, higher numbers being expressed by the addition of as many tens as may be required, 'twenty-one' being 'two-tens and one' and so forth. The numeral always follows its noun, and different prefixes are used according to the class of objects referred to, such as 'dôr' for animals, 'bôr' for flat things, 'pui' for round things, &c.

There are three personal pronouns, 'ngá' (I), 'ná' (thou), and 'bui' † (he or she). They have no distinction of gender, and are declined like nouns, except that the sign of the plural is different. The possessive is simply a modified form of the genitive of the personal pronoun. There is no relative pronoun, its place being supplied by the use of the participle, *e.g.*, 'This is the man whom I saw yesterday', is rendered 'of me yesterday seen man he this is'. The same end is also sometimes attained by the use of two simple predications, *e.g.*, 'This is the deer which he shot' may be rendered 'He shot a deer, this is it'. The interrogative and demonstrative pronouns are declined much in the same way as nouns. The latter is repeated in a curious way, being used both before and after the noun it refers to. The use and conjugation of the verb is very similar to the Káchári, the tenses being denoted by affixes, which are the same for all numbers and genders. The potential mood is similarly expressed by affixes, the use of a separate word, meaning 'to be able', being much more restricted than in Káchári. The imperative is used only in the second person, and has a special affix instead of being the verbal stem, as in Káchári. There is no passive voice. Causative verbs are formed by affixing 'mô' (= make) to the stem of the main verb, and adding the conjugational terminations in the usual way. Compound verbs are formed much in the same way as in Káchári, verbal roots being often compounded with other verbal roots or with various particles. Adjectives and nouns are also sometimes conjugated as verbs. The negative verb is formed by the particle 'má' or 'máng', which sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the tense affix. The prohibitive form of the imperative is supplied by the addition of 'yoká' instead of the positive form 'toka' to the root.

* It has been classed with Kuki in the language map, which was prepared before I received Mr. Davis's note on the languages spoken in and around his district.

† There is no neuter personal pronoun, the demonstrative 'da' being used instead when necessary.

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Languages. Tibeto-Burman.

Adverbs are often separate words, but are frequently also formed by adding 'pü' to the adjective. The place of prepositions is supplied, as in Káchári, by postpositions. A comparison of the above brief grammatical sketch with that already given of the Káchári suffices to show the very close grammatical relationship which exists between the two languages. The vocabularies, however, present very few points of resemblance, apparently not more than exist between all languages of the Tibeto-Burman family.

Dafla.

181. Our knowledge of the Dafla language is much less extended, and for an account of it I am compelled to refer to Robinson's short Note, written more than forty years ago.* But this Note furnishes quite enough material to prove clearly the close connection which exists between this language and the Miri. The general description of the gender, number, and case of nouns given above applies also to Dafla, and so also does the description of the form and use of the adjective. The same similarity is found in the use of the pronouns and verbs, so far as one can judge from Robinson's very incomplete account, while the vocabulary contains numerous words closely allied to those of the Miri language :

English.	Dafla.	Miri.
Arrow	opok	epuk.
Bear	sutum	sitúm.
Bird	páttá	prettáng.
Blood	ui	i *or* iye
Bone	sólo	á lóng (soglóng = jaw-bone).
Brother	boro (*younger brother*)	buirá.
Buffalo	mendák	menják.
Call	gokto	gok.
Chin	chokták	sokkór.
Cook (*v*)	niángto	óying kur.†
Crow	pák	puiák.
Cry	kabtó	káp.
Cut	pátó	pá.
Deaf	rongbepá	rúbéa
Deep	árángpá	áringá.
Earth	kédé	kédé.
Finger	lákcheng	lákkeng.
Fire	ame	umü.

I could add considerably to this list, but the above seems sufficient to show how closely the vocabularies of the two tribes correspond.

Aka.

182. Aká is the language of a tribe to the north of the Darrang district, and does not strictly belong to this province. Only nineteen persons have been returned as speaking it, and these are nearly all temporary visitors. I am not acquainted with any grammar of the language. The Reverend C. Hesselmeyer has given a list of words,‡ and another list will be found at page 238 of the late Sir George Campbell's 'Languages of India'. As, however, the words given in the two lists differ as much from each other as from those of other languages, it seems useless to institute a comparison with other languages.

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1851, page 131.

† *Lit.*, to cook vegetables. Barbarous tribes have very few general abstract words, but use different expressions for each specific object; and it is this which adds considerably to the difficulty of estimating the extent to which the vocabularies of two tribes agree, as in the absence of full and carefully collected lists of words, vocables apparently dissimilar are really only so because they are not really synonymous.

‡ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868, page 202.

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Singpho.

183. Singpho or Kakhyen is spoken by a large tribe or group of tribes to the east of Lakhimpur. Mr. Needham has written a grammar of the language, of which I note the prominent features below. Inanimate objects are neuter. The gender of animate objects is shown either by distinct words or by suffixes, which vary according to the class of objects in question. In the case of human beings gender may also be shown by a prefix. The plural is not specially marked except when it is necessary to do so to avoid ambiguity, in which case some word meaning 'heap', 'crowd', &c., is added, the inflectional particle being affixed to the latter. Case is marked by terminations, as in Káchári. The adjective usually follows, but may precede, the noun. Comparison is expressed by putting the noun in the ablative case, or by adding a word meaning 'than'. Thus, 'larger than a horse' is rendered 'horse-from large', or 'horse-than large'. The formation of the superlative is the same, except that in this case 'gran', meaning 'exceedingly', is prefixed to the adjective. Negative adjectives are made by prefixing 'n'. There are separate words for the numerals up to ten, for twenty, a hundred, and a thousand. Other numbers are expressed in multiples of these, 'thirty-five,' for instance, being 'three-tens and five'. Numerals usually follow the noun, but occasionally precede it. There are, as in Káchári, personal, interrogative, and demonstrative pronouns, but no relative, the place of the latter being taken by participial constructions. The pronouns are declined as in Káchári, except that the first and second persons of the personal pronoun take a different form in the plural instead of a distinctive suffix. The place of the possessive is taken by the genitive of the personal pronoun. When relatives of the second and third persons are spoken of, a pronominal prefix is used as well. Thus, 'your father' is 'nâ-nâ ningwâ' 'of-you your-father'.* The infinitive is the simplest form of the verb. The other tenses are formed by suffixes, which undergo no change for the different numbers, persons, and genders. Potentiality is expressed by the addition of the word 'ngul' (= able) to the root, but this mood is used in the future tense only. Unlike the Kachari, there is no conditional mood; participial constructions are used instead, *e.g.*, 'If I beat the child it will cry' is expressed 'Child beating shall cry will'. There is no passive voice. The causative is formed by conjugating 'sinun' (to cause or authorise) after the imperative mood of the main verb. Intransitive verbs are made transitive by prefixing 'sî' or 'tsi'. Compound verbs are extensively used, and are formed and conjugated as in Káchári, Miri, and other languages. There are said to be no intensitive particles. The negative is expressed by the suppressed sound of 'n' prefixed to the verb. This particle may be prefixed to adjectives in the same way. Adverbs are either separate words, or are formed by adding 'di' to the corresponding adjectives. They precede the verb or adjective to which they refer. Postpositions are used instead of prepositions. Conjunctions are very sparingly used.

Taken as a whole, although the grammar contains more points of difference from that of other Tibeto-Assam languages than usual, there are numerous marked points of resemblance. A comparison of the vocabulary with that of other languages shows that here also there are more differences than are found between other languages. But still numerous resemblances exist, a few of which are noted below:†

English.	Singpho.	Other Languages.
Water	n'chin	ishing (Manipuri).
Fire	wan	wâl (Garo).
Fish	ngâ-shan	ngâ (Káchári, Tibetan, &c.)
Mother	nû	ânû (Kuki).
Good	gajâ	âsâ (Kuki).
Die	si	si (Manipuri).
Eat	shâ	zâ (Káchári), châ (Manipuri).
See	mû	nu (Káchári).
Laugh	mani	mini (Káchári).
Take	lâ	lâng (Káchári), le (Angami), lân (Manipuri).

* *Cf.* the Káchári 'nang-ni num-fa'.

† This list shows the resemblances discovered out of 22 words *i.e.*, half the words compared were found to correspond with those in one or other of the languages examined.

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Languages.

Tai.

Mishmi.

184. The Mishmis live beyond the Dibrugarh frontier, and only a few of them were found in British territory. There are three dialects,—Chulikata, Digaru, and Mijhu,—the differences between which appear to be considerable. The enumerators, however, made no distinction between them, and all three are shown under the general head 'Mishmi'. Mr. Needham has given a very brief sketch of the Digaru and Mijhu dialects and a vocabulary. The grammar appears to be not unlike that of other languages on this frontier, but the vocables are less similar. I give a few below:

English.	Digaru.	Mijhu.	
One	khing	komô.	A-ken (Dafla).
Two	kai-ing	kin-ning	ne (Káchári), hi-ni (Mikir).
Three	kâ-sâng	kâ-sâm	thám (Káchári), kethom (Mikir).
Four	ka-prei	kam-briu	brũi (Káchári).
Five	mángá	ka-lim	phanga (Mikir), mangá (Manipuri).
Six	ta-râ	ka-tâm	dâ (Káchári).
Liquor	yu	sî	zu (Angámi).
Fire	na-mîng	mai	mai (Manipuri), mê (Kuki).
Father	nâ-bâ	kî-hai	âpâ (Káchári), îpâ (Manipuri).
Head	kûrû	kû	khârâ (Káchári).
Bird	m'pia	wâ	vo (wa Mikir).
Water	mâchî	tî	dũi (Káchári and Kuki, &c.).
Eat	thân	shâ	shâ (Singpho), cha (Manipuri), zâ (Káchári).
Drink	tûm	tong	láng (Káchári), thung (Bhutia).
Give	hang	pî	pî (Angámi, Mikir, and Manipuri).
Go	bô	thai	tháng (Káchári), anbo (Garo).
Die	sî	sî	si (Manipuri and Singpho).
Bring	chî	lâ	lábo (Káchári), lá (= take, Kuki).

Tai Languages.

Khamti, Phakial, Aiton.

185. The next family to be mentioned is the Tai or Shán. It belongs to Burma rather than Assam, and the only tribes which speak it here have immigrated within historic times. The census returns notice only three Shán dialects,—Khámti, Phákiál, and Aiton. Ahom does not appear because the language has died out, and the people of the Ahom tribe now speak Assamese.* The small number of persons returned under the general head of 'Shán' includes the descendants of the Sháns who accompanied the Burmese in their invasion of the province, and settled down here after their defeat by British troops, and also some Aitons and Turungs. Ahom, Aiton, Khámti, and Phákiál are all very closely allied; but I shall refrain from giving grammatical sketches of these languages, as their

* Regarding this subject, Rai Jogesh Chandra Chatturji Bahadur, Extra Assistant Commissioner, writes—

"Ahom, as a spoken language, is already extinct. It is nowhere spoken, even in family circles. Some of the Deodhais, Mohans, and Byllongs have still some written records of their old language, but these are seldom consulted or used, except on rare occasions, for predictions and for invoking the deity for rain in time of drought. There are only a few elderly men of the priestly class who can decipher the Ahom letters."

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affinities are well known, and they differ only to a very slight extent from Siamese. They have a character of their own, derived from the Pali,* and to this must, doubtless, be ascribed the fact that they have undergone so much less verbal change than has been found to have taken place amongst the languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. Languages. Khasi.

186. The language of the Turungs has been described as Shán; and for this reason, if for no other, it finds a place in this group. At my request, Lieutenant Gurdon very kindly sent me a vocabulary of their language, which I compared with lists of Aiton, Khámti, and Ahom words, and found them to differ entirely. I then compared the Turung vocables with those of other languages, and thus ascertained that they were word for word the same as Singpho. On communicating this fact to Lieutenant Gurdon, he made further enquiries, and subsequently informed me that during their captivity amongst the Singphos,† the Turungs had not been permitted to speak their own language; and, as a result of this, their language was almost entirely forgotten. At the present time he says that the Singpho language is almost exclusively used amongst the rising generation, and that only the older Turungs know or remember their old Shán dialect. Mr. Gurdon adds: Turung.

> In the *bapu chang* (prayer-house) I saw two holy books: one was written in the Burmese character, and the other in what I suppose to be Shán.‡ Only two men, the *bapus* (priests), could read the latter, and only one of them could read the Burmese book. These priests interpret the scriptures to the people in Singpho, which all can talk and understand. . . . . The Turungs must have been longer in the Singpho country than they like to admit. Why they still continue to talk Singpho I cannot understand, and they themselves could not explain.§

The vocables of the original language of the Turungs are in most cases identical with those of one or other of the Shan tribes in Assam.

Khasi Languages.

187. The Khási languages are in every way dissimilar to those of the groups which have already been mentioned. At the census Khási, Synteng, Dyko, and Lyngam were returned as distinct languages, but it seems doubtful whether they are anything more than dialects.‖ In any case, their close affinity to each other is so clear and well known, that it is unnecessary to illustrate it by reference to their grammar and vocables. I will, however, note a few of the leading features of the grammatical structure of the standard Khási dialect in order to show the vast difference that exists between these languages and those of the Tibeto-Burman family. Khasi, Synteng, Dyko, Lyngam.

All nouns, including the names of inanimate objects, are either masculine or feminine, the gender being denoted by the article ¶ which precedes every noun. Nouns are not declined, the accidents of case being expressed, as in English, by prepositions. The plural is marked by the plural number of the article, the noun remaining unchanged. The comparative degree of adjectives is formed by prefixing 'kham' (= more) to the positive, and the superlative by affixing 'tam' (= to exceed). Ordinals, which do not exist in Tibeto-Burman languages, are formed by prefixing the adjectival sign 'ba' to the corresponding cardinal number. There is a species of relative pronoun, which is formed by the use of the article with the conjunctive particle 'ba' (= that). The verb is conjugated by means of prefixed auxiliaries, and undergoes no terminational changes.

* It resembles the Mon rather than the Cambodian type.—Forbes' 'Languages of Further India,' page 96.

† Mention of this will be found further on in the caste chapter.

‡ I sent a page of this book, with which Mr. Gurdon had furnished me, to Mr. Needham, who informed me that the idiom and character were pure Khámti.

§ Mr. Needham suggests that the reason is that Singpho is a much easier language than their Shán dialect.

‖ Other dialects are said to exist, such as Batoa, Amwi, and Lakadong, but these were not distinguished by the enumerators. The Lyngam dialect is said to contain an admixture of Garo forms and vocables.

¶ This is really the third person of the personal pronoun.

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Languages. Khasi.

There is no real passive voice, the passive being expressed simply by the omission of the subject of the active verb. Thus, 'I was loved' is rendered 'loved me'. A curious feature of the language is the way in which the different parts of speech are formed from one root. Thus 'bhâ' is an adverb meaning 'well', 'ba-bhâ' is the corresponding adjective meaning 'good', 'jing-bhâ' the abstract noun 'goodness', and 'pyn-bhâ' the causative verb 'to improve'. Another peculiarity is the repetition of the article before the verb, *e.g.*, 'the man goes' is rendered 'the man he goes'.

Discrepancies between language and caste table.

188. Before closing this chapter it is advisable that I should explain what might otherwise be considered to be discrepancies between the number of persons shown as speaking each language and the number returned as belonging to the corresponding tribes. In Cachar the number of persons speaking Káchári exceeds that of the Kácháris by race, because many call themselves Kshettriyas, but in most other districts there are more Kácháris by race than by language, because the tribal speech is there being replaced by Assamese. The same explanation applies also in the case of other languages. A further explanation is that when people of these tribes become Musalmans or Christians, they are shown as Shekh or Native Christian as the case may be, and not under the tribal name, although they may still speak their old language. Thus, in Cachar there are many Musalman Manipuris who have been entered as Shekh, while their language is still Manipuri, so that the number of persons speaking Manipuri naturally exceeds the number shown as such in the caste table.* In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills the number of Khásis by race is less than the number by language, because the former does not include those Khásis who are Native Christians.

In some few cases the difference is due to mistakes on the part of the enumerators or in my office. As an instance of the former, I may mention the case of three Oraons in Lakhimpur who were returned by the enumerators as speaking Mikir, while in the latter category may be mentioned the four persons shown as speaking Aká in Lakhimpur. The entry in the schedules in the caste and language columns was Aká, but as it seemed open to suspicion, I referred the matter to the Deputy Commissioner for local enquiry, the result of which showed that the persons in question were hill Miris, who are often called Anka or tattoed Miris by the people of the plains. Prior to the receipt of this reply, the language table had been printed, so that in this table the persons in question were described as speaking the Aká language. In the caste table they have been rightly shown as Miris.

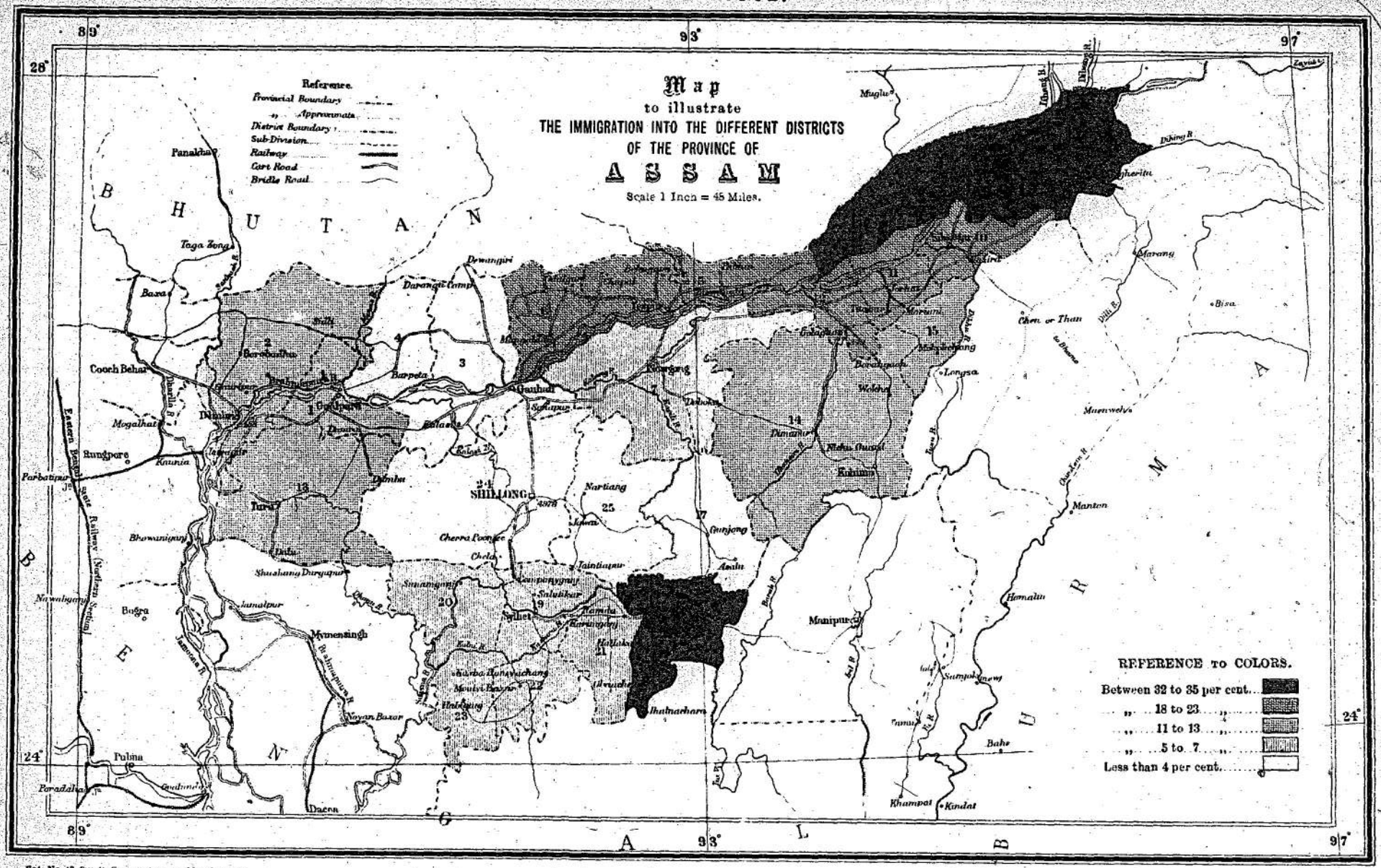
* Some Manipuris were also, like the Kácháris, entered simply as Kshettriyas, and thus found no place in the figures showing Manipuris by race.

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CHAPTER IX.—BIRTH PLACE.

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Census of 1891.


Map
to illustrate
THE IMMIGRATION INTO THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS
OF THE PROVINCE OF
ASSAM
Scale 1 Inch = 45 Miles.
Reference.
Provincial Boundary
" Approximate
District Boundary
Sub-Division
Railway
Cart Road
Bridle Road
BHUTAN
BENGAL
NAGA
MANIPUR
89°
93°
97°
28°
24°
Panaldiga
Tega Zong
Baxa
Cooch Behar
Mogalhat
Rungpore
Kaunia
Parbatipur
Eastern Bengal State Railway (Northern Section)
Bhowanipur
Bogra
Nawabganj
Jamalpur
Mymensingh
Pulna
Faridabad
Dacca
Goalundo
Barpeta
Gauhati
Sadiya
Dibrugarh
Jorhat
Golaghat
Nowgong
Kamrup
Darrang
Lakhimpur
Sibsagar
Dimapur
Kohima
Manipur
Bahe
Khampat
Kindat
Mungkung
Sherita
Marang
Bisa
Longsa
Wakha
Manwelva
Manton
Hamalin
Jaintiapur
Asalu
Gunjong
Nartiang
Cherra Poonjee
Shillong
Sylhet
Jhalnacharra
Nayan Baxar
Shushang Durgapur
Chela
Ramsha
Barkha Bunyachang
Mouloi Bazar
Hatkhola
Hatlakha
Sutulikar
Sumangmang
Kampangmang
Ramsing
Barrangjang
Dimlim
Tura
Dalu
Chera R.
Kopili R.
Jamuna R.
Barak R.
Dhansiri R.
Dikhu R.
Dhansiri R.
Dhaleswari R.
Brahmaputra R.
Kopili R.
Jadukata R.
Kynshi R.
Umiam R.
Umtru R.
Umkhen R.
Kynshi R.
Dhansiri R.
Dikhu R.
Dhansiri R.
Dikhu R.
Dhansiri R.
Dikhu

CHAPTER IX.—BIRTH PLACE.

IMPERIAL TABLE XI AND PROVINCIAL TABLE VIII.

189. I have already referred incidentally to the statistics of birth place in order to explain the variation in the population of districts and in connection with the distribution of the people by age and the proportions of the sexes. In the present chapter these statistics will be considered in somewhat greater detail. **Birth place.**

Introductory remarks.

190. The migrations of the people may be divided into two classes. Firstly, migration between the different districts of the province itself, which has been called intra-migration; and, secondly, migration between this and other provinces, or ultra-migration. The direction and extent of intra-migration are shown graphically in the diagram facing this page, the figures corresponding to which are given in the following statement: **Intra-migration.**

Statement No. 109 showing the inter-district movements of the population in Assam.

CENSUSED IN	Cachar.	Sylhet.	Goalpara.	Kamrup.	Darrang.	Nowgong.	Sibsagar.	Lakhimpur.	Naga Hills.	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	Garo Hills.	North Lushai.	Manipur.	Net gain or loss by inter-district emigration.
Cachar ..	....	21,635	228	112	25	154	24	289	131	835	5	416	1,744	2,5598
	....	4,312	33	16	71	651	46	30	2,989	728	146	155	....	9,177
	....	+17,323	+195	+96	—46	—497	—22	+259	—2,858	+107	—141	+261	+1,744	+16,421
Sylhet ..	4,312	....	85	271	17	141	19	44	4	638	14	11	336	5,892
	21,635	....	67	852	164	225	111	171	155	826	343	152	....	24,701
	—17,323	....	+18	—581	—147	—84	—92	—127	—151	—188	—329	—141	+336	—18,809
Goalpara ..	33	67	....	2,633	70	509	101	37	12	29	1,847	..	....	5,338
	228	85	....	3,404	1,002	1,256	1,546	806	205	176	5,194	44	....	13,946
	—195	—18	....	—771	—932	—747	—1,445	—769	—193	—147	—3,347	—44	....	—8,608
Kamrup ..	16	852	3,404	....	1,045	704	221	147	3	234	45	..	17	6,688
	112	271	2,633	....	4,680	2,106	4,296	1,975	145	898	60	20	....	17,196
	—96	+581	+771	....	—3,635	—1,402	—4,075	—1,828	—142	—664	—15	—20	+17	—10,508
Darrang ..	71	164	1,002	4,680	....	3,447	875	1,014	24	74	433	3	9	11,796
	25	17	70	1,045	....	1,553	1,086	613	10	21	4	9	....	4,453
	+46	+147	+932	+3,635	....	+1,894	—211	+401	+14	+53	+429	—6	+9	+7,343
Nowgong ..	651	225	1,256	2,106	1,553	....	787	107	145	562	596	..	8	7,795
	154	141	509	704	3,447	....	1,645	493	7,065	265	5	28	....	14,454
	+497	+84	+747	+1,402	—1,894	....	—858	—386	—6,920	+97	+592	—28	+8	—6,659

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Birth place. *Statement No. 109 showing the inter-district movements of the population in Assam*—contd.

Censused in	Cachar.	Sylhet.	Goalpara.	Kamrup.	Darrang.	Nowgong.	Sibsagar.	Lakhimpur.	Naga Hills.	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	Garo Hills.	North Lushai.	Manipur.	Net gain or loss by inter-district emigration.
Sibsagar ..	46	111	1,546	4,296	1,086	1,645	....	3,283	904	35	98	..	37	13,087
	24	19	101	221	875	787	....	4,039	575	43	4	1	....	6,689
	+22	*+92*	*+1,445*	*+4,075*	*+211*	*+858*	....	*−756*	*+329*	*−8*	*+94*	*−1*	*+37*	*+6,398*
Lakhimpur ..	30	171	606	1,975	613	493	4,039	....	103	87	72	..	15	8,404
	289	44	37	147	1,014	107	3,283	....	32	114	1	1	....	5,069
	−259	*+127*	*+769*	*+1,828*	*−401*	*+386*	*+756*	....	*+71*	*−27*	*+71*	*−1*	*+15*	*+3,335*
Naga Hills ..	2,989	155	205	145	10	7,065	575	32	....	21	218	281	2,409	14,105
	131	4	12	3	24	145	904	103	....	34	....	..	....	1,360
	+2,858	*+151*	*+193*	*+142*	*−14*	*+6,920*	*−329*	*−71*	....	*−13*	*+218*	*+281*	*+2,409*	*+12,745*
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	728	826	176	898	21	265	43	114	34	....	723	..	29	3,857
	835	638	29	234	74	362	35	87	21	....	98	145	....	2,558
	−107	*+188*	*+147*	*+664*	*−53*	*−97*	*+8*	*+27*	*+13*	....	*+625*	*−145*	*+29*	*+1,299*
Garo Hills ..	146	343	5,194	60	4	3	4	1	....	98	....	..	....	5,853
	5	14	1,847	45	433	595	98	72	218	723	....	..	....	4,050
	+141	*+329*	*+3,347*	*+15*	*−429*	*−592*	*−94*	*−71*	*−218*	*−625*	....	..	....	*+1,803*
North Lushai ..	155	152	44	20	9	28	1	1	....	145	....	..	233	788
	416	11	....	....	3	....	....	....	281	....	....	..	....	711
	−261	*+141*	*+44*	*+20*	*+6*	*+28*	*+1*	*+1*	*−281*	*+145*	....	..	*+233*	*+77*
Manipur ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	..	....	.....
	1,744	336	....	17	9	8	37	15	2,409	29	....	233	....	4,837
	−1,744	*−336*	....	*−17*	*−9*	*−8*	*−37*	*−15*	*−2,409*	*−29*	....	*−233*	....	*−4,837*
Total.. ..	9,177	24,701	13,946	33,196	4,453	24,454	6,689	5,069	1,360	2,558	4,050	711	4,837	109,201
	25,598	5,892	5,338	6,688	11,796	7,795	13,087	8,404	14,105	2,857	5,853	788	....	109,201
	−16,421	*+18,809*	*+8,608*	*+10,508*	*−7,343*	*+6,659*	*−6,398*	*−3,335*	*−12,745*	*−1,299*	*−1,803*	*−77*	*+4,837*	.....

NOTE.—The first row of figures against each district in column 1 shows the gross immigration into that district from the districts along the top of the form; the second row shows the emigration to those districts, and the third row the net result.

191. The results will be dealt with for each district separately in subsequent paragraphs. The general fact presented by these figures is that they show a steady movement from the more densely peopled districts of the west to the sparsely inhabited tracts further east. Thus, Sylhet has given 21,626 persons to Cachar, but has only got in their place 4,312 people from that district. The census shows 8,014 persons born in Goalpara to be living in districts higher up the valley of the Brahmaputra, but only 3,350 persons born in those districts were enumerated in Goalpara. Similarly, 13,057 natives of Kamrup were found in Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur, against only 2,117 natives of these districts in Kamrup. Nowgong has given 2,138 people to Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, but has received only 894 in return. Darrang forms an exception to the general rule, as it has gained 1,889 persons from Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, and has lost only 1,699. The rule, however, again holds good in the case of Sibsagar,

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as it has lost 4,039 persons to Lakhimpur, while the corresponding gain only amounts to 3,283. In the hills migration is much less prevalent. All the hill districts have benefited at the expense of the contiguous plains districts; but, except in the Naga Hills, where there are numerous immigrants from the Mikir Hills in Nowgong and from North Cachar, there is not the same tendency on the part of the inhabitants of the hills themselves to move eastwards, which has been noticed in the case of the people of the plains districts. **Birth place.**

Most of this intra-migration is to be attributed to those slight movements of the people which are due to their having shifted their cultivation a few miles,—a change which, through the accident of boundary, has brought them within the limits of an adjoining district. The migration to other than adjacent districts is very slight, and what little of it there is, is due mainly to the recruitment in Goalpara and Kamrup of coolies for the tea gardens of Upper Assam.

The amount of migration between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Surma is very slight. Only 1,243 persons have gone from the former to the latter, and only 1,786 from the Surma Valley to the Brahmaputra Valley.*

192. The results of ultra-migration, *i.e.*, of the movements of the population between this province and other countries, are noted below: **Ultra-migration.**

Statement No. 110, showing the results of ultra-migration.

Place where Censused.		Bengal.	Central Provinces.	Madras.	North-Western Provinces.	Punjab.	Rajputana.	British Islands.	Other places.	Total.
Censused in Assam, but born in other provinces.	Cachar Plains	76,536	638	1,072	13,333	141	75	174	828	92,797
	Sylhet	78,288	480	5,672	29,957	102	178	150	243	115,070
	Goalpara	40,201	125	30	3,267	47	791	10	668	45,139
	Kamrup	7,651	78	5	1,549	71	709	15	1,335	11,413
	Darrang	38,898	458	892	1,424	109	411	102	2,471	44,765
	Nowgong	14,687	237	350	688	29	362	41	465	16,859
	Sibsagar	82,668	563	1,404	2,833	118	1,065	130	1,182	89,963
	Lakhimpur	70,134	1,243	1,211	4,084	103	1,141	152	2,669	80,737
	North Cachar ..	15	.....	.....	2	....	.....	....	23	40
	Naga Hills	413	1	1	124	18	85	3	1,018	1,663
	Khasi and Jaintia Hills..	1,112	17	10	428	54	63	44	1,180	2,898
	Garo Hills	7,665	3	6	72	5	7	3	311	8,072
	North Lushai ..	92	1	1	90	39	.....	7	1,026	1,256
Total censused in Assam, but born in other provinces		**418,360**	**3,844**	**10,654**	**57,851**	**836**	**4,877**	**831**	**13,419**	**510,672**
Born in Assam, but censused in other provinces ..		40,704	16	79	1,790	96	.....	....	926	43,611
Net gain or loss		**+377,656**	**+3,828**	**+10,575**	**+56,061**	**+740**	**+4,877**	**+831**	**+12,493**	**+467,061**

There has been an enormous influx of foreigners into Assam, but the corresponding exodus is comparatively small. This result is what would naturally be expected, as Assam is a fertile but sparsely peopled country with a large demand for labour. The total number of immigrants is 510,672, or 9·32 per cent. of the total population. Of these, 297,301 are males and 213,371 are females. The percentage of immigrant males to the total number of males in the province is 10·54 per cent., while that of immigrant females is only 8·03 per cent. of the total number of women. The effect which these figures have had on the proportions of the sexes has already been noticed.

* Excluding migrants between Cachar and Nowgong, most of whom are migrants to and from the North Cachar subdivision, which can scarcely be considered to be a part of the Surma Valley.

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Birth place.

193. The immigrants consist of two classes: those who come from the neighbouring districts of Bengal to take up land for cultivation in Sylhet, the Garo Hills, and Goalpara (who belong to the category of inter, rather than of ultra, migrants) and those who leave their more distant homes for purposes of trade, or to meet the demand for labour on tea gardens and elsewhere. In order to bring out the proportion which the number of each class bears to the total immigrant population, and to show the parts of Bengal which contribute most largely to the influx, it was thought desirable to tabulate the birth place return, so far as it relates to persons born in Bengal, in greater detail than is necessary in other provinces. The result is exhibited in Imperial Table XI. A short abstract is given below:

Migrants from contiguous districts of Bengal.

Statement No. III, showing the birth places of the immigrants from Bengal.

District.	Hill Tipperah.	Tipperah.	Mymensingh.	Dacca.	Rangpur.	Kuch Behar.	Jalpaiguri.	Total neighbouring districts of Bengal.	Santhal Parganas.	Chota Nagpur.	Behar.	Orissa.	Chandernagore.	Other districts.	Total other parts of Bengal.	Total Bengal.
Cachar Plains ..	25	415	116	775	11	1	11	*1,354*	3,045	28,057	22,131	936	1	20,112	*75,182*	*76,536*
Sylhet ..	878	10,819	12,603	4,547	28	3	3	*28,881*	3,334	19,893	13,364	1,015	1	11,760	*49,407*	*78,288*
Goalpara ..	..	30	2,609	1,176	22,788	1,217	154	*27,983*	816	934	6,512	86	..	3,870	*12,218*	*40,201*
Kamrup ..	..	12	294	331	557	94	5	*1,293*	859	1,797	1,753	102	..	1,847	*6,358*	*7,651*
Darrang ..	..	9	50	448	159	118	14	*798*	1,538	26,466	3,492	358	..	6,246	*38,100*	*38,898*
Nowgong ..	..	11	76	445	164	38	2	*736*	762	9,637	1,577	192	3	1,780	*13,951*	*14,687*
Sibsagar ..	..	5	82	392	41	7	2	*529*	3,312	53,688	11,718	497	5	12,919	*82,139*	*82,668*
Lakhimpur ..	..	13	32	485	17	26	3	*576*	4,573	49,307	6,881	652	..	8,148	*69,658*	*70,134*
North Cachar ..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	*4*	..	1	1	5	..	4	*11*	*15*
Naga Hills ..	..	2	5	14	8	2	5	*36*	3	34	201	4	..	135	*377*	*413*
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	1	32	118	116	12	2	2	*283*	1	49	460	22	6	291	*829*	*1,112*
Garo Hills.. ..	..	2	1,814	178	3,868	3	..	*5,865*	1	9	101	5	..	1,684	*1,800*	*7,665*
North Lushai (Civil and Military).	..	....	..	7	1	..	..	*8*	..	2	43	..	..	39	*84*	*92*
Total for the province	904	11,361	17,799	8,916	27,654	1,511	201	68,346	18,294	190,774	68,234	3,874	16	68,822	350,014	418,360

194. Out of 68,346 immigrants from the neighbouring districts of Bengal, 62,729 were censused in contiguous districts of Assam, and only 5,617 in the other districts of the province. It may be assumed that the majority of these 62,729 immigrants from contiguous districts are cultivators, who have only come short distances from their homes.* Similarly, we may take it for granted that the larger part of the 32,903 natives of Assam who are shown by the Bengal return to have been censused in Hill Tipperah, Tipperah, Mymensingh, Dacca, Rangpur, Kuch Behar, and Jalpaiguri are cultivators from Sylhet, the Garo Hills, and Goalpara, who have crossed the frontier to take up land. Deducting these, it appears that Assam has gained by these minor inter-provincial migrations to the extent of 29,826.

Cultivating immigrants.

195. Turning now to the more characteristic form of immigration, *i.e.*, of traders and coolies from a distance, it may be noted that the total number is 448,393. It is difficult to analyse the constitution of this section of the immigrant population with any pretence to exactness; but we shall probably not be very far wrong, if we take the immigrants to tea gardens to be represented by the total number of persons coming from Bengal, excluding the seven adjacent districts already mentioned, together with those from the Central Provinces, Madras,

Tea garden immigrants.

* No doubt many (especially amongst those born in Dacca) are also traders and boatmen, but the great majority are cultivators.

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the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. No doubt, some persons from these parts did not come to Assam to work on the tea gardens, but their number may be disregarded, as balanced by immigrants who came to the province as coolies from other parts of India, not included in this list, such, for instance, as the adjacent districts of Bengal, Rajputana, and Nipal. On this assumption, it appears that the total number of persons who were originally attracted to the province by the tea gardens is approximately 423,199, or nearly 83 per cent. of the total number of immigrants, and 7·7 per cent. of the total population of the province. These figures furnish an eloquent comment on the extent to which the tea industry has aided in the development of the province, but they nevertheless fail to show its full effect, for they include only the number of persons who have been recruited to work on the gardens, and do not include the additions to the population which have resulted from the increased trade which has followed in its wake, and has attracted a far larger number of traders from Dacca, Rajputana, and other places than would otherwise have come to Assam. Birth place.

196. The class of tea garden labourers who are recruited for the different districts is recorded in the annual immigration reports, and to dwell on the subject here would be merely to repeat what is already generally known. Briefly, it may be stated that more than half the total number of immigrants from Chota Nagpur are found in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, that Cachar takes one-third of the total number of immigrants from Behar, and more than half the remainder go to Sylhet and Sibsagar. More than half the persons born in Orissa are found in Sylhet and Cachar, but the total number of coolies from this part of Bengal is still very small. Nearly a third of the Central Provinces coolies find their way to Lakhimpur, while more than half of those from Madras and the North-Western Provinces go to Sylhet. Distribution of the different classes of tea garden immigrants.

197. Excluding immigrants to tea-gardens and cultivators who have entered Sylhet, the Garo Hills, and Goalpara from the contiguous Bengal districts, the only immigration of any account is that from Dacca, Mymensingh, and Rangpur in Bengal to districts other than Sylhet, Cachar, and Goalpara, and the immigration from Rajputana, Bhutan, and Nipal and from the British Islands. Other classes of immigrants.

The foreigners from Dacca, Mymensingh, and Rangpur are chiefly traders, boatmen, and *khalasis* on the mail and cargo steamers. Those from Rajputana are nearly all of them Marwari merchants, who trade in articles of country produce, sell all sorts of hardware and other articles, and act as money-changers, bankers, and general agents to the managers of tea-gardens. More than two-fifths of the total number of these energetic traders are found in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, where rubber, opium, and tea-gardens form the chief attraction; half of the remainder reside in Kamrup and Goalpara, the centres of the mustard trade. Comparatively few are found in the Surma Valley, where the opportunities for their peculiar kind of trade are fewer, and the indigenous dealers are keener competitors than those of the Assam Valley. The persons from Bhutan and Tibet (the distinction between which countries was perhaps not always clearly understood by the enumerators) are mostly temporary visitors, who come down to the plains of Kamrup and Darrang during the cold season, to barter salt, musk, and spices for rice, and leave again at the commencement of the hot weather. The natives of Nipal are, for the most part, persons who were originally recruited for the local regiments and military police battalions, many of whom settle down in the province as herdsmen, rubber-cutters, &c., after the expiry of their term of service. The majority of the persons from the British Islands, as will be seen from the occupation table, are officers in the civil and military service of Government or tea planters. It must be remembered that there are more Englishmen in the province than are shown in the birth place table, as the latter only includes such as are British born. The true number of persons of British nationality, irrespective of their place of birth, will be found in table XVI.

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Birth place. Among the minor heads of birth place, Afghanistan alone deserves separate mention. Of the 319 persons shown as born in that country, nearly all are probably Cabuli pedlars, who wander about the country during the cold weather, and sell Cabuli cloths, perfumes, and dried fruits and walnuts. Very few of them remain permanently in the province, and I only know of two permanent shops of which Cabulis are the proprietors.

198. The growth of the foreign born population since 1881 has been very striking.

Comparison with 1881. The total number of immigrants then returned was only 280,609, against 510,672 on the present occasion. The difference is mainly due to the figures for Bengal, from which province there are now 418,360 persons resident in Assam, against only 221,256 ten years ago. The number of immigrants from Madras has risen from 753 to 10,654, and that of immigrants from the Central Provinces from 825 to 3,844. In the case of the North-Western Provinces the increase is much less marked, the figures being 57,851 and 48,802 at the present census and in 1881 respectively. The only head of any importance under which there is a decrease is in the number of natives of Bhutan and Tibet who were censused in this province. In 1881 the number amounted to 1,367, and this has now fallen to 1,151, This result corroborates the observation of local officers, who for several years past have reported that the number of Bhutias visiting the plains is decreasing.

199. The difference between the number of foreigners now and ten years ago by no means represents the total amount of immigration that has taken place. Death is at least as busy amongst the immigrants as amongst the indigenous inhabitants, and a considerable annual influx would have been needed simply to maintain the number of the foreign born censused here in 1881. At the very moderate estimate of an annual decrement of 35 per 1,000 on account of deaths and departures, the 280,609 persons censused in Assam in 1881 would have fallen to 197,494 at the close of the decade, had no new immigrants come to swell their numbers. There must, therefore, have been a sufficient number of new immigrants to make up for this loss, as well as to cause the net increase which has taken place and also to fill up the vacancies annually occurring amongst the ranks of the new immigrants. Taking the annual losses from all causes amongst these new arrivals to amount to 40 per 1,000 (which is perhaps an unduly low estimate) and assuming an equal number of persons to have immigrated annually, I calculate that the number of immigrants during each year of the decade must have amounted to close upon 39,000.*

Attempt to estimate the actual annual immigration.

200. It would be interesting if the results of the census could be utilised to throw light on the question as to how far tea garden coolies settle down in the province after the expiry of their agreements which has from time to time formed the subject of enquiry or speculation. Unfortunately, exact figures are not available to show how many of the foreign born came to the province as garden coolies. From the more detailed information regarding the birth place of foreigners, which has been furnished at the present census, it is possible to frame a fairly accurate approximation to the real proportion, but the same particulars are not available in the return for 1881. We may, however, I think, assume that the immigrants to tea gardens in 1881 bore the same

Extent to which tea garden immigrants make Assam their home.

* This figure is arrived at as follows: The net increase during the ten years is 230,063, and adding to this the loss owing to deaths, &c., amongst the immigrant population of 1881 (83,115), the total increase to be accounted for is 313,178.

Let x = the number of immigrants annually,

and r = annual loss per head amongst these new arrivals = ·040 (by hypothesis).

Then, the number of immigrants who came to the province in 1881 remaining alive at the close of the decade will be $x(1-r)^{10} = x(\cdot960)^{10}$ Similarly, those of 1882 will be $x(\cdot960^9)$, &c.,

and the total survivors of the annual immigrants will be $x(\cdot960^{10} + \cdot960^9 + \cdot960^8 + \text{&c.} + \cdot960) = 313,178$ whence $x = \frac{313}{6044}\frac{178}{\cdot960} = 38,933$. This is the lowest possible rate of immigration. In Chapter IV I have shown that the annual death rate on the total population is 43 per 1,000, and although this includes an exceptionally heavy mortality amongst children, who form a very small proportion of the immigrants to the province, it is well known that the mortality amongst new arrivals is heavier than amongst natives of the province of the same age, so that whatever error may attach to my estimate of a death rate of 35 per 1,000 for old settlers and 40 per 1,000 for new arrivals, it seems certain that it errs in being below rather than above the true death rate.

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proportion to the total number of immigrants which is estimated to exist in the return for the present census. On this assumption, the increase in this section of the immigrant population during the decennium amounts to 190,952.

Birth place

The annual number of immigrants to tea gardens is known from the statistics maintained under the Labour Act, an abstract of which is given in the margin. Calculating the death rate among these new arrivals to amount to 40 per 1,000, the total increase during the decade would have amounted to 215,622, if none of these immigrants had left the province. If, therefore, my estimate of the proportion of the tea garden emigrants to the total number of immigrants in 1881 and 1891 and my estimate of the death rate is correct, it appears that the real increase amongst this class is less by 24,670 than it would have been had none of them returned to their country. In other words, not more than 24,670 out of the total number of garden immigrants returned to their country during the decade. Roughly speaking, it may be said that at the most only 5 to 10 per cent. of the coolie population leave Assam after their agreements have expired.* This conclusion corroborates the results arrived at by special enquiries on the subject in 1888 and 1889, which have been summed up as follows:

Statement No. 112, showing the annual immigration to tea gardens as reported in the labour returns.

Year.	Number of immigrants.	Number remaining in 1891 at an annual decrement of 40 per 1,000.
1881 ..	14,548	9,672
1882 ..	19,185	13,286
1883 ..	26,200	19,038
1884 ..	32,747	24,608
1885 ..	21,147	16,553
1886 ..	22,715	18,521
1887 ..	29,090	24,707
1888 ..	33,317	29,476
1889 ..	37,548	34,004
1890 ..	26,205	25,157
Total ..	262,892	215,622

The proportion of time-expired immigrants who return to their homes after the completion of their garden contracts is very small, and as regards the number who do go home with the intention of not returning to the garden, cases are reported from every district, in which they have, after some lapse of time, in some instances of many years, returned to the garden in preference to remaining at home, occasionally bringing up friends and relations with them. The majority of time-expired immigrants remain on at the garden, either renewing their contracts or otherwise; the minority settle down in the province, and either follow agricultural pursuits, taking up land directly under Government or as tenants of landholders or subtenants of other ryots, or have resort to other occupations, such as cartmen, petty traders, domestic servants, &c., or work as labourers on their own account on the roads and in the bazars and principal towns of the province. They thus supply a want which could not otherwise be satisfied, as natives of the province are not, to any extent worth speaking of, available for many of the occupations which the time-expired immigrants follow.

201. The total number of foreign born coolies on tea gardens amounts to 326,086, † so that out of 423,199 persons who are estimated to have originally entered the province as coolies, 97,113 have left the gardens and settled down to the other pursuits mentioned in the foregoing quotation. The quantity of land held direct from Government by ex-tea-garden coolies is returned as 25,315 acres in 1888, 28,376 in 1889, and 32,360 in 1890. Although these figures do not include the area cultivated by time-expired immigrants on land other than what they hold direct from Government, and although the whole of the land so held is probably not included, nevertheless, as there has been no change in the manner of collecting this information during these three years, these figures, defective as they are, may be taken as proving that the amount of land reclaimed by this class is rapidly increasing, and that the annual immigration to tea gardens is a gain not only to the tea industry, for which the coolies are in the first instance imported, but also to the general development of the province.‡

Number of time expired coolies who have taken to other occupations.

* In calculating the percentage, the immigrant population already in the province in 1881 must be included as well as the new immigrants. It is probable, as already explained, that 40 per 1,000 is too low a death rate, in which case the number of persons returning to their country will be less than I have stated above.

† Provincial Table VIII.

‡ It should, however, be mentioned that 128,743 persons born in Assam were censused within garden limits, and that, although the great majority of these were doubtless cultivators or the children of immigrants born after their arrival in the province, some of them were also persons who had given up cultivation, either wholly or in part, to work as garden coolies.

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Birth-place.

202. The total number of persons born in Assam but censused in other provinces is shown in the following statement:

Statement No. 113, showing the number of persons born in Assam but censused in other provinces.

		Bengal.	Bombay.	Burma.	Central Provinces.	Madras.	North Western Provinces and Oudh	Punjab.	Central India.	Hyderabad.	Mysore.	Ajmere.	Andamans.	Total.
Males	1881 ...	22,651	10	14	...	7	40	12	1	...	47	1	...	22,783
	1891 ...	24,199	61	570	14	70	923	54	...	...	1	...	62	25,954
Females	1881 ...	18,156	12	3	...	1	24	4	6	...	49	...	...	18,255
	1891 ...	16,505	47	178	2	9	867	42	...	...	7	...	...	17,657
Total	1881 ...	40,807	22	17	...	8	64	16	7	...	96	1	...	41,038
	1891 ...	40,704	108	748	16	79	1,790	96	...	...	8	...	62	43,611

Proportions of the sexes amongst migrants.

203. The proportions of the sexes amongst migrants vary considerably. When migration is between two adjacent districts, the excess of males is not, as a rule, very marked.* Thus, the number of females is very nearly equal to that of males amongst the migrants from Cachar to Sylhet, from Nowgong to Darrang and the Naga Hills, and from Sibsagar to Lakhimpur, while amongst the migrants from Cachar to the Naga Hills females actually preponderate. When the district to which migration takes place is at a distance, the proportion of females is much lower. In the case of Kamrup, there is a special explanation for the low proportion of emigrant females (only 30 to 100 males). A good deal of the emigration from this district is only temporary, and consists of Káchárís, who leave their homes for a few months of the cold weather to work on tea gardens in Upper Assam, and nearly all of these temporary emigrants are males.

The proportions of the sexes in the case of immigrants from other provinces present some curious variations. It is highest in the case of immigrants from Madras, and next highest amongst those from Bengal; then come in order the Central Provinces, the North-Western Provinces, Rajputana, and the Punjab. It is difficult to explain these variations. As regards Rajputana, it is known that Marwaris seldom bring their families to Assam, and this accounts for the low proportion of females amongst them. But there seems to be no reason why the proportion should be still lower in the case of immigrants from the Panjab, or why there should be a larger proportion of women amongst the immigrants from Madras than amongst those from Bengal, or amongst immigrants from the Central Provinces than amongst those from the North-Western Provinces.

Statement No. 114, showing the number of females per 100 males amongst the immigrants from other provinces.

Province, &c.	Number of females per 100 males.
Bengal	76·8
Central Provinces ..	73·4
Madras	93·7
North-Western Provinces .	59·7
Punjab	23·6
Rajputana	25·3

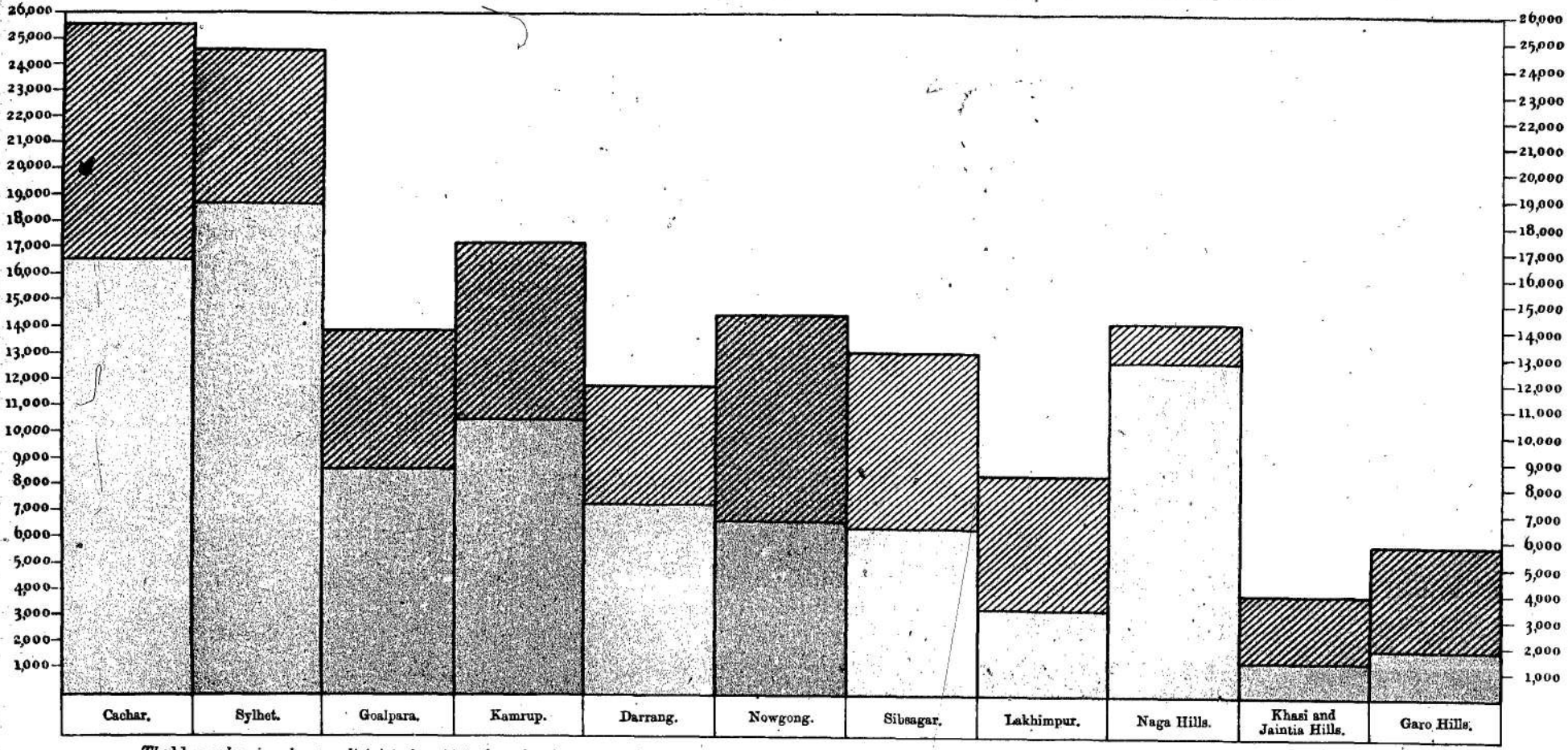
* The low proportion of females to males amongst the migrants from Sylhet to Cachar forms an exception to this rule for which I have no explanation to offer, unless it be that it is due to many of the Sylhet born persons censused there having been boatmen and other temporary visitors.

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Showing the Gain and Loss in each District of Assam owing to Interdistrict Migration.

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Diagram illustrating the Gain and Loss in each District of Assam owing to interdistrict migration.



The blue *colouring denotes districts in which there has been a net Gain from interdistrict migration, and the* red *those in which there has been a Loss of population from this cause. The extent to which the gain or loss is counterbalanced by an equivalent emigration from or immigration into a district is shewn by the* shaded, *and the net gain or loss by the* unshaded *portion of the diagram.*

Reg No 44, Supdt Census, Assam — Feb 92 —600

Litho S I O, Calcutta.

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Birth place.

Emigration from Assam to other provinces.

204. The emigration from Assam to other provinces, the details of which have been given in statement No. 113 above, is insignificant. The total number of Assam born persons censused elsewhere is only 43,611, and of these 40,704 have gone no further than Bengal. In fact, their distribution in Bengal is confined chiefly to districts contiguous to Assam, which account for five-sixths of the total number of the natives of this province who were censused in Bengal. These persons, like the immigrants from the same districts, are mostly cultivators who have shifted their homes a few miles and have thus found themselves in Bengal. They are not true emigrants. Of the 1,098 natives of Assam censused in Calcutta, some are shopkeepers from Sylhet and others are students and other temporary visitors, who will eventually return to Assam. The Assam born persons censused in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, in the Punjab and Mysore are probably the children of natives of those provinces who formerly emigrated to Assam and subsequently returned to their own homes. The emigrants who have gone to Burma are mostly Kácháris and Meches in the military police battalions, with a small sprinkling of traders from Sylhet. The natives of Assam who were censused in the Andamans are doubtless all of them involuntary visitors who are serving out their sentences of transportation.

Statement No. 115, showing the natives of Assam censused in adjacent districts of Bengal.

District.	Population.
Tipperah	9,816
Mymensingh	12,180
Dacca	4,877
Rangpur	1,519
Kuch Behar	4,117
Jalpaiguri	394
Total	**32,903**

Examination of the figures by districts.

205. I will now examine briefly the statistics of migration for each district individually. The total amount of migration, with its destination, has already been shown for each district in statement No. 113 above. In the following paragraphs this information will not be repeated, but will be supplemented by proportional figures showing the percentage of persons born in each district who have gone elsewhere, and the percentage which the indigenous and foreign born population respectively bears to the total population censused in each district.

Cachar.

206. In discussing birth place, it is necessary to take Cachar Plains and North Cachar together, the reason being, as already explained, that at the census no distinction was drawn between the persons born in these two portions of the Cachar district. Out of every 1,000 persons born in the district, 967 were found there at the time of the census, and 33 were living in other parts of the province. Although the figures do not show it, it may safely be assumed that the bulk of the emigrants to Sylhet (4,312) are from Cachar Plains, while those to Nowgong, the Naga Hills, and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills are from the North Cachar subdivision. Of the persons who have migrated to Cachar from other districts of the province, only 218 were found in North Cachar, the remainder (25,380) being resident in the plains portion of the district. Of the latter, 21,626 have come from Sylhet, 1,714 from Manipur, and 787 from the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The number of settlers from other parts of Assam is insignificant.

Statement No. 116, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and of persons censused in Cachar.

Born in Cachar.		Censused in Cachar.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000	Born in	Number per 1,000.
Cachar	967	Cachar	679
Other districts ..	33	Other districts of Assam ..	69
		Other countries ..	252
Total	**1,000**	**Total .. ..**	**1,000**

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Birth place. Of the foreigners, with the exception of the small number contributed by the civil and military and the trading element in the sadr station, nearly all are persons who originally came to the district to work as coolies on tea gardens. The number of foreigners from other provinces exceeds 25 per cent. of the total population, and that of settlers from other districts amounts to nearly 7 per cent.

Sylhet.

207. Only 12 persons out of every 1,000 born in Sylhet were censused in other parts of Assam, and of these nearly all were found in Cachar. The real number of natives of Sylhet who have left the district is, however, considerably larger than would appear from this statement, as it is probable that the greater number of persons shown as born in Assam in the Bengal return for Mymensingh, Tipperah, and Dacca came from the Sylhet district. If we include these, the proportion of persons born in Sylhet who have migrated elsewhere rises to 24 per 1,000. The ratio which the settlers in Sylhet from other districts bears to the total population of the province is only 3 per 1,000. The immigrants from other provinces, however, are more numerous, being in fact over 5 per cent. of the total population.

Statement No. 117, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and of persons censused in the Sylhet district.

BORN IN SYLHET.		CENSUSED IN SYLHET.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000.	Born in	Number per 1,000.
Sylhet	988	Sylhet	944
Other districts	12	Other districts of Assam.	3
		Other countries ..	53
Total	1,000	Total	1,000

Goalpara.

208. Of the persons born in Goalpara, 966 in every 1,000 were censused there, and 34 in other districts of the province. But, as in the case of Sylhet, there has been a good deal of emigration to adjacent Bengal districts, and if we assume, as I think we are justified in doing, that nearly all the persons in Rangpur, Kuch Behar, and Jalpaiguri who were returned as born in Assam were emigrants from Goalpara, the true proportion of emigrants to every 1,000 persons born in the district will be 47. Out of every 1,000 persons censused in the district, 12 were settlers from other districts of Assam, 100 were immigrants from outside the province, and 888 were born in the district. The number of immigrants from other provinces is remarkable, and more so when it is borne in mind that Goalpara is not a tea district, and that the great majority of its foreign born population are ordinary cultivators. Out of the 27,983 immigrants from the contiguous districts of Bengal, no less than 22,788 come from one district, Rangpur; 2,609 come from Mymensingh; 1,217 from Kuch Behar; and 1,176 from Dacca. The return shows that 6,512 persons have immigrated from Behar, a circumstance which has not been noticed in the Deputy Commissioner's report. On the face of it, this result seemed somewhat improbable, and as people in Assam often speak loosely of Behar when they really mean Kuch Behar, I thought at first that the number probably included many persons born in that State. I therefore again examined the schedules and found that in nearly all cases the exact birth district had been entered, and that the castes of the people in question were chiefly up-country castes. There is therefore no room for

Statement No. 118, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and of persons censused in the Goalpara district.

BORN IN GOALPARA.		CENSUSED IN GOALPARA.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000.	Born in	Number per 1,000.
Goalpara	966	Goalpara ..	888
Other districts.. ..	34	Other districts of Assam..	12
		Other countries ..	100
Total	1,000	Total	1,000

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doubting the figures returned. Up-country men are largely employed by the zamindars as chaprassies and *lathials*, and this may account for their presence in the district in such large numbers.* Birth place.

209. In Kamrup the emigration which has taken place differs very little from the corresponding immigration. Out of every 1,000 persons born in the district, 27 were found in other parts of the province at the time of the census, while 28 persons per 1,000 enumerated in the district were settlers from outside the district. Of the emigrants from the district, 2,633 were found in Goalpara, 4,680 in Darrang, 2,106 in Nowgong, 4,296 in Sibsagar, and 1,975 in Lakhimpur. Of the immigrants, 10 out of every 28 were from Goalpara, Darrang, and other districts of Assam, and the remaining 18 from other countries.

Kamrup.

Statement No. 119, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and of persons censused in the Kamrup district.

Born in Kamrup.		Censused in Kamrup.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000.	Born in	Number per 1,000.
Kamrup	973	Kamrup	972
Other districts ..	27	Other districts of Assam ..	10
		Other countries ..	18
Total	**1,000**	**Total .. ..**	**1,000**

210. The emigrants from Darrang go chiefly to Kamrup (1,045), Nowgong (1,553), and Sibsagar (1,086). But the total number of persons born in the district who leave it is very small, being only 17 out of every 1,000. The number of immigrants, on the other hand, is considerable. Out of every 1,000 persons censused in the district, 38 are settlers from other districts, and 146 from other provinces. The former includes 1,002 persons from Goalpara, 4,680 from Kamrup, 3,447 from Nowgong, 875 from Sibsagar, and 1,014 from Lakhimpur. Most of the immigrants from Nowgong and many of those from Kamrup are probably cultivators, who have crossed the boundary and taken up land for cultivation in the Mangaldai subdivision. The remaining immigrants from other districts have in all probability gone to the sadr subdivision. The immigrants from other provinces are for the most part coolies recruited for the tea gardens of Tezpur and Bishnath.

Darrang.

Statement No. 120, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and of persons censused in the Darrang district.

Born in Darrang.		Censused in Darrang.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000.	Born in	Number per 1,000
Darrang	983	Darrang	816
Other districts ..	17	Other districts of Assam..	38
		Other countries ..	146
Total	**1,000**	**Total .. ..**	**1,000**

211. The proportion of emigrants from Nowgong is 43 persons per 1,000 born in that district. Nearly half of these (7,065) have gone to the Naga Hills,† and of the remainder, nearly half were censused in Darrang, 1,645 were found in Sibsagar, 704 in Kamrup, and smaller numbers in other districts. Of the persons censused in the district 928 per 1,000 were born in it, 23 per 1,000 have immigrated from Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, and other parts of Assam, and 49 from other provinces.

Nowgong.

Statement No. 121, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and of persons censused in the Nowgong district.

Born in Nowgong.		Censused in Nowgong.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000.	Born in	Number per 1,000.
Nowgong	957	Nowgong	928
Other districts ..	43	Other districts of Assam..	23
		Other countries ..	49
Total	**1,000**	**Total .. ..**	**1,000**

* A forest survey was proceeding at the time, and doubtless many of the amins employed were also natives of Behar districts.

† Probably nearly all are Mikirs, who live by *jhûm* cultivation.

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Birth place.

212. The principal feature in the birth place statistics for Sibsagar is the very small number of persons born there who have emigrated, as compared with the very large influx of persons born elsewhere. Out of every 1,000 persons born in the district, 981 were found there when the census was taken, and only 19 were enumerated in other districts. Of this small number of emigrants, two-thirds were found in Lakhimpur, and the greater part of the remainder in Darrang, Nowgong, and the Naga Hills. Of the persons censused in the district, only 775 per 1,000 were born there; 28 were settlers from other parts of Assam and 197 from other countries. The immigrants from other districts were chiefly from Kamrup and Lakhimpur; most of the remainder were persons born in Goalpara, Darrang, Nowgong, and the Naga Hills. Out of the total number of persons born in other countries (89,963), no less than 82,668 came from Bengal, and of these 53,688 were from the Chota Nagpur division.

Sibsagar.

Statement No. 122, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and of persons censused in the Sibsagar district.

Born in Sibsagar.		Censused in Sibsagar.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000.	Born in	Number per 1,000.
Sibsagar ..	981	Sibsagar	775
Other districts ..	19	Other districts of Assam..	28
		Other countries ..	197
Total	1,000	Total ..	1,000

213. The number of emigrants from and immigrants into Lakhimpur is smaller than in the case of Sibsagar, but its total population being barely half that of the latter district, the proportional figures are considerably higher. Of every 1,000 persons born in Lakhimpur, 971 were censused there and 29 in other districts, chiefly in Sibsagar and Darrang. Of the persons censused in the district, only 649 were born there, and of the remainder, 33 were persons born in other parts of Assam, and 318 in other countries. This enormous immigration is chiefly owing to the rapid expansion of the tea industry, but is also partly due to the demand for labour at the coal mines and on the railway. By far the greater part of the immigrants have been taken by the sadr subdivision, the share of the North Lakhimpur subdivision, which is a comparatively backward tract, being insignificant.

Lakhimpur.

Statement No. 123, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and of persons censused in the Lakhimpur district.

Born in Lakhimpur.		Censused in Lakhimper.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000.	Born in	Number per 1,000.
Lakhimpur ..	971	Lakhimpur	649
Other districts ..	29	Other districts of Assam..	33
		Other countries ..	318
Total	1,000	Total	1,000

214. There has been very little emigration from the Naga Hills. In all, only 1,360 persons have left the district, and of this number 904 were found in Sibsagar. There has been a good deal of immigration from Manipur, North Cachar, and Nowgong, especially from the latter district. The immigrants from Manipur are principally Kukis, those from North Cachar Kukis and Kacha Nagas, and those from Nowgong Mikirs. These tribes subsist by *jhúm* cultivation, and are constantly on the move from one place to another. By the time another census takes place, it seems not improbable that a good many of them will have again crossed the boundary, and become once more inhabitants of the districts in which they were born. The other foreigners found in the district are principally sepoys in the regiment and military police battalion, camp followers, and traders.

Naga Hills.

Statement No. 124, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and of persons censused in the Naga Hills.

Born in the Naga Hills.		Censused in the Naga Hills.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000.	Born in	Number per 1,000.
Naga Hills ..	987	Naga Hills	872
Other districts ..	13	Other districts of Assam ..	115
		Other countries ..	13
Total ..	1,000	Total ..	1,000

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215. Like the Nagas, the Khasis do not travel far from their homes; and only 13 out of every 1,000 persons born in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district were censused in other parts of the province. Of these, 787 found in Cachar were in part cultivators who had migrated to North Cachar, and partly persons who were working as coolies on the road over the so-called Rengti ridge. Nearly half the remaining emigrants from this district were found in Sylhet. The number censused in other districts was very small. Turning to the distribution by birth place of the persons censused in the district, we find that 966 per 1,000 were born there, 19 were immigrants from other parts of Assam, and 15 from other countries. Considering that the district contains the headquarters of the Administration and a regiment of native infantry, the number of immigrants is by no means large. **Birth place.**

Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

Statement No. 125, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and censused in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

Born in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.		Censused in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000.	Born in	Number per 1,000.
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	987	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	966
Other districts ..	13	Other districts of Assam.	19
		Other countries ..	15
Total ..	1,000	Total	1,000

216. The Garo Hills is the only district remaining to be mentioned. Out of every 1,000 persons born in the district, 964 were censused there and 36 in other districts of Assam. Of the emigrants, 1,847 were found in Goalpara and 723 in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The remainder appear to have been chiefly coolies on tea gardens. Of the persons censused in the district, 886 were born there, 48 were immigrants from other districts of Assam, and 66 from other countries. The total number of immigrants from other parts of Assam is 5,853 and of these 5,194 are from one district, Goalpara. The number of foreigners from other countries was considerably increased, as stated elsewhere, by the presence of two parties of elephant catchers in the district at the time when the census was taken.

Garo Hills.

Statement No. 126, showing the distribution per 1,000 of persons born and censused in the Garo Hills.

Born in the Garo Hills.		Censused in the Garo Hills.	
Censused in	Number per 1,000.	Born in	Number per 1,000.
Garo Hills ..	964	Garo Hills	886
Other districts ..	36	Other districts of Assam.	48
		Other countries ..	66
Total	1,000	Total	1,000

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CHAPTER X.—CASTE, TRIBE, &c.

IMPERIAL TABLE XVI.

Caste, Tribe, &c.

217. In this chapter the tribes and castes of the people will be dealt with. The total number of castes returned is so large and so much information is already available regarding many of them, that I shall not attempt to describe them all in full. I shall confine myself to giving such information regarding the indigenous tribes and castes as is not already available in standard works, such as those of Mr. Risley, Colonel Dalton, and Brian Hodgson, or in the Census Report of 1881.

218. The system of classification of the different castes, &c., is based on their traditional occupation. Full details of the strength of each are given in Imperial Table XVI, and a list of the different subdivisions of each caste returned, with the strength of the more important ones, will be found in Provincial Table X. A list of the castes in each group, with the total provincial strength, is given below. Those indigenous to Assam are underlined.

Statement No. 27, showing the strength of the different castes returned at the Census.

GROUP 1.—MILITARY AND DOMINANT.

Awán	...	1	Ját	...	51	Lámá	... 3
Bábhan	...	765	Khandáit	...	342	Mangar	... 3,404
Chhatri	...	5,200	Khas	...	96	Rájput	... 2,783
Gujar	...	23	Khawás	...	111	Thákur	... 349
Gurung	...	1,193	Khokhar	...	1	Thápá	... 1,515

GROUP 2.—MINOR AGRICULTURAL.

Bárui	...	22,581	Kaibartta	...	67,324	Rájbansi	123,751
Boriá	...	22,521	Kewat	...	91,129	Mekuri	... 4
Hálwá Dás	...	143,536	Khyen	...	878	Rárh	... 192
Kalitá	...	222,606	Koch	...	254,056	Sálai	... 9,356
	Sudra	...	7,068		Tokar	...	1,069
Agariá	...	573	Gangotá	...	4	Koiri	... 5,800
Amát	...	86	Ghási	...	9,172	Kol	... 2,704
Bánwar	...	2	Gond	...	3,595	Korwá	... 786
Báuri	...	32,149	Ho	...	22	Kurmi	... 12,576
Bediá	...	57	Káchhi	...	132	Lodhi	... 18
Bhar	...	6,389	Kadar	...	740	Magh	... 13
Bhil	...	65	Kadulu	...	60	Mál	... 1,604
Bhoer	...	45	Kálángá	...	26	Málé	... 94
Bhuiyá	...	32,186	Kalingá	...	5	Mál Paháriá	... 1,647
Bhumij	...	20,632	Kandh	...	175	Mandal	... 9
Bind	...	1,921	Kápu	...	17	Márkande	... 18
Binjhiá	...	139	Kaur	...	198	Maulik	... 208
Chásá	...	1,824	Khadál	...	255	Munda	... 46,244
Cháin	...	119	Khairá	...	3,194	Murmi	... 42
Chásati	...	8	Khariá	...	3,368	Nágbansi	... 536
Chero	...	176	Kharwár	...	4,509	Nágesar	... 141
Dhánuk	...	315	Khatik	...	9	Newár	... 560
Dhenuár	...	38	Kirár	...	2	Oráon	... 17,736
Dhorá	...	3	Kisan	...	418	Páhári	... 913

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Caste, Tribe &c.

GROUP 2—continued.

Parghá	...	13	Rautiá	...	790	Sárák	... 53
Parwári	...	6	Sadgop	...	846	Savar	... 684
Ráju	...	59	Saini	...	2	Setwár	... 1
Rájwár	...	5,360	Santhál	...	23,220	Sudhá	... 2
Telingá	...	393	Uppará	...	29		

GROUP 3.—CATTLE BREEDERS AND GRAZIERS.

Goálá	... ...	31,089	Rájbhar	... ...	1,086

GROUP 4.—FIELD LABOURERS.

Dhákar	...	15	Dhángar	...	293	Musahar	... 16,667

GROUP 6.—FOREST AND HILL TRIBES.

Abor	...	223	Lálung	...	52,423	Káchá Nága	... 9,080
Aká	...	14	Lushái	...	257	Kezhámá „	... 1,593
Chutiyá	...	87,691	Lyngam	...	1,847	Lhotá „	... 22,691
Daflá	...	1,137	Mahaliá	...	5,612	Naked „	... 595
Dehán	...	870	Manipuri	...	71,328	Rengmá „	... 7,865
Dyko	...	673	Mech	...	70,201	Semá „	... 5,167
Gáro	...	119,754	Mikir	...	94,829	Nágá (unspecified)	6,526
Hájong	...	8,470	Miri	...	37,430	*Total Nágá*	... *102,085*
Hojái	...	3,780	Mishmi	...	217	Rábhá	... 69,774
Jaladhá	...	6,311	Morán	...	5,812	Solanemiá	... 274
Káchári	...	243,378	Ángámi Nágá		26,906	Synteng	... 51,739
Khási	...	117,891	Áo „		21,360	Tipperah	... 8,659
Kuki	...	18,790	Kábui Nágá	...	302	Totlá	... 6,296

Khámbu	...	... 117	Tháru	...	... 43		
Limbu	...	... 1,044	Yákhá	...	... 5		

GROUP 7.—PRIESTS.

Bráhman	... ...	97,001	Barna Bráhman	... ...	5,568

GROUP 8.—DEVOTEES.

Fakir	...	... 158	Bairagi	...	4,803	Baishnab (unspecified)	866
Aghori	...	... 22	Kabirpanthi	...	21	Rámáyat	... 137
Atit	...	... 37	Rámánandi	...	29	Sannyási	... 227
			Udási	...	...	39	

GROUP 10.—GENEALOGISTS.

Bhát	... ...	1,275

GROUP 11.—WRITERS.

Káyastha	... ...	92,395	Karan	... ...	18

GROUP 12.—ASTROLOGERS.

Ganak	... ...	23,739

GROUP 13.—PHYSICIANS.

Baidya	... ...	4,698

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

GROUP 14.—MUSICIANS AND BALLAD RECITERS.

Dholi	...	7,951	Kawáli	...	263
Chukar	...	2	Kathak	...	2
Gorait	...	1,533	Turáhá	...	600

GROUP 15.—DANCERS AND SINGERS.

Nat	...	4,261	Bhátiyá	...	24

GROUP 17.—TRADERS.

Agarwál	...	2,325	Jaiswál	...	2	Máhuri	... 20
Agrahari	...	6	Kalápuri	...	11	Oswál	... 1,352
Aguri	...	104	Kumti	...	2	Parwál	... 1
Bániá	...	2,801	Kasarwáni	...	12	Rasat	... 1
Báis Bániá	...	2	Khatri	...	226	Saráogi	... 246
Bhagwat	...	3	Mahesri	...	259	Vaisya	... 3,713

GROUP 20.—GOLDSMITHS.

Sarnakár	...	835	Subarnabanik	...	19
Sonár	...	3,861			

GROUP 21.—BARBERS.

Nápit	...	32,989			
Bhándári	...	48	Hajám	...	1,393

GROUP 22.—BLACKSMITHS.

Kámár	...	29,654			
Kámi	...	120	Lohár	...	7,388

GROUP 23.—CARPENTERS AND TURNERS.

Sutradhar	...	16,731	Bárhi	...	419

GROUP 24.—BRASS AND COPPERSMITHS.

Kánsári	...	41	Moriá	...	1,681

GROUP 25.—TAILORS.

Dámi (Darzi)	...	1,021

GROUP 26.—GRAIN-PARCHERS AND CONFECTIONERS.

Mayará (Madak)	...	1,625			
Hálwái	...	932	Kándu	...	2,329

GROUP 27.—DRUG PREPARERS, BETEL-LEAF DEALERS, GARLAND AND LEAF-PLATE MAKERS.

Gandhabanik	...	635	Phulmáli (Málákár)	...	960		
Bári	...	216	Benito	...	344	Támbuli	... 137

GROUP 28.—WEAVERS, CALENDERERS, AND DYERS.

Jugi	...	177,746	Kapáli	...	1,122	Tánti	... 11,002
Chhipá	...	35	Mehrá	...	71	Pátwá	... 719
Joláhá	...	2,180	Pán	...	20,106	Samosi	... 113
Koshtá	...	14	Pátor	...	820	Tatwa	... 22

GROUP 29.—WASHERMEN.

Dhobá	...	24,299
Dhobi	...	13,693

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

GROUP 30.—COTTON CLEANERS.

Dhuniá 13

GROUP 31.—SHEPHERDS AND WOOL-WEAVERS.

Gareri ... ... 624 Gadariá 1

GROUP 32.—OIL-PRESSERS.

Teli 35,624

GROUP 33.—POTTERS.

Hirá ... ... 10,065 Kumár 25,441

GROUP 34 (a).—BANGLE-MAKERS.

Láheri ... ... 22 Sánkhári 10

GROUP 35.—SALT, &C., WORKERS.

Nuniá... 6,993

GROUP 36.—LIME-BURNERS.

Mukhi 2,361

Chunári (Báiti) 33

GROUP 38.—GOLD-WASHERS.

Jhorá 117

GROUP 39.—IRON-SMELTERS.

Asura (Agoriá) 513

GROUP 40.—FISHERMEN, BOATMEN, PALKI-BEARERS, COOKS, &C.

Dátiyá	... 898	Máhimal	...	58,100	Máhárá	...	6,262
Dom (Pátni)	205,053	Málo (Jhálo)	...	20,068	Namasudra (Chandál)		180,539
		Tiyar	...	...	237		
Bágdi	... 8,094	Khatwé	...	7	Muriári	...	7
Ghátwal	... 3,329	Mánjhi	...	4,766	Pod	...	29
Káhár	... 5,442	Málláh	...	1,490	Surahiyá	...	823

GROUP 41.—DISTILLERS AND TODDY-DRAWERS.

Sháhá ... 51,971

Kalwár ...	709	Shegádi ...	26
Pási ...	3,573	Sunri ...	105

GROUP 42.—BUTCHERS.

Kasái 6

GROUP 43.—LEATHER-WORKERS.

Chámár (Jaiswár)		... 17,879		Muchi	...	...	10,337
Kháról	... 11	Madgi	...	26	Sárki	...	101

GROUP 44.—VILLAGE WATCHMEN.

Dosádh ... ... 7,097 Kotál 15

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

GROUP 45.—SCAVENGERS.

Bhuinmáli ...	...	50,940	Hári ...	...	13,620
Lálbegi ...	...	187	Mehtar ...	...	748

GROUP 46.—GRINDSTONE-MAKERS AND STONE-QUARRIERS.

Bháskar	...	2

GROUP 47.—EARTH-WORKERS AND STONE-DRESSERS.

Beldár ...	...	573	Korá ...	...	4,669

GROUP 49.—MAT-MAKERS AND CANE-SPLITTERS.

Patiá ...	...	3,508	Pátiál ...	...	209
Karangá ...	...	34	Mang ...	...	12
Mahili ...	...	3,606	Turi ...	...	8,240

GROUP 51.—HUNTERS AND FOWLERS, &C.

Gandapál ...	...	1,955	Mirshikári ...	...	473
Báheliá ...	...	129	Gulguliá ...	...	20
Birhor ...	...	73	Pardhiá ...	...	4
	Sunuwár	...	...	54	

GROUP 52.—MISCELLANEOUS AND DISREPUTABLE LIVERS.

	Besyá	...	...	91	
Gandharp ...	...	6	Kanjar ...	...	8

GROUP 54.—JUGGLERS, SNAKE-CHARMERS, AND ANIMAL EXHIBITORS.

Bediyá	...	1,005

GROUP 55.—NON-INDIAN ASIATIC RACES.

Áhom ...	153,528	Shekh ...	1,377,015	Biloch (Lund) ...	1
Áiton ...	163	Siddiki ...	4,789	Chinese ...	5
Khámjang ...	35	Singphó ...	1,469	Jew ...	5
Khámti ...	3,040	Turung ...	301	Kábuli ...	35
Norá ...	716	Ánsari ...	81	Moghal ...	2,126
Phákiál ...	565	Armenian ...	9	Páthán ...	13,088
Shán ...	1,278	Bhutiá ...	1,503	Qureshi ...	1,356
Saiad ...	12,127	Uzbec ...	2		

GROUP 56.—MIXED ASIATIC RACES.

Doániá	...	715

GROUP 57.—NON-ASIATIC RACES.

Abyssinian ..	1	Dutch ...	1	Italian ...	2
American ..	24	English	1,381	New Zealander ...	1
Australian ..	2	European ...	237	Norwegian ...	3
Austrian ..	3	French ...	9	Portuguese ...	8
Canadian ..	4	German ...	14	Spanish ...	1
Danish ...	3	Goanese ...	3	Swede ...	1

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GROUP 58.—EURASIANS.

Eurasian ... 383

GROUP 59.—CHRISTIAN CONVERTS.

Native Christian ... 14,756

GROUP 60.—PERSONS ENUMERATED BY NATIONALITY.

Assamese	...	948	Matak	...	824		
Bengali	...	202	Hindustani	...	13	Nipáli	... 1,707
Bráhmo	...	69	Madrasi	...	592	Punjábi	... 1
Burmese	...	1	Maráthi	...	3	Singhalese	... 2
Sikh	...	97	Uriya	...	2,251		

GROUP 61.—UNSPECIFIED AND INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED.

Aboriginal	... 181	Hindu	... 539	Kanaujiá	... 199		

GROUP 1.—MILITARY AND DOMINANT.

219. The castes included under this head are all foreign, unless it may be that some of the Káchári and Manipuri converts to Hinduism are included in the caste described as Chhatri or Kshettriya. It is unnecessary to mention all the castes in detail; it will suffice to say that the group includes Nipal castes, such as the Mangar (3,404) and Gurung (1,193), which Sir Charles Reid describes as 'the true fighting class of Gurkhás'. It includes also the up-country Rájput, Ját, and Gujar, and the Khandáit or Swordsman of Orissa. The Gurkhás, of course, are chiefly found in the local regiments and military police battalions. The Khandáit, on the other hand, has exchanged his sword for the hoe, and those found in Assam have immigrated, not as fighting men, but in order to work as coolies on tea gardens.

One entry in this group requires explanation. Many Gurkhás when asked what their caste is, answer 'Thápá', and this word frequently appeared in the census schedules. It is not really a caste, but is rather a family name common to several castes,—the Khas, Mangar, &c. As, however, I had no means of ascertaining the real caste of persons thus described, I thought it best to enter them simply as Thápás.

GROUP 2.—MINOR AGRICULTURAL.

220. This is the most numerous group in the scheme. It contains the great bulk of the Hindu cultivators of Assam, and also a large proportion of the immigrants who have come to work on tea gardens. I will take the indigenous castes first, and will then refer briefly to those which are foreign to the province.

The Báruis are cultivators of the betel vine. They belong to the Nava-Sákha Group, but are not contented with their rank as such, nor even with their euphemistic title Látábaidya, and they now claim to be Káyasthas. With a view to proving their claims to this rank, they often pay large sums for Káyastha brides and describe themselves as Káyasthas in documents and on every possible occasion. The figures for 1881 show that on that occasion a considerably larger number succeeded in thus misdescribing themselves in the Census schedules than at the present enumeration. Srotriya Bráhmans act as their priests and preside at their religious ceremonies. The Báruis are numerous in the district of Sylhet only.

Barui.

Statement No. 128, showing the strength and distribution of the Báruis.

DISTRICT.	1891.	1881.
Cachar	1,031	335
Sylhet	21,274	4,092
Other districts ..	276	2
Total	**22,581**	**4,429**

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Boria.

221. The Boriá is an agricultural caste, which is generally said to be composed of the offspring of Bráhman widows and their descendants. As a matter of fact, it appears to include all manner of outcastes, not only of Brahmans, but of Ganaks also; it includes the offspring of widows, of persons of those castes who marry within the prohibited degrees of relationship, and of bastards. The caste is still being recruited from outside, and existing members of the caste admit into their community persons born under the circumstances just mentioned. The Boriás often euphemistically style themselves 'Sud', whereby they claim relationship with the expounder of the Puranas of that name, who was himself born of a Bráhman widow. The caste is peculiar to the Brahmaputra Valley, and only a very small number of persons belonging to it are found elsewhere. The total strength of the caste has increased by about 10 per cent. during the past ten years. The distribution by districts has, however, changed a good deal. The prevalent occupation is agriculture.

Statement No. 129 showing the strength and distribution of the Boriá caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar ..	21	..
Sylhet ..	22	..
Goalpara ..	68	484
Kamrup ..	909	1,419
Darrang ..	3,568	3,002
Nowgong ..	11,612	9,674
Sibsagar ..	5,319	2,701
Lakhimpur ..	941	3,066
Naga Hills ..	1	..
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	....	2
Total ..	23,521	20,438

Kewat.

222. Whether the Kewats are of the same origin as the Kaibarttas or not is perhaps an open question. In Bengal and the Central Provinces the Kewats subsist chiefly by fishing, but in Assam they rank as a superior Sudra caste, of which by far the greater number live by agriculture. They are found chiefly in the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley proper, and, like the Kalitás, are divided into a number of functional sub-castes. The main division is between the Hálwá and the Jáliyá,—the cultivating and fishing Kewats. The former largely predominate, the latter being found in any numbers in Sylhet and Kamrup only. Those in the former district are probably nearly all immigrants from Bengal. In Kamrup 557 persons are returned as Máli Kewats, and a few are also shown as Teli Kewats. In Nowgong and Sibsagar we find Kumár Kewats, and in Darrang and Sibsagar Dhobá Kewats, but it is doubtful whether these are true sub-castes. In Tezpur they are said to be a true sub-caste of Kewat, who were employed as washermen in the time of the Ahom Rajas; but in the Mangaldai subdivision of the same district it is stated that these people are simply Dhobás who have misdescribed themselves as Kewats. In Nowgong it is reported that all artizans belonging to this caste are included in the general term Saru Kewat. In the same district there is a sub-caste called Uttori, which consists of persons who have renounced agriculture and assumed the sacred thread.

There has been an increase in the number of Kewats returned in each district except Kamrup, where, however, 22,468 persons have been returned as Kaibartta, against none in 1881. If these be added to the persons shown as Kewat above, the number in that district will be 54,707, or 1,504 more than in 1881. The increase in the other districts is greater than that in the total native born population; and from this it may perhaps be inferred that the caste is being recruited to a small extent from others which are socially inferior to it. The suggestion is denied by those concerned, but it is difficult to find any other explanation for the increase. The Kewats permit divorce and widow remarriage, although both practices are said to be gradually dying out.

Statement No. 130, showing the strength and distribution of the Kewat caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Kamrup ..	32,239	53,203
Darrang ..	14,239	13,970
Nowgong ..	20,553	17,896
Sibsagar ..	20,615	17,736
Lakhimpur ..	2,457	634
Other districts ..	1,026	936
Total ..	91,129	104,375

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Kaibartta.

223. The Kaibarttas are found chiefly in Sylhet and Kamrup, but a few are also scattered over the other plains districts. The only point to notice regarding their distribution is that 22,468 persons have been returned as Kaibartta in Kamrup against none at the last census. The reason for this appears to be, as already stated, that all Kaibarttas were then shown under one head with Kewats in the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley proper. It is not improbable that many of these persons really are Kewats, but in the return for the present census they have been entered under the designation recorded in the enumerators' schedules. Two subdivisions are recorded,—Hálwá and Jáliyá. Of the total number of Kaibarttas, 33,473 returned no subdivision; of the remainder, 18,594 are described as belonging to the fishing and 15,162 to the cultivating subdivision.

Statement No. 131, showing the strength and distribution of the Kaibartta caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar ..	685	182
Sylhet ..	40,911	35,407
Goalpara ..	1,806	1,551
Kamrup ..	22,468	....
Darrang ..	246	....
Nowgong ..	97	....
Sibsagar ..	587	....
Lakhimpur ..	522	....
Other districts ..	2	21
Total ..	67,324	37,161

Halwa Das.

224. Closely connected with the Kaibarttas are the Hálwá Dás of Sylhet. In fact, Mr. Risley treats the Hálwá Dás of Bengal as a sub-caste of Kaibartta. In Sylhet, however, they occupy a much higher position than in Bengal, and have already almost attained the position which Mr. Risley predicts that they will eventually reach in that province. He says: "The Hálwá Kaibarttas are usually allowed to smoke in the same *hookah* with members of the Nava-Sákha; and this fairly marks their position as standing first below that group. The same privilege is not accorded to the Jáliyá Kaibarttas. At present Brahmans will not take water from the hands even of the Hálwá sub-caste; but it seems likely, as time goes on, that this sub-caste will rise in social estimation, and will altogether sink the Kaibartta, so that eventually it is possible that they may succeed in securing a place with the Nava-Sákha."

Now, in Sylhet a great deal of this has already come to pass. The Hálwá Dás have succeeded in effecting a severance not only from the fishing Kaibarttas, but also from the members of that caste who have only recently taken to cultivation. Their water is drinkable by all classes except Bráhmans and the widows of Bráhmans and Káyasthas—a distinction which is not generally accorded to them in Bengal, and the origin of which is accounted for as follows: Ballal Sen's son was away from home, and, wishing for his immediate return, the Raja offered to grant any request that might be made by the person who should bring him back the same day. Some Kaibarttas succeeded in doing this, and asked in return that their water might be made drinkable by the higher castes. Having given his promise, Ballal Sen was compelled to comply with their petition; but in order to save as much of his kingdom as possible from this contamination, he directed that the order should only apply to the Hálwá Dás of Sylhet and Cachar.* Their position is much higher than that of the ordinary Kaibartta, and they may fairly claim to rank next to, if not as high as, the Nava-Sákha group. But they claim much more than this, and assert that they are Sudras or Káyasthas. Their pretensions are helped by the success in life which has attended their leading members; and to further advance their claims, they are in the habit of taking Káyastha and Baidya girls in marriage. In such cases, however, the girl loses her caste; and although she is allowed to enter the cook-room of her parents, and even touch their water, food cooked by her is not eaten by her relatives. In this respect a distinction is drawn between the Dás and the Bárui and Kámár—the two castes of the Nava-Sákha group, the members of which are addicted to the same form of hypergamy. A Káyastha girl who is married to a man of either of these castes may still cook food for her parents.

* The water of their Bráhman is not in use, as the latter is said to be a Máli.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

As already noted, the caste is found principally in the Sylhet district, the number returned elsewhere being inconsiderable. There has been a vast increase since 1881, the reason for which appears to be that on that occasion a large number of persons belonging to this caste returned themselves as Káyasthas. On this occasion greater pains were taken to secure the entry of the true caste, and the second caste column often furnished a clue, when a wrong entry was made in the column showing the main caste.

Statement No. 132, showing the strength and distribution of the Hálwá Dás caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar	1,242	335
Sylhet	140,993	102,065
Goalpara	1,021	....
Other districts	277	26
Total	143,536	102,426

Kalita.

225. The Kalitás are found only the valley of the Brahmaputra.* Their history is unknown, and very little credence can be given to the legends which have been invented to account for their name and origin. One account is that they are the descendants of the Kshettriyas who fled from the wrath of Parasuráma,† and, throwing away their sacred thread, concealed their caste, from which circumstance they were called Kul-lupta or Kalitá. Another suggestion is that they are Káyasthas who have been degraded for taking to cultivation,—a view which derives its main support from the fact that the Káyastha settlers of the time of the Báro Bhuiya are known to have intermarried with them. Buchanan says that they were formerly the priests of the Bodo; and in this statement he has been followed by Hodgson.‡ A more plausible hypothesis is that they are the descendants of the earliest Aryan§ invaders who entered Assam before the existing profession castes of Bengal had been formed. In Manu's list of mixed castes we find mention of the important aboriginal or race castes, such as the Chandáls and the Kaibarttas, but no reference is made to the profession castes which are now found in most parts of India,—the Káyasthas, the Baidyas, and the castes of the Nava-Sákha group. The inference which Mr. R. C. Dutt draws‖ from this circumstance is that in Manu's time the only caste distinctions known were those of the four main castes and of the different aboriginal tribes, and that the professions were then practised simply as professions, and had not at that time been formed into the distinct castes which subsequently replaced three out of the four main castes of Manu. Now, what is the present position of caste in the Brahmaputra Valley? We have the Bráhman and the Kalitá, and we have also the different race castes, that is to say we have the castes of Manu, except that the Kalitá takes the place of the Kshettriya, Vaisya, and Sudra. The modern profession castes, which have taken the place of the Kshettriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras in other parts of India, are none of them found here. There are, of course, gardeners, barbers, potters, blacksmiths, &c., but the persons following these occupations do not constitute separate castes: the oilman is generally a Kewat; the potter a Kalitá, a Kewat, or a Chandál; the barber is usually a Kalitá; and so for all the rest. The profession castes are non-existent, and the only portion of the population of the Brahmaputra Valley which corresponds to them are the Kalitás. How they got this name, and how all Hindus, except the Bráhmans, were thus classed together, I cannot say. But it seems not unlikely that the term was at first used to indicate nationality rather than caste. The paucity of the numbers of the early Aryan invaders, their isolation, and possibly also the levelling influence of Buddhism, would all tend to cause them to drop such caste distinctions as may have existed at the time of their immigration and unite as a common nationality in the midst of the aboriginal tribes which surrounded them, whose numbers

* There are Kalitás in Sambhalpur and the Tributary Mahals of Chota Nagpur, but the homonym appears to be accidental. Mr. Risley is of opinion that the latter are simply Orh Chasas under another name.

† The same fable is repeated by the Koch and Mech as accounting for their present lowly position and as giving colour to their claims to occupy a high place in the Hindu caste system on their conversion to that religion.

‡ But Hodgson added that the Kalitas are a sub-caste of Koch, which they most certainly are not.

§ I use the word in its most general sense, as a convenient way of distinguishing the Hindus from the Dravidians and other races.

‖ 'Ancient India', vol. III, page 151.

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far exceeded their own. Less than two and a half centuries ago, the chronicler of Mir Jumla's invasion described the inhabitants of Upper Assam as consisting of two races—the Ahom and the Kalitá,; and it seems clear from his description that the latter term was used to indicate the Aryan settlers, as distinguished from the less intelligent but more courageous hill tribes, and especially from the Ahoms, who were then the dominant race.

226. The Kalitás occupy a high position among the indigenous castes of the Brahmaputra Valley, and rank next to the Bráhmans and Ganaks.* Although they are mainly of Aryan extraction, it seems not unlikely that there have from time to time been admissions into the castes from outside. Just as in the Surma Valley the Báruis, Sháhás, Halwá Dás, and others claim to rank as Káyasthas, so in the Brahmaputra Valley do other castes endeavour to obtain recognition as Kalitás. I have explained elsewhere how the Duliyá Jugis have recently endeavoured to raise themselves to this level; and it is not uncommon for the Bar Kewat (the Hálwá Dás of the Brahmaputra Valley) to try to pass himself off as a Saru Kalitá. Apart from these, there are several functional subdivisions of the Kalitá caste, the true position of which is doubtful. These are the Kumár Kalitá, the Máli Kalitá, the Nat Kalitá, and the Bez Kalitá. Some assert that these are not Kalitás at all, and have no title to describe themselves as such, while others say that they are true Kalitás, who have degraded themselves by taking to the occupations which their names denote. On the whole, the evidence is in favour of their being Kalitás, but it seems not unlikely that persons of other castes have also gained admission to these lower grades. These different artisan sections seem to be much on the same level, and intermarriage is said to be permitted amongst them. They often describe themselves as Saru Kalitá instead of by their occupational name, and are thus distinguished from the better class Kalitás, who call themselves Bar Kalitá and who never intermarry with the artisan subdivisions of the caste. The strength and distribution of each subcaste are shown in statement No. 133.

Statement No. 133, showing the strength and distribution of the Kalitás.

District.	Bar Kalitá.	Saru Kalitá.	Kumar Kalitá.	Mali Kalitá.	Nat Kalitá.	Bez Kalitá.	Kalitá unspecified.	Total 1891.	Total 1881.
Goalpara	3,326	305	3	...	...	...	6,163	9,797	11,299
Kamrup	10,513	516	480	504	11	751	117,164	129,939	140,923
Darrang	7,289	1,775	260	1	132	1,372	8,641	19,470	24,460
Nowgong	9,384	635	1,208	...	642	1	12,164	24,034	23,144
Sibsagar	14,606	2,858	2,121	...	1,681	...	13,209	34,475	33,812
Lakhimpur	2,239	425	9	...	136	1	1,884	4,694	7,742
Other districts	31	8	...	...	...	12	146	197	12,480
Total	**47,388**	**6,522**	**4,081**	**505**	**2,602**	**2,137**	**159,371**	**222,606**	**253,860**

The decrease in Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, and Lakhimpur is probably due to stricter enumeration, as it was stated in the Report on the Census of 1881 that the large increase then shown was possibly owing to a large number of Koches having returned themselves as Kalitás. The increase in Nowgong and Sibsagar is moderate. The difference in the figures recorded under other districts is due to 12,210 persons in Sylhet having been shown as Kalitás, against only 77 at the present census. Although the number of Kalitás shows a decrease, as compared with 1881, it is greater by 24 per cent. than in 1872, when the number returned was 179,060.

* They are inferior to the Káyasthas, but the latter are scarcely natives of the Brahmaputra Valley.

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Khyens.

227. The Khyens belong to Bengal rather than Assam, and are here found only in two districts, Goalpara and Kamrup, where they number 814 and 64 respectively. They were not shown separately in 1881, but in 1872 their number was returned as 776 in Goalpara and 77 in Kamrup. It is generally thought that they are allied to the Koch or Rájbansi.

In Rai Gunabhiram Baruah's 'Asam Buranji',* it is stated that Raja Niladhwaj, who overthrew the Pál dynasty in Kámarupa, was of the Khyen race; but he does not state his authority for this conclusion. Mr. Risley identifies the Khyen or Khyán with the Kalitá, but although they frequently describe themselves as Khyen Kalitás it seems doubtful whether there is any real connection with that caste.

Koch.

228. The first mention of the Koch of which I am aware is in 1198 A.D., when Bakhtiyar Ghilji conquered Bengal and invaded Tibet. The historian says that at that time North Bengal was peopled by the Koch, Mech, and Tháru tribes, whose features were described as Mongolian.† Hodgson also classes them as such,‡ and says:

> The physical type of the Koch as contrasted with that of the Hindu is palpable, but not so as compared with that of the Bodo and Dhimal . . . . I can attest the entire conformity of the physiognomy of all, and of the creeds and customs of this remnant with those of other aborigines around them.

Racial affinities.

And again, when giving certain measurements of the head and body,—

> A young man named Birna, a Bodo, has been selected to represent his nation, and through it the Dhimals and Koches also, for the traits of face and form are so nearly alike in all that neither pen nor pencil could satisfactorily set them apart.

Similarly, we read in the Dacca Blue Book§ that "the Koch possess the prominent cheek bones, flat features, and narrow and oblique eyelids of the Mongolian variety of the human species." The religion and customs of the Koch, as described by Buchanan, correspond very closely with those of the various Bodo tribes, while the language of the Páni Koch is very nearly allied to Gáro.‖

On the other hand, Colonel Dalton argues¶ that the Koch is Dravidian, his opinion being based on their colour, the thickness of their lips, and their angular facial line. Mr. Risley agrees with Colonel Dalton's view, and sums up his conclusions as follows.**

> A comparison of these opinions with my own observations and with the average cephalic, nasal, and naso-malar indices of the caste ascertained by a large number of actual measurements seems to me to warrant the conclusion that the Koch, Rájbansi, Paliya Desi, and other varieties, by whatever names they are called, are descended from a Dravidian stock, which may probably have occupied the Valley of the Ganges at the time of the Aryan advance into Bengal. Driven forward by this incursion into the swamps and forests of Northern and North-eastern Bengal, the tribe were here and there brought into contact with the Mongoloid races of the Lower Himalayas and of the Assam border, and their type may have been affected to a varying degree by intermixture with these people. But, on the whole, Dravidian characteristics predominate among them over Mongolian.

It seems impossible that so accurate an observer as Brian Hodgson should have been mistaken in saying so positively that the Koch who came under his personal observation were Mongolian, while it is still more unlikely that a mistake in classifying the cases before him could have been made by Mr. Risley, who substitutes actual measurement for mere personal impressions. How, then, are these conflicting opinions to be accounted for? The solution, I think, is to be found in the fact that the Bengal Koch, or Rajbánsi of to-day, is a mixed race. Dr. Hunter says that it is almost certain that some of the lower fishing castes of Eastern Bengal have adopted the sounding appellation of Rajbánsi, instead of their proper name of Tiyar;†† and this being so, it would seem that

* Page 52. The same statement is made in Robinson's 'Assam', page 150.
† 'Tabaqat i Nácirí', *apud* Blochmann, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873, page 239.
‡ 'Essays relating to Indian Subjects', vol. I, pages 113 and 154.
§ Page 7.
‖ It is, however, not certain that these people belong to the Koch tribe. They may be Garos in process of conversion.
¶ 'Ethnology', page 90.
** 'Castes and Tribes', vol. I, page 492.
†† Hunter's 'Statistical Account of Kuch Behar,' vol. X, page 347.

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some observers have had before them members of the tribe showing traces of a Dravidian origin, while others have judged of all by specimens descended from a Mongolian stock.

The question is to which of these stocks the original Koch belonged. Buchanan, who was the first English writer on the subject, considered the Páni Koch, who are admittedly Mongolian, to be the primitive type; and the theory of a Mongolian origin is corroborated by the description of the tribe seven centuries ago as given by the Musalman historian of Bakhtiyar Ghilji's invasion, and by the fact that the Pani Koch are the only members of the tribe still speaking a non-Aryan language. The same conclusion might perhaps be supported by the close alliance which subsisted for centuries between the Mech and Koch tribes,—an alliance which involved intermarriage between the two tribes in the royal family itself, and by the fact that the lineal descendants of this family, the Darrang and Beltola Rajas, have unmistakeably Mongolian features. Ralph Fitch, who visited the Koch kingdom in the 16th century, says, "The people have ears which be marvellous great, of a span long, which they draw out by devices when they be young," a practice which is still common amongst the Mongolian Garos, although it has now been abandoned by the Koch.

But whatever may have been the racial affinities of the original Koch tribe, there can be no doubt that the present Koch of Assam belong to the Mongolian rather than to the Dravidian stock.

In Bengal the Rájbansi-Koch have been proved by Mr. Risley's enquiries to be more nearly allied to the Dravidians, but the circumstances in Assam are quite different. Whatever may have been the origin of the tribe which gave its name to the heterogeneous horde now known as Koch or Rájbansi, in Bengal it has mixed so much with the Dravidian races around it that its physical type would in any case have partaken largely of the Dravidian element. In Assam, on the other hand, the tribe, which, though dominant, was always numerically small, has been surrounded by Mongolian tribes, with which it has not only intermarried, but which it has absorbed in numbers large enough to swamp its original characteristics, even if these at first were purely Dravidian. The name in Assam is no longer that of a tribe, but rather of a Hindu caste, into which all converts to Hinduism from the different tribes,—Káchári, Gáro, Hájong, Lálung, Mikir, &c.,—are admitted on conversion. In Assam, therefore, it seems, for the present at any rate, desirable to treat the Koch as allied to the Bodo, and through them as a branch of the Mongolian stock.

Historical sketch.

229. Although there is no doubt that many of the Bodo tribes rose in turn to power at some previous period of their career, the Koch alone have traditions which merit the name of history.* The seat of their kingdom was Kámarupa, a country comprising North-Eastern Bengal and Lower Assam, and famed in Hindu mythology as a sacred place, favoured by the gods, abounding in temples and sacred shrines, and especially celebrated as being the place where Kámdeo, the Indian Cupid, recovered his form after being turned to ashes by Siva, and as containing the temple of Kámákhya,† the goddess of sexual desire.

The early history of Kámarupa is only dimly set forth in passing references in the Jogini Tantra, the Kálika Puran, and other religious books, which contain little more than long lists of kings and accounts of their dealings with the gods. The first king we read of is Mahirang Dánab, who ruled at Gauhati, then known as Prágjyotishpur, or the 'City of departed glory'. He was succeeded in turn by his

* *Vide* Glazier's 'Report on Rangpur'; Rai Gunabhiram Barua's 'Asam Buranji', Robinson's 'History of Assam', and a manuscript metrical history (Sanskrit) in the possession of Raja Lakshmi Narayan of Howli Mohanpur. The latter is supposed to have been written about 1805 by Surja Hari Ganak under the orders of Raja Samudra Narayan. It is written on oblong strips of *suchi* bark, and each page is illustrated. The account of the earlier Koch kings there given is by far the fullest I have yet seen.

† The legend is that Siva carried the body of his deceased wife, 'Sati,' about on his shoulder, and that Vishnu, to break his penance, lopped away the body piecemeal with his *discus*. There were 51 pieces, and on the place where each piece fell a temple was erected. The temple of Kamakhya is said to stand on the spot on which her organ of generation fell.

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descendants, Hatak Asur, Sambar Asur, Narak Asur (who was slain by Krishna), and Bhog Datta, the last of whom is said to have given his daughter to Duryodhan, and to have died fighting on his side in the battle of Kurukshetra. When Hiouen Thsang visited Kámarupa (Kyamalupa) about 640 A.D., he found a Hindu king named Kumar Bháskara Barman* on the throne, and visited in his company one of the celebrated Buddhist assemblages summoned by Siladitya† at Nalanda. The Chinese traveller describes the people as being short, with dark yellow complexions, of a wild and impetuous nature, with retentive memories and earnest in study. Our knowledge of succeeding dynasties is chiefly confined to confusing and often conflicting lists of names. We know, however, that there reigned a Pál dynasty, who were probably Buddhists, and may have been descendants of the Pál kings of Bengal. The last of this line was deposed by Niladhwaj, who is said to have belonged to the Khyen tribe. He was originally a cowherd in the service of a Bráhman, who became his mantri when he succeeded to the throne. Niladhwaj made his capital at Kamatapur in Kuch Behar, and declared his caste to be that of 'High Sudra'. He was succeeded by his son Chakradhwaj, and the latter by his son Nilambar, who was defeated by Hussein Shah about 1498 A.D. About this time the Koch kings rose to power. The legend runs that Hájo Koch had two daughters, Hira and Jira, whom he married to Haria Mandal, a Mech. Hira was an incarnation of Bhagavati, and was visited by Siva in the guise of Haria Mandal. The offspring of this intercourse was a son, Bisu, who consolidated the power of his tribe,‡ and defeated the Báro Bhuiyas, who had become powerful during the reign of Nilambar. He became a Hindu, taking the name of Biswa Sing, and imported Baidik Bráhmans from Sylhet in the place of the Kalitás who were previously the priests of his tribe. He made an abortive attempt to invade the country of the Ahoms, but was more successful in the internal management of his kingdom. He settled the different offices of state, and established his army on a secure basis. His son Nar Náráyan succeeded him about 1528 A.D., and at once commenced a series of expeditions against the neighbouring powers. He defeated the Ahoms, and made them tributary to him; and his brother Sukladhwáj, *alias* Silarai, subsequently conquered the kings of Hiramba (Cachar), Jaintia, and Sylhet, but was defeated and made prisoner by the Musalman ruler of Gaur. Silarai's son Raghu was adopted by Nar Náráyan as his successor. Then Silarai died and Nar Náráyan begat a son of his own, named Lakshmi, whereupon Raghu, fearing he would lose the succession, broke out in rebellion. The armies met, but a peace was concluded without bloodshed; the kingdom was divided into two parts,§ Raghu taking the portion east of the Sankosh, while the part west of that river was reserved for Nar Náráyan's son Lakshmi. This division of the kingdom took place about 1581 A.D.

Raghu was succeeded by his son Parikhit, who fought with and defeated Lakshmi. The latter then invoked the aid of the Emperor of Delhi, by whose troops Parikhit was in his turn defeated and made prisoner. His brother Balit Náráyan fled to the Ahom Raja Swarga Náráyan, who sent an army against the Musalmans, and drove them across the Karatoya. From that time the independent rule of the Koch kings ceased. Balit Náráyan became a tributary of the Ahoms, and the western branch succumbed to the Musalmans. The existing representatives of Hájo are the Maharaja of Kuch Behar, the Bijni Raja, and the Rajas of Darrang and Beltola.

* He called this king a Bráhman; but this, doubtless, simply meant that he was a Hindu, and not a Buddhist. The word Bárman is a Kshettriya title which to this day is commonly assumed by Káchári and other converts to Hinduism.

† Beal, vol. II, page 196.

‡ The date of his accession to power is entered in a manuscript copy of the Jogini Tantra in the possession of a Mangaldai Bráhman as 1494 A.D. It must have been somewhat later than this, and the date given by Rai Gunabhiram Barua in his 'Asam Buranji,' (1498-1508) is probably more correct.

§ A different version is given by some authorities, but this is the account given in Raja Lakshmi Náráyan's manuscript 'Purushnameh' and in Gunabhiram's 'Asam Buranji'.

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Strength and distribution of the Koch caste.

230. The strength and distribution of the Koch caste including Rájbansis are given in statement No. 134. In 1881 the increase as compared with 1872 was only 8 per cent., and the conclusion arrived at was that, in view of the way in which the Koch caste is constantly being recruited from the ranks of the hill tribes, the only possible explanation was that a number of Koches must have returned themselves as belonging to some higher caste. At the present census the increase is even smaller, but there are special reasons which help to explain this anomaly. We have already seen that in Kamrup the indigenous population has decreased by 20,479, or 3·2 per cent., so that, assuming the Koch caste to have been reduced in the same proportions, the number now living would have been only 89,157 had there been no accessions to the caste from outside. The difference between these figures and the numbers actually returned, *viz.*, 10,816, may, therefore, be taken as representing the extent to which fresh converts have entered the caste during the past ten years.* In Goalpara the decrease in the number returned is in the same way chiefly due to the decrease in the general indigenous population. In the same way there has been no increase in the native born population of Darrang, so that the whole of the increase in the number of persons of the Koch caste in that district (10,137) may be assumed to be due to fresh conversions.

Statement No. 134, showing the strength and distribution of the Koch caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar ..	1,271	....
Goalpara ..	133,702	144,240
Kamrup ..	99,973	92,104
Darrang ..	54,338	44,201
Nowgong ..	49,907	43,878
Sibsagar ..	25,808	24,248
Lakhimpur ..	6,243	4,598
Garo Hills ..	5,609	2,337
Other districts ..	936	29
Total	**377,807**	**354,635**

The increase in the total native born population of Nowgong is 7·22 per cent.; and at this rate the persons now returned as Koch would have numbered 45,973. The number returned exceeds this figure by 3,934, the whole of which is probably due to new converts. In Upper Assam the rate of increase is smaller, but in those districts the Goseins are Vaishnavas, and do not consider it necessary to resort to fiction in order to admit outsiders to their flock. In those districts a Káchári or Miri, when he becomes a Hindu, continues to retain his old tribal designation, and seldom or never hides it by calling himself a Koch.

Internal structure.

Pani Koch.

231. From what has already been stated it will be gathered that the constitution of this caste is by no means homogeneous. In the Garo Hills and Goalpara we find the small body of people already referred to who are known as Koch or Páni Koch who still speak their own language and are either animistic or are only nominally Hindus.† Mr. Teunon writes regarding them—"The Koches have no Gurus, Goseins, or Purohits, and no *nápit* or *dhobá*, eat pigs and *murghis*, and are Hindus only in name or in shouting Hari and Ram and in wearing *málas* round their throats." The question of their ethnic affinities has already been discussed.

* It should also be stated that castes have been tabulated in greater detail on the present occasion, and that some classes which were included under 'Koch' in 1881 have been shown separately on the present occasion. The Mukhia, who number 2,361 (2,335 in Kamrup alone), are an instance of this.

† A full account of them will found in the extract from Buchanan Hamilton's report quoted by Brian Hodgson—'Essays,' vol. I, page 110.

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232. Next to these may be mentioned the Rájbansis, who in Assam are mainly persons of the Koch and Mech tribes who have assumed this name on conversion to Hinduism. These figures show that the term is gradually becoming fashionable, and that more persons are annually adopting it in preference to the less pretentious title of Koch. As already stated, it is most in use in Goalpara, where the number of persons so describing themselves is 121,001, or 14,638 in excess of 1881. Most of these called themselves simply Rájbansis, but 1,311 added Khetri as their caste subdivision and 750 returned Koch as their main caste and Rájbansi as the subdivision of the same. The additions to this subdivision in the Goalpara district seem to have come entirely from amongst persons who were formerly known as Koch, the number so returned being now only 1,652, against 32,703 in 1881. In Cachar, I am inclined to think that the persons described as Rájbansis are really Dehán, who claim to be of Koch descent and have latterly aspired to the title of Rájbansi. Some of them may also be converted Kácháris. In Darrang it is reported that the Koches who called themselves Rájbansi belong to the family of the Darrang Rajas; and the same is perhaps also the case in Kamrup. The Rájbansis found in the other districts of the Brahmaputra Valley are probably emigrants from Goalpara.

Rajbansi.

Statement No. 135, showing the strength and distribution of the Rajbansis.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar	428	.....
Goalpara	121,001	106,363
Kamrup	21	.....
Darrang	250	.....
Nowgong	116	.....
Sibsagar	152	.....
Lakhimpur ..	196	.....
Garo Hills ..	1,364	.....
Other districts ..	223	13
Total	123,751	106,376

233. I will now notice the other subdivisions of the Koch caste, which consist almost entirely of recruits from the hill tribes, and contain comparatively few descendants of the true Koch tribe. Excluding the persons described as Rájbansi, the total number of Koch of all kinds is 252,723; and of these 103,770 have simply described themselves as Koch, and have not mentioned the precise branch of the caste to which they belong.

Sectarian sub-castes.

The divisions returned by the remainder are chiefly indicative of the extent to which the process of Hinduisation has been carried.—The figures for each of these sectarian subdivisions are noted below:

Statement No. 136, showing the strength of some of the subdivisions of the Koch caste.

District.	Kamtali or Bar Koch.	Saru Koch.	Heremia Koch.	Saraniá Koch.		Madáhi Koch.	
				1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.
Goalpara	.....	.....	.....	705	212	9,102	4,962
Kamrup	14,600	2,042	.....	12,173	4,506	4,953	6,047
Darrang...	30,678	8,657	3,612	4,106	.....	4,115	2,140
Nowgong	17,202	16,879	.....	5,841	.....	14	.....
Sibsagar	7,575	221	2	2,524	.....	174	.....
Lakhimpur	1,647	43	.....	895	.....	64	.....
Other districts	242	.....	.....	4	.....	8	.....
Total	71,944	27,842	3,614	26,248	4,718	18,430	13,149

The terms applied to the converts in different districts vary. In most places the first stage is that of the Saraniá.* Another name for an early stage of conversion is Madáhi, in which, as the name implies, the convert still retains his old freedom in the matter of drinking and eating. Above the Madáhi rank the Heremiá, or Saru Koch, who have begun to submit to restrictions in this respect, and are supposed to

* In Darrang and Kamrup a Káchári when he first becomes a Saraniá is still looked on as a Káchári rather than a Koch.

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abstain from intoxicating liquors. This subdivision is also called Phairi in Nowgong. At the top of the list stand the Kámtáli or Bar Koch, who in outward appearance at least are ceremonially pure Hindus. They are generally supposed to conform entirely to Hindu precepts, and to refrain alike from strong drinks and from eating pork and fowls. Whether this 'purity' exists in fact as well as theory is doubtful. In some parts, no doubt, pork is no longer eaten by the Kámtáli, but in others his fondness for the food of his forefathers is too great to be withstood; and it is an open secret that he still from time to time indulges in it. The Goseins periodically try to put down the practice, and for a time their efforts meet with apparent success. But the craving for the ancestral *bonne bouche* often proves too strong to be overcome, and the promises made to the Goseins are again forgotten and neglected. A Kámtáli Koch may not marry the daughter of a Saru Koch, but will give his own daughter (for sufficient consideration) to a member of that sub-caste. In such cases, however, the girl is degraded to the rank of her husband.

Functional sub-castes: Mahang Koch.

234. The only functional subdivisions which at all merit the name of sub-castes are the Mahang and Garámi Koch. The former consists of the descendants of some Koches who were settled by the Ahom Rajas at a place called Mahang near the boundary of the Naga Hills, where they were employed as salt workers at the salt springs in that neighbourhood. This sub-caste numbers only 352 persons, all of whom are found in the Naga Hills district. A few sections of this sub-caste are returned, but they appear to be simply the names of their former villages.

Garami Koch.

The Garámis were treated as a separate caste in 1872, when 2,416 were recorded in the Goálpara district. In 1881 they were apparently included under the general head 'Koch'; and so far as I am in a position to judge from the very scanty information which I have been able to obtain, there seems to be no doubt that they are really a subdivision of that caste. Only 495 persons have been returned under this head, and of these all but 3 are found in the Goalpara district. Their special occupation is thatching. Other functional subdivisions have been returned, such as Kumár, Kámár, and Duliyá; but these do not appear to be true sub-castes. They simply denote the occupations followed by the persons so returned, or by their ancestors under the old Rajas; but they involve no distinction of social status or in the limits within which marriage is permitted.

Subdivisions of Koch in the Garo Hills.

235. Returning to the Koch of the Garo Hills, six sections are recorded, namely, Harigaya, Satpariya, Dasgaya or Banai, Chapra, Wanang, and Tintekiya, which rank in the order in which I have named them. The first five are said to be named after the places where they formerly resided, and the last, or Tintekiya, from the dress of the women, who wear one cloth round the waist, another over the body, and a third on the head.

The latter occupy the lowest position amongst the Garo Hills Koch, and are said to greatly resemble the plains Garos, from whom the Deputy Commissioner thinks that they are in fact descended. Inter-marriage is freely permitted between the two first sections only. In other cases, a man marrying a girl of a lower section must give a costly feast to the other members of his class in order not to be degraded.

Religion, marriage, &c.

236. The Koch of the Brahmaputra Valley are nominally Hindus, and have Goseins and priests. They retain, however, a great deal of their primitive animistic beliefs, and exorcism is still practised amongst them. Their marriage customs partake but little of Hinduism. The Bar or Kámtáli Koch are said to marry by the *hom* ceremony; but they, as well as the other sub-castes, permit widow remarriage and divorce. They buy their wives, and sometimes carry them off by force, just as do the Kácháris and other tribes from which the caste is recruited.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Mekuri.

237. The Mekuris are a small body of Hindu outcastes.* Their present degraded position is said to be due to a cat having stolen some food cooked by Musalmans and accidentally dropped it into the food of some Hindus, who ate it before the contamination had been discovered. On the matter being reported to the king an enquiry was held, and the conclusion come to was that they must be outcasted. They were refused admission into the Musalman community, and thus remained as a separate caste of degraded Hindus, to whom the term Mekuri was applied as denoting the origin of their degradation. No other caste will take water from their hands. They have their own Bráhman. No other caste will take their daughters in marriage; and as their number is extremely small, it is often difficult to find husbands for their daughters, who thus often become dancing girls. The men occasionally purchase wives of the Koch caste, but the latter lose their caste on marriage. Their chief occupation is agriculture. They are found principally in the neighbourhood of Howli Mohanpur in Mangaldai.

Rarh.

238. The Rárhs are found only in the southern portion of the Sylhet district. They have a separate class of degraded Bráhmans as their priests. They call themselves Sudras, but none of the respectable castes will admit this, or drink their water. They are described as being a hardworking class of people who never, if they can avoid it, enter service. They are cultivators, and are supposed to be descended from converts from some of the hill tribes. They are known also as Kushiáris (from the river of that name), and sometimes again as Kupádárs. They number only 192 souls according to the return; but as they are known to be more numerous than this, it is clear that some must have returned themselves under other heads. In 1881 the number was recorded as 1,365.

Salai.

239. The Sálai caste is found only in the Brahmaputra Valley. It occupies a position intermediate between Kewat and Koch. Sálais marry girls from the Kewat caste, but the Kewats will not marry Sálai girls, neither will the Sálais take Koch girls as wives. People of the Koch caste will eat food cooked by Sálais. The Sálais claim to constitute one of the main castes; but the smallness of their number militates against this supposition, and it seems not improbable that they are really a local section of the Hálwai caste of Bengal. Sálai in Assamese is pronounced Háloi, so that the difference in sound is very slight. It is true that the Bengali Hálwais are confectioners, while the Assamese Sálais are cultivators; but many castes in Assam no longer adhere to their traditional and characteristic occupation, and it is not more surprising for Hálwais to become agriculturists than it is to find Háris abandoning the broom for the counter. †

There are two sub-castes. The Bengali Sálais are so called from their having permitted some Bengalis to marry their girls and admitted them into their society. The Sálais who declined to countenance this breach of caste rules are called 'Pat', or genuine Sálais. The Sálais are found only in the four lower districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. There has not been much change as compared with the last census, except in Nowgong, where the number returned has fallen from 2,030 to 207. I am unable to explain this variation, and can only suggest that some of the Sálais of 1881 have since succeeded in obtaining recognition as members of higher castes.

Statement No. 137, showing the strength and distribution of the Sálai caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Goalpara.. ..	239	367
Kamrup	7,832	8,776
Darrang	1,065	918
Nowgong ..	207	2,030
Other districts ..	13	2
Total ..	9,356	12,093

* Most Mekuris returned themselves at the census as Doms, so that the true strength of the caste is uncertain.

† Another suggestion that has been made is that the Sálais are Sunris who have taken to agriculture; and this view is supported by the distribution of Sálais in the Assam Valley, the number varying with the latter. Besides, when Nar Náráyan invaded Upper Assam, the Sunris, 'rich with the money of Tisal Debi', are mentioned as having formed a numerous class in the country he passed through; and as the number of persons of this caste is now comparatively small, some of them must evidently have entered other castes.

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Sudra.

240. The term 'Sudra' has a double signification. In one sense it is the fourth caste of Manu, and is the term by which many of the modern profession and other castes love to describe themselves as indicative of the purity of their origin. In this sense the term is meaningless, and special instructions were issued to prevent its appearance in the schedules. Notwithstanding all the trouble that was taken to avoid it, it was frequently found in the enumeration schedules from the Sylhet district; but, thanks to the second caste column, we were usually able in such cases to ascertain what the true caste was. The word used in this sense has, therefore, been eliminated as far as possible, and the persons described as Sudra in table XVI are really, it is believed, members of the existing caste of that name, which includes 7,068 persons.

Tokar.

241. The Tokar is a small Hindu caste of Kamrup and Mangaldai, which occupies much the same position as Hirás and Háris, and is inferior to the Kátani sub-caste of Jugis. No other castes will intermarry with them or take their water. The Jugi priest officiates at their religious ceremonies.* Their chief occupation is agriculture.

Foreign castes: Agaria Amat, Bauri, Bhuiya, and Bhumij.

242. The Agariá is a cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur, and the Amát a similar caste of Behar. Neither are very numerous in Assam. The Báuri, Bhuiyá, and Bhumij, on the other hand, are present in large numbers. They all belong to non-Aryan races, and are much sought after as garden coolies on account of their more hardy physique and comparative freedom from malarial affections, which Hodgson has noted as a characteristic of all the aboriginal races of India. They are all cultivating and labouring castes. As regards the Bhuiyá, Mr. Risley points out that the name is of Sanskrit origin, and that it is necessary to guard against the fallacy of supposing that tribes known by it in different places are necessarily allied to one another. The total number of these three tribes in Assam has risen during the last ten years from 40,571 to 84,967, a result which is entirely due to the recruiting operations of tea planters.

Statement No. 138, showing the strength of the Báuri, Bhuiyá, and Bhumij castes.

Caste.	1891.	1881.
Bauri	32,149	9,014
Bhuiyá	32,186	5,218
Bhumij	20,632	26,439
Total	84,967	40,571

Bhar and Bind.

243. The Bhar is another Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur, which is fairly numerous on our tea gardens, the total number being 6,389. The caste was not shown separately in 1881. The same remarks apply to the Bind, which is described by Mr. Risley as being a large non-Aryan caste of Behar and Upper India. Table XVI shows that 1,921 persons of this caste are settled in the province.

Chasa, Ghasi, Gond.

244. The Chásá is the great cultivating caste of Orissa, and appears to correspond generally with the Hálwá Dás of Sylhet. It is represented in Assam by 1,824 persons, most of whom are, doubtless, garden coolies.

There are 9,172 Ghásis in Assam. Their occupation is cultivation and fishing. They occupy a very low social position, and are described by Colonel Dalton as "foul parasites of the Central Indian hill tribes."

*This seems to be the case, but the point is disputed.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

The Gonds come chiefly from the Central Provinces, but are found also in Chota Nagpur; 3,595 persons of this tribe were censused in Assam.

Khaira, Kharia, and Kharwar.

245. The Khairá is described by Mr. Risley as a small tribe of Hazaribagh allied to the Kharwár. 3,194 persons of this caste were censused in this province, against 1,588 in 1881. The Khariá and Kharwár are Dravidian tribes of Chota Nagpur; 3,368 persons of the former and 4,509 of the latter are included in the return. These tribes were not shown separately in 1881.

Kol, Koiri, Kurmi.

246. We next come to the Kol (2,704), which is the generic name by which Hindus denote persons of the Munda, Oráon, Bhumij, and Khairá castes; it is not a real caste name, but like Thápá, I have had to show it separately, because I had no means of ascertaining to which of these several castes the persons returned as Kol really belonged. Then come the Koiri and Kurmi caste, which Dr. Wise believed to be closely allied to one another. Both castes are mainly engaged in cultivation, and are found in Chota Nagpur, Behar, and Upper India. Both of them are numerous on our tea gardens, especially the Kurmis, the number of whom, however, does not appear to have increased to any great extent during the last ten years.

Statement No. 139, showing the strength of the Koiri and Kurmi castes.

Caste.	1891.	1881.
Koiri	5,800	3,067
Kurmi	12,576	12,532

Munda.

247. Passing rapidly over the Korwá, Mál, and Málé, Dravidian tribes of West Bengal, and the Mál Pahariá of the Santhal Parganas, we come to the Munda, a large Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur, of which no less than 46,244 persons were censused in Assam, against 15,985 in 1881. They are in great request as coolies for tea gardens. The name 'Munda' is said by Mr. Risley to be of Sanskrit origin, and to mean the headman of a village. The same authority states that the tribe is closely allied to the Hos and Santháls, and probably also to the Kandhs.

Oraon.

248. Nágbansi and Páhári are titles rather than castes, but are shown separately for reasons already given. Leaving them, we come to the Oráons, who according to Mr. Risley are allied to the Málé of the Rajmahal hills, and who, like the Munda, Báuri, and Bhumij, are in great demand as coolies. The number in this province amounts to 17,736.

Newar.

249. The Newárs are a Nipalese tribe, regarding whom Colonel Hill writes that they are by no means warlike, but that their agriculture is unrivalled in Nipal.

Rajwar, Rautia, Santhal.

250. The Rájwár and Ráutiá are Dravidian tribes of Chota Nagpur; 5,360 of the former and 790 of the latter were enumerated in this province. Next in order comes the Santhal, a large tribe of the same race as the above, which is found in the north of Orissa and all over West Bengal. The number of Santháls censused in Assam on this occasion is 23,220, against only 7,397 ten years ago.

Savar, Telinga.

251. Lastly, I may mention the Savara, a cultivating and servile caste of Orissa, the members of which number 684, and the Telinga, a Madras caste, of which there are 393 persons in Assam, all of whom are probably garden coolies, recruited in Ganjam.

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GROUP 3.—CATTLE-BREEDERS AND GRAZIERS.

252. The Goálá or Gop is the great cowherd and milkman caste. It is widely spread over the North-Western Provinces, Behar, and Orissa; and to the immigrants from these places must be attributed the large increase which has taken place in the strength of this caste during the past ten years. The persons returned in the Brahmaputra Valley proper are probably all foreigners; and it is only in the Bengali-speaking districts, *viz.*, Sylhet, Cachar, and Goalpara, that the caste can be called indigenous. Part of the increase in Sylhet is possibly due to some Goálás having returned themselves as Sudras or Káyasthas in 1881, but the greater part is to be attributed, as already stated, to immigration. I have included with the Goálá the Ahir or pastoral caste of Behar, under which head 1,018 persons were returned in Cachar, 2,131 in Sylhet, 443 in Lakhimpur, and 263 in other districts. The Goálás rank high amongst the Nava-Sákha group, and have Srotriya Bráhmans for their priests. **Caste, Tribe, &c.**

Goala.

Statement No. 140, showing the strength and distribution of the Goala caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar ..	4,846	1,895
Sylhet ..	15,057	7,319
Goalpara ..	1,946	1,383
Kamrup ..	320	276
Darrang ..	1,577	34
Nowgong ..	921	77
Sibsagar ..	3,076	920
Lakhimpur ..	3,240	720
Other districts ..	106	396
Total	31,089	13,020

253. The Sadgop, which I have classed in group 2, isa cultivating caste, which was originally the same as the Goálá, but separated from it on its members taking to agriculture as a means of livelihood in lieu of pasture. 846 persons of this caste were censused in Assam.

254. The Rájbhar is an up-country pastoral caste, which claims to be quite distinct from the Bhar which I have classed in group 2. It numbers 1,086 persons in the province.

Rajbhar.

GROUP 4.—FIELD LABOURERS.

255. Only three castes are classed under this head, the Dhákar, Dhángar, and the Musáhar. The first mentioned only numbers 15 persons in Assam, and the Dhángar only 293. Dhangar is not, strictly speaking, a caste name, but a term meaning labourer, and is generally used with reference to the Dravidian tribes of Chota Nagpur. The Musahars are much more numerous, 16,667 persons having returned themselves under this head, against 3,851 ten years ago. Mr. Risley describes them as "a Dravidian cultivating and servile caste of Behar, who appear to be an offshoot from the Bhuiyan tribe of Chota Nagpur."

Dhakar, Dhangar, Musahar.

GROUP 6.—HILL TRIBES.

256. I have shown in this group only the hill tribes of Assam and the Nipal frontier of Bengal. Aboriginal tribes of other parts of India have been included as minor agricultural in group 2.

THE ÁBOR-MIRI GROUP.

257. The Ábors have been fully described by Colonel Dalton. They live outside our territory, and a few only have settled down in the Lakhimpur district. The total number returned is only 223, against 821 in 1881. The difference is probably due to the fact that the hill Miris describe themselves as Ábor Miris; and in 1881, when there was only one caste column in the schedule, some of these hill Miris may possibly have been classed as Ábors. There is a slight discrepancy between the number of Ábors now returned and the number shown as speaking the Ábor language, which is similarly to be ascribed to the confusion which appears to prevail in regard to the tribal nomenclature.

Abor.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Miri.

258. A full account of the Miris was given in the last Census Report, and I have no further information regarding them. The number of Miri settlers appears to have increased considerably during the last ten years. The matter has not been noticed by deputy commissioners in their reports, and I have had no time to make enquiries on the subject since the figures have been available. I am, therefore, not in a position to explain the increase in their numbers which appears to have taken place. They are found chiefly in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, and it is in the last mentioned district that the greater part of the increase over 1881 is found. There are only 472 Miris outside these two districts and Darrang.

Statement No. 141, showing the strength and distribution of Miris.

District.	1891.	1881.
Darrang ..	2,749	3,113
Nowgong ..	243	....
Sibsagar ..	15,579	10,836
Lakhimpur ..	18,640	11,687
Other districts ..	219	....
Total ..	37,430	25,636

The Daflas.

Tradition of origin.

259. The Daflás inhabit the hills north of Darrang and Lakhimpur, between the country of the Ákas and that inhabited by the Ábors and hill Miris. They call themselves Nyising, and assert that they are descended from Nyia, the son of Abotani, whose father was Dhanyi, the Sun, by his wife Chinne, the daughter of Chatachi, the Earth. Nyia had a number of sons, and the children of the latter were the founders of the existing clans. The features of the Daflás are distinctly Mongolian. Their language is closely allied to that of the Miris. They tattoo their faces, the reason assigned being that it is done to enable them to be recognised in the next world.

Internal structure.

There are numerous exogamous clans, which are said to be named after the sons of Nyia. So far as I have been able to ascertain, none of their clans are totemistic. As with the Khásis and other tribes, there are signs of the old exogamous groups breaking off into smaller new ones, but the prohibition in regard to intermarriage amongst members of the same original group has not yet been removed.

Slaves.

The Daflás purchase slaves from the Ábors, and in former times also carried off into bondage persons captured in their raids on the plains. These persons are called Hatimorias,* and are really serfs, rather than slaves. They are extremely well treated, are never sold, and, failing other heirs, inherit the property of their Daflá masters or Gáms.† They are not allowed to intermarry with women of the tribe, but they often act as guardians to a Daflá widow or a Gám who is a minor.

Marriage.

Marriage is effected by purchase or capture, but the latter is the more common. The bridegroom lies in wait for the girl, and carries her off by force to his own house. The parents profess to be very indignant, but are usually pacified by presents of mithun, &c. The other method is simple barter. The man goes to the father of the girl he wishes to marry, and asks for her. The father examines the entrails of a fowl; and if the omens are favourable, the price to be paid is fixed and the girl is made over to her lover.

Polygamy.

Polygamy is very common. Each man has as many wives as he can afford to purchase; and when he dies, the heir takes them all, except only his own mother, together with the rest of the property of the deceased.‡

Polyandry.

Colonel Dalton says that polyandry is common amongst the members of this tribe, and cites one unmistakeable case which came under his personal notice. Mr. Stack, on the other hand, made special enquiries on this point, and said that the Daflás whom he questioned repudiated the prac-

* Mr. Waller distinguishes Hatimorias and Ni Hatimorias. The former, he says, are pure Daflas, and the latter descendants of slaves captured in the plains.

† In which case they acquire the status of Gam or free man.

‡ The same practice is mentioned by Marco Polo as existing amongst the Tartars (Colonel Yule's edition, vol. I, page 321).

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tice with horror, and declared that it would be visited with death. The local officers whom I have consulted on this point agree in saying that polyandry as a general practice is non-existent; but a tea planter,* who has an extensive acquaintance with the Daflás, says that polyandry is not forbidden, and describes a practice which may possibly be a survival of this custom. He says that when a man's wife has no children, he may invoke the assistance of a brother or a cousin, and mentions a case in which a Dafla, failing to beget children on his head wife, induced a younger cousin to visit her, and says that both now live with the woman. He adds that the young man's relations are greatly annoyed with him, as they wish him to marry and raise up children of his own. But it seems doubtful whether this is a true case of polyandry. The second 'husband' was apparently never married to the woman, and the children belonged to the first or real husband, and not to the natural father. It may be that it is a form of the levirate not unlike that which was permitted in former times amongst the Hindus.† **Caste, Tribe, &c.**

Kinship.

Kinship with the Daflas is traced through the father, and the children enter his clan, and not that of their mother.

Religion.

The general name for God is Ui, but there are also special names for each particular deity. Most of their gods are inimical to men, and have to be propitiated by sacrifices. The chief gods are Sonolè, the god of heaven; Siki, who presides over the delivery of women; Voglè and Lungtè, who hurt men; and Yenpu, who injures children. Then, there is Yapum, the god of trees, who frightens people to madness when they go into the forest; Chili, the god of water; Prom, the god of diseases; Sotu, the god of dumbness; and numerous others. There are a few beneficent deities, such as Pekhong, the god of breath, and Yechu, the goddess of wealth. To all these gods, sacrifices are offered. When a person is ill, a sorcerer, or *deondic*,‡ is called in, and chants an incantation in a loud singsong voice, which he sometimes keeps up until he works himself into a frenzy of excitement. The Daflas believe in a future life, but cannot say much about it, except that they expect to cultivate and hunt there. The dead are buried in a sitting position, and a small shed is put up over the grave; in it rice and drink are placed, and a fire is kept burning for five days. The mourners sacrifice fowls, pig, and sometimes mithun, the blood of which is sprinkled over the grave; the flesh they eat themselves.

Statement No. 142, showing the strength and the distribution of the Daflás.

Census of	Total.	Darrang.	Lakhimpur.
1872 ...	418	263	155
1881 ...	549	339	210
1891 ...	1,137	347	790

Strength of tribe now and in 1881.

The number of Daflás in British territory is increasing slightly, especially in the Lakhimpur district, where 790 are now returned, against 210 in 1881 and 155 in 1872. The rate of increase of the tribe in Darrang is less marked.

260. The Ákás are a small tribe, who call themselves Hrusso, and occupy the tract of country between that of the Daflás, to whom they are closely allied, and the Towang principality of Lhassa. Very few persons of this tribe have as yet settled in British territory, and a detailed account of them would, therefore, be out of place. It will suffice to say that they are divided into two sub-tribes,—the Kápáschors, or cotton-thieves, and the Házári Khowás, the 'eater of a thousand hearths'! Their religion, manners, and customs are believed to be very similar to those of the Daflás, except that they have been very slightly affected by Hinduism, owing to the detention of one of their former chiefs in the Gauhati jail, where he was brought under the influence of a Hindu *guru*. The Kápáschors raided on the plains in 1883-84, and the usual expedition followed.

* Mr. Penny, of Bishnath, who was consulted on the subject by Mr. Waller, District Superintendent of Police of the Darrang district.

† There was a special name, '*kshetraja*', for the son thus begotten on the wife, and in the Mahabharata it is related how King Saudasa, being childless, induced Vasishta to beget for him a son upon his wife Damayanti.

‡ Any one can become a *deondic*.

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Caste, Tribe, &c. The results of the latter were not altogether satisfactory, and it was followed by a blockade of their hills, which eventually brought the tribesmen to reason. Their attitude is now reported to be peaceful.

No Ákás are found in the return of the census of 1881. On the present occasion 12 males and 2 females were enumerated within the boundary of the Darrang district. Few, if any, of these were permanent settlers, nearly all being temporary visitors, who had come down to trade or to receive their *posa*.

THE BODO GROUP.

The Bodo tribes.

261. The group of tribes known as Bodo forms the most numerous and important section of the aboriginal tribes of the province. The group includes the Káchári, Mech, Tipperah, Chutiyá, Lálung, Hájong, Rábhá, Mahaliá, Gáro, and other tribes, and also the greater part at least of the Koch, which is now recognised as a Hindu caste, and has for this reason been shown in group 2. In the absence of anthropometric data, it is impossible to say to what extent racial affinities exist between these tribes; but the evidence of language shows that they must at one time have been very closely connected, and belonged in all probability to one common nationality. Very little is known of their early history; but the fact that nearly every important river in and around Assam begins or ends with the Bodo word for water (*di* or *dui*) has been taken as proving that they were at one time the most important group of tribes over a large area of country. *

Kachari.

262. The first historical notice † of the Kácháris of which I am aware is found in the annals of the Ahoms, who debouched from the Patkoi in 1228 A.D., and found the country at its base in possession of the Moráns and Boráhis, whom they at once subjugated. They next fought with the Chutiyás, who occupied the north-east portion of the Brahmaputra Valley, and then came into collision with the Kácháris, whose country lay to the west. This was in 1488 A.D., when the Káchári capital was probably still at Dimapur,‡ from which place it was removed to Maibong in 1536 A.D., after a decisive victory had been gained by the Ahoms. The capital remained there for two centuries, when the attacks of the Raja of Jaintia necessitated a further retreat to Khaspur in the plains of Cachar. These migrations were shared in only by the Raja and a few of his followers. The great bulk of the Kácháris remained behind, and became the subjects of the Ahoms in Upper Assam, and of the Koch kings§ lower down the valley.

Religion.

263. The religion of the Kácháris is of the ordinary animistic type. They have a chief god called Siju, Bathu, or Langsáman, who is represented by the cactus, which is to be seen growing in the courtyard of every Káchári family. There are numerous other gods and goddesses, all of whom are hostile to men, and have on occasions to be propitiated by sacrifices. At ordinary times they are not much attended to; but when drought or sickness occurs, the Deori, or village priest (whose office is not hereditary), is called in to ascertain the deity who requires to be propitiated. This he does by working himself into a paroxysm of excitement, during which he imparts the desired information, and informs the people what sacrifices will be acceptable to the offended

* *E.g.*, Dihong, Dibru, Disang, Diju, Diputa, and Diardanes (the ancient name of the Brahmaputra). It is, however, open to question how far this river nomenclature can be held to prove anything, as the same root has been shown by Mr. S. E. Peal, of Sibsagar, to mean water in twenty-one different languages, including Chinese, Mundari, Siamese, Manipuri, &c.

† I have not referred in the text to their own traditions of origin, as these are too vague and untrustworthy to be of any practical use. Colonel Dalton says that they came from Rangshar in Upper Assam, and call themselves Rangshah in the Eastern Duárs and North Cachar in consequence. But at the census I enquired the reason for the use of this term (which was sometimes found in column 5 of the schedule, and was informed that it was applied to Kácháris, whose original home was in the Ramsha mauza of Kamrup. How this mauza got its name, I cannot say. Some Kácháris of Mangaldai once told me that they had a tradition that they entered Assam over the Choraikhaling pass north of the Lakhimpur district.

‡ An interesting account of the ruins at Duimapur is given by Major Godwin-Austen,—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1874, page 1.

§ The Koch kings were half Koch half Mech, so that their rule was scarcely that of foreigners.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

god.* The Kácháris are rapidly becoming Hinduised. Many of those who followed their king to Cachar accepted Hinduism in a body in 1790 A.D., when the Raja and his brother, persuaded by the blandishments of the Bráhmans, who had traced his descent from Bhim, made a public profession of Hinduism. The conversion of the Kácháris of the Brahmaputra Valley has been much more gradual. They are ignorant of the claims of their brethren in North Cachar; and when they become Hindus, they enter the Koch caste, as has already been described.† The rate at which the process of conversion has been going on during the past ten years may be gathered from the fact that only 243,378 persons have now been returned as Kácháris, against 281,611 in 1881; and as there is no reason to suppose that the race is dying out, the decrease can only be accounted for on the supposition that many of them have during the interval accepted Hinduism and changed their name from Káchári to Koch.

Marriage.

264. Marriage is by purchase or servitude, and sometimes also by capture. The action of our courts tends to discourage the latter form, and it is now much less resorted to than formerly. But even now it is by no means uncommon in cases where the parents of the girl are adverse to he match, or demand too high a price for her. When this happens, the lover lies in wait for his sweetheart, and carries her off with a show of force to his own house, after which negociations with the parents are resumed, and an amicable settlement is usually arrived at. There is no special religious ceremony at marriage, a feast to the villagers being the most important part of the performance. When purchase is resorted to, the price paid usually varies from Rs. 60 to Rs. 100, but these limits are by no means fixed, and much larger sums are occasionally paid. When the would-be bride-groom is too poor to pay the sum demanded, he frequently enters the parents' house and works for them for three or four years, just as Jacob is said to have worked for Rachel.

Divorce is permitted; but if a man turns out his wife for any reason except adultery, he has no right to claim the return of the purchase-money, and the same is the case if the separation is by mutual agreement. Widows are allowed to marry again, the younger brother of the deceased husband being the person having the first claim.

Two wives are allowed, but the permission is seldom made use of.

* The method of divination has been fully described in Hodgson's Essays on Indian subjects, volume I, pages 132 and 134, and at page 69 of the Assam Census Report for 1881.

† The following interesting note by Lieutenant C. G. M. Kennedy, Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong, gives a full account of the method of conversion in Nowgong. It came to hand too late to be made use of in my note on the methods of conversion in Chapter III above:

* * * * * * * *

"*Hinduising of the population.*—The aboriginal tribes of this district who are now becoming Hinduised are the Lálungs and Kácháris. Some Mikirs are also converted occasionally, but their number is very limited. The method by which they are converted is as follows:

"The Gosein or some of his subordinates usually select certain families of the aboriginal tribes, who reside in the vicinity of Hindu villages and at a distance from the main villages of the aboriginal tribes. These families are frequently lectured upon the purity of the Hindu religion and the easy way in which they can get salvation, and how they can acquire a position in the Hindu society if they give up their habits of eating pork and other forbidden food and drinking strong liquor, and conform to the Hindu methods of eating and drinking and worship. As these people frequently feel the inconvenience of their isolated position, they are easily tempted to become Hindus, and thereby be enabled to associate and move with their Hindu neighbours, by whom they are hated and looked down upon as a degraded class so long as they remain in an unconverted state. When these people after frequent lectures show some inclination towards giving up their religion and becoming Hindus, a certain propitious day is selected, and they are questioned as to whether they would like to give up their former habits and customs, and become perfect Hindus, or that they would simply take *Saran* (religious instructions) from the Hindu Gosein, and remain free as to their habits of eating and drinking. When they express a desire of entire conversion to the Hindu religion, they are made to fast for a day or two, and then to undergo a *Prayachit* atonement), for which they have to spend some 5 to 20 rupees according to their circumstances. They then receive their *Saran Bhajan* (religious instruction and mode of worship) from the Gosein, whom from that day they look upon as their spiritual guide. These people then change all former utensils of cooking and eating and also their dwelling house and become quite Hinduised. The Gosein then makes them over to a certain *khel* (a body of Hindus who eat and drink and associate with each other) with whom the converted men are to associate. The converted people then give a feast to their new associates, to whose habits and mode of worship they entirely conform. The converted men are closely watched by their new comrades as to whether they take any of the forbidden food and strong liquor or not; and if they are found to have entirely given up these things, they are freely admitted into the Hindu Society, and are called Saru Koch. For the first three generations from their conversion they are looked down upon a little by their Hindu comrades, and they are not allowed to take any leading part of their society. From the third generation they become quite as good as any Hindu of the Koch caste."

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Internal structure—Exogamous clans.

265. In the North Cachar Hills, the Kácháris are divided into a number of exogamous groups or clans, the rules regarding which, as described by Mr. Soppitt, are rather peculiar. He says—

The Kácháris consider themselves divided into certain sects or families. These sects eat together, and are more or less co-equal; but as regards marriage, restrictions are imposed.

There are 40 families, or sects, to which males may belong, and 42 for females.

The two extra in the latter case remain unaccounted for. To give an example, one male sect is called Hasungsa, and one female sect Sagaodi. A Hasungsa marrying a Sagaodi, the male issue are Hasungsas and the female Sagaodis. The sons, Hasungsas, cannot marry any woman of the mother's caste or sect. In the same manner, the daughter can marry no man of her father's sect. Thus, though no blood tie exists, in many cases a marriage between certain persons is impossible, simply from the bar of sect. On the other hand, cousin-marriage is allowed. An example will best illustrate this: Two brothers, Hasungsas, marry women of the Pasaidi and Sagaodi sect, and have as issue a daughter and a boy. The boy will be a Hasungsa and the girl Sagaodi. These first cousins cannot marry, both fathers having been Hasungsa. But allowing the first cousins marry Bangali wife and Rajiung husband, respectively, their children are Hasungsa (the boy) and Sagaodi, and may contract marriage ties, the male having no Sagaodi sect in his family. The term Semfong is used to denote the members of one of the sects.

The old rules of exogamy seem to be rapidly dying out in the Brahmaputra Valley. In Upper Assam even the names of the old clans are disappearing; in Darrang the names remain, but the rules of exogamy are no longer remembered; and it is in Nowgong and Kamrup alone that the system is reported to be still in force. I have given elsewhere a list of the different subdivisions returned, and have attempted to explain their meaning and origin. But it is very difficult to get at the true facts, and in some cases it is possible that my information is not wholly reliable. Mr. Anderson, however, in Darrang has made a very careful enquiry into the subdivisions returned in that district, and his report shows that many of them may possibly be totemistic. Amongst others may be mentioned the tiger clan, the muga clan, the sesamum clan, &c. But, as already stated, these clans in Darrang are not now exogamous, and the totem is, with one exception, no longer taboo. The exception is in the case of the men of the tiger clan, who are not allowed to speak disrespectfully of tigers, and if they kill one, have to give a feast in atonement. In Kamrup the origin of the sections is accounted for by a local tradition that there were originally twelve Káchári families, and that a certain Rákshasa came one day to devour them, whereupon they all took shelter in different places. One family rose to heaven, another hid under the earth, another behind a gourd, and so forth; and the place of refuge of each family thenceforth became the name by which it and its descendants were known. The clan name descends through the father.

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266. In the eastern portion of the Brahmaputra Valley there are two functional sub-tribes of Káchárís, which are reported to be endogamous. These are the Sonowáls, otherwise called Sadiolas, from their residence at Sadiya, who were gold-washers in the time of the Ahom Rajas, and the Thengál Káchárís who were formerly silver-washers. The latter derive their name from an ancestor, who is said to have ascended to heaven legs foremost.* The Sonowáls are nominally Hindus and disciples of the Auniáti Gosein, who is a Vaishnava. Notwithstanding this, they worship the idol Kámákhya, and kill animals in sacrifice. Most of them still eat swine's flesh and fowls and drink strong liquor. They engage no Bráhman at marriage, but have priests of their own called Deoris.

Endogamous sub-tribes. Sonowal.

Statement No. 143, showing the strength of Sonowals and Thengals.

District.	Number of Sonowal Káchárís.	Number of Thengal Káchárís.
Sibsagar ..	1,413	4,485
Lakhimpur ..	13,588	81
Total ..	15,001	4,566

The Thengál Káchárís are more advanced Hindus, although they too indulge in forbidden food and drink. They do not worship or sacrifice to idols; they engage a Bráhman at marriage, and perform the *hom* ceremony just like ordinary Hindus.

Thengal.

In Lower Assam a few local sections are found, such as the Charduaria (or Káchárís of Charduar), Rámsha, and Hojai, between whom marriage is not very freely practised, but is not wholly forbidden. Hojai is a local name applied to the Káchárís in that part of Nowgong which was formerly under the rule of Tularam Senapati, who made himself independent of the Cachar kings of Khaspur on the death of Krishna Chandra. His sovereignty of the country north of the Barail range was recognised by us in 1830, and he continued in enjoyment of it until his death in 1854, when it was annexed, and amalgamated with the Nowgong district. In Mangaldai three such sections are reported: the Hojais, who live on the *Chapori*; the Hâinare, who reside in the centre of the subdivision; and the Ujania, who live under the hills, and are despised by the other sections as having formerly been slaves of the Bhutiás.

267. Inheritance goes through the male. The Káchárís usually bury their dead, but those who have come under the influence of Hinduism now resort to cremation. The Káchárís are free feeders, and when not under the influence of Hinduism will eat almost anything. Nor is it necessary that the flesh they eat should be fresh. I have seen them carry home and eat with great relish a deer that they had found lying dead in the jungle, the smell from which would have sufficed to make any ordinary mortal feel ill. They are addicted to strong drink, but usually take it in the shape of *madh*, which is made by fermenting rice, and is reputed to be a wholesome concoction. They also, but more rarely, drink spirit distilled from the above, which is very strong and raw, and is a powerful toxic agent.

Inheritance, &c.

In physique the Káchárís are short and thickset, and give one the impression of considerable physical strength. They appear to be a short-lived race, although they never seem to suffer from illness to the same extent as their Hindu neighbours. In North Cachar, however, Mr. Baker informs me that consumption is very common amongst them.

They are a contented and industrious people, and usually seem to be very well off. Mr. Baker reports that a vast improvement in their material condition in North Cachar has taken place during the past five years, and says that every household is now well supplied with brass cooking utensils, which were much more rare in former years. In the Brahmaputra Valley, the Káchárís are generally considered to be more truthful than their Hindu neighbours, but in North Cachar the reverse is said by Mr. Soppitt to be the case.

* This is the statement made in the Lakhimpur report. In Sibsagar it is stated that the Thengals are so called because they were formerly washers of the king's feet. I am afraid these explanations of the origin of such terms are too frequently mere guesswork.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

268. The strength and distribution of the Káchárís is shown in statement No. 144. Cachar Plains has more Káchárís now than in 1881, and North Cachar has less, the reason for which is partly that there has been migration between the two subdivisions, and partly that in 1881 the population of the hill tracts of the sadr subdivision were added to the figures for North Cachar. The vast decrease in Goalpara is partly due to the general decrease in the native born population of that district, and partly to changes in classification. The number of persons returned as Mech in that district is larger by nearly 12,000 than that returned in 1881, while the Rábhás exceed the number at the last census by more than 14,000. The slight decrease in Darrang and Nowgong is attributable to conversions to Hinduism, while the increase in Lakhimpur and decrease in Sibsagar may perhaps be ascribed in part to migration between these two districts. There has also been immigration to both districts from Lower Assam; and this being the case, the two districts combined would probably have shown more than a merely nominal increase, had it not been that some of the persons returned as Káchárís in 1881 now describe themselves by other names.

Statement No. 144, showing the strength and distribution of the Kacharis.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar	6,575	4,425
Sylhet	808	667
Goalpara	8,975	42,016
Kamrup	94,983	99,293
Darrang	66,528	72,200
Nowgong	12,514	12,555
Sibsagar	16,776	19,753
Lakhimpur ..	23,074	18,699
North Cachar ..	8,177	10,890
Naga Hills ..	4,023	*136
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	367	75
Garo Hills	527	902
North Lushai Hills..	51	.....
Total	243,378	281,611

* Civil and Military only.

Mech.

269. Although they do not admit the relationship, the Meches are in every way very closely allied to the Káchárís, and it is doubtful whether they are really a distinct tribe.* They inhabit the Goalpara district in Assam, and are also found in North Bengal, where they formed an important section of the population at the time of the invasion of Bakhtiyar Ghilji. The Mech and Koch tribes were closely connected during the reign of the Koch kings, who were in part descended from a Mech family. The number of persons returned as Mech in different parts of the province is noted in the margin. They are practically confined to the Goalpara district. The increase since 1881 is due, as stated above, to change of classification, *i.e.*, to many persons who were described as Káchárís in 1881 having now been returned as Meches. In the Garo Hills the tribe is divided into Meches of the north and Meches of the south bank of the Brahmaputra. The distinction, however, appears to be purely nominal, and involves no difference of social status. It is said that the members of both classes decline to take food from Gáros or Rábhás.

Statement No. 145, showing the strength and distribution of the Mech tribe.

District.	1891.	1881.
Goalpara	69,235	57,390
Garo Hills ..	340	267
Other districts ..	626	228
Total	70,201	57,885

Garo.

270. The Gáros claim to be autochthonous in the hills to which they have given their name. They are very closely allied in language and physical type to the Káchárís, while their customs resemble those of the Lálungs, who have in this respect been less affected by outside influences than the Káchárís.

Internal structure—Sub-tribes.

There are four sub-tribes, the Abeng, Machi, Arvi, and Atong. The Abengs live in the hills to the west and south-west of the Tura range, the Machis in the interior to the north of this range, the Atongs on either side of the Someswari, and the Arvis on the low hills towards Damra, and Nibari on the Goalpara frontier. The Machis and Abengs are said to understand the

* Brian Hodgson asserted their absolute identity.

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dialect spoken by the Arvis, but that of the Atongs is not intelligible to any of the other tribes. Each tribe is divided into two or three sections, or *mâhâris*, between the members of which intermarriage is forbidden. The general names used for these sections by all the tribes are Momin, Márák, and Sángma; but there are no Momins amongst the Abengs, while the Arvis have a fourth *mâhâri*, which they call Tuang. Each *mâhâri* is divided into several smaller groups, and the latter are again divided off into families, which are said to derive their name from some personal characteristic of the founder or from some natural feature of the village site, such as a tree or a stream.*

Exogamous sections.

In Kamrup there are several sections not found in the Garo Hills, amongst which may be mentioned the Dámelias, who eat the flesh of cows; the Hánás, who are said to be descended from a man who speared an elephant; and the Bárogharia, whose ancestors were the twelve fowl vendors appointed by the Raja of Khairam. With the exception of the Dámelias, these groups are said to be exogamous.

According to Dalton, the proposal of marriage comes from the girl herself. Others say that it is a matter of arrangement between the parents. But however the contract is entered upon, it is agreed that the woman occupies the superior position. The husband enters her mother's family, and the children belong to her clan, and not to that of the father. All property goes through the woman, and males are incapable of inheriting in their own right. There are no restrictions on marriage beyond those entailed by the system of clans. Dalton says that the proper husband for a man's sister is the brother of his wife, and that his son may marry the daughter of his sister and brother-in-law. The Rev. Mr. Mason goes even further than this, and says that there is nothing to prevent even children of the same father from intermarrying, so long as their mothers belong to different clans. There is a curious custom, by which the husband of the youngest daughter has to marry his mother-in-law (who is often his own aunt) when she becomes a widow; and failing to do this, he loses his claim to share in the family property. Mr. Teunon informs me of a case in which a man refused to marry the widow, who was in this instance a second wife, and not his wife's own mother; and the old lady then gave herself and her own daughter in marriage to another man. In a dispute regarding the property which followed, the *laskar* reported that the first man having failed to do his duty, the second was entitled to the greater part of the property. When there is a special object, such as the acquisition or disposal of property, marriages are sometimes performed while the parties are still infants; but this is by no means the general custom, and girls often become adults before contracting an alliance.

Marriage.

The religion of the Gáros is very similar to that of all the other tribes on this frontier. They believe in a supreme being named Salgong, who is not generally hostile to men. Below him are a number of malignant demons, to whose agency they attribute sickness, drought, and other afflictions. They ascertain the particular demon who is offended by the aid of their priests or sorcerers, who also perform the necessary sacrifices and repeat the required incantations. These priests are called Kamál. Their office is not hereditary, and any one who chooses may become a Kamál.

Religion.

* I have been unable to ascertain whether any of these clans are totemistic, or what differences are implied by these minor subdivisions of the *mâhâri*. Presumably they are merely surnames. Owing to changes of officers, the Garo Hills report was not so complete as could have been wished, while such information as was furnished did not reach me until well on in February, when it was too late to make further enquiries.

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The Gáros will eat anything, and, like the Nágás, consider a dog to be a great dainty. They burn their dead, and make offerings of food and drink after cremation has been performed. At the same time, they give a large feast at which they usually succeed in getting very drunk. The strength and distribution of the Gáros is noted in the margin. As compared with 1881, there is an increase of 6,809, or nearly 8 per cent., in the Garo Hills district. The number in Goalpara is very nearly stationary; there is a decrease of 1,659 in Kamrup, an increase of 1,133 in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and of 1,639 in other districts. The decrease in Kamrup is, no doubt, partly due to the heavy mortality from *kála-azár* in the submontane tract where the Gáros of that district are chiefly found, while the increase in 'other districts' is to be attributed to emigration to tea gardens.

Miscellaneous.

Statement No. 146, showing the strength and distribution of the Gáros.

District.	1891.	1881.
Garo Hills	95,541	88,732
Goalpara	11,438	13,710
Kamrup	5,800	7,459
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	3,920	2,787
Other districts	3,055	1,416
Total	119,754	113,104

271. The Lálungs are found chiefly in Nowgong and the two adjacent districts, the Khási and Jaintia Hills and Kamrup. They are slightly more numerous in Nowgong and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills than they were ten years ago, and slightly less so in Kamrup and other districts. How they came to their present site, or when, is not known. They are not mentioned by the Ahom historians, nor in the accounts of the Koch kingdom. In Nowgong they are said to have a tradition that they came from the Jaintia Hills, while some of the Lálungs in the latter district say that their ancestors immigrated thither in the reign of the Jaintia Raja U Mon Gohain. Another account, however, says that the Lálungs claim to be the autochthones of the Jaintia Hills. I have already mentioned that the language of the Lálungs is closely allied to that of other Bodo tribes. In appearance also they are unmistakeably Bodo. Their customs are more similar to those of the Gáros than of the Kácháris.

Lalung.

Statement No. 147, showing the strength and distribution of the Lálungs.

District.	1891.	1881.
Kamrup	2,375	3,333
Nowgong	46,658	41,695
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	2,754	1,505
Other districts	636	1,117
Total	52,423	47,650

Religion.

Their religion was described in the last Census Report as follows:

The Lálungs, like the Kácháris, use the word Midai to denote a god. The Western Lálungs are said to worship a god called Godal Margi. They regard as sacred, not only the euphorbia, but also the madar (*Calotropis gigantea*) and the gomari tree (*Gmelina arborea*). The manner of their worship is like that of all the wild tribes: a fowl, goat, or pig is sacrificed, or, on very great occasions, a buffalo, and a simple prayer is put up, imploring the deity to protect themselves, their cattle, rice fields, farm yards, and little ones; a banquet of flesh and rice-beer concludes the ceremony.

The public place of sacrifice is a *than*, or earthen platform, and the *dao* or bill-hook used on the occasion is a sacred weapon kept on the spot and held worthy in itself to receive adoration. The two great months of public worship are said to be Phagun and Jeth. Private worship can be performed at any time, as occasion requires. The Lálungs invariably burn their dead.

On the whole, the Lálungs have not preserved their primitive religious notions so well as the Kácháris.* Their prayer to Midai is often a curious mixture of Assamese, with Lálung words bearing Assamese inflections. The very name of Midai is giving place to Parmeshwar or Ram. The deity worshipped in Phagun is known more commonly by the Hindu name of Lakshmi than by the Lálung name of Holobuni. Mahadeo and Kali are worshipped in Jeth. In the month of Magh a ceremony called *mal*, consisting in the planting of a tall shaft of bamboo, accompanied by religious rites, is performed on the boundaries of villages. Certain deities called Chari Bai may be a Hindu rendering of primitive Lálung gods. The names of their priests are also of Hindu origin. The *Deoraja* fixes the day for the celebration, and the *Deori* kills the victim. Two other officials are the *Lora* and the *Pharangai*; the former

* This is curious, considering their position and the fact that their tribal customs have been better preserved than those of the Kácháris. I may add that in addition to the gods mentioned in the text, each Lálung clan has its own special deity.

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assists in the celebration, the latter provides the necessary materials. The manner of private propitiation of Midai,—by suspending in the house a plantain leaf containing betel-nuts and leaves of *tulsi* and *dub* grass,—looks like a rite borrowed from the Hindus.

The process of conversion of the Lálung is similar to that of the Káchári. When he first places himself under the protection of a Gosain, he is known as a Saraniyá. In this stage he is often left free to eat and drink as he pleases; his renunciation of strong liquor and swine's flesh must precede his taking rank as a small Koch, and when he becomes a big Koch he is to all religious intents and purposes a Hindu.

Internal structure.

The Lálungs are divided into a large number of exogamous groups or phoids, which again are subdivided into smaller groups. It is difficult to get at the meaning and origin of the terms used to designate these groups. Amongst those recognised I find the 'bamboo', the 'hill peak', and 'salt' in use as clan names. The explanation given in these cases, which is probably merely a guess, is that the founder was born on a hill, in a salt box, &c. The only undoubted case of totemism which I have found is that of the *khara sali* or white pumpkin clan, who will neither eat, grow, or even touch the gourd after which they are named. Another clan is named after the *mali* fish, and another is said to be descended from two girls who had offended Mahadeo, and were in punishment converted into Lálungs.

Marriage and kinship.

The usual custom in regard to marriage is for the parents of a girl to find a husband for her and take him to their house as a member of their family. The offspring of such a marriage enter the clan of the mother. Sometimes, however, girls are enticed away; and when this is the case, they enter their husband's clan, together with any children that may be born to them. The husband either pays a sum of money to the girl's parents as compensation for the girl, or else makes over to them the first female child that is born of the marriage. In Kamrup it is reported that children in all cases enter the father's clan, and in the dual practice in vogue amongst the Lálungs of Nowgong it is possible that we witness the process of change from the maternal to the paternal method of reckoning relationship which has already been completed amongst the Lálungs of Kamrup and the Kácháris of the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley* but which has not yet commenced amongst the Gáros.

Bachelor's dormitory.

In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the more remote portions of the Nowgong district, the unmarried male Lálungs reside in a common house, or bachelor's *chang*, similar to that found in Gáro and Nágá villages. In this respect, also, the Lálungs appear to be in an interesting state of transition, as the practice is no longer in vogue in Kamrup and the more accessible portions of Nowgong.

Funeral customs.

It is said that the Lálungs burn their dead. After the ceremony a feast is given. A small supply of food and drink is left at the funeral pile and a second offering of the same sort is made after the next harvest has been reaped. On the occurrence of a death, all the members of the clan throw away their earthen cooking pots and pans.

Opium-eating.

The great vice of the Lálungs is opium-eating, to which they are addicted more than any tribe in the province except perhaps the Mikirs. It was this tribe that rioted at Phulaguri in Nowgong less than thirty years ago, when the home cultivation of opium was put a stop to, and killed the Assistant Commissioner, Lieutenant Singer, who had been sent out to disperse them.

* It will be remembered that in the North Cachar Hills male children enter their father's and females their mother's clan.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Rabha.

272. The Rábhás, who are also known as Totlás and Dátiyál Kácháris, are found chiefly in Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, and the Garo Hills. There seems to be a good deal of uncertainty as to what these people really are. In Lower Assam it is asserted that they are an offshoot of the Gáros, while in Kamrup and Darrang it is thought that they are Kácháris on the road to Hinduism. That they belong to the great Bodo family is certain, but it is not equally clear that the Rábhás are more closely allied to any one tribe of that group than to another. They have their own language (which is fast dying out), and it is not necessary for a Káchári or Gáro to become a Rábhá on his way to Hinduism. On the whole, therefore, although some Kácháris and Gáros may have become Rábhás just as others have become Koches, it seems probable that the Rábhás are in reality a distinct tribe.

Internal structure.

In the Garo Hills there are said to be five sections of Rábhás, *viz.*, Rangdaniyá, Páti, Maitariyá, Daburi, and Káchári. The first three of these stand on a higher level, and inter-marriage amongst them is permitted. The Daburi and Káchári sections are said to consist of Gáro converts; they can neither intermarry with the three first mentioned sections, nor with each other. These Rábhás of the Garo Hills are said to differ but very slightly from the Koches of the same district.

In Kamrup and Darrang the above mentioned subdivisions tend to disappear, the Rangdaniyá and Páti sections alone being reported. In Kamrup, Garo and Damelia are entered as sub-tribes. In Darrang, Phulguria has been returned as a sept of Rábhás. Mr. Anderson says that it is the name of a family of Rábhás, with the pollen of flowers (*phul-guri*) as its *totem*.

Customs, &c.

The Rábhás consider themselves superior to the Kácháris, and have, as a rule abandoned their tribal dialect in favour of Assamese. But they still partake of swine's flesh and liquor, and often use cows as plough cattle. In Nowgong they are reported to pay especial devotion to Biswahari, the goddess of snakes. They will marry Káchári girls, but a Káchări cannot marry a Rábha girl until he has first gone through a ceremony of purification.

Strength and distribution.

The distribution of this tribe is shown in statement No. 148. There is a considerable increase in Goalpara and a falling off in Kamrup, both of which are to be attributed to the constant change of nomenclature, which occurs amongst all the Bodo tribes. In Kámrúp it seems probable that many persons described as Rábhá in 1881 have now returned themselves as Koch. In Goalpara, on the other hand, persons formerly shown as Gáro, Mech, and Káchári have probably now been entered as Rábhá. A special reason for the increase in the number returned in this district is that the additional column of the schedule enabled us to classify these tribes more correctly. Hindus are indifferent to the tribal distinctions of these people, and often describe a Rábhá loosely as a Káchári; and on this principle Rábhás were often so entered in column 4 of the enumeration schedule. When, however, the next column showing the particular class of Káchári had to be filled in, the correct entry was made, so that when it came to classification, we were able to show under their proper head persons who were really Rábhás, but had been misdescribed as Káchári in column 4 of the schedule.

Statement No. 148, showing the strength and distribution of the Rábhá tribe.

District.	1891.	1881.
Goalpara ..	29,269	14,293
Kamrup ..	17,526	22,733
Darrang ..	16,594	15,090
Garo Hills ..	5,381	3,785
Other districts ..	1,004	608
Total ..	69,774	56,499

Note.—The 1881 figures for the Garo Hills are for the plains portion of the district only.

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273. The Hájongs, like the Rábhás, are very closely allied to the Gáros and Kácháris, but appear nevertheless to be a separate tribe. They are found chiefly in the Garo Hills and the three adjacent districts, Sylhet, Goalpara, and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The increase in the Sylhet district during the last ten years is very considerable, but I have not had time to ascertain from the Deputy Commissioner the causes which have led to it. The Hájongs appear to be divided into two sections: the Byabahári, or ordinary Hájongs, and the Paramárthi, or seekers after God. The latter are more fully Hinduised than the former, and belong to the Vaishnava sect, while the Byabahári Hájongs are Sáktas. The Paramárthis have given up the use of spirits, and abstain from eating flesh. They will not take food from the Byabahári section of the tribe, but permit intermarriage with them. They are now beginning to describe themselves as Rájbansis.

Hajong.

Statement No. 149, showing the strength and distribution of the Hájongs.

District.	1891.	1881.
Sylhet	2,804	585
Goalpara ..	548	.....
Garo Hills ..	5,017	3,689
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	93	80
Other districts ..	8	.....
Total ..	8,470	4,354

Note.—The 1881 figures for the Garo Hills are for the plains portion of the district only. The Garo Hills figures include 233 persons who described themselves as Rájbansi in column 4 and Hájong in column 5 of the schedule.

274. The Chutiyás were fully described in the Census Report of 1881, and I have not very much to add to what is there stated regarding them. Their distribution is shown in statement No. 150. The enormous increase in Sibsagar is possibly due to a cause, which I have several times mentioned in explanation of similar variations, *viz.*, the additional caste column in the schedule. There is a Chutiyá sub-tribe called Ahom Chutiyá; and in 1881, when there was only one column, many persons of this sub-tribe may possibly have been returned as Ahoms. In the case of Darrang the present figures are more in accord with those of the census of 1872, when the number reported was 2,532. The Chutiyás are divided into four main subdivisions, Hindu, Áhom, Boráhi, and Deori. The two former have been Hindus for some generations, the Boráhi is in process of conversion, but still retains his old freedom in the matter of meat and drink, while ten years ago the Deori was reported to be still unaffected by Hinduism.

Chutiya.

Statement No. 150, showing the strength and distribution of the Chutiyás.

District.	1891.	1881.
Kamrup ..	1,036	1,168
Darrang. ..	3,546	1,362
Nowgong ..	10,468	8,055
Sibsagar ..	54,587	26,952
Lakhimpur ..	17,206	16,708
Other districts ..	848	2,987
Total ..	87,691	60,232

Since the last census report was written, however, that religion has made great progress amongst the Chutiyás, and the number who still hold aloof from Hinduism is very small, only 1,103 having returned themselves as Animistic, against 86,588 who described themselves as Hindus. Even the Deori Chutiyás, who represent the old priestly class, are now succumbing to the attractions of this religion. In Upper Assam they are now most of them disciples of the Mahara Gosein of Teok. It is said, however, that many of those who profess to be Hindus are so only in name. When the neophyte takes the *saran*, the Gosein inculcates a few moral precepts, such as 'obey your parents', 'never raise your hands against them', 'be always respectful to your elders', 'tell no falsehoods', &c. He then sprinkles sacred water over them and blesses them. Having done this, he takes his fee and departs. He interferes no further with their old religious beliefs, nor does he insist on their abstaining from eating pork and drinking ricebeer. His future connection with them is limited to collecting his annual fee of two annas and paying them an occasional visit. Rai Jogesh Chandra

Conversion to Hinduism.

Statement No. 151, showing the strength of the four main subdivisions of Chutiyás.

Subdivision.	Hindu.	Animistic.
Hindu	27,109	.....
Ahom	12,225	.....
Borahi	92	.....
Deoris	2,991	1,003
Total	42,417	1,003

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Chatterji informs me that when he asked some Deori Chutiyás why they accepted a Gosein at all when they still adhered to their old beliefs, he was answered that they did not like to be called *abhakatiá* (disciples of no one) and despised accordingly by their neighbours. Thus, their change of religion is purely nominal, and is due to a desire to avoid being unfashionable exceptions to a general rule, rather than to any more serious motive.

Marriage amongst the Deori Chutiyas.

Early marriage is very rare. Marriage is usually by purchase, and the ceremony consists of a feast to the villagers combined with a religious ceremony, in which songs mentioning the names of the clan god and goddess are sung. Polygamy, though rare, is not unknown. There is no regular remarriage of widows, but informal unions are formed, the offspring of which are legitimate.

Their internal structure.

The Deori Chutiyás are divided into four khels—Bargoniá, Patorgoniá, Tengápániá, and Dibongiá,—which derive their names from the places where they originally settled. The only distinction between them is that each khel has its own *deosál*, or temple, where they worship the same deity under different names, that of the Bargoniá being Kesáyikháti; of the Patorgoniá, Támeswari Mai; of the Tengápánia, Bolia Hemotá; and of the Dibongiá, Buráburi.

Dibongia khel.

Each khel is divided into a number of exogamous clans, of which the twelve mentioned in the report of 1881 all belong to the Dibongiá, which is the largest of the four khels. Four of them are priestly clans, *viz.*, the Sundari or clan of the Bar Deoris; Patir, the clan of the Saru Deoris; and Airio and Kumotá the clans of the Bar and Saru Bharalis. The Airio and Kumotá are the most numerous, and the men and women of the other ten clans must all marry into one or other of them. There are said to be about 180 to 200 houses of the Dibongiá khel in all.

Bargonia khel.

The Bargoniá Deoris are said to now number only 50 houses or so, and are all settled near the Dihing river. They have only four exogamous clans, *viz.*,

Iku Saru	...	Bar Deori's clan.
Sufaru	...	Saru Deori's clan.
Hijero	...	Bar Bharali's clan.
Busaro	...	Saru Bharali's clan.

It is said that the members of this khel alone used to offer human sacrifices, and that the other khels were never guilty of this abomination.

Tengapania khel.

The Tengápánias number from 70 to 80 houses, and, like the Bargoniás, are settled chiefly near the Dihing. They are divided into seven exogamous clans:

Musago	...	Clan of Bar Deoris.
Khemasa.		
Khutiya Tika	...	„ Bar Bharali.
Chana Bárik Tika.		
Faji Maguraon.		
Tapuyo.		
Chaky Churogia Tika.		

Patorgonia khel.

The Patorgoniá khel has become extinct, and their goddess, Támeswari Mai, is now worshipped by the Bargoniás in a separate *deosál*. The last representative of the khel died five or six years ago.

Jaladha.

275. The Jaladhás are described by Mr. Anderson as the Boriás of Káchári life. They are said to be outcastes from Káchári society; the descendants of persons who have married within the prohibited degrees. No other class of Kácháris will intermarry with them. Mr. Anderson, in

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the course of his enquiries, came across two persons, who had only recently been degraded to that position. They were brothers, and had married, one the mother and the other her daughter, and had on this account been outcasted. Jaladhás can, it is said, regain their position in Káchári society on giving a feast and going through the prescribed formalities. They usually speak Assamese. The number of persons returned as Jaladhá at this census is 6,311 against 2,795 in 1881.

In Nowgong the term Bahaliá is also applied to Káchári outcastes, but I am not in a position to say whether the two words are synonymous and apply to the same class of people or not.

Dehan.

276. The Dehán is a small caste in Cachar. They claim to be Koches, but at the same time wear the sacred thread and often describe themselves as Kshettriyas or Rájbansis. Their tradition is that they accompanied Gohain Kamal, the brother of the Koch ruler Nar Náráyan, when he invaded Cachar.*

In general estimation they rank above the local Kácháris, although the better class of the latter, who call themselves Barman and also wear the thread, dispute this point with them. They are Hindus of the Vaishnava persuasion, and are disciples of the Goseins of Santipur, under whose orders they recently gave up their old Bengali Bráhmans, and took instead as their priests the Manipuri Bráhmans, who, like themselves, are Vaishnavas and disciples of the abovementioned Goseins.

The derivation of their caste name is uncertain. In the Brahmaputra Valley 'Dehán' is the term applied by Kácháris to persons professing the Hindu religion, and it is possible that the name was first applied to them in this sense. The total number of persons returned as Dehán is only 870. They do not appear to have been noticed as a separate caste at previous censuses.

Solanemias.

277. In Mangaldai there is an interesting little caste of Káchári origin called Solanemiá. The total number returned is only 274. At previous censuses they were not shown separately. They are said to be descended from sixteen Kácháris, who were presented by a Raja to a Bráhman on the occasion of his father's funeral ceremony. Another account is that they were formerly under the Bhutiás, and were brought down to the plains by a Raja, who gave them a Gosein and a Bráhman priest. But whatever the cause of their separation, they admit their Káchári ancestry. They rank above ordinary Kácháris, and are on much the same level as the Rábhás and the Saraniá section of the Koch caste, but are said to be inferior to the Mahaliás. They eat swine's flesh and fowls, and are addicted to alcoholic drinks, but they nevertheless have their Gosein and a Bráhman priest, who marries them by the *hom* ceremony. They perform the *sraddh* and other Hindu ceremonies, and, so far as possible, they practise endogamy, but, their number being limited, they have often to intermarry with Kácháris, Rábhás, and Mahaliás. When a Káchári wife is taken, she is made to undergo a purifying ceremony, and a Solanemiá girl who has married a Káchári must do the same before she is permitted to return to her father's house. When marriage takes place with Rábhás and Saraniás, the bride, whether she be Solanemiá or Rábhá, &c., must perform a similar purification prior to marriage. A Káchári will eat food cooked by a Solanemiá, and a Solanemiá will accept food from the hands of a Mahaliá. But he will not take food from a Rábhá or Saraniá, nor, on the other hand, will the latter eat food cooked by a Solanemia.

* This confirms a statement in the 'Purushnameh' of Raja Lakshmi Náráyan, of Howli Mohanpur, to the effect that Cachar was conquered by the Koches in the reign of Nar Náráyan. In the 'Purushnameh', however, it is stated that another brother, Silaral, was the leader of the expedition.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Mahalia.

278. Mahaliá is a term applied to certain classes of converted Kâchâris in the Darrang district. I have never been able to ascertain on what grounds the distinction is based, nor why some Káchâris become Mahaliá and others Koch. But all officers consulted agree in saying that there is no doubt that a Mahaliá is a converted Káchári. Intermarriage is permitted under certain restrictions and after the performance of certain ceremonies of purification, but a Mahaliá will never eat with a Káchári. The total number of persons returned as Mahaliá is 5,612, against 6,202 in 1881.

Moran.

279. There has been a good deal of confusion between the terms Morán, Matak, and Moamaria. The Moráns have already been referred to as having been the first tribe to be conquered by the Ahoms when they entered Assam from over the Patkoi. They were employed by the Ahom kings as carriers of firewood, and were thus also known as Hábungias. A writer in the *Jonaki* magazine of April 1891 is of opinion that the Moráns are the autochthenes of Upper Assam.

The word 'Moamaria', on the other hand, is the nickname of the Dinjay and Garpura Goseins, the origin of which has already been explained.* These Goseins were Vaishnavas, and were persecuted by the Ahom rulers, who had embraced the Sákta form of Hinduism, and who tried to force the Moamarias to conform to the same belief. Amongst other acts of oppression, Phuleswari, the wife of Sib Singh, caused the forehead of their Gosein to be smeared with sacrificial blood,† and this and other wrongs eventually drove the members of the sect to rebellion. They defeated the Ahom king, but were in their turn vanquished by Captain Welsh, who had been deputed to assist him. They nevertheless maintained their independence around Sadiya, and set up a ruler of their own, who went by the name of the Bor Senapati. When the Singphos began to raid on Assam, they found the Senapati's people better able to defend themselves than those residing under the decayed power of the Ahoms, and therefore called them 'Matak', meaning 'strong', as distinguished from the 'Mullong', or weaker subjects of the Ahoms. The term 'Matak' thus applies simply to the people residing in the tract of country formerly ruled by the Bor Senapati,‡ and has no reference to any particular caste or tribe. As the majority of the inhabitants of this tract are disciples of the Moamaria Gosein, the word has now become almost synonymous with Moamaria, and the disciples of this Gosein appear to describe themselves indifferently as Matak or Moamaria, and both words frequently appeared in the schedules as the sub-caste of numerous castes, including Morán, Dom, Hári, &c. The Moráns are not necessarily Mataks any more than are the Doms. Some of them are disciples of the Moamaria Gosein, and in the revolt against the Ahoms mentioned above, the two leaders of the Moamaria army were both of them Moráns. But the greater number are disciples of other Goseins, those in Lakhimpur being chiefly adherents of the Tiphuk and those in Sibsagar of the Sessa Gosein. But whatever their sect, the fact remains that they are a perfectly distinct tribe. They have a language of their own, which is allied to the Káchári, § but they have now practically abandoned it in favour of Assamese. They are now in name at least fully Hinduised. They burn their dead, but engage no Bráhman at their religious ceremonies. Many of them claim to be Ahoms and use the Ahom *chuklong* marriage ceremony. They recognise polygamy, and permit the remarriage of widows. There are said to be four khels of Moráns—Morán, Lohong, Dowse, and Alai,—but I have no information as to whether these khels are sub-tribes or merely exogamous groups.

* *Supra*, page 81.

† Page 37 *et seq.*, of Kasinath Tamuli Phukan's 'Asam Buranji'.

‡ This country lies between the Buri Dehing and the Brahmaputra.

§ *Supra*, page 160, in Lakhimpur it is said to be mixed up with Khámti and Singphó.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

280. The Tipperahs belong to Bengal rather than Assam, those found in this province being either recent immigrants or the descendants of immigrants.* They clearly belong to the Bodo family, and at one period intermarried with the Káchári kings of Khaspur. They are found only in the Surma Valley, and chiefly in Sylhet. Their number has increased considerably since 1881, a result which is in all probability mainly due to immigration, but may perhaps also be ascribed in part to the very careful arrangements which were made on the present occasion to secure the complete enumeration of the out-of-the-way punjis inhabited by these people.

Tipperah.

Statement No. 52, showing the strength and distribution of the Tipperahs.

District.	1891.	1881.
Sylhet	8,272	3,982
Cachar	386	2
Other districts ..	1	.....
Total	8,659	3,984

NÁGÁ TRIBES.

281. The following interesting Note on some of the Nágá tribes is from the pen of Mr. A. W. Davis, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Nágá Hills district:

Naga tribes.

Angámis.

The Angámis are the largest of the Nágá tribes of which we have any knowledge. The portion of the tribe censused occupies 56 villages, with a population of 26,880. In addition to these, there are 14 villages, with a population of some 5,000, lying outside the district boundary in the piece of country bounded on the west by the Brahmaputra-Irawaddy watershed range, on the north by the Thezir river, on the east by the Tizu river, and on the south by the Lanier. The censused portion of the tribe occupies the country drained by the Zullu, Sijju, and Zubza rivers, which all have their origin in the Japvo or Burrail range of hills. This range forms the boundary of the Angámi country towards the south.

The name Angámi, by which this tribe is known to us, is a corruption of Gnamei, the name by which the tribe is known to the Manipuris, through whom we first came into contact with them (the Angámis). The name by which they call themselves is Tengima, while they are known to the surrounding tribes of Kezhámas, Semás, and Lhotás as Tsoghámi, Tsungumi, and Tsangho.

Origin.

The Angámis assert that their people originally came from the south, *i.e.*, the direction of Manipur. They first occupied the spurs just under Japvo, and thence spread north-west and north-east. Their accounts of their origin are extremely vague and untrustworthy, as is to be expected in the case of a people who have no written language.

Tribal divisions.

The Angámi tribe is divided into three main divisions,—the Chakroma, who live in a few small villages in the western portion of the country; the Tengima proper, occupying the central portion, and the Chakrima or Eastern Angámis, who occupy the country south and east of Kohima on both sides of the watershed range. The Chakroma, who represent but a very small percentage of the whole tribe, are practically identical with the Tengima in appearance and language. Between the Tengima and Chakrima, however, especially that portion of the tribe which inhabits the villages on the right bank of the Sijju river, there are very marked differences, both in dialect and general appearance. The differences in dress, cut of hair, &c., between these two divisions of the tribe are in fact greater than those that exist between tribes that are really different, such as the Lhotás and Áos, and it is only by an examination of the language spoken by Tengima and Chakrima that we find that they really belong to the same tribe.

Cultivation.

The Angámis are distinguished from the other tribes within the district by their method of cultivation. While all the other tribes, including the western or Chakroma portion of the Angámi tribe, raise their rice crops by *jhúming*, the Angámis raise their rice crop on irrigated terraces. These terraces are excavated with great labour and skill from the hillsides, and are watered by means of channels carried along the contour of the hills for long distances and at excessively easy gradients.

The questions of whence the Angámis first got the idea of their terraced cultivation, and why they adopted a system which at the outset must have entailed an immense amount of labour, have often been asked: I think the answer must be that this system of cultivation gradually spread northwards from Manipur† until it reached the Angámis, who adopted it for the following reasons:

* Full information regarding the Tipperahs will be found in Mr. Risley's 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal,' volume II, page 323, and Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, volume VI, page 463.

† I am led to say this from an observation of the fact that the whole of the Nágá villages between Kohima and Manipur practise the terrace system of cultivation, while north of Kohima the custom gradually dies out, the necessity for it not existing.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

(1) A desire for a better kind of food than job's-tears and konidhan, the only *jhûm* crops which can be successfully grown at high elevations,* and which, from the analogy of the Mazung tribe, whose villages are situated at elevations equal to or higher than the older Angámi villages, may safely be assumed to have been in days gone by the Angámis' staple food.

(2) The impossibility of raising a sufficient crop of this better kind of food, *i.e.*, rice, except by a system like that of irrigated terraces, which their neighbours to the south were already practising, and which allows the same land to be used year after year without the necessity which occurs in the case of *jhûm* cultivation of throwing up the land after two years' cultivation and allowing it to lie fallow for eight or ten years.

(3) A good water supply, which rendered the system of irrigated cultivation possible.

Tribal customs.

The Angámis live in, for the most part, large villages, reaching in the case of Kohima to over 800 houses. These villages are, as a rule, strongly situated on the tops of hills. The houses in a village are all built close together without much attempt at arrangement, and the whole is surrounded by an almost impenetrable fence of some thorny shrub and huge stinging nettles. The approaches to the village are by narrow sunken paths, the entrance to the actual site being guarded by a strong wooden door now-a-days rarely or never shut.

A village is, however, far from being a united community, as might have been expected. The unit of Nágá society is not the village, but the 'khel', called by the Angámis themselves 'tepfu' or 'tino'. Many of these exist in each village. In Kohima there are seven such subdivisions. The members of each 'khel' or 'tino' are supposed to be descended from a common ancestor, whose name the khel bears. These khels are exogamous subdivisions. Between the khels in the same village great rivalry exists, which in old days used to lead to blood feuds and frequent fighting, indeed, the inter-khel feuds were and are far more bitter than inter-village feuds. Inter-village feuds are now practically extinct, but inter-khel feuds are still kept alive, and result not infrequently at the great drinking festivals in riots and free fights, in which lives are occasionally lost. I know of no Angámi village of any size which is not divided against itself by the bitter feuds which exist between its component parts. The following extract from a report by Mr. Carnegy, then Political Officer in the Naga Hills, dated the 12th September 1876, will show the utter want of combination which exists in an ordinary Angámi village. He writes:

"In the middle of July a party of 40 men of Mozema went over to Kohima, and were admitted by one of the khels friendly to them, living next to the Puchatsuma quarter, into which they passed and killed all they could find, *viz.*, one man, five women, and twenty young children. *The people of the other khels made no effort to interfere, but stood looking on* . . . . One of the on-lookers told me that he never saw such fine sport (*i.e.*, the killing of the children), for it was just like killing fowls."

Such scenes as this are of course things of the past, but the spirit which rendered them possible still exists, and renders all real combination amongst even one tribe impossible. I have dwelt on this point at some length, as the fact of the non-existence of any possibility for united action by even one village, let alone a whole tribe, does not seem to be very widely known.

The following is a list of some of the exogamous subdivisions existing amongst the Angámis:

Dakkotsuma.	Puchátsuma.	Chaletsuma.	Chatsuma.
Chitonoma.	Kototsuma.	Levisonoma.	Meyasatsuma.
Kotsuma.	Guezonotsuma.	Nisonoma.	Tekrenoma.
Puphetsuma.	Vihutsuma.	Dzinionoma.	Kwoma.
Toloma.	Phetsuma.	Viama.	Kamima.
Tseáma.	Kipfoma.	Dzirama.	Meralitsuma.
Mekroma.	Pavoma.	Tenginuma.	Kizhazuma.
Rotsoma.	Kezanuma.	Cheráma.	Tama.
Sema.	Hepfoma.		

This list could be added to without any trouble, but it seems useless to go on adding to a list of names, which are, except to a Nágá, absolutely meaningless.

Marriage customs.

As stated above, the khels amongst Angámis are exogamous subdivisions. A man is therefore obliged to look for his wife amongst the women of a khel different from his own. Marriages are, therefore, usually not love matches, at least as far as the girl is concerned. The following sketch gives the procedure followed in the

† *Jhûm* rice does not do well at elevations of much over 4,000 feet.

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village of Khonoma* by a young man who is anxious to marry. Having selected the girl he would like to marry, he informs his father. The father then sends a friend to the girl's house to interview her parents, with a view to ascertain whether they will allow the match or not. If a favourable reply is received from the girl's parents, the father of the young man will on an auspicious day (inauspicious days are days on which there has been a death in the village, or during which there has occurred an eclipse of the sun or moon or an earthquake) at sunrise ascertain, by strangling a fowl and watching which way in dying it crosses its legs, whether the intended marriage is likely to be a prosperous one or not. Should the omens be unfavourable, the arrangements for the marriage are at once broken off, but should the omens be favourable, the go-between will again be sent to inform the parents of the girl of the fact. The girl's opinion is then asked, and should she, within the next three days, dream no dream unfavourable to the idea of the intended marriage, formal consent is given by her parents. A day for the wedding is then fixed. On that day the father of the bridegroom sends some pigs, usually two or three (the number varies according to the wealth of the parties), a few seers of salt, and some liquor to the house of the bride's parents. These pigs are then killed, and a feast given to the khel men and friends of the bride, who also take away small portions of meat wrapped in plantain leaves. The same night at about 9 or 10 p.m. the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, carrying a small '*lao*' of liquor and a little cooked meat in a basket. She is accompanied by two men and two women carrying four *laos* of liquor, 100 or more pieces of cooked meat, and 10 or 12 pieces of uncooked meat, by a small boy carrying a cup of liquor, and by some 40 or 50 members of her own khel. On arrival at the house the bridegroom is summoned, and he and the bride, first the man and then the woman, eat some of the meat and drink some of the liquor brought by the bride. The bridegroom then returns to his '*deka chang*', and the companions of the bride, after receiving a few fowls as presents, return to their homes, only two women and one man remaining to sleep with the bride at the house of the bridegroom's father, receiving in the morning a present of one fowl each.

On the second day the bride and bridegroom again eat together, the bridegroom returning at night to his '*deka chang*', and the bride remaining in his father's house. On the morning of the third day the young couple go together to the bridegroom's cultivation, the girl carrying a '*lao*' of liquor, some food, and a hoe. The man carries only his spear. Arrived at his cultivation, first the man and after him the woman take the hoe and do a little hoeing. A little rice and liquor is then placed on the ground as an offering to the deity. The couple then eat and drink together. They then return home, the man cutting on the way home a few sticks of firewood, which are brought home by the woman. On her return the woman goes to her father's house, and brings thence to her husband's house a few *laos* of liquor and some cooked meat. A feast is then given to the neighbours and children. That night the young couple kill a fowl in order to see whether their marriage will turn out well or the reverse. They then wait for another seven or eight days. At the expiration of this period the high priest of the khel is called in. He sacrifices a chicken, and the ceremony of marriage is complete. Until the completion of the ceremony the bride and bridegroom do not sleep together, but after the completion of the ceremony cohabitation is allowed.

The Angámis do not practise polygamy. Children take the caste of the father, *i.e.*, belong to his khel. This is the rule in all Nágá tribes.

Divorce.

Divorces are frequent amongst the Angámis, and occur for various reasons, such as infidelity on the part of the woman, incompatibility of temper, and failure on the part of the woman to bear children.

If a woman is divorced for infidelity, all her clothes, beads, &c., are taken by her husband, and her family are fined the amount of the expenses incurred by the husband's family for the marriage. Should, however, a wife be divorced for any reason but some fault of her own, she receives one-third of all the grain that there is in the house at the time. Should a woman leave her husband for no fault on his part, but merely because she finds she does not like him, she then has to repay to him the expenses incurred for the marriage.

Divorced women, women who have left their husbands for any reason, and widows who have no children, &c., go to reside again in their fathers' houses, and can remarry at pleasure. Widows with children are not supposed to remarry, having to devote themselves to the bringing up of their children.

* In each village customs vary slightly.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Rules of inheritance.

During a man's life time his sons, as they marry, receive their share of his landed property. Should, however, a man die, leaving several unmarried sons, these will all receive equal shares. As the sons marry, they leave the paternal mansion, and build houses of their own. The youngest son, therefore, in practice nearly always inherits his father's house. Daughters receive no share in their father's property except amongst certain of the Eastern Angámi villages. Should a man die, leaving no male heirs, his property is, as a rule, divided amongst his nearest male relations. If he has daughters, these daughters would ordinarily be entitled to receive no portion of his property. A man can, however, by word of mouth, bequeath to his daughter or daughters such portion of his property as he may consider fit.

In the case of a married woman, possessed of property in land in her own right, dying without children, her property would, if not sold to meet her funeral expenses, revert to her nearest male relations.

Funeral ceremonies.

As soon as a man dies, his body is washed by his son, if he has one. In the case of a woman, this duty is performed by her daughter. The body is then covered over with a white cloth, and a basket containing dhan, konidhan, job's-tears, yams, Indian corn, and garlic is placed by the side of the body. Preparations are then at once made for the funeral feast and for the funeral, which always takes place the evening after a man's death. The funeral feast is proportionate to the wealth of the deceased. One cow is about the least that can be sacrificed, and it not infrequently happens that a man's whole property goes in furnishing forth his funeral feast.

The cows for the feast, having been procured, are killed in the early morning by an old man of deceased's khel. The livers, heads, and certain portions of the meat having been set apart, the rest is distributed amongst the family members, relations, and friends of deceased, portions being often sent to intimate friends residing in other villages.

The ceremony of the distribution of meat being over, the funeral obsequies are proceeded with. The coffin, a rough wooden box without a lid, having been got ready, the deceased's father-in-law, if he have one, or, if not, some friend from another khel, enters the house in which the body is lying, and standing on the lefthand side of the body, places a plain spear down on the righthand side of the body. In the case of a woman, a black cloth takes the place of the spear. Having done this, he cuts off a small lock of the dead man's hair. The coffin is then brought into the house, and a wisp of thatching-grass is burnt inside it. This done, the body is placed in the coffin, at its right hand being placed a *dao*, two spears, and a split stick with bamboo ribbon for kindling fire after the Nágá fashion. The coffin is then brought out for burial in the grave, which is usually dug close to deceased's house. I append a description of an Angámi burial taken from an old diary of Mr. McCabe's:

"The grave was about 6 feet deep, close to deceased's house. The body was wrapped in new cloths, and was encased in a regular coffin without the lid. Before the coffin was lowered into the grave, the male friends of the deceased, each with a shield and a couple of spears, danced about, howling at the top of their voices and tears streaming from their eyes. The women were not to be outdone in shrieking, and rushed about with arms outstretched, slapping the ground with their cloths. As the coffin was lowered, the women ran forward and tried to hold it back, and as it finally disappeared, a most doleful shriek was raised.

"'Do not be afraid; do not mourn. You have only followed your parents' custom. Although you have died, let us remain happy. Although God has not been kind to you, and you have died, fear not!'

"Inside the coffin, and at the right hand of the deceased, two spears and a *dao* were placed. Large flat stones were then used to form the lid of the coffin, and the crevices were carefully filled up with rubble. At this stage of the proceedings, the friends of the deceased suddenly stopped sobbing, dried their eyes, and marched off in a most businesslike manner. A civilised Nágá, who had been as demonstrative with his umbrella as his warrior friends had been with their spears, solemnly closed it and retired. A large basketful of dhan, konidhan, dhall, and job's-tears was now thrown into the grave, and over this the earth was rapidly filled in."

Subsequent to the funeral the following ceremonial is observed:

On the day after the funeral the friends and relations of the deceased, together with one man of another khel, go to deceased's house, and there eat the meat of the heads of the cows and the other reserved portions except the livers. The skulls are then taken to the grave, and fixed up over it, together with a shield, spear, and ornaments, such as cane-leggings, &c., worn by deceased during his lifetime.

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In the case of a woman, her basket, weaving sticks, &c., are placed over the grave. Food is then again partaken of at deceased's house, and the members of another khel who are present proceed to cook the livers of the cows set apart for this purpose. When cooked, a piece of liver with salt and chillies is given to each member of deceased's family, who, in perfect silence, throw each his piece out of the house to a distance of eight or nine paces. This ceremony being completed, all those present return to their homes.

On the second day after the funeral, seventeen portions of cooked rice, with a little salt, are tied up in plantain leaves. These are buried outside the house on the fourth day. On the fifth day from the funeral, deceased's wooden platter and drinking-cup are hung up by a string inside the house. At the expiration of thirty days, this string is undone and thrown away. The platter and cup are given to one of deceased's intimate friends. About the fortieth day deceased's family sacrifice a cock, the flesh being eaten equally by all. The ceremonies connected with the funeral are then complete.

Very young children are usually buried inside the house. The bodies of women dying in childbirth are taken out through the back of the house, and buried without any ceremony whatever.

Religion.

The Angámis have practically no religion. They recognise a supreme creator called Terhopfŏ or Kepenopfŏ. They also believe in the existence of evil spirits which reside in rocks, trees, and pools of water. These are usually propitiated in cases of illness by offerings of fowls, pigs, or cattle. Customs similar to these are common to the whole of the Nágá and Kuki tribes within this district. Of a future state after death, their ideas are extremely vague. They certainly believe that the soul does not die with the body, but what becomes of it they cannot say,—resembling in this respect more civilised nations.

Village festivals.

The chief Angámi village festivals are those called Terhengi and Sekrengi.

The Terhengi is celebrated within a short time of the completion of the harvest, and is in fact the 'Harvest Home' festival. As the Terhengi marks the end of the year's work for the Angámi, so the Sekrengi marks its commencement, being held shortly before the new year's work in the fields is begun. Both festivals last for ten days, and both are occasions for the unlimited consumption of *zu* (rice beer), pork, and beef.

During the Terhengi are given most of those big feeds which wealthy Nágás give, in the not vain hope of handing down their names to future generations. Such feasts, at which a man's guests are numbered often by hundreds, cost not infrequently in kind and money as much as Rs. 700 or Rs. 800. The slaughter of ten head of cattle and 20 or 30 pigs is no unusual thing. So much meat, of course, entails the use of enormous quantities of rice, both for food and liquor, and it is at the ceremony of pounding this rice, which takes place a few days before the feast begins, and at which the whole of the adult males of the host's khel assist, that the Angámi warrior is seen to the best advantage. On such occasions he, to use a slang phrase, 'puts em all on', and a crowd of fine athletic young savages, well adorned with toucan feather headdresses, bear-skin fringes, collars (*tatche*) made of locks of human hair surmounted by a fringe of goat's hair dyed blood red, new bright red and yellow cane leggings and armlets, and a few other small ornaments dear to the savage heart, is no mean sight. To commemorate these feasts, huge stones are dragged, often for long distances, on rough wooden sledges, and are erected by the side of the road near the village. The giver of the feast also becomes entitled to put up over his house the huge wooden horns (*hikhya*), which are such a conspicuous feature in most Angámi villages.

At the Sekrengi festival dogs are killed and eaten in large numbers. I have often enquired the reason for this, but have never been able to get a satisfactory answer. Besides these two main festivals, many other minor ones are celebrated during the year, the chief of which is that held just before the new paddy harvest begins.

Áo.

The Áos occupy the country which is drained by the Jhanzi, the Desoi, and by the streams which flow into the Dikhu on its left bank. The only Áo village on the right bank of the Dikhu is Longsa. The Áos

Origin and habitat.

profess to have had their origin from a stone, which is situated between Longsa and the Sangtam village of Luban. From this place they gradually migrated across the Dikhu, and occupied the country in which they now dwell. They are divided into two tribes, Chungli or Zungi and Mongsen, speaking dialects

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

which are so dissimilar as to be practically different languages. These two tribes, though they in many instances live side by side in the same villages, have each preserved their own dialect.

I have added to this note on the Áos a list of words and sentences in the two dialects, which shows the differences between them.*

The Áos occupy, excluding Longsa, which was not censused, 46 villages. Of these, 21 are Chungli entirely, 19 are Mongsen entirely, while six are mixed villages, inhabited both by Chungli and Mongsen. Roughly speaking, the Áo country is composed of three parallel ridges, called Lampungkung, Changkikung, and Japukung respectively. The Chungli tribe inhabits all the villages on the Lampungkung (the range immediately overlooking the Dikhu), with the exception of the villages of Mokokchang and Nunkam, which are partially Mongsen. The valley of the Melak or Jhanzi, *i.e.*, the valley enclosed between the Lampungkung and Changkikung, contains the mixed villages, while on the Changkikung and Japukung the villages are, with the exception of Deka Haimong, Molungting, and Assiringia (a non-Áo village), entirely Mongsen.

Assiringia, called by the Áos Mirinokpo, is a village which really belongs to the 'naked' tribe of Nágás. The inhabitants came many years ago from the village of Wankhong or Orangkang, a village belonging to that tribe, and situated a day's march east of the Dikhu from Susu village. Nowadays in all but language the Assiringia people have become Áos. The problem is, how did they get on to their present site, which is on the range immediately over the plains, through the intervening Áo villages? Where they are at present, they are at least three days' journey from the nearest villages of the tribe to which they really belong.

Description of an Ao village.

The following description is taken from Colonel Woodthorpe's Report of the survey operations in the Nágá Hills, 1874-75:

"The villages, which are usually large, as a rule, occupy the most commanding points along the ridges, and the approaches to them are exceedingly pretty. Broad roads, bordered with grass and low shrubs, lead up, through avenues of fine trees, to the main entrance, which is generally very strongly guarded by two or three panjied ditches, running right across the ridge and stockaded on the inner bank. The stockades are strongly built of a double line of posts, supporting a wall of interlaced bamboo, and are capable of offering a good resistance. The outermost ditch is generally about 200 or 300 yards, or even more, away from the village, the second being situated between it and the one enclosing the village. The gate through the stockade of this last ditch into the village is cut out of one huge block, and is frequently four or five feet broad and about six feet high. A large gable roof is constructed over it, giving it a great resemblance to our old lych-gates at home. Lookouts are built commanding the entrance, and in some cases little huts are constructed in large trees outside the most advanced stockades on the main roads, communications being preserved with the interior by means of long ladders and causeways. Passing through the gate into the village, we find ourselves before the '*Morang*' or bachelor's house, a large and most peculiar-looking building, appearing to be all roof, which springs from a small back gabled wall about five feet high and six or seven feet broad. The ridge rises rapidly from this to the front till it attains a height from the ground of 25 feet or 30 feet, the eaves resting on the ground on either side. The front is closed with a semi-circular wall of thatch, a small door about four feet high giving admittance to the building, which, as this is generally the only opening, is necessarily somewhat dark. As the eye gets accustomed to the gloom, we find that the house is divided into two parts by a low wall formed of a log of wood, over which a thick bamboo mat is stretched. The half of the house has a matted floor, and is provided with a hearth and planked sleeping places round it, and here the young men sleep, but the other half is unfloored. We also make out that the principal uprights are carved with large figures of men, elephants, tigers, lizards, etc., roughly painted with the three colours common to the Nágá and Gáro tribes, *i.e.*, black, white, and reddish brown. Arranged round the walls are the skulls of men and animals and skilful imitations of them† made by cutting and painting old gourds; these imitations are often so well done that at a little distance they pass for real skulls. The ridge of the *morang* projects a few feet in front, and is ornamented with small straw figures of men and tufts of straw placed at regular intervals. Outside each *morang* is a large platform of logs of wood, on which the young men and their friends sit and smoke throughout the day, and hard by is an open shed, in which stands the big drum, formed of a huge trunk hollowed out and elaborately carved (generally to resemble a buffalo's head) and

* Reprinted as Appendix G. | † Human skulls.

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painted in front after the manner of the figurehead of a ship and furnished with a straight tail at the other end. The drum is raised from the ground, and rests upon logs of wood. It is sounded by letting a heavy piece of wood (hinged on to one side of the roof) fall on it, and by beating it with double-headed clubs." Caste, Tribe, &c.

The ordinary houses in the village are large and clean. They are built in regular streets, and are divided into three rooms, the outer room being on the ground, and the two inner rooms being raised off the ground. At the back of the house there is a bamboo platform, and in front an open verandah. The ridge projects a few feet in front, and in villages built on a narrow piece of ground these ridges often overlap, rendering the village street quite dark.

Personal appearance of the Aos.

The men amongst the Áos, both Chungli and Mongsen, are somewhat darker in complexion and inferior in physique to the Angámis. They wear a loin-cloth and small apron. The pattern of this last varies from village to village. All wear a cotton cloth thrown lightly round the shoulders, the commonest colours being dark blue or dirty white. Thin brass tubes about four inches long, to the ends of which are attached thin chains, each chain ending in a small bell, are the commonest ear ornaments among the men. Tufts of cotton are occasionally worn in the ears. One or two strings of long white beads are usually worn round the neck. The arms of the men are spear, shield, and *dao*, the last being carried on the back in a small wooden sheath, which is bound round the waist by a cotton rope. The men in the villages at the northern extremity of the tribe generally wear small helmets made of plaited cane ornamented with boar's tusks. A collar of wild boar's tusks round the neck and cowrie cuffs round the wrists are worn by all men who have taken a head. Nowadays men who have not taken a head have begun to wear these distinctive marks.

The men of the tribe are not tattooed, and there is in outward appearance no difference between Chungli and Mongsen.

The women, who are comparatively superior in physique to the men, are, after the Angámis, the best looking in the hills. They are tattooed on the face, neck, breasts, arms, and legs. The marks on the face are slight, and are confined to four vertical lines on the chin. These are the same both for Chungli and Mongsen. The other tattoo marks, however, are different for either tribe, the difference in pattern on the arms and calves of the leg being very noticeable. Both tribes tie their hair in the same manner, but the Mongsen women use a white cotton rope for that purpose, while the Chungli women use ropes of plaited black hair. The cloths of both are similar. They consist of a dark blue petticoat, sometimes ornamented with red stripes, reaching from waist to knee, and a dark blue or dirty white cloth thrown loosely round the shoulders. Their ornaments are numerous strings of cheap red cornelian beads worn round the neck. In the upper part of the ear they wear large brass rings about four inches in diameter. These are made of three twists of thick brass wire, and after being passed through the ear are supported by a string going over the top and round the back of the head. The lobe of the ear supports large crystal ear ornaments.

Men, women, and children all smoke short bamboo or iron pipes; they are seldom seen without these. Old women often wear gaiters made of white or dark blue cloth.

Cultivation.

This tribe cultivates by the *jhúm* system. Land is kept under cultivation for two years, and then allowed to lie fallow for ten years or so. The reason for abandoning land after the second year is said to be partly due to the impoverishment of the soil, and partly to the rank growth of weeds, the roots of which are never eradicated from the soil, and which after the second year come up in such numbers that it is found quite impossible to keep them down.

Tribal constitution.

Each village amongst the Áos is a small republic, and each man is as good as his neighbour, indeed, it would be hard to find anywhere else more thoroughly democratic communities. Headmen (*tátár*) do exist, but their authority is very small.

Village customs.

As above stated (description of an Áo village), sleeping houses for bachelors are provided. These, however, are seldom used except by small boys, it being an almost universal custom for the young men each to sleep with the girl of his choice. The unmarried girls sleep by twos and threes in houses otherwise empty, or else tenanted by one old woman. Here they are visited nightly by their lovers. The resultant immorality is not so great as might be expected, for the following reasons: (1) the numbers of men and women are, as a rule, pretty equally balanced, and (2) girls of known extremely immoral habits find it, I am told, difficult to get husbands.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Village festivals.

The chief festivals of the year are the two that occur in August before the commencement of the harvest, and the one that occurs at its close; all of them are occasions for the consumption of much pork and rice-beer. The harvest home festival is usually the time chosen for killing mithán by the rich men of the village. A mithán feast involves, as do similar feasts among the Angámis, an expenditure in cash and kind of not less than Rs. 500.

Mithán at these festivals are, or rather were,—the custom is being gradually suppressed,—killed in an extremely cruel manner, being literally hacked to bits with *daos*, the animal finally dying from loss of blood.

The second festival in August is, however, the most interesting. At its celebration two customs are practised, which are not, as far as I am aware, practised by any other tribe in this district. The first of these is the custom during the three days the festival lasts of having 'tugs-of-war' between the young men and unmarried girls of each khel. The ropes used are thick jungle creepers of great length. The object of the girls is to pull the rope right outside the boundaries of the khel. This they are seldom allowed to do, the young men generally pouncing down on the rope and dragging it back before it has been taken clean out of their ground. After dark the ropes are dropped, and the second portion of the *tamasha* begins. The girls form into circles, holding hands, each khel on its own ground. They then begin a monotonous chant, at the same time circling slowly round and round. This dancing and singing go on for hours, its monotony being only interrupted by what may be called raids by the young men from a different khel. These come round with lighted torches, and having picked out the girls they consider most pleasing, proceed to carry them off by force. Such seizures, however, lead to nothing worse than drinking, the girls so carried off being obliged by custom to stand the young men free drinks.

Slavery.

This custom was universal throughout the Áo tribe. Since our occupation of the country, every effort has been made to suppress the custom, and the selling and buying of slaves is now, I fancy, very uncommon. Slaves were and are, I believe, on the whole, very well treated, being considered almost as members of the family. Cases of harsh treatment, of course, must have occurred occasionally, but these must now be very rare, and the slaves who have remained with their owners know very well that, if illtreated, all they have to do is to run away. In old days slaves, unless they could get down to the plains, could not run away, it being etiquette for them to be caught and returned by the inhabitants of any village in which they took refuge.

Troublesome slaves were usually sold to people living across the Dikhu, amongst whom the custom of human sacrifices is not, I believe, entirely unknown. Amongst the Áos, before our occupation of the country, slaves were not infrequently paid by one village to another village with which they happened to be on bad terms, to make up a quarrel, and as a sort of set off against any heads taken by them. Slaves paid in this way were invariably slaughtered by the village which received them, as an offering to the spirits of the men on their side who had been killed.

Female slaves were not allowed to marry or have children. If they became pregnant, their children were killed immediately after birth, or else abortion was procured. Female slaves are not tattooed.

Religion.

Like other Nágá tribes, the Áos have an intense belief in the powers of certain evil spirits which reside usually in rocks, pools of water, and streams. Two of the most well known stones in which reside '*Deos*' are the Lungpalung, close to Lungpa village, and the Changchanglung, between the villages of Dibua and Woromong. Sacrifices are regularly offered to these stones by the villages near them. In cases of sickness pigs and fowls are sacrificed in large numbers, in order to appease the particular spirit to whose malign influence the sickness is supposed to be due. Poor men often run deeply into debt in obtaining the pig, etc., necessary for these offerings, which are consumed of course by their friends.

Marriage customs.

When a man has fixed on the girl he wants to marry, he sends a friend or some near relation to the father of the girl to ascertain if her people are willing to give her. If his proposal is accepted, he will, if he be of the Chungli tribe, send a small present to the father of his future bride, and after this is done he is at liberty to take the girl as soon as he has got a house ready to receive her. No further ceremony appears to be gone through. On the day on which a girl goes to her husband's house, a pig or so may be killed at her father's house and the meat distributed to friends and relations.

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The Mongsen custom is more elaborate. A man's proposals having been favourably received, a period of thirty days is allowed to expire. At the end of this period the engaged couple go on a trading expedition for twenty days. Should the results of this trading expedition be good, *i.e.*, should a fair profit have been made, it is considered a good omen, and the arrangements for the marriage are proceeded with. Should, however, the results of the trading expedition be unfavourable, the marriage is at once broken off. About three months after the return from the trading expedition, as soon as the house is ready for her reception, the girl goes to her husband's house, being escorted thither by all her relations and friends. A feast is given on that day, both at her house and at the house of her husband's people. For the first six nights after a woman had gone to her husband's house, six men and six women sleep in the house with the newly-married couple, the men, including the bridegroom, sleeping separate from the women, with whom sleeps the bride.

The Áos do not practise polygamy, and, as with the Angámis, but a nominal price is paid for a wife.

Internal structure.

The tribe is divided into exogamous subdivisions. These, as far as I have been able to ascertain, are five for the Mongsen tribe, *i.e.*, Mongsentsung, Yemchen, Uchi, Chár, and Ai, and three for the Chungli tribe, *i.e.*, Pungen, Uonkam, and Mungatungmen. The names of these exogamous subdivisions vary from village to village. Of course a member of any subdivision of the Mongsen tribe can marry a member of any subdivision of the Chungli tribe.

Widows.

Widows are allowed to remarry at a decent interval after the death of a husband. A year is the least interval that is supposed to elapse before a woman is allowed to take a new husband. If this rule is broken a fine is imposed. The rule with regard to widowers is the same as that for widows. A woman who has been divorced for infidelity is not allowed to remarry without paying a considerable fine to her former husband.

Children follow the clan of the father in all cases.

Funeral customs.

The Áos do not bury their dead. As soon as a man dies, preparations are made for his funeral. The coffin, a structure of bamboo and thatch, shaped somewhat like a house, and just large enough to admit the body, having been made, the body is placed in it, and then put up to be smoked in the outer compartment of the house. This smoking, which is done in a very perfunctory manner, lasts for from ten days to two months. When it is over, the coffin, over which is laid one of the dead man's cloths, is taken out and placed on a bamboo platform in the village cemetery. The cemeteries invariably occupy one side of the main road leading to the village gate, and often render the approaches to the village extremely unpleasant to one's nose. On the machan, along with the coffin, are hung a man's eating-plate and drinking-cup, while in front in a row are ranged the heads he has taken and close to these his shield and spear are placed. Bodies are not always smoked. If this custom is not observed, the body in its coffin is taken out and placed in the village cemetery as soon after death as possible.

Naked tribe.

The only two villages of this tribe within the district are Tamlu and Resong. These villages lie at the extreme north-east corner of the district, at the point where the Dikhu makes its bend towards the Sibsagar district. The men of this tribe differ in every point from the Áos, their next-door neighbours. In physique they are superior to that tribe, while in dress, general appearance, cut of hair, and language they are entirely different.

Habitat, physique, &c.

The dress of the men consists of a few strips of blackened rattan cane or a broad strip of white bark bound tightly round the waist, a large tail of bark being often left hanging down behind. Add to this garters of cowries or strips of cane dyed red and armlets of the same, with, on great occasions, a helmet of cane and a few stripes of white paint on the face, and the costume of a Tamlu brave is complete.

The women, who are very fair complexioned, wear a white petticoat, in some cases striped with red. This petticoat is only about 12 inches wide, and only just long enough for both ends to meet when being worn, and is a garment that leaves very little to the imagination. The breasts are left quite bare. Square white glass or crystal ear ornaments are generally worn by the women. Both men and women are tattooed, the men on their chests, where each warrior keeps his record of heads in the shape of the figure of a man roughly tattooed for each head taken, and

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

the women on their legs and breasts. Most of the men are opium-eaters. Both sexes chew pán and betel, and both have their teeth artificially blackened, a process which does not tend to enhance their beauty.

Description of villages.

The villages of this tribe are built in regular streets, similar to the Áo villages. The houses are not raised on *changs*, and in this respect differ from the Áo houses. The chief difference from the Áos lies, however, in the shape of the *Morangs*, or bachelors' houses. These buildings are situated close to the village gate, and at a short distance look like huge thatched bungalows. They consist of a large verandah, generally raised, as at Resong, a considerable distance above the ground, a central hall, and a small back verandah. In the front verandah are collected all the trophies of war and of the chase, from a man's skull down to a monkey's, most of them black with the smoke and dust of years. From the verandah one enters the large central hall. Lengthways along both sides of this are ranged the sleeping berths of the young men, while the centre space, which is floored with massive planks, is left quite open, and is used by the braves for their dances. Behind this hall, again, is the small back verandah, which often communicates by a raised footway with the lookout house, situated in some convenient tree just outside the village door.

As amongst the Áos, corpses are not buried, but, after being smoked for 10 or 20 days, are put in wooden coffins and placed in the fork of a big tree just outside the village gate. In the case of men of distinction the following curious custom is observed: When the body is thoroughly cured, the head is wrenched off and placed in an earthen pot. This pot is then neatly thatched over with *toká pát*, and deposited at the foot of the tree in which the coffin containing the body is placed.

Sema.

Of this large tribe, who call themselves Simi, but are known to us by their Angámi name of Semá, there are only nine villages within the district boundary. Outside the district there are about 70 villages belonging to the tribe. The Semás occupy the whole of the Tizu valley and the whole of the country on the right bank of the Doyang, from the junction of the Sijju and Zulu rivers to the point where the Teshi river flows into the Doyang.

Physical characteristics and dress.

The Semás differ in language, customs, and appearance from the tribes near them. Their language is more like Angámi than it is like any of the other languages spoken in this district. In appearance the Semás more nearly resemble the Rengmás. The men are short and muscular. They are practically naked, as the small flap they wear dangling from their waists cannot be said to in any way hide their nakedness. In addition to this flap they wear the large cloth common to all the Nágá tribes. The commonest pattern amongst them is a cloth with alternate broad stripes of white and dark blue. The ornaments of the men are beads. In their ears they often wear enormous quantities of cotton. Their arms are spear, crossbow, and dao.

The women wear a very scanty black petticoat, and leave their breasts bare. For ornaments they wear strings of beads round their waists and necks, and on their arms brass bracelets. Above their elbow, large and very heavy armlets made of some white metal are usually worn.

Hereditary chiefs.

The chief point in which the Semás differ from the other Nágá tribes living in this district is the possession of hereditary village chiefs. These chiefs have many privileges, *i.e.*, their subjects cut their *jhúms* and cultivate them for them for nothing; they get a portion of every animal killed in the chase, and generally are in a position far superior to that of an ordinary Nágá headman. These chiefs invariably have three or four wives, and usually large families. It is the custom for the sons as they grow up to start new villages on their own account. We thus find that, as a rule, Semá villages are small as compared with the villages of other Nágá tribes. They, the Semás, are to all appearance a rapidly increasing tribe. They have, within the last 30 or 40 years, occupied the whole of the Tizu valley and a portion of the Tita valley, and have ousted the Áos from the sites on which now stand the Semá villages of Lophemi and Limitsimi. They are now getting considerably pressed for land, and as they can extend no further to the north, south, or west, and not much further to the east, it appears to be merely a question of time before they are obliged to adopt the terraced system of rice cultivation. This system, together with the Angámi dress, has already been adopted by the seven or eight Semá villages situated near the Eastern Angámi villages of Zogazumi and Pholami, and these Semá villages are, except in language, indistinguishable from the Angámis living in the two villages just mentioned.

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Village site.

The villages of the Semás are situated, like other Nágá villages, on the tops of ridges or hills. They are, as noticed above, usually small. They are practically without artificial defences of any kind. The houses, as with Angámis, are not arranged in regular streets within the village site, but each individual appears to put his own house where he finds it most convenient to do so, due regard being had to the fact that the houses must for purposes of defence be not too widely scattered. The houses of the chiefs are distinguished by their extra size. The houses are built on the ground, and present no features calling for special remark. Like most other Nágá tribes, the Semás, except in the case of a few villages which have copied the Angámi custom, keep their grain in small granaries clear of the houses of the village. It is, therefore, safe in the case of fire.

Marriage customs.

Except in the case of headmen, the Semás do not, as a rule, practise polygamy. It is, however, allowed. Wives are bought, and usually for a comparatively large sum, Rs. 80 to Rs. 100, being the usual price. Arrangements are first made through the parents, and the girl is given away as soon as the full price for her is paid, and not before. Of course, runaway love matches occasionally occur, but as a rule Semá marriages are purely matters of arrangement. The girls appear, to judge from Lozema, to marry rather late, *i.e.*, not till 18 or 20 years of age.

Widows are allowed to remarry. Women who leave their husbands merely because they do not like them have to pay back their marriage price. Should they marry again without doing so, a claim would lie against their new husbands. No marriage can take place between members of the same exogamous subdivision, many of which exist. Children follow the clan of the father.

Funeral customs.

The Semás bury their dead. Graves are, as a rule, dug just outside the dead man's house, and are not more than three feet deep. The body is usually wrapped up in a bamboo mat previous to interment. In some villages a small thatched roof is put up over the grave, but it is usually left without any distinguishing mark. The skulls of the cows, if any, killed for the funeral feast are put up over the grave, as also are the dead man's spear and shield. Children dying within ten days of birth are buried inside the house. Women dying in childbirth are buried without any ceremony being observed.

Origin of the tribe.

The Semás say that they had their origin from the small village of Swemi, situated just north of Khizobami and about 30 miles east of Kohima. From Swemi they spread north and north-west until they occupied the country in which they now dwell.

Religion.

Like all the Nágás, the Semás believe in and try and propitiate a variety of evil spirits. That they have some idea of a future state is certain, and for this reason: The parallel and horizontal lines marking the stratification of the rocks in the east side of Thebzothu (the Wokha hill) are very plainly seen from the whole of the Semá country, and are called 'Kitilá' (dead man's road), and are said to be the path leading to the village of the dead. Where this village is, however, no one can say, but that it exists all believe.

Village customs.

Bachelors usually sleep together in separate houses, but these houses have not, as among some of the tribes, any feature to distinguish them from the ordinary village houses, and are only used by the young men at night. Unmarried girls sleep together by threes and fours in the front compartment of certain houses; here they assemble at nightfall and sit spinning yarn, cleaning cotton, &c., and chaffing and laughing with the young men often for hours.

The principal village festivals amongst the Semás are those that occur after the conclusion of the rice harvest and before the commencement of the new cultivation. Both are occasions for the consumption of immense quantities of rice-beer. As amongst the Angámis, men who wish to obtain fame by feasting their fellow villagers, usually do so by giving a feast at the harvest-home festival.

General remarks.

The Semás are the most barbarous and savage tribes with which we have yet come into contact in these hills. But four years ago the custom of head-taking was in full swing amongst all the villages to the east of the Doyang river, and the use of money was unknown to almost every village of the tribe. That this should have been so is not surprising, regard being had to the fact that the Semás have never had any chance of intercourse with the plains, and were beyond the limits into which the most enterprising traders would venture, owing to their treacherous and bloodthirsty habits. In treachery and lying they were and are quite unsurpassed, even amongst Nágás: to entreat a man well, who came to your house as a guest, and then when he was off his guard to kill him was

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not considered by a Semá to be other than a meritorious action. A Semá oath is worth less than the oath of any other Nágá tribe, not excepting the Aos, who, as liars, run a good second to the Semás. Judged by the Nágá standard, the Semás are good fighting men, and were much respected by their neighbours. Towards the north they kept the Áos in a continual state of dread, and were gradually ousting them from the possession of a great deal of valuable land. Our occupation of the Áo country has, however, stopped this movement, and the only outlet for this rapidly increasing tribe is towards the east.

Lhotá.

This tribe inhabits in all 73 villages, the whole of which were censused. Of these villages 69 lie in the Wokha subdivision, and four in the Mokokchang subdivision. The Lhotás inhabit the hills on both sides of the Doyang river from the point where the Chebi river falls into it. The customs of this tribe present no marked differences from those of the Rengmás on the south. Their dress is, however, slightly more decent, and consists, for the men of a small loin-cloth and apron either of light blue or white striped horizontally with thin lines of red, or, for the lower villages, of dark blue striped with broad lines of red. A cloth of alternate broad stripes of white and dark blue is worn round the shoulders and reaches to the knee. The men are usually small and muscular. Their arms are spear, *dáo*, and shield. The women wear a scanty black petticoat, and leave the breasts bare. Their ornaments are brass and white metal armlets, beads, and ear ornaments made of small bamboo tubes, into the ends of which are inserted small tufts of red hair.

The villages of this tribe are built in regular streets, and usually consist of one long street, with houses on both sides facing each other along a narrow ridge. The houses are built on the ground, and contain, counting the enclosed verandah, three compartments. The ridge projects in front for a few feet. The *morangs*, or bachelors' houses, are conspicuous at each end of the village. In shape they resemble very much the Áo *morangs*, though they are not, as a rule, so large.

Cultivation.

The Lhotás cultivate by *jhúming*. Land is cultivated for two years and then allowed to lie fallow for eight or ten years.

Marriage customs.

Polygamy is allowed, but is practised only by the rich. Girls are, as a rule, married when young, 13 or 14 years of age. Marriages are almost entirely matters of arrangement. The price paid for a wife is usually about Rs. 100. Owing to the system of early marriages by arrangement, divorces for infidelity are very common. Nearly all the cases brought for decision to the subdivisional officer, Wokha, are cases for the recovery of marriage expenses from runaway or divorced wives. Marriage within the circle or a man's blood relations is not permitted. Children follow the clan of the father. Widows are allowed to remarry.

Religion.

The religious beliefs of the Lhotás appear to be as vague as those of other Nágá tribes. Sacrifices to evil spirits are frequent, especially in cases of sickness.

Funeral customs.

The Lhotás bury their dead. The funeral takes place as soon after death as possible, the grave being dug within a pace or two of the front door of the house. A fire is often kept burning for several days over a man's grave after his burial, and flowers are very often put up over it. The skulls of cattle killed for the funeral feast are of course put up over the grave.

General remarks.

The Lhotás are, of all the tribes in this district, the most quiet and amenable to discipline. The outer villages do a large trade in cotton with the Marwari traders of Golaghat. A great deal of this cotton is taken down the Doyang by boat in the cold weather, and is duly watered half a day's journey above Golaghat in order to increase its weight. I have seen this being done myself. The Lhotás are exceedingly democratic in their village customs. Headmen have little or no power, and every man does as it seems best to him.

Village festivals.

The chief festivals, as amongst the other tribes, are those after harvest and before the commencement of the new year's cultivation.

Customs common to all Nágá tribes.

Annexed is an account of certain customs common to all the Nágá tribes in this district, which have not been noted in the detailed accounts given of the tribes.

Head-taking and warfare.

The whole of the Nágá and Kuki tribes are head-hunters, and they all try and get heads in the same treacherous way. Any head counts, be it that of man, woman, or child, and entitles the man who takes it to wear certain ornaments according to the custom of the tribe or village. Most heads are taken, or rather used

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to be taken, not in fair fight, but by methods the most treacherous. As common a method as any was for a man to lurk about the water ghat of a hostile village, and kill the first woman or child who came to draw water. Sometimes expeditions on a large scale were made, several villages combining for the purpose of making a large bag. Even then if the village to be attacked was found prepared, the valiant warriors who had come against it would, as a rule, retire without striking a blow. If, however, it was found that the whole of the adult population was away in the fields, an attack would be delivered, and as many children and old people as could within a reasonable time be killed would be killed, a retreat being effected before the men of the village attacked could have time to receive the news and return from their fields.

The desire for heads is still very strong amongst the youth of all the tribes in this district: that this should be so is more the fault of the women than of any one else; these are given to laugh at the young bucks at the village festivals when they turn out without such decorations as mark the successful warrior (?). That they (the women) should do so is strange, as it is the women who in old days, when the manly custom of head-taking was in full swing, always got the worst of it, being unarmed and unable to run as fast as the men. Though, however, heads are still the object of the ardent desire of many a buck, yet, if talked to seriously, there are very few Nágás but will admit that, on the whole, the present condition of things, under which they can in safety till their fields and indulge their trading propensities, is better than living in the constant uncertainty of whether you will, when you go out to your fields in the morning, return safe and sound in the evening.

Genna.

The custom of '*genna*' is common to all the Nágá and Kuki tribes in this district. The word *genna* is used in two ways: (1) it may mean practically a holiday, *i.e.*, a man will say 'my village is doing *genna* to-day', by which he means that, owing either to the occurrence of a village festival or some such unusual occurrence as an earthquake, eclipse, or burning of a village within sight of his own, his village people are observing a holiday; (2) '*genna*' means anything forbidden.

Gennas sometimes affect whole villages, sometimes only khels or single households. During *gennas* affecting whole villages or khels, no work is done. The people remain in their villages; outsiders are, by strict custom, not allowed into the villages, or, if allowed in, cannot be entertained. Nothing is allowed to be taken out of the village or brought into it during the continuance of a *genna*.

Gennas affecting single households occur on the following occasions: the birth of a child in the house, a cow calving, or, in fact, any domestic animal bringing forth young. On such occasions no outsider is allowed into the house, and food and drink can be given to no one, even the most intimate friend. I have myself been refused a drink at a house, because the family bitch had had puppies.

The following custom prevails amongst the Lhotás and Áos: Should any member of a household be killed by a tiger, by drowning, by falling from a tree, or by being crushed by a falling tree, the surviving members of the household abandon the house, which is wrecked, and the whole of their property, down to the very cloths they are wearing, and leave the village naked, being supplied outside the village with just enough clothing to cover their nakedness by some old man amongst their relations. Thenceforth for a month they are condemned to wander in the jungle. At the expiration of this period, the wrath of the deity being supposed to be appeased, they are allowed to return to the village. Neither they nor any one else can touch again any of the abandoned property, nor can a fresh house be built on the site of the old one that has been abandoned. This custom is, I believe, still carried out with the greatest strictness.

Democratic nature of Nágá village communities.

Except amongst certain of the Semá villages, which, as noticed in the account of the Semá tribe, possess hereditary village chiefs, in no Nágá tribe have the village headmen any real power. In a Nágá village community every man is as good as his neighbour, and in his own opinion probably a little better. Headmen there are, of course, and these usually have a certain amount of influence over their fellow villages, but their authority is practically *nil*, as may be judged from the fact that in hardly any case are the headmen able to keep the commission paid to them on revenue collected.

Manufactures.

The manufactures of all Nágá tribes are the same, and consist of cloths, cooking-pots, spears and daos, and agricultural implements, none of these articles are of any artistic or commercial value.

* A similar custom of taboo is mentioned by McCulloch as prevalent amongst the Kabui Nagas, by whom it is called '*nuina*' (*Account of the Valley of Manipur*, page 53).

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Position of women.

Women amongst all the hill tribes living in this district occupy a very inferior position as compared with men. They cannot inherit landed property, and after marriage become mere household drudges. It is wonderful how soon after marriage a Nágá woman loses her good looks, if she ever had any. As soon as ever she has had a child, she takes no further care about her personal appearance. Till marriage girls are allowed a very free hand, and I should say that it was very rare for a girl not to have at least one lover. This lover would, as a rule, belong to the girl's own khel,* and would be a man whom it would be impossible for her to marry in any case. Illegitimate children are, however, rare, and it is impossible to resist the conclusion that they are made away with immediately after birth, or that abortion is procured before the birth of the child. The Áos have admitted to me that abortion is always procured in such cases, and the method has been described to me. Amongst the other tribes two or three cases of infanticide have come to light within the last ten years or so, and it is only fair to assume that for every case that comes to light many happen of which nothing is ever heard. The custom being one that is approved of by all Nágás, it is impossible to expect them to give information of the occurrence of such cases.

Veracity.

I have often seen it stated that telling the truth is one of the virtues of savage tribes. I must say, however, that I have not found this to be the case as far as Nágás are concerned. Indeed, the more savage the tribe, the more distinguished are they as liars. The Semás are, beyond all comparison, the most savage and backward of all the tribes with which we have up to date been brought into contact,—they are also the greatest liars. Nágás are, fortunately, unlike their more civilised neighbours, not good liars in the sense of doing the thing artistically. They have very short memories and thus frequently contradict themselves, which leads to their detection.

Tendency of Nágás to become Hinduised or to become Christians.

As far as my observations go, neither Nágás nor Kukis show any tendency towards being converted to Hinduism. Such a conversion would mean to most of them such an entire change of habits that it is difficult to see how it could possibly come to pass. Christianity also does not appear to have many attractions for them. The Reverend E. W. Clark, who has been labouring for so many years amongst the Áos, and who has done so much by his village schools towards the civilisation of that tribe, has had a certain amount of success, but his success has not been at all commensurate with his efforts. A few years ago, a good beginning was made at Wokha by the Reverend W. E. Witter amongst the Lhotás, who are of all the tribes in this district the tribe most amenable to discipline, and who would seem to offer the most promising field for missionary labour. Mr. Witter had, however, owing to ill health, to abandon his work amongst the Lhotas, and no one was ever sent to take his place. There has been now for many years a missionary at Kohima. The Angamis, however, who are in many respects the most advanced and independent of all the Nágá tribes, show no disposition towards being converted to Christianity.

Property in land.

Private rights of property in land are the rule amongst all the tribes in this district, except the Kukis, Mikirs, and plains Rengmás, *i.e.*, the migratory tribes. That private rights of property in land are not recognised amongst these tribes is due to the fact that they are in no way pressed for land, the villages being small and uncut jungles extensive. When, however, we come to tribes like the Angámis, Lhotás, and Áos, who live in permanent and large villages, and amongst whom land is none too plentiful, we find that the rights of individuals to property in land are well known and well recognised, and the rules as to inheritance and partition of such property settled by strict customary law. Amongst the Angámis land, especially permanent terraced cultivation, is freely sold and bought, there being no more difficulty in selling a terraced field than in selling a pig or a cow. Amongst the other tribes the custom of letting out land is largely practised, a rent varying from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 for a field (*jhúm*) large enough for the support of a household being the usual amount charged for the use of land for two years.

Superstitions prevalent amongst the Nágá tribes.

Of these, two of the most curious are (1) the belief in the existence of 'tiger-men', *i.e.*, men with the power of turning themselves into tigers; and (2) the belief in the existence of a village inhabited only by women. Tiger-men are well known, and I have the pleasure of the acquaintance of one. This gentleman is a Semá chief of a small village in the Tizu valley. He himself disclaims the power, but that he has it is implicitly believed by the whole of the Semá and Angámi tribes. A whole

* This is an important point in connection with speculations regarding the origin of marriage, exogamy, &c., *vide* foot note on page 122 above.

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village of tiger-men is said to exist in the far north-east. It is in this direction, too, that there lies the happy village peopled entirely by women. The population of this village is kept up by its inhabitants being visited by traders from the surrounding tribes. Caste, Tribe, &c.

THE KUKI-LUSHÁI GROUP.

282. The tribes variously known as Kuki, Lushái, Poi, &c., are all closely allied. They are all of the Mongolian type; and are a short squat people with a good deal of muscular power, but very effeminate-looking in appearance.* The persons known as Kukis are found chiefly in Cachar, Manipur, and the Nágá Hills. Mr. Soppitt† distinguishes four main tribes, the Rangkhol, Bété, Jansen (or Jungshim), and Thadoi. Mr. Baker, in an interesting note on the tribes, with which he has favoured me, adds Langrang, Kelma, Kotong, Goni, Joni, Chaimar, and Tangom. Mr. Soppitt treats the Langrang and Kelma as offshoots of the Rangkhol tribe, and the Kotong as a sub-tribe of the Jansen.‡ The oldest settlers in Cachar are the Rangkhol and Bété tribes, commonly known as old Kukis, who were driven north from the tract known as the Lushái Hills by the pressure of the Jansens and Thadoi tribes behind them, and the latter were in their turn ousted by the Lushái's. Kuki-Lushai tribes.

Mr. Baker says that each tribe is divided into eight grades, or castes, which are noted below in order of precedence: Internal structure.

Bangkeng, Pena, Jolkar, Portong, Dumkar, Jorai, Jalka, and Simbhai.

He adds that these divisions mean very little, and all classes can eat together and intermarry. Intermarriage is also permitted amongst the members of different tribes. I have not been able to trace any division into exogamous clans, most of the entries in column 5 of the schedule having consisted of the names of villages, personal descriptions (*e.g.*, 'traveller'), and occasionally terms of abuse, levelled, doubtless, at the too inquisitive enumerator. It is possible, however, that the village names are also the names of clans, or that the eight tribal subdivisions mentioned above are really clans, and not sub-tribes.

Marriage is by service or purchase. The former is more common amongst the Rangkhol, while the latter is preferred by the Thadoi. When the bridegroom serves for his wife, he remains in her father's house as one of the family for a period varying from three to seven years, during which time he is allowed free access to the girl of his choice. In the case of marriage by purchase, the price varies from Rs. 20 to over Rs. 200 according to the means of the parents. The latter usually arrange the marriages of their children, and sometimes the betrothal is effected at a very early age. Cohabitation, however, is not permitted until the girl is full grown. The marriage ceremony consists simply of a feast, at which both food and drink are provided by the father of the bride. After marriage, adultery is very rare, and, when detected, is very severely punished. The unmarried girls, however, are allowed considerable liberty, and no notice is taken of their love affairs so long as they do not become too public. Widow remarriage is permitted; a man who has lost his wife may not marry again for three years, but a widow may form another alliance at once. A man, not already married, is bound to marry the widow of his elder brother, however old she may be. Polygamy is forbidden amongst the Rangkhols, but a Jansen may take as many as three wives. Marriage.

Divorce is only permitted in the case of adultery, when the offenders are brought before the village council, and, on the case being proved, every scrap of clothing is torn off their bodies, and they are then severely beaten and expelled from the village. Divorcées may marry the co-respondent, but no one else. Divorce.

* Mr. Baker gives the following particulars of a Kuki measured by him:—height 4′ 11½″, chest 37″, thigh 2′, calf 6½″, biceps 11″.

† Preface to his Rangkhol-Lushai Grammar.

‡ Unfortunately the want of uniformity in the entries in column 5 of the census schedule made it impossible to tabulate the strength of each of these tribes separately.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Inheritance. Mr. Soppitt says that a man's male children succeed him; Mr. Baker, however, informs me that the brothers are his heirs, and, failing them, his wife. When a brother succeeds, he is supposed to take the deceased's widow and children to his house and support them. Should he fail to do this, a *panchayet* is held, and the property is taken from him and made over to the widow.

Religion. The Kukis believe in a head god and a number of minor deities, to all of whom sacrifices are offered. The chief god gets two goats and four fowls, the value of the sacrifice gradually decreasing according to the status of the spirit to be propitiated. The head of the animal is severed at one blow and left for the god; the rest of the body is taken away and eaten. Sacrifices are offered under a cloth canopy, which is supposed to represent the sky. Large quantities of liquor are consumed on these occasions, the women being reputed to drink more than the men. The Kukis have no special priestly class, but select as priest one from among their number. His duty is to arrange about *pujas*, offer sacrifices, and exorcise the evil spirits when a person falls sick. After death it is thought that people go to Itikuo, the village of death, where all the pleasures of earth are experienced without the troubles which attend this life.* Mr. Soppitt adds that the spirit is supposed to again return to earth, after a number of years, in the body of a newly-born babe. The earliest immigrants, the Rangkols, follow the Hindu practice and burn their dead; the other tribes bury them in a plank coffin with their heads to the west.† Two fowls are usually sacrificed at the funeral.

All Kuki and Lushai tribes, except the Rangkhols, have Rájas, to whom they pay implicit obedience and for whom they have great respect. The Rangkhols, on the other hand, recognise no Rájas, but elect headmen to carry on the business of the village.

I have no separate information regarding the Lushais, but understand that their customs are much the same as those of the Kukis. The marginal table shows the distribution of these tribes now and in 1881. There are also a number of Kukis in Manipur for whom details are not available. The increase in Cachar plains and decrease in North Cachar are due to a circumstance already mentioned, namely the inclusion of certain hill tracts of the sadr subdivision in the figures for 'Cachar Hills' at the census of 1881.

Statement No. 153, showing the strength and distribution of the Kuki and Lushai tribes.

Districts.	Kuki.		Lushái.	
	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.
Cachar Plains ..	5,270	2,794	247	....
Sylhet	1,524	808	6	....
North Cachar ..	4,924	6,428	....	....
Naga Hills	6,140	.....	....	....
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	923	647	....	....
Other districts ..	9	143	4	....
Total	**18,790**	**10,812**	**257**	....

Manipuri. **283.** The true Manipuris, who now claim to be Kshettryas, are divided into four tribes,—Khumal, Luyáng, Ningthaujá (Meithei), and Mayaráng. Each tribe contains numerous exogamous phoids or family groups, the names of which are generally indicative of the occupation of the founder, or some nickname which was applied to him. The earliest mention of the Manipuris is contained in the chronicles of the Pong Sháns, in which it is said that Samlong, a brother of the Pong king, descended into the valley about 777 A.D. on his return from Tipperah, but found the Manipuris so poor that he exacted little or no tribute from them. Their history for the next 1,000 years appear to have been sufficiently uneventful. Their power and prosperity steadily increased up to the middle of the eighteenth century, when we find

* Persons killed by animals go to another place called Shara Kuo, which is a far less pleasurable abode. Other people, good and bad alike go to Itikuo as stated above, but the latter have first to fight and overcome the spirit of any person whom they may have injured when alive.

† The effect of the example of their Hindu neighbours on the Rangkhols is seen also in other ways. They will not, for instance, eat monkeys or pythons, which are favourite dishes with the other tribes.

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the Raja invading Burmese territory. He was, however, eventually defeated, and shortly afterwards the Burmese turned the tables on him and invaded Manipur. The history of the subsequent years is one of constant internal feuds, due to disputes about the succession, which usually ended in Burmese intervention. On the conclusion of the Burmese war, the independence of the State was declared, and since that time Manipur has been under the protection of the British Government.

Religion.

The Manipuris are strict Hindus of the Vaishnava sect. They eat fish, but will not touch flesh, and profess to be very particular in their social and religious observances, and especially in adorning their foreheads with the 'tilak'. They will eat food cooked by their Bráhmans, but not that cooked by any other Manipuri, whether he be of the same social position as themselves or not. Their chief festivals are the Rásh and Gosthabihár, when they commemorate Krishna's sports with the milkmaids and the time he passed amongst the cowherds. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the Bráhmans professed to have discovered that the Raja and his subjects were descended from Arjun, the hero of the Mahábhárata, by a Nágá woman, and that they were consequently Kshettriyas of the Lunar race. On this, the ruling prince, Gharib Nawáz, embraced Hinduism, and, after a great ceremony of purification, was invested with the sacred thread. Many of his subjects apostatised with him, and they, as well as all later converts, were also allowed to describe themselves as Kshettriyas.* They have their own Bráhmans, who are said to be the descendants of the Bráhmans who originally immigrated by Manipuri women.

There are some Sudra Manipuris, who it is supposed are the descendants of immigrants who married Manipuri wives. There is also a degraded class called Kálácheiya or Bishnupuri, which consists of the descendants of Doms and other Bengalis of low caste. Their occupation was originally that of supplying grass for the royal stables. They speak a language, which is different from that of the true Manipuris, and is in fact closely allied to vulgar Bengali.

Although the Manipuris now call themselves Hindus, they still retain much of their old animistic worship, and McCulloch says that they have "above three hundred deities who are still propitiated by sacrifices of things abhorrent to real Hindus." The Manipuris are addicted to snake worship, and every man has hanging in his house a small basket, which is supposed to contain his household deity. The priests and priestesses who perform these ceremonies are called Maibas and Maibis. They practise exorcism in a way similar to that which has already been described in connection with other tribes. Any one who claims to have had a call may become a Maiba.

The Manipuri Musalmans are said to be the descendants of persons who took Musalman wives before Hinduism became the State religion. They are supposed to have been more numerous before the Burmese invasions.

Marriage.

Wives are purchased; they are really the slaves of their husbands, and are occasionally sold by them when in debt. Chastity before marriage is not insisted on. Widow remarriage is permitted, and so also is divorce; but if a man puts away his wife without a fault, she has theoretically a right to take all his property, except his drinking pot and the cloth round his loins. As already stated, the schedules of the Manipur census were destroyed during the late rising, and thus much valuable information regarding the Manipuris and the other tribes of that State has been lost. Most of the Manipuris who appear in the caste table are the descendants of fugitives who escaped to Sylhet and

* It is needless to say that their claims to this high rank are not fully admitted by ordinary Hindus.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Cachar during the Burmese invasions and internal troubles which preceded the advent of the British. Their number and distribution are shown in the following statement:

Statement No. 154, showing the strength and distribution of the Manipuris.

District.	Total.	Brahman.	Kshettriya.	Bishnupuri.	Musalman.	Unspecified.
Cachar	40,830	798	13,237	2	5,260	21,533
Sylhet	30,396	666	24,051	74	2,155	3,450
Other districts ...	102	1	22	...	...	79
Total	**71,328**	**1,465**	**37,310**	**76**	**7,415**	**25,062**

In 1881, 26,745 Manipuris were recorded in Cachar and 13,434 in Sylhet. On that occasion the Manipuri Musalmans were apparently shown as Shekhs, and some of those calling themselves Kshettriyas were probably classed simply as Kshetri. But, even allowing for these, it is difficult to explain satisfactorily the larger increase recorded in Sylhet. The true number of Bishnupuri Manipuris is considerably larger than has been shown here, many of them having doubtless preferred to return themselves simply as 'Manipuri', rather than admit their degraded position in their tribal society.

284. In the Census Report of 1881 an account was given of the Mikirs of Nowgong.

Mikir.

The following description of their fellow tribesmen in North Cachar is from the pen of Mr. E. C. S. Baker, the sub-divisional officer:

The Mikirs, or Arleng (which signifies 'The man'), as they call themselves, are divided into three divisions, *viz.*, Hamrijonkoli, Rangkong, and Hamri. These three speak the same language, and the differences in their speech are so few and so trivial that they cannot be said even to have different dialects. People of any one of these divisions may intermarry with those of another, though, as a matter of fact, such marriages are very seldom entered into.

There are altogether some forty castes* found alike in all three of the divisions mentioned above. Of these, the three highest castes are Shingfang, Inti, and Ronghi, then follows Timoo, Yenting, &c.

Caste.

Marriage is arranged by the parents, but with the consent of the parties interested, and generally after these have come to some arrangement on their own account. The ceremony consists merely in the couple to be married sacrificing a fowl, which they afterwards eat, and then after a night and day together they are pronounced to be man and wife. No money is paid on either side, nor does it appear that presents of any sort are made by either party, and the feast, which amongst hill tribes always accompanies any ceremonial, however slight, is not held, unless the contracting parties are people of great wealth or importance. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to keep.

Marriage.

Divorce is as easy of accomplishment as is marriage, and is performed either by mutual consent or merely by one or the other leaving their partner for some other man or woman. No money *has* to be paid by the divorcer or divorcée, but sometimes a man wishing to get rid of a useless wife will pay her something to go. Infidelity after marriage appears to be thought much less of than it is amongst either Kácháris, Nágás, or Kukis, whereas immorality before marriage is less common than either with Kácháris or Kukis, and much less so than with the Nágás, who, however, do not consider fornication immoral.

Divorce.

Bodies of the dead are cremated, and on a death occurring, the whole village, and often other villages which are situated fairly near, join in the ceremonies which follow. As soon as the body is burnt, men, women, and children assemble round the smouldering remains, and join in a dance, which lasts through the night, the people alternately feasting, drinking, and dancing. The next morning the relations of the deceased dig a small hole in the ground, and wait until the water rises up, some of this is then taken and sprinkled about the place, which is called by the name of the deceased until the village removes, and the name and place are altogether forgotten.

Funeral ceremonies.

* These are really exogamous groups.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

People who have the misfortune to be killed by wild beasts are entitled to equal respect to their remains if found, but at the same time even the relations, as a rule, appear willing for the corpse to be poisoned in order to kill the tiger, or to allow it to lie out as a bait over which the sportsman may sit up.

After death, the good and bad alike go to a place,—Damra or Jomarong.* They appear to have no idea as to what this place may be like, the men I have questioned on the subject merely saying that they "have not seen it, and can't say what it is like." Nor have they any opinion as to its direction or situation, but merely assert that the dead on going to this place turn to the right, this being in opposition to the road to the left, which leads to Damparvi, or the abode of the spirits of the deformed and those killed by snakes and wild animals. This place is said to be a very bad place, but no one can say in what its 'badness' consists.

Heritage.

The children are co-heirs to a man, but if he dies without children, his property goes to his nearest male relation. In no case can a wife inherit anything. The eldest son is the receiver of a double share, and the other children receive alike.

Birth is attended by no ceremony; five to seven days afterwards the child is named by the priestess of the village,—usually one of the oldest women, of whom mention will be made hereafter.

Religion.

They believe in three principal deities, the first and greatest of whom is Pertart Rijie, and whose influence is entirely for good,—he is god alike of house and field, of men and animals. Less powerful than him are the two evil powers, Peng and Inlang Arnam, the former of whom is the household and the latter the cultivation deity. To Pertart sacrifices are made but once a year, but these occasions are of great importance, and only white animals and birds are killed, either goats or fowls,—rarely, a white cow or a so-called white buffalo. If a person possesses a pig of unusual size and value, this may be sacrificed in spite of its black skin. To Peng and Inlang Arnam, the wicked deities, sacrifices are, as is natural, made far more often, but they are of less value, and even old and decrepid or deformed fowls may be palmed off on them as proper sacrificial victims. In case of illness, the sick person is supposed to be possessed by one of the myriad nameless devils or spirits, by which each tree, stream, or hill is haunted; these exist on live flesh, which they obtain by entering the body of the animal or man, and there preying on his vitals. In order to find out by what spirit the sick person is being eaten, it is necessary to clear a space or a level piece of ground and thereon to throw a handful of cowris, and the way in which they fall discloses to the initiated the usual place of abode of the persecutor, and before this place a sacrifice is made, valuable in accordance with the sickness,—for the appetite of the spirit is large in ratio to his power, and his appetite is shown by the pain the sufferer is enduring.

The principal caste, Sinjpo, seems to have a caste deity entitled Hemparamam, who appears to be a harmless nonentity; he is sacrificed to only once in five years, the victim being either a white goat or a white fowl.

In all cases, animals or birds sacrificed are afterwards eaten by the community in general.

Ceremonies are governed either by the Ochar (= Ojha ?) or Ujipi, that is to say, the priest or priestess of the village, or, in some cases, of a cluster of villages. This office does not appear to be hereditary, but devolves on one of the oldest men and one of the oldest women available. Each sex is governed by a mentor of the same sex, and the priest also rules the order of funerals and other ceremonies. On the other hand, the woman exercises her rights over her own sex, over children and over sick people as far as doctoring them goes, but not in connection with their spiritual performances.

Influence of Hinduism.

I have noticed a very strong leaning lately amongst the Mikirs to Hinduism, and I fancy that before long they will become Hindus to the same extent that the Káchárís have. When I came to this subdivision five years ago, I found that the Mikir coolies would eat anything that I shot, including mithun, bears, &c. Now a great many will not eat any of the bovine tribe, and last year I met a number who refused to eat a bear I had killed, whilst they were under the eye of my Káchári interpreter, who considers himself a Bráhman; eventually, though, there was nothing left of the bear but his skin and bones. The Mikirs claim to be descended from a great Raja called Pongnogbi; none can say where he came from, but he finally settled in the far west, and married many women of the country, and his descendants gradually worked their way eastwards to Assam and Cachar. This Raja in course of time died, but though he went to Damra with the other spirits, he would not rest there, and, some of the power which he possessed on earth still remaining to him, he

* The village of Joma = Yáma, the Hindu god of death.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

is enabled to express his sense of the discomfort of his present quarters by shaking them up very roughly, and thus causing earthquakes on the upper surface of the world. This would seem to indicate that they consider that the resting place of their future existence is under ground, but when I pointed this out to some Mikirs, they refused to accept my arguments as proof, and said they knew nothing about where their Jomarong was (Jomarong means 'village of the dead').

Occupations.

The men are, without exception, all cultivators, and are perhaps the best in these hills. The women weave the necessary wearing materials, and also assist in cultivating, both in hoeing and reaping, and indeed in everything but the original clearing of the *jhúm*.

Dress.

The dress of the men is most distinctive, and consists in a jacket formed of one piece of cloth; this is doubled and sewn together down the sides, merely leaving large arm holes, the hole for the head to pass through is then cut out, the borders being securely turned down and hemmed. This jacket is of either a red or blue colour, sometimes, though rarely, all white, but in any case it is most elaborately worked with embroidery of various colours and patterns, principally angular. In addition to this, a cloth is worn, which passes between the legs, and is retained in its position by a string round the waist, the ends hanging down behind and in front. In some cases the cloth is extremely small, and in some rather voluminous. A few of the advanced Mikirs now wear *dhotees* instead of this cloth. The women dress in a long cloth fastened round the breast under the armpits, but during work they seem to generally double this cloth and merely wear it from their waists downwards. Children of both sexes go naked to an advanced age, the elder girls wearing a sort of fringe of leather strings round their waists and descending to about the centre of their thighs.

Physique.

They are, next to the Kácháris, the finest of the hill tribes, many of them being exceptionally well built athletic men, though seldom very massive. They carry immense loads, and are extremely enduring.

Disposition.

They are, on the whole, a very contented, though restless, people, rarely quarrel amongst themselves, and crime of any sort seems almost unknown. On the other hand, the superior men amongst them are, I think, more avaricious and grasping than is usually noticeable amongst these semi-savage peoples. They are harder drivers of a bargain, and know the value of money even better than the Kácháris; but this is a fault on the right side, for it induces them to grow crops for export, which they would not do otherwise. Most of them are opium eaters, but few, if any, indulge in the habit to excess. They are plucky and honest, fair sportsmen, and the finest trackers obtainable.

Villages.

The villages are composed, as a rule, of only two or three houses (seldom, if ever, more than five), and often consist of a single habitation. This is a fairly large structure, raised on a platform some five to ten feet from the ground on stout and numerous posts. It is well and strongly built of massive boards roughly hewn from tree trunks, and is divided into two, three, or four rooms, in which live two or three generations of people, sometimes numbering nearly thirty. These houses are almost invariably situated in the centre of their cultivation, and not far away from it, as is the rule with villages of other tribes.

Crops.

The people used to grow a considerable amount of plains rice, but year by year the amount has decreased, and the area now under cultivation is very small. The reason of this is simply that the people find they can raise heavier crops of the hill rice with less labour. They also grow heavy crops of mustard and til, and cultivate many other crops in small patches for their own use. Besides these, many of the houses have a few orange, guava, lemon, and sweet lime trees about them, with here and there clusters of pine plants. They are very careful agriculturists and succeed in raising excellent crops even on ground which they reclaim from sun-grass, a feat attempted by no other tribe, as it entails so much labour in weeding and hoeing, although the soil is generally exceedingly rich and fertile.

Possessions.

Nearly every household has a herd of buffaloes, large or small, as the case may be, and many have also a few cows, the milk of which, together with that of the buffaloes, forms a large part of the diet both of children and adults, besides, they all keep large numbers of pigs, goats, and fowls and a few also ducks and (as pets) one or two peafowl. Their household implements consist of brass *thalas*, plates, &c., imported from the plains and also a few earthen and wooden articles made by themselves. The women have weaving and spinning machines of two or three kinds, and also a rough sort of mill for cleaning cotton. The heads of the family usually have a certain amount of cash also, and I have not yet come across an impecunious Mikir, or one who was unable to indulge in oil and dried fish with his rice.

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The distribution of the Mikirs, as compared with the previous census, is shown in the margin. None are shown against the Naga Hills for 1881, because that district was not then censused. The decrease in North Cachar is due to the emigration from that subdivision to which reference has been made elsewhere. The slight decrease in Nowgong is to be attributed to the same cause.* The practical disappearance of the Mikirs from the Lakhimpur district is strange, and, as none at all were recorded there in 1872, it is possible that in 1881 the entries may have been due to a confusion between Mikir and Miri, which in the vernacular are not unlike. If this supposition is correct it will also help to explain the increase in the number of Miris disclosed by the present census which was referred to in the note on that tribe.

Statement No. 155, showing the strength and distribution of the Mikir tribe.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar	580	659
Kamrup	13,595	15,548
Darrang	2,362	1,315
Nowgong	47,881	47,497
Sibsagar	1,144	1,403
Lakhimpur ..	21	2,752
Naga Hills ..	16,963	....
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	10,080	5,546
North Cachar ..	1,647	3,045
Other districts ..	556	....
Total	94,829	77,765

285. The Khásis inhabit the western half of the district to which they have given their name. They were entirely independent until 1829, when they were subdued in the hostilities which resulted from the treacherous murder of Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, who were engaged in supervising work on a road, which the Khasis had agreed should be constructed through their country. The struggle was prolonged by the hillmen, who were much assisted by the mountainous nature of their country, but eventually they yielded to the inevitable, and a British officer was placed in general charge of their hills. They were not taxed and were left to manage their own affairs in their own way, and even now the only occasions on which they are interfered with are when there are disputes between persons of different States or on the occurrence of serious crimes.

Khasi.

Statement No. 156, showing the strength and distribution of the Khasi tribe.

District.	1891.	1881.
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	113,190	101,575
Sylhet	3,673	2,608
Cachar	313	128
Kamrup	195	516
Other districts	520	3
Total	117,891	104,830

Physical characteristics.

The country is split up into a large number of small States, each of which is managed by its own head, or Seim, with an essentially republican constitution. The Khásis have no traditions of an earlier home, nor is anything known regarding the previous occupation of their present habitat by people of a different race. They are closely allied to the Syntengs, Lyngams, Dykos, and Bhois, of whom notice will be found below, and have strongly marked Mongolian features,—oblique eyes, a broad bridgeless nose, high cheek bones, and a short head. In stature they are short and stumpy, but extremely well developed, especially about the calves, and even the women are capable of carrying heavy loads which a native of the plains would scarcely be able to lift. They have little or no beard, but the moustache is occasionally fairly abundant. Their disposition, more especially that of the women, is cheerful; they are industrious and by no means deficient in personal courage. They are much addicted to gambling.

Dress.

The dress of the males consists of a sleeveless shirt, which reaches down to the middle and ends in a fringe reaching some three inches further. The women wear a striped cloth tied round the waist with another as an upper garment knotted over both shoulders. At festivals the women adorn themselves with gold and silver ornaments, and wear handsome dresses of silk. Coral necklaces are also in great request.

* See *supra*, page 75.

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Caste Tribe, &c.

Diet.

They take two meals a day, and indulge in dried fish and all sorts of meat except the flesh of the dog,* but, like the other tribes on this frontier, they will not touch milk, which they look on as an excrement. They drink large quantities of liquor (both fermented and distilled), which they prepare from rice and millet, and are also addicted to the use of tobacco and betelnut, and particularly the latter, which is chewed in large quantities by both sexes.† They do not, however, consume opium or *ganja*.

Proportion of the sexes.

Whatever may have been the proportion of the sexes in the past, recent censuses all show a large excess of females over males. Colonel Bivar was of opinion that the women live longer than the men, and this explanation is, I think, corroborated by the census figures, which show a large excess of women between the ages of 15 and 35, and also of women over 60. The slight deficiency of women between 35 and 60 is thus clearly accounted for by the feminine weakness of trying to appear very young, so long as it is not quite certain that they are very old. The only other explanation of the disproportion of the sexes which I am able to offer is that the men go frequently on trading excursions, &c., to the *terais* at the foot of the hills and die of fevers contracted there, and that large numbers are recruited yearly as transport coolies on frontier expeditions, or to work on roads in remote parts of the country. Casualties amongst these men would tend in some degree to increase the disproportion of the sexes.

Internal structure.

The Khásis are subdivided into an immense number of exogamous clans or septs, of which a list is given in Provincial Table X. The theory is that these clans are composed of persons descended from the same female ancestor, and intermarriage between members of the same clan is strictly forbidden. The meaning of the names used to denote these septs is not always known, but so far as I have been able to get translations, they may be divided into four main classes :

(*a*) *Totemistic*, such as the pumpkin clan, the crab clan, the monkey clan, &c. In these cases it is supposed that the ancestor of the clan came from a pumpkin, crab, or a monkey, and I am informed that the *totem* was formerly *taboo* to the persons designated by it. Nowadays, however, the old traditions are losing their hold upon the people, and the *taboo* is no longer strictly enforced.

(*b*) *Names indicative of origin*, such as Khar Shilot ('people of Sylhet'), Khar Akor ('polite Bengali'), &c. In former days, before the British occupation, raids were constantly being made on the people of the plains, and their women were carried off as slaves. The offspring of these slave women, who were also looked upon as slaves, were known by the name of their mother, which thus became a new clan name. Clans with names denoting this origin are very common throughout the hills, and this no doubt accounts for the deviations from the general Mongolian type of face which are occasionally to be noticed.

(*c*) *Nicknames applied to the original ancestor*, such as Balit (white), Dukli (selfish), Klim (adultery), Khrawjli (great abomination), &c.

(*d*) *Occupational*, as, for instance, the blacksmith clan, the Baniá clan, and a few others.

Each clan comprises on an average from 100 to 1,000 members, the larger ones being again divided into sub-clans. I have not been able to make out the utility or object of the latter, as the rule of exogamy is invariably applied to the larger or main clan.

* This exception is accounted for by a tradition that God made the dog to guard man from being destroyed by the evil spirit after he had created him. This tradition is also current among the Kácháris of North Cachar.

† The mouths of the women are quite disfigured by the practice, but the stain thus imparted is considered ornamental, and the Khásis have a saying that 'dogs and Bengalis have white teeth!'

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I may note, however, that the same tendency of the old exogamous groups, to subdivide themselves into new ones is noticeable amongst many other tribes, *e.g.*, the Mikirs, Gáros, Lálungs, &c. **Caste, Tribe, &c.**

Marriage.

Marriage is a purely civil contract, and is usually arranged by the parents or agents of the parties. As a rule, no price is paid by either bride or bridegroom.* There is no religious ceremony; the bridegroom goes to the bride's house escorted by his friends and relations, and next morning leads the bride to his own house, where he gives a feast to her and her relatives. After staying there for a day or two, the newly-married couple return to the house of the bride, where they cohabit. Among the poorer classes, the bride remains in her mother's house, and the bridegroom in his, but having free access to the bride whenever he may wish to visit her. When children are born, if the husband is still satisfied with his wife he builds a separate house, to which he takes her and lives there with her and the children.

Restrictions on marriage.

There are very few restrictions on marriage. A man may not marry a woman of his own clan, nor may he marry his father's mother, sister, or aunt. Though not absolutely forbidden, it is also considered improper for him to marry his father's niece during the lifetime of his father.

Kinship and inheritance.

The woman is the head of the Khási family. So long as a man remains in his mother's house, whether he be married or unmarried, he is earning for his *kur* (*i.e.*, his mother's family), and his property goes on his death to his mother, or, failing her, to his grandmother. Should the latter also be dead, his sisters inherit, and next to them his sister's children. In the absence of any of the above, the following relatives succeed in the order in which they are named, *viz.*, his brothers, aunts, aunt's children, great grandmother, great grandmother's sister or children. The brother's children can never succeed, as they belong to a different clan. When a Khási has left his mother's house, and gone to live with his wife, his property descends to her and her children, with the exception of his personal ornaments and clothing, which go to his own brothers and sisters. In the case of a female, the rules of inheritance are similar to those governing the descent of the property of a man living with his mother, except that in her case her children have a prior claim to succeed. All relationship is reckoned through the woman. The child takes the clan of the mother, and even the Seim is followed by his mother's or sister's child. His own offspring enter the clan of his wife, inherit her property, and bear her family name.

A man is thus, in practice, more nearly connected with his sister's children than with his own. It seems not unlikely that this is a relic of that promiscuous kind of polyandry which has been styled maternal, in which a woman of one clan might be visited by all or any of the men of another clan, and in which the paternity of children was consequently so uncertain that the only guide to kinship was through the woman. There are, however, no signs of polyandry at the present day, and no traditions of such a practice in the past, unless one may take as such the story that the group of monoliths near Subtynga was erected ages ago to the memory of a woman who had thirty husbands.

Divorce.

Divorce is a very simple matter, and is effected simply by a public declaration, coupled with the presentation by the man to the woman of five cowries or copper coins, which she takes and throws away. Divorce is extremely common, and is resorted to for very trivial grounds, such as petty quarrels or a bad dinner. No stigma attaches to the divorced parties, and both are free to marry again. The marriage tie being so fragile, adultery or illicit intercourse is said to be very uncommon; a man or a woman with a new fancy can easily dissolve

* I am told that nowadays, owing to the dearth of men, it is not uncommon for a woman to pay a man to come and live with her.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

any existing ties which may stand in the way of its legal gratification, while the very ease with which this can be done not improbably tends to prevent the growth of those violent passions which often lead to mischief in more civilised communities.

Polygamy.

The practice of polygamy is usually said to be uncommon, and Colonel Bivar adds that 'it does not exist, in fact'. It is, however, admitted that there is a great demand for husbands, and an educated Khási, whom I have consulted, assures me that polygamy is by no means unknown. It was formerly considered meritorious for a Khási to beget offspring by different wives, as he thereby increased the number of sacrifices to be offered to the shade of his mother when she died, and this was one of the reasons why so many women were abducted from the plains in days gone by. Nowadays, however, there is no doubt that polygamy is falling into disrepute, and this and the excess of females over males is making it so difficult for parents to procure husbands for their daughters, that respectable families have often to marry their girls to men far inferior to themselves in the social scale.

Religion.

The religion of the Khásis is a rude animism or demon worship. All cases of sickness or other calamities are attributed to the malignant influence of demons, whom it is necessary to propitiate. The particular evil spirit to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking; the offering which would be acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained, and the offering is then made. If the desired result does not ensue, the entrails of a fowl are examined: if healthy, things are allowed to take their course; if not, the whole process described above is repeated. In some parts, the sacrifices are performed by a special class of priests called Lyngdohs, but no one who wishes is disqualified for performing these ceremonies. The Khásis have some idea of an after life, but are very vague on the subject. Some place their future in the sky, some on the earth, and others under the earth. They believe in a re-union of husband and wife in the other world, except when this has been rendered impossible by the woman marrying again, a course which she is free to take if she chooses. The Khásis are very receptive of Christianity, and the efforts of the Welsh Mission amongst them have been highly successful. A few in the neighbourhood of Shella have become Hindus under the proselytising influence of a Khási named Konrai, who preached a sort of Vaishnavism. Since his death, which occurred a short time ago, however, a number of his converts have lapsed to their original beliefs. The number of Musalmans amongst the Khásis is very small, and consists chiefly of men who have taken service with Europeans as water-carriers or table servants, and have been converted by their Musalman fellow servants. Some few have become converts to Brahmoism under the teaching of a small Brahmo mission which has been established in the hills and is said to be meeting with fair success.

Birth ceremonies.

The mother is not, as amongst Hindus, considered to be unclean after the birth of a child. In christening it, the following ceremony is performed:

A diviner attends, provided with a gourd full of country spirit, a small quantity of powdered rice and turmeric, a bow and three arrows. Three names are selected by the maternal grandmother or other relative of the infant, and the diviner then spreads the turmeric on a plantain leaf, on which, after muttering some incantations, he lets fall three drops of country spirit. These drops represent the three names selected and the one which takes longest to fall from the gourd to the plantain leaf, indicates which of the three names should be given to the child. The diviner then shows the bow and arrows to the babe, and exhorts him to become a brave warrior. In the case of a female child, a hatchet and load strap take the place of the bow and arrows, as symbolical of the fact that the woman's duty in life is to work just as that of the man is to fight.

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Disposal of the dead.

The Khásis burn their dead. Each clan has its own burning ground, whither the corpse is carried wrapped up in a mat and burned by the maternal relations. Before the ceremony is performed, two arrows are shot, one to the west and another to the east, and a cock is then sacrificed. The arrows are intended to protect the dead on his journey to another world, and the cock to show him his way thither, and to wake him at dawn to pursue his journey. The bones are collected in an earthen pot, and are eventually placed in the common sepulchre of the clan, the removal thither being an occasion of much feasting and dancing, which continues often for several days. Large upright stones, groups of which are to be seen all over the Khási Hills, are sometimes erected in honour of the dead, the idea being that their spirits will be gratified by these memorials. Similar monoliths are mentioned by Colonel Dalton as being common amongst the Hos, Mundas, and Kirantis, and somewhat similar stones are also erected by various Nágá tribes.

Syntengs.

286. The Syntengs, as has already been stated, are very closely allied to the Khásis. In language, religion, and customs the differences are extremely slight, and the same may be said of their general cast of features. They are, however, taller, darker, and thinner than the Khásis, a difference which may, I think, be accounted for by their greater intercourse with the people of the plains. Unlike the Khásis, they owned allegiance to one head, the Jaintia Raja*, whose authority was represented by twelve dolois or headmen.† The country, being more accessible than the hills occupied by the Khásis, was several times overrun by foreigners, and the Tipperah, Koch, and Ahom Kings in turn made the Raja their tributary. This greater accessibility also brought the Raja under the influence of Hinduism, and he became a convert to the gross Tantrik Sáktism, which prevailed in Kámarupa when the Koch Rajas ruled there. Human sacrifices were constantly being offered, the victims for which were usually persons kidnapped from the plains, and it was the abduction for this purpose of four British subjects which led to the annexation of his country in 1835. The Syntengs broke out in rebellion in 1860 on the imposition of a house tax, and again in January 1862, when the license tax was introduced. The first *émeute* was easily quelled, owing to the presence of a strong military force, but on the second occasion nearly two years elapsed before the leaders of the revolt were captured, and the last flames of the insurrection extinguished.

Statement No. 157, showing the strength of the Synteng tribe.

Census of	Total population.	Males.	Females.
1881 ..	47,815	21,871	25,944
1891 ..	51,739	23,924	27,815

The description of the clans, marriage customs, &c., of the Khásis given above applies also to the Syntengs. The majority of the people are still untouched by Hinduism, and retain their old animistic beliefs. A curious superstition peculiar to the Syntengs deserves notice. When a person becomes delirious from fever, it is believed that a female demon named 'Tarop' has entered some neighbour and caused the delirium. The sick person is questioned, and on naming the person supposed to be possessed is taken to his house, and ashes and potsherds are cast into the enclosure. Should recovery ensue, it is concluded that the person denounced is veritably possessed; if not, it is assumed that a mistake has been made. In the former case, the person named is outcasted until he exorcises the demon by pulling down his house and making a bonfire of all his belongings. A precisely similar superstition is related by Holt Hallett as prevalent amongst the Shâns of Zimme.‡

The great national ceremony of the Syntengs is the devil-driving, which takes place annually about June. The males go round, beating the roof of every house and invoking

* The Jaintia Raja had a coinage of his own, but the only coin I have seen is a silver rupee bearing date *Sak* 1712 (A. D. 1790) in the possession of Mr. Rita, Subdivisional Officer of Jowai.

† Twelve seems to have been a favourite number in this connection. There were formerly twelve Bhuiyás, or chieftains, in Eastern Bengal and the same number in the Brahmaputra Valley. Nar Náráyan similarly appointed twelve high officers of state.

‡ 'A Thousand Miles on an Elephant', page 107.

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the demon to leave. The proceedings end with the sacrifice of a pig and a goat, and dancing and masquerading, in which it is said that the men alone take part.

Lyngam.

287. The Lyngams reside in the western portion of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, and are supposed to be connected with the Gáros. I have not been able to obtain any detailed information regarding them. The total number censused on the present occasion is 1,847, against 1,895 ten years ago.

Dyko.

288. The Dykos live on the south of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district on the low ranges bordering on Sylhet. They speak a dialect differing only slightly from Khási. The information regarding them is very scanty. They now number 673, or 34 less than they did in 1881.

Bhoi.

289. The Bhois are said to have come originally from the Brahmaputra Valley, but there is nothing to confirm this tradition. In appearance, customs, and language they closely resemble the Khásis, and their present *locale* is on the lower range on the northern boundary of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district adjoining Kamrup and Nowgong. I mention them here because they are usually spoken of as a separate tribe. In the census schedules, however, they were in all cases returned under other heads, the word Bhoi being entered only in the subcaste column. It was shown as the subcaste of 278 Khásis, 649 Syntengs, and 4 Mikirs.

Khambu, Limbu, Yakha.

290. The only foreign tribes in this group are the Khámbu, Limbu, and Yákha, and the Tháru. The three former form the Kiranti group, the original home of which, says Mr. Risley, is in the Kirant Desh, or mountainous country between the Dud-Kosi and Karki rivers. Their tradition is that they originally occupied the plains of India, but Hodgson tells us that they have been settled in Nipal for at least 2,500 years.

Their number in this province is very small, there being only 117 Khámbus, 1,044 Limbus, and 5 Yákhas. Most of these are to be found in the Assam regiments and military police battalions. There are also 43 persons of the

Tharu.

Tháru, which is classed by Hodgson as one of the broken tribes of Nipal, but which is also spread over Behar and Upper India. This tribe was one of the three found in occupation of North Bengal at the time of Bakhtiyar Ghilji's invasion.

GROUP 7.—PRIESTS.

Brahman.

291. The indigenous Bráhmans of Assam are said to belong either to the Baidik or the Saptasati sub-castes. The Baidiks claim to be the descendants of those Bráhmans who refused to accept the reforms of Raja Ballal Sen,* and fled to Assam and Orissa. The Saptasati Bráhmans trace their separation from the main body of Bráhmans to the same epoch, one account being that they were exiled across the Brahmaputra for declining to accept Ballal Sen's classification, and another that they are descended from the seven hundred ignorant Bráhmans sent to Kanauj to learn their duties.

Except in Sylhet, however, the number of Bráhmans who returned themselves under these sub-castes is very small. In other parts of the province the entry in the subcaste column was simply Sarmá or Deb Sarmá, which is a designation common to all classes of Bráhmans. The Bráhmans of Assam proper seem to be ignorant of the various caste subdivisions which are found in Bengal and other parts of India. They have also lost sight of the rules of exogamy based on the Guttra,† and have no Kulins or Ghataks. They are besides in the habit of taking money for their daughters, and are thus much in the condition in which the Bráhmans of Bengal appear to have been before Ballal Sen instituted enquiries into their position and qualifications. Bráhmans are

* The contemporary of William the Conqueror. He is celebrated amongst the Hindus of Bengal as having reorganised the whole of the caste system.

† This appears to be also the case in Sylhet, although there the Baidik Bráhmans still claim descent from one or other of the ten Munis.

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mentioned as have been settled in Assam from a very early period, and it is not improbable that the absence of any distinctions amongst them is due to the fact that they were settled in Assam prior to the innovations carried out in Bengal, and were thus not affected by them. An alternative explanation is that the statements of the Ghataks of rival sub-castes are correct, and that the ancestors of the Bráhmans of Assam came to this province not because they resisted the new order of things brought about by Ballal Sen, but because they were exiled as being unfit for the rank to which they laid claim. These remarks refer only to the oldest Bráhman settlers in Assam. Subsequent immigrations have taken place from Bengal and Upper India* and amongst these more recent arrivals the ordinary observances and distinctions common in other parts of India are generally in full force. There are also Bráhmans from other parts of India amongst the official and trading classes, who are only temporary settlers, who, of course, maintain their family distinctions.

The traditional occupation of the caste is the priesthood. But the better class, or Srotriya, will only minister to the spiritual needs of the more respectable castes, including the Bháts, and five out of the nine castes of the Nava-Sákha group.† The lower castes have most of them also got their Bráhmans, but the service of these castes involves degradation. The priests who minister to them are commonly known as Barna Bráhmans, and are not allowed to eat or intermarry with those of the Srotriya class. In fact, the distinction is carried further, and intermarriage between the different classes of Barna Bráhmans is also forbidden. The priest of a Kaibartta, for example, will not marry the daughter of a Kumár's Bráhman.‡

Statement No. 158, showing the number of Barna Brahmans returned in each district.

District.	Number.
Cachar	218
Sylhet	2,864
Goalpara	28
Kamrup	385
Darrang	89
Nowgong	373
Sibsagar	493
Lakhimpur	113
Other districts	5
Total	5,568

I have not attempted to show all these classes separately, but have tabulated all the Barna Bráhmans under one head. The number of persons thus returned is shown in the margin, but it is clear that, except perhaps in Sylhet, the return is very defective and that the real number must be considerably greater. There must be many of this class who returned themselves either as Bráhmans unspecified or as belonging to the castes to which they act as priests.

Statement No. 159, showing the total number of Bráhmans returned in each district (including Barna Bráhmans).

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar ..	6,998	4,324
Sylhet ..	49,957	45,434
Goalpara ..	2,991	2,970
Kamrup ..	25,123	36,336
Darrang ..	4,830	8,929
Nowgong ..	7,803	7,502
Sibsagar ..	12,670	11,607
Lakhimpur ..	2,578	1,363
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	216	444
Other districts ..	203	166
Total ..	102,569	119,075

The total number of persons returned as Bráhmans is 102,569 against 119,075 in 1881. The variations are very slight, except in Kamrup and Darrang, where there is a large and somewhat unaccountable decrease as compared with 1881. The figures now returned for Kamrup are more similar to those of the 1872 census, when the number of Bráhmans (including Ganaks) was 31,335, against 31,090 on the present occasion. In Darrang also the present figures agree more closely with the return of 1872, when the number was reported to be 5,783. The increase in Lakhimpur is doubtless due to a large extent to immigration, as many of the clerks and native doctors on tea gardens are Bengalis of this caste. The caste is not one of those which are artificially increased by new admissions from outside, while it often loses strength by the degradation of its members when they offend against the caste rules regarding marriage, &c.

* Bráhmans were imported from Mithila in the 14th century by the Rajas of Kamatapur, from Oudh or Sylhet by the Koch King Biswa Singh, and from Nuddea by the Ahom ruler Rudra Singh.

† The following castes of the Nava-Sákha group do not enjoy the ministrations of the Srotriya Brahmans:—Mali, Tanti, Madak, Kulala.

‡ In some cases where the number of the degraded priestly class is small, its members are compelled to intermarry with the caste to which they minister. Thus, in some districts of the Brahmaputra Valley the priests of the Doms marry girls of the Dom caste.

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GROUP 8.—DEVOTEES.

292. Most of the religious mendicants censused are found in the Surma Valley, but the total number is not very large. They are nearly all foreigners from Bengal and elsewhere. The most numerous are the Bairágis, or Vaishnava devotees, as distinguished from the Sannyásis, who are usually followers of Siva. The Rámáyats, Udásis, Rámanands, and Kabirpanthis are all Vaishnavas by sect. The Atits and Sannyásis, as just stated, are Saivas, and so also are the Aghoris, a disgusting sect, who consume all sorts of filth, including human ordure, and some of whom are said to go so far as to eat corpses stolen from Musalman burying grounds. A full account of most of these sects has been given by Professor Monier Williams in Chapters IV and V, of 'Religious Thought and Life in India' and by Mr. Risley in his recent work to which I have so often had occasion to refer. The Fakirs, course, are all Musalmans.

Statement No. 160, showing the number and distribution of religious devotees.

Class of Devotees.	Total.	Surma Valley.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Hill districts.
Bairági	4,803	3,440	1,256	97
Rámáyat	137	66	71	....
Udási	39	37	2	....
Baishnaba ..	866	118	748	....
Rámanandi ..	29	1	28	....
Kabirpanthi ..	21	....	21	....
Atit	37	31	6	....
Sannyási	227	47	174	6
Aghori	22	....	21	1
Fakir	158	144	12	2
Total	6,339	3,884	2349	106

GROUP 10.—GENEALOGISTS.

293. The only caste in this group are the Bháts, who are genealogists and family bards. 1,089 were censused in Sylhet, 113 in Cachar, and 73 in other districts. Their hereditary profession is said to be no longer remunerative, and they are nowadays taking to other means of livelihood.

Bhat.

GROUP 11.—WRITERS.

294. The Káyastha, or Bengal writer caste, is found chiefly in the Surma Valley and Kamrup. In the latter district they claim to be descendants of the seven houses of Káyasthas who were settled in Assam by Durlabh Naráyan, and who subsequently rose to power and at one time ruled the province under the title of the Báro Bhuiya.* The great Vaishnava reformer, Sankar Deb, was the grandson of Chandibar Káyastha, the chief of these immigrants. His descendants are still living in the Nowgong district, where they call themselves Mahájan or Thákuriá as an indication of their relationship to him.

Kayastha.

The name Káyastha is frequently appropriated in the Brahmaputra Valley by Kalitás, who have taken to literate occupations, while in Sylhet and Cachar it is claimed by a host of lower castes. The vast decrease in the number of persons so returned in these two districts, as compared with 1881, is almost wholly due to the greater care taken to secure a correct enumeration of the different castes, and to the additional caste column, which often showed the true caste of persons who had returned themselves as Káyasthas in the main caste column. In writing of the Sháhá, Bárui, Teli, Kámár, Hálwá Dás, and other castes, I have mentioned that they are all in the habit of paying large sums to procure Káyastha brides. In the same

Statement No. 161, showing the strength and distribution of the Káyastha caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar	5,014	9,005
Sylhet	72,744	157,130
Goalpara	1,472	1,733
Kamrup	4,207	7,286
Darrang	1,301	2,464
Nowgong	2,656	2,312
Sibsagar	3,442	3,109
Lakhimpur	1,088	2,070
Other districts	471	452
Total ..	92,395	185,561

* Dalton and others have concluded that the Báro Bhuiyás of Assam were allied to the aboriginal Bhuiyá caste of Bengal. Apart from the fact that the Assam Bhuiyás are known to be Káyasthas, this derivation of the term is quite unnecessary. Bhuiyá simply means 'master of the soil', and is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Persian word 'zemindar'. The title was sold to any one who chose to buy it by the last kings of Cachar, while the manuscript 'Purushnameh' of Raja Lakshmi Náráyan Kuor, to which I have several times had occasion to refer, frequently speaks of the local rulers as Bhuiyá The term was similarly used in Bengal, where the position of the persons known by it has been clearly set forth by the late Dr. Wise, who shows that one at least of these Bhuiyás or chiefs was a Musalman. He also quotes Janic, who says of them "Non se tamen dixere reges, etsi regium splendorem præferant, sed Boiones, quasi forsan Principes" ('Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' 1874, page 197, and 1875, page 181). It is thus clear that, prior to the Musalman conquest, the term was freely used as the equivalent of 'zemindar' and was applied to persons of any caste without implying any connection with the aboriginal tribe of that name.

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way, wherever possible, they describe themselves as Káyasthas in preference to giving their real caste name, and were often entered as such in column 4 of the schedule. But even when this was done, there was still column 5 to be filled in, and this almost invariably showed whether the person enumerated was a true Káyastha or a member of some lower caste. In 1881, when there was only one caste column, there were no means of distinguishing these *soi-disant* Káyasthas from the real members of that caste.

Karan.

295. The Karan is the writer caste of Orissa. Only eighteen persons belonging to this caste were censused in this province.

GROUP 12.—ASTROLOGERS.

Ganak.

296. The Ganaks are astrologers, and are variously known as Daibajna, Graháchárjya, Lagnáchárjya, Surjyabipra, &c. They claim to be descended from Bráhmans,* and the general opinion appears to be that this is the case, their degradation being due to their profession, to their accepting alms from the lower castes, and to their acting as priests to the degraded caste of carpenters. In the Brahma Vaivarta Puran it is stated :

> By reason of their calculations regarding heavenly bodies, by reason of their accepting remuneration, and by reason of their confining their studies to the Vedanga, these Bráhmans are known on earth as Ganaks.

In the Mahábhárat also the Ganaks are alluded to as a class of degenerate Bráhmans. In the Surma Valley, as in Bengal, their rank is so low that the Nava-Sákhas refuse to take their water, but in the Bráhmaputra Valley their position is one of much greater respectability. Here they claim to rank as Bráhmans still, and base their claim on the fact that they are called Deb Sarmá, that they learn the Gáyatri, undergo the ten purifying ceremonies, wear the sacred thread, have the same period of mourning as Bráhmans, and are saluted at ceremonies by Bráhmans with the words '*Bráhmanaya Nama*'. Several Goseins of Upper Assam, who were consulted on the subject by Lieutenant Gurdon, bear testimony to the high position occupied by the Assam Ganaks, but admit that they cannot act as priests.† There is, however, no doubt that, although socially inferior to Bráhmans, they rank above all other castes, their high position being doubtless due to the favour in which they were held by the Ahom and Koch kings. Some Ganaks still hold large grants of *Brahmutter* land, and it was owing to their adverse predictions that the Ahom King Sib Singh abdicated in favour of his wife Phuleswari. As these better class Assam Ganaks are known by the same names as their *confrères* of Bengal, it was impossible to show the strength of each class separately. Besides, even in the Brahmaputra Valley, all Ganaks do not hold the same position. Those of Mangaldai are said to be degraded, and so also are the Tulsijania Ganaks of Sibsagar, who permit widow remarriage, a practice which is strictly forbidden amongst the better class of Ganaks, just as it is amongst the Bráhmans and other high caste Hindus. The number of Ganaks in the different districts of Assam is noted in the margin.

Statement No. 162, showing the number of Ganaks returned in each district of Assam.

District.	Number,	
	1891.	1881.
Cachar	126	19
Sylhet	6,859	6,505
Goalpara	65	8
Kamrup	5,967	6,582
Darrang	8,121	8,798
Nowgong	348	125
Sibsagar	2,081	1,531
Lakhimpur	2	..
Other districts	170	346
Total	23,739	23,914

The changes since the last census are very slight. Cachar, Sylhet, and Sibsagar show a slight increase, while in Darrang the number has fallen from 8,798 to 8,121. The total number of Ganaks now returned is 23,739, against 23,914 in 1881. There are two causes of decrease affecting this caste. Some try to wedge themselves in amongst

* Their claims are fully stated in the 'Daibajna Bhaskara' by Gopi Nath Deb Sarma, a Ganak of Kamrup.

† They are occasionally found acting as priests of the lower castes, *e.g.*, of the Sutára.

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the Bráhmans, and describe themselves by terms which apply equally to both, while others become degraded for various reasons, and go to swell the ranks of the Boriá and other lower castes.

GROUP 13.—PHYSICIANS.

Baidya.

297. The Baidya, or physician caste, is found chiefly in Sylhet, where they belong to three Guttras,—the Sen, Gupta, and Dás. Their position there is said to be lower than in Bengal on account of their intermarriage with Káyasthas, and for this reason the Bengal Baidyas will not intermarry with them. The practice of Kulinism in vogue amongst the Bengal members of the caste is not practised in Sylhet, nor is marriage outside the Guttra always insisted on. The Baidyas claim to be descended from Aswini Kumár, the physician of heaven, and a Bráhman female. In social rank they appear to be slightly superior to the Káyasthas. Their total number is 4,698, against 3,960 in 1881.

GROUP 14.—MUSICIANS AND BALLAD RECITERS.

Dholi.

298. The Dholis, Nágárchis, or Dukhlás, as they are called in Sylhet, are drummers. Some are also cultivators, gelders of animals, &c. The caste is said to be a very degraded one. Having no Bráhman, its priests are chosen from amongst the members of the caste itself. It is numerous only in Sylhet, where 7,371 have been returned. The total strength of the caste is 7,951 against 6,347 in 1881.

Kawali.

299. The Kawális are said by Mr. Risley to be an offshoot from the Kapális, from which caste they were ousted because they took to music as a profession. In Sylhet, it is said that the two words are used indiscriminately, and that the members of the caste in that district all sing at times, as well as weave gunny bags. Their musical talent is especially in request when children suffer from convulsions, for which complaint their songs in honour of Durgá are supposed to effect a cure. The total number of Kawális is only 263, of whom 261 were found in Sylhet. They were included with the parent caste, Kapáli, in the returns of the last census.

Gorait and Turaha.

300. The only other musician castes deserving mention are the Gorait and Turáhá. The former come chiefly from the Lohardugga district to work as coolies on the tea gardens; their total number is 1,533. The Turahas are described by Mr. Risley as a low caste, who blow horns and play on flutes. 600 persons are shown under this head, but as the same term also denotes sub-castes of the Nunia, Kahar, and other castes, it is uncertain whether all the persons so returned really belong to the musician caste of that name.

GROUP 15.—DANCERS AND SINGERS.

Nat.

301. The Nat is a dancer and singer by profession. In Sylhet he is said also to make lac bangles. The total number censused in the province is 4,261. Only 919 have been recorded in Sylhet, against 7,091 in 1881. In Kamrup 954 Nats have been censused as such, against none in 1881 and 1,735 in 1872. These variations are, I think, chiefly to be attributed to the fact that all Nats by profession are not Nats by caste, and that there is thus often confusion between the one and the other.

GROUP 17.—TRADERS.

302. The professional trading castes are the next to be dealt with. None of these are natives of the province, except possibly some of those returned as Vaisyas,* who profess to

* The Oswals and other 'Banias' claim to be Vaisyas, and some of the persons thus returned may therefore possibly belong to these castes.

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belong to the original Vaisya caste of Manu, and whose claims to this rank are perhaps in some degree corroborated by the fact that the Bráhmans bestow their benediction on them when they meet them without first receiving the usual salutation '*pronama*'.* The number of persons returned as Vaisyas is 3,713, against 1,603 at the last census. Of these, 547 are in Sylhet, and 2,775 in Kamrup, where there were 634 and 761 respectively in 1881. But the true professional traders belong to the great group of castes, which goes under the generic name of Baniá, and of which the Agarwáls, Khatris, Mahesris, Oswáls, and Saráogis are the chief representatives. Their strength and distribution are noted below:

Vaisya, Agarwal, Khatri, Mahesri, Oswal, Saraogi.

Statement No. 163, showing the strength and distribution of the Baniá castes.

District.	Agarwál.	Khatri.	Mahesri.	Oswál.	Saráogi.	Baniá, unspecified.
Cachar	39	25	9	47	1	295
Sylhet	47	43	2	99	2	1,248
Goalpara	126	12	7	535	30	244
Kamrup	578	35	1	73	55	368
Darrang	126	11	2	121	30	125
Nowgong	124	.....	24	172	10	59
Sibsagar	588	34	71	213	15	277
Lakhimpur ...	625	12	143	83	85	174
Hill districts ...	72	54	.....	9	18	11
Total	**2,325**	**226**	**259**	**1,352**	**246**	**2,801**

The return for 1881 shows 2,383 Agarwáls and 1,015 Baniás unspecified, but none of the other castes mentioned above, which were thus apparently classed under one or other of these two heads. They are found chiefly in the Brahmaputra Valley, where there are greater openings for their special kind of trade. The Agarwál, Oswál, Mahesri, and Saráogi are all castes of Upper India and Marwar. they are commonly described in this province as Marwaris or Káyás.† They are the great traders of Assam, and deal in anything that is likely to afford a profit, but especially in mustard, rubber, and other country produce. They act also as bankers and agents to tea gardens, and are usually very wealthy. Full information regarding them will be found in Mr. Risley's 'Tribes and Castes', and in the Rev. Mr. Sherring's work on the same subject. Some of them are Jains and others Hindus, the former predominating amongst the Agarwáls and Oswáls, and the latter amongst the Mahesris. Those who profess the Hindu religion are mostly of the Vaishnava sect, and intermarriage with the Jain section of the same caste is freely permitted.

I am not quite sure that the persons returned as simply 'Baniá' are in all cases members of these castes. The term is here used in much the same way as Mr. Risley says that it is used in Bengal, and is often applied to traders generally, irrespective of the caste to which they belong. When found in the caste columns of the census schedules, the presumption is that it is used to indicate a caste, but it is not impossible that it has sometimes been wrongly entered as descriptive of traders of other castes.

* 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal', volume II, page 349.

† The origin of the term 'Kaya' has been a matter of some speculation. It has been suggested that it is a nickname applied with reference to their foreign-sounding language—stammerers'. But the use of the term is not confined to Assam, and it seems to me more likely that it is connected with the Bengali word 'Kayal', meaning a broker or grain, &c., dealer.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

GROUP 20.—GOLDSMITHS.

303. Three castes are included in this group, none of which are of any great importance,—the Sarnakár, or goldsmith caste of Bengal, which Mr. Risley thinks is traceable to the Karmakár, the Sonár, or corresponding caste of Behar, and lastly the Subarnabaniks, of whom working in gold is merely the traditional occupation, and who at the present day are chiefly employed in mercantile pursuits. The returns of the present census show 835 Sarnakárs, 3,861 Sonárs, and 19 Subarnabaniks. In 1881 all these castes appear to have been included under 'Sonár,' against which head a population of 1,392 persons was entered.

Sarnakar, Sonár, Subarnabanik.

GROUP 21.—BARBERS.

304. The Nápit or barber caste is numerous only in Sylhet, Cachar, Goalpara, and Kamrup. These districts show a steady increase, except Cachar, where there is a considerable decrease, for which I am unable to account. In the central and eastern districts of the Brahmaputra Valley the falling off is probably due to the fact that most barbers are, or claim to be, Kalitás, and have been included under that head. In Darrang, where the barber Kalitás have described themselves as such, and not merely as Kalitá, the number recorded is 1,372, which, with the 204 persons returned as Nápit, who are probably foreigners of that caste, would make 1,576, or 469 more than in 1881.

Napit.

Statement No. 164, showing the strength and distribution of the Nápit caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar	1,702	2,766
Sylhet	24,035	21,063
Goalpara ..	1,360	1,077
Kamrup ..	4,545	3,724
Darrang.. ..	204	1,107
Nowgong ..	395	453
Sibsagar ..	482	718
Lakhimpur ..	239	319
Other parts ..	27	22
Total	**32,989**	**31,249**

305. The Bhandári is the barber caste of Orissa, and the Hájám that of Behar. The latter term is also applied to Musalman barbers, of whom there are 1,393 in the province.

Bhandari, Hajam.

GROUP 22.—BLACKSMITHS.

306. The Kámár or Karmakár is the blacksmith caste of Bengal, and is one of the Nava-Sákha group. Some Kámárs have now abandoned their hereditary profession, and taken to other callings. Like the Báruis and Sháhás, they often pay large sums to get wives from the Káyastha caste. They are most numerous in Sylhet, where 14,613 have been enumerated, against 5,802 in 1881, when many probably returned themselves as Sudras or Káyasthas; 4,701 are found in Sibsagar, 4,007 in Cachar, 3,295 in Lakhimpur, and 1,889 in Darrang. The number returned in other districts is small.

Kamar.

307. The Kami is the blacksmith caste of Nipal. Only 120 persons have been returned as belonging to this caste. The Lohárs are the blacksmiths of Western Bengal and Behar. 7,388 persons of this caste were enumerated in this province, of whom the greater number probably found their way here as garden coolies.

Kami, Lohar.

GROUP 23.—CARPENTERS.

308. The Sutradhar or Sutár is the carpenter caste of Bengal and is numerous in Sylhet and Goalpara only. The people of this caste occupy a very low position in the social scale, which is said to be due to their having been degraded, because they once failed to supply fuel to the Bráhmans in time for their devotions. They have a Ganak as their priest. Their water is not in use amongst the Sudra castes.

Sutradhars.

Statement No. 165, showing the strength and distribution of the Sutradhar caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Sylhet	13,454	11,280
Goalpara	2,545	2,436
Other districts ..	732	770
Total	**16,731**	**14,486**

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309. The Bárhis are the carpenters of Behar. Their number in this province is very small, only 419 having been returned at the census.

Barhis.

GROUP 24.—BRASS AND COPPER SMITHS.

310. Under this head are included the Kánsáris and Moriás. The first mentioned are the brazier caste of Bengal, and are supposed to have been degraded for working in an inferior metal. Only 41 Kánsáris were censused in this province. I have included under this head 17 persons returned as Tháthera, which is a name used to denote persons who sell brass utensils, and who are said to be generally members of this caste.

Kansari.

311. The Moriás are Musalman braziers, and are said to be descendants of the captive remnant of Turbuk's army. They were fully described in the last census report,* and the only remark I have to make about them is that they now differ very little from ordinary Musalmans. They appear to have discarded their slang language, and in Mangaldai at least, now talk ordinary Assamese. They have quite forgotten the tradition of their origin, which is known to us from Ahom histories. The Moriás in Darrang are immigrants from Sibsagar, who migrated to the former district some few years ago. The total number of Moriás at this census is 1,681, against 2,001 in 1872. They were not shown separately in 1881. The decrease is probably due to their tendency to describe themselves as Shekh as an assertion of their claim to rank as ordinary Musalmans.

Morias.

Statement No. 166, showing the strength and distribution of the Moriás.

Districts.	1891.	1872.
Goalpara ..	4	15
Kamrup ..	118	..
Darrang ..	265	13
Nowgong ..	585	611
Sibsagar ..	621	1,169
Lakhimpur ..	88	193
Other districts ..	.....	..
Total	1,681	2,001

GROUP 26.—GRAIN-PARCHERS AND CONFECTIONERS.

312. The Madak, or Mayára, is the confectioner caste of Bengal. It is found chiefly in Sylhet, where 1,237 have been returned; 206 are found in Goalpara, and 182 in other districts. The Madaks belong to the Nava-Sákha group, but Srotriya Brahmáns will not perform their ceremonies.

Madak.

313. The Hálwái is the corresponding caste of Behar, and the Kándu a grain-parching and sweetmeat-making caste found in all parts of Bengal. At the census, 932 persons returned themselves as Hálwáis and 2,329 as Kándus.

Halwai, Kándu.

GROUP 27.—GARLAND AND LEAF-PLATE MAKERS AND BETEL-LEAF SELLERS.

314. This group is not very strongly represented in Assam. There are a few Mális and Támbulis in Sylhet, but the rest are nearly all foreigners. The Bári is a small leaf-plate making caste in Behar, and is represented in Assam by 216 persons.

Bari.

315. The Phul Máli or Málákár belongs to the Nava-Sákha group, but is not attended by Srotriya Bráhmans. The traditional occupation of this caste is the making of garlands and providing flowers for Hindu temples. It must not be confounded with the sweeper or Bhuinmáli caste, which occupies a very much lower position. Its local strength is 960.

Phul Mali.

316. The Gandhabanik is the spice-selling and druggist caste of Bengal, and the Benito the spice-dealer of Ganjam. The census returns include 635 of the former and 344 of the latter.

Gandhabanik and Benito.

317. The Támbuli is now a trading caste, but is shown here, as its traditional occupation is the sale of betel-leaves. Only 137 persons of this caste were censused in Assam.

Tambuli.

* Page 101.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

GROUP 28.—WEAVERS, CALENDERERS, AND DYERS.

Jolaha.

318. The Joláhás are Muhammadan weavers. They are supposed by Dr. Wise to be converts from some degraded Hindu caste. Only 2,180 Joláhás were enumerated in Assam, of whom 624 were found in Cachar, 558 in Sylhet and 252 in Sibsagar.

Jugis.

319. The origin and position of the Jugis in Bengal are discussed by Mr. Risley,* and I shall, therefore, only mention here a few points in which the Jugis of Assam differ from those of Bengal. In that province some of them claim to be descended from Siva, while others trace their descent to the amours of Bráhman widows and ascetics. Many of them are in consequence assuming the sacred thread, and they refuse to take food or water from any other caste, the Srotriya Bráhmans alone excepted. They select their priests from their own caste. In Sylhet and Cachar, their claims and traditions of origin are the same as in Bengal, but their position in the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley is somewhat different. In these districts the caste originally contained five principal subdivisions, *viz.*, the Sapmelas, or snake-charmers, the Palupohás, or rearers of a particular kind of silkworm, the Duliyás, or palki-bearers, the Kátanis, who are weavers of silk and sometimes also of cotton thread, and the Thiyápotás, who were so called because they buried their dead in a standing position. Of these, the Kátanis and the Duliyás are the chief subdivisions now remaining.† The Kátanis are generally supposed to be more completely Hinduised, but the social pretensions of the Duliyás have of late excéeded those of the Kátanis. They derive their name from the fact that they were bearers of the royal litter in the time of the Ahom Rajas, and they now say that the founders of their sept were Kalitás, who intermarried with Kátani girls, and who were in consequence degraded.‡

Some few years ago it struck the leaders of their society in the Jorhat subdivision that they might regain the position of their alleged ancestors if they performed the necessary ceremony of purification. With this object in view, they raised a large sum of money, and invited the Kátanis to join them. The latter, however, refused, but the Duliyás nevertheless persisted in their idea, and in February 1890 a monster purification ceremony was performed. Since then the Duliyas have taken to calling themselves Kalitás, but their claims are recognised by no one except themselves. The number of Jugis returned at the present census and in 1881 is shown in the margin. In Cachar only 11 of the Jugis described themselves as Kátanis, in Sylhet 2,057 were so entered, and in Goalpara 825. In Kamrup the number was 16,774, in Darrang 16,320, in Nowgong 21,436, and in Sibsagar 2,463. In Lakhimpur 604 out of 948 Jugis were shown as Kátanis. The Duliyá subdivision of the Jugi caste has been returned in Sibsagar only, and there the number amounts to 874.

Statement No. 167, showing the strength and distribution of the Jugis.

DISTRICT.	1891.	1881.
Cachar ..	11,163	8,475
Sylhet ..	87,392	82,170
Goalpara ..	13,967	14,731
Kamrup ..	17,406	19,689
Darrang ..	18,795	17,937
Nowgong ..	21,792	23,621
Sibsagar ..	6,221	5,404
Lakhimpur ..	948	549
Other districts ..	62	24
Total ..	177,746	172,600

Kapali.

320. The Kapális are weavers of gunny bags and sheets, and are also often singers. They occupy a very low social position, and their water is not in use. They have a separate class of Patit Bráhmans as their priests.

The total number recorded is only 1,122, of whom 979 are in Sylhet, 131 in Goalpara, and only 12 elsewhere. In 1881, 3,182 persons were shown under this head; the difference is partly due to the Kawális, who are an offshoot from this caste, having been shown separately on this occasion.

* 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal', vol. I, page 355.

† There are, however, others, *e.g.*, the Kánphuráli, with whom the Kátanis refuse to intermarry, and the Kendramára, or Jugis, who still eat pork.

‡ According to another account, they are the descendants of upcountry Káhárs, whom the Ahom Rajas imported as palki-bearers, and who intermarried with the Kátanis.

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Tanti.

321. The true Tánti or Tatwa is a Nava-Sákha caste, the traditional occupation of which is weaving cloth, but I am not satisfied that all persons returned as such really belong to this caste. Some of them are doubtless Jugis and other low caste weavers who have tried to improve their position by claiming a higher rank than that to which they are entitled. This seems to have been the case, at least to some extent in Darrang and Nowgong, where no Tántis were returned in 1881, and in Sibsagar, where the present number is more than double that then shown. Some of the increase is, however, attributable to immigration to tea gardens, as many of the Behar members of the caste have abandoned their traditional occupation, which is now no longer profitable, and have taken to working as coolies, gardeners, &c. Mr. Risley quotes a tradition which represents the Tántis as descended from Gham Dás, who was born from the sweat that fell from Siva while he was dancing, and his wife Kusbati, who was created by Siva from a blade of *kusa* grass.

Statement No. 168, showing the strength and distribution of the Tánti caste.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar ..	2,320	1,172
Sylhet ..	2,465	3,128
Goalpara ..	72	91
Kamrup ..	78	112
Darrang ..	1,162	..
Nowgong ..	284	..
Sibsagar ..	2,401	1,198
Lakhimpur ..	2,214	827
Other districts ..	6	4
Total ..	**11,002**	**6,532**

Chhipa, Koshta, Mehra.

322. Other castes of this group are the Chhipás of the Central Provinces, who are calico printers and dyers, of whom 35 have been returned; the Koshtás, or weavers of Chota Nagpur, who number 14, and the Mehrás of the Central Provinces, who number 71, and who were stated in the last Central Provinces Census Report to be weavers, village watchmen, and cultivators. These latter may be identical with the Koshtás just mentioned, who are also called Máhárás, and who have a tradition that their original home was in the Central Provinces.

Pan.

323. More important than the castes mentioned above are the Páns, who are a low weaving, basket-making, and servile caste scattered under various names throughout the north of Orissa and the southern and western parts of Chota Nagpur. The Páns in Assam are mostly immigrant coolies. They are also called Chik, Baráik, and Chik-Baráik.

Patwa, Samosi.

The Pátwás, who number 719, are makers of silk fringes and strings, The Sámosis, like the Mehrás, are a weaving caste from the Central Provinces. They number only 113 in Assam.

GROUP 29.—WASHERMEN.

Dhoba, Dhobi.

324. I have tabulated the Dhobá and Dhobi separately, because they are said by Mr. Risley to be distinct castes, the Dhobá being the washerman of Bengal and Orissa, and the Dhobi of Behar. In this province, however, the two words are used almost indiscriminately, and if there be any distinction, it is that the Musalman washerman is usually called Dhobi, while the term Dhobá is generally, though not always, applied to the Hindu who follows that occupation. The two castes were shown together in 1881. Their strength and distribution is shown in statement No. 169 in the margin. The total number of Musalman Dhobis is only shown as 113 in the table; the real number must be considerably greater than this, many of the persons concerned having doubtless described themselves as Shekhs.

Statement No. 169, showing the strength and distribution of the Dhobá and Dhobi castes.

District.	1891.			1881.
	Dhoba.	Dhobi.	Total.	Dhoba.
Cachar	174	1,859	1,973	2,658
Sylhet	18,201	10,518	28,719	26,330
Goalpara ..	103	133	236	182
Kamrup ..	3,938	34	3,972	3,442
Darrang ..	361	166	527	63
Nowgong ..	1,142	4	1,146	1,601
Sibsagar ..	394	318	712	91
Lakhimpur ..	34	544	578	808
Hill districts ..	12	117	129	36
Total ..	**24,299**	**13,693**	**37,992**	**35,211**

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GROUP 30.—COTTON CARDERS.

Dhunia.

325. The only caste shown in this group is the Dhuniá, or Musalman cotton-carder, under which head 13 persons have been returned. They are all foreigners.

GROUP 31.—SHEPHERDS AND WOOL-WEAVERS.

Gareri, Gadaria.

326. No indigenous and only two foreign castes find a place in this group. There are 624 persons of the Gareri caste and 1 of the Gadariá. The Gareris are shepherds and blanket weavers in Behar; the Gadariás are shepherds and wool-spinners.

GROUP 32.—OIL-PRESSERS.

Teli.

327. The Telis, or oil-pressers, belong to the Nava-Sákha group of castes; they also call themselves Pál, and indeed are often not content with this, but would fain be designated Káyasthas. Their number is considerable only in Sylhet. In the Brahmaputra Valley the Telis do not exist as a separate indigenous caste, and those returned there are probably all either immigrants, or Kewats who have taken to oil-pressing. The increase in their number as compared, with 1881, is mainly due to many of them having on that occasion been entered as Káyasthas. I have included under this head 36 persons described as Kalu in the census schedules.

Statement No. 170, showing the strength and distribution of Telis.

DISTRICTS.	1891.	1881.
Cachar	1,522	509
Sylhet	30,889	18,036
Other districts ..	3,213	1,704
Total	35,624	20,249

GROUP 33.—POTTERS.

Hira.

328. The Hirás are the potters of the Brahmaputra Valley. They are frequently spoken of as a sub-caste of Chandál, but they will not eat with the latter, and their occupation is quite distinct, and it thus seems preferable to treat them as a separate caste. They differ from the potters of other castes in that their women are engaged in the work, and that they shape their vessels by hand instead of by the aid of a wheel. They make them in four layers, each of which is partially dried before the next is added. When the whole is complete they pile the vessels in a heap, with grass between each, to which they then set light, and thus bake the clay. The distribution of the Hirás by districts will be shown in the paragraph dealing with Chandáls, as they were included in that caste in 1881.

Kumar.

329. The real Kumár, or Kulála, is a caste of the Nava-Sákha group, but I am inclined to suspect that many of the persons returned as Kumárs in the upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley are really potters of the Kalitá and Kewat caste.* The largest number returned is in Sylhet, where there are 12,228, against 8,504 in 1881, when many doubtless described themselves as Sudra or Káyastha. In Kamrup 6,058 Kumárs are recorded, in Cachar 2,307, in Sibsagar 1,738, and in Darrang 1,542; only 1,568 were censused in other districts.

GROUP 35.—SALT-WORKERS.

Nunia.

330. The only caste to be noticed here are the Nuniás, who are a Dravidian caste of saltpetre makers and earth-workers in Behar. 6,993 persons of this caste were censused in Assam. Some of these were coolies on gardens, but many others were doubtless temporary visitors, who had come to this province for the cold weather, to do earthwork under the Public Works Department, and who probably returned to their own country a month or two after the census.

* This is the generally accepted view, although some of the native officers who reported on the subject denied the claim of the Kumár Kalitá to rank as a Kalitá. What, however, they really meant was, I fancy, that a Kumár Kalitá does not rank on the same level as an ordinary Kalita.

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GROUP 36.—LIME-BURNERS.

331. The Mukhis are lime-burners by occupation, and are found chiefly in one district, Kamrup. It is generally stated that they are a sub-caste of Koch, and they were apparently included under this head in 1881. But the facts seem to be against this view. Their occupation is distinctive; they rank lower than the Koch, and show great eagerness to obtain wives from that caste, but a Koch girl who marries a Mukhi becomes degraded to his level, and out of the total number of Mukhis, only 5 asserted their claim to rank as Koch by returning that as their main caste. It is said that good Bráhmans perform their religious ceremonies, and that all castes accept water at their hands.

Mukhi.

The total number of Mukhis returned is 2,361, of whom 2,335 are found in Kamrup.

331½. The Chunáris, who are also called Báiti, are lime-burners of Central and Eastern Bengal. Only 33 were found in this province at the time of the census.

Chunari or Baiti.

GROUP 38.—GOLD-WASHERS.

332. There is an endogamous Káchári sub-caste of gold-washers, who are known as Sonowál, but these have been dealt with in the note on Kácháris. The only people to be mentioned here are the Jhorás, a small caste of gold-washers in Chota Nagpur, of whom 117 were enumerated in this province.

Jhora.

GROUP 39.—IRON-SMELTERS.

333. This group also only includes one caste, and that a foreign one. The Asuras or Agoriás are a small non-Aryan tribe of iron-smelters, whose headquarters are in Lohardugga, and of whom 513 were censused in Assam.

Asura.

GROUP 40.—FISHERMEN, BOATMEN, AND PALKI-BEARERS.

334. The Dátiyás are a degraded class of Musalmans, who are found only in the Goalpara district, and whose main occupation is fishing. Ordinary Musalmans will not intermarry with them. The total number returned is only 898.

Datiya.

335. The Máhimals are Musalman fishermen in Sylhet, who occupy much the same status as the Dátiyás in the Goalpara district. They display great anxiety to obtain girls of the better classes of Musalmans as their wives. In all 58,100 persons were censused under this head, of whom 55,327 were found in Sylhet and 2,734 in Cachar. The number in other districts is only 39. The Máhimals were not distinguished from other Musalmans in 1881.

Mahimal.

336. It is said that the Pátnis and Háris are both sections of the Dom caste. Those who took to fishing were called Jáliyá Dom, and those who removed dead bodies and reared and sold pigs were called Suariya Dom. The former now occupy a much higher position than the latter and deny all knowledge of their relationship with them. The Jáliyá Doms are generally known as Pátni in Bengal, but in Rangpur they are called Dom-Pátni. In the Brahmaputra Valley they are known simply as Dom, or, as they euphemistically term themselves, Nadiyál, while in the Surma Valley it is only of late years that they have dropped this designation for the more respectable term adopted by the members of this branch of the original caste in Bengal. The Doms of the Brahmaputra Valley are chiefly of the Vaishnava persuasion, and large numbers of them are disciples of the Moamoria

Dom.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Gosein. These are called Matak Doms, and are said to be endogamous. The distinction is said to lie chiefly in the fact that they eat the *sal* fish, which the Nadiyáls or ordinary Doms will not touch. There is a small sub-caste known as Káchárípuria Doms, who used to do sweeper's work, remove corpses, &c., and these are looked on with contempt by the other Doms, who refuse to intermarry with them. Besides these, there are a few immigrants who belong to the Dom caste of Bengal, and who, owing to the identity of their caste name, are unavoidably included with the fishing Dom of Assam.

The latter pretend to an exceptional degree of ceremonial purity. It is commonly stated that they were the last of the Assam castes to be converted from Buddhism, but I am not aware on what authority this assertion is made. Their number and distribution are noted below:

Statement No. 171, showing the strength and distribution of the Doms and Pátnis.

District.	1891.			1881.		
	Dom.	Pátni.	Total.	Dom.	Pátni.	Total.
Cachar	3,667	35,526	39,193	3,595	30,447	34,042
Sylhet	10,744	67,176	77,920	27,264	49,600	76,864
Goalpara	3,015	50	3,065	8,573	.....	8,573
Kamrup	14,825	1	14,826	18,281	257	18,538
Darrang	7,983	5	7,988	9,418	.....	9,418
Nowgong ...	26,166	57	26,223	25,553	.....	25,553
Sibsagar	23,560	4	23,564	22,867	.....	22,867
Lakhimpur ...	11,777	408	12,185	11,765	.....	11,765
Other districts ...	23	66	89	325	.....	325
Total	**101,760**	**103,293**	**205,053**	**127,641**	**80,304**	**207,945**

The main points for note are that in the Surma Valley, while both castes combined show a slight natural increase, the people who are still known as Doms are steadily abandoning the term, and calling themselves Pátni instead. There is a large decrease in the number of Doms returned in Goalpara. In 1881, the number was found to have risen from 4,080 recorded nine years previously to 8,573, and it has now fallen to 3,065, or less than the figure of 1872. I am inclined to think that the explanation is that many Chandáls returned themselves as Nadiyáls in 1881, and were thus classified as Doms. Taking Doms and Chandáls together, the figures for the present census are Doms and Pátnis 3,065, Chandáls and Hirás 9,536, total 12,601, against Doms and Pátnis 8,573, Chandáls and Hirás 5,129, total 13,702, in 1881. There has also been a considerable decrease in Kamrup, as compared with 1881, although the number now returned exceeds by 1,556 the number recorded in 1872.

337. The Malo and Tiyar are said by Mr. Risley to be Dravidian boating and fishing castes, and Dr. Wise, whom he quotes, was of opinion that these, with the Kaibartta, are undoubtedly representatives of the prehistoric dwellers in the Gangetic delta. The Tiyars were not shown in 1881, and their number is still only 237, of whom 124 are found in the Sylhet district alone. The Malos now number 20,068, of whom 16,793 are found in the Sylhet

Malo, Tiyar.

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district. The number returned in 1881 was only 1,478, but it seems probable that this was due to a clerical error. The number of persons then shown as Mál was 16,876, and it is almost certain that these were Málos, while the 1,478 persons shown as Málos were really Máls. The Bengali spelling of the two caste names is identical, so that even now it is doubtful whether the two castes have been distinguished with any degree of accuracy. Caste, Tribe, &c.

Mallah.

338. It is a question whether the term Málláh represents a distinct caste. Mr. Sherring is of opinion that it does, but Mr. Risley has come to a different conclusion, and says it is simply a title of a number of castes, including Kewat, Tiyar, Surahiyá, Málo, and Kaibartta. Without professing to enter into the merits of the question, I have shown the persons so returned separately, as, even if they belong to some or other of the castes just mentioned, I have no means of ascertaining under which of these castes they should be included.

Namasudra or Chandal.

339. Namasudra is the euphemism under which the Chandáls or Changs try to hide their true caste, which in Hindu eyes is one of great degradation. In the Brahmaputra Valley they call themselves Charál. Mr. Risley suggests that Chandál may have been the tribal name of one of the aboriginal tribes whom the Aryans found in possession of the soil.* Their occupation is boating and cultivation. They have a separate class of degraded Bráhmans as their priests. They make their own barbers, as the Nápit or Nava-Sákha barber caste declines to shave them. The strength and distribution of the caste are shown in statement No. 172. In 1881 the Hirás were included under the same head as Chandáls, and I am, therefore, unable to compare the figures for each caste separately. Taking the two together, there is a steady natural increase in almost every district except Goalpara, where the exceptionally large increase is probably due, as already stated, to many persons of this caste having returned themselves as Nadiyáls in 1881 and thus been classified as Doms.

Statement No. 172, showing the strength and distribution of the Namasudra caste.

District.	1891.			1881
	Chandál.	Hirá.	Total.	Chandál and Hirá.
Cachar	12,268	5	12,273	11,701
Sylhet	140,308	....	140,308	129,609
Goalpara.. ..	7,005	2,331	9,336	5,129
Kamrup	13,076	4,191	17,267	16,355
Darrang	350	1,894	2,244	1,956
Nowgong.. ..	6,245	1,256	7,501	7,243
Sibsagar	830	31	861	258
Lakhimpur ..	402	57	459	1,081
Other districts ..	55	....	55	....
Total	180,539	10,065	190,604	173,532

Maharas.

340. Although the Máhárás are nowadays chiefly employed as zemindars' peons, mandals, &c., their traditional occupation is palki-bearing. The legend is that they are the descendants of Sudras who were engaged as palki-bearers by Raja Subid Naráyan, of South Sylhet, in order to avoid the inconvenience which he experienced in not being able to employ the ordinary palki-bearers to prepare his *hookah*, as he could not touch their water. The Sudras thus employed were in consequence degraded, and to this day the better castes may not touch their water, although they are still allowed to smoke a *hookah* prepared by them. The caste is peculiar to Sylhet, where it numbers 6,257 persons. In 1881 it appears to have been included under Kahar.

Bagdi.

341. The Bágdi is a Dravidian caste of Central and Western Bengal, the traditional occupation of which is fishing, palanquin-bearing, and personal service. The number in this province is 8,094, of whom the majority are doubtless garden coolies. In 1881, 5,045 Bágdis were returned.

* In Manu's fanciful caste derivations the origin of the Chandáls is ascribed to the union of a Sudra man with a Bráhman woman. The absurdity of this theory has been well demonstrated by Mr. R. C. Dutt.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Ghatwal.

342. In 1881 the Ghátwals were returned as a separate caste both in Assam and Bengal. Mr. Risley says that the term is not a caste name, but a title of Málláhs, and of certain Dravidian tribes in Western Bengal, who are engaged in the rural police, or who hold service tenures. As I have no means of distinguishing the true castes of the persons thus returned, I have, as in a few other similar cases, retained the term in table XVI. The number of persons recorded under this head is 3,329, against 4,947 ten years ago. The decrease is due to the fact that on this occasion some persons who were returned as Ghátwals in column 4 of the schedule, were entered under their true caste in column 5, and when this was the case they were classified accordingly and not under the general term Ghátwal.

Kahar.

343. The Káhárs are the palki-bearers of Behar, and most of those found in Assam are immigrants. The Máhárás of Sylhet are sometimes said to be Káhárs, and were apparently treated as such in 1881, but it seems, as stated above, that they are in reality a separate caste. The total number now returned is consequently less than at the previous census, being only 5,442, against 7,379. Taking the Káhárs and Máhárás together, the total number at the present census is 11,704, which is not an excessive increase when it is remembered that Káhárs are largely recruited for work on tea gardens.

Khatwe, Manjhi.

344. Only seven persons of the Khatwe, a palki-bearing caste of Behar, have been returned. Under the head Mánjhi 4,766 persons have been censused, but it appears from Mr. Risley's enquiries that this is no more a real caste than Málláh, although, like the latter, it has appeared as a boating and fishing caste in previous Census Reports. It seems that the word, which means boatman or ferryman, is used as a title of many fishing castes, such as the Kaibartta, Pátni, Tiyar, Bágdi, &c., and also of many aboriginal tribes, including the Báuris, Kharwárs, Asuras, Oráons, &c.

Muriari, Pod, Surahiya.

345. A few persons have been returned under the heads Muriári, Pod, and Surahiyá. The Muriári is a boating and fishing caste of Behar, the Pod a similar caste in Lower Bengal, and the Surahiyá a boating, fishing, cultivating, and labouring caste of Behar.

GROUP 41.—DISTILLERS AND TODDY-DRAWERS.

Shaha or Sunri.

346. The Sháhás or Sunris were originally distillers. Many of them have now taken to dealing in cloth, and call themselves Sahu, while those who still follow their traditional occupation are known as Sháhá. They have separate Bráhmans of their own. Their position in Sylhet is much higher than it is elsewhere, a fact which is attributed partly to their having been landholders for many generations, and partly to their leading families having held very high appointments under the Musalman governors and during the earlier years of British rule. They try to raise their social status by calling themselves Dás or Súdra, and with the same object pay large sums for Káyastha brides. The latter, however, lose their caste on marrying Sháhás and are no longer allowed to enter their parents' cook-room, or even to hold social intercourse with them. There is a considerable decrease in the number of persons returned as Sháhá in the Surma Valley as compared with 1881.

Statement No. 173, showing the strength and distribution of the Sháhás.

District.	1891.	1881.
Cachar	1,652	2,853
Sylhet	31,095	36,422
Goalpara ..	592	429
Kamrup	16,423	15,103
Darrang	574	317
Nowgong ..	1,009	1,846
Sibsagar	475	109
Lakhimpur ..	212	270
Other districts ..	43	17
Total	52,076	57,366

Pasi, Shegadi.

347. The chief foreign castes of this group are the Pásis, or toddy-drawers of Behar of whom 3,573 are found in the return. Besides these, we find 26 Shegadis, who are distillers in the Madras Presidency, and 709 Kalwárs. The latter distil and sell liquor in Behar. They are also traders

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and are supposed by Mr. Risley to be a degraded offshoot of one of the numerous Baniá castes. Caste, Tribe, &c.

GROUP 42.—BUTCHERS.

348. The only entry here is of six persons returned as Kasai. This is a butcher caste amongst the Musalmans.

Kasai.

GROUP 43.—LEATHER-WORKERS.

349. The great leather-working castes are the Chámár and the Muchi. They are found mainly in Sylhet and Cachar, but are also present in small numbers in the other districts of the province, where, however, they are usually immigrants. The Chámár is a tanner, while the Muchi is a leather dresser and cobbler. The latter ranks higher than a Chámár, and although he is supposed to be an offshoot from that caste, he himself vigorously denies the connection. In 1881 the total number of both castes combined was only 13,531, against 28,216 on the present occasion. This large increase is somewhat puzzling; it is doubtless due in part to immigration, but must also partly be ascribed to differences of classification.

Chamar, Muchi.

Statement No. 74, showing the strength and distribution of the Chámár and Muchi castes.

District.	Chámár.	Muchi.
Cachar	6,088	3,131
Sylhet	8,016	8,162
Goalpára	155	382
Kamrup	458	173
Darrang	329	544
Nowgong ..	202	266
Sibsagar	1,467	1,996
Lakhimpur ..	1,103	638
Hill districts .	61	45
Total	17,879	10,337

350. Under the same group are included 26 Madgis, who are Telugu leather-workers, 101 Sárkis or Nipalese cobblers, and 11 Kháráls or leather-workers from the North-West Provinces.

Madgi, Sarki.

GROUP 44.—VILLAGE WATCHMEN.

351. Only two castes will find mention here, and both of these are represented only by immigrants. The Dosádhs come from Behar and Chota Nagpur, and are said by Mr. Risley to believe that their original occupation was that of village watchmen. They now number 7,097, against 4,263 in 1881. There are, besides, 15 persons who returned themselves as belonging to the Kotál caste. The Kotáls are found in Chota Nagpur; they are of Dravidian extraction, and are said to have originally been employed as village watchmen. Both castes now subsist principally by cultivation; those found in Assam are nearly all persons who came to the province as tea garden coolies.

Dosadh, Kotal.

GROUP 45.—SCAVENGERS.

352. I have already mentioned the supposed connection of the Háris with the Doms. They also appear to be identical with the Bhuinmáli, but I have shown them separately, as they were so shown in 1881 and have been treated as separate castes by Mr. Risley. The expression Bhuinmáli is most in use in the Bengali-speaking districts, while Hári is the term by which the caste is generally known in the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley proper. The traditional occupation of both Hári and Bhuinmáli is scavengering, and in the time of the Ahom Rajas the Háris were regularly employed as sweepers. Their position has of late years much improved, especially in the Brahmaputra Valley, where they have taken largely to trade and to working in gold, and many of them now describe themselves

Hari and Bhuinmali.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

by euphemistic terms expressive of these occupations, such as Brittiyál and Sonári. In the Surma Valley the Bhuinmalis have taken to boating and fishing as their chief means of livelihood, and will no longer take employment as scavengers. The strength of each branch of the caste is compared with the figures for 1881 below:

Statement No. 175, showing the strength and distribution of the Hári and Bhuinmáli.

District.	1891.			1881.		
	Hári.	Bhuinmáli.	Total.	Hári.	Bhuinmáli.	Total.
Cachar	1,084	3,987	5,071	1	4,775	4,776
Sylhet	407	43,864	44,271	288	40,412	40,700
Goalpara	83	652	735	1,967	1,689	3,656
Kamrup	3,725	1,909	5,634	4,248	1,456	5,704
Darrang	1,846	73	1,919	324	.....	324
Nowgong	2,997	41	3,038	2,772	.....	2,772
Sibsagar	2,595	174	2,769	1,374	.....	1,374
Lakhimpur	879	187	1,066	560	277	837
Other districts	4	53	57	.....	42	42
Total	**13,620**	**50,940**	**64,560**	**11,534**	**48,651**	**60,185**

There is an unaccountable decrease in Goalpara and an increase in Darrang and Sibsagar. In Cachar many persons who described themselves as Bhuinmáli in 1881 appear to have now called themselves Hári.

Lalbegi, Mehtar.

353. The foreign scavenger castes are represented by 187 Lálbegis and 748 Mehtárs They are nearly all in the employ of Europeans, or engaged as municipal sweepers. The Lálbegi is half Hindu and half Musalman in his customs and beliefs, and is supposed originally to have come from Upper India. The Mehtar is said by Mr. Risley to be simply a sub-caste of Háris who remove nightsoil.

GROUP 47.—EARTHWORKERS AND STONEDRESSERS.

Beldar, Kora.

354. This group includes 573 Beldars and 4,669 Korás. The former are a Dravidian caste of earthworkers and navvies in Behar and Western Bengal, and the latter a similar caste found also in Chota Nagpur, who are thought by Mr. Risley to be an offshoot of the Munda tribe. Neither caste appears in the return for 1881.

GROUP 49.—CANE-SPLITTERS, MAT AND BASKET-MAKERS.

Patia and Patial.

355. The Patiás of the Brahmaputra Valley and Pátiáls of the Surma Valley are alike mat-makers by profession, and the close correspondence in name and occupation make it very probable that they are one and the same caste. I have, however, no definite information on the point, and have, therefore, shown each separately in table XVI. The Pátiás are numerous only in Nowgong, where 3,296 persons have been returned, against 3,758 in 1881.

Mahili, Karanga, Mang.

356. The Mahilis are workers in bamboo and palanquin-bearers, and are found chiefly in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal. 3,606 persons of this caste were censused in Assam. The Karangá, which is represented by 34 persons, is a small basket-making caste of Western Bengal. The Mangs, of whom 12 persons were censused here, make mats of date-leaves. They are a caste of the Central Provinces.

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357. The Turis are workers in bamboo and basket-makers in Chota Nagpur. Mr. Risley says that they are a Hinduised offshoot of the Mundas. The number of this caste found in Assam is 8,240.

Turi.

GROUP 51.—HUNTERS AND FOWLERS.

358. Gandapál, Gárwál, Nikári, Shikári, and Palwári are names used to denote a small caste, the chief occupation of which is trapping otters and selling their skins, and killing crocodiles and turtles. They are said also to have been employed in former times as guards of merchants' boats to defend them from the attacks of dacoits. Their social position is very low; they have separate Patit Bráhmans as their priests, and their water is not in use even amongst the Hálwá Dás. Table XVI shows 1,553 persons of this caste in Sylhet, 389 in Goalpara, 10 in Cachar, and 3 in other districts. The legendary origin of this caste is unusually complicated. It is said that a Juláhá father and a Hári mother produced the Kán caste, and a Gop father and Hári mother the Duliyá caste, and that a Kán father and Duliyá mother then evolved the Gárwáls.

Garwal.

359. The Mirshikáris are a degraded class of Musalmans, with whom the ordinary Musalmans do not usually intermarry. Their traditional occupation is hunting, but nowadays they are generally pedlars, and trade in braid, thread, beads, needles, &c. They are gipsy-like in their habits, but are gradually settling down, and some are now landowners. Like the Máhimals, they display great anxiety to obtain wives from the ranks of the Shekhs. Their language is said to be somewhat peculiar. Their total number is only 473, of whom 465 are in Sylhet. They were not shown separately in 1881.

Mirshikari.

360. Other hunting castes are the Báheliás, who are bird-catchers in Behar, and are supposed to be allied to the Dosádhs, the Birhors of Chota Nagpur, who live by snaring hares and monkeys, the Gulguliás, a wandering hunting tribe, and the Sunuwárs of Nipal who, though now cultivators, believe that they were originally huntsmen. The return shows 129 Báheliás, 73 Birhors, 20 Gulguliás, and 54 Sunuwárs.

Bahelia, Birhor, Gulgulia, Sunuwar.

GROUP 52.—MISCELLANEOUS AND DISREPUTABLE LIVERS.

361. The entries under this head are few and unimportant; 91 women have been shown as 'Besyá', which is simply a Bengali word for prostitute. 6 persons have been entered as belonging to the Gandharpa caste, which supplies dancing girls, singers, and prostitutes, and 8 as Kanjars or gipsies of the North-Western Provinces.

Besya, Gandharpa, Kanjar.

GROUP 54.—JUGGLERS AND SNAKE-CHARMERS.

362. The only caste belonging to this group is the Bediyá, or caste of gipsies and acrobats. 1,005 persons have been included here, but I am not at all sure that the number is really so great. It is quite possible that there has been some confusion between the gipsy Bediyá and the Dravidian Bediá caste of Chota Nagpur.

Bediya.

GROUP 55.—NON-INDIAN ASIATIC RACES.

363. The Sháns belong to Burma rather than Assam, and those found in this province are immigrants of comparatively recent times. The word Shán is of Burmese origin. The name by which most of the tribes of this widespread race denote themselves is Tai or Htai. Captain Forbes observes that the Tai tribes both in physical characteristics and in language exhibit

Shan tribes.

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singular affinities to the Chinese, while they have derived their religion and literature from their Burmese and Cambodian neighbours. M. Terrien de Lacouperie says that their individuality, as a race, was evolved at a comparatively recent date, and that the ethnological elements which by their mingling produced the race were distinct for a long while. He adds "Their ancestors seem to have been more than anything else mere offshoots of the great Mon race, settled westwards, that is to say, in the north of modern Setchuen, where their racial characteristics slowly developed. An ethnological hypothesis, which would make the Tai Shan race the outcome of an intermingling in irregular proportions of Mon, Negritos, and Chinese, would not be objectionable in any way, linguistic, historical, or physiological."

The Shán tribes of Assam are the Ahoms, Norás, Khámtis, Phákiáls, Áitons, Khámjangs, and Turungs. They all belong to the Mau branch, which rose to power about 568 A.D., and by 703 A.D. included in their kingdom the greater part of the basins of the Irawadi and Chindwin (Ningthi) rivers, and which in the thirteenth century conquered Assam, Manipur, Tipperah, Burma, and part of the Malay peninsula.

The Ahoms.

364. The Ahoms are the descendants of those Mau Sháns, who, under the leadership of Chukapha, crossed the Patkoi about 1228 A.D. and entered the upper portion of the province, to which they have given their name.* The Ahoms were not apparently a very large tribe, and they consequently took some time to consolidate their power in Upper Assam. They were engaged for several hundred years in conflicts with the Chutiyás and Kácháris, and it was not until about 1540 A.D. that they finally overthrew the Kácháris, and established their rule as far as the Kallang. The power of the Chutiyás had been broken and their king slain some 40 years earlier. In 1562 A.D., the Koch King Nar Náráyan, who was then at the zenith of his power, invaded their territory, and in the following year he inflicted a decisive defeat on them and sacked their capital. Subsequently, the Koch kingdom was divided into two parts, and as its power declined that of the Ahoms increased, and the Rajas of Jaintia, Dimarua, and others, who had formerly been feudatories of Biswa Singh, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ahoms. The Musalmans on several occasions invaded their country, but never succeeded in permanently annexing it. A Páthán named Turbuk led an army as far as Koliabar in 1506, and defeated the Ahoms there, but was in his turn beaten, and chased as far as the Karatuya. The next invasion was led by Saiad Babakar and Sattrajit in 1627, but was equally unsuccessful. Their army was cut up, and the Ahoms established their sway as far as Gauhati. In 1663 A.D. Mir Jumla invaded the country with a large army, and after some fighting took the capital. The Ahom Raja fled eastwards, and worried the Musalmans by a constant guerilla warfare during the rains. This, together with the difficulty of obtaining supplies, the extreme unhealthiness of the climate, and the consequent heavy mortality amongst his troops, who eventually threatened to mutiny, made Mir Jumla glad to patch up a peace, which he did, and retreated rapidly to Bengal, where he died shortly afterwards. The

* Many different derivations of the name of the province have been suggested, and some of these ignore the undoubted fact stated above, viz., that the country derives its name from the Ahoms, and not the Ahoms from the country. The old name for the country conquered by the Ahoms was Saumarpith. Prior to the advent of these Mau Shans, the term Assam or Ahom was unknown, and when it is first met with, it is found as the designation by which they were known to the people of the West. Thus in the manuscript 'Purushnameh' of Raja Lakhi Náráyan Kuor, of Howli Mohanpur, we find it stated that Nar Náráyan took an army to attack 'Asam,' that 'Asam' fled, eventually became tributary, &c. So also in the 'Padishahnameh' it is stated that Asam borders on Hajo (Kamrup and Goalpara) and refers to the people of the country as Asamese. In the 'Fathiya i' Ibriyah' it is stated that the inhabitants belong to two races, the Asamese and the Kulita (Kalitá). There can, I think be no doubt that the word was first applied to the Ahoms, and subsequently to the country they conquered. Its use was afterwards extended by us and made to include the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley, and when the province, as now constituted, was formed in 1874, the word was given a still more extended meaning, and now stands for the whole of the Chief Commissionership, including the Surma Valley and hill districts.

How the name came to be applied to the tribe is still unknown. The explanation usually offered, that they were called A-sama (the Sanscrit word meaning 'peerless') by the Moráns and Borahis, whom they conquered, on account of their skill in ruling, is based on the assumption that these tribes had abandoned their own Turanian dialects more than eight hundred years ago,—an assumption which is clearly erroneous.

The only suggestion I can make regarding the derivation of the word is that it is connected with the word 'Athan', which is the name given to the Ahoms by the northern Shans and Burmese, or else that it is in some way a derivation or corruption of 'Mau', which was their tribal appellation before they came to Assam.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Ahoms then again took Gauhati, and made the Koch Kings of Mangaldai and Beltola their tributaries. They defeated another Musalman army led by Raja Ram Singh, and then extended their boundary to the Monass. The Ahoms were then at the height of their power; all the minor rulers of the country acknowledged their supremacy, and even the Daflás, Miris, and other hill tribes desisted from raiding on their subjects. But even then the decline was at hand. They had for some time hankered after Hinduism, and the Rajas had for years been in the habit of taking a Hindu as well as a Shán name. Eventually Rudra Singh *alias* Chukrungpha, who became king in 1695, resolved to make a public profession of Hinduism. He was too proud to become the disciple of a subject, and so sent for Krishnaram Bhattáchárjyá, a Sákta Gosein of Nuddea. The Gosein came, but the Raja hesitated to take the final step, and died in 1714 while still unconverted. His son Sib Singh succeeded him, and became a disciple of Krishnaram, who was allowed to occupy the temple of Kámákhya. In his reign the seeds of future dissension were sown by the persecution of the Moamarias, while the pride of race, which had hitherto sustained the Ahoms, began to disappear, and those who had failed to embrace Hinduism were looked upon as a separate and lower class, instead of being respected as members of the ruling tribe. At the same time, their habits began to change, and 'instead of being like barbarous but mighty Kshettriyas, they became, like Bráhmans, powerful in talk only'.* Patriotic feeling soon disappeared, and the country was filled with dissensions, chief amongst which was the rebellion of the Moamarias, which was followed by the revolt of the Koch Kings of Darrang. Captain Welsh was deputed by Lord Cornwallis to help the King Gauri Nath Singh, who was then being besieged at Gauhati, and with his aid he was once more freed from his enemies. At this juncture Sir John Shore succeeded to the Viceroyalty, and one of his first acts was to recal Welsh (1794 A.D.), after whose departure the country was again given over to anarchy. The aid of the Burmese was then invoked (1816 A.D.), and the latter remained in the country until 1824, when they were driven out by our troops, and the country was annexed.

Internal structure.

I am informed that there are no endogamous or exogamous divisions amongst the Ahoms.† There are, however, numerous other divisions, some of which formerly denoted rank, and formed a sort of hereditary aristocracy, while others were purely functional. The three main divisions were—

(1) The Chámuás, or gentry.

(2) The Kheluyás, or functional sections.

(3) The Meldaggiás, or sections assigned to the various members of the royal family as servants.

There were originally seven families of Chámuás, *viz.*, those of the Raja, Bor Gohain, Burá Gohain, Duara, Dihingiá, Lahon, and Sandikai. Subsequently the Bor Patra, Chutiyá, and other families were elevated to the rank of Chámuá. Amongst the functional sections may be mentioned the Cháudangs, or royal guards and executioners, the Khárgariyás, or gunpowder-makers, the Madkhariyás, or liquor-distillers, &c. The distinctive characteristics and occupations of these different divisions are now rapidly disappearing, and are of little practical interest. I have given a list of those returned at the census with their meaning in the provincial caste index, and it is unnecessary to mention them at length here. It will suffice to say that there were separate priestly families called Deodhais and Mohans, and that there were also families of astrologers, or Bailongs.

* Gunabhiram's 'Asam Buranji', page 15.

† I speak with some diffidence regarding this point. Probably the sections referred to further on were formerly exogamous.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

Religion.

I have already said that the Ahom King Sib Singh became an orthodox Hindu in 1714 A.D. The common people seem to have taken much longer to be converted, and in the last census report it was stated that Hinduism had still failed to touch the priestly classes. Since that time, however, even these have abandoned their old beliefs, and Rai Jogesh Chandra Chatterji, Extra Assistant Commissioner, who enquired into the state of things in the Sibsagar district, reports that he failed to find a single Ahom who had not become a disciple of some Gosein, a result which is borne out by the census figures, which show that all Ahoms now consider themselves to be Hindus. There are of course differences in the extent to which real conversion has been effected, and there are classes at all stages of the process. When initiating these people, the Goseins do not at first attempt to interfere to any great extent with their primitive liberty of eating and drinking, which is usually only restricted in so far as no convert is allowed to take beef. Gradually, however, the convert is induced to abandon swine's flesh and fowls, and in time he becomes a true Vaishnava. Some Ahoms have thus, it is said, become strict vegetarians; but the Deodhais and Mohans, who were the last to be converted, still continue to eat pork and fowls. Very little is known of the former beliefs of the Ahoms, except that they appear to have been of the ordinary animistic type. The Ahoms were never Buddhists, and it is thus clear that Buddhism did not spread to the upper portion of the valley of the Irawadi until after the commencement of the thirteenth century.

Marriage.

As already stated, there are no exogamous groups amongst the Ahoms, but a man is not allowed to marry certain near relations. There are two forms of the marriage ceremony. That in vogue amongst the common people is called 'Gur pithaguri', and consists simply of publicity and feast to the villagers, in which *gur* (molasses) and *pithaguri* (pounded rice) are freely distributed. This form of marriage is considered to be inferior to the 'Chaklong' ceremony, which will now be described, but it is generally looked upon as a binding legal marriage. In the 'Chaklong' ceremony, besides publicity, there are three essentials, *viz.*,

(1) the exchange of the *temi* and *kotári* (lime-box and betel-knife);

(2) the smelling of turmeric, &c.;

(3) the tying of the *logunguti*, or nuptial knot.

This form of marriage is looked on as the most respectable and binding, and is practised by the better classes of the people. A female once married by the 'Chaklong' ceremony cannot be remarried by the same rites. She may, however, be married again by the 'Gur pithaguri' form, and her children by the second marriage would occupy the same social and legal position as those of a first wife. Divorce is permitted, and the woman has full liberty to marry again.

Marriage by capture.

In addition to the abovementioned forms of marriage, which are based on purchase, a survival of marriage by capture still obtains to a limited extent. But when practised, it is generally followed by the regular marriage ceremony, except in the event of the female declining to consent, in which case she is given back to her family. It is said that the fact of her dishonour brings no discredit on her family, nor does it stand in the way of her subsequent marriage to a more eligible suitor.

Disposal of the dead.

The more respectable Ahoms now practise cremation, but the lower classes still bury their dead. Many of them have taken priests who perform the regular Hindu funeral ceremonies, and those who have not hitherto done so are gradually adopting the practice.

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Caste, Tribe, &c.

The number of Ahoms returned in each district now and in 1881 is noted in the margin. The figures show a decrease in every district, which is partly to be attributed to the gradual disappearance of the Ahoms as a distinctive race and partly to the additional caste column having enabled me to classify under the proper head persons of other tribes who returned themselves as Ahoms in the main caste column. There is for instance, a sept of Chutiyás called Ahom Chutiyá, and Thengál Kácháris and Moráns also often claim to be Ahoms. In 1881, when there was only one column for caste, it is possible that some of these appeared as Ahoms. But the first cause is doubtless the main one. The Ahoms are gradually being absorbed in the different Hindu castes, and will probably in time disappear altogether.

Statement No. 176, showing the strength and distribution of the Ahoms.

District.	1891.	1881.
Kamrup	475	516
Darrang	3,136	3,312
Nowgong ..	5,265	5,965
Sibsagar	97,465	117,572
Lakhimpur ..	46,870	51,588
Other districts ..	317	1
Total	153,528	179,284

Khamtis.

365. The Khámtis first appeared in Assam after the dismemberment of the kingdom of Pong by Alomphra, and established themselves on the Tengapani with the permission of the Ahom kings. They subsequently ejected the Sadiya Khowa Gohain, and the Khámti chief took his place. Being unable to oust him, the Ahoms recognised the latter as governing on their behalf. During his rule the Khámtis reduced the local Hindu population to slavery, and it was probably owing to the discontent caused by our releasing these slaves that they rebelled in 1839 A.D. They succeeded in surprising the Sadiya garrison, and in murdering Colonel White, who was in command there, but were eventually defeated and scattered about the country, and during the following year many of them returned to their former home in Bor Khámti, which is situated high on the Irawady. The remainder were divided into four parties and settled in different parts of the Lakhimpur district. In 1850 a fresh colony, numbering 300 to 400 persons, came and settled in Assam. The total number now living in the province is 3,040, against 2,883 in 1881. The real increase is slightly greater, as the 1881 figures include the Phákiáls. Practically, the whole of the Khámti population is found in the Lakhimpur district.

The Khámtis are Buddhists, and are far more civilised than most of the other Shán tribes in the province. They have their own priests, and these, as well as a large proportion of the laity, are literate.*

Phakial.

366. The Phákials, or Pháké, are said to have left Muńgkong for Assam about 1760 A.D., immediately after the subjugation of that province by Alomphra. Colonel Hannay tells us† that, prior to their immigration into this province, they were resident on the banks of the Turungpáni, and were thus apparently near neighbours of the Turungs. On reaching Assam, they at first settled on the banks of the Buri Dihing, whence they were brought by the Ahoms, and settled near Jorhat. When the Burmese invaded Assam, they and other Shán tribes were ordered by the Burmese authorities to return to Mungkong, and they had got as far as their old settlement on the Buri Dihing when the province was taken by the British.

Their language closely resembles that of the other northern Sháns. Like the Khámtis and Turungs, they are Buddhists. They seldom marry outside their own community, and, as this is very small, their physique is said to be deteriorating. They are adepts in the art of dyeing.

The total strength of the Phákials is only 565, all of whom are found in the sadr subdivision of the Lakhimpur district. The original immigrant population is said to have comprised 150 houses, but in 1848 the number was reported by Colonel Hannay to have been reduced to about 50 houses. They were not shown separately

* Further information regarding the Khámtis will be found in Dalton's 'Ethnology' and in the Census Report for 1881.

† 'Notes on the Sháns.'

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at the enumerations effected in 1872 and 1881, on which occasions they were probably classed with the Khámtis.

Turungs.

367. The Turungs* immigrated into the province less than 70 years ago. Their own tradition is that they originally came from Mung-mang Khaosang† on the north-east of Upper Burma, and settled on the Turungpani, whence the name by which they are now known. While there, they received an invitation from the Norás, who had preceded them and settled themselves near Jorhat, and in consequence they started across the Patkoi *en route* for the Brahmaputra Valley. They were, however, taken prisoners by the Singphos, and made to work as slaves, in which condition they remained for five years ;‡ they were released by Captain Neufville, along with nearly 6,000 Assamese slaves, in 1825, and continued their journey to the Jorhat subdivision, where they are still settled.

The Norás profess to look down on the Turungs, because they intermarried with the Singphos during their captivity, but the difference between the two tribes is said to be very slight. Turungs profess to intermarry with Noras, Khámtis, and Singphos, but I am informed that, although these tribes would accept Turung girls as wives, it is not likely that they would allow Turungs to marry their own daughters.

Marriages are occasionally arranged by the parties most interested, but more often by their parents. The usual form of marriage is by purchase, the price of the bride varying from Rs. 40 to Rs. 80. Marriage by servitude is also not uncommon ; the period for which the bridegroom has to work in the bride's house varies from three to four years. The age of the bridegroom is usually between 20 and 30, and the bride is seldom less than 16; in no case is a girl married before she reaches the age of puberty. The marriage ceremony is similar to that prevalent amongst the Ahoms, the main feature being tying the bride and bridegroom together with a cloth. Polygamy is not forbidden, but most men content themselves with one wife, while cases in which the number of wives exceeds two are unknown.

Widows and divorcées are allowed to marry again. Divorce is permitted, but is said to be rare. Adultery is not usually considered a sufficient cause for divorce, the injured husband being generally pacified with the payment of a fine of Rs. 15.

The Turungs are Buddhists. Their priests are Chanman, the chief, and Goasang the ordinary, spiritual preceptor. They are, in theory at least, celibates. The Turungs usually burn their dead.

In 1881 this tribe was not shown separately; the population returned on the present occasion amounts to 301. The real number of Turungs is somewhat greater, as some of them, like the Áitons, have been returned under the general head 'Shán'.

Norn, Khamjang.

368. Norá is the name by which the Mungkong Sháns were known to the Ahoms, and frequent references are made to them under that name in Ahom chronicles. The persons known to us as Khámjángs, or Kámyángs, are a section of that race, who formerly resided on the Patkoi, but were driven to take refuge in Assam at the beginning of the present century, owing to the oppression of the Singphos. In the 'Asam Buranji' we read that the Ahoms were attacked by the Nágás on their way over the Patkoi at a place called Khámjáng, and it may be that this place was also the early settlement of the section of the Norás, who were subsequently known by that name. At the census only 35 persons were returned as Khámjángs, but, as Hannay says that they are commonly known by the more general term of Norá or Páni Norá, it is possible that some of the persons so returned are really Khámjángs. It may also be that many of

* I am indebted to Lieutenant Gurdon for almost the whole of the information contained in this note.

† Named after their king Mung Kang Sam, who ruled in the valley of the Mungkong river.

‡ I have noted in the language chapter that the Turungs have abandoned their own language for Singpho, and that from this it seems probable that their captivity lasted for a much longer period than the five years which is all that they are disposed to admit.

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them have now lost their tribal identity, as even in 1848 it was reported that they had much mixed up with the Assamese, and could speak that language, although at that time they still retained their own language, customs, and religion (Buddhism).

Aiton.

369. The Áitons or Áitoneas are said to have been the section of the Sháns at Mungkong which supplied eunuchs to the royal seraglio and to have immigrated to this province to avoid the punishment to which for some reason or other they had been condemned. There are two small settlements of this tribe, one in the Naga Hills and the other in the Sibsagar district. Most of those in the Naga Hills have been returned simply as Shán, and the same is the case with the settlement in the Sibsagar district. They are Buddhists, and have Buddhist priests, or phungyis, who come from the Khámti villages in Lakhimpur. But they are gradually coming under Hindu influence. They have abandoned their former custom of eating cows and buffaloes, and are beginning to call themselves Bhakats. There are a number of sections which are described as 'castes', but which are probably only phoids or exogamous groups. The father is the head of the family, and on his death the mother. Property goes through the male, the eldest son being the heir. The Áitons still build their houses on platforms, and have not yet taken to the Hindu practice of building them on the ground.

Other Shan settlements.

370. In addition to these tribes, there are a few small settlements of Sháns in Lower Assam. The Burmese army which occupied the province during the years 1816-1825 was largely composed of Mungkong Sháns, and when the Burmese were forced to evacuate the province, some three or four hundred of their Shán auxiliaries remained behind, and settled down here. These were the ancestors of the Sháns returned in Goalpara and the Garo Hills.*

Bhutias.

371. The great bulk of the Bhutiás live outside our boundary, and the number of permanent residents in the province is extremely small. Most of those censused were temporary visitors, who had come down to trade. Any detailed account of them would, therefore, be out of place, especially as full descriptions of them are already available.† The persons who in Assam are described as Bhutiás are of three distinct tribes. First, there are the inhabitants of Bhutan, who enter the province at Kherkeria and the different passes west of that point. Secondly, there are the inhabitants of the Towáng province subject to Lhassa, a narrow strip of which runs southwards on the eastern boundary of Bhutan and abuts on British territory north of Udalguri in the Mangaldai subdivision. Lastly, there are the Thebengiá Bhutiás, who are practically independent of Lhassa, and occupy a small triangular tract of country, bounded on the north-east by Towáng, on the north-west by the country of the Akás, and on the south by the Darrang district.

The Bhutiás of all three tribes are polyandrists of the fraternal order, that is to say, brothers share their wives in common, and relationship is traced through the family of the husbands. Their morals are very slack, and adultery is not considered a very heinous offence. Divorce is effected simply by mutual consent.

By religion they are nominally Buddhists, but they mix up a great deal of animism with their professed belief, and their Lámás or Phoongyis are very ignorant. The latter are supposed to be celibates, but I am not altogether convinced as to their fidelity to their vows. A Towáng merchant, whom I once questioned on the subject, refused to admit their fallibility, but he had a twinkle in his eye when he assured me that they would run away at the very sight of a woman. I am told that the Bhutiás practise circumcision.

* Sometimes 'Shán' and sometimes 'Man' was entered in the schedules, but as both terms are almost interchangeable amongst the Assamese, I have thought it better to show all as Shán, instead of treating as Burmese those returned as Man.

† *Vide* the accounts of Pemberton and Sir Ashley Eden. See also the notice in Dalton's 'Ethnology of Bengal.'

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The total number of Bhutiás censused was 1,503, against 1,340 in 1881. The slight increase is due to an increase in the population of one or two Bhutiá villages on the northern boundary of Mangaldai subdivision. The number of Bhutiás who come down to trade in the cold weather months is gradually decreasing. Their great commercial staple is salt, and as the price of this article in Assam has greatly decreased of late years, owing to better communications and other causes, the price now obtainable is no longer remunerative. Another cause of the falling off is that, whereas formerly, owing to their having once possessed the Duars, their influence over the Káchárís and other plainsmen was considerable, and they were thus able to practise petty extortions, the fear in which they were once held is now dying away, and there is an annually increasing tendency to resist imposition, and, when it is practised, to complain to the magistrate, so that their sources of illicit gain have also greatly diminished.

Statement No. 177, showing the number of Bhutias censused in Assam.

Census of	Total.	Males.	Females.
1881 ..	1,340	1,008	332
1891 ..	1,503	1,056	447

Musalman tribes.

372. Very few of the Musalmans of Assam have any non-Indian blood in their veins, and yet the great majority are shown in this group. The reason is that when a Hindu or other person embraces Muhammadanism, he nearly always drops his old designation, and assumes the name of some Musalman tribe.

Shekh.

373. Strictly speaking, 'Shekh' simply means an 'old man', and is the title by which the Musalmans of Arabia usually denote themselves. But as Musalmans of this nationality are held in most repute, new converts usually attempt to assert their connection with them by adopting the same title. The term has thus obtained a far wider meaning than it originally possessed, and now barely connotes anything beyond the fact that persons so describing themselves are Musalmans. In fact, if it has any further force it is that persons so returned are probably converted natives of the country, and not foreigners. In short, the word has much the same signification amongst Musalmans as Koch has amongst Hindus. There are some converts, such as the Joláhás and Máhimals, whose position is considered to be so low that they are not allowed to rank on the same level as ordinary Musalmans, and to them the use of the title is prohibited. There are also a few others, who, like the Manipuri Musalmans, retain their old national designation. But the total number of these classes is small, and the great mass of converts describe themselves as Shekhs.

Statement No. 178, showing the number of Shekhs in each district.

District.	Number of persons.
Cachar	99,372
Sylhet	1,041,181
Goalpara	122,211
Kamrup	52,568
Darrang	17,737
Nowgong	12,983
Sibsagar	17,904
Lakhimpur	6,463
Khasi and Jaintia Hills .	643
Garo Hills	5,580
Other districts ..	173
Total	1,377,015

Saiad.

374. There are a few subdivisions of the Shekhs, which, strictly speaking, should be included under that head, but which in view of the uncertainty attaching to the use of that term I have thought it better to show separately. But the Arabian origin of these is also open to doubt. In his very able article on the Shekhs in the Report on the Census of the Punjab in 1881, Mr. Ibbetson quotes a saying which runs thus: "Last year I was a Joláhá, this year I am a Shekh, next year, if prices rise, I shall be a Saiad!" This is quite as true in Assam as in the Punjab. 'Shekh' is the title which is appropriated by new converts, and just as the members of Hindu castes try to pass themselves off as something better than they really are when they rise in life, so also do the better class of Musalmans endeavour to dissociate themselves from the lowly cultivator, and in order to do so they appropriate other titles. The most favourite of these is Saiad, and no less than 12,127 have returned themselves under this head. The true Saiads are descendants of Ali, the son-in-law of

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Muhammad, but in Assam the term includes many who are not only not descended from Ali, but have not a particle of Arab blood of any sort in their veins. Caste, Tribe, &c.

375. The same remarks apply with almost equal force to the persons who have returned themselves as Ansari, Qureshi, and Siddiki. Ansari means 'auxiliaries', and is the term applied to the descendants of those people of Medina who sheltered Muhammad after his flight from Mecca. The Qureshis trace their origin from Quresh of Mecca, of whom Muhammad was a descendant in the eleventh generation. As regards Siddiki, there seems to be some confusion. Siddiki means 'the true', and is the term applied to new converts in the Punjab. But I am informed that the persons thus returned claim to be descended from Abu Bakr, the first Caliph, and if this is so, the correct term is Sadiki, a subdivision of the Qureshi tribe.

Ansari, Qureshi, Siddiki.

Statement No. 179, showing the strength of the Ansaris, Qureshis, and Siddiki.

Tribe.	Number of persons.
Ansari	81
Qureshi	1,356
Siddiki	4,789

376. The Moghals, or Mongols, are too well known to require any description, and it will suffice to say that in this, as in other cases, it is very doubtful whether many of the persons so described have any real claim to the ancestry which the term implies. 2,126 persons have returned themselves as Moghals. The same remarks apply to the Páthán, under which head 13,088 persons have been returned. There are also 35 Afghans, whom I have shown separately, partly because there is a real racial distinction between Afghans and Páthán, partly because the persons so entered are Kabuli traders, and are therefore unmistakeable foreigners.

Moghal, Pathan, Afghan.

377. The table also includes 1 Biloch (Lund) and 2 Uzbecs. The latter are of course a tribe of Pathans, but, like the Afghans, I have thought it preferable to show them separately.

Biloch, Uzbec.

GROUP 56.—MIXED ASIATIC RACES.

378. The Doániás are a mixed race begotten by Singphos on their Assamese slaves, of whom they kept large numbers prior to the British occupation of the province. They are found only in Lakhimpur and Sibsagar, but the great majority are in the former district. They are distinguished as Káchári, Ahom, &c., according to the nationality of the mother. Some of them are Hindu, others Buddhist, and others again are Animistic. Their total number is 715, of whom 259 were censused in Sibsagar, 453 in Lakhimpur, and only 3 in other districts. They were not shown separately in 1881.

Doania.

Statement No. 180, showing the strength and the subdivisions of the Doanias.

Class.	Hindu.	Buddhist.	Animistic.	Total.
Ahom ..	105	8	....	113
Káchári	58	60	129	247
Khámti	....	137	....	137
Unspecified.	165	15	38	218
Total.	328	220	167	715

General Observations regarding Caste.

379. I will conclude my remarks on the different castes by summarising some of the more striking features of the caste system in this province which have been recorded in the foregoing pages.

General remarks.

The old view of caste was that it was a religious institution inseparably connected with Hinduism, and with Hinduism alone, and that it consisted of a fourfold division of the people into Brahman, Kshettriya, Vaisya, and Sudra. This view has in recent years been shown to be quite unfounded. It has been proved that caste is a social rather than a religious institution, that the fourfold division of Manu, if it ever existed, has long

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since disappeared, and that the system contains a vast number of social groups, Musalman as well as Hindu, the constitution and status of which are constantly undergoing change. The Bráhmans remain, and so do the race castes, such as the Káibartta and Chandál, whose origin Manu vainly tried to explain by intermarriages between the members of his four main castes, but which, it is now known, consist of aborigines who were admitted into the Hindu system under the fiction that they were descended from Hindu ancestors. But the Kshettriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra have disappeared.

Caste in the Surma Valley.

In their place we find in the Surma Valley and Goalpara a collection of castes, the distinctions between which are based on differences of occupation, *viz.*, the Baidya, or physician, the Káyastha, or writer, the nine castes of the Nava-Sákha group, &c.* None of these are mentioned by Manu, and the presumption appears to be that in his time differences of profession did not involve caste distinctions, and that these castes were therefore formed at a later period.

380. Nor did the process of caste evolution end with the substitution of these profession castes in the place of the old Kshettriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras; it has been going on continually and is still in progress to-day. Thus, the Hálwá Dás has detached himself from the Kaibartta, and by dint of constant struggling against the opposition of the higher castes, by persistently describing himself as Káyastha or Sudra, and following more respectable occupations, and by purchasing brides from the ranks of the Káyasthas and Baidyas, he has attained a position almost equal to that of the Nava-Sákha group, into which he will doubtless eventually find admittance.

Caste evolution.

Just as the Hálwa Dás claims to be a Káyastha, so the lowly Tiyar adds Dás to his name, and declares that he is connected with the Hálwá Dás, and is in consequence hated by that upstart body, which already finds sufficient difficulties in the way of its advancement without being saddled with the claims of relationship put forward by the still more degraded Tiyars.

In the same way, the Sháhá or Sunri, who formerly occupied so low a rank that it was declared to be better for a man of good caste to be crushed under foot by an elephant rather than enter his house, has succeeded in raising himself to a position of comparative respectability. Like the Dás, he is now allowed to take Káyastha girls in marriage, and is no longer regarded with the disgust and contempt which he appears formerly to have excited. The Bárui, the Teli, the Kámár, and numerous other castes are all bent on the same object, the improvement of their social position, and although their attempts are steadily resisted by the castes above them, they succeed by slow degrees in obliterating various small points of distinction, and will perhaps in the course of time attain the positions to which they aspire.

Another characteristic of this general caste upheaval is the way in which the different castes are abandoning their old designations and are inventing new titles for themselves. Thus, the Chandál insists on calling himself 'Namasudra', the Teli 'Pál', the Bárui 'Latábáidya', the Dhobi 'Suklabáidya', the Gárwál 'Gandapál', and so with many others.

381. Coupled with all this caste jealousy and striving after social aggrandisement, there is far less fixity of caste restrictions than in Bengal. The division of the better castes into sub-castes is almost unknown. Some few Bráhmans and Káyasthas describe themselves as Baidik, Utkal, &c., or as Dakshin Rárhi, and Uttar Ráhri, but these expressions mean

* A full discussion of this subject will be found in Mr. Dutt's 'Ancient India', volume III, page 307, *et seq.*
In Sylhet and Cachar, the Nava-Sákha group includes the Gop, or Goálá (herdsman), Phulmáli (gardener), the Teli (oil presser), Tánti (weaver), Mudak (confectioner), Bárui (betelvine cultivator), Kuláls (potter), Kámár (blacksmith), and Nápit (barber).

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nothing to them and intermarriage between the different sub-castes is freely permitted. There is no Kulinism, and very little attention is paid to the rules of exogamy, based on the Guttra system, and inculcated in the Shastras. It is true that most of the Bráhmans claim to belong to one or other of the eponymous sections founded by the ten Munis, but they by no means invariably observe the prohibition in regard to marriage which the distinctions thus made involve elsewhere. The same remarks apply to the Baidyas and Kayasthas. They have their Guttras, but they do not observe them as a bar to marriage between persons bearing the same family name.

Absence of caste restriction.

Another striking illustration of the general laxity regarding caste restrictions is to be found in the freedom with which intermarriages take place between the different castes. A girl who becomes the wife of a man of a lower caste is of course degraded to his level, but no social penalty attaches to the parents of the girl, nor is public opinion very strongly opposed to the practice.

382. The profession castes are not found in the Brahmaputra Valley. There is no Káyastha, Baidya, or Nava-Sákha; their place is taken by the Kalitá. I have said in dealing with that caste that the reason appears to be that the early Aryan immigration into Assam took place before the present system of caste differentiation in Bengal had been evolved, and that the superior numbers of the aborigines around them caused these immigrants to sink any differences which may have existed amongst them when they entered the province. The Brahmaputra Valley never formed part of Bengal, and its isolation, together with the influence of Buddhism, would tend to check any tendency towards the formation of new castes. Within comparatively recent times, however, a tendency towards the formation of functional castes is apparent. The Mukhi is said to be a Koch degraded for burning lime, and the Hirá a Chandál who took to pottery. The number of instances in which occupation has resulted in the formation of entirely separate castes like the above is very small, but there are numerous castes in which functional subdivisions have been formed. Thus, amongst the Kalitás we find Kumár Kalitás, or potters, who are looked on as somewhat degraded, and with whom other members of the caste will not intermarry. So also there are Nat Kalitás, or Kalitás who have taken to dancing, Bez Kalitás, or barbers, and so on. Amongst the Káchárís may be mentioned the Sonowáls, or gold workers, the Thengáls, or silver workers, and the Mahang Koch, or Káchári, whose business it formerly was to extract salt from the springs near the Naga Hills boundary. These functional groups were rapidly detaching themselves from the parent caste or tribe in the time of the Ahom kings, and although our appearance in the province has in some cases resulted in the disappearance of the characteristic occupations, the distinctions are still well marked, and the different groups are still more or less endogamous.

Caste in the Brahmaputra Valley.

There is the same laxity amongst the different castes in regard to the rules of exogamy and intermarriage as has been noticed in the Surma Valley. In fact, as regards the former, not only is the Guttra not observed as a basis for exogamy, but it is not even known. There is no such thing as a Guttra amongst the castes of the Brahmaputra Valley.

383. I have already spoken of the position occupied by converts in the chapter dealing with the religions of the people, and it is needless to repeat what has there been stated. It will suffice to say that when dominant tribes like the Koch, Manipuri, and Káchári of Khaspur have accepted Hinduism, they have been admitted to be Kshettriyas by the debased Bráhmans who ministered to them, while subject tribes have had to enter the Hindu system at the bottom of the social scale, and have been induced to put

Caste of converts.

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themselves under the protection of Goseins, not so much by bribes as by the contempt with which they are treated by their Hindu neighbours so long as they hold aloof. But though they enter Hinduism at the bottom of the ladder, they gradually climb higher as years go by, and they become more attentive to the Hindu rules regarding food and drink.

Musalman castes.

384. Lastly, it may be observed that the Musalmans have their castes, just like the Hindus. First, there are the Saiad, Moghal, and Páthán; then comes the Shekh, a term which in these parts is amongst Musalmans, what Koch is amongst Hindus, the title under which new converts enrol themselves on embracing the Musalman religion. Below these are certain degraded castes, such as the fishermen, the Máhimals of Sylhet, and the Dátiyás of Goalpara. There is also the Joláhá, the Musalman weaver, and the Dhuniyá, or cotton-carder, the Dhobi, or washerman, and the Lálbegi, or Muhammadan sweeper.

Caste in Relation to Marriage.

385. In table D I have shown the distribution by marriage and age of the persons in each of the principal castes reduced to a uniform proportion of 10,000 persons of each section.* To discuss the figures with any approach to fulness would involve a lengthy disquisition, for which neither time or space is available. I shall, therefore, content myself with noting very briefly some of the main features of the return.

Age of girls at marriage.

Taking first the age of girls at marriage, it will be noted that child marriage is most common amongst the higher Hindu castes, and least so amongst the aboriginal tribes. Out of 10,000 Bráhman women 114 are childwives under 10 years of age. The corresponding figure for Ganaks is 110, for Káyasthas 88, Nápits 86, Báruis 75, Telis 72, and Tántis 71. Goálás come last of the Nava-Sákha group, with 65. †

Child-marriage is far less common in the Brahmaputra Valley than in the Surma Valley. Turning to the castes found chiefly in the first-mentioned tract, it may be noted that out of 10,000 Kalitá women, only 23 are married girls whose age is less than 10 years; in the case of Kátanis the corresponding number is 17, of Doms and Háris 15, Kewats 10, and Boriás only 5.

Amongst the aboriginal tribes the number of child-wives is very low. In the case of the Khámtis and Angámi and Áo Nágás, out of every 10,000 females less than one girl of this age is married; the figure for Chutiyás is 4, for Ahoms and Khásis 6, for Manipuris 7, for Semá Nágás 8, for Mahaliás 11, and for Kácháris and Jaladhás 12; with the Koches it rises to 16, and with the Hájongs to 20.

Prevalence of widowhood.

386. As might have been anticipated, the position of the different castes, &c., in regard to the prevalence of widowhood follows closely on that already noted in respect of child marriage. The largest proportion of widows is amongst the Ganaks, where 3,064 out of every 10,000 women are widows. Then come the Káyasthas with 2,910, Bráhmans with 2,846, Telis with 2,816, Báruis with 2,735, Goálás with 2,704, Baidyas with 2,519, and Nápits with 2,481.

* It was originally proposed to tabulate this information for the whole province, but it was found that the labour involved would be so great as to seriously delay the completion of the work, and it was thus decided to compile for the main castes only so much information as would suffice to furnish reliable proportionate figures.

† Two castes of the same group show an exceptionally large number of married girls of this age, *viz.*, the Kumárs with 130 per 10,000 and the Kámárs with 120. I have no explanation to offer for this result beyond the suggestion that it is due to the small number of the persons under consideration, and that the figures would tend to be more nearly normal if the number of persons dealt with were enlarged.

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Among the castes of the Brahmaputra Valley the number of widows is far smaller. Out of every 10,000 Kalitá women there are only 1,727 widows; amongst Kewats the number is 1,625, amongst Kátanis 1,451, Doms 1,373, Koches 1,380, Boriás 1,281, and Háris 1,263. With the hill tribes the corresponding number is still smaller, and ranges from 783 amongst the Gáros to 1,546 amongst the Angámi Nágás. The reason for the low figure amongst the Gáros is that the husband of a girl has to marry her mother on the death of his father-in-law, while the large number of widows amongst the Angámis is explained on page 239 above, where it is stated that widows who have children are not supposed to remarry, as it is considered to be their duty to devote themselves to the bringing up of their children.

Caste, Tribe, &c.

Statement No. 181, showing the number of widows out of 10,000 women amongst some of the hill tribes, &c.

Tribe.	Number of widows per 10,000 women.	Tribe.	Number of widows per 10,000 women.
Gáro ..	783	Ahom ..	1,231
Semá Nágá ..	819	Chutiyá ..	1,259
Rábhá ..	1,061	Lhotá Nágá ..	1,378
Khámti ..	1,072	Hájong ..	1,415
Singpho ..	1,075	Ao Nágá ..	1,459
Káchári	1,099	Kuki ..	1,485
Khási ..	1,133	Angámi Nágá ..	1,546
Totla ..	1,169		

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CHAPTER XI.—THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

IMPERIAL TABLE XVII.

Occupations.

Introductory remarks.

387. In this, the last chapter of my report, the occupations of the people will be discussed. The preparation of the return of occupations has been, with the single exception of the caste statistics, the most laborious and costly of all the operations connected with the census. Before entering on a discussion of the results, it is advisable that I should mention some of the chief difficulties with which we had to contend and the way in which they were surmounted.

Difficulties encountered.

388. In the first place, the entries made by the enumerators erred in two directions. Usually the occupations entered were very vague, and general terms such as 'service,' though forbidden in the instructions, were often found in the schedules. Where this error was avoided, the enumerators often fell into the opposite one of too great prolixity; and it was not at all unusual to find a long string of occupations* entered against the name of an ordinary cultivator or a petty shopkeeper. In such cases the first-mentioned occupation was usually taken as the chief one, except when persons of low caste hid their distinctive caste occupation amongst others which are reputed to be more respectable. When this was done, it was generally assumed that the caste occupation was the principal one.

The next difficulty was due to the fact that the same word is often used to describe different occupations in different parts of the province, and sometimes even in the same district.† Then, again, the vast number of occupations returned added greatly to the difficulty of producing correct results within the limited time allowed and with the very unsatisfactory agency which alone was available. This difficulty was rendered greater by the fact that on this occasion occupations were tabulated in combination with age, and a separate return was prepared of occupations combined with agriculture. I have already explained‡ that in the earlier stages of the work the exact entries found in the schedules were recorded by the abstracting and tabulating clerks. A list of all the occupations recorded was prepared from the abstraction sheets, and these were then classified by me under the heads in the general scheme of classification of occupations drawn up by the Census Commissioner for India. The classification thus made was carried out in the charge totals. This scheme, together with a dictionary of the different occupations recorded, has been reprinted in the volume of provincial tables.

Principles on which the classification has been based.

389. I will now describe briefly the general principles governing the arrangement of the occupation table. In 1881, only the persons who actually worked at an occupation were shown as following it, but the results thus obtained were found to be so unsatisfactory that on this occasion it was thought desirable to include under each head, not merely the persons practising an occupation, but also all the persons supported by them, in other words, to endeavour to secure a correct return of the total number of persons subsisting by each occupation rather than an inaccurate statement of the number actually following it.§

In 1881, an attempt was made to apply Dr. Farr's classification of occupations in England to the very different circumstances obtaining in India, and, as

* The instructions provided for the entry of the chief occupation only, except when a person followed agricultural as well as other pursuits, in which case the agricultural, as well as the chief of the other occupations was mentioned.

† *e.g.*, kanungo, talukdar, chaukidar, izaradar, dobash, &c.

‡ *Supra*, page 38.

§ It is unnecessary for me to discuss this subject at length here. It will suffice to point out that it is next to impossible in India to secure any approach to uniformity in the return of workers, *e.g.*, some enumerators would enter a cultivator's wife as a worker, because she transplants the seedlings and husks the paddy, while others would show a woman similarly circumstanced as a dependent.

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might have been anticipated, the attempt ended in failure. At the present census, a new system of classification drawn up with reference to the occupations returned in 1881, and better adapted to Indian requirements, was prepared by Mr. Baines, and, to convey a clear idea of the principles on which it is based, I cannot do better than quote his own words in the circular in which the scheme was communicated to me: Occupations.

The object in view is to group the entries in the census schedules as far as possible in accordance with the distribution of occupations in India in general, and at the same time to allow room for the designation of special features found only in certain provinces. It is superfluous, therefore, to discuss the classification in use at the census of communities further advanced in economic differentiation, or one based simply on the abstract laws of sociological science. The classification now published is not altogether scientifically correct, but it will serve its purpose if it collects under one head occupations known to be akin to each other, and keeps apart others which are but nominally related.

There are certain classes of occupations in India which require a few general remarks before the details of the scheme are reviewed. In the first place, Government service is so comprehensive a term in this country that for the purposes of classification it is necessary to restrict its application to the functions which cannot be dissociated from the main end of administration—protection and defence. Thus, special functions undertaken by the State in India beyond the primary duties above quoted are to be classed, not under the head of Government Service, but under their special designation. Public Instruction will come under Education, and Engineering, Meteorology, Agricultural training, Medical practice and Administration under these heads respectively. It will be almost impracticable to effect a complete separation from the general title to which objection is raised above, as the combination of these special functions with that of the Military or Civil Service of the Crown has been retained too closely in the schedules to admit of discrimination; but, as far as possible, the principle above enunciated should be rigorously applied. It is the same with the service of Local and Municipal bodies, where only persons actually engaged in administration should be entered under those titles. Engineers and Road Overseers or Supervisors, Sanitary Inspectors or Surveyors, Schoolmasters and Vaccinators, all have their special groups, irrespective of the source from which their salary is drawn. If the extent to which the functions of the State are in India exercised beyond the limits of protection be in question, the best source of information will be the periodical lists published by Government of its employés, rather than a census return.

A second class of occupations needing special treatment is the very large one of what have been called "Village-Industries," one great characteristic of which is that the same person both makes and sells. Amongst the most important of these come the brasssmith, blacksmith, cotton-weaver, potter, tanner, carpenter, and the like, representing with their fellows the bulk of the artisan class throughout the country. Owing to the extension of towns, it is misleading to group such occupations under what would be otherwise an obviously suitable title, and some artisans indeed may have totally changed the character of the occupation on emigrating from the simple community to which they originally ministered. It has, therefore, been thought advisable to make no difference in the classification between those who make and those who sell special goods, though in the subdivisional groups there is room for the general dealer, the commercial agent, and other middlemen, and also for that class of dealers known by a special name in each province (*gándhi*, *chilhan*, *kirkul*, *parchuran*, &c.), which supplies certain articles which are almost invariably associated together throughout the country.

After the above general remarks, the scheme may be taken up in detail. In the first place, the aggregate of the various means of livelihood are divided into the following main classes:

A.—Government.
B.—Pasture and Agriculture.
C.—Personal services.
D.—The preparation and supply of material substances.
E.—Commerce and the transport of persons, goods, and messages, and the storage of goods.
F.—Professions, learned, artistic, and minor.
G.—Indefinite occupations, and means of subsistence independent of occupation.

Of these, the first and fourth are the most complicated, though, making allowances for the defective return in certain cases, the former should be nearly freed from all but those who can rightly be classed in it. The fourth has had to be minutely subdivided lest confusion should arise.

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Occupations. Subordinate to the seven classes come 24 orders, as shown marginally, bracketted according to their respective main heads. The first few explain themselves. As regards the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh, the object the article or service is intended for is placed more prominently than the material dealt with. On the other hand, from the twelfth to the seventeenth, the latter is regarded as more characteristic of the occupation than the object for which the prepared article is intended. The distinction is, of course, conventional only and not economic, as in both orders the makers and the sellers of an article are combined and it is only in the eighteenth order that special mention is made of those who return themselves as exclusively engaged in distribution.

ORDERS.

A.	I. Administration.	D.	XIII. Metals and precious stones.
	II. Defence.		XIV. Glass, pottery, and stone ware.
	III. Foreign and Feudatory State Service.		XV. Wood, cane, and leaves.
B.	IV. Cattle-breeding, &c.		XVI. Drugs, gums, &c.
	V. Agriculture.		XVII. Leather.
C.	VI. Personal services.	E.	XVIII. Commerce.
D.	VII. Food and drink.		XIX. Transport and storage.
	VIII. Light, firing, and forage.	F.	XX. Learned and artistic professions.
	IX. Buildings.		XXI. Sports and amusements.
	X. Vehicles and vessels.	G.	XXII. Complex occupations.
	XI. Supplementary requirements.		XXIII. Indefinite ,,
	XII. Textile fabrics and dress.		XXIV. Independent of work.

The classification next passes into sub-orders, and, where still further definition is thought necessary, into groups below the sub-orders. Of the latter, there are 77, which are shown, with their groups, in Appendix A. In some respects they are the most important items of the scheme, and it is possible that, with careful classification, the Imperial tables may be based on them leaving detail below groups for supplementary or Provincial returns. At all events, beyond a few generally prevalent occupations, it is probable that each province will be best served by being given discretion to select under each group the items it considers most typical or otherwise important in the constitution of its population.

Number of persons in each main occupational class.

390. The distribution of the total population over the different classes, orders, and groups is given in Imperial table XVII. In the first part of this table, the total number of persons in the province subsisting by each occupation is shown in conjunction with age; in the second part, their distribution by districts is given without reference to age, and in the third the number of persons combining other occupations with agriculture, who have been shown in the first two parts of the table under the non-agricultural occupations.

The following statement exhibits the distribution of the people per 1,000 over the seven main classes in the province generally, in town and country, and in the three principal divisions,—the Surma Valley, the Brahmaputra Valley, and the Hill districts:

Statement No. 182, showing the distribution of the population per 1,000 over the main classes.

CLASS.	TOTAL POPULATION.			SURMA VALLEY.	BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	HILL DISTRICTS
	Total.	Town.	Country.	Total.	Total.	Total.
A.—Government	8·49	131·69	6·13	10·53	5·32	14·15
B.—Pasture and agriculture	777·85	131·02	790·23	699·79	849·51	823·83
C.—Personal and domestic services ...	16·37	94·31	14·88	22·30	12·14	6·49
D.—Preparation and supply of material substances.	127·38	368·88	122·75	184·27	81·95	57·82
E.—Commerce	16·26	112·54	14·42	20·95	13·23	6·81
F.—Professions	19·10	73·15	18·07	28·09	12·67	4·18
G.—Indefinite occupations	34·55	88·41	33·52	34·07	25·18	86·72
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Proportions in the province generally.

Taking the province as a whole, 777 persons in every 1,000, or nearly four-fifths of the total population, derive their support directly from agriculture, and 127, or rather more than one-eighth, from the preparation and supply of material substances. Only 19 per thousand are returned as belonging to the professional class, and only 16 to the commercial. The proportion of persons supported by personal and domestic services is also 16 per 1,000. Government employment supports 8 per 1,000.

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391. In the above proportional statement, persons who combine agriculture with some other non-agricultural occupation have been shown under the latter. The number of persons in each class who combine the occupation under which they have been classified with some means of livelihood connected with the soil, and the proportion which they bear to the total strength of the class, are shown in the marginal statement. More than a third of the persons employed under Government, in commerce, and in the professions are also partly dependent for their subsistence upon agriculture, and the same remark is true of nearly half the total number of persons in class D. Out of the total population shown as following non-agricultural occupations, no less than 480,740, or 39 per cent., derive a portion of their sustenance from cultivation. If these be added to those already shown under 'Agriculture' in the table, the number of persons connected with the soil rises to 4,692,997, or 86·34 per cent. of the total population. Assuming that, on the whole, these persons are supported by agriculture and their other occupations in equal proportions, the former is found to be the means of subsistence of 82·2 per cent. of the people.

Occupations.

Occupations combined with agriculture.

Statement No. 183, showing the number of persons in each class who combine the occupation under which they have been classified with agriculture.

Class.	Total number of persons in each class.	Total number of persons in each class combined with agriculture.	Number in 1,000 persons.
A.—Government	46,144	16,653	360·89
B.—Pasture and agriculture ..	15,525*	2,578	166·05
C.—Personal services ..	88,989	28,916	324·94
D.—Preparation and supply of material substances.	692,312	335,973	485·29
E.—Commerce, transport, and storage	88,393	30,506	345·12
F.—Professions ..	103,838	42,105	405·37
G.—Indefinite and independent ..	187,785	23,709	126·25
Total	1,222,986	480,740	393·08

392. In the case of persons in towns, the proportions change considerably. 368 persons per 1,000, or more than a third of the total urban population, are engaged in the preparation and supply of material substances. Next come Government servants and their families and persons supported by pasture and agriculture, each of which classes constitutes more than one-eighth of the total number of the inhabitants of towns. Commerce follows close, with 112 per 1,000, and then persons of indefinite occupations with 88. The professions come last with only 73 per 1,000.

Proportions in towns.

The urban population being so small, its effect on the general distribution of occupations is very slight, and the distribution in the country, therefore, differs only very slightly from that in the province generally, including towns.

In the country.

Turning to the distribution in the three main divisions of the province, the proportion of persons supported by Government service is highest in the hill districts, where the regiments and police battalions form a comparatively large proportion of the population, and is next highest in the Surma Valley, where out of a total of 26,568 persons in this class 18,155 are members of the rural police force and their families.

In the three main divisions of the province.

The proportion of persons whose occupations are purely agricultural is highest in the Brahmaputra Valley, where it amounts to 846 per 1,000. In the hill districts it is

* This does not include the figures for order 'A.—Agriculture.'

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Occupations. somewhat lower, owing to the figures for the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where a large number of persons were returned as general labourers. It is lowest in the Surma Valley, which is the most advanced portion of the province, and in which the smaller number of agriculturists is partly due to a larger number of persons engaged in the preparation and supply of material substances, and partly to the fact that many cultivators follow also other occupations, and have thus been entered under the latter.

Next to the large proportion of cultivators, the primitive condition of the people of this province is best illustrated by the exceptionally small number of persons engaged on personal and domestic services. In the hill districts, only 6 persons per 1,000, and in the Brahmaputra Valley only 12 per 1,000, derive their support from this source, while in Sylhet and Cachar the ratio only rises to 22 per 1,000.

The number of persons engaged in the preparation and supply of material substances is 184 per 1,000 in the Surma Valley; in the Brahmaputra Valley it falls to 81, and in the hill districts to 57 per 1,000.

The commercial and professional classes are small everywhere, but are better represented in Sylhet and Cachar than in the Brahmaputra Valley, and in the latter than in the hill districts.

393. We have hitherto been dealing with the seven broad classes into which the occupations of the people have been divided. In the following statement the proportional strength of the different orders which constitute each class is exhibited :

Statement No. 184, showing the percentage which the number of persons in each order bears to the total strength of the class.

Class and Order.	Total.	Surma Valley.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Hill districts.
CLASS A.—GOVERNMENT—				
Order I.—Administration	78·93	92·71	77·20	26·53
„ II.—Defence	20·01	6·88	22·69	67·90
„ III.—Foreign and Feudatory State service.	1·06	0·41	0·11	5·57
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
CLASS B.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE—				
Order IV.—Live stock	0·37	0·21	0·35	1·13
„ V.—Agriculture	99·63	99·79	99·65	98·87
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
CLASS C.—PERSONAL SERVICE—				
Order VI.—Personal and household services.	100	100	100	100
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*

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Statement No. 184, showing the percentage which the number of persons in each order bears to the total strength of the class—continued. Occupations.

Class and Order.	Total.	Surma Valley.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Hill districts.
Class D.—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances—				
Order VII.—Food and drink	54·32	59·28	46·03	30·57
„ VIII.—Light, firing, and forage ...	9·80	9·96	9·94	5·92
„ IX.—Buildings	2·11	1·91	2·54	2·26
„ X.—Vehicles and vessels ...	1·59	1·20	1·82	6·56
„ XI.—Supplementary requirements ...	0·76	0·87	0·44	1·13
„ XII.—Textile fabrics and dress ...	11·72	10·71	11·46	31·31
„ XIII.—Metals and precious stones ...	5·96	4·07	10·59	4·14
„ XIV.—Glass, pottery, and stoneware ...	4·34	2·71	8·15	3·90
„ XV.—Wood, cane, and leaves, &c. ...	8·20	8·22	7·46	13·55
„ XVI.—Drugs, gums, dyes, &c. ...	0·35	0·19	0·69	0·52
„ XVII.—Leather, horns, bones, and grease...	0·85	0·88	0·88	0·14
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
Class E.—Commerce, Transport, Storage—				
Order XVIII.—Commerce	50·58	48·60	53·86	50·08
„ XIX.—Transport and storage ...	49·42	51·40	46·14	49·92
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
Class F.—Professions—				
Order XX.—Learned and artistic professions ...	98·75	98·94	98·87	89·72
„ XXI.—Sports and amusements ...	1·25	1·06	1·13	10·28
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
Class G.—Indefinite and Independent—				
Order XXIII.—Indefinite	58·49	58·20	35·09	95·05
„ XXIV.—Independent of work	41·51	41·80	64·91	4·95
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*

About 79 per cent. of the persons shown in Class A (Government) are supported by administrative work; 20 per cent. consists of soldiers and their families and only 1 per cent. of persons who are dependent for their livelihood on foreign and feudatory service.

Class B (Pasture and Agriculture) contains two orders, (*a*) pasture and (*b*) agriculture. The latter is by far the larger, and comprises more than 99 per cent. of the total number of persons shown in this class.

In Class D (Preparation and Supply of Material Substances) more than half the total strength consists of persons whose means of livelihood are connected with the preparation and supply of food and drink. The other large orders in the same class are XII (Textile

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Occupations.

fabrics and dress), VIII (light, firing, and forage), and XV (wood, cane, &c.). The two orders in the commercial class are very nearly equal in point of numbers. Slightly more than 50 per cent. of the persons in this class are supported by commerce properly so called, and slightly less than 50 per cent. by the transport and storage of goods.

CLASS A.—GOVERNMENT.

Order I.—Administration.

394. I will now take up the examination of the more detailed items in the table. Order 1 of class A comprises three sub-orders, *viz.*:

(1) Service of the Imperial and Provincial Governments ... ... 16,127 persons.
(2) Service of local and municipal bodies 616 ,,
(3) Village service ... ... 19,678 ,,

Statement No. 185, showing the strength of each item included in sub-order 1.

Item.	Number.
The Chief Commissioner and family	3
Officers	619
Office establishments	5,078
Mauzadars, &c.	1,602
Police officers	1,459
Messengers, police constables, &c..	7,366
Total	16,127

The constitution of sub-order 1 is shown in the margin. The figures require no explanation, except that it should be borne in mind, as already explained, that this class only refers to occupations which are inseparably connected with the main end of Government, *viz.*, protection and defence, and does not include persons engaged in public instruction, medical practice, engineering, &c., who, even when they draw their pay from the State, have been shown with their families under the special heads which have been provided for them, irrespective of the source from which their income is drawn.

The same point should be borne in mind in connection with the next sub-order, which contains only those employés of local and municipal bodies who are actually engaged in administration. Road overseers, vaccinators, schoolmasters, &c., have all been shown elsewhere, under the special heads provided for these occupations.

Sub-order 3 (village service) contains two items, (*a*) village headmen and (*b*) rural police. The former item contains 216 persons, who are nearly all of them members of the families of gaonburas in the Brahmaputra Valley. As the gaonbura is an unpaid village servant, these persons, strictly speaking, should not be shown here, but it seemed better to enter them in this place rather than to relegate them to the category of 'Unspecified and insufficiently described' in class G.* It may, I think, be assumed that the true means of subsistence of all the persons shown here is agriculture. †

The next item includes the families of the rural police force, and is contributed to by only four districts, Cachar (1,167), Sylhet (16,988), Goalpara (1,236), and the Garo Hills (71). There are no village chaukidars in the other districts of the province.

Order II.—Defence.

395. Order II comprises the persons belonging to the regiments and military police battalions stationed in the province. 419 persons have been shown as officers or their dependents, 8,534 under the head 'Non-commissioned officers and privates,' 223 as followers, and 51 as clerical establishments. The total strength of the sub-order is 9,227.

Order III.—Foreign and feudatory service.

396. The total number of persons returned as connected with foreign and feudatory service is only 489. Of these, 364 were members of the families of petty Khási chiefs and their mantris and peons, and the remainder were nearly all employés of the Maharajas of Hill Tipperah and Manipur.

* In the same way one or two honorary magistrates who returned themselves as such have been entered in class 'A—Occupation, 2,' although their judicial work is not remunerative.

† My orders were that only those gaonburas who were not shown under any other occupation should be entered here, but in a few cases this point was overlooked, and table XVII, Part C, shows that many of the persons entered under this head were also returned as following some agricultural pursuit. The mistake was not discovered in time to enable me to correct it in the table.

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CLASS B.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE.

Order IV.—Live stock.

397. The total number of persons returned as engaged in connection with live stock **Occupations.** is 15,525. Of these, 15,184 are included in sub-order '8—stock breeding and dealing,' which, again, is divided into three groups:

(*a*) Horses and horned cattle (11,829).
(*b*) Other draught, &c., animals (1,616).
(*c*) Small stock (1,739).

The main items in group (*a*) are cattle owners and dealers (3,031) and herdsmen (7,956). The former includes, amongst others, persons who own cattle and let them out for ploughing, in return for which they receive a certain quantity of paddy. This method of gaining a livelihood is most common in the Garo Hills, Goalpara, and Kamrup. Herdsmen are most numerous in proportion to the total population in Goalpara, Kamrup, and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The age table shows that nearly half the persons returned as herdsmen are between the ages of 5 and 15; most of them are doubtless the children of cultivators, who are employed by their parents in looking after their cattle while grazing. The total number of paid herdsmen is probably very small.

The persons in group (*b*) are all of them elephant catchers and dealers, and out of the total number so returned, no less than 955 are found in one district, the Garo Hills, where two khedda parties were operating at the time when the census was taken. In group (*c*) are included sheep and goat dealers, goatherds, and pig-breeders and dealers. The latter item is by far the most numerous, and accounts for 1,232 out of the total strength of the class. The occupation is found chiefly in one district, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where 1,016 persons have been thus returned, and of this number all but one are females. In every census circle in this district several women were shown as rearing pigs and selling country spirits, whilst their husbands were entered as following various agricultural pursuits.

Order V.—Agricultural interest in land.

398. We now come to the largest and most important order in the whole of the scheme, namely agriculture, which again is divided into four sub-orders, the proportional strength of each of which is shown in the statement in the margin. By far the most numerous sub-order is that of persons having an interest in land, *i.e.*, of landholders and tenants, who either cultivate themselves or sublet to others. The total number of persons in this sub-order is 3,637,617, or 86 per cent. of the total number of persons in the sub-order, and nearly 67 per cent. of the entire population of the province. The strength of the various items included in the sub-order is noted in statement No. 187. More than two-thirds of the total number of persons thus connected with the land are classed as land-occupants, that is to say, are the actual proprietors of the soil,

Statement No. 186, showing the proportional strength of each of the sub-orders in order 'V—Agriculture.'

Sub-order.	Actual strength.	Proportion to total of order.
Interest in land ..	3,637,617	86·36
Agricultural labourers ..	35,497	0·84
Growers of special products. — Tea ..	449,148	10·67
Growers of other special products.	81,046	1·92
Agricultural training and supervision	8,849	0·21
Total	4,212,257	100

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Occupations. or hold it on leases direct from Government. The number of tenants is extremely small in most districts. No less than 789,875 of the total number were censused in the permanently-settled district of Sylhet, and 60,824 in Goalpara, the greater part of which is also permanently settled. Elsewhere, tenants are only numerous in Kamrup (77,683), where a great deal of land is held on *lakhiraj*, *nisf-khiraj*, and other special tenures; in Cachar Plains (43,169), where the tenancy is in many cases only nominal, and in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (44,285), where many persons were returned as cultivating the land of their chiefs. Most of the latter were probably in reality land-occupants rather than tenants, but they were described as such by the enumerators, and they therefore appear as tenants in the table. It is, however, very doubtful whether, as a class, they pay rent or can be ousted from the land they occupy. The total number of tenants in the other districts of the province is only 31,024. This number includes persons who cultivate land on condition of dividing the produce (*i.e.*, cultivators on *ádhya* terms), mortgagees in possession, and also the tenants of the holders of special grants. The explanation of the very small number of tenants in these districts lies, of course, in the fact that Government is the almost universal landlord, and leases the land direct to the cultivators.

Statement No. 187, showing the strength of each item in sub-order 10.

Item.	Actual strength.	Percentage to total strength of sub-order.
Landholders, not cultivating	66,026	1·82
Landholders, cultivating ..	2,095,663	57·61
Total	2,161,689	59·43
Tenants, not cultivating	5,340	0·15
„ cultivating ..	1,041,520	28·63
Total	1,046,860	28·78
Cultivators, unspecified ..	429,068	11·79
Total	3,637,617	100

Out of the 66,026 land-occupants, who do not cultivate themselves, 43,799 are found in Sylhet, 6,677 in Goalpara, and 8,108 in Kamrup. Non-cultivating tenants are numerous only in Sylhet, where 4,463 were enumerated out of 5,340, the total number. I may note that the return shows an excess of females amongst both land-occupants and tenants who sublet their land, and this shows that the true landlord class is even smaller than would appear from the figures, which it is thus evident are swollen by the inclusion of widows and other females, who sublet their lands, not from choice, but because they have no male relatives to cultivate on their behalf.

Agricultural labourers.

399. Agricultural labourers number only 35,497, or ·84 per cent. of the total agricultural population. They are divided into farm servants or permanent employés and field labourers or temporary hands. Males predominate among the former, and females among the latter, the reason being that women, although seldom employed permanently, are hired in large numbers at the time of transplanting the paddy seedlings, and again when the crop is being reaped.

The tea industry.

400. We now come to the tea industry, which is the means of support of 449,248 persons, or over 10 per cent. of the total agricultural community, and over 8 per cent of the entire population of the province. The different classes of persons employed are noted in the margin. The total number here shown does not quite agree with the number of persons shown in provincial table VII as living on tea gardens (454,829) because the latter number includes servants, cultivators, and other persons not engaged in the tea industry, but residing within garden limits. On the other hand, local labourers working on gardens often live in villages outside the garden grants.

Statement No. 188, showing the strength of the different occupations connected with the cultivation of tea.

Occupation.	Strength.
Garden managers and assistants, &c.	1,503
Engineers and mechanics ..	512
Clerical establishments ..	6,067
Coolies and coolie headmen ..	441,166
Total	449,248

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Other special products.

401. Amongst the growers of other special products, it is only necessary to notice the cultivators of the betel-vine (which is a special industry only in Sylhet, where 9,217 out of 9,540 have been returned)* and the cotton growers, who number 68,938, of whom 68,688 were returned in the Garo Hills district. The latter of course almost invariably cultivate rice and other crops as well as cotton.

Agricultural training and supervision.

402. The only persons entered under the sub-order for agricultural training and supervision are the clerical and other establishments of land-holders. The total strength of the sub-order is 8,849, and of this number, 7,127 were censused in Sylhet and 1,443 in Goalpara, the two permanently-settled districts. Only 279 were enumerated in the other districts of the province.

CLASS C.—PERSONAL SERVICES.

Order VI.—Personal and household services.

403. Personal services have been classified under three sub-orders as noted in the margin. Nearly all the persons shown in this class are maintained by personal domestic services and only a very small number by non-domestic services and sanitation. The most numerous item in the group is that headed in-door servants (31,758), under which are included all the general household servants of the native population,† as well as bearers and other servants of Europeans whose precise occupations were not sufficiently well defined to enable them to be classified under other heads. Next come the barbers, who number 22,577, and who are most numerous in the Sylhet district, which contains 18,576 out of the total number. In the Brahmaputra Valley proper and in the hill districts, there is no recognised barber class, and the few who are returned as practising this occupation are nearly all foreigners. Washermen come next with 16,835, and these again are mostly found in Sylhet, where 14,731 out of the total number were censused. Like the barber, the professional washerman is rarely found in the hill districts or in the Brahmaputra Valley proper. Only 2,213 persons have been returned as belonging to the groom and stable-boy class. The true number is doubtless somewhat greater, and the explanation of the small number returned lies in the fact that in tea gardens many of the grooms are agreement coolies, and have often been returned as such instead of under their special occupation. The same explanation accounts also for the small number of persons shown under the head 'Watercarriers.'

Statement No. 189, showing the strength of each sub-order in order VI.

Sub-order.	Total strength.	Percentage to total of order.
Personal and domestic services.	86,115	96·77
Non-domestic establishment	622	0·70
Sanitation	2,252	2·53
Total	**88,989**	**100**

The number of persons in the other two sub-orders is very small and requires no comment.

* Sylhet is the only district in which the Tarui caste (of which this is the traditional occupation) is at all numerous.

† বাটীর চাকর *or* ঘরর চাকর

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Occupations.

CLASS D.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.

404. The next class comprises all persons who make and sell things. It is divided into eleven orders according to the kind of articles dealt with, *viz.*, food and drink; light, firing, and forage; buildings; vehicles and vessels; supplementary requirements; textile fabrics and dress; metals; glass, and pottery; wood and canes; drugs, dyes, &c., and leather. The absolute and proportional strength of each of these orders is shown in statement No. 190. By far the largest order is that of persons who prepare and sell food and drink, in which are contained 54·32 per cent. of the total number of persons in the class. Next come persons who make and sell textile fabrics and dress, with 11·73 per cent., light, firing, and forage with 9·79 per cent., and persons who work in wood and cane with 8·20 per cent.

Statement No. 190, showing the absolute and proportional strength of each order in class D.

Order.	Absolute strength.	Percentage to total of class.
Food and drink ..	376,102	54·32
Light, firing, and forage ..	67,842	9·79
Buildings	14,618	2·11
Vehicles and vessels ..	10,994	1·59
Supplementary requirements	5,234	0·76
Textile fabrics and dress ..	81,181	11·73
Metals and precious stones	41,258	5·96
Glass, pottery, &c. ..	30,014	4·34
Wood, cane, &c. ..	56,800	8·20
Drugs, dyes, &c. ..	2,398	0·35
Leather	5,871	0·85
Total	692,312	100

Order VII.—Food and drink.

The order comprising persons whose occupations are connected with the preparation and supply of food and drink is again subdivided into three sub-orders,—animal food; vegetable food; and drinks, condiments, and narcotics. Of these, by far the largest is the one in which are included persons who prepare and supply animal food. This sub-order again, is entirely dependent for its great strength on the fishing industry. Out of 297,044 persons in the sub-order, 201,174 are returned as 'fishermen and fish curers' and 79,583 as 'fish dealers.' I am not sure that the distinction between fishermen and fish dealers is of very much use, as many persons who catch fish also sell them, and *vice versâ*. Taking the two items together, the fishing industry supports 280,757 persons, or more than 94 per cent. of the total of the sub-order. The only other item of any importance is that of the milkmen, who number 15,056 persons. Under this head are included, amongst others, those persons who hire buffaloes and cows for milking purposes during the cold weather, when not wanted by their owners. They take large herds to marshy places, where the pasture is good, and stay there during the cold weather months. They sell milk and curds on a large scale, and also prepare ghee. Very few persons are shown in the table as ghee preparers and sellers, because this occupation is seldom carried on separately in this province; the persons who make ghee are usually also milkmen, and have as a rule been returned as such at the census.

Statement No. 191, showing the absolute and proportional strength of each sub-order in order VII.—Food and drink.

Sub-order.	Absolute strength.	Percentage to total of order.
Animal food	297,044	78·98
Vegetable food	38,023	10·11
Drink, condiments, and narcotics	41,035	10·91
Total	376,102	100

Animal food.

Vegetable food.

Out of 38,023 persons subsisting by the preparation and supply of vegetable food, 25,135 are grain dealers, 3,914 are grain parchers and sellers, 3,814 confectioners and sweetmeat pedlars, and 2,399 vegetable sellers.

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Occupations.

Drink, condiments, and narcotics.

The total number of persons in the third sub-order is 41,035, and of these, 27,666 are returned as vendors of betel-leaf and areca-nut. Tobacco dealers number 2,475, salt sellers 2,434, opium vendors 2,375, grocers 1,876, and country spirit distillers, &c., 1,439.

I should explain that it would be unsafe to place absolute reliance on the figures under these detailed heads. Very few of them form the exclusive article of sale of the persons returned against them; they are merely the articles which the enumerators happened to mention. An opium vendor, for example, is seldom exclusively devoted to the sale of that article. He nearly always sells other articles, such as salt, oil, and grain, and merely buys the right to sell opium in order to give his shop an additional attraction over the rival dealers in the neighbourhood. Out of 1,439 country spirit distillers, * no less than 405 are found in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where our excise system is not in force. The number of dealers in foreign wines, &c., is unduly low, because most of the persons engaged in this trade deal also in other articles, and have been classified according to the latter.

Order VIII.—Light, firing, and forage.

The next order deals with the occupations relating to light, firing, and forage. Its total strength is 67,842 persons, of whom 56,846 are found in the sub-order 'Lighting,' and the remainder under 'Fuel and forage.' The large number of persons in the former sub-order is mainly due to the fact that oil-pressers (27,209) are shown here, and also persons who deal in salt and oil (29,475). The latter only appear in this place for convenience of classification. *Nun tel* is the recognised native way of describing the commodities dealt in by the general village shopkeeper, who, however, deals in many articles besides salt and oil. Rice, dal, condiments, and sometimes even piecegoods, are sold by these tradesmen, who are known in the Surma Valley as *mudis*, but who almost invariably answer the question as to what they deal in with the words 'salt and oil.' Sometimes, owing to other articles having been mentioned, some of these *mudis* may have been entered under other heads, such as grain-dealers, confectioners, &c., but the great majority have been classified here.

The second sub-order, 'Fuel and forage,' contains only two important items: firewood and grass-gatherers number 7,686, and charcoal-burners and dealers 2,637. The latter industry was more important before the introduction of machinery on tea gardens, when charcoal was a necessity for drying the tea leaf, but now that machinery is almost invariably used, the demand for this article has fallen off considerably.

Order IX.—Buildings.

In order 'IX, Buildings,' 14,618 persons are shown, of whom 7,870 are classed in the sub-order 'Building materials' and 6,748 in the sub-order 'Artificers in building.' The first mentioned sub-order contains 4,617 persons under the head 'Lime, chunam, and shell burners and sellers,' which includes persons who prepare lime for chewing with betel-leaf and areca-nut, and also those engaged in burning the limestone obtained from the quarries on the south face of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The same sub-order includes also 2,819 persons returned as thatchers and thatch dealers, of whom 1,657 were censused in one district, Sylhet.

In the second sub-order 'Artificers in building' the most numerous item is that of 'Workers on *kacha* houses,' under which 4,210 persons have been returned. Next to these may be mentioned 2,153 masons. The number of persons shown under other detailed heads is inconsiderable.

Order X.—Vehicles and vessels.

Order 'X, Vehicles and vessels' contains 10,994 persons, of whom 555 are in sub-order '24, Railway plant,' 440 in sub-order '25, Carts, carriages, &c.,' and 9,999 in sub-order '26, Ships and boats.' The persons employed on railway plant are found chiefly in two districts,

* This head includes doubtful entries, such as মদকারী দোকান, which might also be applied to a *ganja* or other excise shop.

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Occupations. Lakhimpur and Sibsagar, though a few were also returned in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where they were doubtless employed on the Cherra-Companyganj line. Sub-order 26 contains two heads—one for boat-builders and the other for canoe-diggers, the former referring to persons who construct boats of the Bengal type from planks, and the latter to those who make dug-outs by hollowing out a single tree. I am not satisfied that the distinction is of much value. The same vernacular terms are often used for both industries indiscriminately, and the best method of gauging the number of persons employed on each is to assume that all the persons making boats in the hill districts and the Brahmaputra Valley proper are canoe-diggers, and that those in the Surma Valley and Goalpara are boat-builders.

Order 'XI, Supplementary requirements' accounts for 5,234 persons. Their distribution over the different sub-orders is noted in the statement in the margin. The only sub-order which is at all numerous is that referring to persons who make and sell necklaces, beads, &c. Under this head come 1,544 idol makers, of whom 1,468 were enumerated in Sylhet, 659 lac bangle makers and sellers, all of whom are inhabitants of Sylhet, and 357 bead-makers and sellers, of whom 133 were censused in Sylhet, 110 in Goalpara, and 69 in Kamrup. The 94 sacred thread makers all hail from the Surma Valley. In the Brahmaputra Valley the sacred thread of the castes entitled to wear it is almost always made by the females of the family from cotton grown for the purpose in the homestead, and in no case does the preparation of such thread form a distinctive occupation. The wood-carvers in sub-order 30 are all natives of Sylhet: 3 ivory carvers were returned in Kamrup, and 1 in Sibsagar. Under the head 'Hukka stem makers and sellers' in the sub-order 'Toys, curiosities, &c.' I have included persons who make and sell the bowl of the *hukka* from cocoanut shells; and the item 'Tabut and Tazia makers' in the same sub-order similarly includes a few persons who make masks of paper stretched on bamboo frames for the village theatricals, which are commonly known as *bháonas*.

Order XI.—Supplementary requirements.

Statement No. 192, showing the absolute and proportional strength of each sub-order in order XI.

Sub-order.	Absolute strength.	Percentage to total of order.
Paper, &c.	17	0·32
Books and prints	450	8·60
Watches and clocks ..	27	0·52
Carvings and engravings ..	150	2·87
Toys, curiosities, &c. ..	261	4·99
Music and musical instruments	209	3·99
Necklaces, beads, &c. ..	2,896	55·33
Furniture	159	3·04
Harness	9	0·17
Tools and machinery ..	703	13·43
Arms and ammunition ..	353	6·74
Total	5,234	100

Order 'XII, Textile fabrics and dress' numbers 81,181 persons. It is divided into five sub-orders, as shown in statement No. 193. The sub-order exhibiting persons who make and sell woollen articles only contains 289 persons, of whom 176, shown as blanket weavers and sellers in Kamrup, are probably all Bhutiás, who bring down roughly woven blankets from the hills. Of the 1,693 persons shown as subsisting by occupations connected with silk, 1,094 are rearers of the silkworm and cocoon gatherers, and of these, 715 are found in Sibsagar, 307 in Nowgong and only 72 in other districts. Of 486 silk carders and spinners, 454 are inhabitants of the Sibsagar district. These figures by no means represent the total number of persons who are partly dependent for their livelihood on occupations belonging to this sub-order; they only show those whose main occupation has been returned under this head. The number of persons who add to their other means of livelihood

Order XII.—Textile fabrics and dress.

Statement No. 193, showing the absolute and proportional strength of the sub-orders in order XII.

Sub-order.	Absolute strength.	Percentage to total of order.
Wool and fur ..	289	0·36
Silk ..	1,693	2·09
Cotton ..	52,544	64·72
Jute, flax, &c. ..	7,863	9·68
Dress ..	18,792	23·15
Total ..	81,181	100.

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Occupations.

by rearing silkworms, &c., is very considerable. The sub-order devoted to cotton industries comprises, amongst others, 5,198 raw cotton dealers, 13,386 cotton spinners and yarn beaters, and 33,643 cotton weavers and sellers. Of the total number of cotton dealers, 3,980 are returned in the Garo Hills. Cotton spinners are most numerous in Sylhet, where 9,556 were censused. Cotton weavers are returned in every district, but chiefly in Sylhet (19,930), Kamrup (6,413), and Darrang (2,559). Both the last mentioned occupations are practised almost exclusively by females, and especially by widows.*

Jute is extensively grown in Sylhet and Goalpara, but most of it is exported, and its manufacture into rope, gunny, &c., is not very largely carried on in Assam. The total strength of the jute industries is 7,863, but of this number 6,123 persons come under the head 'Fancy work dealers', under which are included persons who sell all sorts of fancy work, including beads, looking glasses, and other things not made of jute, flax, or coir.† The net makers and sellers (524) shown in this sub-order are chiefly makers and sellers of fishing nets; the sacking, &c., makers and sellers (295 in number) are mostly persons of the Kapáli caste, who sew gunny bags.

The principal detailed heads in sub-order '42, Dress' are tailors and darners, 7,195 in number, and piece-goods dealers, of whom there are 11,093. The latter head includes many large traders, who deal in many other articles, *e.g.*, Marwari merchants, who sell also brass and bell-metal utensils, spices, grain, &c.

Occupations connected with metals and precious stones are shown in order XIII, which is divided into four sub-orders as noted in the margin. In all, 41,258 persons have been classed in this order, of whom 18,851 are gold and silver workers and sellers; 9,709 are brass, copper, &c., workers and sellers; 264 persons derive their livelihood from occupations connected with tin, and 12,434 from iron, steel, &c. Gold and silver workers form a numerous class in nearly every district, and are proportionately most numerous in Kamrup (3,355), owing to jewelry making being a special industry at Barpeta. Elsewhere persons returned under this head are petty travelling goldsmiths, who make up into bangles, &c., precious metals supplied by their customers, in whose houses they almost always work.

Order XIII.—Metals and precious stones.

Statement No. 194, showing the strength of each sub-order in order XIII.

Sub-order.	Absolute strength.	Percentage to total strength of order.
Gold, silver, &c. ..	18,851	45·69
Brass, copper, and bell-metal	9,709	23·53
Tin, &c. ..	264	0·64
Iron and steel ..	12,434	30·14
Total ..	41,258	100

The distribution of the persons shown in sub-order 44 over the different detailed heads is not altogether reliable. Most of the persons in this sub-order work in brass, copper, and bell-metal indiscriminately, and the fact that many have been entered as working in brass or bell-metal only is probably due to the carelessness of the enumerators rather than to the fact that they work exclusively in these metals.

Of the iron and steel workers and sellers, 11,787 are blacksmiths. They make all sorts of iron implements, &c., but are as a rule very rough workers. A few of them are employed on railways and tea gardens and under the Public Works Department, but the majority are village blacksmiths.

Order XIV.—Glass, pottery, and stoneware.

The makers and sellers of glass, pottery, and stoneware are divided into two sub-orders, *viz.*, glass and chinaware (170) and earthen and stoneware (29,844). Of the latter, 29,562 persons are earthen pot makers and sellers, an industry which is found chiefly in Sylhet (11,213), Kamrup (6,741), Sibsagar (2,854), and Goalpara (2,755). The head 'Grindstone makers and sellers' includes also persons who make and sell stone cups, mortars, &c.

* The people entered under the item 'Tape makers and sellers' are mostly persons who make and sell the waist braids which support the *dhuti*, and to which keys, &c., are often suspended.

† These shops are known in the vernacular as 'Manihári Dokán.'

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Occupations.

Order XV.—Wood, cane, and leaves.

Order XV is divided into two sub-orders, *viz.*, timber and wood (32,175), and cane work, matting, and leaves (24,625). In the first mentioned sub-order, there is some confusion between two of the detailed heads, and many persons described by the enumerators as selling timber have been shown as timber dealers, although, strictly speaking, most of them are really nothing more than wood cutters. Taking the two items together, this occupation is most common in Sylhet (7,271), Goalpara (6,691), the Garo Hills (1,992), and Kamrup (1,008). Carpenters (14,103) are more evenly distributed over the different districts. The persons shown as coopers and box makers (249) are mostly persons engaged in making boxes for packing tea.

The main detailed occupations in the other sub-orders are mat makers and sellers (18,039), basket, &c., weavers (4,862), and bamboo and cane splitters (1,410). No less than 16,371 out of the total number of mat makers are found in Sylhet alone, where they make the celebrated *sital pati*, which is prepared from the outer part of the stalk of an aqueous plant.* The great majority of the basket weavers are also found in Sylhet. Shallow baskets† for drying the tea leaf are woven in every district, but as this work is a supplementary occupation of persons whose main means of subsistence are derived from other sources, it does not appear to have been returned to any great extent at the census. The leaf-plate makers shown in this sub-order prepare their plates from plantain and not from sal leaves, as is usual in other parts of India.

Order XVI.—Drugs, gums, dyes, &c.

The total number of persons classified in order 'XVI, Drugs, gums, dyes, &c.,' is only 2,398, of whom 1,404 are found in the sub-order 'Gums, wax, and similar forest produce,' and 994 under 'Drugs, dyes, pigments, &c.' The chief item in the first mentioned sub-order are rubber collectors and sellers, of whom there are 917. These are the men who tap rubber trees, or who bring down rubber from the hills beyond the Inner Line. They are mostly residents of Darrang and Lakhimpur, 484 having been enumerated in the former and 330 in the latter district. The collection and sale of lac is the main occupation of 279 persons, most of whom are found in Goalpara, Kamrup, and Nowgong.

The 70 persons returned under the head 'Chemists and druggists' in the next sub-order are all either vendors of quack medicines, or of the country drugs used by indigenous medical practitioners, *kabirajes*, *baids*, &c. The persons shown as magenta sellers are the vendors of the root of the *majáti* tree, from which a red dye is extracted. Amongst the 833 perfume preparers and sellers may be mentioned the sellers of *agar* wood, which is collected in the southern part of the Sylhet district, and sold in the form of chips, from which a kind of *attar* is said to be extracted.

Order XVII.—Leather, horns, &c.

In order XVII, 5,871 persons have been enumerated. Of these, 4,112 are tanners and hide sellers, and 1,730 are boot, shoe, and sandal makers and sellers. Out of the total number of tanners and curriers, no less than 2,955 were enumerated in the Sylhet district.

* Known in the vernacular as *murta*. † Called *salanis*.

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CLASS E.—COMMERCE, TRANSPORT, STORAGE.

405. The first order to be mentioned in this class is order 'XVIII, Commerce,' under which 44,711 persons are included. The order is sub-divided into four sub-orders, the absolute and proportional strength of each of which is shown in the marginal statement. Professional money lenders are very rare in Assam. The ryots, as a rule, are in very comfortable circumstances and seldom borrow money except when they have to sustain some unusual expenditure such as a marriage ceremony, &c. When this is the case, they usually borrow from a well-to-do fellow villager, and very seldom resort to professional money lenders. This statement is corroborated by the return showing the number of persons who combine other occupations with agriculture, from which it appears that out of 9,801 persons returned under this head, 6,705 are also agriculturists. There is besides an excess of women amongst persons returned as money lenders, which tends to show that the occupation is often entered against widows, who subsist on the interest of small loans lent out of the savings left them by their deceased husbands. Out of the total number of money lenders, 7,902 are found in the Surma Valley, 1,793 in the Brahmaputra Valley, and 106 in the hill districts. In the Brahmaputra Valley, 1,211 are found in Kamrup alone, and only 582 in the five other districts of the valley. **Occupations.**

Order XVIII.—Commerce.

Statement No. 195, showing the absolute and proportional strength of each sub-order in order XVIII.

Sub-order.	Absolute strength.	Percentage to total of order.
Money, &c., dealers	10,007	22·38
General merchandise	4,096	9·16
Dealing unspecified	28,205	63·08
Middlemen, &c.	2,403	5·38
Total	44,711	100

Statement No. 196, giving details of money lenders.

Money lenders.	Surma Valley.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Hill districts.	Total.
Number combined with agriculture	5,913	792	....	6,705
Others	1,989	1,001	106	3,096
Total	7,902	1,793	106	9,801

It is the practice of Marwari traders on the Nowgong *chapori* and elsewhere to give advances to ryots at the time when their revenue falls due, on condition that they cultivate mustard, and supply it at a certain rate, *e.g.*, a maund for every rupee lent. The total number of money lenders returned in Nowgong being only 73, it seems probable that these Marwaris have been shown under some other branch of their many-sided forms of trade.

I have included under the head 'money lenders' persons who were returned as paddy lenders, who are said to lend paddy at seasons of the year when it is scarce, on condition of receiving back a larger quantity after the harvest has been gathered. The Sylhet *izardar*, or money lender on landed security, has also been classified under this head.

The other heads in this order require very little explanation. But I may note that I have shown under the general head (shopkeeper's clerks), &c. (3,786), only those clerks whose master's occupation was altogether unspecified, or whose occupation required no special knowledge.

Amongst the pedlars and hawkers (3,106) may be mentioned the persons who travel about Sylhet in boats and sell all sorts of *mudi's* stores,—grain, salt, oil, &c.,—the *phálengis*, or petty pedlars of the Brahmaputra Valley, and the people who travel from market to market, selling looking glasses and other small articles of the sort. Some Kábuli traders have also been classified under this head.

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Occupations.

Order XIX.—Transport and storage.

Statement No. 197, showing the absolute and proportional strength of the sub-orders in order XIX.

Sub-order.	Absolute strength.	Percentage to total of order.
Railway ..	815	1·87
Road ..	15,826	36·23
Water ..	20,028	45·85
Messages ..	3,481	7·97
Storage and weighing ..	3,532	8·08
Total ..	43,682	100

The persons engaged on transport and storage are divided into five sub-orders the strength of each of which is noted in statement No. 197. There are only 815 persons engaged on railways,* most of whom are found in the Lakhimpur district.

In sub-order '59, Road', the most important items are cart owners and drivers (4,158), palki owners and bearers (7,879, to which number Sylhet contributes 7,409 and Goalpara 323), and elephant owners, drivers, &c. (3,401).

Sub-order '60, Water' contains in all 20,028 persons. To this number, owners of vessels, &c., and their clerical staff contribute 2,376, steamer officers,† mariners, firemen, &c., 1,606, boat and bargemen 15,817, and pilots 229.

Under the sub-order 'Messages', the Post Office accounts for 3,088 persons and the Telegraph Department for 393. Under 'Storage and weighing' 3,532 persons are shown, of whom 2,511 are porters and 591 are weighmen. These occupations require no comment.

CLASS F.—PROFESSIONS.

406. The first order in class F comprises nine sub-orders, the strength of each of which is shown in the margin. The first and most numerous is that containing persons whose livelihood is derived from religious offices. The most important item in this sub-order is No. 293, Priests, ministers, missionaries, &c., who number in all 59,860, no less than 41,481 being found in Sylhet alone. The great majority of the persons shown under this head are Hindu Goseins, priests, &c., but the item includes also Musalman Maulvis, Christian missionaries, and Buddhist Phoongyis; it includes also a few of the diviners or soothsayers, who take the place of priests amongst the aboriginal tribes, but as the priestly office seldom forms the principal occupation of any one amongst these tribes, the number so returned is comparatively small. Catechists, &c., number 1,213, and exorcists and hail-averters, 49. The latter include not only the

Order XX.—Learned and artistic professions.

Statement No. 198, showing the actual and proportional strength of each sub-order in order XX.

Sub-order.	Actual strength.	Percentage to total of order.
Religion	66,649	65·00
Education	7,518	7·33
Literature	1,388	1·35
Law	3,825	3·73
Medicine	9,255	9·03
Engineering and surveying	3,091	3·01
Other sciences	1,617	1·58
Pictorial art, &c.	105	0·10
Music, acting, and dancing	9,090	8·87
Total	102,538	100

* Exclusive of the persons engaged in making and repairing railway plant, who have been shown in class D, sub-order 24.

† The figures for steamer officers, &c., corroborate my estimate of the working staff of steamers in paragraph 16, page 64, above. Of the total number (1,606), 1,152 are males aged 15 and over. Allowing for deductions owing to non-working males over 15 years of age and additions on account of steamer table servants, sweepers, &c., not shown under this head, it is clear that the working staff must very nearly approximate to my estimate of 1,200.

The occupation table cannot be used to test my estimate of the constitution of the floating population censused in boats, because the latter included many persons who were neither boatmen shown under this head nor travellers, that is to say, it included many fishermen who were afloat plying their trade at the time, and who have been classified in the occupation table under class D, order VII, sub-order 17.

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exorcists of the hill tribes, who have in only a few cases returned themselves as such, but also Hindus, who profess to be able to bring on or prevent rain by repeating certain *mantras*. Religious mendicants, inmates of monasteries, &c., contribute 4,548 to the total of the sub-order. Amongst their number are a few inmates of Vaishnava *sattras* in Kamrup and Sibsagar, and also some Musalman fakirs; but the bulk of the persons here shown are Hindu religious mendicants, most of whom are Baishnabs, and are found principally in Sylhet (3,189). The last detailed head in the sub-order ('Church, burial ground, &c., services,') includes the chaukidárs of Christian cemeteries, the persons who preside at Hindu cremation ceremonies, and persons who recruit pilgrims for Mecca or for Jugganath. Occupations.

The sub-order devoted to educational pursuits requires no explanation. Almost the whole of the persons in this sub-order come under one head, 'Principals, teachers, &c.,' who number, with their families, 7,247. The head includes teachers of all sorts and conditions, from the pandit of the primary *páthsála* to the head master of the zila high school, the teacher of Arabic in Musalman *maktabs*, and of Sanscrit Hindu *tols*.

Only 1,388 persons are shown as supported by 'Literature,' and of this number, no less than 1,338 are public scribes and copyists, *i.e.*, the village writers who draw up bonds for their illiterate neighbours, write letters for them, and perform other similar offices, for which a knowledge of the rudiments of reading and writing is required. Only 13 males over 15 years of age are described as authors, journalists, and ballad makers, and only 7 as private secretaries and clerks.

Amongst persons who derive their livelihood from the law are 1,263 barristers, advocates, and pleaders (nearly all of whom are of the pleader class) 1,121 law agents, mukhtears, &c., 732 articled clerks and lawyers' clerks, 237 stamp vendors, and 471 petition writers. The small number of the persons last mentioned is due to an ambiguity in their description in the schedules, which has resulted in some of them being classed under other heads, *i.e.*, that of public scribes.

The profession of medicine affords support to 9,255 persons, amongst whom are shown 100 practitioners by diploma, 5,848 native practitioners and others, and 2,121 hospital assistants, &c. Here also, the ambiguity of the vernacular terms used has probably led to some misdescription, with the result that some few diplomaed practitioners have been relegated to other categories. I have included under 'Practitioners without diploma, several Musalmans who were returned as circumcisers by profession, while under 'Midwifery' come a few women who were described as 'navel string cutters' by the enumerators.

Engineering and surveying furnish the means of subsistence to only 3,091 persons of whom 2,018 are amins and munsarims of the cadastral survey party and mandals.

Under 'Other sciences,' the only detailed head of importance is that in which are shown astrologers, horoscope casters, and genealogists. The astrologers are of course Ganaks or Daibajnas, and so also are most of the horoscope casters, who are often also image-makers, &c. The genealogists are the Ghataks who arrange marriages, but this occupation is far less important than in Bengal, and many match makers in Assam

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Occupations.

have but a very slight knowledge of the genealogy of their clients, a knowledge which in Bengal is held to be absolutely indispensable. Pictorial art is represented by only 105 persons, of whom 84 are shown as painters and 21 as photographers. Music, acting, and dancing, on the other hand appear as the occupation of 9,090 persons; 7,759 of these are shown as players and 1,275 as actors, singers, and dancers. Under these heads are shown the native drummers, or *Dhulis*, and the *Jatrawalas*. Regular bands and stage players are practically unknown in this province.

Order XXI.—Sports and amusements.

Under 'Sports and amusements' only 1,300 persons are shown. Of these, 884 are 'Shikaris' (including catchers of tortoises and crocodiles), 80 are exhibitors of trained animals, 63 are story and ballad reciters, 99 are conjurers and fortune-tellers, and 154 are tumblers, acrobats, &c. The number of persons returned under other heads in this order is insignificant.

CLASS G.—INDEFINITE AND INDEPENDENT.

407. Class G contains two orders, *viz.*, order 'XXIII, Indefinite', and order 'XXIV, Independent of work'. The first mentioned is further sub-divided into two sub-orders as noted in the margin. Under 'unskilled labour' the largest item is 'general labour' (69,048) under which head no less than 34,821 persons have been shown in the Khasi Hills alone. Most of these are probably porters who carry loads between Cherrapunji and Theriaghat and elsewhere, but who will also undertake any other work for which sufficient remuneration is offered. 16,539 persons were enumerated under the same head in Sylhet, 3,751 in Cachar, and 2,943 in Goalpara. The number of general labourers in other districts is very small. The next item to be mentioned is that of rice pounders and huskers, who number 23,943. This occupation is usually carried on by the women of the family, and nearly three fourths of the total number of persons so returned are females.

Order XXIII.—Indefinite.

Statement No. 199, showing the strength of each sub-order in order XXIII.

Sub-order.	Absolute strength.	Percentage to total of order.
Unskilled labour	106,386	96·86
Undefined	3,451	3·14
Total	109,837	100

The second sub-order contains 1,146 thieves, gamblers, and prostitutes, 1,425 persons whose occupations were not returned or were insufficiently described, and 880 who were shown simply as dependents. The first-mentioned detailed head is mainly composed of prostitutes. A few persons were returned as thieves and released convicts, and a few were also stated to be gamblers by profession, while in Sylhet one or two men were entered as professional bridegrooms. The *raison d'être* of this means of subsistence is happily fast passing away, but the occupation may nevertheless be described as a curious illustration of the influence of fiction in Hindu society. Amongst the better class of Hindus, descendants of the slaves of former times still remain in the family as hereditary servants, and such of them as are females are sometimes treated as concubines by their masters, to whom they often bear children. As this state of things, if undisguised, would not be tolerated in their society, it is the practice for the master of such females to pay some man of the class which I have described as professional bridegrooms, to marry the girl. After the marriage, the bridegroom

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retires with the woman once, and then leaves her. The fiction is that any child that may be born subsequently is the offspring of this *de jure* husband, and the real father thus escapes the social obloquy which he would otherwise incur. I am told that one of these professional bridegrooms will marry in the course of his lifetime as many as fifty to a hundred girls. Occupations.

The last order contains persons who are independent of work, and these are further divided into two sub-orders, *viz.*, 'property and alms' (74,543), and 'supported at the public charge' (3,405). Amongst the former mendicants largely predominate. They number in all 73,664, of whom 30,984 are in Sylhet, 20,534 in Kamrup, and 8,260 in Goalpara. In the other districts of the province the number of beggars is comparatively small. Order XXIV.—Independent of work.

The number of female beggars largely exceeds that of males—a result which is largely due to the number of the former being swollen by homeless widows. It must not, however, be supposed that all the persons shown here are beggars pure and simple. No less than 4,903 out of the total number are returned as combining mendicancy with some agricultural means of livelihood, while many others are simply landless labourers, who work for their fellow villagers, and are remunerated not by money wages, but by food. The number of real beggars who live by mendicancy and nothing else is extremely small.

2,038 persons are returned as pensioners, *viz.*, 1,288 for civil and 750 for military services. Inmates of asylums, &c., number 137, under-trial prisoners 139, civil prisoners 4, and convicts, &c., 1,087.

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PART III.

APPENDICES.

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PART III.

APPENDICES.

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APPENDIX A.

EXTRACTS FROM DISTRICT REPORTS.

Cachar.—*Extracts from the Report of Major H. St. P. Maxwell, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner of Cachar:* **Cachar.**

Preparation of village lists.

The village lists from the census tables of 1881 were copied out in the office, and made over to the police, who were directed to proceed to the spot and correct the lists in accordance with the present state of things. If a village was found to contain more than 60 houses, they were directed to have it divided into two or more blocks containing 60 houses each, and to make the boundaries of each such block, as far as possible, coincide with a chaukidar's beat, and note against each the names of literate persons living therein. They were directed also to group these villages into circles, each containing about 500 houses, and to nominate a supervisor for each circle. * They were particularly warned to see that no village was left out of the lists, or part of the same village included in more than one block. When the lists thus prepared were received back in the office, they were carefully compared with the mauzadari papers of the revenue office, and the blocks and circles recast in accordance with their respective geographical position in the revenue survey maps of the district. In this stage of the work the charge superintendents were appointed to whom these corrected lists were sent to be checked once more on the spot. Before the formation of the charges the police were the only agency employed in verifying and testing. It may be mentioned in this connection that since the last census a revenue survey was completed, and very good maps are available. * The *punjis* of the hill tribes are all recorded in the tahsil *khanasamari* lists. In compiling this list every year, it is the duty of the tahsil officer to enquire into the present whereabouts of any person or family that has moved since the last list was made. Hence it is improbable that the hill people could establish a new village within our boundaries without being detected. The *punjis* that are situated within the limits of tea grants, and are not included in the *khanasamari* lists, were censused by the agency of the garden authorities along with the population of their estates.

* * *

It may be mentioned here that the chaukidar's beat as existing in the village was found too large and irregular in most cases, which may be due to the indiscriminate manner in which they were originally formed. It would have been most convenient if each census block coincided with a chaukidar's beat; but in many instances the latter had to be subdivided, and hence in some blocks the census officers got every assistance from the village chaukidar, whereas in others they were without his assistance, and it was with reluctance that a high caste enumerator carried his own light and pot of red ink with him on the night of the final census.

Maps.

As has been remarked above, the excellent maps available were a great help in preparing the village lists. The people themselves also appear to be very familiar with the boundaries of their villages, or rather mauza, which in this district means the village itself and the land attached to it.

Census officers.

Our census officers were as follows:

16 charge superintendents. | 73 supervisors.

714 enumerators.

I consider we were fortunate in the number and standing of census officers we succeeded in appointing. * There were only 5 charge superintendents in 1881, whereas this year we had 16, exclusive of the subdivisions, cantonments, tea gardens, North Lushai Hills, &c., &c., which cannot properly be called charges. I found the pargana a very convenient basis in forming charges.

* * *

In the case of some charges we were able to appoint a second person to assist the charge superintendent.

* * *

The charge superintendents were appointed on the 17th of September. *Parwanas* to supervisors and enumerators were issued mostly in October and November. These subordinate officers were mostly nominated by the police at the time of their testing. * Additional enumerators for boat population, &c., were appointed only towards the time of the final census, as they had no preliminary enumeration to carry out.

* * *

Size of block.

The average size of our block was 49·7 houses. Perhaps our blocks were in some cases too large, but this was only because it was impossible for local reasons to group the houses otherwise. The prescribed number of 60 houses appears to me a satisfactory size of a block, and I see no reason for suggesting an increase or decrease. I may mention that the chaukidar's beat founded on the block of the last census was found to be too large in most cases. It had to be subdivided.

* * *

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Cachar.

House numbering.

The house numbering was commenced on 5th October 1890, and completed about 15th November 1890.

* * *

The extent to which the numbering of houses was tested by the charge superintendents and supervisors cannot be reported in exact figures owing to the fact that no exact figures were received from them. Subsequent results showed, however, that the numbering was highly accurate. Even isolated houses situated in out-of-the-way places and in jungles were found to have been properly numbered. In a few of the Europeans' bungalows in the station errors were discovered in the numbering of houses in the servants' quarters, but they were rectified.

Instruction of enumerators.

The instruction of enumerators was mainly carried out by the charge superintendents, who, as I have remarked above, were all officers under Government, and not likely to have much difficulty in mastering the rules. Each superintendent and supervisor was provided with the Code of Census Rules. We also distributed about 1,000 loose schedules for instruction purposes. Our charges being numerous, they were consequently small. Our superintendents were able therefore to personally instruct every single enumerator and to personally test some of the entries in each book, and generally to test a very large percentage of the entries for all their houses. Charge superintendents and supervisors near the station of Silchar could and did come frequently to the cutchery, and obtained information on points of doubt. For the purpose of instructing more distant charges, the Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Henniker, made tours to every part of the district having given previous notice in each case to the charge superintendent to assemble his subordinate census officers. Instructions were given by means of loose schedules.

Preliminary record.

The date prescribed for the commencement of the preliminary record was 15th January, but there were many enumerators who failed to start on the due date.

* * *

The preliminary record on gardens did not of course commence on the 15th January. The preliminary record was not absolutely complete all over the district, including gardens, until a few days before the final census, but the main bulk was over by the end of January.

* * *

Testing.

I give below a table showing, as far as possible, the exact figures of the testing done by the charge superintendents and supervisors:

Statement of testing work done in the Sadr subdivision.

Number of blocks visited by		Number of houses visited by		Number of entries verified by	
Supervisors.	Superintendents.	Supervisors.	Superintendents.	Supervisors.	Superintendents.
662	278	20,293	8,054	87,016	33,826

Mistakes and difficulties.

I have said above that I do not set a very high value on the work of the supervisors, but I think the charge superintendents did very good work in this respect. As to the accuracy of the enumerators themselves, I believe that very few people, indeed, were absolutely omitted. I tested and the Assistant Commissioner tested, and we very rarely found that a new name had to be inserted unless the person had newly come to the house. I indeed discovered one Naga village where the men concealed themselves from the enumerator, owing to the fear that their names were required to be entered in a list of coolies for the Lushai expedition. I personally explained to the villagers the reason for a census, and the names were duly given in; but this was exceptional. The great difficulty was to make the enumerators fill up the columns of the schedule correctly, and in some cases to make them fill them up at all. The old difficulty about columns 4 and 5 cropped up again and again. Changs wanted to be enumerated as Namasudras. They said Chang was only applied to them as a term of abuse; and all the lower class Hindus tried to raise themselves in the social status.

* * *

Wherever I went, some people, both Hindu and Musalman, seemed to have an idea that columns 4 and 5 were to be a sort of permanent settlement of their social status. * One Brahmin supervisor objected to setting his signature to books wherein low caste people had arrogated a higher title to themselves.

* * *

Column 11 (Occupation) caused a good deal of trouble. The rule is rather long, with the result that a lazy enumerator does not take the trouble to read it all through where in doubt what to enter.

* * *

Few people could give correct information regarding the subdivision of castes.

* * *

The Kaisthas here do not distinguish themselves by class names; but owing to the example given in the specimen schedule, all the Kaisthas called themseves either *Uttar Rari* or *Dakshin Rari*. * As no important information will be collected from what is obtainable in this column, as in most cases the information supplied is incorrect, it will be advisable to give it up altogether in future. In that case much discontent in the enumerated and discord between them and the enumerators, which was apparent, would be avoided.

* * *

Age in column 7 was also a difficulty. As the enumerated, in the majority of cases, could not supply any reliable information, the enumerators had to use their own discretion; and sometimes

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Cachar.

the age was fixed by a reference to the earthquake of 1869 and the floods of 1883. The extremely old people referred to the assassination of the last Rája of Cachar.

Column 8, though quite plain, must have had some errors, specially in respect of widowers. The lazy enumerators did not take the trouble to ask the person who said he was married as to whether his wife was dead or alive.

* * *

As regards filling in column 10, ignorance in geography stood in the way. There was no difficulty regarding column 9.

* * *

Final census.

By the Chief Commissioner's Circular No. 280-83G., dated the 14th January 1891, Government offices were closed on 25th, 26th, and 27th except for urgent and important business. This set free a large number of clerks and others who could be, and were, used for census work on the 26th. A clerk and a peon were sent to each charge superintendent with instructions to help him in every way, more specially in the duty of visiting as many blocks as possible to see if the enumerators were actually at work. Three clerks with peons were detailed to enumerate travellers on the principal roads leading out of Silchar. This was in addition to such other arrangements as charge superintendents had made for travellers in their respective charges.

I was at Sonai Bazar on the night of the 26th. The Assistant Commissioner was at Silchar. The Assistant Conservator was on census duty at Hailakandi subdivision. All charge superintendents were on their charges on that night. One clerk was sent with the patrolling boat that was to start from Silchar down stream.

* * *

All the red ink entries were tested by the supervisors, and to a certain extent by the superintendents on the next morning. The enumerators in no case were found to neglect their duties.

* * *

The superintendents took a good deal of care in the correct preparation of abstracts of blocks and circles under their charge, and the instructions given in paragraph 5 of Circular No. 19, dated the 26th December 1890, were strictly adhered to.

The district totals were telegraphed to the Provincial Superintendent on the 13th March 1891.

* * *

Census of tea gardens.

The census of tea gardens in Cachar was important for the reason that Cachar has the biggest garden population of any district in the Province.

* * *

From one point of view, the number of tea gardens makes the census of the district easier and more likely to be accurate; but, on the other hand, they involve great additional labour. Thus, taking our population at roughly three lakhs, about one-third of that, one lakh, consists of garden population. We were, therefore, saved the labour of appointing census officers for about a lakh of population; the managers and their clerks were the supervisors and enumerators ready to hand. Each manager accurately knows the boundaries of his estate and very nearly the exact population without counting. There is therefore much more certainty of accuracy in the enumeration. But, again, the work in connection with gardens is very great. We received from the Provincial Superintendent copies of the letter of appointment to managers and instructions on 18th November. They were despatched on 28th November 1890. Managers were informed that, wherever possible, an assistant commissioner or extra assistant commissioner would visit the garden and give assistance; but in this district, with its enormous number of gardens, it was impossible for the Assistant Commissioner or Extra Assistant Commissioner to visit more than a very *small proportion*. There was no assistant commissioner at Hailakandi. There was no district superintendent of police. Mr. Pittar, Assistant Commissioner, deputed to Cachar during December for garden inspection, gave instructions about census at each garden he visited; but at that time few if any gardens had received the forms, after receipt of which the principal work begins. There was some delay in supplying gardens with forms. Many managers seem to have awaited further instructions before indenting for forms. Of those that indented, many did not state the number of houses, or they stated the number of houses and blocks, but did not state how many houses there were in each block—an important point, as the schedules were bound up in books. Thus, if a garden has 200 houses, 3 books of 60 schedules and 1 of 24 should be sufficient; but if the 200 houses are divided into blocks of, say, 25, 82, and 93, the calculation is totally upset, the books must be supplied differently. The work could be more conveniently undertaken if loose schedules instead of bound books were supplied. The loose sheets might afterwards be bound together in respect of every block formed in a garden.

* * *

With a view to arrive at a correct calculation, well-instructed clerks from the office were sent round all the gardens which delayed to report the number of houses and blocks. They were directed to assist the garden enumerators in numbering the houses and to explain the rules for filling in the schedules. These men were deputed again to the backward gardens after the preliminary record was completed, and they devoted their time in sifting the errors in the entries.

* * *

Boat population.

A list of all the mooring ghats in the district was prepared with the assistance of the charge superintendents. These were formed into separate blocks and included in their respective circles. In each important ghat where a large number of boats is moored for the night, a separate enumerator devoted solely to this work was employed. Measures were adopted to enumerate moving boats from Mynadhar to Natwanpur in the Barak river by patrolling boats. As part of the river lies between both Sylhet and Cachar, an arrangement was made with the Deputy Commissioner, Sylhet, under which the boats going down the stream from Badarpur, where the district ends,

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Sylhet. were enumerated by the officers of Sylhet, and those coming up the stream from Natwanpur, where the district begins, were enumerated here.

* * *

People in forests. The enumeration of the population in the forest tracts and reserves was entrusted to the Forest Department, which was in a position to know from the permit register the number of persons that could be found in particular localities in the forests on the night of the census. Foresters and forest guards who can read and write were deputed with instructions to reach their destination on or before the 25th February.

* * *

Attitude of the people. Increase in the assessment of land revenue in the next settlement was considered as a very reasonable motive for the care that was devoted to the work. The labouring population made certain that impressment for the Lushai expedition was connected with the census.

In the census of 1881 only sub-inspectors and head constables of police were generally appointed as charge superintendents; but on the present occasion extra assistant commissioners, sub-deputy collectors, and tahsildars were engaged to carry on the work, and the care and attention given to the work raised suspicions in the minds of the people. Extra Assistant Commissioner Babu Jagat Chandra Das, when explaining the motive of the census and assuring the people in his charge, was requested to assign the reason why such a respectable officer as himself was deputed to such petty work unless Government intended to have the enquiry made carefully with the object of finding data for a future assessment.

The suspicion nowhere interfered, however, with the work, which was carried on without the least obstruction on anybody's part. Some people objected at first to give a reply as to whether their wives were dead or alive, and said that they did not understand the object of the query; but when the matter was properly explained, they supplied the requisite information.

The intelligent and the educated understood the object, and enlightened their neighbours to a certain extent, the result of which was that the wild reports which found credence in the census of 1881 were not circulated on the present occasion.

The Census Act. There were six prosecutions under section 10 of the Census Act, all of which had ultimately to be withdrawn owing to the fact that the explanation submitted by the delinquents proved satisfactory.

* * *

The provisions of the Act, as far as this district is concerned, were sufficient.

From the great care devoted to the preparation of the village lists and the constant scrutiny held on the spot in testing the preliminary work of the enumerators, there is every reason to hope that the result of the census was highly accurate. Everywhere the superintendents visited the houses lying within their charges, and some of them accompanied the enumerators and personally superintended the putting up of the numbers. * The excellent survey maps, copies of which were furnished to the supervisors, were of great help in securing the correctness of the result. The demarcated mauza boundaries above all were of great service, as they were easily recognised on the spot, and prevented errors in the inclusion or exclusion of a house in or from a particular block.

* * *

Supply of forms. The supply of forms was a difficulty. The original estimates framed on the figures given roughly by the police proved below the mark. Fresh indents had to be made a few days before the preliminary census began.

Demands from the gardens which had delayed to report the number of houses and blocks had to be met at the last moment. Even in the station of Silchar the first indent was found inadequate when the actual numbering of houses was complete.

* * *

From the commencement to the finish the census operations in this district were under the personal supervision of Mr. F. C. Henniker, Assistant Commissioner, who worked with great industry and intelligence. Much assistance in the sadr subdivision was received from Babus Jagat Chandra Das, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Dakshina Charan Sen, Sub-Deputy Collector, Har Kishor Gupta, Vice-Chairman of the Silchar Municipality, and Inspector of Police Babu Pyari Chand. In the subdivision of Hailakandi, Babu Nritya Gopal Chatterji, subdivisional officer, and Maulavi Muhammad Hamid worked efficiently, and received assistance from Mr. Young, Assistant Conservator of Forests, and also from the sub-inspector of police. The census of the North Cachar subdivision was entirely in the hands of Mr. Baker, subdivisional officer, who took much interest in the duty.

Sylhet.—*Extracts from the Report of Mr. J. L. Herald, C.S., Offg. Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet:*†

Preparation of village lists. The rough lists of villages were prepared in office from the following:

(1) Last census.
(2) Chaukidari registers.
(3) Chaukidars called to furnish all *paras* in their beats.
(4) *Thákbast* maps.
(5) Supervisors asked to make rough maps of their circles, showing all villages.

† This report relates to the census in the South Sylhet subdivision, where Mr. Herald was subdivisional officer at the time of the census. Separate reports were furnished for each subdivision, but are not printed for want of space.

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Sylhet.

I took the tables given in the last census reports, and made a new allotment of the villages into circles, splitting up all the former circles that seemed too large into two, three, or four new circles. This was to give each supervisor an area on the average of 7½ miles, not much more or less.

Lists taken from last census were sent to the local police and to the supervisors for correction. The office clerks were deputed to the spot to test and verify. The subdivisional officer and the Extra Assistant Commissioner went personally to the ground.

Several villages were found no longer in existence as regards containing any houses.

Several villages were found to be merely *paras* of another village, and both contained within the same ring-fence and not capable of exact separation.

Several villages were found to consist of several distinct collections of houses, each collection being distinct from the other and with well-defined separate boundaries, each collection, besides, bearing a distinct local name and of sufficient importance in itself to form a distinct village in the popular English sense of the word. By the operation of these causes a very considerable alteration in the village lists of the previous and this census (preliminary lists) has been made.

* * *

The fact that every collection of houses in the subdivision, with the possible exception of the hill portions, pays towards the maintenance of a chaukidar rendered it very improbable that any but a few extremely outlying houses should be excluded from the list of villages. Strict search was made through the police for all such houses. The circles were also so arranged that no portion of the subdivision was left out from any circle. The supervisors and enumerators gave boundaries to each circle and block, which were identified on the map and on the spot. With regard to hill tracts, the area is small and well known. Every hillman is connected with a *punji*, in which he spends a portion of the year. All *punjis* within British territory help to support a chaukidar, and each householder is recorded in the chaukidari list.

* * *

Haors are large open spaces within determined boundaries. They have been allotted in small portions among supervisors and enumerators, who have noted each hut as erected during the cold season. The probability of omission is exceedingly small.

The subdivisional register and circle lists were practically completed in their present form by the 15th December. They received slight alterations up till the end of January as regards the number of houses in each block.

* * *

Definition of village.

The word 'village' caused some considerable amount of difficulty. I found given me as village—

(1) a tract of land containing not a single house;
(2) an extent of country of perhaps 10 or 15 square miles containing clusters of houses, each cluster half a mile apart from its neighbour;
(3) plots of land, some inhabited, some not, scattered over an extensive tract of country with other 'villages' between.

Somewhere an inhabited plot would be entirely surrounded by another 'village' with no dividing space between to mark off which village any particular house belonged to (in this meaning of the word 'village'), and so on. I took as a village a well-defined collection of houses lying more or less compactly together and separated by some well-defined natural boundary from any other houses. I included with the village its hamlets, or *paras*, as *Sen para*, *Mali para*, though they might be some distance away, if the distance did not seem great enough to justify giving each hamlet (*para*) a distinct number.

Charge superintendents.

The charge superintendents were appointed by the Deputy Commissioner. They consisted of the Extra Assistant Commissioner, who had under him as inspectors for Maulvi Bazar thana and Rajnagar outpost, the sub-inspector of schools and the police officers of Maulvi Bazar and Rajnagar and the hospital assistant of Panchgaon; the Inspector of Police, who had under him as inspectors for Hingajia thana, the sub-inspector and head constable of Hingajia and native doctor, Rabir Bazar dispensary; the sub-inspector of Maulvi Bazar thana for Matiganj outspost, who had under him as inspectors head constable, Matiganj, native doctor, Matiganj dispensary; the head constable of Kamalganj for Kamalganj outpost, who had under him as inspector native doctor, Kamalganj dispensary.

The tea gardens I kept in my own charge. The number of supervisors was 182 and of enumerators 1,488.

* * *

Forty-three supervisors and 241 enumerators had worked during the census of 1881.

Appointment of supervisors and enumerators.

Supervisors were generally appointed in the first fortnight of September. Enumerators were generally all appointed before the 1st October, and charge superintendents were appointed in the last week of July.

* * *

The average number of houses per block was about 54·5.

* * *

I found very little obstruction to the appointment of the principal residents as supevisors. In fact, the villagers assisted me in the matter by directing my attention to the best man available, lest a man of low class should have been set over them.

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Sylhet.

Great difficulty was experienced in some portions of the district in obtaining enumerators, and the majority, in fact, of the enumerators are men of imperfect education, and it involved constant instruction and watching from first to last to see that they were able to carry out the directions.

* * *

I only wish to point out here some of the difficulties in taking the census in this district: (1) the staff of supervisors and enumerators are people over whom our hold is of the slight possible description, not even tenants of Government lands, as in Assam Valley, much less gaonburas, &c.; and (2) not one-half of the enumerators could write with any facility, or had received more than the merest rudiments of education.

House numbering.

House numbering was commenced on the 15th October 1890, and completed, except in special cases, by the 15th December 1890.

* * *

Testing the preliminary record.

The work was very carefully tested once by supervisors and nearly always once again by a higher officer. The percentage of error was almost *nil*, very few of the blocks showing a single mistake. Every charge superintendent is understood to have met every supervisor and enumerator in person, and instructed him in the manner in which the schedule had to be filled up. Every supervisor and every enumerator is understood to have filled up several specimen schedules for approval before commencing his preliminary record. I have myself examined and corrected specimen schedules filled up by 90 per cent. of the supervisors and enumerators of Hingajia, Kamalganj, and Matiganj, and a large percentage of those in Maulvi Bazar and Rajnagar. By these means all common points of errors were detected and fully explained in several vernacular circulars issued from the office to all supervisors. Even this was not considered sufficient, and the proportion of errors seemed large. Accordingly, the charge superintendents called upon their enumerators to prepare first of all a rough copy of the schedule book for all the houses of their blocks, and to submit this to the supervisor and charge superintendent before filling up the printed books provided.

* * *

When I went round tea gardens, I found almost all the Babus had prepared rough copies (without being asked to do so), and had delayed filling up the books until I had passed these copies. It is certain that any degree of accuracy that may be found in the papers of this subdivision is largely attributable to the persistent writing up of specimen schedules.

* * *

The teaching, in fact, was of minor importance, the practical testing of vital importance towards the success of the census. The rough copy of the preliminary record was commenced about the 1st January; the filling up of printed schedule books was commenced soon after the 15th January in a few cases, but in most cases not till the first week in February, when charge superintendents and supervisors had tested the 'rough copies.'

* * *

I think, after experience of this census, it would be advisable to issue two sets of schedules. First, a book of five pages, in the average one-eighth of each block, which would be filled up for the different kinds of persons resident in the block. This would be started on the 1st November, and tested on the spot before the end of December. Mere instructions, without actual practice in filling up the schedules, is almost useless. The majority of the enumerators are not of a class accustomed to appreciate rules outside the ordinary course of their life. The preliminary schedule-filling would also ensure a longer period of instruction—from the 1st November. Under the present system, they had practically very little instruction in filling up schedules before the 1st January.

* * *

Final census.

All clerks in the subdivisional office, the munsifs and several of their clerks, the sub-registrar, Public Works overseer, and every literate police officer, were employed on the final census night. Many of them had been sent out two days previously to look into the matter. To each deputed officer one or more circles, or boat blocks, were made over. They were told to render every assistance, both by looking over entries in the books and by going round on the census night. The Extra Assistant Commissioner went from Maulvi Bazar to Manumukh, and thence some distance along the Kusiara, examining the progress made by boat enumerators. This occupied the whole night.

* * *

Census of tea gardens.

I undertook the entire charge of the operations in the 51 tea gardens in this subdivision. Mr. Ghosh, Extra Assistant Commissioner, was too busily employed in his own charge to render me any assistance. I visited every tea garden in October, November, and December, and described the preliminary operations to the managers and principal Babus, getting the latter to fill up specimen schedules for my inspection. I also left a note giving a detailed description of the operations, and largely supplemented the printed instructions for tea gardens given by the Provincial Superintendent.

* The work of preparing the house list and marking the houses was supervised by the managers, and was, I believe, very accurately carried out. In some instances, instead of the list, a plan of the lines was drawn; this showed at a glance the situation of any particular house with its number.

* * *

Managers assisted me, as regards the arrangements, by giving instructions to their Babus to carry out my orders, &c., to every extent, but took very little personal interest in the filling up of the schedules.

* * *

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Sylhet.

I visited every garden for the second time during the preparation of the preliminary record during January and February, and examined all entries made up to the date of my visit.

* * *

Boat population.

Early in the season careful enquiry was made regarding all places where boats were to be found during February, and lists for every charge drawn up, showing where the boats were collected (in small numbers under 10 and in large numbers over 10); for the larger ghats a special enumerator was appointed. The smaller ghats were enumerated by the village enumerator if any village was in the neighbourhood, and in all other cases by patrolling enumerators appointed for every navigable stream. On the Kusiara these patrols were stationed three days, and in other streams 24 hours were found sufficient, as every portion of the stream could be visited within that time.

* * *

Travellers.

A patrol of a literate constable, or an illiterate constable and a literate chaukidar, was established on all the main roads from sunset till dawn on the 26th February.

Owing to the general impression abroad that all persons should be in their houses at night, very few travellers were found by the patrol.

* * *

Attitude of the people.

I did not hear any erroneous ideas stated by any holders of such ideas, but I am informed that the people were generally suspicious that enumeration had something to do with increased taxation.

The Census Act.

The only legal proceedings taken in the subdivision were to bind down supervisors and enumerators who seemed disinclined to do the work to appear at a date after the census. No further action was required in their case. They did their work satisfactorily in the interval.

A few persons at first raised oppositions to the entry of their names in the list unless an assurance was given them that their caste shall be entered in the manner they desired, and threatened the enumerators.

In such cases the preliminary procedure for a trial under section 107, Indian Penal Code, was initiated, but nothing further was done, and the cases quietly dropped.

* * *

The provisions of the Act seem ample for all purposes.

* * *

Degree of accuracy attained.

With reference to the number of people, I have first to state that, owing to the year being one of exceptional pilgrimage amongst the Hindus, the total resident population of the subdivision is probably 2,000 more than that represented; some officers calculate the number of absentees on pilgrimage as considerably exceeding 2,000.

I believe the intentional and accidental omissions of names of persons residing in houses in the subdivision who were actually present in them does not exceed 1 per 1,000. There is not the same tendency to concealment found probably in some other parts of India.

* * *

Most of the boats that would be occupied during the cold weather in the ordinary course were deserted from the general impression that all persons should be in their own houses during the census night.

Accordingly, most of the boatmen censused were either (1) persons belonging to districts other than Sylhet, (2) persons who were under contract to mahajans or tea gardens, and therefore could not leave the boat temporarily. The first description was probably the larger proportion, so that the boating population as censused does not generally pertain to this district.

Another deduction from what I have said is that the boat population censused should be multiplied by 10 to represent the ordinary floating population in the subdivision during the cold weather.

* * *

I shall next discuss briefly the correctness of results as regards information in the schedule generally and with reference to the instruction and testing:

Column 1.—The number of visitors will not be correct. The sign (v) was frequently omitted on the final night, the names being entered in red ink only; reasons—generally forgetfulness, partly imperfect instruction; no opportunity for testing after the final census.

Column 2.—Tipperahs and Kukis often returned their religion as Hindu, having incorporated many of the Hindu rites with their own original religion.

Column 3.—The sect of religion with regard to all low castes was generally struck down at random. A large proportion of the enumerators and the enumerated did not know the difference between Vaishnab and Shakta.

Column 4.—This column contains, as repeatedly mentioned, the great source of error. Even the entry 'Brahman' in many instances is misleading. For instance, the Mali-Brahman or Jugi-Brahman, who is really a Mali or Jugi by caste, omits this small detail, and enters himself as a Brahman. Among the numerous castes composing the 'Sudras' there is not a single one correctly and accurately represented. The tendency is to write down a higher caste. This is by no means confined to the census. Registered deeds, land revenue receipts, &c., &c., were produced, showing that the claimants had been striving (successfully in many cases) to raise their caste. The fact is, Sylhet Hinduism is *sui generis*, and no attempt should be made to compare results with such districts as Hugli or Nuddea.

Column 5.—The above remarks apply to the subdivision of caste.

Column 6.—No remarks.

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Goalpara.

Column 7.—Age is, as usual, fixed entirely by guess work. For instance—

10	includes	...	...	...	...	8	to	14
15	,,	...	...	...	...	12	,,	20
20	,,	...	...	...	...	15	,,	30
30	,,	...	...	...	...	20	,,	50

and so on.

Column 8.—Marriage is generally correctly given, except with tea garden coolies, where it only approximates to legal exactness.

Column 9.—Parent tongue was a frequent source of error in tea gardens. Owing to delay in receiving a second supply of books and delay on the part of managers in writing up the schedules, I was only able to test about half of the entries. Frequent sources of error were with regard to the mother tongue of Chota Nagpur coolies.

Column 10.—Birth place and province is generally correctly given except in tea garden returns. The knowledge of Indian geography possessed by tea garden managers and Babus is exceedingly limited, and, further, coolies were often unable to mention their own zila.

Column 11.—I think a very great amount of care, indeed, was taken over this column. It was the column to which every one's special attention was directed over and over again. It is due entirely to the low standard of intelligence of several supervisors and enumerators that any such mistakes as 'cultivator,' 'shopkeeper,' &c., have crept into the returns.

* * *

Column 12.—Will be generally correct. In some instances the standard of 'literate' will be extremely low.

Column 13.—Learning in column 12 was sometimes followed by the name of the language under instruction in column 13. Owing to the neglect of the testing agency such entries have not always been corrected. It must not be inferred that such entries as Nagri or Arabic are mistakes. It is the case that many Musalmans in the district can read and write a little Arabic or Nagri, but cannot read and write Bengali.

Column 14.—The heading of this column was somewhat vague, and the instructions were not always borne in mind. Thus, persons becoming deaf in old age were sometimes entered as such.

Date of commencement of operations.

For next census the point I would insist upon would be an earlier start of the work, say, in November 1900 instead of April 1901. The work that was completed by working at high pressure speed on 1st December should have been done during the previous cold weather. Another point is that the difficulties of the previous census might have been explained in detail. In other words, a sort of practical guide for census officers might have been compiled from the experience of the previous census.

Goalpara.—*Extracts from the Report of Captain P. E. Henderson, I.S.C., Offg. Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara:*

Preparation of village lists.

As regards the Goalpara subdivision, it would appear from the subdivisional officer's report that the rough lists of villages were prepared in the subdivisional office from the tables of the former census and the chaukidari *panchayat* register. The lists were sent out to the police officers in charge of thanas for the purpose of being checked by the 12th May 1890.

This ought all to have been done in cold season 1889-90, or even 1888-89.—*H. L. J.*

Mr. Bolst, District Superintendent of Police, who was in charge of the census of the headquarter subdivision from April to November 1890, reports as follows:

"As soon as it was determined to take a census, copies of the annexed form 'A' were circulated to all police officers in charge of thanas about the end of May 1890. The work of collecting information for the said form was done during the worst time of the year, when the country was under water and the villages in many parts of the district inaccessible. The police had to go the best way they could about carrying out the instructions in form 'A' taking the village assessment lists with them, and exercising their local knowledge and by the assistance of *panchayat* members and village chaukidars obtained the required information."

* * *

In the headquarters subdivision, when I arrived in November and took over charge, I found that not a single charge superintendent or supervisor had done any testing. Most supervisors were entirely ignorant of the circles assigned to them, about which they had not been made to acquire any knowledge. * I may therefore say that testing commenced after I had assumed charge in November. In October nothing whatever was done nor a single report received, nor in the first two weeks of November. Thus, seven valuable weeks were lost. It was on my going into the district in November and finding that the block lists were so wrong that the enumerators could not work on them, that I issued orders that new block lists should be made out, wherever it was found necessary, so as to enable the enumerators to send in proper workable blocks for the circle list. The agency by which these were finally tested is given below:

Myself.
Babu Ram Gopal Khan, Extra Assistant Commissioner.
District Superintendent of Police.
Charge superintendents, who submitted weekly reports.
Supervisors, ditto ditto ditto.

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Goalpara.

The last week of the census the whole of the *amla* of the office were put on testing work, and sometime before taking the preliminary record certain clerks were deputed from time to time for the purpose of testing.

Testing and verifying was going on all December, January, and even into February, and circle list could not be submitted till middle of February. * From reports, and from personal observation, my conclusion is that the final numbering and block lists are very correct indeed, and I think it would be found very strictly accurate.

Maps.

Police officers were supplied by the District Superintendent of Police with maps defining the boundaries of their respective jurisdictions. In them they were ordered to enter in red ink all new villages which were not marked on the map, and to underline in red ink those which were marked on the map but had since ceased to exist; but there was no supervision, and this order was not carried out. This, together with the assistance obtained from the local knowledge of *panchayat* members, village chaukidars, and zemindars' *amla*, to all of whom the country is well known, and the careful supervision of supervisors and enumerators, secured the inclusion of all *pams* and outlying villages.

Special orders were also issued to see that no hamlets or *bastis* on *chars*, &c., escaped enumeration. While checking the police lists, the census officers discovered a few villages and *bastis* on *chars* here and there which had been omitted from the lists, and included them in their proper circles. * No omission was found out on subsequent testing by myself, Babu Ram Gopal Khan, subdivisional officer, or by some office clerks especially deputed for that purpose. *Pam* cultivation is largely carried on in the Eastern Duars; and as the mauzadars and the mandals of the duárs, whose interest it was to discover such cultivation, were supervisors and enumerators, all *pam* houses were, I think, included in the census papers of the several mauzas in the duárs.

* * *

The time selected for preparation and testing of list of villages was not suited to the conditions of this district. Between June and September the whole country remains under water, as in other districts in Assam. People cannot easily move about at that time of the year.

* * *

Appointment of census officers.

In May the charge superintendents were first appointed. The majority of the supervisors and enumerators were appointed between the latter part of September and October 1890.

* * *

No paid enumerator, supervisor, or charge superintendent was appointed. The census operation was carried on by unpaid agency, mostly village people and zemindari *amla*.

* * *

As a general rule, the prescribed size of block is the best that can be thought of. Of course exceptional cases require exceptional treatment, but care should always be taken that the sixty-house limit is not exceeded if possible.

* * *

House numbering.

The definition of a house, as given in paragraph 4 of Circular No. 5 above referred to, is the best that can be conceived for this district, nay for the Province. It applies exactly to the peculiar circumstances of this district.

* * *

House numbering was tested by charge superintendents to the extent of 50 per cent. on the average. An exception was Mr. Mein's charge. That officer, having been laid up with fever early in the season, could not do much testing. This officer became eventually so ill that he had to be invalided, leaving the census report of his charge to be written up by his office clerk.

* * *

Census divisions.

The whole district for the purposes of the census under review was divided into—

	Goalpara.	Dhubri.	Total.
Charges	5	8	13
Circles	47	122	169
Blocks	463	1,024	1,487

as against—

Charges	9	in 1881.
Circles	81	
Blocks	507	

Although there has been a substantial increase in the number of charges, circles, and blocks as compared with the census of 1881, I believe the list is susceptible of further expansion. I would propose that in future census each outpost or police station should be formed into a charge. Four or five blocks containing 60 houses in the average into a circle to admit of constant easy supervision.

* * *

In almost all charges of the headquarter subdivision instructions to enumerators to fill in schedules were given by the supervisors, who in turn received instructions from their charge superintendents. In some charges the charge superintendents collected enumerators and their supervisors at different centres, and gave both verbal and practical instruction, showing them personally how to fill in the schedules. Loose schedules were also freely used for the purpose. Instructions were also given by myself when out on tour and by Babu Ram Gopal Khan, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

* * *

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Goalpara. Supervisors appear to have been lax in their supervision of the minor particulars, but I was glad to find in testing schedules how remarkably accurate enumerators were in all essential particulars. The chief fault I had to find with the supervisors was that many of them did not take the trouble to acquaint themselves with their circles or look after their enumerators at all. All was in most cases left to the enumerators who have done the really essential part of the work very well indeed.

* * *

Testing. The preliminary record was commenced in the headquarter subdivision on the 12th of January, and was completed by the beginning of the third week of February 1891. We had to wait for a fresh supply of books, hence there was some delay. But in 75 cases out of 100 the books were written up before the end of January 1891.

* * *

Out of 317,119 entries, 219,286 were tested by supervisors and 7,628 by special supervisors, 21,220 by charge superintendents, 7,286 by Babu Ram Gopal Khan, and 19,561 by Mr. Bolst, District Superintendent of Police.

* * *

Ganaks and Changs do not live in this district. The only difficulty experienced was in recording castes of Rajbansis and a class of Muhammadans called 'Datias.' In some places the Rajbansis returned themselves as 'Suryabansis,' in some places as 'Vedic,' and in others as "Bhanga Kshatriya." In fact, these men have no definite idea of their own castes. Many persons contented themselves by returning themselves simply as 'Rajbansis.' But every discussion was avoided in the matter, and persons were recorded as detailed by themselves.

The Datias could not state to what class of Musalman they belonged.

* * *

I came across a sect who called themselves Musalmans, but were neither Shia nor Sunni, but professed to be followers of Solomon.

* * *

Final census. The final census was successfully taken. A general order was issued by me beforehand requesting persons to keep a light burning near the door of their houses and to remain awake until the enumerator had visited them. Orders were also issued directing a chaukidar to accompany every enumerator on his round, and, while the enumerator was correcting the record of one house, to go on and warn the occupants of the house that he will visit next to expedite the work of enumeration.

Babu Ram Gopal Khan personally superintended the final record of the Dhubri town and at the boat ghat; so did Mr. Kennedy in the Goalpara town and at the ghat. Almost all of my clerks and subdivisional officers' clerks, the clerks in the offices of Executive Engineer, Lower Assam Division, and Chairman, Local Board, Dhubri, and all available police officers were deputed to different localities on the occasion. Babu Mahim Chandra Chakravarti, Extra Assistant Commissioner, superintended the record of the coolie depôts which are situated in circle No. 1 of his charge. The other charge superintendents worked in the same manner.

* * *

The district totals were telegraphed to the Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam, at Gauhati and to Census Commissioner for India at Simla on the 13th March. The totals could have been furnished three days earlier had the figures for charge No. IV been received by that time. * I received Mr. Kennedy's subdivisional totals by telegram on the 8th March 1891.

* * *

Boat census. A general order was issued directing all boatmen to moor at some recognised ghats on the afternoon of the 25th February 1891, and not to leave the ghats until they were enumerated. The traffic registrar was also ordered to cruise round the *chars* in the Brahmaputra, and to send all boats found moored there to the Dhubri or to the Fakirganj ghat. Patrol stations were selected to count the boats passing up and down the principal rivers of the district. My general order had the desired effect. In the Dhubri ghat, which was formed into one block, hardly a dozen boats can be found in ordinary times, but on the night of the final census there were 206 boats. Babu Ram Gopal Khan, who was supervising the enumeration of boats on the night of the 26th February last and, I take occasion to observe, did so in a most thoroughly efficient manner, had to split the block up into three blocks and to strengthen the number of enumerators that night by the deputation of the enumerators of other blocks who had finished their work, which was light. Special arrangements were also made for timber depôts.

A detailed report about the arrangements made for taking the census of boats was submitted to you in this office No. 346, dated the 24th January 1891, and that arrangement was followed, with slight modifications as were found absolutely necessary.

Markets. *Hats* frequented by the Garos, *viz.*, Singimari, Salmara in the headquarters subdivision, and Abherampara and Damra in the Goalpara subdivision bordering on the Garo Hills district, were closed for the week. The Dhubri bazar was also closed on the 26th February at an early hour, so that the people might return home at sunset that there might not be any difficulty about their enumeration.

Travellers. The arrangements reported in this office letter No. 94, dated the 10th January 1891, about the enumeration of travellers on roads, carters, &c., were strictly carried out.

* * *

Attitude of the people. The attitude of the people may be termed as suspicious, but in no way obstructive. * In the Goalpara subdivision the subdivisional officer describes the attitude of the people as "absolutely indifferent."

* * *

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I take this opportunity to report favourably of the services rendered by charge superintendent Babu Mahim Chandra Chakravarti, Extra Assistant Commissioner. This officer worked with untiring zeal at his charge, and was undoubtedly the most efficient charge superintendent we had, though Babus Rameshvar Sen and Sukhamay Ghosh ran him very close for second honours. I take this occasion also to mention that all zemindars have most cheerfully assisted in the census work. Their *amla* rendered valuable assistance. **Kamrup.**

* * *

Kamrup.—*Extracts from the Report of Mr. G. Gordon, C.S., Offg. Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup:*

Rough list of villages were prepared from the lists maintained in the Revenue Department in my office, which are according to the names given and boundaries laid down by the revenue survey. In this district, villages have all of them distinct boundaries, which may be clearly distinguished on the ground, and, where the villages are still inhabited, are known to the residents. In some cases villages have been amalgamated, and two parts are known by the people as separate villages; and this process has been still further continued by the cadastral survey, so that three or more divisions are sometimes found shown under one head. In cadastrally-surveyed tracts the names given by the survey party have been taken, and in other cases, as far as possible, those found to have been adopted by the revenue survey; but in both instances the divisions have been frequently seen to be unsuited for census purposes. Preparation of village lists.

This is a mistake; where, as is often the case, there is a large tract of jungle between two villages, the boundary is often uncertain.
H. L. J.

* * *

This list of villages being split up into twelve divisions, each tahsildar was sent a copy of the list of villages within his circle, and he was ordered to have it tested and verified on the ground; and after so doing he returned it to my office.

* * *

In order that no outlying village or *pam* might escape entry in the lists, special instructions were issued to the tahsildars to include such among the number, and by the assistance of the mandals, who are of course well acquainted with the position and description of all such places, they inserted a catalogue of these temporary and permanent residences in the list of villages sent them.

* * *

The only difficulty met with in the work up to this point was caused by the fact that there was a very considerable difference in the villages as described in the list when first made up and those actually found on the ground. This applies more to the less cultivated tracts, where changes of residence are frequent and where the nature of the soil affords more advantages to the temporary *pam* cultivator than the permanent settlers. Where the cadastral maps give the accurate boundaries and name of a village, there was no difficulty in compiling the register, as the mandals, being thoroughly acquainted with the maps, knew exactly within the limits of what village any particular *pam* is situated. Where, however, there has been no cadastral survey, and where the names had often become confused or no longer recognised, some little trouble had to be taken to ensure accuracy.

* * *

The first thing that struck me very forcibly at the time when the registers of villages were being made out was that a large amount of time was wasted in preparing the list of villages from obsolete records and arranging them without knowledge of the locality; and I have no doubt myself that a good deal could be saved by beginning at the other end, *i.e.*, by letting each tahsil or circle make out a list of villages, grouping them in places where necessary, and dividing them according to the enumeration scheme that would take place afterwards. Thus, I would tell the tahsildar to make out blocks at once and state how many enumerators would be required. He would take each mandal's circle in turn, and, with reference to the map, question him regarding the villages existent upon the ground, their distance apart, and the probable number of houses in each. I did this in Barpeta after the first list of villages had been made out, and found that I had to entirely rewrite my list, the one that was already compiled being entirely useless. Of course, Barpeta subdivision differs in many respects from other districts, but I give my opinion of the principle upon which I would proceed in such a country and what it may be worth. There is in my opinion no fear of any village being left out. In fact, there is more likelihood of an outlying hamlet being omitted when a list of villages is given in which it does not appear.

* * *

There were twenty charge superintendents. Of these ten were tahsildars, one assistant superintendent of police, one deputy conservator of forests, one extra assistant commissioner, one sub-deputy collector, one police inspector, two sub-inspectors of schools, the Vice-Chairman of the Gauhati Municipality, the revenue nazir, and Babu Rajani Kanta Bardalai, B.A., clerk in my office. Census officers.

The number of supervisors was 59. They were tahsil muharrirs, a few head mandals, supervisor kanungos, the municipal overseer, Gauhati, the mauzadar of Beltala, and clerks of my office. Besides these there were four supervisors for the houses in the reserved forests. They were all foresters of the Kamrup district.

The enumerators were 1,804 in number. They were mandals, school masters, literate gaonburas, and private individuals able and willing to do the work.

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Darrang. The superintendents and supervisors were appointed on the 20th June, and enumerators from 5th October.

* * *

House numbering. Half the number of my charge superintendents were tahsildars burdened with the collection of land revenue and local rates due on the 15th of December. They seem to have attached more weight to the collection of revenue than to the testing of house numbering. They might have visited some blocks and seen some houses numbered, but I don't think they kept any record.

I am not satisfied with the manner in which my charge superintendents tested the house numbering.

* * *

Instruction of enumerators. Though the exact number was not reported, I think all the enumerators were instructed fully by the superintendents and supervisors. I find that in most cases the supervisors had done very good work, writing up themselves the books and thoroughly explaining the rules to the enumerators. They worked far better than the charge superintendents.

The preliminary record commenced about the 15th January, and, except in a few cases, was completed before the 15th of February.

* * *

None of the charge superintendents and supervisors reported the number of corrections they had made. Babu Kali Ram Chaudhri, Extra Assistant Commissioner, came across 50 mistakes, almost all of which were very slight.

Some Ganaks, some of them born of respectable parents of Gauhati, wanted to be returned as Brahmans or Bipras in the columns showing castes and subdivisions of castes of Hindus. They say that their forefathers were *pucca* Brahmans, and that as they practised Ganakism, or astrology, as a profession, they were designated Ganaks as distinguished from the ordinary Brahmans.

* * *

The Haris wanted to be returned as *Brittials* (বৃত্তিয়াল), but *britti* (বৃত্তি) means occupation. Their profession as goldsmiths has been shown in the appropriate column, but it could not be entered in the columns of castes.

* * *

One Chutia complained of being returned as Chutia. He wanted to be called a Kaistha or a Kolita; but as our enumerator knew his parents and had heard of their forefathers, he refused to show him as a Kaistha or a Kolita.

* * *

Final census. By a general order I prohibited the gathering of the people on the final census night, such as at marriages, &c., on minor roads. I directed travellers and carters to stop in some village after nightfall. I directed all people to keep a light burning till our enumerators visited their houses on the night.

Clerks of my office, as well as those of the Commissioner's, and schoolmasters and pandits, who had not already been appointed enumerators or supervisors, were appointed to see that the enumerators did their final census efficiently. I myself went out at night, so did Babu Kali Ram Chaudhuri, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

* * *

Unusual delay took place in telegraphing district totals.

* * *

Census of tea gardens. I could not personally go to see the tea gardens, and I could not spare Babu Kali Ram Chaudhuri, Extra Assistant Commissioner. I asked Messrs. Copeland and Comber and Babu Raman Krisna Biswas, Sub-Deputy Collector, to assist the managers and their enumerators.

* * *

Boat census. In the case of small rivers our enumerators stayed until 8 p.m. of the 27th February, and the enumerators on the Brahmaputra stayed the three nights succeeding the 26th idem. During these three days the enumerators on the Brahmaputra patrolled the river at selected points and enumerated the people in all passing boats if they had not already been censused elsewhere.

Bhutias at Darranga and Subankhata, as also other persons who were at those places, were censused on the night of the 26th February. No other special arrangements were made for fairs

* * *

Erroneous ideas. People attribute deaths from *kala-azar*, cholera, and other epidemics to the census. "The more you count," say they, "the more deaths occur. If you go on counting as you have been since 1881, you will have no one left to count in time to come." This erroneous idea is due to the fact that *kala-azar* followed in the heels of the census of 1881. Another idea is that we count the people to levy a poll or a head tax.

* * *

Darrang.—*Extracts from the Report of Mr. J. D. Anderson, C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Darrang:*

Preparation of village lists. The register and circle lists were prepared before I took charge of the Darrang district. They were compiled from the gaonburas' lists in consultation with the mauzadars. The general principle was to treat the mauzas as charges, and to place the mauzadars in charge of them as supervisors.

The lists were tested by mandals in the first place, then by mauzadars, and subsequently by charge superintendents. In the tahsil, of course, the tahsildar was mauzadar and charge superin-

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tendent in one, but in his case the list required very little testing. It was in the outlying tracts in the east of the district, where many scraps and fragments of *pam* cultivation lie hid in tall grass jungle on the banks or *chars* of the Brahmaputra, that the list was most likely to be defective. Subsequently every travelling officer in the district was directed to see whether all houses which he enumerated in his travels had been duly counted. I myself found two uncounted *pams* in the Bisnath mauza. Enumeration is rendered very difficult by the scattered patches of cultivation cleared in the cold weather, and by the enormous proportion of grass jungle in some mauzas. In the Gohpur and Kolabari mauzas quite three-fourths of the area must consist of coarse grass jungle. Cold weather cultivation in a district where land is cheap is necessarily nomadic, a survival of the *jhums* of more primitive days; and, as is well known, it is difficult to find scattered *pams*. It will be interesting to note whether the researches of census superintendents have led to a larger discovery than usual of 'concealed cultivation.' If not, either revenue officials or census officers must be at fault. If I had thought of it in time, I should have liked to have had all *pam* entries made in red ink, and have made a note of all such entries before sending on the schedules. But I was also afraid of infringing the impartiality of the census. It might inspire distrust if I used schedules as a clue to concealed cultivation. **Darrang.**

The register and circle lists were completed by July. They were sent back to be revised, and were resubmitted to the Deputy Commissioner on different dates varying from September to December.

* * *

I think the agency was wonderfully good, considering the enormous area, the scattered population, the want of educated men, the backward and primitive police arrangements of this valley. In many cases we had to appoint schoolboys, Miris, who could barely read or write, and the instruction of these in even so simple a matter as the census schedule was a difficult matter. But finally, and after repeated drillings, the slow-witted Kacharis and Miris turned out the best enumerators we had. They were accurate, if stupid, and did just as they were told. Some of the better educated enumerators had theories of their own as to caste, religion, and so forth, which no amount of patient instruction seemed capable of removing. Census officers.

The numbering of houses was begun on the 15th October, and was completed by the beginning of January. I think houses should always be numbered; each house should bear a number in a gaonbura's charge. House numbering.

* * *

I rode over every road in the sadr subdivision, and scanned every house I passed in vain. Every house was numbered at last. In the Gomiri mauza I came upon a Mikir *basti*, every house of which was unnumbered. I assumed a look of infinite displeasure, and asked the headman what he meant by going unnumbered when the rest of Her Majesty's lieges were spending seers of lime in numbering themselves. "Bring out your drums" he cried. Every household had its number written on the end of the family drum! They were forbidden to have any music till after the census was over. And, the worst of it is, I did not venture to withdraw this very harsh regulation. The puzzled enumerator (there are no beams in a temporary Mikir house) might have proceeded to brand the head of the family with his number! The only really unnumbered houses which I discovered were houses which had obviously been omitted on purpose. One was in a temporarily deserted *pam*; this I had numbered. Three others were haunted houses, which no one would approach by night; these I left out. It would have shown a want of tact to insist upon numbering the unquestioned solitary abode of a *pisacha* so terrible that it made a man's face work with fright only to tell me of it. *
* The numbering was very well done indeed. The people were anxious to be numbered. They preserved their numbers with the most touching care. I think all houses should always be numbered, and that each gaonbura should always maintain a register of the people in his charge. I do not think this would give much trouble.

* * *

I personally met and instructed the enumerators in every mauza except those in charge of the Extra Assistant Commissioner and the tahsildar. In each case I held a test enumeration, comprising as many foreigners as possible and other persons difficult to enumerate. Much the same was done by the charge superintendents, who also held preliminary enumerations in different parts of their charges. Some of the Superintendents, *e.g.*, Babu Uma Charan Banerji, personally supervised the enumeration of all villages in which there was likely to be any exceptional difficulties, such as coolie *bastis*, bazars, &c. I think the preliminary enumeration was about as well done and as carefully tested as is possible in the town, tahsil, and Bargaon charges. In the more thinly populated parts of the district it was impossible to make sure of such careful supervision. But the books of every enumerator were scrutinised, and, as far as possible, were checked on the spot. Instruction of enumerators.

* * *

The preliminary record was begun on the 15th January, and finished on the 20th February. There were of course many mistakes in columns 2, 3, 4, 5, and 11, and I hardly dare hope that these have been entirely eliminated from the schedules as finally submitted. Each enumerator had some of his mistakes set right, and so was put on the right road; but the time at our disposal hardly sufficed for the complete removal of errors, many of them due to not unjustifiable misapprehension. Preliminary record.

We encountered many difficulties in filling up the schedules. These were not commonly due to difficulties in classifying locally-born Assamese. We were not even much perplexed by the hill tribes, in dealing with which the specimen form of schedule furnished a sufficient precedent. The most difficult people to classify were the tea garden coolies who have taken to *basti* cultivation. There are many of these in the district. I imagine that in no district in Assam do they bear a larger proportion to the indigenous population. The enumerators know little or nothing of these people,

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Nowgong. of their castes, language, religion. Many of them profess to speak tongues unknown to myself even by name, such as Mundari and Ho and Kheria. An educated enumerator would probably lump these under *Sonthali*, or some such general classification. But the village school pandit is much exercised by the occurrence of languages of which he has never so much as heard the names. Again, though most of such people profess and call themselves Hindus, it is almost impossible to ascertain to what sect of Hinduism they belong. Their caste distinctions are not less difficult. They are commonly hybrid races. They have caste names unknown in this part of India. Where an ex-garden coolie belongs to a despised caste, he sees no difficulty in giving himself a higher rank while in a foreign country. Many have been born in Assam, or have been so long absent from their native country that they have forgotten their caste language.

* * *

Final census. It was arranged that no one was to go to bed till the enumerator had visited him on the census night; that a light was to be kept burning in each house; that all *bhaonas* and other public entertainments appointed for the census night were to be postponed. The first two instructions were very generally observed.

* * *

Every available officer was relieved of his duties on the three days preceding the census night, and was appointed to aid the supervising staff. While I was enumerating a Kya's shop, two men arrived on an elephant, and said they were going to stay for the night. I was about to enumerate them when they declared triumphantly that they had been already counted, and produced a cart ticket. On the whole, I think the census was wonderfully well taken, and that few, if any, persons escaped counting.

* * *

Census of tea gardens. The tea garden census required exceptionally careful supervision. I visited all the gardens east of the Bhoreli, and directed the Assistant District Superintendent of Police to follow in my steps in January. I had hoped to visit all the gardens in the Tezpur thana in January and February; but I was compelled to be in attendance on the Chief Commissioner during the greater part of February, and was compelled to delegate the work of testing most of the Tezpur schedules to Lieutenant A. A. Howell, Assistant Commissioner, then recently appointed to this district. Lieutenant Howell took much pains, but the result in many cases was extremely disappointing.

* * *

Many managers took an intelligent interest in the work, but tea garden schedules as a whole will never be properly done unless an inspector of labourers is especially told off to visit all gardens and to check all entries on the spot in company of the manager.

* * *

Boat census. The rivers were patrolled at all places where boats commonly stop. Between this district and Nowgong we counted all boats, both up and down, between Sibsagar and this district and Kamrup and this district. We counted only boats going one way. We counted fewer boats than at the last census. I am told that there are fewer boats on the river since people have taken to using the mail steamers. This seems probable enough, but I have not enough local experience to support this opinion with much certainty.

* * *

Travellers. Special enumerators were placed at points where many carts pass at night, and were provided with cart tickets. Persons in the reserves were counted by the Assistant Conservator of Forests and his subordinates.

* * *

Erroneous ideas. Most superintendents say that there was some speculation as to whether the object of the Government was not to enhance the land revenue.

One superintendent found that people of the coolie class, and especially Kacharis, held the theory that the object of the census was to ascertain how many coolies were available for transport work in the Lushai Hills.

Nowgong.—*Extracts from the Report of Major M. A. Gray, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong:*

* * *

Preparation of village lists. On receipt of these instructions Mr. G. E. McLeod, the then Deputy Commissioner, divided the district into 38 circles and 5 charges under the following five officers as charge superintendents:

(1) The senior Extra Assistant Commissioner.
(2) „ junior ditto ditto.
(3) „ District Superintendent of Police or Inspector of Police.
(4) „ Sub-Inspector of Schools.
(5) „ Sub-Deputy Collector.

A subdivisional register was also written up from the last census village tables, and this was hurriedly recast into a circle register without any local enquiry or testing as to its correctness. This mistake was pointed out by the Provincial Superintendent during his inspection in June; and he then made many suggestions regarding the census operations of this district, one of which was that the census work of the district, which had till then been directly supervised by the Deputy

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Commissioner himself, should be entrusted to some special officer under his general supervision. In accordance with this suggestion, senior Extra Assistant Commissioner Babu Rajmohan De was placed in immediate executive charge of the census operations of the district under my general supervision. Mr. McLeod had divided the district into five census charges. This arrangement was revised by me, and the district was divided into ten charges and thirty-six circles for the enumeration of all ordinary population. **Nowgong.**

* * *

The first and the most important work in connection with the census was the preparation of the subdivisional register.

Extracts from the subdivisional register prepared from the last census village tables were sent to the mauzadars with instructions to make necessary corrections in them after careful local enquiry by adding the names of villages which have been recently formed and by removing those which had disappeared since the last census, and giving, as nearly as possible, the present number of houses in each village, so that the list might represent exactly the present state of things.

Such revised and corrected lists were received from the mauzadars, and they were directed to make constant enquiries and to bring to notice any further alteration which might be needed from time to time either on account of omissions or mistakes which might have crept into the list or from subsequent formation or removal of villages or houses. The revised lists made by them were at the same time sent to the neighbouring mauzadars for being tested locally; and from these lists of villages the subdivisional register for the district was prepared.

In the portion of the district which has been cadastrally surveyed, the cadastral village was taken as the village unit; for the non-cadastral tracts the names of all the known villages, small or large, were given; but where the villages were small, several of them were grouped together for the purpose of forming a block.

Area was taken right.—*H. L. J.*

Area was not taken wrong.—*H. L. J.*

* * *

The information supplied by the mauzadars for the subdivisional register was generally very correct, especially that which related to the tracts which were permanently occupied and had fixed cultivation. * In mauzas which have *pams* and fluctuating cultivation frequent alterations were necessary; but this was no fault of the mauzadars. * Strict enquiry was repeatedly made by mauzadars, supervisor kanungos, and by charge superintendents in all places where there were *pams*, and new *pams* were discovered till so late as December.

* * *

As soon as the subdivisional register was prepared, it was recast into a circle list, and the blocks were formed in consultation with the mauzadars. This circle list, however, underwent great alteration on account of the discovery of more houses in the villages than those returned by the mauzadars. * The subdivisional register and the circle lists were both completed in September. * At the time of the next census, when in all probability most of our mauzadars will have ceased to exist as such and tahsildars will have been probably established in their stead, a census circle should be a mandal's circle, and not a mauza as at present, and the mandals of the circles should be their supervisors. From the mandal's circle list a village register should be prepared in the following form:

1	2	3	4	5	6
Name of mauza.	Number and name of circle.	Name of cadastral village.	Sub-villages under cadastral villages.	Number of houses in each sub-village.	Remarks.

The first three columns of this form should be filled up in the office, and an extract of the portion relating to each mandal's circle should be sent to the mandal in question to fill up the columns 4 and 5. These extracts should be issued in April, and returned by the mandals through their respective supervisor kanungos in May with a certificate from the kanungo that he has personally visited the villages and tested the accuracy of the mandals' entries.

* * *

The mauzadars were appointed supervisors of their respective mauzas or census circles, and several intelligent mandals and clerks from the office were appointed as assistant supervisors. Persons of all classes who could read and write were appointed as enumerators for the enumeration of the ordinary population. They consisted of office clerks, mandals, school pandits, shopkeepers, poundkeepers, and others. Excepting in one solitary case, all the enumerators for censusing the boat population and travellers were either head constables, writer constables, revenue and civil peons. Coolies employed in road work under the Public Works Department or Local Board were enumerated by the overseer under whom they were working or their muharrirs. Foresters and forest guards were appointed for enumerating people in the forests. The Doboka head constable was appointed enumerator for all elephant hunters whose base of operation was at Doboka. **Census officers.**

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Nowgong. The charge superintendents were appointed in July. The mauzadars were appointed supervisors at the beginning of the census operations, but their appointment letters were issued in September, and the ordinary enumerators were appointed in October after the receipt of the forms of appointment letter. Many fresh appointments had to be made in January on account of the removal of mandals from the district for assisting the cadastral survey.

Enumerators for the floating population, travellers, &c., were appointed about a month before the final census.

* * *

The district was divided into 36 circles, and these circles into 1,183 blocks. The total number of houses enumerated was 66,405, so the average number of houses in each block was 56·14.

* * *

The unpaid agency of enumerators generally worked very well without expecting any return for their services. It was only in four or five cases that the enumerators were called up for remissness and apathy, but in no case was it found necessary to award punishment.

* * *

House numbering. The house numbering was commenced at the beginning of October, immediately after the enumerators had received their appointment letters and the boundaries of their blocks had been pointed out to them. The houses of a block were numbered consecutively. The number given to a house was painted on a conspicuous part of its front wall in most cases with lime; houses which had walls of *ekra*, or such other material as would not admit of the number being painted on it, had a part of its front wall specially plastered with mud or cowdung for the purpose; houses with white walls had their numbers painted in black. House numbering was very largely tested by the charge superintendents and the supervisors. * The house numbering was done very carefully and accurately by the enumerators. Subsequent testing did not disclose any great mistakes in their work. In fact, the work was done with extraordinary correctness.

* * *

Instruction of enumerators. The instruction of the census officers was a matter of great trouble. Meetings of the charge superintendents were held by the Deputy Commissioner for the purpose. At these meetings the important circulars were read and explained. Frequent and unrestricted communication was permitted and encouraged regarding all questions relating to census matters; and in this way all possible facilities were afforded in the way of obtaining explanation on any matter which needed the same.

The charge superintendents in their turn repeatedly visited their respective charges, and collected the supervisors and enumerators under them, explaining to them the rules for filling in the schedules and making them fill up loose spare schedules in their presence to show how far the instructions were understood. This was no doubt the best method for imparting instruction.

* In some charges and circles the enumerators prepared a rough preliminary record in manuscript form, and this was allowed to be copied into the schedule after it had been checked and corrected by the charge superintendent. The schedule forms were distributed to most of the mauzas in the beginning of January, and the writing up of the preliminary record was commenced from the middle of that month. *

Preliminary record. With the exception of a few circles and tea gardens, the preliminary record was completely written up by the end of January.

* * *

The preliminary record was very largely tested on the spot by the charge superintendents and supervisors. The charge superintendents did their utmost, and extra hands were often employed by them to do the testing at places which they could not visit themselves. *
The sample schedule attached to the schedule book decidedly tended to confuse matters. Thus, for instance, in the sample schedule entry No. 2, a Kachari is shown as a 'Sakta.' This led many enumerators to show all Kacharis and other castes of pork-eaters and liquor-drinkers as 'Saktas.'

* * *

Final census. As enumerators were in most places local men belonging either to the block for which they were appointed enumerators, or to some neighbouring places, changes occasioned by birth or death were entered by them from time to time, thus making the work of the final night comparatively easy.

All gatherings or festivities, &c., having been prohibited by beat of drum for the census night, much additional labour which would otherwise have devolved on the enumerators was saved.

Our blocks were generally of a fairly small and convenient size. Most of the enumerators finished their work by about midnight; a few, however, had to be on duty till the early hours of morning.

It is needless to say that the charge superintendents, supervisors, and assistant supervisors were all out on the final night within their respective jurisdictions to see that the enumerators were actually out at work.

To strengthen the supervising agency on the final night, all the ministerial officers attached to the several offices at the headquarter station were told off and distributed all over the district under the several charge superintendents, and thus everything that could be possibly done was done to make the census a really thorough and accurate one.

* * *

Rough totalling. The preparation of the block abstract, I am inclined to believe, was not done quite in accordance with the instructions contained in Circular No. 19.

* * *

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I therefore think that it would be a great improvement if in the block list columns be added to show the total number of males and females in each house. In the remarks column the number of visitors, male and female, might be noted thus: Nowgong.

1	2	3	4			5
Number of house.	Name of headman.	Description of house.	Population.			Remarks.
			Male. (a)	Female. (b)	Total. (c)	
Total in the block or book						

Column 4 *a*, *b*, *c*, would enable us to check the correctness of the figures of each house and the total for the block.

These columns should, of course, be filled up after the final census. If these suggestions were adopted, we could probably dispense with the "Enumerator's abstract" altogether in future.

It was also found from experience that it would have been better if in the docket of the schedule books the number of the books issued to each enumerator for a block were not filled in until after the completion of the preliminary record.

* * *

Census of tea gardens.

The census of the tea gardens in the district was taken exactly in accordance with the instructions contained in Circular No. 10, dated the 10th October 1890.

* * *

The Deputy Commissioner during his cold-weather tour visited several of the tea gardens, and saw to the arrangements made by their managers for the carrying out of the census; but as it was not possible for him to visit all the tea gardens in the district and to see to the instruction of the supervisors and enumerators appointed by the managers on all these gardens and as no other European officers were available for the work, and neither of the two Extra Assistant Commissioners could be spared from the headquarter station, the charge superintendents were directed to visit the tea gardens within their respective charges to assist the managers in instructing the men appointed by them.

Charge superintendents who had tea gardens within their jurisdictions were made to pay three visits to all such gardens: once to see to the instruction of the garden census officers and the correct numbering of the houses; once again to see to the correct preparation of the preliminary record and to check the same where it was written up; and, thirdly, to collect the schedules after the final census. This last visit was considered desirable, as it enabled the charge superintendent to examine the schedules on the spot and to check and correct any entries if it were necessary to do so. Most of the enumerators in the tea gardens did very well. On gardens where the managers, or even the clerks and muharrirs, took interest in the matter, the work was done very satisfactorily.

* * *

I would here remark that the mere issue of the single page of printed "Instructions for the enumeration of tea gardens" was not, in my opinion, sufficient to form a full and complete guide to managers of gardens.

* * *

Boat census.

Patrolling was arranged for on all the principal rivers in the district, and the floating population on the rivers was counted by enumerators in boats. Boats in minor streams were censused by ordinary enumerators; each boat was treated by them as a 'house.' As regards the Brahmaputra, which lies between this and the Darrang district, it was arranged in communication with the Deputy Commissioner of that district that Nowgong would deal with all boats bound upwards, and Darrang with all those proceeding downwards. The enumerators of the Nowgong district counted all boats on the Nowgong side, whether upward or downward bound, and similarly the Darrang enumerators dealt with all boats on their side. After the final enumeration, Darrang forwarded to us in Nowgong all schedules relating to upward bound boats, and in the same way we forwarded the schedules of all downward bound boats to Darrang. A portion of the Kallang is situated between this and the Kamrup district; and it was arranged with the Deputy Commissioner of the latter district that our Nowgong enumerators should count all boats proceeding upwards, and the Kamrup enumerators all those proceeding downwards. The total boat population censused was 1,173, against 343 at the last census. This speaks for itself as to the efficiency of the measures adopted for enumerating the floating population in the district.

Markets.

There were no fairs or *hats* on the census day. A weekly *hat* meets at Jaluguti on Friday mornings, and it is largely attended by people from a distance, who leave their houses on the preceding day to attend the market. The 27th February, Friday, was a *hat* day, and if the *hat* had been allowed on that day, as usual, to be held, a large number of people would have been away on the census night from their homes; so, at the suggestion of the Provincial Superintendent, the Jaluguti market was suspended altogether for the census week, and inconvenience was avoided by the publication beforehand of notice to the effect that there would be no *hat* held during the week in question.

* * *

Travellers.

The census night was very well known to the people. The publication of notices to the effect that people should not be out of their home on that night produced very good results, as in several

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Sibsagar. instances marriages, which were arranged to be celebrated on that night, were actually put off for future dates.

The enumeration of the elephant hunters in the district was effected at the bases of their hunting operations. The names of the people who had gone into the forests about a fortnight before the final night were entered in the schedule books, and the men were given tickets to be shown to enumerators on the final night if on that night they chanced to be in any village and did not return back to their base stations.

* * *

Attitude of the people. The attitude of the people towards the census was most satisfactory, and it was all that could be desired. There was no resistance or obstruction encountered anywhere.

* * *

The Census Act. There were no actual prosecutions found necessary under the Act. In a few cases the enumerators were called up for remissness and apathy shown by them, but no further action was considered necessary.

* * *

It was found to be absolutely necessary that there should be an officer permanently stationed at the district headquarter station to hold immediate executive charge of the census for the above reason; and this duty was most ably and intelligently performed by the senior Extra Assistant Commissioner, Babu Rajmohan De.

* * *

My hearty acknowledgments are also due to the following officers, who acted as charge superintendents:

Dr. McNaught, Civil Medical Officer.
Babu S. C. Majumdar, Extra Assistant Commissioner.
" Bhola Nath Das, Sub-Deputy Collector.
" Har Kishor Dhar, Inspector of Police.
" Ram Mohan Mitra, Head Master.
" Raj Kumar Majumdar, Sub-Inspector of Schools.
" Bhadrasen Barua, " "
" Hem Chandra Das, Overseer, Local Board.

These officers worked heartily and energetically, and there can be no question that very much of the success of our recent district census is due to their zealous and untiring co-operation.

* * *

Sibsagar.—*Extracts from the Report of Mr. C. W. E. Pittar, C.S., Offg. Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar:*

Preparation of village lists. Rough lists of villages were prepared in my office on the 10th May 1890 from the census list of 1881, and were sent to the mauzadars with instructions to make necessary additions and alterations by careful personal enquiry on the ground. They were received in my office after verification on different dates between the 12th and 30th June 1890.

From these lists the subdivisional register of villages and circle lists were prepared, and the selection of supervisors and enumerators by the mauzadars was carefully considered and necessary alterations were made, regard being had to the willingness and ability of the persons selected. As soon as the register and the circle lists thus prepared became ready, instructions were received from your office (*vide* letter No. 302, dated the 5th August 1890) that cadastral villages for areas entirely cadastrally surveyed and the gaonburas' circles for the non or partly cadastrally surveyed areas should be taken as a village instead of ordinary villages. Village lists were immediately called for from the Cadastral Settlement Officer; and on receipt of these in August 1890, copies were at once sent to the mauzadars for verification and resubmission in the place of the lists formerly submitted. These lists were received back in August 1890. The subdivisional register of villages had thus to be rewritten in my office.

The village lists were verified by mauzadars, and were found to be complete and exhaustive. The testing done by the general superintendents, who were the two Extra Assistant Commissioners, the Police Inspector, the Sub-Inspector of Schools, and Public Works Overseer, showed that no villages were left out.

* * *

On the 28th August 1890 extracts from the circle lists for each charge, together with a map prepared in my office marking all the blocks in each charge, were sent to the charge superintendents and supervisors with instructions to test them on the ground and to acquaint themselves with the area allotted to each. The mauzadars were particularly asked to see that no outlying villages, *mohkhutis* (buffalo pens), *pams*, and houses in jungles and forests were left out. As a matter of fact, the locality of these *pams*, *khutis*, &c., are well known to the mauza officers; and they either included these in adjacent village blocks, or made separate blocks of comparatively large and detached areas. Occasional testing by general superintendents showed that no such areas were left out. The subdivisional register was finally completed by the first week of September 1890, and the circle list on the same date.

* * *

Regarding the form of register, &c., I should say that the circle list should contain the names of charge superintendents and supervisors, and should thus be a complete list both of the

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agency appointed and the area to be censused. These particulars we showed in our circle list (under column 1), and thus made it a complete record of the census agency and divisions. Sibsagar.

The subdivision was parcelled into 16 charges. Each mauza was made a charge with the exception of the town mauza, or Nagar mahal, which was divided into two charges, one comprising the area within municipal limits, and the other outside that limit. The number of charge superintendents was 16, of whom 15 were mauzadars of their respective mauzas, and one the head master of the Government school, who was made charge superintendent for the municipal limits. Over all these was appointed a superior class of officers with the title of general superintendents. Their number was altogether 7, and the 16 charges were divided among them according to the dimensions of the area to be supervised, some getting three, some two, and some one. These were— Census officers.

Extra Assistant Commissioner	2
Public Works Department Overseer	1
Deputy Conservator	1
Police Inspector	1
District Superintendent	1
Sub-Inspector of Schools	1
	7

* * *

The minimum number of houses in a block was 9 and the maximum 118. The average number per block was 51.

* * *

No difficulty was experienced by any one in understanding what 'house' meant.

* * *

House numbering commenced in the first week of October 1890, and was completed by the end of November. House numbering.

* * *

We first numbered new houses with letters or fractions, thus 5 A or 5½, but latterly abandoned this in favour of continuing the old numbers serially as more convenient and showing us at a glance what the total was. In no case was any house found unnumbered.

* * *

The first step taken in regard to the preliminary record was to call a meeting of charge superintendents and to explain the nature of the entries to be made in the schedules. Some supervisors and enumerators also attended the meeting. The charge superintendents then assembled the enumerators in different centres in their charges and explained to them all difficult points. Loose schedules were also distributed, and enumerators were made to fill them either in the presence of charge or general superintendents. These instructions perhaps would have been sufficient had there been any sort of homogeneity in the population of the district or enumerators had been recruited from a more intelligent class. As a matter of fact, however, sample entries were found to be quite insufficient, and frequently several wrong entries were found in columns exactly corresponding with the samples. Instruction of enumerators.

* * *

The preliminary record commenced in the first week of January, and was completed by the first week of February. Preliminary record.

Testing of the preliminary record was done on a large scale by the general superintendents, charge superintendents, and supervisors. There was hardly a block which escaped testing by one or other of these three classes of officers. Testing.

* * *

There were of course mistakes found in the enumerators' work on actual verification, but they were few, and the work was found in all cases done in a pretty fairly accurate manner. The mistakes were either of (*a*) omission of people or (*b*) in filling in the schedule.

* * *

The total number of mistakes of omission was very few, and I think, roughly speaking, I can put it at about 3 or 4 per 10,000.

Mistakes in filling in the schedules were many, and these mistakes were made in columns 2-5 and 9-11. Considering the nature of the population and the staff of supervisors and enumerators we had to deal with, such mistakes were only natural. The information wanted in these columns is so elaborate and of such a difficult nature that even the highest class of census officers (general superintendents) could not in some cases give clear and definite instructions without a careful study of the whole subject. Difficulties were especially felt in the case of foreign population, such as time-expired coolies settled in different *bastis* and other foreigners. These people could not themselves give intelligible answers.

* * *

On the final night a gaonbura was deputed with each enumerator, and he was again strictly warned to see that the enumerators actually visited every house. Where the gaonbura himself was the enumerator, a second person was deputed to accompany him. People in general were instructed to avoid fixing dates for weddings and other ceremonies as far as possible, and these instructions were readily obeyed. Each house kept a light burning at its door. Red ink in the shape of magenta was previously supplied to all charge superintendents and distributed by them to all enumerators. Supervisors were strictly enjoined to visit as many blocks as possible; and, finally, the mauzadars and most of the general superintendents took their position in different central spots, Final census.

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Sibsagar. and supervised the work of the final census. In addition to these, advantage was taken of the closing of the office, and clerks were deputed to different places in the mufassil to visit as many blocks as possible during the night. It will thus be seen that the arrangements were elaborate and comprehensive, and a very large number of blocks was actually visited by some one or other of the superior officers in the course of the night or the next day. In the town and the Nagar mahal mauza, the arrangements were so good that a supervisor accompanied each enumerator to every house during the night.

For this purpose the supervising staff here was strengthened by the addition of all available clerks of every office and school in the town. To obviate possible contingencies, we had a reserve of enumerators in every mauza in case of casualties. They were resorted to in a few cases.

* * *

The Extra Assistant Commissioner in charge was at Disangmukh and in its neighbourhood on the final census night. He supervised the counting of 3 blocks and of the special boat block at Disangmukh, and enumerated 63 coolies in the depôt there. The result of his supervision was that he discovered 2 men in a hut on a sandbank not enumerated, but 2 men in a boat counted twice over, not having received a ticket. Generally, I suppose omissions and double enumerations would counterbalance each other, as the work seems to have been very carefully done.

* * *

The district totals were telegraphed to the Provincial Superintendent and Census Commissioner, Simla, on the 7th March. Golaghat and Jorhat wired their totals on the 3rd and 5th respectively.

* * *

The mauza books were all brought in by the supervisors, and many of the tea gardens sent their books by their own men. The rest were brought in by special men deputed by me. The abstracts being all gone through and verified in my office, the books were despatched to your office on the 13th in accordance with the instructions contained in paragraph 6 of Census Circular No. 5.

* * *

Census of tea gardens. Instructions for the enumeration of tea gardens were received in this office on the 20th October 1890, and printed letters were issued to all managers with the necessary instructions. A supplementary circular was issued from this office on the 23rd December, but its object was defeated by its length, and planters in many cases shirked studying it. Great stress was laid on the definition of a house, and managers were also roused to their responsibility of enumerating persons living outside the coolie lines but inside the grants. Finally, the managers were requested to give the number of blocks, the number of houses in each block, and the number of persons likely to be enumerated on the estate. This information, even after repeated reminders, was not given by many managers in time; and consequently books had to be issued in many cases without docketting, the calculation having been made on the number of persons found in the latest emigration registers and returns. This created a little confusion in the supply of books, which was however soon remedied by officers being sent to different groups of gardens to see how the work of division into blocks was done. These officers were furnished with a supply of books, from which they supplemented the previous supply where necessary.

* * *

Mr. Fordyce, the Deputy Conservator of Forests, was deputed to look to the tea garden arrangements. The numbering of houses and their division into blocks were on a good many gardens carried out under his instructions and supervision. Mr. Duncan, the two extra assistant commissioners, and I all visited tea gardens in different directions.

I encouraged managers as much as possible to refer their difficulties to me, and some did so, and even sent in books for correction. All the gardens were visited at some time or other, and only one or two at most were not visited after the preliminary record commenced. The difficulties experienced in filling in the columns relating to caste, birth place, mother tongue, &c., were naturally great. On the whole, great interest was taken by the enumerators. The quality of the work varied directly with the interest taken by the managers, and naturally so. Garden muharrirs in the one case are anxious to please, in the other they are not.

The preliminary record was tested on nearly every garden by Mr. Fordyce, Mr. Duncan, myself, and two extra assistant commissioners. Not only were the books scrutinised, but houses were visited and entries carefully checked. In many cases the schedules had been very carefully prepared, not a single omission was discovered. * I can answer for the correctness of the population and generally of entries, but of course some errors must be expected in the more difficult columns.

* * *

Copies of demi-official letters to managers and printed instructions were received late. These ought to reach the district two months before the commencement of the preliminary record.

It would be desirable to have either smaller schedules with room for four entries in each printed specially for tea gardens, or to relax the rules regarding entries of one house in each page. The rule was relaxed this year, but too late to prevent a large waste of schedules.

* * *

Boat census. Special enumerators were appointed to enumerate boats in twelve ghats, which were formed into special boat blocks on account of their importance.

Two patrol stations were formed at the Disangmukh and the Dihingmukh ghats. For the Dihing river, which forms the boundary between Dibrugarh and Sibsagar, arrangements were made with the Deputy Commissioner of Dibrugarh for the enumeration by his district of boats

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going down, and by us of upward bound boats. For boats likely to be found in places other than recognised ghats, enumerators of adjacent village blocks were instructed to go to the riverside and enumerate them. Such cases were, however, very few, as charge superintendents and supervisors had arranged to stop boats, as far as possible, in the principal ghats on the evening of the 26th. Enumerators were ordered to remain at their ghats from nightfall of the 26th, and they did so. In the special ghats on the Brahmaputra the enumerators were required to stop for three successive nights. **Lakhimpur.**

* * *

For enumeration of carters and travellers twenty stations were formed on the seven principal roads. The police and the mauzadars were ordered to stop travellers and carters at those places after nightfall of the 26th, and the enumerators of the nearest blocks were ordered to enumerate them and to issue tickets. These enumerators were ordered to wait at those stations till 8 or 9 a.m. on the 27th, to enumerate those who might have escaped enumeration the night before. Special supervisors from my office were sent out on the 26th to the most important ones of these stations to see that the work of enumeration was properly done, and they reported that the work was well done. Many Nagas were found sleeping under trees by the roadside; but as these were hill Nagas, they were not counted at all, according to instructions received from your office.† Travellers.

* * *

The attitude of the people was indifferent. Survivors from the last census dispelled any vague doubts the younger people had at the beginning. Attitude of the people.

There were a few cases of extortion in connection with the census. * In the first case the enumerator deputed his brother to affix numbers to houses, and the brother in doing so took 14 annas from 14 houses, at the rate of one anna per house, as his labour. The Census Act.

* * *

Another case was against a mandal. It turned out to be false. The coolie settlers had a grudge against the man, and thought to give their grievances more prominence by making them a census matter.

A stranger, pretending to be a census enumerator, took Rs. 5-4 from some time-expired coolie settlers in mauza Sologuri. The Kya of the Sologuri tea garden was also duped. He paid 8 annas, and gave Rs. 3-1 worth of articles on credit; and with these the man disappeared, and no trace of him could be found afterwards.

* * *

The fourth is quoted below from Mr. Duncan's diary:

"The manager (Mr. Watson of Domerdallang) told me of a case of blackmailing on the part of one of his enumerators, a muharrir of a long time good character. He had taken 4 annas, not from an ignorant coolie, but from the garden Kya, a man who could read and write. Mr. Watson dismissed him at once."

The provisions of the Act were quite sufficient, but I am glad to record that in no instance was any recourse to the Act considered necessary.

The elaborate arrangements made for carrying out the work, the trouble taken by all concerned in testing the work at every important stage commencing from village lists and ending with the red ink entries of the final census night, and the earnest endeavours of all the officers whose help and co-operation were given are good grounds for considering the result to be accurate and reliable.

* * *

The census codes in Assamese were this time received very late, and they were very few in number. They should, I think, be printed earlier, and in sufficient numbers to enable us to supply supervisors also.

* * *

I cannot close this report without recording my appreciation of the work done and interest taken by Munshi Azizar Rahman and, after his transfer, by Rai Jogesh Chandra Chatturji Bahadur, who were in charge of the office work at headquarters.

* * *

Mr. Fordyce did most of the tea garden work. He not only took a lively interest in the work himself, but, what was very valuable, used his personal influence in rousing the managers to a similar interest.

Lakhimpur.—*Extracts from the Report of Mr. R. S. Greenshields, C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur:*

The preparation of the subdivisional register was taken in hand early in May 1890. The revision with reference to the mauzadars' local enquiry was completed, barring the municipality and the Sadiya thana, by the middle of June. Mr. Lea completed the municipal portion by the end of July, while the Assistant Political Officer did his part by the early part of September. Between June and October the register was under verification by the Sub-Deputy Collector and others. The corrections suggested by these officers were so numerous that the register had to be Preparation of village lists.

† The enumeration in the hills being non-synchronous, the orders were that persons should be counted in the place where they ordinarily resided, whether actually present on the day of enumeration or not. To have counted them in Sibsagar would, therefore, have resulted in double enumeration.

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Lakhimpur.

rewritten. This was completed on the 4th October, on which date the circle lists were also prepared, and supplied to the supervisors. On the 9th October a copy of the register was submitted to the Superintendent of Census.

The absence of any district report of last census caused inconvenience. There are no revenue villages in this district, except Miri villages, and even these are not separate village units, as the *paiks* of one *gam* are often scattered over several villages. There has been no cadastral survey; the revenue survey map shows very few villages, and most of those have disappeared or changed. Gaonburas' circles are ill defined. Still I do not think that any village of a permanent character was omitted. It is possible that some temporary settlements in the jungles may have escaped our officers, but I do not know that this actually occurred in any case. If in future the local extent of the census be clearly defined beforehand, there will not be the same delay or omission to register that there was regarding some frontier tract villages on this occasion.

* * *

Census officers.

There were finally eleven superintendents for the eleven charges.

* * *

Besides the eleven superintendents named above, the Agent, Assam Railways and Trading Company, appointed a railway employé, Mr. A. B. Hawkins, for superintending the census operations on the Dibru-Sadiya Railway.

* * *

The several superintendents had altogether 54 supervisors.

* * *

There were altogether 45,877 houses and 688 blocks in the subdivision. Then the average number of houses per block in the subdivision was 66·68. Excluding unoccupied houses, the average number of houses per block in the subdivision would be 63·96.

Sixty houses are not too many in a town or thickly populated village, but many of our villages are straggling. We cannot, however, multiply the number of blocks unless we can get sufficient enumerators.

In tea gardens I rather encouraged large blocks, as the preliminary enumeration could be done at leisure by one or two men specially employed, and they could be helped by others on the final night :

House numbering.

Some of my superintendents report that they had difficulty in making their enumerators understand the definition of a 'house,' but I think it was generally well understood. All enumerators were instructed on the point but the definition was not printed in their instructions, and was only available in the code and circulars, of which few copies were issued. It should be printed on the block lists and embodied in the instructions.

Except in the three frontier villages of Wakret, Mohong, and Kumargaon, house numbering was everywhere tested by the supervisors.

* * *

In Dumduma considerable errors were brought to light on this testing, so I cannot say that the enumerators' work there was very accurate.

* * *

Instruction of enumerators.

Before the preliminary record was commenced, the supervisors were instructed in the rules by the superintendents ; when it was found that they had sufficiently mastered the rules, they were sent round to instruct the enumerators. The instructions of the supervisors were often supplemented by lectures given by the superintendents or by myself to enumerators assembled at central places selected for the purpose. By way of further practical instruction every enumerator was made to fill in loose sample schedules. These were returned after correction. The attention of all superintendents was repeatedly drawn to the necessity of carefully instructing the enumerators, and they were directed to satisfy themselves that each enumerator was fully instructed before he began his work. In some cases this was tested by examination of the enumerator.

* * *

Preliminary record.

In Sadiya, Kadamoni, Kathalguri, and Miri *paik* mahals the preliminary record was commenced on the 15th January and completed by the middle of February. In Mankatta it was commenced on the 17th January and completed on the 1st week of February. In Dumduma it began on the 15th January. It was finished on the 26th February 1891. In Margherita the record was taken in hand on the last week of January, and completed by the end of the second week of February. In the tract between the Buri Dehing and the Noa Dehing it was commenced from the 23rd February and finished by the 26th February, that is, it was made just before the census and corrected by the final night.

* * *

Testing.

The testing was most complete probably in Sadiya. I myself tested the record in all villages on the line of march from North Lakhimpur to Dibrugarh, in the cantonments and municipality, at stations along the line of railway, at Margherita, in a number of gardens in the Dumduma charge, and along the Tingrai road, in villages at and on the road from Jaipur, and at the steamer ghat. My time was largely, if not mainly, occupied in supervising and testing the census work.

As regards numbers, the census taken in this district was, I believe, as accurate as a census taken in this country by an unpaid agency can practically be.

* * *

All the Lalungs in the large village near Sissi returned themselves as Koch, but this tendency had been noticed some years previously and not in connection with the census.

* * *

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Enumerators sometimes wished to question the legality of an alleged marriage. Some garden muharrirs seemed to think that no coolies were properly married, and others that none should be reckoned as good Hindus. Lakhimpur.

* * *

A week or so before the final census, people were again informed of the orders issued from my office that they should avoid, if possible, celebrating marriages or other like ceremonies on the night of the 26th February, and should keep a light burning in front of their houses and remain awake in their own homes till the enumerator visited them. Gaonburas were ordered to accompany the enumerators on their rounds. The enumerators were also ordered to be punctual at their post on the final day, and were again taught as to how they should proceed with the final recording. On the night of the 26th they were assembled in a central place, and started for the work by their superintendents or supervisors at about 8 o'clock—a time when the people are generally settled down for the night after their daily work. The enumerators then visited every house of their blocks, and read out the entries to the owner of the house and made necessary corrections with red ink. Final census.

Three days before the final census, the supervising staff was strengthened by the deputation of clerks and other Government servants.

* * *

The services of all available officers were utilised. Each superintendent had several clerks placed temporarily under his disposal. The District Engineer visited gardens near Tinsukia on the Hugrijan road, and collected the books afterwards. Superintendents were directed to remain at some central spot in their charge. The District Superintendent of Police at Dumduma and the Deputy Conservator of Forests at Margherita had their own offices to assist them. Mr. Nicholl, Assistant Commissioner, was at Jaipur with Babu Padmanath Barua, revenue peshkar, under him at Tengakhat. Mr. Lea was in charge of the municipality with a large number of municipal commissioners and clerks to help. In the Miri *paik* mahals a clerk and a muharrir were deputed, the charge was divided, and the supervising officers dropped down the river inspecting. In the Sissi charge the revenue head muharrir aided the Government surveyor. Five temporary supervisors were appointed in the head master's charge.

* * *

I went down to the steamer ghat on the afternoon of the 26th, and stayed there till long after midnight. I checked the enumeration in bungalows and steamers, and in all the blocks at the ghat and on the road back, accompanying different enumerators on their rounds. The work was properly performed, and I found everywhere that the supervisors and enumerators had actually gone their rounds. The people were all in their houses, and the streets were deserted. The bright moonlight much facilitated operations. Many census officers were up all night.

* * *

The enumerators' abstracts were prepared in accordance with the instructions laid down in the Provincial Superintendent's Circular No. 19.

* * *

While watching the preparation of abstracts, I observed a tendency on the part of superintendents and others to ignore the principle laid down, *viz.*, that of independent compiling by two enumerators, the results, if agreeing, being accepted without further check, and to give themselves unnecessary trouble by going over the calculation again.

* * *

The district totals were wired to the Superintendent of Census on the 6th March on receipt of North Lakhimpur figures.

* * *

In November the 135 tea gardens in the sadr subdivision were allotted among European officers, the District Superintendent of Police, the Assistant Commissioner, and Mr. Lea, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and they were requested to visit each garden and instruct the managers. The District Superintendent of Police and the Assistant Commissioner had the gardens situated in their charges to supervise, 31 and 26, respectively. Mr. Lea had nominal charge of the remainder; but I visited many of the gardens, and latterly Munshi Azizar Rahman, Extra Assistant Commissioner, was put in charge of gardens in his charge. The District Superintendent of Police also visited about ten of these gardens. Everywhere superintendents and supervisors were ordered to assist and instruct the garden enumerators when necessary. The orders regarding census of tea garden population were not issued till comparatively late, and there was some delay in issuing enumeration books, as they had not been included in the district indent. Some difficulty was experienced in obtaining reports of the number of houses and formation of blocks, as mistakes were made owing to the misunderstanding of the definition of 'house' in the coolie lines, but these were all set right by visits to the gardens, or writing or speaking to managers. Generally, the head clerk of the garden was supervisor and the muharrirs enumerators. In some cases managers themselves acted as supervisors. The preliminary enumeration was begun later than among the general population, but occupied a much shorter time. The record was corrected from time to time until the census night, and again revised on that night. Special arrangements were made for the collection of garden books. Managers were directed to send their books in to a local centre, and groups of gardens employed a common messenger. In most cases the abstracts were compiled on the gardens, but near the local centres the managers were asked to send in one or more enumerators with their books. Local centres were formed at Dibrugarh, Chabua, and Tinsukia, besides centres of charges, and several clerks were deputed to visit groups of gardens, and after checking the compilation of the figures to bring in the books. Census of tea gardens.

* * *

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Lakhimpur.

Mr. Clark's arrangements for census of tea gardens were very complete. A circular was issued pointing out to managers the advantage of obtaining an accurate record of the immigrant population, and this had the effect of securing hearty co-operation from the large concerns in that neighbourhood.

* * *

The District Superintendent of Police reports that the preliminary record was inspected by himself or his subordinates on all gardens in his charge. Generally, in my own inspections I confined myself to the scrutiny of books; and if satisfied that the manager and his subordinates were taking an interest in the work, I did not go into details. In one garden in which I checked the record on the spot I found some mistakes.

* * *

The census in cantonments was, I believe, practically accurate.

* * *

The arrangements for the census of the railway population gave more trouble than any other branch of the work. The agent and the employés generally looked on the census as a matter of less importance than their own business; and I found it necessary to remonstrate on more than one occasion, and to exercise constant and personal supervision. Although the work was in consequence delayed, it was eventually fairly well done.

* * *

Boat census.

The boat population in the sadr subdivision is small, and the work was light. It was arranged that boats plying on the Brahmaputra between Dibrugarh and Sadiya should be enumerated, as far as possible, before they started, if they were not likely to reach the one or the other station before the 26th February. An enumerator was stationed at Hilonimur, a central point. He enumerated five boats, as stated in the Sadiya report.

Two special enumerators were posted on the Brahmaputra near the Sissi Saw Mills below Dibrugarh and one on the Buri Suti. Most of the population in boats were enumerated at village ghats. Five enumerators enumerated boats in the Miri *paik* mahals; four boats were enumerated in the Extra Assistant Commissioner's charge, one in Dumduma. In the neighbourhood of Dibrugarh, the population of eight steamers and 59 boats was enumerated. A head constable was appointed special enumerator, with several persons to assist him at different points. I checked and supervised the census of the steamers on the final night.

* * *

Attitude of the people.

The bulk of the people, so far as could be judged from their behaviour, were apathetic and indifferent; and, although there was much curiosity and excitement in some quarters, even alarm, there was nothing approaching to active obstruction. In endeavouring to gauge the feelings of the people, it must be remembered that in this district, besides exciting the apprehensions common to an Indian population on such an occasion, the census had for many the mysterious terrors of the unknown.

Even in tracts which were included in the operations of 1881, and part of the area now reported on was not then included, a large proportion of the population had forgotten or denied the fact of a former census, and a census conducted in the manner in which the late census has been accomplished was beyond all expectation.

The numbering of houses, the elaborate form of enumeration book, the curious, even inquisitive, questions of the enumerator, the checking in the villages by European officers, all these were novel and suspicious features, quite sufficient amidst a rude and ignorant population to give rise to a very general belief that something serious was contemplated by Government.

The immigrant population feared an increase of taxation; the Miris, Abors, and poll tax-paying population an increase of the poll tax, or the imposition of the tax on those who did not already pay it; the Khamtis and Singphos assessment to land revenue. The Abor gam at Dijmur and Jolhing gam of Bisa, the Singpho chief, were assured by me personally that no increased taxation was intended. Other rumours current among the Assamese were the one noticed at the last census, that unmarried girls were to be taken away and given as wives to soldiers. In some cases it is stated that parents actually hurried on the marriage of their daughters.

In this connection a curious case may be quoted. A man complained shortly after the census that two youths had gone to his house on the night of the 26th February before the enumerator came round, and persuaded his wife and daughters that the girls would be taken away to be married to soldiers, and so induced the daughters to go with them. On enquiry it appeared that the girls' lovers had told the mother some such story as was alleged; and while she went to make enquiries of the neighbours, they eloped with the two daughters.

One superintendent reports that among some classes of Kacharis and Ahoms it was believed that the object of the census was to ascertain who were true Hindus, and that those who ate fowls would be returned as Musalmans.

In one village it is stated that all fowls were actually buried alive, that their owners might not be suspected of being fowl-eaters.

In parts of the frontier tract in the Mesaki mauza, some people believed that persons enumerated would not be allowed to leave British territory.

The Naga visitors from the hills naturally viewed the census with suspicion. All the Nagas working on a new tea garden at Margherita absconded the morning after the census. They have since returned.

* * *

The Census Act.

In only one case was a prosecution ordered against a man for failing to act as enumerator. He was discharged, as he did not appear to me to be a fit person for appointment.

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Naga Hills.

The provisions of the Act appear to me to be sufficient. One of my superintendents recommends that the showing of a light on the night of the final census be made compulsory, but I cannot support this recommendation.

In the meantime it may be stated that the present census is undoubtedly more accurate than any previous census taken. Even the last census of 1881 appears to have been a rough and ready counting of the people. Houses were not numbered, it is doubtful whether enumeration books were used in all cases, and in the frontier tracts few details were recorded.

At the same time, considering the difficulties to be encountered, especially the ignorance of the population and of the enumerators, it would be idle to hope for absolute or ideal accuracy. The reality must for the present fall far short of this. I think we should be satisfied if the census was practically as good a one as could be taken under the circumstances; and this, I think, we may safely say it was.

As regards numbers, every one agrees that it was practically accurate.

* * *

Some criticisms and suggestions have been made in other paragraphs of this report, and there is not much to add. The supply of copies of the code and instructions generally was rather limited, and these should be more freely distributed in future. The Assamese version was received late. The translations, *agsheshaloi* and *pohpalkhaonta*, were not understood. The instructions as to occupation issued at the last census seem to me to put more clearly the fact, that people who *work* should be shown under each occupation. At first there was some doubt in places about working-children and females of the agriculturist class.

* * *

Lists of sects and castes and occupations prepared either locally or for the Province would be very useful. I intended at one time to prepare a list of castes, but gave it up; a list of districts of foreigners would also be useful.

* * *

I observe that the suggestion made in the last Provincial Census Report that household schedules should be more freely distributed was not adopted. I am not aware of the reason. I think a free issue of such schedules to educated native householders would be appreciated, and would tend to diffuse an interest in and knowledge of census matters.

Naga Hills.—*Extracts from the Report of Mr. A. W. Davis, C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills:*

Preparation of village lists.

For census purposes this district was divided into five charges, containing 29 circles

These charges were—

(1) Kohima, which included—
- (*a*) Kohima station and cantonment.
- (*b*) Kohima-Golaghat road.
- (*c*) The Angamis and Lazema.

(2) Dimapur, which included—
- (*a*) Dimapur and Nichuguard.
- (*b*) Barpathar.
- (*c*) Rengmas, Mikirs, and Kacharis.

(3) Henima, which included—
- (*a*) Kacha Nagas.
- (*b*) Kukis.

(4) Wokha (Lhota Nagas).

(5) Mokokchang (Ao Nagas).

Except in Kohima station and along the Kohima-Golaghat road, the census of this district was spread over a period of three months. It began on the 1st December, and was completed, except in one instance, before the end of February.

* * *

Complete lists of villages for all the villages in the hills portion of the district being available in my office, there was no difficulty in preparing the subdivisional register and circle list for Kohima, Wokha, Mokokchang, and the Kacha Naga portion of the Henima charge.

For the low hills and plains mauzas lists of villages were supplied by the mauzadars. These lists were partially tested by Assistant Surgeon Tamizuddin Ahmed, who was in charge of the census in the plains and low hills mauzas.

* * *

In the Kuki portion of the Henima charge the village lists, as furnished by my office, were verified by Belbong havildar, the supervisor for this charge. He was deputed with a sepoy from the 1st November to make complete block lists of all Kuki villages, and I am confident that we have got the census of all the Kuki villages in this district.

* * *

The subdivisional register was completed in August 1890. The circle lists were completed, as far as possible, in October 1890.

* * *

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Naga Hills.

In future censuses of this district the work of verifying lists of villages and preparing block lists for the Kukis, Kacharis, Mikirs, and Rengmas (plains) should be begun not later than November 1st. Of course the present village lists for those tribes will be ten years hence practically worthless, owing to their migratory habits.

Census officers.

The charge superintendents were four in number, and consisted of—for Kohima the Assistant Commissioner, for Wokha the tahsildar, for Mokokchang the subdivisional officer, for the plains mauzas the Assistant Surgeon.

There were two supervisors, *i.e.*, Mr. Pritchard, of the Public Works Department, who was in charge of a portion of the Golaghat-Kohima road, and Belbong havildar, of the Military Police, who looked after the census operations in the Henima charge. Altogether 51 enumerators were employed. Of these, six, *i.e.*, four literate Angami Nagas, the fourth clerk of my office, and one military policeman, were employed on the non-synchronous portion of the Kohima charge. Fifteen, *i.e.*, the clerks of my office, with eight Public Works Department muharrirs, were employed on the night of the 26th February in taking the census of Kohima station and the various sections of the Kohima-Golaghat road. Six, *i.e.*, five military policemen, and the pandit of the Bargaon school, were employed in the Wokha subdivision. Twelve, *i.e.*, four military policemen, the pandit of the Ungma school, and seven school teachers in the employ of the American Baptist Mission, took the census of the Mokokchang subdivision. Ten, *i.e.*, eight mauzadars, one muharrir, and one civil policeman, were employed in taking the census of the plains and low hill mauzas. Two, *i.e.*, one military policeman and one Angami head constable of civil police, were employed in the Henima charge.

* * *

The number of paid men was as follows :

1 supervisor,	on Rs. 10	per month	(4 months).
1 enumerator,	„	„	(2 „).
20 enumerators	on Rs. 5	„	(4 „).
Total ... 22			

As these men were in nearly all instances called on to work continuously for a period of four months, it was considered necessary to pay them in order to give them some incentive to work properly.

* * *

The enumerators in nearly every instance—I speak more particularly of the non-synchronous portion of the district—worked very well. Except in the case of the Rengma mauzadar, the census work was everywhere finished before the end of February. In the Mokokchang subdivision the enumeration of nine small villages was done by seven school teachers of the American Baptist Mission, whose services were placed at my disposal by the Reverend E. W. Clark of Molong. Mr. Clark himself did nothing.

The estimate originally made by Mr. Porteous that each enumerator would be able to enumerate about thirty houses a day turned out to be very fairly accurate. Of course a man could actually do about sixty or seventy houses a day; but when allowance was made for the time occupied in travelling from village to village, in affixing numbers to the houses, and the delays occasioned by references to the charge superintendent, it was found that an average of thirty houses a day for each enumerator was very near the mark.

* * *

Instruction of enumerators.

The enumerators were personally instructed by the charge superintendents during November. The method of instruction was to make the men practise under the personal supervision of the superintendent at some village near the headquarters station.

* * *

From my own observations, and from what I learn from the charge superintendents, I think that, on the whole, the enumerators' work was very fairly done.

* * *

The totals for block abstracts were first made out by the enumerators and entered on separate slips of paper. These slips, together with the enumeration books, were sent in to headquarters. Here the totals were tested by clerks or by the charge superintendent and, when all the enumerators had returned to headquarters, by other enumerators. After being checked, the totals were entered in the enumerators' abstracts. From the enumerators' abstracts circle abstracts were made out in some cases by the charge superintendents personally, and in all cases under their immediate supervision. The charge abstracts were made out by the charge superintendents.

* * *

The only road on which there are any travellers besides Nagas is the Kohima-Golaghat road. For census purposes this road, the length of which is (in this district) 92 miles, was divided into blocks, each block being entrusted to the care of a Public Works Department muharrir. Orders were issued to cartmen and others that they were not to travel on the night of the 26th, and that they were, as far as possible, to halt at one or other of the recognised stages along the road.

Attitude of the people.

The attitude of the people with reference to the census was completely passive. They offered no obstruction to the taking of the census, and the work was carried on quite quietly.

The people (Nagas) at first in many instances thought that the object of the census was in some way or other to get an increased amount of revenue out of them. Before the census was completed, however, they must have given up this notion, for in no instance were they called on to pay more revenue than they had been used to pay in former years. The more civilised

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among the Nagas, to whom the objects of the census were explained, considered it quite natural that the great Maharani should desire to know the exact number of her subjects. **Khasi and Jaintia Hills.**

* * *

Accuracy of the results.

I consider the results of the census in this district to have been very fairly accurate. My reasons for arriving at the conclusion are—

(*a*) In the hills no house or village could possibly escape enumeration.

(*b*) Nagas have no caste, so the columns which had reference to distinction of castes presented no difficulties to the enumerators.

(*c*) The enumerators appeared to take considerable interest in their work, especially the Angami enumerators, who were very keen to find out the exact size and population of villages in their own country.

* * *

It is possible that in the occupation column (column 11) many men who are shown as having no land of their own really have land, and have returned themselves as having none in the hope of being exempted from paying revenue. No reliance, of course, can be placed on the accuracy of the age column (column 7). No Naga has the vaguest idea of his own age, and in most instances ages, as given in the enumeration-books, are overestimates. I have always found that *Nagas are inclined to overestimate their ages.*

The entries in column 8 as to civil condition are probably very accurate. Slight confusion was caused by the contradictory instructions issued by you as to the manner in which divorced women should be shown. In your letter to me, No. 488, dated the 23rd September 1890, you say "divorced women should be shown as unmarried;" but in paragraph 3 of your Circular No. 15, dated the 29th November 1890, you say "persons who are legally divorced or who are so separated as, in the opinion of persons of their own caste, to be able to contract a second alliance, should be shown as *widowed*." † This is, however, not a point of very great importance.

The other columns of the schedules, *i.e.*, 9, 10, 12, and 13, presented no particular difficulties in this district, and the entries in them, as well as in column 14, may, on the whole, be considered to be very accurate.

Finally, the amount of actual testing done by the superintendents was very satisfactory, and must have gone a good way towards rendering the results of the census accurate.

* * *

The census of 1891 is the first census that has been taken of this district. In 1881 the state of the district was considered to be too disturbed to admit of a census being taken. The rough estimate, however, which was made at that time was apparently a very fairly accurate one. This estimate gave the population of the district as 94,380. Since then the Mokokchang subdivision, with a population of 26,382, has been added to the district, and the total for the whole district has been found to be 1,22,077; if the population of the Mokokchang subdivision be added to the old estimate, the total is 120,762, or very near the actual numbers as brought out by the present census.

The materials available for taking the present census, especially that of the Dimapur charge, were not very good. In the Dimapur subdivision the only available agency are the mauzadars, many of whom are illiterate, and all of whom are rather dense. In addition, there was no officer serving in the district who had any personal knowledge of the tract forming the Dimapur charge. Circumstances, as explained in the report, prevented me from visiting it personally.

Excellent work was done by the men of the Military Police who were detailed for census work. The same may be said of the literate Angamis, who were employed in the Kohima and Henima charges.

Of charge superintendents, Mr. Woods, Assistant Commissioner, and Jadab Chandra Barua, Rai Bahadur, tahsildar at Wokha, appeared to me to take most interest in their work.

* * *

As far as actual numbering of the people goes, I think, however, that we have got a fairly accurate census of the charge. The caste columns, too, are probably accurate. I cannot, however, say so much for the employment column. Here in very many instances the only entry is "*kheti kari khai*," no attempt having been made to distinguish between men cultivating their own land and those who only rent land. It would, however, be pretty safe to assume that amongst the Mikirs and other migratory tribes each man cultivates his own land.

* * *

Khasi and Jaintia Hills.—*Extracts from the Report of Mr. G. Godfrey, C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:*

Preparation of village lists.

Owing to the general backwardness of the district, to the jungly nature of the country and its inaccessibility, and, above all, to the great distances between villages in very many instances, it was finally decided that the enumeration in these hills should be synchronous only in the areas noted in the margin, the census of the remaining portion of the district being gradual.

1. Station of Shillong, its suburbs and the cantonments.
2. Town of Cherra.
3. „ „ Shella.
4. „ „ Jowai.
5. Six villages in Bholaganj.
6. Three British villages.
7. Travelling population.
8. Railway „

The synchronous areas in 1881 census were Shillong, Jowai, and Cherra only.

The census in the non-synchronous areas was carried on on the same principle as in the synchronous tracts, except that the enumeration extended over a period of fourteen days.

† The revised instructions were issued after consultation with the Census Commissioner for India.

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Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

Rough lists of villages were prepared in my office from the census records of 1881, and in the case of British villages they were corrected by comparison with the *khanasamari* lists, 1889-90.

As the greater part of the Khasi Hills is under Khasi chiefs, from whom the Government receives no revenue, there is no revenue or other establishment in this district which could be employed for the purpose of checking the village lists on the ground, nor was it thought advisable to engage any foreign agency for fear of alarming the people. For this, as well as for the main census operations, therefore, I had to depend upon the *seims* and the headmen.

As soon as the subdivisional register had been prepared, an extract relating to each seim or *sardarship* was sent to the *seim* or *sardar* concerned for verification on the spot, those relating to British possessions, as also to villages close to police stations, being checked by the police.

On receipt of these lists duly checked, the subdivisional register was recast as laid down in your letter No. 25, dated the 25th April 1890.

Notwithstanding that all possible steps were taken to ensure their correctness, the village lists were found by the enumerators to be not quite accurate, especially in regard to the number of houses. Some of the villages in the list could not be traced. Some were found abandoned, while others were discovered which had not been included in the list at all. Three reasons are ascribed for these variations :

(*a*) The migratory nature of certain classes of hill tribes.

(*b*) Those who live upon cultivation generally remove in a body—men, women, and children, and live close to their fields till the harvest is gathered, when they either return to their own villages or establish a new hamlet somewhere near the nearest village from their fields. Thus, when the census officers went their first rounds in January, many of these settlements reported to be existing in July-September, had abandoned their *pams*, and had either established a new village or had returned to their old place of residence ; and erected new houses there.

(*c*) The third cause, which is perhaps the most important one, is the imperfect means available for collecting information. In the absence of a sufficient number of persons able to read and write, many of the chiefs had to get the information for the village lists verbally either from the old village headmen or from those who had been sent round for the purpose, the result being far from accurate.

A special *parwana* was issued to the several chiefs with directions to take particular care that no outlying houses, temporary hamlets established near paddy fields, &c., escaped entry in the village lists. The chiefs certified, when returning these lists, that the instructions had been observed, and their statements were subsequently found generally correct by the enumerators.

The subdivisional register and the circle lists were completed by the middle of September 1890.

* * *

The next step taken was to split up the district into 'blocks,' 'circles,' and 'charges.' With this object the *seims*, their mantris, village headmen, and others having local knowledge, were called in to Shillong, and after a discussion which lasted nearly a week, the details were settled and the whole area in the sadr subdivision was placed in charge of 11 superintendents, 53 supervisors, and 257 enumerators. These divisions were made more with reference to the relative nearness of villages than to their situation as regards jurisdiction, so that each enumerator's block was compact, and did not unnecessarily include vast areas of wilderness with perhaps one or two hamlets at the extremities. This arrangement, no doubt, increased the work in my office, more particularly in connection with the preparation of Statement II prescribed in your Circular No. 19, dated the 26th December 1890, as villages pertaining to one *seim* or *sardarship* had to be picked out from the abstracts of two or more different *elakas*, where they had been included for convenience of enumeration ; but, from a census point of view, the arrangement was the best that could be made.

Census officers.

As has been already stated, the want of efficient men to take up the post of an enumerator, or the rather tiresome duties of a supervisor, was great. Government had, no doubt, placed at the disposal of district officers the services of all Government employés in the district, and in the station of Shillong men of sufficient education were numerous, but in the interior the employment of foreign agency was both impolitic and impracticable.

* * *

I cannot conclude this section without acknowledging the great assistance rendered by some of the Missionaries belonging to the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission. The Reverend John Jones, Secretary to the Mission, not only acted as the superintendent of the largest area, but also placed at my disposal the whole army of schoolmasters, numbering 108 (*i.e.*, 58 in the Khasi Hills and 50 in the Jaintia Hills) for about a month. The Reverend John Roberts at Cherra and Reverend William Williams of Shella also acted as superintendents of charges Nos. 1 and 2, containing respectively of 17,996 and 18,806 souls. Mr. Williams had, however, to give up his post, just at the time of the final census, as he was suddenly transferred to another district.

* * *

As there are no postal communications in the interior, and as funds were not available for employment of special messengers for their carriage, figured statements prescribed in the Census Code were not called for from the supervisors or superintendents, but those supervisors and superintendents who were Government officials submitted diaries, from which it appears that they visited almost every village in their circles, and found that houses had been properly numbered. I have myself seen the numbers posted correctly in all villages which I visited during my tours.

* * *

Instruction of enumerators.

All supervisors and some of the enumerators received a regular course of practical training under the immediate direction of Extra Assistant Commissioner Babu Jiban Ray. These men

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imparted instructions to the rest of the enumerators, each of whom was supplied with a separate copy of the Khasi translation of the rules and some loose forms for practice. I myself examined many schedules and explained such difficulties as occurred. **Khasi and Jaintia Hills.**

* * *

In the synchronous areas the final census was taken on the night of the 26th February, but in the nonsynchronous tracts the operation continued from the 12th to the 26th idem. Final census.

* * *

Orders had already been issued to enumerators to deliver their books to the supervisors on the 27th at certain fixed centres. This was done with commendable punctuality, and the block circle and charge abstracts were prepared without delay except in the case of the Bholaganj circle. Some of the schedules of this circle had to be rewritten, owing partly to inaccuracy in the entries in certain cases and partly to the use by the enumerators of coloured ink (green), notwithstanding strict orders were issued prohibiting its use.

* * *

The railway premises on the Cherra-Companyganj State Railway were censused under the supervision of the manager, who adhered to the rules and instructions circulated with your letter No. 924, dated the 16th December 1890. The trains are not started at night here, so there were no passengers to enumerate. Railway.

* * *

The attitude of the people was admirable throughout, and the *seims*, *sardars*, village headmen, and others who were requested to come to Shillong for consultation promptly answered to the call, displayed much earnestness in the discussion, and in the majority of cases even agreed most willingly to certain localities in their *elâka* being enumerated by the neighbouring, and in some cases rival, chiefs. Their attitude and conduct are most praiseworthy. No doubt the people contributed towards the expenditure, but they did so apparently ungrudgingly, as they pay no land revenue to the *seims*. Attitude of the people.

Occasionally a *seim* or *sardar* resented the idea of his own people being counted by the enumerators of another *seim*, lest the latter should some day set a claim to the village, and went so far as to destroy the house number and to put fresh numbers on the houses and get them re-enumerated by his own men; but such cases were very few, and I am glad to say that the contending parties readily submitted to the decisions of the Deputy or Extra Assistant Commissioner, and that no coercive measures were required.

The Khasis have a great prejudice against telling the names of their parents and of their women. The former information was not wanted, and the prohibition against asking the name of women where there was any objection to stating them was made widely known. These certainly minimised greatly the chance of unreasonable suspicions arising as to the object of the census. There were nevertheless the usual rumours current among the most ignorant classes in the backward tracts. The suspicion was that the census meant either annexation, taxation, or forcible entertainment of ablebodied men for service in the Lushai country. These misunderstandings, however, soon passed away, for the object of the Government was fully explained to the people through their chiefs. Besides, they had the experience of the previous census.

The house numbering, which was a new thing, was objected to here and there. In one case the ingenuity of the enumerator soon restored equanimity. He proclaimed that the great astrologers had found out that a violent storm would arise this year and blow away all houses, that, with a view to save her subjects from the impending danger, the Maharani, whose authority even the winds are bound to obey, had sent some tickets to be posted on their houses, so that her subjects might be distinguished from those of the others. He assured them that all houses bearing the tickets were out of all danger. This had the desired effect, and the people instantly gave in, and allowed the numbering to proceed. In another case the *seim* and his *durbar* managed to convince the people that nothing wrong was meant by house numbering, but in the third case the obstructors did not submit until a *parwana* was issued warning them that any one destroying the house number would be severely punished by the Deputy Commissioner. House numbering.

* * *

I believe the census of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills has been performed with great accuracy. In 1881 there was no preliminary enumeration. The counting, which extended over a period of more than three months, was taken as final, and it was conducted under the supervision of eleven supervisors and two superintendents, the Deputy Commissioner in the sadr and the Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Jowai subdivision, who would not, of course, visit a very large number of blocks. This year, besides the district and subdivisional officers, 11 superintendents, 59 supervisors and 306 enumerators were employed. The supervisors traversed the whole area allotted to them, and the superintendents, though to more limited extent, tested the work of their subordinates. There was, moreover, a careful and regular preliminary census made, the houses in each block were consecutively numbered, the block lists, with names of the head of each family, were prepared, and the entries in the whole book verified in a fortnight by a house-to-house visitation. Accuracy of results.

It is in the age returns only that there is some apprehension of inaccuracy, as it is notoriously impossible for a Khasi to tell his age with any approach to exactness, and in 99 cases out of 100 the enumerator had to make his own decision; and, considering their education and their own ideas about age, I fear that the figures in the age column must be considered as mere guess work.

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North Cachar.

After the final census was over, I tested the entries of 12 books pertaining to Shella, Babu Jiban Roy 7 books pertaining to Laban, and the Superintendent of my office examined the entries relating to 24 houses on the jail road quarters; and they were all found correct.

While the preliminary record was being prepared, the census superintendents were perpetually on the move checking the entries; and during the course of my tour I always made it a point, when I could get hold of the enumerators, to test the entries on the spot. In this way I tested schedules in 20 villages. I could have done more, but, as the enumerators' blocks covered such large areas, I could not manage always to be at the particular village when the enumerator was doing his work.

Such general remarks as I have to make are interspersed in this report. I would however suggest that the preparation of village lists should be commenced and completed the year before the census takes place. If district officers are instructed to see to the preparation of village lists in the cold weather of the years 1899-1900, they can personally check those lists before the time comes for applying them to census purposes. Then in the year 1900 the village lists will be ready, and there need be no delay in parcelling the country out in circles and other census areas.

* * *

Mr. Rita has taken great pains over the census of the Jowai subdivision, and he has thoroughly understood the details of the work. He has done a good deal of testing, as the report will show, and has personally seen that superintendents and supervisors attended to their work. I am quite satisfied that the census of the Jowai subdivision has been taken with all possible accuracy.

North Cachar.—*Extracts from the Report of Mr. E. C. S. Baker, Subdivisional Officer of North Cachar:*

* * *

Preparation of village lists.

The first work to be done was to obtain a list of the villages in existence in these hills, and this was done by means of the *khanasamari*. Every year each mauzadar submits a list of the villages in his mauza serially numbered, and also lists containing the number of houses in each village, with the names of the householders and also with the number of widows, &c.

These are all tested by the revenue clerk, who keeps on tour until the end of October (about), moving about from one village to another and making necessary corrections. I also when on tour visit all the villages I can, and do the same testing work. After the testing is completed, the lists are all entered in the *khanasamari* register, and from this register the rough list of villages was obtained.

Census officers.

As enumerators were employed ten Government servants and eight paid men, these last being all educated Kacharis, whom I found did their work in a most satisfactory manner. These enumerators were sent into the district to commence enumeration on dates from the 16th January to the 16th February. Working from village to village they so managed as to arrive at one of the principal or most accessible of the villages by the 25th of February. On the 26th all the enumerators became practically supervisors, and the headmen of the villages in turn became enumerators. These headmen on the 26th all repaired to the village where the enumerator-supervisor had taken up his quarters, which village had been previously notified to them, and informed the supervisor of any deaths or births that had taken place, of the absence of any one who had been previously entered, or of any new arrivals in the village; and the red ink entries and corrections were then made by the supervisors, after which they brought in their books to headquarters and made up their summaries, &c.

These were all tested and examined by me personally, and in nine-tenths of the books the numbers were all added up by me myself; as a matter of fact, I believe that I did so in all but seven books, but these seven were tested by three enumerators other than the original writer. It was only when the enumeration work was finished that any difficulty was met with. Four enumerators were so delayed in trying to get coolies to accompany them to headquarters that they did not arrive until 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 11th.

* * *

The general object of the census was, I think, fairly well understood, and it is rather strange that amongst all the different tribes no apprehension or suspicion of any sort should have been met with.

* * *

Accuracy of the results.

I believe the results to be as correct as it is possible for them to be in a subdivision of this kind. The only details in which I believe it to be possible that mistakes may have occurred being in the enumeration of men who had temporarily gone to Manipur or to the Naga Hills and had not returned on the 26th February. The operations were otherwise so simple that I do not see in what way incorrect entries could have been made. The entries as to occupation have also been all correctly made, and this principally owing to the fact that nearly every man in the subdivision obtains his livelihood by means of *jhum* cultivation.

Men who were temporarily absent in the forest, searching for new *jhuming* land, cutting boats, &c., were all entered as present in their villages at the preliminary census. Men who had gone on short journeys of a day or two were entered in the schedules of the villages to which they belonged and not in the schedules of the villages to which they had gone, as such a course would only have necessitated additional corrections in the final enumeration.

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Garo Hills.—*Extracts from the Report of Mr. W. Teunon, C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Garo Hills district:* Garo Hills.

Preparation of village lists.

The rough lists of villages were prepared for the hill mauzas from the house tax registers, for the plains mauzas from the revenue rolls and *jamabandis*. For the hill mauzas, further, the mauzadars and the *laskars* (Garo village magistrates) were called in and questioned as to the villages in their circles. In the plains mauzas the mauzadars themselves prepared the village lists, and their personal knowledge of their mauzas supplemented the revenue registers. The registers were verified and tested in the plains mauzas by the mauzadars and mandals.

* * *

Seven charges were formed in the district. For revenue purposes the district is divided into six mauzas—hill mauzas I to IV and plains mauzas VI and VII. Each mauza formed a charge. In the four hill mauzas (charges I to IV) the census was nonsynchronous. In the plains mauzas (charges VI and VII) the census was synchronous. Tura station formed the fifth charge, and in order to ensure accuracy it was also decided to census synchronously the military police outposts.

* * *

Census officers.

For the seven charges there were six superintendents, four gazetted officers, Mr. Carnac, Commandant, Military Police, Babu Ram Tarak Ghose, Sub-Engineer, Dr. P. M. Gupta, Civil Medical Officer, and Babu Jogesvar Sur, Sub Assistant Conservator of Forests, were appointed superintendents for the four nonsynchronous charges I to IV. Mr. Carnac also acted as superintendent of synchronous charge V (the station and outlying areas); for synchronous charges VI and VII (plains mauzas VI and VII) the two mauzadars, Babus Durga Das Sanyal and Banga Chandra Chaudhuri, were appointed superintendents in the four hill mauzas (nonsynchronous charges). There were nine supervisors, all Government servants, *viz.*, two forest rangers, three foresters, one forest head guard, one sub-inspector of schools, one head constable, civil police, one Public Works sub-overseer. The Public Works sub-overseer originally appointed fell ill, and had to be replaced in January by another sub-overseer.

* * *

Taking both synchronous and nonsynchronous tracts, there were in all 152 enumerators' beats (not blocks) with 150 enumerators.

* * *

For the whole district 33 enumerators were paid and 25 who were Government servants received special census allowances.

* * *

The paid enumerators had to be obtained from the Goalpara and Mymensingh districts; and even at the rates ultimately paid, Rs. 8 and Rs. 10 a month, it was with difficulty that men could be found to do the work. The appointment of the paid enumerators was in all cases postponed to the latest possible dates, the 12th and 15th January. In the nonsynchronous area, the enumerators had, on an average, each 24 villages and 601 houses. In the two plains mauzas (synchronous) each enumerator had, on an average, 2·3 villages and 48·3 houses.

* * *

As enumeration had to begin early in January, the result was that the enumeration schedule books had to be distributed before the number of houses, or indeed the number of villages, ascertained by the enumerators, could be reported to the office at Tura. The number of books required by each enumerator could not therefore be accurately estimated, and naturally to some too many and to others too few books were sent out. This is a matter of importance in a district like this, where communication is so difficult, and where it may take 15 to 20 days to receive a message from the interior and return an answer.

* * *

Supply of schedules.

The number of books supplied to the district was based on the numbers of houses shown in the village register, and unfortunately too little margin was left in the census office for any increase to be ascertained by the enumerators on the ground. The number of books originally supplied to the district was insufficient, and as house numbering in the hills was not completed till the end of December, it was not till some time in January that the requirements of the district could be correctly ascertained.

House numbering.

As another result of the delay in house numbering, the books had to be sent out incompletely docketted. At the time of the next census in the nonsynchronous area it should be arranged that the house numbering finish, say, one month before the date fixed for the commencement of enumeration.

* * *

Another difficulty found in connection with house numbering was that many houses, and in some cases whole villages, were broken down and removed to new sites after house numbering had been completed. From December to February is, of course, the season for repairs and removals. All migration after the commencement of enumeration was prohibited.

Instruction of enumerators.

In the synchronous charges the supervisors were first instructed by the superintendents, both orally and by practical examples, in the filling up of schedules. They were then sent out to their circles to instruct their enumerators. The enumerators were similarly instructed both by the supervisors and the superintendents. The columns in the schedules and the rules for filling them up were first explained to them, and then they were taken out in batches to villages and made to fill up sample schedules.

* * *

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Garo Hills.

The low level of intelligence among the enumerators in this district (other than the station enumerators) made the work of instruction very tedious and difficult, and in many cases the supervisors had to do all the enumeration of whole villages. In the hill mauzas (the nonsynchronous area) the same system was followed.

* * *

The census record.

It is to be remembered that this is the first census that has ever been taken of the hill mauzas. There was therefore some discussion as to the time that a census of the hill mauzas would take, and it was ultimately decided that it should be spread over two months, or be begun on the 1st January and end on the 26th February. From the time taken in house numbering I was, however, of opinion that the census could be taken in less time; and to permit of the further instruction of the enumerators and in order that it should not close too long before the final synchronous census night, I decided to postpone the beginning of enumeration till the 10th January.

* * *

Testing.

In charge V (the station, military police, outposts, &c.) the entries of practically every house were tested either by the supervisors, superintendent, or myself. In the plains mauzas, and particularly charge VI (plains mauza VI), the supervisors in many cases actually wrote out the schedules. They visited and tested enumeration in every village in their circles, if not at every house. In charge VI, the superintendent tested entries at 625 houses out of a total of 2,858, and in charge VII the superintendent visited 577 houses out of 2,265. Subsequently to the beginning of enumeration I made a tour through both plains mauzas, collected the enumerators within reach at my halting places, and examined the books of about one-third the total number.

For the hill mauzas it is not possible to give exact figures.

* * *

Both in the synchronous and nonsynchronous areas, the testing showed that in the actual number of persons recorded the enumeration was absolutely accurate. There were, however, mistakes made in filling up the various columns of the schedules. Mistakes were most frequent in column 11 (Occupation), but also occurred in column 7 (Age), column 13 (Language known by the literate), and column 14 (Infirmities), and also in some instances in the case of aboriginal tribes in column 2 (Religion).

* * *

With regard to the aboriginal tribes along the foot of the hills, there was difficulty in many cases in ascertaining and recording their religion.

The rule laid down for the guidance of superintendents and supervisors was that in all cases the religion professed by the person questioned was to be entered; but to prevent his ignorantly making an incorrect return, such questions should be put to him as would elicit the true state of matters, and enable him to answer correctly. For instance, the Hajongs are, next to the Rajbangsis, the most completely Hinduised of all the aboriginal tribes, yet some of them denied being Hindus, and said that they were 'Hajongs' in religion. If after being questioned as to distinctions between him and other Hajongs, he still asserted that he was Hajong and not Hindu in religion, he was to be entered as Hajong. Again, the Rabhas, with few exceptions, reject the name of 'Hindu,' yet some at first were found to call themselves Hindu in religion. The aboriginal tribes (other than the Hajongs and Rajbangsis) calling themselves Hindus, *e.g.*, the Koches, have no Gurus, Gossains, or Purohits, and no *napit* or *dhopa*, eat pigs and *murghis*, and are Hindus only in name, or in shouting 'Hari' and 'Ram' and in wearing *malas* round their throats.

The Koches in Mymensing held a *panchayat* to decide how they should return themselves, and decided that they were to call themselves Hindus and 'Saibas' as of 'Sib-bangsa.' It is understood that Koches of the south of this district bordering on Mymensing attended this *panchayat*.

Of the Hajongs, some are Saktas, some Vaisnavs. The Vaisnav Hajongs are also called "Parmati Hajongs," and have now taken to themselves the name of Rajbangshis. They wished to be entered in the census returns as Rajbangshis. A deputation of them came to me at Mankachar about this, and it was finally arranged that they should be entered in column 4 as Hajong, in column 5 as Rajbangshis. As the Vaisnav Hajongs wish to raise themselves to the dignity of Rajbangshis, so the Rajbangshis wish to raise themselves still higher in the social scale. The Rajbangshis in this district are chiefly in and round Mahendraganj on the Mymensing border, and the Rajbangshis there and of pargana Sherpur in Mymensing held three *panchayats* to consider and discuss how they were to enter themselves under the heading 'Caste.' Two representative Rajbangshis met me at Mahendraganj, and I learned from them that the three *panchayats* had been attended by the headmen of 184 villages and 11 purohits or pandits. The pandits decided that the Rajbangshis were Khatris (Kshatriyas) who had fled from the north-west during the persecution of Parsu Ram, and that though they had lived here so long concealed under the name Rajbangshi, they had not, therefore, lost their caste or race. It was, therefore, decided that they should return themselves in column 4 (Caste) as Gupta-Khatris and in column 5 as Rajbangshis. The two representatives requested that I should order all enumerators to enter them accordingly in the schedules, and they have been thus entered. I understand that they are now considering whether they will wear the sacred thread, and that this will depend on the decision of their pandits.

* * *

Final census.

The superintendents were posted on the census night at central points in their charges, and the supervisors each at central villages in their circles.

The following officers were also deputed to the synchronous plains area on the census night:—(1) Dr. P. M. Gupta, Civil Medical Officer, (2) Babu Ram Tarak Ghosh, the Sub-Engineer, (3) the

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Garo Hills.

three head constables of Fulbari, Putimari, Mahendraganj, whose outposts are in the plains mauzas. On the night of the census I was myself in one of the plains mauzas. Thus, the supervising staff was strengthened on the night of the census by the addition of six officers.

* * *

In all about one enumerator in three was visited on the census night. All visited were found at work. The supervisors and superintendents examined all the enumerators' books when brought in on the morning of the 27th, and satisfied themselves that the enumerators had all gone their rounds, that they had brought up their books to date, and all red ink entries were corrected where necessary. There were comparatively few red ink entries, as any necessary additions and omissions, owing to births and deaths, arrivals and departures, had been made from time to time by the enumerators before the final census night. I am satisfied that all the enumerators of the synchronous area went their rounds on the census night, and did this part of their work thoroughly.

* * *

All figures other than those of the Bagmara kheddah were ready on the evening of the 7th, and the first telegram (with approximate figures for the Bagmara kheddah party) might have been despatched on the 8th March. In the hope, however, of receiving the Bagmara figures, I delayed this telegram till the 10th.

* * *

Special arrangements.

I have treated of the operations in the hill mauzas under each section, and will here detail the special steps taken in the hill mauzas. Each mauza is divided into a number of *laskars'* (or Gáro village magistrates') circles. There are in the district in all 59 *laskars* (9 called *sardars* only), each *laskar* having on an average 12·7 villages under him. In each village there is a *sardar*, or headman, who is recognised as the *laskar's* subordinate.

Each of the four mauzas was constituted a census charge; and in dividing each mauza into enumeration beats, the *laskars'* circles were taken as the basis of division. Where the circles were small, consisting, that is, of few villages, two or three neighbouring *laskars'* circles were grouped under one enumerator. One large circle of 82 villages was divided between three enumerators. But no enumerator had only part of one *laskar's* circle with part of another *laskars'* circle.

When the enumerators were sent out in the beginning of December to number houses, *parwanas* were sent by them to all *laskars*, directing the *laskars* to accompany the enumerators, each throughout his own circle, and to take with them the village *sardars*, each in his village. The *laskars* were further directed to give the enumerators all assistance and to ensure that no house should be omitted.

Again, on the completion of house numbering, when enumeration was to begin, fresh *parwanas* were taken by the enumerators to the *laskars*, directing them and the village *sardars* to accompany the enumerators, as they had done in the previous round. In these *parwanas* the *laskars* were further directed to give intimation of their coming to the village *sardars* some days beforehand, and direct the *sardars* to have all the people of the village present on the day specified. That the *laskars* and *sardars* should accompany the enumerators was necessary (1) to inspire confidence in the people, (2) to prevent malpractices or irritating conduct on the part of the enumerators, (3) to ensure that every house and every person in the house should be recorded.

I attributed much importance to the assistance of the *laskars*, and in my tours throughout the hill mauzas, at all halting places, collected the *laskars* within reach, explained to them the objects and intentions of Government in taking a census, the importance attached by me, as representing Government, to the making of the census full and complete, and the necessity of their rendering all assistance in their power, and generally interested them, as far as possible, in the work. No enumerator had to complain that the *laskars* failed to carry out the orders given them. Where for any reason the *laskar* was himself unable on any day to accompany the enumerator, he deputed a son or some other relative or some one or other of his influential *sardar*.

That this, the first census of the hill mauzas, has been so thoroughly and smoothly carried out I attribute in a great measure to the assistance we were able to secure from the *laskars*.

* * *

Attitude of the people.

Among the hill people there was a little curiosity, much suspicion, but no active obstruction. I am not, however, certain that everything would have passed off smoothly without disturbance or outrage on the enumerators, perhaps provoked by them, but for the fact that so much was done to enlist the *laskars* and village *sardars* in the work and that they rendered so much assistance. In the plains, where this was not the first census, I should say the attitude of the people was one of indifference. There were no cases of obstruction.

* * *

Both for the hills and plains mauzas I am satisfied that the people have been numbered with practically absolute accuracy. It would be difficult to affirm that no mistakes have been made in the record of the various particulars required regarding each individual, but of the substantial accuracy even of the record we may be satisfied.

* * *

General observations.

A few general remarks have already been made under the appropriate sections. I should now like to make a few remarks with special reference to this district. A great obstacle in the way of census work was the special unhealthiness of the season. The hills are always more or less unhealthy; but owing partly no doubt to influenza, which still lingered in parts of the hills, and

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Garo Hills.

partly to the exceptional rains in October, the past season was specially feverish and unhealthy. Of the 31 enumerators for the hills originally appointed, one fell sick and had to be relieved on the day he was to have started for house numbering. Two more had to be relieved in December while house-numbering was in progress, and three more in January during enumeration. In all, six men out of 31, or 20 per cent., fell ill, and of these two have since died. There was great difficulty and delay in finding a suitable man to replace the last who fell ill; and if any more of the enumerators had become incapacitated, the census in the hills might have been prolonged beyond the 26th February. This suggests that when at the next census of this district it has to be considered what time must be allowed for the census of the hill area, and how many enumerators are available, a certain reserve of men must be provided for.

* * *

Another great obstacle in the way of census operations in the hills is the difficulty of communications. There are no postal or other organised means of communication in this district; and though communications between headquarters and superintendents and supervisors could be carried on partly through the military police outposts with their weekly dak and partly by military police sepoys sent out as special messengers, communication with enumerators had to be left to the Garo villages.

* * *

Assuming that the next final census will also fall in the end of February, and that it is decided to begin enumeration in the hills on the 15th January (the enumeration on the present census was completed practically within forty days), house numbering should be completed by the 15th of December.

* * *

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APPENDIX B.

SELECTIONS FROM CIRCULARS ISSUED TO DISTRICT OFFICERS.

Introductory Circular.

Circular No. 19G., dated Shillong, the 18th April 1890.

From—F. C. DAUKES, Esq., C.S., Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers, Assam.

I am directed to inform you that the Government of India has decided that a census of the whole of India shall be taken in 1891, and that (except in special tracts for which separate instructions will be issued) the night of the 26th February will probably be fixed for the final enumeration.

2. Mr. E. A. Gait, C.S., has been appointed Provincial Superintendent of Census Operations in Assam, and will correspond with you direct on all subjects connected with the census, and will issue all necessary instructions, to which you should give prompt and careful attention.

3. The work will be carried out on the lines of the census of 1881; and you should carefully study the Report on the Census of Assam taken in that year, in order that you may be in a position to make efficient arrangements on the present occasion, and obviate the difficulties which were then experienced.

4. The census operations in the districts may be divided into the following stages:

(1) *Preliminary*, *i.e.*, the preparation of indents for forms, the demarcation of census divisions, and the selection of the agency to be employed.

(2) *Intermediate*, *i.e.*, the instruction of the enumerators, numbering the houses in each block, and the preliminary record of census entries.

(3) *Final*, *i.e.*, the actual census. After this will follow the work of abstraction, tabulation and compilation; but this will be done in a central office under the direct supervision of the Provincial Superintendent. Your own labours in connection with the census subsequent to the final enumeration will be confined to the submission of a special report, the form for which will be prescribed hereafter.

Preliminary.

5. You should at once proceed to divide your district into enumerators' blocks, supervisors, circles, and superintendents' charges, in which work you will probably be much assisted by the record of what was done in 1881. As a general rule, about 60 houses should be allotted to each enumerator, while one supervisor should be appointed to instruct and overlook the work of every ten enumerators; but these figures are of course liable to variation according to the comparative density or sparsity of the population, and the advisability (wherever possible) of making the boundaries of the various blocks and circles co-terminous with those of revenue or survey divisions.

The number of charges will vary according to the number of persons available to act as charge superintendents.

6. The greatest care must be taken in the distribution of your district into the various census divisions, in order to ensure that none of these divisions overlap, and that no portion of your district is omitted altogether from one or other of them. With this object in view, you should prepare a complete list of the villages, hamlets, &c., in your district, and enter them in a register, the form for which will be prescribed hereafter.

7. Concurrently with this work, you should arrange for the agency to be employed, which, as far as may be possible, will be unpaid. This should be done as soon as possible, and the officers who are deputed to verify on the ground the register referred to in the preceding paragraph, should therefore be directed to submit the names of all persons able and willing to act as enumerators and supervisors. For the post of enumerator a fair knowledge of reading and writing is all that is absolutely needed; but in the case of supervisors it will be necessary to secure men of somewhat better education, who will be able to readily understand the instructions for filling in the census forms, and to teach the enumerators subordinate to them.

Intermediate.

8. When your district has been distributed into census divisions, the various census officers will have to be instructed in their work. The supervisors should be collected at convenient points, and most carefully instructed by you personally and also by your charge superintendents as to the way in which the various columns of the enumeration schedule should be filled

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in. When the supervisors have been made thoroughly conversant with the instructions, they will in their turn be deputed to teach the enumerators.

Both in camp and elsewhere you should lose no opportunity of teaching census officers practically by taking them round villages and filling in schedules with them and by any other methods that may occur to you. It is only by the exercise of the greatest possible care in the tuition of census officers that any hope of an accurate result can reasonably be entertained.

9. At this stage, also, the houses in each block should be numbered in order to ensure that no house in a block escapes enumeration. For this purpose it will be necessary to define what is meant by a house; and on this point the Provincial Superintendent will communicate with you later on.

10. When the blocks have been demarcated, enumerators appointed and instructed, and houses numbered, everything will be ready for the preliminary enumeration. The dates on which it should commence and end will be communicated to you in due course by the Provincial Superintendent; and it is during the period which will elapse between the commencement of this operation and the night on which the census is finally taken that the most constant attention and supervision on the part of yourself and of all the officers subordinate to you will be needed. Each supervisor will be expected to check the whole of the work of the enumerators under him, while as much as possible should be checked by the charge superintendents and yourself. If the preliminary enumeration is correct, there is little fear of errors creeping into the final census, when all that the enumerators will have to do will be to strike out the names of those previously entered in the schedules who are no longer resident in the house where they were at the preliminary enumeration, and to enter the names of those whom they find in a house where they were not residing when the preliminary enumeration was made. If, on the other hand, errors remain uncorrected in the preliminary enumeration, they will appear also in the final census returns.

11. The above remarks are not intended in any way to convey full and final instructions on the various points dealt with, but merely to furnish you with a general outline of the whole of the census operations, and to draw your attention to the points which require to be more particularly attended to. Further and more detailed communications on the subject will be made to you from time to time by the Provincial Superintendent.

12. A short fortnightly statement of progress should be sent to the Provincial Superintendent on the 15th and 30th of every month, showing briefly—

(1) The progress in preparing the register referred to in paragraph 6 above.
(2) The progress in checking this register on the ground.
(3) The progress in dividing your district into charges, circles, and blocks.
(4) The progress in allotting and appointing officers to the various charges, circles, and blocks.

13. In conclusion, I am to say that the success or failure of the census in your district will depend entirely on the amount of care and labour which you personally devote to it; and that, in the opinion of the Chief Commissioner, there can be no better test of administrative ability than the manner in which an officer carries through an operation of this nature. Under these circumstances, Mr. Quinton reckons on your hearty assistance in carrying the work to a successful issue, and desires that you will give precedence to census work over all other duties except those of the most important and urgent character. In this connection your special attention is called to the following extract from the Provincial Census Report of 1881.

"*Testing.*—An examination of the district reports shows that very little testing was done, either of the preliminary or final census schedules, by officers of superior grades. The late Chief Commissioner (in a Circular dated the 13th November 1880) prescribed that all assistant commissioners, extra assistant commissioners, and district superintendents of police should be employed, when possible, as superintendents of charges, but this was done to a very limited extent. The besetting tendency of officers in Assam is, when anything has to be done, to tell their subordinates to do it; and this system was largely carried out as regards the census. Instead of employing every available officer in testing schedules and examining the details of their work, a very large number of the superior officers of the Commission took no direct share in it. Thus in the Cachar district the Deputy Commissioner and District Superintendent of Police were absent from the district throughout the month for the census on a political tour in Lushai-land; one assistant commissioner was placed in sole charge of the census, and the two others who were then in the district were not utilised at all, knew nothing of the orders, and took no share in the operation. In Sylhet, again, the Assistant Commissioner at headquarters was not directed to supervise the taking of the census in the town, which was carried out entirely under subordinate native agency. The district reports hardly mention the subject. There was, no doubt, some 'scrutinising' of the schedules; the enumerators were called up, and their schedules examined to see if the columns were properly understood and filled up; but as to testing in its strict sense—going through a certain number of houses in an enumerator's block, and calling out the inhabitants to see if any had been omitted, and if the entries corresponded to the people's replies—of this hardly a trace is to be found in the reports, and it is certain that it was very seldom, indeed if ever, that such an examination was made. What the Census Commissioner desired was that during the whole time the preliminary census was going on, the superior officers should be at the heels of the enumerators, testing their work in half a dozen villages a day, so as both to teach them how to do it and to convince them that omissions would probably be detected. He also desired that every officer in the district should be utilised for a few days after the 17th February in similarly testing the final schedules, till it was necessary to pack them up and send them off for tabulation. This part of the census operations was most inefficiently conducted in Assam."

Very serious notice will be taken by the Chief Commissioner of any neglect similar to that commented upon in the above extract, if shown on the part of deputy commissioners or their subordinates.

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MEMO. No. 2682-90G.

Copy forwarded to the Commissioner, Assam Valley Districts, and to all Heads of Departments, for information, with the remark that the Chief Commissioner trusts that all officers connected with the civil administration of the Province will do their utmost to co-operate in the work, with a view to bringing it to a successful issue.

Census Nomenclature.*

Uniformity should be observed in the choice of special terms connected with the census operations in order to lessen the chance of misunderstanding indents and circulars, &c. For English correspondence, accordingly, the nomenclature given below is prescribed, and in like manner a uniform vernacular rendering should be adopted for each province :

I.—The title of the special census officer is—

"The Superintendent of Census Operations for . . . . ;" and in departmental correspondence this officer is known as the "Provincial Superintendent."

II.—The census divisions should be, as in 1881,—

(*a*) The charge, under a charge superintendent.
(*b*) The circle, under a supervisor.
(*c*) The block, entrusted to an enumerator.

The word 'charge' is prefixed to (*a*) in order to distinguish the official in question from the Provincial Superintendent. In provinces where a fourth officer is employed between the supervisor and the charge superintendent, the extra man should be called the inspector of the revenue or police subdivision to which he may be appointed.

III.—The forms used in connection with the enumeration are the following :

(*a*) The subdivisional register, by which is meant the form in which every village and hamlet in a specified area, whether tahsil, mahál, circle, or thána, &c., is shown in serial order, and from which the census circles are settled.
(*b*) The circle list is an extract from the above, with the addition of the required particulars regarding blocks and enumerators, and the number of houses assigned to each.
(*c*) The village or ward list relates to the serial numbering of houses, and the details necessary to guide the enumerating or inspecting officers round the village, ward, or block.
(*d*) The block list is a copy of, or extract from, the above, as the case may be, forming part of the enumeration book to be mentioned below, which is intended to serve both as a guide to the enumerator and as a means of testing his work.
(*e*) The schedule is a page of the form on which the actual enumeration is recorded, a separate schedule being used for each house. By schedule-leaf should be understood the form in which the schedule is printed, which comprises two schedules.
(*f*) The sample schedule is a schedule on which entries are printed in illustration of the mode of enumeration, and which is bound up with the blank schedules in the enumeration book.
(*g*) The householder's schedule is a schedule issued for return by the householder himself in place of that bound in the enumeration book. As the address and instructions are printed on each copy, it covers both pages of a schedule-leaf.
(*h*) The enumerator's instructions consist of a code of rules about (*a*) the information to be recorded in the schedule, and (*b*) the mode of taking the census of the block. They are printed as part of the enumeration book.
(*i*) The enumerator's abstract is a short summary to be prepared under the supervisor's instructions by the enumerators in his circle, giving the number of houses and of residents and visitors by sexes in each block. It is printed (in most cases) on one-half the reverse of the page occupied by the sample schedule, so that it can be removed and filed separately when it has been tested and found correct.
(*j*) The enumeration book comprises, for a block or division of a block, according to circumstances, the forms above designated as (*d*), (*f*), (*h*), (*i*), with a supply of (*e*) sufficient for the number of houses, encampments, and landing places, &c., included in (*d*), the whole being bound into a cartridge cover, on which is printed the form prescribed locally for the identification and registering of the book in the charge or subdivisional index, which accompanies the records of the area in question to the office in which they are to be dealt with after the census.
(*k*) The census summary is a form containing, by villages, the same details as the enumerator's abstract (*i*), and for revenue subdivisions, districts, and provinces, the totals from that abstract of houses and of population by sexes, omitting the distinction between residents and visitors.

IV.—After the census, the work consists of three processes—

(*a*) Abstraction, or classifying by blocks or books the information from the schedule columns.

* Framed by the Census Commissioner for India.

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(*b*) Tabulation, or the addition of the abstracted totals by territorial units, such as towns, circles, or tahsils.

(*c*) Compilation, or the classification and arrangement of the statistics by districts or provinces in the final forms prescribed for imperial purposes.

V.—(*a*) The first and second will be conducted at offices known as "Abstracting Centres," or "Divisional Offices," each being under a "Deputy Superintendent."

(*b*) The last is confined to the "Provincial Office" under the personal management of the Superintendent of Census Operations.

(*c*) Below the Deputy Superintendent there will be (1) branch assistants for abstraction and tabulation, and (2) room inspectors, who will also be totallers for the men under their supervision, and countersign each form or page as it is completed.

VI.—The forms used subsequent to the census are—

(*a*) In abstraction, working sheets, consisting of spaces ruled on one side of the sheet only to be filled up by ticks instead of figures, and test-slips, for comparison of totals, the use of which is to be confined to the Deputy Superintendent.

(*b*) In tabulation, the forms are called register. They are nearly all of uniform size, and all contain the same number of lines on each page for convenience in checking the totals.

(*c*) The compilation forms are termed tables, and are based, as a rule, on the revenue-subdivision as unit, proceeding to the district in the provincial, and the province in the imperial series. It is probable that in the case of castes and occupations the tabulated totals will have to be passed through a classified ledger, before they can be transferred to the final tables; this addition will not, of course, be found necessary in the case of fixed headings, or where the variety of groups is comparatively small.

VII.—Most of the rest of the terms commonly used in census operations are borrowed from revenue work or accounts. If the employment of any other special term is found necessary, the exact scope and meaning of that term should be fully explained.

Circular No. 2, dated Shillong, the 30th May 1890.

Memo. by—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam.

Copy forwarded to all Deputy Commissioners and Political Agent, Manipur, for information and guidance.

Census Divisions and Agency.

No. 19-20, dated Shillong, the 25th April 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—The Deputy Commissioners, Sylhet and Cachar.

With reference to Secretary to Chief Commissioner's Circular No. 19G., dated the 18th April 1890, I have the honour to address you on the subject of the distribution of your district into census divisions and the selection of the agency to be employed as charge superintendents, supervisors, and enumerators.

2. *Census Divisions.*—I understand that in the greater part of your district the supervisors' circles formed at the last census are still identifiable, and have been plotted on the thana maps, while the tracts then selected as enumerators' blocks were afterwards taken as the basis on which the new rural police beats were formed.

3. This will, doubtless, facilitate considerably the demarcation of blocks and circles for the census of 1891, though it is probable that some of the blocks at least will require redistribution in consequence of the changes in the number of houses that have taken place during the last ten years. Except where houses are in close proximity to one another, it is not usually advisable to allot more than 60 or 70 houses to one enumerator, and where the old blocks are now found to contain houses much in excess of this average, it will ordinarily be advisable either to redistribute these blocks or to divide them into two parts, and allot a separate enumerator to each.

4. The number of charges within a subdivision will depend on the number of officers available to act as charge superintendents. Subject to this limitation, you should form as many charges as possible; as it is obvious that the smaller the charges, the greater will be the facilities for educating the enumerators and the more exhaustively will it be possible for each superintendent to test the preliminary record of the population of his charge.

5. Great stress has been laid in the circular under reference on the importance of securing the inclusion of every single house within the limits of some blocks, and of preventing blocks and

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circles from overlapping. With this object in view, I have the honour to request you to prepare a subdivisional register of villages (thana by thana) in the following form:

Serial number.	Name of village.	Number of houses.	Number of census circle and block.

When this has been completed and tested, it should be recast into the following form, which will serve as a record of, and check upon, the returns sent in by the enumerators:

Thana X.

Circle number.	Block number.	Number of houses in block.	Village.	Serial number of village in subdivisional register.
1	1	75	A	14
	2	48	B	27
	3	62	C	12
	4	67		

Thana Y, &c.

This (*i.e.*, the village) register can probably be prepared from papers available in your office; but, after being so prepared, it should be very carefully tested on the ground before it is finally accepted as correct.

A copy should then be forwarded to this office, together with a map, showing subdivisional and thana boundaries, and also the proposed superintendents' charges, supervisors' circles, and enumerators' blocks.

6. *Agency.*—You should allot charges to all officers (except subdivisional officers whose duty it will be to supervise census operations generally within their respective subdivisions), who are sufficiently qualified, *i.e.*, to all assistant commissioners, extra assistant commissioners, sub-deputy collectors, tahsildars, deputy and sub-inspectors of schools, deputy, assistant, or sub-assistant conservators of forests, district superintendents of police, assistant superintendents of police, inspectors and sub-inspectors of police. With the possible exception of honorary magistrates, no non-official should be appointed as superintendent of a charge.

The bulk of the supervisors and enumerators in your district will necessarily be non-officials, though you should utilise, as far as possible, all Government and Local Board servants, such as *pathsala gurus*, pound-keepers, village chaukidars (when literate), and office clerks in the neighbourhood of their own homes.

Each supervisor and enumerator will be furnished with a letter of appointment, and those who work well will afterwards receive a certificate to that effect. It is anticipated that you will have no difficulty in securing a sufficient number of unpaid enumerators.

A short statement of the agency available in each circle as enumerators and supervisors should be appended to the register referred to in paragraph 5.

7. It is of the highest importance that this preliminary work should be completed at a very early date; as, until this is done, it will not be possible to get all arrangements complete in time to avoid the possibility of any hitch when the time for the final census arrives.

I have therefore the honour to request you to submit your reply to this letter, together with the register referred to in paragraph 5, so as to reach this office not later than the 1st June.

8. The enumeration of cantonments, tea gardens, and jails will be dealt with separately.

NOTE.—Similar letters were issued to other deputy commissioners.

Intermediate Arrangements.

Circular No. 5, dated Shillong, the 8th August 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners.

In most districts the preliminary census arrangements are now either completed, or are rapidly approaching completion. Up to the 1st October all available official agency should be employed in testing and re-testing the subdivisional register and circle list, as, however carefully these registers may have been prepared in the first instance, the absence of accurate maps makes it very difficult in most districts to check in the office the lists of villages that have been prepared by mauzadars and other subordinate officers; and unless these lists are subjected to the most rigid

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local scrutiny, it is impossible to be positive that no villages or hamlets have been inadvertently omitted. It is unnecessary to expatiate at length on the difficulties attending the preparation of exhaustive lists of villages in most of the districts in this province, as these difficulties are as well known to you as they are to me. I may, however, mention as an illustration that, when preparing the subdivisional register for the coming census, it was found in one district that a group of 17 villages had been altogether omitted from the census returns of 1881; and it is to avoid all possibility of the occurrence of similar occasions on the present occasion that I would impress upon you the necessity for testing the registers that have already been prepared in every possible way.

2. The intermediate census operations may be distributed under the following heads:

(1) Appointment of census officers.
(2) House numbering.
(3) Preparation and testing of block lists.
(4) Instruction of enumerators.
(5) Preparation and testing of the preliminary record.

Appointment of census officers.

3. In most districts the officers who will serve as charge superintendents and supervisors have already been selected; and as soon as forms of instructions and loose schedules are received, you should at once take in hand the instruction of these officers, and teach them by practical illustrations and otherwise how the enumeration schedules should be filled in and how the other details of census work should be carried out, in order that they may be in a position to impart instruction to the enumerators as soon as these latter officers are appointed. Maps and extracts from the circle lists, so far as it relates to the blocks within their respective circles, should at the same time be supplied to them, so that they may at once acquaint themselves with the areas into which their circles have been divided and with the enumerators who will be appointed to work under them. The names of the latter should be shown in the remarks column of the circle list extracts. *Parwanas* of appointment will be supplied to you about the beginning of September; and, as soon as they are received, the names of the census officers and the blocks and circles assigned to each should be filled in. It is not necessary to appoint enumerators before October 1st; but it is advisable that the forms of appointment should be written up beforehand, in order that there may be no delay when the time comes for their distribution.

Particular care should be taken in the selection and instruction of enumerators of difficult blocks, *i.e.*, of blocks in which Marwaris and other foreigners reside; as it was in connection with the entries of the race, religion, and birth place of people of this class that most mistakes were made at the census of 1881.

Definition of 'house.'

4. As soon as the enumerators are appointed, they should be deputed to number the houses in their blocks. For this purpose it is necessary to define what constitutes a 'house.' It may be regarded from two different standpoints—(1) as the dwelling-place of one or more families having an independent entrance from the common way, and (2) as the homestead where the members of one family live under a common head.

The former definition is the one most commonly followed elsewhere; but the frequent absence of enclosures and the general want of method in erecting houses, which is observable in most parts of this province, render it unsuitable for adoption here. It is therefore necessary to fall back on the other definition, which is more suitable to the local conditions of the province, and which, moreover, in the Assam Valley districts at least, has the advantage of being what the people commonly understand by the term 'house.' For census purposes, therefore, a 'house' should invariably be taken as indicating "the homestead, consisting of one or more buildings which are occupied by the members of one family living under a common head, and their servants."* This definition is very similar to that adopted in Assam at the last census, the only difference being that the words "under a common head" have been substituted for "in commensality," in order to provide for cases in which it would be difficult to apply the old definition, *e.g.*, of sons who have become separate on the death of their father, but who still occupy the same dwelling-place, or of a widow eating separately but residing with her brother-in-law. Particular care should be taken to impress on census officers the necessity for adhering to this definition, and attention should be drawn to the characteristics of the house as thus defined, *viz.*, a common homestead, a common *bar ghar* or principal house, a common head of the family, &c.

* Except in the case of Europeans (to whom house schedules will be supplied), where the bungalow should be treated as one house and the servants' quarters as another.

In some districts in 1881 the standard definition was not explained to census officers with sufficient fulness, and much confusion was caused by this omission. It is therefore requested that particular attention may be paid to this point on the present occasion, and that all census officers may be very carefully instructed in the meaning and application of the definition given above. In the case of buildings which do not form a homestead, or which are not occupied by families, *e.g.*, military, police and coolie-lines, wards in jails, dispensaries, and lunatic asylums, &c., each dwelling place which has a separate independent entrance from the common way should be treated as a house. This special definition should be explained only to the enumerators who are appointed to census these special houses, which should ordinarily be formed into separate blocks. To prevent confusion, the enumerators who are appointed to census these blocks should not usually be called on to census also houses of the ordinary kind.

House numbering.

5. Separate serial numbers should be given to the houses in each block. These numbers may be painted on or affixed to each house in any way that may be found convenient. Lime is very cheap, and can be obtained wherever the practice of chewing betel-nut prevails, and will probably be found to be the most suitable substance for this purpose. Where other means are not available, the numbers may be written on slips of paper and affixed to the houses, as was done at the census of 1881.

Preparation and testing of block lists.

6. While the houses are being numbered, the block lists should be filled in in the loose forms which are being supplied to you, and which should be distributed to the enumerators as soon as they are appointed. The work of writing up the block lists should, if possible, be completed by

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the end of October; and as soon as this is done, the charge superintendents and supervisors and all other officers who may be available should be deputed to test the lists of houses very carefully, in order to ascertain (1) that houses are numbered correctly according to the standard definition of 'house,' (2) that the numbers which have been affixed to each house correspond with the numbers entered in the block list, and (3) that no house remains unnumbered. The testing of the block lists should be persistently carried on throughout the whole of November and December. The supervisors should at the same time be instructed to go round the boundaries of each block to satisfy themselves that the boundaries are co-terminous and well known to the enumerators concerned, and that no hamlets, or occupied houses, in their circle have escaped inclusion in some block or other.

Instruction of enumerators.

7. This period should also be utilised to the utmost in instructing the enumerators in the work of filling in the enumeration schedules. They should be collected at convenient centres, and instructed most carefully by the supervisors, and also, so far as may be possible, by the charge superintendents and yourself. Difficulties should be explained to them, and the rules for filling in the schedule illustrated by the actual enumeration of villages in the neighbourhood. A fair supply of loose schedules has been supplied to you in addition to the forms indented for by you for actual census operations, and these should all be expended in testing the knowledge of the enumerators, in order that they may fully understand what they have to do when the time comes for filling in the actual census forms.

If the loose schedules which have been supplied are found to be insufficient, manuscript forms may be used, or a further supply will be sent to you on receipt of a supplementary indent.

Numbering and distribution of enumeration books.

8. The enumeration books to be used in taking the census should be got ready for distribution in December, during which month the particulars regarding the district, subdivision, village, charge, circle, block, superintendent, supervisor, and enumerator should be entered on the docket on the cover of each book. Opposite the docket entry "Book No." two numbers should be given, the bottom one representing the number of books issued for the block, and the top one the number of the book on the docket of which the entry is made. Thus, if two books are issued for any particular block, the first one should be numbered $\frac{1}{2}$ and the second $\frac{2}{2}$. If only one book is issued for a block, it should be numbered $\frac{1}{1}$.

This work should be completed and the books distributed to the enumerators by the 1st January 1891. As soon as they are received, each enumerator should go round his block once more to make sure that his loose block list is correct and up to date, and he should then copy the entries he has there made into the block list, which forms part of his enumeration book. He should then make over the loose form to his supervisor, who will compare the number of houses there shown with column 3 of his extract from the circle list, and correct the latter if necessary.

Preliminary record.

9. On the 15th of January the work of preparing the preliminary record will commence, and should be completed as soon as possible. Instructions for the guidance of the enumerators are contained in each enumeration book, and these should be very carefully followed. From the commencement of the preliminary enumeration, the whole time of the supervisors and charge superintendents, and of all other officers who can by any means be spared for the work, should be employed in testing the entries that are made by the enumerators. Next to the measures adopted for securing that all persons are enumerated by the preparation of complete lists of the villages in each subdivision and of the houses in each block, this is the most important work in the whole course of census operations. If the preliminary enumeration is correct, the final census will be so also; as all that will be done on the final census night will be to bring the preliminary record up to date by striking out the entries relating to persons who have died or gone away, and entering those who have been born, or who have arrived, subsequently to the preliminary enumeration. There will be no local testing after the final census; and the accuracy of the final census results will, therefore, depend entirely on the extent to which a careful and exhaustive examination of the preliminary record has been carried out.

10. In order that adequate supervision may be exercised over this most important portion of the work, all supervisors should be directed to submit a return to their charge superintendents at the end of every week from the 15th January to the 26th February in the following form:

Number of blocks visited.	Number of houses visited in each block.	Number of entries verified in each block.

These returns should be forwarded by the charge superintendent to the subdivisional officer, together with a note showing what action he has taken on them and what testing work he has himself carried out; and the subdivisional officer should then submit to you an abstract, showing the total testing work done by himself and the charge superintendents and supervisors subordinate to him. When these are received, a district return should be compiled in your office, and forwarded to me for the information of the Chief Commissioner.

11. Instructions regarding the final census and the scrutiny, collection, and despatch of the forms to the abstracting office will be issued later on.

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Final Census Operations.

Circular No. 19, dated Shillong, the 26th December 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners, Assam.

From the 15th January the principal census operations that will still remain to be carried out are—

(1) The preparation of the preliminary record.
(2) Testing of the same.
(3) The census itself.
(4) Testing the entries made on the census night.
(5) The preparation of abstracts for blocks, circles, charges, subdivisions, and districts.
(6) The collection of books and their despatch to the abstracting office.

Preliminary record.

2. The "Instructions to enumerators," which are bound up with each enumeration book, contain rules for the guidance of the enumerators during the first and second rounds, and should be very carefully explained to the officers concerned. Further general instructions regarding the preparation and testing of the preliminary record were conveyed in paragraphs 9 and 10 of my Circular No. 5, dated the 8th August 1890, and Part III, paragraph 10 of the Code for Charge Superintendents and Supervisors. Your attention is also invited to the points noted below. The enumeration schedules contain spaces for eight entries only; and when the number of persons in a house much exceeds this limit, it is, of course, necessary to continue the entries on a fresh page. But when the number of persons in a house exceeds the number of spaces by one or two only, there is no objection to entering them all on the same schedule, more especially if the use of two schedules would involve the issue of an additional enumeration book. The enumerators should be told to write very clearly, and to avoid erasures as much as possible. Schedules should never, under any circumstances, be torn out of enumeration books. Care should be taken to see that the ink used for the preliminary record is really black ink, and not any of the coloured inks now in common use. Europeans and Eurasians will be supplied with household schedules for the enumeration of all persons residing in their bungalows on the night of the census; and for these there will be no preliminary enumeration. Their servants, however, will be counted by the enumerator of the block in which they live, and should be entered accordingly in his enumeration book at the preliminary record.

The census.

3. As you have already been informed, the actual census will be taken on the night of the 26th February. As soon as people have entered their houses and settled down for the night, the enumerators will go round their blocks, and bring the entries in their enumeration books into accord with the actual state of the population on that night by striking out the entries for persons who have died or gone away, and enumerating fresh arrivals and newly-born children. In order to obviate the necessity for these corrections as much as possible, and thereby lighten the labours of the enumerators, I would suggest that you should issue orders directing all persons who can conveniently do so, to spend the night in their own homes and to avoid fixing that date for weddings or other ceremonies. Similarly, touring officers will be requested to arrange not to move their camps during the days immediately preceding and following the census. They will also be asked to give due notice to the Deputy Commissioner or subdivisional officer concerned of the place where they will be in camp on the 26th February, and thus enable him to supply them with household schedules, and arrange for the enumeration of their followers. For the purposes of the census, these officers and their camps will be treated as present at the headquarters of the district in which they are travelling at the time.

In some provinces in 1881 all persons were requested to keep a light burning near the door on the census night, and to remain awake until the enumerator had visited them. If you could make some similar arrangement in your district on the present occasion, it would be of material assistance to the enumerators. You should, wherever possible, depute some second person, *e.g.*, the village chaukidar or gaonbura, to accompany the enumerator on his round, and, while the latter is correcting his record at one house, to go on and warn the occupants of the house that he will visit next, so that there may be no delay when the enumerator himself gets there.

The rule that red ink only must be used at the final enumeration must be carefully observed. Enumerators should be reminded that they are not to fill in the serial number, column 1 of the schedule till after the changes shown on the final census night have been recorded. The supervisors should visit as many blocks as possible on the night of the census, in order to make sure that all their enumerators are actually at work. All officers not previously employed in connection with the census should also be called on to assist in supervising the work of the enumerators on this occasion.

Testing of final record.

4. Next morning the enumerators should repair with their enumeration books and such household schedules, &c., as they may have been told to collect, to some central place, which the supervisor should notify beforehand. On arrival there, the supervisor should examine their books, and satisfy himself that all books, &c., issued have been returned. He should then read through all the red ink entries to see (1) if the enumerators have actually gone round their blocks, and (2) if the entries made on the census night are correct. In all cases of doubt, he should ascertain the actual facts by local enquiry if necessary.

Enumerators' abstracts, &c.

5. The next step is the preparation of the enumerators' abstracts. Each enumerator should be directed to prepare the figures required for his abstract in the supervisor's presence, and write them on a separate slip of paper, which the supervisor should keep. The book should then be made over to a second enumerator to be re-added. If the totals agree, the supervisor may

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accept them as correct, and cause the abstract in the enumeration book to be filled in accordingly.* If they differ, he must prepare the totals himself. When all the abstracts have been filled in as above, he should prepare from them a circle abstract in the form given below (Form I†), and should then carefully arrange the enumeration books according to the serial order of blocks, and tie them together with string lengthways and across. When this has been done, he should go to his charge superintendent, and make over to him his bundle of enumeration books, his circle abstract (Form I), and his circle list extract. The number of houses in column 3 of the latter should have been previously corrected (*vide* paragraph 9, Part III of the Code).

The charge superintendent should carefully compare the forms made over to him with his register of issue (see Circular 13). If they are complete, he should give the supervisor a receipt. He should then examine the circle abstracts, and satisfy himself that the figures for blocks have been copied correctly from the enumerators' abstracts, and also that no mistake has been made in adding them up for the circle abstracts. Having verified the latter, he should stitch them together according to the serial order of circles, and should prepare a charge abstract from their totals. He should then send in all his forms together with these abstracts to the subdivisional officer, who, after again verifying the forms received by comparison with his issue register and testing the circle and charge abstracts, should add the latter together to form a total for his subdivision. As soon as he has satisfied himself that he has got a correct total, he should telegraph the results to the Deputy Commissioner in the following concise form :

"Houses ; males , females , total ."

He should at the same time send to him by post a more detailed statement of the results as in Form II† below.

As soon as all subdivisional figures are received, district totals should be prepared, and at once reported by telegrams and statements, similar to those prescribed above, to the Census Commissioner at Simla and to myself at Gauhati. It is desired by Government that these abstract totals should be available at the earliest possible date, and I would beg of you to further this object by sending in the figures for your district the very moment you are in a position to do so. Very stringent instructions should be issued to the enumerators to take their books to the supervisors early on the morning of the 27th; to the supervisors to pass them on to the charge superintendents without any unnecessary delay; and to the charge superintendents to complete their share of the work and send all papers to the subdivisional officer as soon as possible.

It is proposed to use the figures thus obtained for the annual reports for 1890-91, and also to adopt them without re-abstraction for Imperial Census Table I. Very great care must therefore be taken to ensure accuracy, and supervisors and charge superintendents should be warned that they will be held responsible if mistakes are afterwards discovered in my office when their figures come to be compared with those in other tables.

Collection and despatch of forms.

6. The collection of forms has already been partly dealt with in the preceding paragraph. The main points which require attention are—

(1) To see that all forms (enumeration books, household schedules, &c., including those for boats, tea gardens, cantonments, railways, camps of officers on tour, and municipalities) which were issued have been duly received back.

(2) After verification, to have them properly tied up by circles and charges. The books in each circle should be arranged in the serial order of blocks, and tied together lengthways and across. The circle list extract relating to each circle should be tied up with the books of that circle. The bundles of books for each circle should then be arranged in serial order, and tied up by charges.

The circle abstracts for each charge, which should have already been loosely fastened together by charges by the charge superintendents, should be bound up for the subdivision, arranged according to the order of charges as shown in the circle list. The charge abstracts should be bound together at the end. When this has been done, the forms should be carefully packed up in the boxes in which they were originally received, together with the subdivisional circle list and book of circle and charge abstracts, and despatched to my office with as little delay as possible.

Enumeration of Touring Officers in the Census of 1891.

No. 380-93G., dated Shillong, the 17th January 1891.

From—F. C. DAUKES, Esq., C.S., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam,

To—All Heads of Departments, Assam.

With a view to avoid confusion, and to enable district officers to arrange for the enumeration of touring officers and their camps in the forthcoming census, I am directed to request that you will be good enough to make arrangements not to move your camp between the 23rd and 28th February 1891, and to give due notice to the Deputy Commissioner or subdivisional officer concerned of your whereabouts, in order to enable him to supply you with household schedules for your own enumeration, and to issue the necessary instructions for the enumeration of your followers.

* It was explained in a subsequent circular that the abstract in each book should be filled in with the figures relating to that book only, and should not include the figures for other books in the same block. It was further directed (Circular No. 23, dated the 20th January 1891) that the boat population should be shown separately in the book, circle, and charge abstracts.

† These forms are reprinted in Appendix D.

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MEMO. NO. 394G.

Copy forwarded to the Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam, for information.

Closing of Civil and Criminal Courts.

No. 280-85G., dated Shillong, the 14th January 1891.

From—F. C. DAUKES, Esq., C.S., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam,

To—The Commissioner, Assam Valley Districts, Deputy Commissioners, Surma Valley and Hill Districts.

The 26th of February 1891 having been fixed as the date on which the final census should be taken throughout India, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to request that you will cause your office and all offices subordinate to you to be closed, except for urgent business, on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of that month, with a view to the officers and clerks being set free for employment on census operations. The officers and clerks should be given distinctly to understand that they must not treat these days as holidays, but that their services will be at the disposal of Government for census work.

2. I am to request also that necessary instructions may be issued to the revenue and criminal Courts in your division (or district), so that, in fixing the days of hearing suits, cases may, so far as is possible without causing public inconvenience, not come on for hearing between the 25th and 27th of February.

Boat Census.

Circular No. 9, dated Shillong, the 4th October 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners, Assam.

I have the honour to convey the following instructions regarding the census of the boat population.

2. The lists of ghats and other places where boats are moored for the night, which have already been prepared, should again be very carefully tested in order to make sure that no ghat or mooring place has been omitted.

3. Where the number of occupied boats, which are likely to be moored at any particular ghat, is very small, no special arrangements are needed. The ghat may be numbered as a house, and included in and visited by the enumerator of the adjacent village block.

4. Larger ghats should be formed into separate blocks under special enumerators. As there can be no preliminary record of the boat population, the whole of the schedules will have to be filled in on the final census night, and care must therefore be taken to appoint a sufficient number of enumerators for the work.

5. It is probable that some boats will be on the move on the night of the 26th February, or will be moored or aground at some place other than a recognised landing place.

In order to secure the enumeration of these boats, the enumerators should remain at their ghats for some time after the night of the final census, and should enumerate the persons in all boats which may arrive there, who have not already got a boat ticket, or who were not counted on shore on the night of the 26th February.

6. In the case of the smaller rivers, it will suffice if the enumerators remain at their posts until nightfall on the 27th February.

But on the larger rivers, such as the Brahmaputra, Megna, &c., greater precautions will have to be taken, and here the enumerators should be directed to visit their ghats for the three nights succeeding the census. Enumerators should also be appointed to patrol these larger rivers during the three days succeeding the census at certain carefully selected points, and to board and enumerate the people in all passing boats if they have not already been censused elsewhere.

Expenditure under this head should be kept as low as possible by the selection as patrol stations of places where police, forest, or ferry boats are available for the work.

7. After filling in the particulars for each boat, the enumerator should give the head boatman a boat ticket, telling him to preserve it as a proof that his boat has been counted, and to prevent it from being counted again.

8. Where a river divides two districts, the moored boats will be considered to belong to the district on the boundaries of which they are found. The population of boats in motion should be divided by arrangement between district officers, a simple plan being for one to take the boats going up, and the other those coming down the stream.

9. When the arrangements for enumerating the boat population have been concluded, a report should be forwarded to this office, giving a list of the ghats which have been formed into separate blocks and the places which have been selected as patrol stations, and stating what arrangements have been made for distributing the boat population of rivers which form district boundaries.

10. A copy of the instructions to boat enumerators is appended. Indents for vernacular copies of these instructions should be submitted as soon as possible.

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Instructions to Boat Enumerators.

1. You will go to your ghat at 8 p.m. on the night of the 26th February, and will enter in your schedules all persons spending the night in boats moored at your ghat or camping for the night at the ghat so far as it falls within the limits of your block.

2. You will give a boat ticket to the head boatman of each boat which you enumerate, and will tell him to keep this as a proof that his boat has been counted, and to prevent it from being counted again.

3. You will stay at your ghat until 8 p.m. on the night of the 27th February* (you will visit your ghat again on the evening of the three nights succeeding 26th February†), and will enter in your schedules the people in all boats which may arrive there, unless they already have a boat ticket, or unless they say that they were counted on shore on the night of the 26th February.

4. You should allow a separate page for each boat in your book of forms.

Census of Mail Steamers, &c.

No. 833, dated Shillong, the 4th December 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—The Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar.

With reference to your letter No. 3260, dated the 20th November 1890, enquiring whether the enumeration of the population of mail and other steamers plying on the Brahmaputra, and the crews on the flats used as godowns at the ghats, should be arranged for by the Deputy Commissioner or by my office, I have the honour to say that you should arrange with the local steamer agents for the enumeration of the population of stationary flats, &c., at ghats, but that the enumeration of the actual steamer population will be arranged for by me in consultation with the managing agents in Calcutta.

Circular No. 18, dated Shillong, the 9th December 1890.

Copy forwarded to all Deputy Commissioners for information.

Enumeration of Tea Gardens.

Circular No. 10, dated Shillong, the 10th October 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners, Assam.

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the instructions to be issued to the managers of tea gardens for the enumeration of persons residing on their estates.

2. The actual enumeration of all persons residing on the estates, whether working there or not, will be entrusted to the managers concerned;‡ but it will be necessary that you should assist them in the instruction of the persons whom they may appoint to act as supervisors and enumerators. You should, if possible, arrange for each garden to be visited by yourself or by some European assistant. Where this is not practicable, a qualified extra assistant commissioner, or other subordinate, should be deputed to assist and give such explanations of the rules and instructions as he may find to be needed. A second visit should be paid to each garden after the preliminary record has been completed. On this occasion the entries in the enumeration schedules should be very carefully examined, especial attention being given to the manner in which columns 4 and 10 have been filled in.

‡ Under the Census Act the managers of estates, where not less than 50 labourers are employed, are responsible for the enumeration.

3. The first step is to ascertain from each manager what forms are required for the enumeration of the people resident on his estate. These forms will be supplied from your district stock. If your present supply is insufficient for this purpose, a supplementary indent should be submitted at the earliest possible date. The entries on the dockets of the enumeration books should be filled in before they are issued from your office. Each Deputy Commissioner should make his own arrangements for the collection and examination of the books after the census has been taken.

4. Your attention is invited to the definition of 'house' given in paragraph 4 of my Circular No. 5, dated the 8th August 1890, in accordance with which each doorway in coolie lines should be taken as indicating a separate house. In one district in 1881 the returns were very seriously vitiated by each tea garden with its whole population being treated as a single house.

5. For the purpose of your census registers, each estate should be treated as a circle or sub-circle of the pargana or mauza in which it is situated. Where an estate comprises grants lying in two or more parganas or mauzas, the portion lying in each should, as a rule, be treated as a separate circle or sub-circle.

* In the case of small rivers. † For enumerators on the Brahmaputra, Megna, Barak and other large rivers.

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6. A copy of a demi-official letter of appointment for tea-planters is appended. Indents for copies of this form and of the instructions for the enumeration of tea gardens should be sent to this office as soon as possible.

Instructions for the Enumeration of Tea Gardens in Assam.

1. The census will be taken on the night of the 26th February 1891. In preparing for it the first step is to group into blocks for the purposes of enumeration all houses, lines, huts, &c., on the estate which are inhabited, or are likely to be inhabited, on the abovementioned date. This should be done in November, and the buildings should then be entered in a simple register form, by which the owner or manager can see that no habitation is likely to escape enumeration.

2. An enumerator for each block should then be appointed by the manager, and one or more employés of intelligence and position on the estate should be appointed as supervisors and made responsible for instructing the enumerators in what they have to do. Household schedules, to be filled up by the master of the house, will be provided for all owners, agents, managers, and their assistants; but it will be advisable to have the resident servants of such households separately enumerated by a native employé, who is more conversant with the names of castes, &c., than a European.

3. For persons other than the above residing on the estate, enumeration books will be provided by the Deputy Commissioner of the district. The manager, &c., should communicate to that official the number of blocks and houses and the approximate number of persons likely to have to be enumerated on the estate on the 26th February, including all persons residing on land belonging to the estate, whether they work on the garden or not. Books will be supplied slightly in excess of this indent, and will be collected by the local officials after the census.

4. The next point is the instruction of the supervisors and enumerators. Rules accompany each book of schedules, and these should be carefully explained to the enumerators. Wherever practicable, an assistant or extra assistant commissioner will visit the estate and help the manager in this task. If he does not come, doubtful points should be referred to the Deputy Commissioner or subdivisional officer. There should be no hesitation in sending on such references, as no set of rules can be framed sufficiently comprehensive to meet every peculiar case that will arise in taking a census.

5. About the middle of January the enumerators should be set to go round their blocks, and fill up a schedule for each house in accordance with the rules mentioned above. The manager should test this work himself so far as possible, whilst the supervisor should check the returns by house-to-house visits with the book in his hand. This preliminary enumeration need not be hurried, as all that is needed is time enough between the completion of it and the census to have it thoroughly well inspected.

6. There are several of the columns in the schedule in filling up which enumerators are very liable to go wrong; and it is worth while to mention a few of them here. First of all, the entries about marriage, education, and occupation, in columns 8, 12, and 11, respectively, are not infrequently omitted against infants and young children, as the enumerator takes it for granted that such persons are unmarried, illiterate, and without occupation. It is therefore necessary to see that they understand and apply the rules, especially that regarding column 11, under which the return required is that of the occupation by which persons are supported, whether it is exercised by them or by another person who thereby provides for them. Again, the entry of the place of birth in column 10 is too often that of a village, or thana, tahsil, &c., which cannot be recognised when the returns are tabulated. Such entries should be corrected, and nothing of less extent than a district or province, as the case may be, should be allowed to stand. Many coolies probably cannot give the name of their birth districts; but a reference to the register of coolies residing on the estate, or to some garden sardár, will generally clear up the matter. There will be comparatively few entries in column 13 on tea gardens; but care should be taken that only those shown in column 12 as literate are entered in this column, and that where a man can read and write English as well as his vernacular, the entry should be of both languages, as English-Bengali. Except in this column and column 14, for certain infirmities, an entry must be made against each person in each column, even though in some cases an entry is but the repetition of one that has been made in a preceding column.

On the evening of the 26th of February, the enumerators should take their books and again visit each house in the block, and strike out all who have died or left since their former visit, and enter all new comers and newly born infants. Their books should then be returned to the manager, by whom they should be checked and given with the household schedules of his family, &c., to the Government enumerator, who will call for them at such time as may have been notified beforehand, and bring to notice any amendments that he finds necessary.

To

Dated 1890.

Dear Sir,

I beg to request the favour of your assistance in the taking of the next imperial census, which will be on the 26th February 1891, so far as regards the enumeration of the population resident on the estate under your management.

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Under the Census Act, the manager of an estate on which not less than 50 labourers are employed is responsible for the enumeration. I accordingly enclose a copy of the instructions for the enumeration of tea gardens in Assam, and would ask you to be good enough to give them very careful attention. The forms necessary for the census of your estate will be supplied on the receipt of the statement referred to in paragraph 3 of the instructions.

I shall be happy to give prompt attention to any references which you may wish to make as to the meaning of the instructions, or of the rules for filling in the census schedules.

I am,
Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,

Deputy Commissioner.

Enumeration of Cantonments and of Troops on the March.*

A.—Military Limits.

1. Within regimental lines, or other purely military limits, the census will be taken by the military authorities.

2. The determination of these limits should be undertaken as soon as possible after the receipt of these instructions by the military and civil authorities in consultation with each other, so that both may know clearly the areas for the enumeration of which they are respectively responsible.

3. To prevent mistakes or double enumeration, it is advisable for the military authorities to have their limits cleared between sunset on the 26th of February 1891 and sunrise on the 27th idem of all persons who are not residing temporarily or permanently within those limits as officers of any grade, fighting men, non-combatants attached to the regiments, the servants of the above regimental followers, or members of the families of any of these.

4. The census to be taken by the military authorities under the above orders will thus include all persons of whatever age, sex, race, or profession, who on the night of the 26th February are, temporarily or permanently, residing within military limits. Thus, it will include all persons who, though ordinarily residing elsewhere, may on that night be stopping temporarily within those limits; and also those who, while actually living at the time and taking their meals within the same, may be absent for a few hours on night duty, &c.

5. Some weeks before the census a list should be prepared showing every house or other building in the area in question which is inhabited, or is likely to be inhabited, on the 26th February. A convenient form for this list is the following:

Cantonment_____

House Register of Military Lines, &c.

Serial No. of house.	Description of house (*i.e.*, barracks, guard-room, &c.).	Families.		Remarks.
		Serial No. of each resident family.	Name and occupation of head member of each family.	
1	2	3	4	5

If the lines be divided into blocks, a separate list should be prepared for each block. If any large building has been divided into separate dwellings or tenements, occupied by distinct groups of persons, each of these dwellings should be given a separate number in column 1 of the register. In columns 3 and 4 only those groups should be entered who reside as families in the building. Single individuals living alone and without servants, such as unmarried privates, should not be shown as separate families.

6. The number entered against each house in the above list should be then painted conspicuously upon the building, so that it may be easily noted on the night of the census.

7. The census will be taken, except in the case of European officers and their families, who will be provided with separate household schedules, by means of books of schedules bound up with the detailed instructions and other forms required. As soon as the officer responsible for the

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enumeration has ascertained the approximate number of houses and persons within military limits, he should forward to the Deputy Commissioner of the district an indent for the requisite number of schedules on the basis of one book for every 300 persons or 60 houses, and one household schedule per officer concerned, a margin of about 10 per cent. being allowed for waste or emergency. He should also specify the language or character in which the former are to be printed. When the cantonment is beyond British territory, this indent should be sent to the Chief Political Officer of the Agency in which it is situated. The books and schedules should be asked for not later than September, and should be ready in the cantonment for use, as below specified, by December.

8. About a week or ten days before the 26th of February, each enumerator should go round his block and enter in the book of schedules full particulars regarding every person—man, woman, or child—whom he finds residing therein, including the servants of European householders who have been furnished with separate schedules. This record should be carefully examined and initialled by the officer responsible for the census, and all errors rectified. The houses should be taken in the order in which they are entered in the register, and exact observance of the instructions must be rigidly enforced. Black ink only must be provided for this preliminary record.

9. After gunfire on the night of the 26th February, the enumerator should again go over his block, check and bring up to date the entries previously made as above prescribed, and thus complete the census. The next morning he should go to the households which have been furnished with separate schedules, and collect the schedules of the householder. On this occasion he must be provided with red or magenta ink only, so that the entries of new-born children, of visitors who have arrived since the preliminary record, and the erasure of those who have died or left the lines, may be easily distinguished.

10. A register should be kept of the number and description of schedules issued, and each enumerator should account for every one he has received. When the account has been found correct in each case, the officer presiding over the census work should make an index, pack up the books and household schedules, and, after filling up the short summary of the abstracts which form part of every enumerator's book, should then forward the whole to the Deputy Commissioner, or Political Officer, as the case may be. In some cases, where the cantonment is not at the head-quarters of the district, the books should be sent to the tahsildar or corresponding official, and in presidency towns to the municipal commissioner, chairman of the committee, &c. The books and schedules for each regiment or detachment should be packed and registered separately.

11. As it is necessary that the scheme laid down for the census of the whole country should be strictly followed, arrangements will be made by Local Governments and Administrations to place a European district official in direct communication with the military authorities in each cantonment, so that he may give advice to the latter, and otherwise ensure uniformity and punctuality in the arrangements.

B.—Troops on the March.

12. The census of regiments on the march and of detachments of troops on duty within the limits of the province concerned will be taken by the officer in command. This census will include all persons, of whatever sex, age, or profession, who are marching with the troops. It will probably be known beforehand that troops will be on the march on the night of the 26th of February, so that the officer in command should be provided with enumeration books and schedules at the cantonment from which the troops start. There will be no preliminary record taken in this case, unless one has been completed before the troops left their last cantonment.

13. If the regiment or detachment be travelling by rail on the night of the census, the enumeration should be effected at the first place at which the men alight. Such troops will not be enumerated by the railway authorities.

14. The books and schedules for detachments on the march should be sent to the headquarters of their regiments if it be within the province where they are enumerated, or to the cantonment from which they started in other cases. For regiments on the march, the books, &c., should be despatched to the military authorities of the cantonment at which they were last stationed, and will be then dealt with as prescribed in paragraph 10 above.

C.—Cantonment Bazars and Civil Limits.

15. The census of so much of each cantonment as lies beyond regimental or other purely military limits will be taken by the Cantonment Magistrate acting under the direct orders of the civil authorities of the district or state. Exceptional cases will probably be found, such as Mhow, in which the whole arrangements will have to be controlled by the Officer Commanding, who will thus be responsible for their efficiency and punctuality.

16. The rules under which the above limits are to be enumerated will be those prescribed for the country at large, and will be found accordingly in the general and provincial circulars. Indents for schedules, based on the circle register of houses and persons, must be submitted as soon as possible after the preparation of the above register. Meanwhile, the block lists can be prepared, the houses numbered as above prescribed, and enumerators nominated and duly appointed.

17. The time allowed for the preliminary record will be slightly longer than in the military limits; but this task should be completely finished by the 15th of February, so as to allow full time for scrutiny and correction.

18. The actual census and the subsequent procedure will be conducted as in the military limits, save that supervision must be closer and more active, owing to the greater variety in the population dealt with.

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D.—Legislation.

19. The following provisions of the Census Act are extracted for the information and guidance of those concerned :

"*Section 5.*—Every military or naval officer in command of any body of men belonging to Her Majesty's military or naval forces, or of any vessel of war or troopship * * shall, if so required by the District Magistrate, or, in the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, by such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf, perform such of the duties of a census officer in relation to the persons who, at the time of the taking of the census, are under his command or charge, * * as such magistrate or officer may, by written order, direct.

"(2) All the provisions of this Act relating to census officers shall apply, so far as they can be made applicable, to all such persons while performing such duties, and any person refusing or neglecting to perform any duty which he is directed under this section to perform shall be deemed to have committed an offence under section 187 of the Indian Penal Code (XLV of 1860)."

Instructions for the Enumeration of Railway Premises and Travellers by Rail.*

1. The classes of the population to be enumerated by the railway authorities are—

A.—Persons residing or working within railway premises.
B.—Persons travelling by rail on the night of the 26th February 1891.

2. Under A are included permanent employés of the railway, with their families and servants, residing on the railway premises, together with visitors stopping temporarily in their houses ; also labourers or others employed on railway work by contractors or railway officers, if sleeping within the railway premises. This proviso, however, is not to be applicable to gangs of railway coolies who may have pitched their huts, &c., just beyond railway limits, as these should be enumerated by the agency which collected, or is employing, them. On the other hand, when convenient, detached houses, &c., of signallers or gatemen may be included in the block of the nearest village or town, and thus be enumerated with the ordinary population of that block. In all such cases the railway and the district authorities should act in concert with each other, so that there may be neither omission nor re-enumeration of any person. It should be noted that persons who work on railway premises either by day or night, but habitually return to their homes outside railway premises when off work, are not to be enumerated in class A.

3. The first step to be taken is to parcel out the railway premises into charges for superintendents, circles for supervisors, and blocks for enumerators. The tabulation of the returns will be by villages or towns for each district or State separately, as the case may be, so the mileage included in every district through which the line passes, with the stations, &c., therein, may be constituted a charge, and registered in a list to be sent to the Superintendent of the Census Operations for the Province or Agency. It is obvious, therefore, that the partition into the above census areas should be territorial and not departmental, and that in each charge a single officer of the railway should be made responsible for all the census arrangements therein. So, too, not more than one station should be included in one block, as the returns may have to be afterwards distributed between two districts or even two provinces. As a rule, a station will be a convenient block; but when the premises contain many inhabitants, it may be advisable to form it into a circle containing not more than ten blocks of from 200 to 300 persons or 40 to 60 houses apiece. Where there are a good many houses belonging to the railway, but detached and at a distance from the station, it will be necessary to provide special supervisors and enumerators, working, if necessary, in concert with the supervisors of the municipal or village census.

4. A list for each station or railway settlement should be prepared, showing the number and description of buildings included in each block ; and where there are many such buildings, it will be safer to number them with paint or some other material, for the guidance of the enumerator.

5. Superintendents, supervisors, and enumerators should be appointed in writing by the chief railway authorities, and, as far as possible, should be their employés, either European or knowing English well, especially in circles where there is a considerable European or Eurasian colony. At small stations it will be convenient to have the same person to enumerate both residents and travellers, so as to save training two different men (see below, paragraph 14).

6. The enumeration will be effected through schedules, of which two kinds will be issued—(*a*) householders' schedules, to be filled in by the head of each family, and returned to the enumerator on the morning of the 27th February ; and (*b*) enumeration books, in which the enumerator fills in the entries for each person at the dictation of the head of the family. The use of the former is restricted to Europeans, Eurasians, and English-speaking employés of the superior grades ; and the supervisor of the circle should be distinctly made responsible for seeing that such forms are correctly filled up. Both kinds of form contain room for eight persons per page or schedule; and in the case of Europeans and Eurasians, the return for native servants and their families on the premises is to be made by the enumerator of the block on a separate schedule. One page is reserved for each house, so that in forwarding indents as below pre-

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scribed, allowance to the extent of perhaps 10 per cent. should be made for emergencies. The indents should be sent by the agent or manager to the Deputy Commissioner of the district. They should specify—

(*a*) The number of families, European, Eurasian, and Native, for whom householders' forms are required.
(*b*) The number of houses, servants' quarters, police, porters, and coolie lines, to be enumerated in the book forms.
(*c*) The number of blocks in each circle, and the number of enumerators to be employed.
(*d*) The number of schedules to be bound up into each book, varying from 12 to 50.
(*e*) The language in which the said books should be supplied.

Each book contains detailed instructions, a sample schedule, an abstract to be filled up by the enumerator after the census, and a list of the houses he has to enumerate, under their serial numbers, as mentioned in paragraph 4 above. The full supply of schedules and books for this class of the population, together with a supply of enumeration passes for passengers, should be indented for in September at the latest, and should be prepared for household distribution and use by enumerators, respectively, by the middle of January 1891. In writing up the block list of houses in the book, special note should be made in the last column of the houses where schedules have been left, so that the enumerator may know how many forms, and from whom, he has to collect on the morning after the census.

7. Early in February every enumerator should fill in the schedule for each house in the manner prescribed in the instructions printed in his book. This task should be completed by the 20th February; and during its progress the supervisor should test the greater part of the entries by house-to-house visits. This preliminary record may be foregone, as in 1881, in the case of native employés of superior grade in order to diminish the work thrown on the staff engaged as enumerators; but the concession is made on the distinct understanding that it does not interfere with the accuracy of the census, for which the railway authorities are responsible.

8. The householder's schedules should be left with the head of each family about the 24th of February. On the morning of the 27th idem, they will be collected, examined on the spot by the enumerator, and corrected, where necessary, on his suggestion.

9. On the night of the 26th of February, beginning from about 8 or 9 o'clock, the enumerator will again visit every house in his block, and see that the entries are brought up to date, in accordance with his instructions regarding visitors, births, and deaths not previously recorded. It may be noted that, according to those instructions, employés who are on duty on the night of the 26th February, but are not travelling with any train, should be recorded as present in the houses where they are entered in the book, or where a householders' schedule has been left.

10. On issuing the books and householders' schedules, the supervisor should keep a register of every form thus made over to the enumerator; and on the 27th of February he should recover the same from the latter, and see that each one issued is duly accounted for. He should then compile the totals from the enumerator's abstract into a return for the district, certify the list, pack the books and schedules in serial order with it, and despatch the whole without delay to the superintendent of the charge in which he is employed, if any, who will at once send the parcels for his charge on to the Collector or Deputy Commissioner of the district, or to the abstracting centre designated by the Provincial Census Superintendent if in British territory, or to such office as may have been previously arranged if in a Feudatory State, certifying at the same time to the agent or manager of the line that he has done so.

11. On all main points, and in all matters affecting general arrangements connected with the census, the agent or manager should consult with the Superintendent of Census. All points which cannot be settled by him should be referred to the Census Commissioner for India. On minor local details the Agent or Manager should consult the Deputy Commissioner concerned. In order that the arrangements may be carried out successfully, it is important that a list of the railway charges, circles, and blocks in each district or state should be sent as soon as they are settled, or before the end of November 1890, to the Provincial Census Superintendent, and also that the instructions above given regarding local and not departmental responsibility should be strictly followed.

Class B.—Travellers by Rail.

12. A special official should be told off at each station to enumerate all persons alighting from a train, or, in the case mentioned below, taking tickets at that station during the night of the 26th of February 1891.

13. In the case of first and second class passengers and of Europeans and Eurasians travelling intermediate or third class, or on duty with the train, separate schedules should be distributed by the guard in charge of the train on the evening of the 26th February. The rest of the persons in the train will be enumerated in the schedule books described above. Persons who arrive at a station some time before their train is due should be enumerated by the station enumerator before they enter the train, and each should be duly provided with an enumeration pass. Indents for these forms should be sent in with those for the resident population under class A, but under a separate heading. The requirements of each station in this respect should be based on the average number of passengers alighting there on the above date for the last three years, with special extra provision for the station where the final enumeration under paragraph 15 is to take place.

14. Between 8 p.m. on the 26th February and 6 a.m. on the 27th idem, the station enumerator should enumerate every traveller—man, woman, and child—who alights at the station in question. He should first ask if the person has been enumerated already; and if the latter produces an enumeration pass, or asserts that he has been so counted, the enumerator should accept the answer, and let him go by. If he says he has not, the enumerator should fill up the

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schedule entries for him in full and give him an enumeration pass, telling him to show the same if any enumerator offers to count him again. Travelling enumerators, too, may be nominated to enumerate some of the passengers in each carriage at every halt until all are returned, when the next carriage will be taken up. This will materially lighten the task mentioned in the next paragraph.

15. All passengers found in the train at 6 a.m. on the 27th February, who cannot produce enumeration passes, or who otherwise do not appear to have been enumerated anywhere else, and all employés on duty with the train, shall be counted at the first large station at which the train stops at or about that hour. A place should be chosen where the train is timed to stop for a sufficient period, which may, if necessary, be slightly prolonged. Enumeration passes need not be given on this occasion. The household schedules given the evening before to first and second class passengers, &c., who have not alighted during the night, should be collected and examined by an employé, who should, if possible, be a European or Eurasian. The same official should also fill up the form for those who have omitted to do so for themselves. He should finally see that schedules thus collected are securely gummed or stitched into the enumeration books used for the other passengers.

16. Troops travelling by rail on the night in question will be enumerated by their officers and the return separately sent in. But the native servants travelling with them, and those travelling with first and second class passengers (not being in the same carriage with their employers), should be enumerated with the rest of the persons in the train.

17. The above books and schedules should be separately indexed, and then put up with the return for class A for transmission to the authorities specified in paragraph 10 above. The enumerator's abstract should be filled in for each book, &c., and compiled as prescribed in the same paragraph.

18. *Expenses.*—The schedules, passes, and books will be supplied by Government. The agency employed will be chiefly officially attached to the railway. Unavoidable extra expenditure, such as payment for overtime on the night of the 26th, remuneration of outsiders where no officials are available as enumerators, charges for oil and petty stationery, may be entered in a bill under the above heads, and sent through the Provincial Census Superintendent to the Census Commissioner for submission to the Government of India for sanction.

Enumeration of the Jail Population.

Circular No. 12, dated Shillong, the 19th November 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners, Assam.

I have the honour to convey the following instructions regarding the enumeration of the jail population.

2. For the purposes of the census each jail and lock-up should be formed into a separate block. Each ward and other occupied building, which has a separate independent entrance from the common way, should be treated as a house and numbered accordingly.

3. The term "jail population" will be taken to include all convicts and under-trial prisoners and all jail officers with their families who reside within the precincts of the jail. It will not include the police on duty as jail guards, as they will be enumerated with the rest of the police force in the district.

4. The enumeration of the jail population should be entrusted, under your general supervision, to the officer in charge of the jail, all forms necessary for the purpose being supplied to him from your district stock.

5. In order that there may be as few changes as possible between the preliminary record and the final census, the preparation of the former need not be commenced until a few days before the 26th February, all that is necessary being that it should be completed in time to enable the entries to be thoroughly tested before the night of the census. Prisoners who will be released before that date should not be entered in the preliminary record.

6. The final census should be commenced at lock-up time; the prisoners being enumerated first and the jail officers and their families afterwards.

7. In the occupation column prisoners should be shown as (*a*) convicts, (*b*) under-trial, or (*c*) civil prisoners. It is unnecessary to record the work on which they are employed while in jail or the occupation which they are said to have followed before incarceration.

Enumeration of Carters, Travellers by Road, Rubber and Boat cutters, Elephant-hunters, &c.

Circular No. 16, dated Shillong, the 8th December 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners, Assam.

I have the honour to remind you that there are certain classes of persons, such as carters and other travellers by road, rubber and boat cutters, elephant-hunters, &c., regarding the enumeration

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of whom it is not possible to issue instructions of general application, and for which each deputy commissioner must make his own arrangements.

2. In the case of carters and other travellers, it will probably suffice, so far as the less-frequented roads are concerned, if orders are issued, directing persons not to travel after nightfall on the 26th February, and, when they halt, to stop the night in some village, and not on the road-side. But on the more important roads, where there is constant night traffic, as on the cart-road from Gauhati to Shillong, it will probably be necessary to fix enumeration stations, at which persons may be counted as they pass. Where this is done, it would be well to issue tickets to prevent double enumeration, and I shall be happy to send you a small supply on your indenting for them.

3. As regards the other classes referred to above, you will probably experience more difficulty, and it will be necessary to make very careful arrangements beforehand in order to secure an accurate enumeration.

When persons are furnished with passes to enter reserved forests to cut timber and rubber, or to go across the Inner Line, it might be advisable, in the more remote places at least, to order them to go on the afternoon of the 26th February to one of several carefully settled enumeration stations, where they may be censused by an enumerator appointed for the purpose. Tickets might be issued to each person as enumerated; and all persons holding passes warned that if they are afterwards found without one of these tickets, their passes will at once be cancelled. In fixing the sites of these jungle enumeration stations, care should be taken to cause as little inconvenience as possible to the persons who will be required to attend them. Groups of persons working at fixed places in forests should be enumerated in the ordinary way at the huts in which they are for the time being residing. The subordinates of the Forest Department will furnish a valuable agency for the census of persons in reserved forests.

Similar arrangements might be carried out, in consultation with the lessees of the elephant and rubber *mahals* in your district, for the enumeration of persons working under them.

4. As soon as you have matured your plans for the census of the persons referred to above, I would ask you to furnish me with a full report showing in detail what steps you propose to take to secure an accurate enumeration. This report should reach my office not later than the 15th January.

The suggestions which I have noted above are not intended as final instructions, but merely as suggestions, which may prove useful to you in making your district arrangements.

Expenditure and Accounts.

Circular No. 3, dated Shillong, the 27th June 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners, Assam.

With reference to letter No. 3712G., dated the 30th May 1890, from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, a copy of which has been sent to you direct, I have the honour to request you to be good enough to submit an estimate of the charges which must unavoidably be incurred in your district in connection with the coming census.

2. You will observe from the letter under reference that, subject to certain rules of accounts, you will be able to spend the grant that may be allotted to you in any way that you think best; but, in order that the principles on which you have framed your estimate may be more clearly understood, I would ask you to give details of the expenditure which you consider that it will be necessary to incur.

3. It is not necessary to budget for travelling allowance, as in the case of officials the Government of India have directed that travelling allowance shall be chargeable to the head from which their pay is drawn, while in the case of non-officials (who should ordinarily be employed in the neighbourhood of their own homes), the remuneration that is given should be fixed so as to cover everything. Neither is it necessary to budget for charges relating to the purchase and despatch to your district of the various census forms, as these charges will be defrayed by my office.

In most districts it is anticipated that the whole, or almost the whole, work can be carried out by means of officials and voluntary agency. Paid establishments should in no case be entertained unless you consider them to be absolutely indispensable. In this connection your special attention is invited to the concluding portion of paragraph 1 of the letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, referred to above, which enjoins the necessity of keeping the expenditure within the smallest possible limits and of incurring no charge which can in any way be avoided.

4. As it will probably be some time before funds are required by you, and as you will be in a better position to frame your estimate when your circle list and lists of available agency have been completed, it is not necessary to send in your estimate immediately, and it will suffice if it is submitted so as to reach my office on or before September 1st. I would, however, remind you that no expenditure can be incurred by you until your grant has been fixed, and that should you find it necessary to incur expenditure before the date mentioned above, you should see that your estimate is submitted earlier in order that your allotment may be made before funds are actually required.

Circular No. 11, dated Shillong, the 22nd October 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners, Assam.

In letter No. 8584G., dated the 15th October 1890, from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, your district allotment on account of census charges has been fixed at Rs. * * An

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extract from this letter, so far as it relates to your district, has already been forwarded to you. In addition to what has been said there, I have the honour to convey the following general instructions on the subject of expenditure in connection with the census.

2. The rules of accounts regarding census expenditure, which were laid down in letter No. 3712, dated the 30th May 1890, from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, should, in all cases, be strictly adhered to. It should also be borne in mind that allotments have been fixed so as to cover all possible charges, and thereby avoid the inconvenience and delay, which would be caused if it were necessary to apply for sanction in each case before incurring expenditure. As the charges in connection with the census are of an unusual nature, they cannot be adequately checked by the Accounts Department, and the responsibility for acting with a due regard to economy must be left mainly to the Deputy Commissioners concerned. It is therefore necessary, before incurring any expenditure, that you should satisfy yourself not only that it is covered by your district allotment, but also that the charge is absolutely necessary and unavoidable.

3. All charges incurred by you will come under the general head "District Charges—Enumeration," and should be classified as such in the bills on which the amounts are drawn from the treasury. There will be various sub-heads, such as remuneration of enumerators, distribution of forms within the district, &c.; and, in order to enable me to keep a correct account of the expenditure under each of these sub-heads, I would ask you to be good enough to submit to my office, on the 5th of each month, a statement showing in detail the census expenditure incurred in your district during the preceding month.

4. The Government of India have ruled that the travelling allowances of all officials deputed to work in connection with the census shall be debited to the head from which their pay is drawn. It is, however, desired to obtain an accurate record of all charges necessitated by the census, whether debited against it in the accounts or otherwise; and it is, therefore, necessary that each deputy commissioner should keep an account of the sums paid as travelling allowance to stationary officials, who are employed on census work at a distance from the place where they reside on duty. These cases should be avoided as much as possible; but where they do occur, the fact should be noted, and the amount thus spent should be shown at the foot of the monthly statements referred to above. This does not apply to officers who habitually move about their charges on duty, and no account need be kept of the sums drawn by them as travelling allowance for journeys made for the purpose of inspecting census arrangements within their charges.

Circular No. 25, dated Gauhati, the 21st February 1891.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners, Assam.

I have the honour to inform you that it is desired to bring all census charges in the districts to account within the current financial year, and to request you to be good enough to further this object by arranging to pay all charges connected with the census in your district before the 15th of March at latest.

2. As soon as all payments have been made, I would ask you to inform me of this fact, and to furnish me with a statement showing exactly what expenditure has been incurred under each head. A short explanation of all large or unusual items should be appended, in order to avoid references later on when the charges incurred in the different districts come to be compared.

Departmental Orders regarding co-operation in Census Work.

Copy of Memo. No. 3361-75, dated Shillong, the 30th April 1890, from the Inspector General of Police, Assam.

Copy (of Secretary to the Chief Commissioner's Circular No. 19G., dated the 18th April 1890) forwarded to all District Superintendents of Police and Commandants, Military Police Battalions, Assam, for information and guidance, and with the request that they will be good enough to co-operate most thoroughly with, and assist in every way in census matters both Mr. Gait and the district authorities.

Copy of Circular No. 9-S.E., dated the 9th June 1890, from the Chief Engineer to all Executive and District Engineers, Deputy Commissioner in charge, Public Works, Garo Hills, and Managers of State Railways.

I have the honour to request that you will be good enough to assist generally in the coming census operations, which, you are to distinctly understand, must take precedence of all other work.

2. Mr. Gait is the officer in charge of these operations; and you and every subordinate in your division are hereby directed to thoroughly co-operate with him and with the district authorities in all census matters.

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Copy of Circular No. 42-C., dated the 11th June 1890, from the Administrative Medical Officer and Sanitary Commissioner, Assam, to all Civil Surgeons, Civil Medical Officers, Assistant Surgeons, and Hospital Assistants holding independent medical charge in Assam.

With reference to Chief Commissioner's Circular No. 19G. of the 18th April 1890, regarding the forthcoming census of 1891, forwarded under this office Circular No. 27C., dated the 29th April 1890, you are hereby directed to co-operate and assist thoroughly in every possible way that may be required of you in census matters through the district authorities, and as may be directed by Mr. Gait, the Provincial Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam.

Circular Memo. No. 18, dated the 3rd June 1890, from the Conservator of Forests, Assam, to all Divisional Forest Officers, Assam.

With reference to this office Circular No. 10, dated the 3rd May 1890, with which were forwarded to all divisional forest officers the Chief Commissioner's orders concerning census work to be done, the Conservator has now the honour to inform divisional forest officers that census duties must, for the time being, take precedence over the ordinary forest work.

Copy of the orders of the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, dated the 13th August 1890, regarding the employment of Educational Officers on Census Work.

1. Head masters of all Government schools and sub-inspectors of schools, in addition to their ordinary duties, are directed to assist the arrangements in connection with the census work, so far as they are required by the Deputy Commissioner to do so.

2. Head masters, when their services shall be required by the Deputy Commissioner, shall not close their schools, but should put them in charge of the second master for the time being.

3. It is understood that sub-inspectors of schools will chiefly be employed as charge superintendents to give instructions to the supervisors and enumerators, so this work will in no way interfere with their school inspection work; in many cases it is probable that the *gurus* of *pathsalas* will be enumerators, and thus sub-inspectors, after examining a school, can give the necessary instructions about census work to these and other men.

4. During the lower primary scholarship and pass certificate examination, and for a day or two before, sub-inspectors of schools should not be asked to do census work, as their whole time will be needed for supervising and arranging for these examinations; and in order that this work should interfere as little as possible with census operations, the time for holding the lower primary scholarship and pass certificate examination is now fixed for the last week in January, the exact date to be settled by each sadr board in consultation with the Deputy Inspector of Schools.

5. From the 1st of February 1891 to the close of the census operations, the entire time of sub-inspectors is placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner, if required by him.

6. As the university entrance and the departmental examinations will be held on the 2nd February and following days, head masters should not, if possible, be given census work during school hours between this and the end of these examinations.

7. As deputy inspectors of schools will have to prepare certain returns for all departmental examinations, and in February to tabulate the results of the lower primary examinations, their services cannot be spared for census work.

8. The chairman of each local board is requested to place the services of head masters of all aided schools, and those of the teachers of all village schools (*pathsalas*), at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner for employment in census work without extra remuneration.

Circular No. 7, dated Shillong, the 27th August 1890.

Memo. by—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam.

Copy of the foregoing to all Deputy Commissioners, Assam, for information.

Census Legislation.

Circular No. 14, dated Shillong, the 27th November 1890.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners, Assam.

I have the honour to forward herewith * * copies of the Indian Census Act, 1890, and the notifications which have been issued thereunder.

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2. Under section 2(3), the power to appoint census officers has been delegated to (1) all deputy commissioners; (2) district superintendents of police and the senior assistant commissioners and extra assistant commissioners at headquarters stations, within such local areas as may be made over to them by the Deputy Commissioner; and (3) all officers in charge of subdivisions.

The appointment of all census officers must be in writing, and must be signed by one of the officers authorised as above to do so. The *parwana* of appointment must, moreover, specify the local area within which the enumerator, &c., is appointed to work.

3. Census officers are public servants within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code, and offences by or against them are triable accordingly, as well as under section 10 of the Census Act. The latter should, however, be resorted to in all ordinary cases.

4. The questions, which an enumerator may ask under section 5, have been specified as being all questions which are necessary in order to enable him to fill in the columns of the enumération schedule. Persons of whom these questions are asked are therefore legally bound to answer them under section 7. Similarly, it has been notified under section 9 of the Act that persons supplied with household schedules must fill them in, in accordance with the instructions printed on the reverse of such schedules.

5. Under section 4(*e*), managers of tea estates can be required to take the census of all persons residing in their lines or on their grants, whether working on the garden or otherwise; and if they neglect or refuse to do so, they are liable to punishment under section 187, Indian Penal Code. Section 5 authorises the District Magistrate to call on landholders to assist in taking the census, *e.g.*, by furnishing agency, &c. This provision may be found useful in the districts of Sylhet and Goalpara. Powers exercisable by district magistrates under these sections have been conferred on all officers in charge of subdivisions.

Section 10 provides penalties for breaches of the provisions of the Act. All magistrates of the first class and magistrates in charge of subdivisions have been empowered to try cases under the Act, while the power to sanction prosecutions has been delegated to all deputy commissioners.

I would point out that the Act should be worked as leniently as possible; and that in most cases it will probably suffice if recusant enumerators are bound down to appear on some day after the census, when they can be discharged, if they have in the meantime performed their duties satisfactorily.

The following Act of the Governor General of India in Council received the assent of His Excellency the Governor General on the 16th October 1890, and is hereby promulgated for general information:

ACT NO. XVII OF 1890.

An Act to provide for certain matters in connection with the taking of the Census.

Whereas it has been determined to take a census of British India during the year 1891, and it is expedient to provide for certain matters in connection with the taking of such census, it is hereby enacted as follows:

Title, extent, and commencement.

1. (1) This Act may be called the Indian Census Act, 1890;

(2) it extends to the whole of British India, inclusive of Upper Burma and British Baluchistan, and

(3) It shall come into force at once.

Appointment of census officers.

2. (1) The Local Government may appoint any person, by name or by office, to take, or aid in, or supervise the taking of, the census within any specified local area.

(2) Persons so appointed shall be called census officers.

(3) The Local Government may delegate to such authority as it thinks fit the power of appointing census officers which is conferred by this section.

Proof of appointment of census officers, and their status as public servants.

3. (1) A declaration in writing, signed by any officer authorised by the Local Government in this behalf, that any person has been duly appointed a census officer for any local area, shall be a conclusive proof of such appointment.

(2) All census officers shall be deemed to be public servants within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code. XLV of 1860.

Discharge of duties of census officers in certain cases.

4. (1) (*a*) Every military or naval officer in command of any body of men belonging to Her Majesty's military or naval forces or of any vessel of war;

(*b*) every person (except a pilot or harbour master) having charge or control of a vessel;

(*c*) every person in charge of a lunatic asylum, hospital, workhouse, prison, reformatory, or lock-up, or of any public, charitable, religious, or educational institution;

(*d*) every keeper, secretary, or manager of any serai, hotel, boarding house, lodging house, or club; and

(*e*) every occupant of immoveable property having at the time of the taking of the census not less than fifty persons employed under him, or living on or in such property;

shall, if so required by the District Magistrate, or by such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf by name or by office, perform such of the duties of a census officer in relation to the persons who at the time of the taking of the census are under his command or charge, or inmates of his house, or present on or in such property, as such magistrate or officer may, by written order, direct.

(2) All the provisions of this Act relating to census officers shall apply, so far as they can be made applicable, to all such persons while performing such duties, and any person refusing or neglecting to perform any duty which he is directed under this section to perform shall be deemed to have committed an offence under section 187 of the Indian Penal Code. XLV of 1860.

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Power of District Magistrate to call upon certain persons to give assistance. VII of 1875. III of 1889. VI (B.C.) of 1870 V (B.C.) of 1887. I of 1883.

5. (1) The District Magistrate, or such officer as the Local Goverment may appoint in this behalf by name or by office for any local area, may, by written order, call upon all owners and occupiers of land, tenure-holders, farmers, assignees of land revenue, and lessees of fisheries under the Burma Fisheries Act, 1875, or the Upper Burma Land and Revenue Regulation, 1889, in his district or in such local area, as the case may be, or their agents, upon village servants in permanently-settled estates in the Madras Presidency, and upon all members of panchayats appointed in his district, or in such local area under the Village Chaukidari Act, 1870 (Bengal), or the Chota Nagpur Rural Police Act, 1887, or the Sylhet and Cachar Rural Police Regulation, 1883, to give such assistance as he needs towards the taking of a census of the persons who are at the time of the taking of the census on the lands of such owners, occupiers, holders, farmers, and assignees, or within the limits of such fisheries, or in the villages for which such village servants or panchayats are appointed, as the case may be.

(2) Such order shall specify the nature of the assistance required, and such owners, occupiers, holders, farmers, assignees, lessees, or their agents, and such village servants and the members of such panchayats, shall be bound to obey it.

Asking of questions by census officers.

6. Every census officer may ask all such questions of all persons within the limits of the local area for which he is appointed as, by instructions issued in this behalf by the Local Government and published in the official Gazette, he may be directed to ask.

Obligation to answer questions.

7. Every person of whom any question is asked under the last foregoing section, shall be legally bound to answer such question to the best of his knowledge or belief.

Provided that no person shall be bound to state the name of any female member of his household, and that no woman shall be bound to state the name of her husband or deceased husband or of any other person whose name she is forbidden by custom to mention.

Occupier to allow access, and permit affixing of numbers.

8. Every person occupying any house, enclosure, vessel, or other place shall allow census officers such access thereto as they may require for the purposes of the census, and as, having regard to the customs of the country, may be reasonable, and shall allow them to paint on or affix to the place such letters, marks, or numbers as may be necessary for the purposes of the census.

Occupier to fill up schedule.

9. (1) Subject to such orders as the Local Government may issue in this behalf, any census officer may leave, or cause to be left, at any dwelling house within the local area for which he is appointed, a schedule for the purpose of its being filled up by the occupier of such house, or of any specified part thereof, with such particulars as the Local Government may direct regarding the inmates of such house or part at the time of the taking of the census.

(2) When any such schedule has been so left, the occupier of the house or part to which it relates shall fill it up, or cause it to be filled up, to the best of his knowledge or belief, so far as regards the inmates of such house or part, as the case may be, at the time aforesaid, and shall sign his name thereto, and, when so required, shall deliver the schedule so filled up and signed to the census officer or to such person as he may direct.

Penalties.

10. In any of the following cases, namely :

(*a*) if a census officer without sufficient cause refuses or neglects to act as such ;

(*b*) if a census officer intentionally puts any offensive or improper question, or knowingly makes any false return ;

(*c*) if any person refuses to answer to the best of his knowledge or belief any question asked of him by a census officer which he is legally bound by section 7 so to answer ;

(*d*) if any person occupying any house, enclosure, vessel, or other place refuses to allow a census officer such reasonable access thereto as he is required by section 8 to allow ;

(*e*) if any person removes, obliterates, alters, or injures before the thirty-first day of March 1891, any letters, marks, or numbers which have been painted or affixed for the purpose of the census ;

(*f*) if any occupier of a dwelling house, or part thereof, knowingly and without sufficient cause, fails to comply with the provisions of section 9, or makes any false return under that section ;

he shall be punished with fine which may extend to fifty rupees.

Jurisdiction in prosecutions.

11. (1) The Local Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, declare before what classes of magistrates prosecutions under this Act may be instituted.

(2) Unless and until a notification is published under sub-section (1), all prosecutions under this Act shall, in the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, be instituted before a Presidency Magistrate, and elsewhere before the District Magistrate.

(3) No prosecution under this Act shall be instituted except with the previous sanction of the Local Government, or with the previous sanction of some officer authorised by the Local Government in this behalf by name or by office.

I of 1872. Records of census not admissible in evidence in certain proceedings. X of 1882.

12. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, no entry in any book, register, or record made by a census officer, in the discharge of his duty as such officer, and no entry in a schedule delivered under section 9, shall be admissible as evidence in any civil proceeding or any proceeding under chapter XII or chapter XXXVI of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882.

Temporary suspension of local enactments and rules as to mode of taking census in municipalities.

13. Notwithstanding anything in any enactment or rule with respect to the mode in which census is to be taken in any municipality, the municipal authority may, at the time appointed for the taking of the census of British India during the year 1891, cause the census of the municipality to be taken wholly or in part by any method authorised by this Act.

Notification No. 9176G., dated the 13th November 1890.

Under section 2 (3) of the Indian Census Act, 1890, the Chief Commissioner hereby delegates to the following officers in the Province of Assam the power to appoint persons to

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take, or aid in, or supervise the taking of, the census within any specified local area under their respective jurisdictions :*

(1) All Deputy Commissioners.
(2) District Superintendents of Police and the Senior Assistant Commissioners or Extra Assistant Commissioners at the headquarters of a district within any local area which may be made over to them by the Deputy Commissioner.
(3) All officers in charge of subdivisions.

Notification No. 9177G., dated the 13th November 1890.

The Chief Commissioner invests all subdivisional officers with the powers conferred on district magistrates under sections 4 and 5 of the Indian Census Act, 1890.

Notification No. 9178G., dated the 13th November 1890.

Under section 6 of the Indian Census Act, 1890, the Chief Commissioner hereby directs that every census officer shall ask all such questions of all persons within the limits of the local area for which he is appointed, and for the due enumeration of whom he is responsible, as may be necessary for filling in the enumeration schedules in accordance with the instructions given below (printed on pages lx-lxii).

Notification No. 9179G., dated the 13th November 1890.

Under section 9 of the Indian Census Act, 1890, the Chief Commissioner directs that the schedules which are left at any dwelling house for the purpose of being filled up by the occupier of such dwelling house, or any specified part thereof, shall be filled up in accordance with the instructions printed on the back of such schedules.

Notification No. 9180G., dated the 13th November 1890.

Under section 11 (1) of the Indian Census Act, 1890, the Chief Commissioner hereby directs that all prosecutions under the said Act, or for neglecting or refusing to do anything required by the said Act to be done, shall be instituted only before magistrates of the first class, or magistrates in charge of subdivisions; provided that no such prosecution shall be instituted without the previous sanction of the Magistrate of the district.

Form of Final Census Report.

Circular No. 24, dated Shillong, the 22nd January 1891.

From—E. A. GAIT, Esq., C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam,

To—All Deputy Commissioners, Assam.

I have now the honour to address you on the subject of the census report referred to in paragraph 4 of Secretary to Chief Commissioner's Circular No. 19G., dated the 18th April 1890, which will have to be furnished from every district and subdivision.

2. The subject matter of such a report naturally divides itself into two heads—(1) a description of the whole course of census operations in your district, and (2) an analysis of the results.

The latter portion of the report cannot, of course, be taken in hand until the work of abstraction, tabulation, and compilation has been completed, and the final tables are available. But the earlier portion can be prepared as soon as the census operations in the districts have been concluded and the forms despatched to the abstracting office; and the advantages of completing this section at the earliest possible date are manifold, as not only is your report likely to be fuller and more interesting if written immediately after the conclusion of the operations to which it refers, but it will also enable me to make considerable progress with the corresponding section of the Provincial Report while the figures for the final tables are under preparation.

*The Superintendent of Census Operations was empowered to issue letters of appointment throughout the Province (*vide* Secretary to Chief Commissioner's letter No. 484G., dated the 17th January 1890). This was necessary in connection with the issue of letters of appointment for the census of steamers.

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3. I would therefore ask you to be good enough to take in hand at once the preparation of this portion of your report, and to complete it in time to despatch it to my office not later than April 1st. Subdivisional reports should be sent in in original, accompanied by a review by the Deputy Commissioner. Reports from the Assam Valley districts should be submitted through the Commissioner.

4. Your account of the operations should be distributed under the following sections, and the subjects in each section dealt with in the order detailed below:

Section 1.—Subdivisional Register and Circle List.—(1) Data from which rough lists of villages were prepared in your office. (2) Agency by which verified and tested on the ground. (3) Degree of accuracy with which this work was carried out as shown by subsequent testing by census officers. (4) Measures taken to secure inclusion of outlying villages, *pams*, and houses in *haors*. (5) Dates of completion of subdivisional register and circle lists. (6) Difficulties met with; suggestions for future censuses; remarks on form of register prescribed, &c.

Section 2.—Agency.—(1) Number and *personnel* of charge superintendents, supervisors, and enumerators. (2) Dates of appointment of above. (3) Number of paid census officers (if any) of each class, remuneration given to each, and reasons for appointing paid men. (4) Average number of houses per block. (5) Criticisms on prescribed size of block. (6) General remarks.

Section 3.—House numbering.—(1) Definition of house and criticisms on the same; extent to which explained to, and understood by, the enumerators. (2) Dates of commencement and completion of house numbering; method of affixing numbers, &c. (3) Extent to which house numbering was tested by charge superintendents and supervisors, giving exact figures as far as possible; accuracy of the enumerators' work, or otherwise, as shown by the testing. (4) General remarks, criticisms, and suggestions.

Section 4.—Preliminary Record.—(1) Manner and extent of instruction imparted to enumerators. (2) Dates of commencement and completion of the preliminary record. (3) Extent of testing of the above by charge superintendents and supervisors, giving exact figures where possible. (4) Degree of accuracy of enumerators' work, as shown by this testing. (5) Difficulties met with, *e.g.*, in recording castes of Ganaks, Changs, &c. (6) Criticisms regarding date fixed for commencement of preliminary record; rules for filling in the schedule, &c.; and suggestions for future censuses.

Section 5.—Final Census.—(1) General sketch; supervising staff how strengthened on final census night, &c. (2) Extent of testing of red ink entries after the census, and efficiency of enumerators' work on this occasion. (3) Preparation of block, circle, and charge abstracts, and date of telegraphing district totals to Provincial Superintendent. (4) Collection and despatch of books; date of despatch. (5) Criticisms on system prescribed and suggested improvements.

Section 6.—Census of tea gardens, &c.—(1) Full description of operations in tea gardens and cantonments, and on railways. (2) Instruction and assistance given to persons in charge, and degree of care and intelligence displayed by them. (3) Extent to which preliminary record was inspected on tea gardens; accuracy of results. (4) Criticisms on standard instructions and suggested improvements.

Section 7.—Census of floating population, &c.—Measures taken to census (1) boats, (2) fairs, (3) travellers on roads, (4) persons in reserves, (5) British subjects beyond the Inner Line, &c. (6) Criticisms and suggestions.

Section 8.—Exceptional tracts in which standard instructions were departed from, with reasons for the same, and a full account of the operations there.

Section 9.—Attitude of the people.—(1) Suspicious and obstructive, or the reverse. (2) How far objects of census were understood or misapprehended. (3) Account of any erroneous ideas which may have been current regarding the census.

Section 10.—Legislation.—(1) What measures were taken and prosecutions instituted under the Census Act? (2) Sufficiency or otherwise of the provisions of the Act.

Section 11.—Results.—(1) Correctness or otherwise of the results. (2) Reasons for conclusions arrived at, with special reference to the method of preparation of the census registers, the manner and extent of the instructions imparted to the enumerators, and the testing of house numbering, the preliminary record, and the final census.

Section 12.—General remarks, criticisms, and suggestions.

5. The points which will require notice in the second part of your report will be communicated to you hereafter.

Instructions to Enumerators.

A.—The First Round.—(Preliminary Record.)

1. Beginning from the 15th of January 1891, you will visit every house in your block to which a separate number has been affixed, in the order in which they are entered in the list in your book, and enter in the schedules in that book every person residing in those houses in the manner prescribed below.

2. You must use black ink, and write very clearly.

3. You must take a fresh page for each house. If there are more than eight persons in a house, you should continue the entries for that house on the next page, repeating at the top of that page the number of the house in question, with the word 'continued' after it in brackets. You must never begin the entries for a fresh house in the middle of a page, but should leave the unused lines blank.

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4. If the entry for any person in any of the columns of the schedule be the same as that for the person entered on the line above, you must repeat the entry and never write the word 'ditto,' or make dots.

5. If one of the houses on the list be found unoccupied, you should write the word 'empty' after the number of that house on the top of the form.

6. You are to enter all persons who ordinarily live and take their meals from the house, even though any of them may be, at the time of your visit, absent for a short time at the bazar, watching crops, fishery, or even for a few days at a wedding or on a pilgrimage, provided they are to be back at the house before the 26th February. After the residents you should enter the visitors, if any, stopping in the house, but not such as are only there for a day or two, as for a wedding, &c., and will not remain there till the 26th February. In *dharmshalas*, *serais*, or temples, you should enter on this occasion only those who usually live there, and not travellers, &c., stopping only a day or a night or so in the building.

7. Before beginning to make these entries you must read carefully the rules for filling up each column which are printed on the next page, and also the specimen schedule on the page opposite those rules.

8. You should point out to the supervisor entries about which you are in doubt, and receive his instructions. You must have completed all the entries in your block by the 31st of January 1891.

B.—The Second Round.—(Final Record.)

9. At nightfall on the 26th February 1891 you will take this book as already filled in, and again visit every house in your block in order.

10. You must summon the chief member of each family residing in the house, and read over to him the entries made for his family in the schedule. You will strike out the entries for persons who are not present, and fill up the form for any person now in the house who was not there when the first visit was made, such as guests, infants newly born, and others. You are to consider as present all living in, or taking their meals from, the house, even though any of them may be out fishing or watching in the fields or at a shop, &c., for the night.

11. You must enter the word 'visitor' in column 1 after the names of all who are only in the house for a few days and do not ordinarily reside there.

12. If there be no room left on the schedule for the fresh entries above mentioned, you must take a fresh page at the end of your book, and enter on it the house number, with the word 'continued' after it, as prescribed in paragraph 3 above.

13. Before you start on your round, you must see that you are yourself enumerated in the house where you are stopping.

14. You must make no alteration whatever in any entry against the name of any person unless you have to strike out the entries altogether because he or she is no longer present. When you strike out a person, you must draw the line completely through all the entries following that person's name, and not merely through column 1.

15. You must use only red ink for entries and erasures made on the round on the 26th February.

16. Whilst going on this round, you must visit every house marked 'empty' in your book to see whether any person is now living there.

17. After visiting as above all the dwelling houses, you must go to the *dharmshalas*, *serais*, encampments, and landing-places where travellers rest for the night, and enter all particulars in the schedules for the wayfarers, boatmen, pilgrims, &c., you may find there, and strike out the entries already made against persons who are not now present. You should ascertain if any wandering gang, &c., has come to pitch in your block; and if there be any such, you should go and enumerate it as above prescribed for other persons.

18. If any householder in your block has been given a separate schedule, you should collect it on the morning of the 27th February; and after seeing that the rules have been complied with in filling up the columns, you should stitch or pin it into your book next to the last schedule filled up by you.

19. After your book has been inspected by the supervisor, you will prepare the short abstract printed on the back of the specimen schedule in it, as directed by the supervisor; and he will not take charge of your book until he has certified it to be correct.

20. According to the Census Act, every person is legally bound to furnish you with such information as is necessary for filling up the schedule; but you are forbidden to ask for any information not required for the purposes of the census, as for instance, the amount of any person's income. Any enumerator detected in extorting money on any pretext connected with the census renders himself liable to punishment under the Census Act or the Penal Code.

C.—Rules for filling up the Schedule.

Rule 1.—Column 1 (*Serial number and name*).—Enter first the chief resident member of the family, whether male or female; then the other members of the family and their resident servants, if any; and, lastly, visitors or temporary residents, after whose name write (V) in brackets for 'visitor.' If there be any objection made to giving the name of a female, write the word 'female' in this column and filling up the rest of the columns for her as usual. If an infant has not yet been named, enter the word 'infant.' The enumerator is not to insist upon any female giving her own or her husband's name. The serial number must not be added till the final record.

Rule 2.—Column 2 (*Religion*).—Enter here the religion which each person returns, as, Hindu, Musalman, Jain, Christian, Buddhist, &c. Low castes, as Dom, Hira, Katani, &c., should be entered by the religion which they themselves return, and no dispute about it is to be raised. For

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persons who are neither Hindus nor Musalmans, or who do not follow any religion mentioned above, the name of their tribe should be entered in this column, as, for instance, Kachari, Mikir, Lalung, Miri, Mishmi, &c.

Rule 3.—Column 3 (*Sect of religion*).—Enter the sect of religion followed by each person as they return it, as, Baishnab, Sakta for Hindus; Sunni, Shiah for Musalmans; and for Christians enter whether Church of England, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, &c. If the sect cannot be stated, enter 'not returned' in this column, but never leave it blank.

Rule 4.—Column 4 (*Caste, &c.*).—Enter the castes of Hindus and Jains, and the tribes of those who have no caste, and the races of Christians, Buddhists, &c., as, Brahman, Kolita, Ganak, Koch, &c., for Hindus; Moghal, Pathan, &c., for Musalmans; Eurasian or Native Christian for Christians. For Buddhists show whether Khamti or Bhutia. Do not enter vague terms, such as Hindustani, Marwari, Punjabi, hillmen, foreigners.

Rule 5.—Column 5 (*Subdivision of caste, &c.*).—If the caste has been entered in column 4, enter here the subdivision, as Kamtali, Modahi, Sarania of Koch. If the tribal name has been entered in column 4, enter the clan or nationality. If some castes have no subdivisions, the entry in column 4 should be repeated here for them, but this column should never be left blank. Native Christians, for instance, may be returned as Assamese, Bengali, Kachari, &c.

Rule 6.—Column 6 (*Male or female*).—Enter here each person as either male or female, even though you have written the word 'female' in column 1 already.

Rule 7.—Column 7 (*Age*).—Enter the number of years each person has completed. For infants less than one year old enter the word 'infant.' If a person cannot state his or her age exactly, the enumerator should ask the relations or refer to some well-known event of local importance, or if the person be present, make a guess at the age from the appearance. He must never insist on seeing any female who is not voluntarily produced before him.

Rule 8.—Column 8 (*Marriage, &c.*).—Enter each person—whether infant, child, or grown up—as either married, unmarried, or widowed. This column must not be left blank for any one of whatever age. Children who have been married should be entered as married, even though they may not have begun to actually live with their wives or husbands. Persons who have been married, but have no wife or husband living, should be entered as widowed. The enumerator must accept the statement made by the person, or in the case of children, by their relatives.

Rule 9.—Column 9 (*Parent tongue*).—Enter the language which each person returns as ordinarily spoken in the household of that person's parents.

Rule 10.—Column 10 (*Birth place*).—Enter the district in which each person was born; and if the person be not born in the Assam province, add the name of the province to the district of birth.

If the person be born out of India, enter the country, as China, Cabul, Bhutan. The names of villages, tahsils, &c., are not to be given.

Rule 11.—Column 11 (*Occupation or means of subsistence*). [Read this rule very carefully, and ask the supervisor about all cases which seem doubtful to you].—Enter here the exact occupation or means of livelihood of all males and females who do work or live on private property, such as house rent, money-lending, &c. In the case of children and women who do no work, enter the occupation of the head of their family, or of the person who supports them, adding the word 'dependent;' but do not leave this column unfilled for any one, even an infant. If a person have two or more occupations, enter only the chief one, except when a person owns or cultivates land in addition to another occupation, when both should be entered; such as agriculturist and opium seller, agriculturist and fish seller, agriculturist and potter, &c. If a person be temporarily out of employ, enter the last or ordinary occupation.

No vague terms should be used, such as 'service,' 'Government service,' 'shopkeeping,' 'writing,' or 'labour,' &c.; but the exact service, the goods sold, the class of writing, or labour must be stated. When a person's occupation is connected with agriculture, it should be stated whether the land is cultivated in person, or all let to tenants; if he be an agricultural labourer, it should be stated whether he be engaged by the month or year, or is a daily field labourer. Women who earn money by occupations independent of their husbands, such as spinning, weaving, rice-pounding, betel or firewood selling, or doing house work for wages, should be shown under those occupations. If a person makes the articles he sells, he should be entered as "maker and seller" of them. If a person lives on alms, it should be stated whether he is a religious mendicant or an ordinary beggar. When a person is in government, railway, or municipal service, the special service should be entered first, and the word government or municipal, &c., after; as, clerk—government, sweeper—municipal, labourer—railway.

Rule 12.—Column 12 (*Instruction*).—Enter in this column against each person—whether grown up, child, or infant—either learning, literate, or illiterate. Enter all those as learning who are under instruction, either at home or at school or college. Enter as literate those who are able both to read and write any language, but are not under instruction as above. Enter as illiterate those who are not under instruction, and who do not know how to both read and write, or who can read but not write, or can sign their own name, but not read.

Rule 13.—Column 13 (*Language known by literate*).—Enter here the language which those shown as literate in column 12 can both read and write; and if a person knows how to read and write English as well as a vernacular, enter 'English' also.

This column is to be left blank for those shown in column 12 as learning or illiterate, and except when English is known, only one language should be entered.

Rule 14.—Column 14 (*Infirmities*).—If any person be blind of both eyes, or deaf and dumb from birth, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, enter the name of the infirmity in this column.

Do not enter those blind of one eye only, or who have become deaf and dumb after birth, or who are suffering from white leprosy only.

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Standard questions to be asked by the Census officer who fills up the schedules.

NOTE.—These questions indicate the main points on which enquiries are to be made, but the instructions and rules must be carefully studied before the enumerator begins his task, so that if the answers first given to these questions do not contain the information required according to the rules additional questions must be asked until the answers furnish that information.

Part I.—Questions on the first Round.

1. Who is the head of this family, residing here ?
2. (Column 1).—What is your name ?
3. („ 2).—What is your religion ?
4. („ 3).—Do you belong to any special sect of that religion ? If you do, to what sect ?
5. („ 4).—What is your caste ?
6. („ 5).—What is the name of the branch of that caste by which you are commonly known ?
7. (Column 7).—How old are you, that is, how many years have you completed ?
8. („ 8).—Have you ever been married ? If you have, have you a wife (or husband) now alive ?
9. (Column 9).—What language was spoken in your father's household ?
10. („ 10).—In what district were you born ? If it is not in the province, in what province is it ? If not in British territory, in what state ? If not in India, in what country ?
11. (Column 11).—How do you get your living ? If from the land, are you owner or tenant ? If owner, do you cultivate any of your land, or let it all out ? Have you any other occupation besides agriculture ? If you have, what is it ? If you have several occupations, which do you say is the principal one ?
12. (Column 12).—Are you attending school or college, or being educated at home ? If you are not, can you read and write ?
13. (Column 13).—If you are no longer attending school or college, and can read and write, what language can you read and write best ? Can you read and write English ?
14. Now tell me the names of all who are ordinarily living or taking their meals with you. First, the members of your family in order of age ; next, your servants who live with you ; lastly, visitors stopping in the house. Are any of the visitors likely to be here on the 26th of February ? (If you object to telling the names of any of the females in the house, I will enter them by numbers only.)
15. Now answer each question from 2 to 13 about each of the persons you have mentioned.
16. Are any of these persons supported by you without doing any work for themselves ?
17. Is any one of the persons mentioned by you insane, or deaf and dumb from birth, or totally blind, or a leper ?

Part II.—Questions on the Final Round.

18. Listen while I read out the names of the persons entered as living in your house. Are all these persons alive ? Has any one of them gone away, so that he is not living in, or taking his meals from, the house ?
19. Is any one living in, or taking his meals from, your house who has come here since the entries were made, and who is not included in them ? Has any child been born in your house since then ?
20. If any person has so come, or child been born, answer all the questions 2 to 13 about each of such persons.

Code for Charge Superintendents and Supervisors.

Part I.—Definitions.

CENSUS DIVISIONS AND AGENCY.

1. Census divisions are arranged by subdivisions.

2. The superior instructing and inspecting officers are called superintendents, and the areas allotted to them are called charges.

3. Under them are the subordinate instructing and inspecting officers, who are called supervisors. The areas in which they are appointed to work are called circles.

4. Under the supervisors are the persons whose duty it will be to fill in the actual census forms. These are the enumerators. The areas the population of which they are appointed to count are called blocks.

REGISTERS AND FORMS.

5. The register containing a list of all the villages in the subdivision by mauzas or thanas is called the subdivisional register.

6. The circle list is the register of census divisions, *i.e.*, charges, circles, and blocks.

Extracts from this register will be supplied to each charge superintendent for his charge and to each supervisor for his circle,

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7. The block list is the form in which the houses in each block are entered serially, with details regarding the description of the house and the name of the head of the house (see Appendix A *).

8. The schedule is a page of the form on which the actual enumeration is recorded (see Appendix B *).

9. The instructions to enumerators are the rules regarding the filling in of the schedule and the manner in which the enumerator is to proceed (see Appendix C *).

10. The sample schedule is a schedule on which entries are printed in illustration of the instructions to enumerators (see Appendix D *).

11. The enumerators' abstract is the summary to be prepared by the enumerators after the census has been taken, showing the total number of houses and persons entered in each book. This form is printed on the back of the sample schedule (Appendix D *).

12. The enumeration book is the book in which the schedules for the actual enumeration are bound up. It contains also a copy of the instructions to enumerators and of the sample schedule illustrating those instructions, as well as a block list and a form for the enumerators' abstract, which is printed on the back of the sample schedule.

13. A 'house' is defined for census purposes as being the homestead, consisting of one or more buildings which are occupied by the members of one family living under a common head, and their servants.

Exception.—In the case of buildings which do not form a homestead, or which are not occupied by families, *i.e.*, police lines, coolie lines, &c., each dwelling place which has a separate independent entrance from the common way will be treated as a house.

This definition is of very great importance, and care should be taken to see that it is well understood.

Part II.—Duties of Enumerators.

1. The names of the enumerators to be appointed to each block are shown in column 6 of the circle list extracts, with which each charge superintendent and supervisor will be supplied.

2. Certificates of appointment will be issued to the enumerators about the beginning of October, and they should then at once go round their blocks, and affix a serial number to each 'house' as defined above. This number may be painted on the house with lime, or affixed to it on a paper ticket, or in any other manner that may be directed by the Deputy Commissioner.

3. The enumerators will, at the same time, enter each house in the loose forms of block list, with which they will be supplied, showing in column 1 the number which they have affixed to the house. They must be very careful to follow the definition of a house given above, and must also satisfy themselves that every house in their block bears a number, and is entered under that number in the block list.

4. On or about the 1st January they will be supplied with their enumeration books. They should then go once more round their blocks to see if any new houses have been built since their loose block list was filled in. If they find any new houses, they must number them and enter them in the loose form of block list.

5. When they are satisfied that their loose block list is correct, they must copy the entries into the block list which forms part of the enumeration book, and make over the loose block list to the supervisor of the circle.

6. On the 15th January they will commence their first round. They will visit in turn each house in their blocks, to which a separate number has been given in the order in which they are shown in the block lists. They will enter all the persons they find there in their enumeration schedules, in accordance with the "Instructions to enumerators" which are are bound up with the enumeration book. They must study these instructions very carefully. This preliminary record should be completed within four or five days. They should make all entries in black ink.

7. After sunset on the 26th February the final census will be carried out. The entries made during the first round will then be brought up to date, in accordance with the rules given in the "Instructions to enumerators" referred to above. On this occasion red ink only should be used.

8. Next day the enumerators should take their books to the supervisor, and fill in the enumerator's abstract in his presence. After this has been tested and found correct, their duties will be finished, and they can go.

9. A certificate of efficiency will be given to all enumerators who perform their duties satisfactorily.

Part III.—Duties of Supervisors.

1. The supervisor's duties are twofold :

(1) He must instruct the enumerators subordinate to him; and
(2) test their work.

2. His first care should be to make himself thoroughly acquainted with each village within his circle and with the blocks which have been formed there. For this purpose he should study his map and "Circle list" extract very carefully. He must, at the same time, make himself thoroughly well acquainted with the "Instructions to enumerators" and with the rules in this code.

3. As soon as the enumerators are appointed, he must explain to them the standard definition of house (see definition 13), and point out to them the different characteristics of the house as thus defined, *viz.*, a common homestead, a common *bar ghar*, or principal house, a common head of the family, &c. He must not let them commence the work of house numbering until he is satisfied that they thoroughly understand what a 'house' is.

* These forms are reprinted in Appendix D.

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4. When the enumerators have numbered all the houses in their blocks and entered them in their block lists, the supervisor should test as many entries as possible in each block. He should see (1) that houses are numbered correctly according to the standard definition of 'house,' (2) that the numbers which have been affixed to the houses correspond with the numbers entered in the block list, and (3) that no house in a block remains unnumbered.

This testing work is very important, and should be most carefully carried out throughout the months of November and December. When the enumerators go round to fill in the preliminary record, they will take their block lists as their guide. If, therefore, the block list is not correct and complete, it is clear that some persons and houses will escape enumeration.

5. During this period (November and December) the supervisor should also go round to see that the boundaries of the various blocks in his circle do not overlap, and that no houses are altogether omitted from some block or other. In some cases a small group of houses may lie halfway between the houses forming two blocks, and each enumerator may think that the hamlet in question belongs to the block of his neighbour. In such cases the small group of houses will escape enumeration, unless the supervisor discovers the mistake and corrects it.

6. While he is testing the block lists, the supervisor must take every opportunity to teach the enumerators how the enumeration schedules should be filled in, and to see that the "Instructions to enumerators" (see definition 9), which are bound up in every enumeration book, are fully understood by them.

7. These instructions should be very carefully explained to the enumerators. Each rule should be illustrated by constant references to the entries in the sample schedule, a copy of which is given in Appendix D.

Especial care should be devoted to the explanation of the instructions regarding the method of filling in columns 2, 3, 8, and 11, as these are the columns in which most mistakes were made at the census of 1881. In column 2 should be shown the religion to which each person belongs. Where a person does not belong to any recognised religion, his race should be shown. Thus, a Kachari who has a Gossain should be shown as Hindu. If he is not a Hindu, and follows no other recognised religion, his race will be shown here, *i.e.*, Kachari. Care should be taken to show persons who are Jains (*e.g.*, all Oswals) as such, and not as Hindus. If a person is a Brahmo, the entry in this column should be Brahmo, and not Hindu.

Column 3 refers to sect. Thus, Hindus may be either Vishnavites, Sivaites, &c.; Musalmans—Sunnis, Shiahs, Wahabis, &c.; Christians—Roman Catholics, Church of England, Baptists, &c. When a person belongs to any recognised sect of a religion as illustrated above, that sect should be shown in this column. In some cases a person has no sect, or cannot state it. When this is the case, the words "not returned" should be written in this column. In no case should this column be left blank.

Column 4.—Where the person enumerated is a Hindu or Jain, his caste must be entered here. In other cases his tribe or race must be shown. Care should be taken to see that the entry really represents some caste, tribe, or race. For instance, the word Jharua is a name by which persons of the Mech and Kachari races sometimes denote themselves. But it is not a name of any real caste or tribe, and should therefore never be entered in this column. When a person returns himself as a Jharua, he should be asked what his real race is, and the correct entry (Kachari, Mech, &c.) should be made on this being ascertained.

Column 8.—The instructions regarding this column are full and clear, but as they were often disregarded in 1881, it is necessary that the supervisor should draw particular attention to them. He should tell the enumerators that the column should never be left blank, not even for infants. An entry should be made (either married, unmarried, widower, or widow) against every person enumerated.

Column 11.—Here also the illustrations are clear, but it is probable that mistakes will be made unless the supervisor is careful in explaining the matter. The rule is that the enumerator is to show the occupation by which every person subsists, and not merely the occupation of persons who actually work. That is to say, an entry is to be made for every one. In the case of an infant who cannot work himself, the occupation of his father or of the person who supports him will be shown, and the same will be done for women and persons who are too old to work. When a person does no work himself and the occupation of the person who supports him is entered, the word dependent should be added. This is in order to make it clear that he himself *does not* work, but subsists on the work of some one else.

This portion of the rule should be explained to the enumerators with more than ordinary care, as it was added after some of the enumeration books had been printed, and does not therefore always appear in the instructions to enumerators.

Column 13.—It should be clearly understood that entries are only to be made in this column in the case of persons shown as literate in column 12. In the case of persons who are there shown as 'learning' or 'illiterate,' no entry should be made in this column.

Column 14.—The enumerators should be told to show only eating leprosy, and not persons who have merely a discoloration of the skin or white leprosy.

8. A number of loose schedules will be supplied for instruction purposes, and these should be utilised for making test enumerations, in order to show the enumerators what they will have to do when the time comes for filling in the regular census schedules in the enumeration books. A list of questions indicating the main points regarding which enquiries should be made by the enumerators for the purpose of filling in the schedules is appended (Appendix E *).

9. After the enumerators have copied the entries in their loose block list into the block list which forms part of the enumeration book, the supervisor should collect the loose block lists, and compare the number of houses in each block shown by these forms with those entered in his circle list extract, and should correct the latter where necessary.

* Reprinted on page lxiii.

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10. As soon as the enumerators commence their first round, the supervisor should go to every block to test the entries that are made by them in the enumeration schedules. He should examine these entries to see (1) that they are properly made in accordance with the rules given in the "Instructions to enumerators" (see definition No. 9 and paragraph 7 above), and (2) that all the persons in each house have been duly entered in the schedule. These entries will not be tested to any considerable extent after the final census; and it is, therefore, very necessary that they should be very carefully checked before the final census takes place. The duty of checking them devolves, in the first place, upon the supervisor; and the accuracy of the census results will, therefore, depend mainly upon the care which he devotes to this important work. He should continue testing the preliminary record during the whole of the interval between the 15th January and the 26th February. During this period he should submit weekly to his charge superintendent a report, showing the work he has done, in the following form :

Number of blocks visited.	Number of houses in each block.	Number of entries verified in each block.

11. On the morning of the 27th February, after the final census has been taken, he should collect the enumeration books from the enumerators. He should read all the red ink entries. If any appear to be wrong, he should verify them by enquiries at the house, and correct them if necessary. When he is satisfied that they are correct, he should cause the totals of the enumerator's abstract to be filled in in his presence. When an enumerator has filled in the total for his book, the supervisor should make over the book to a second enumerator, and have the total checked by him. If the two agree, he may accept the totals given as correct. If not, he should add up the entries himself. When he has thus got correct totals for each block, he should embody them in a statement for his circle in the following form :

Name of circle.	Number of block.	Name of village.	Houses.			Men.								
						Visitors.			Residents.			Total.		
			Occupied.	Empty.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Moirapur ..	1 2 3 4 &c.	Bongaon .. Rangamati. &c.												
Total ..														

12. He should then tie up all the enumeration books in his circle in a bundle (arranging them according to their serial numbers), and make them over to his charge superintendent, together with his corrected circle list abstract, and the statement referred to above. When this is done, his work in connection with the census will be over.

13. A certificate of efficiency will be given to all supervisors who work well and to the satisfaction of their superior officers.

Part IV.—Duties of Charge Superintendents.

1. The rules laid down in Part III for the guidance of supervisors apply also *mutatis mutandis* to charge superintendents. The duties of the charge superintendent are—

(1) to instruct and inspect the work of the supervisors; and also

(2) so far as possible, to instruct and inspect the work of the enumerators.

2. His first duty is to see that the supervisors thoroughly understand the "Instructions to enumerators," and are well acquainted with their work as explained in the preceding portions of this code. He must teach the supervisors very thoroughly, in order that the latter may be in a position to educate the enumerators. For this purpose he should resort freely to the loose schedules, which will be supplied for instruction purposes.

If there are any points in the "Instructions to enumerators," or in this code, regarding the meaning of which he is himself not quite clear, he should at once refer his difficulty to the Deputy Commissioner or subdivisional officer, and ask for an explanation.

3. He should examine in each circle a portion of the work of the enumerators which has been seen and passed by the supervisors, in order to make sure that the latter carry out their testing thoroughly and efficiently.

He should also instruct the enumerators personally so far as time and opportunity permit, and test himself as much of their work as possible. The accuracy of the census returns will depend very largely on the amount of time which is spent by superior officers in instructing and testing the work of their subordinates.

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4. From the first of October to the 15th January each charge superintendent should submit a fortnightly report to the Deputy Commissioner, showing the progress that has been made—

(1) in house numbering ;
(2) in testing—
  (*a*) by the supervisors,
  (*b*) by himself ;
(3) in instructing the supervisors and enumerators.

5. From the 15th January to the 26th February he should collect the weekly returns prescribed in Part III, rule 10, above, and submit a consolidated return for his charge, showing also the work he has himself carried out.

6. After the final census he should collect the batches of books from the supervisors and the circle list extracts and supervisors' totals.

He should examine the circle totals prepared by the supervisors, and see if they are correct, and should then make a total for his charge, and send this to the Deputy Commissioner or subdivisional officer, together with the bundles of enumeration books and the circle list extracts relating to the circles in his charge.

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APPENDIX C.

STATEMENT SHOWING IN DETAIL THE NUMBER OF FORMS INDENTED FOR AND SUPPLIED TO EACH DISTRICT IN THE PROVINCE.

PAGE.

I.—Abstract showing the total number of schedules of each language indented for and supplied lxx

II.—Abstract showing the indents for schedules in the different languages and their supply by districts lxxi

III.—Statement showing in detail the number of schedules indented for for each subdivision at the preliminary and final, and at supplementary indents, together with the number of schedules supplied on each indent, and the date of supply ... lxxiii

A.—Cachar.	E.—Kamrup.	I.—Lakhimpur.
B.—Sylhet.	F.—Darrang.	J.—Naga Hills.
C.—Garo Hills.	G.—Nowgong.	K.—Khasi and Jaintia Hills.
D.—Goalpara.	H.—Sibsagar.	L.—Manipur.

IV.—Statement showing the supply to, and drawing from, the reserve stock ... lxxxvii

A.—Sylhet.	B.—Dhubri.	C.—Gauhati.

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I.—Abstract showing the total number of Schedules of each Language indented for and supplied.

LANGUAGE.	INDENT.						LANGUAGE.	SUPPLY.							Remarks.
	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.		Number of Books of					Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	
	60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.	10 schedules.			
Bengali ...	4,411	18,691	100	...	21,404	735,848	Bengali ...	5,094	21,675	2,558	...	...	34,492	891,028	
Assamese ...	6,086	12,507	938	...	28,128	704,712	Assamese ...	6,663	11,123	1,355	150*	...	45,996	734,988	* Printed at the Assam Secretariat Press.
Hindi ...	4	...	...	...	200	440	Hindi	10	10	...	...	...	200	1,040	
English ...	20	40	...	...	440	2,600	English ...	20	15	...	...	...	...	1,560	
Khasi ...	375	570	...	2,000	15,000	71,180	Khasi †... ...	476	298	...	...	2,000	5,200	60,912	† Ditto ditto.
Manipuri ...	338	2,058	...	...	300	69,972	Manipuri ‡ ...	338	2,056	...	...	120	300	71,124	‡ Ditto ditto.
Total for the Province.	11,234	33,866	1,038	2,000	65,472	1,584,752	Total for the Province	12,601	35,177	3,913	150	2,120	86,188	1,760,652	

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II.—Abstract showing the Indents for Schedules in the different Languages and their Supply by Districts.

DISTRICT.	Language.	INDENT. Number of Books of 60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	SUPPLY. Number of Books supplied of 60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Remarks.
						BENGALI.								
Cachar	Bengali ...	420	1,004	.....	.....	1,500	50,796	717	2,106	350	.....	6,500	104,264	
Sylhet	„ ...	3,157	13,502	.....	.....	5,400	518,868	3,436	15,000	2,088	.....	20,100	611,316	
Garo Hills	„ ...	170	1,150	.....	.....	500	38,300	220	1,225	20	.....	1,600	44,440	
Goalpara	„ ...	664	3,035	100	.....	14,004	127,884	721	3,284	100	.....	6,292	129,568	
Khasi and Jaintia Hills...	„ ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60	.....	.....	.....	1,440	
	Total Bengali ...	4,411	18,691	100	.....	21,404	735,848	5,094	21,675	2,558	.....	34,492	891,028	
						ASSAMESE.								
Kamrup	Assamese ...	1,609	3,950	200	.....	1,642	195,382	1,811	3,781	150	30	13,196	215,600	
Darrang	„ ...	714	1,596	246	.....	686	84,782	930	1,268	478	60	4,000	98,368	
Nowgong	„ ...	1,219	1,756	50	.....	.....	115,884	1,119	1,656	50	.....	5,000	112,484	
Sibsagar	„ ...	1,253	3,807	442	.....	25,000	196,852	1,095	2,919	617	60	20,000	165,560	
Lakhimpur	„ ...	541	1,148	.....	.....	.....	60,012	958	1,249	60	.....	3,000	91,176	
Naga Hills	„ ...	750	250	.....	.....	800	51,800	750	250	.....	.....	800	51,800	
	Total Assamese...	6,086	12,507	938	.....	28,128	704,712	6,663	11,123	1,355	150	45,996	734,988	

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II.—Abstract showing the Indents for Schedules in the different Languages and their Supply by Districts—continued.

DISTRICT.	Language.	INDENT.						SUPPLY.						Remarks.
		Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Number of Books supplied of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	
		60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.			
						HINDI.								
Cachar	Hindi ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	200	200	.....	10	.....	.....	200	440	
Naga Hills	„ ...	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	240	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	600	
	Total ...	4	.....	.....	.....	200	440	10	10	.....	.....	200	1,040	
						ENGLISH.								
Khasi and Jaintia Hills...	English ...	20	40	.....	.....	440	2,600	20	15	.....	.....	.....	1,560	
						KHASI.								
Khasi and Jaintia Hills...	Khasi ...	375	570	.....	2,000	15,000	71,180	476	298	.....	2,000	5,200	60,912	
						MANIPURI.								
Manipur	Manipuri ...	338	2,058	.....	.....	300	69,972	338	2,056	.....	120	300	71,124	

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent, and the date of supply.

A.—CACHAR.

District or Subdivision.	INDENT.								SUPPLY.								Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books Supplied of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.		
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.				
Silchar and Gunjong.	26th May 1890 & 12th June 1890.	Bengali ...	235	589	...	...	...	28,236	13th Aug. 1890.	500	1,250	...	...	3,680	63,680		
Ditto ...	24th Sept. 1890.	„ ...	50	100	...	...	500	5,900	10th Dec. 1890.	50	140	...	...	500	6,860		
Ditto ...	4th Dec. 1890 ...	„ ...	...	...	..	...	1,000	1,000	29th Dec. 1890.	...	...	...	...	1,000	1,000		
Ditto ...	20th Jan. 1891...	Bengali ...	50	100	...	...	...	5,400	21st Jan. 1891.	...	50*	350*	...	...	5,400		* Indented for by the Superintendent of Census Operations while at Silchar.
									22nd Jan. 1891.	...	250†	...	...	...	6,000		† From the reserve at Sylhet.
		Total Bengali.	335	789	...	...	1,500	40,536	.....	550	1,690	350	...	5,180	82,940		
Ditto ...	26th May 1890 & 12th June 1890.	Hindi ...	...	...	...	...	1,700	1,700	29th Dec. 1890.	...	10	...	...	200	440		
Ditto ...	24th Sept. 1890.	„ ...	...	...	...	...	—700	—700									
Ditto ...	4th Dec. 1890 ...	„ ...	...	...	...	...	—800	—800									
		Total Hindi..	...	...	...	...	200	200	.....	...	10	...	...	200	440		
Total Silchar and Gunjong.	.....	.....	335	789	...	...	1,700	40,736	.....	550	1,700	350	...	5,380	83,380		
Hailakandi ..	26th May 1890 & 12th June 1890.	Bengali ...	85	215	...	...	...	10,260	13th Aug. 1890.	167	416	...	...	1,320	21,324		
		Total Bengali.	85	215	...	...	...	10,260	.....	167	416	...	...	1,320	21,324		
Total Cachar ...	.....	.....	420	1,004	...	...	1,700	50,996	.....	717	2,116	350	...	6,700	104,704		

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent, and the date of supply—continued.

B.—SYLHET.

District or Subdivision.	INDENT.							SUPPLY.							Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.			
								NORTH SYLHET.								
North Sylhet ...	5th May 1890 & 11th June 1890.	Bengali ...	425	2,479	...	...	.....	84,996	13th Aug. 1890.	446	2,604	...	...	3,200	92,456	
Ditto ...	6th Oct. 1890, & 10th Oct. 1890, 3rd Nov. 1890, & 10th Nov. 1890.	,, ...	93	643	...	...	.....	21,012	10th Nov. 1890.	.....	99*	...	...	200*	2,576	* Supplied from the reserve at Sylhet for the Sylhet Municipality.
									10th Dec. 1890.	.....	544	...	...	160	13,216	
									13th Dec. 1890.	93†	.....	...	...	.....	5,580	† Transferred from Dhubri.
Ditto ...	2nd Dec. 1890.	,, ...	...	...	...	...	400	400	15th Dec. 1890.	.....	.....	...	...	400‡	400	‡ Supplied from the reserve at Sylhet.
									12th Jan. 1891.	160§	.....	748§	...	.....	18,576	§ Indented for by the Superintendent of Census Operations when on tour in Sylhet.
									24th Jan. 1891.	.....	30‖	...	...	.....	720	‖ Supplied from reserve at Sylhet.
									6th Feb. 1891.	.....	200¶	200¶	...	400¶	7,600	¶ From ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	6th Feb. 1891.	,, ...	...	...	...	...	1,000**	1,000	7th to 25th Feb. 1891.	.....	395¶	180¶	...	.....	11,340	** Indented for as a reserve stock, but not supplied, as it was too late.
		Total ...	518	3,122	...	...	1,400	107,408	.....	699	3,872	1,128	...	4,360	152,764	

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SUNAMGANJ.																
Sunamganj ...	5th May 1890 & 11th June 1890.	Bengali ...	375	2,187	...	...	.....	74,988	13th Aug. 1890.	394	2,296	...	...	2,800	81,544	
Ditto ...	6th Oct. 1890, 10th Oct. 1890, 3rd Nov. 1890, & 10th Nov. 1890.	„ ...	80	41	...	...	.....	5,784	10th Dec. 1890.	80	41	...	...	610	6,394	
									12th Jan. 1891.	.....	300*	300*	...	.....	10,800	*Indented for by the Superintendent of Census Operations when on tour in Sylhet.
		Total ...	455	2,228	...	...	.....	80,772	.....	474	2,637	300	...	3,410	98,738	
HABIGANJ.																
Habiganj ...	5th May 1890 & 11th June 1890.	Bengali ...	500	2,917	...	...	.....	100,008	13th Aug. 1890.	525	3,063	...	...	3,750	108,762	
Ditto ...	6th Oct. 1890, 10th Oct. 1890, & 5th Nov. 1890.	„ ...	324	116	...	...	.....	22,224	10th Dec. 1890.	.....	131	...	...	60	3,204	
									13th Dec. 1890.	264†	.....	...	...	.....	15,840	†Transferred from the Goalpara subdivision.
									31st Dec. 1890.	60	.....	...	...	.....	3,600	
		Total ...	824	3,033	...	...	.....	122,232	.....	849	3,194	...	...	3,810	131,406	
SOUTH SYLHET.																
South Sylhet ...	5th May 1890 & 11th June 1890.	Bengali ...	350	2,042	...	...	.....	70,008	13th Aug. 1890.	367	2,145	...	...	2,626	76,126	
Ditto ...	6th Oct. 1890, 10th Oct. 1890, & 5th Nov. 1890.	„ ...	270	397	...	...	.....	25,728	10th Dec. 1890.	.....	397	...	...	1,134	10,662	
									13th Dec. 1890.	270‡	.....	...	...	.....	16,200	‡Transferred from Dhubri.
Ditto ...	13th Dec. 1890.	„ ...	180	361	...	...	.....	19,464	16th Dec. 1890.	.....	258	...	...	.....	6,192	
									12th Jan. 1891.	200§	75§	40§	...	.....	14,280	§Indented for by the Superintendent of Census Operations when on tour in Sylhet.
		Total ...	800	2,800	...	...	.....	115,200	.....	837	2,875	40	...	3,760	123,460	

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III.—*Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent and the date of supply*—continued.

B.—SYLHET—*continued.*

District or Sub-division.	INDENT.								SUPPLY.							Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.			
							KARIMGANJ.									
Karimganj ...	5th May 1890, & 11th June 1890.	Bengali ...	350	2,042	...	...	...	70,008	13th Aug. 1890.	367	2,145	...	...	2,624	76,124	
Ditto ...	11th Oct. 1890, 5th Nov. 1890, & 10th Nov. 1890.	„ ...	210	277	...	...	...	19,248	10th Dec. 1890.	210	277	...	...	1,136	20,384	
									12th Jan. 1891.	.....	.....	500*	...	.....	6,000	* Indented for by the Superintendent of Census Operations when on tour in Sylhet.
Ditto ...	29th Jan. 1891.	„ ...	...	...	...	...	1,000	1,000	3rd Feb. 1891.	.....	.....	...	...	200†	200	† From the reserve at Sylhet.
Ditto ...	2nd Feb. 1891.	„ ...	...	...	...	...	3,000	3,000	6th Feb. 1891.	.....	.....	120	...	800†	2,240	
		Total ...	560	2,319	...	...	4,000	93,256	.....	577	2,422	620	...	4,760	104,948	
Total Sylhet ...	.....	.....	3,157	13,502	...	...	5,400	518,868	.....	3,436	15,000	2,088	...	20,100	611,316	

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent and the date of supply—continued.

C.—GARO HILLS.

District or Subdivision.	Indent.								Supply.								Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.		
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.				
									GARO HILLS.								
Garo Hills ...	9th May 1890.	Bengali ...	17	375	...	...	...	10,020	22nd Aug. 1890.	45	1,013	...	...	1,000	28,012		
Ditto	26th Sept. 1890 & 26th Nov. 1890.	,, ...	83	725	...	...	500	22,880	10th Dec. 1890.	.....	102	...	...	400	2,848		
Ditto	11th Dec. 1890.	,, ...	70	...	...	...	...	4,200	13th Dec. 1890.	55*	.....	...	...	.....	3,300		* Transferred from Dhubri.
Ditto	16th Dec. 1890.	,, ...	...	50	...	...	...	1,200	30th Dec. 1890.	70	80	...	...	.....	6,120		
									13th Jan. 1891.	.....	.....	...	...	200	200		
									23rd Feb. 1891.	50	30	20	...	.....	3,960		
Total Garo Hills ...	.....	.....	170	1,150	...	...	500	38,300		220	1,225	20	...	1,600	44,440		

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent and the date of supply—continued.

D.—GOALPARA.

District or Subdivision.	Indent.								Supply.								Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.		
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.				
									DHUBRI.								
Dhubri	12th May & 17th June 1890.	Bengali ...	908	1,230	.....	.....	6,000	90,000	22nd Aug. 1890.	727	983	.....	.....	2,500	69,712		
Ditto	16th & 29th Oct. 1890.	„ ...	—611	276	.....	.....	1,112	—28,924	10th Dec. 1890.	.....	648	.....	.....	.....	15,552		
									29th „ „	.....	.....	.....	.....	600	600		* Supplied from the reserve at Dhubri.
Ditto	7th Jan. 1891 ...	„ ...	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,600	10th Jan. 1891...	42*	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,520		† Ditto ditto.
Ditto	16th „ „ ...	„ ...	60	450	.....	.....	.....	14,400	17th „ „ ...	60	330	.....	.....	.....	11,520		
Ditto	17th „ „ ...	„ ...	.....	.....	100	.....	.....	1,200	„ „	.....	163†	.....	.....	.....	3,912		
Ditto	30th „ „ ...	„ ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	600	600	4th Feb. 1891 ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	900	900		
Ditto	9th Feb. 1891 ...	„ ...	.....	200	.....	.....	600	5,400	10th „ „ ...	.....	200	.....	.....	600	5,400		
		Total ...	417	2,156	100	.....	8,312	86,276		829	2,324	.....	.....	4,600	110,116		
		Deduct inter district transfers.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13th Dec. 1890...	—55	.....	.....	.....	.....	—3,300		For Garo Hills.
										—93	.....	.....	.....	.....	—5,580		„ North Sylhet.
		Returned to reserve stock.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4th Feb. 1891 ...	—270	—43	.....	.....	.....	—17,232		„ South „
									Total transfers ..	—418	—43	.....	.....	.....	—26,112		
									Balance ...	411	2,281	.....	.....	4,600	84,004		
Ditto	16th Feb. 1891...	Bengali ...	.....	30	.....	.....	.....	720	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
		Total Dhubri..	417	2,186	100	.....	8,312	86,996	.....	411	2,281	.....	.....	4,600	84,004		
									17th Feb. 1891.	.....	43	100	.....	.....	2,232		Balance of the reserve.
										411	2,324	100	.....	4,600	86,236		Deputy Commissioner, Dhubri, authorised to draw on the reserve according to requirements.
									GOALPARA.								
Goalpara ...	12th May & 7th June 1890.	Bengali ...	605	821	.....	.....	4,000	60,004	22nd Aug. 1890	484	656	.....	.....	1,500	46,284		
	30th Sept. & 17th Oct. 1890.	„ ...	—448	—130	.....	.....	1,692	—28,452	10th Dec. „	.....	140	.....	.....	192	3,552		
	26th Dec. 1890...	„ ...	90	164	.....	.....	.....	9,336	16th Jan. 1891...	90	164	.....	.....	.....	9,336		
		Total ...	247	849	.....	.....	5,692	40,888	....	574	960	.....	.....	1,692	59,172		
		Deduct inter-district transfers.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13th Dec. 1890...	—264	.....	.....	.....	.....	—15,840		For Habiganj.
									Balance ...	310	960	.....	.....	1,692	43,332		
otal, Goalpara ...	.....	.....	664	3,035	100	.....	14,004	127,884	.....	721	3,284	100	.....	6,292	129,568		

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent, and the date of supply—continued.

E.—KAMRUP.

District or Subdivision.	INDENT.								SUPPLY.								Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of books of 60 schedules.	Number of books of 24 schedules.	Number of books of 12 schedules.	Number of books of 10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of books of 60 schedules.	Number of books of 24 schedules.	Number of books of 12 schedules.	Number of books of 40 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.		
								GAUHATI.									
Gauhati ...	5th May, 12th June, & 1st July 1890.	Assamese ...	606	985	...	...	...	60,000	8th July 1890.	910	1,475	...	...	4,800	94,800		
Ditto ...	9th Sept. 1890.	„ ...	599	2,059	...	...	1,442	86,798	20th Nov. 1890.	295*	...	...	...	...	17,700		* Supplied from the Gauháti reserve.
									10th Dec. 1890.	...	721	...	...	1,400	18,704		
Ditto ...	26th Jan. 1891.	„ ...	...	200	200	...	200	7,400	10th Feb. 1890.	...	...	150*	30*	...	3,000		
Ditto ...	20th Feb. 1891.	„ ...	...	50	...	...	...	1,200	20th Feb. 1891.	...	600†	...	...	3,796†	18,196		† Deputy Commissioner authorised to use the balance of the reserve at Gauháti.
		Total ...	1,205	3,294	200	...	1,642	155,398	.....	1,205	2,796	150	30	9,996	152,400		
								BARPETA.									
Barpeta ...	5th May, 12th June, & 1st July 1890.	Assamese ...	404	656	...	...	...	39,984	8th July 1890.	606	985	...	...	3,200	63,200		
		Total ...	404	656	...	...	...	39,984	.....	606	985	...	...	3,200	63,200		
Total Kamrup ...	.....	.....	1,609	3,950	200	...	1,642	195,382	.....	1,811	3,781	150	30	13,196	215,600		

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent and the date of supply—continued.

F.—DARRANG.

District or Subdivision.	INDENT. Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of 60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	SUPPLY. Date of supply.	Number of Books of 60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.	Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Remarks.
								TEZPUR.								
Tezpur ...	10th May 1890 & 26th June 1890.	Assamese. .	222	107	...	...	...	15,888	8th July 1890.	360	174	.....	...	1,500	27,276	
Ditto ...	12th Sept. 1890 & 24th Oct. 1890.	„ ...	—*112*	429	...	...	459	4,035	10th Dec. 1890.	.. ...	252*	103*	....	...	7,284	* Indented by the Superintendent of Census Operations when on tour in Tezpur.
Ditto ...	23rd Jan. 1891.	„ ...	...	30	20	...	...	960	26th Jan. 1891.	.....	50†	.....	...	...	1,200	† Supplied from the Gauhati reserve.
Ditto ...	27th Jan. 1891.	„ ...	...	100	...	...	...	2,400	30th Jan. 1891.	.....	56†	.....	...	...	1,344	
									10th Feb. 1891.	.....	.....	80†	...	...	960	
		Total ...	110	666	20	...	459	23,283		360	532	183	...	1,500	38,064	
								MANGALDAI.								
Mangaldai ...	10th May 1890 and 27th June 1890.	Assamese .	364	178	...	...	...	26,112	8th July 1890.	590	286	.. ...	...	2,500	44,764	
									10th Dec. 1890.	.....	150	.....	...	...	3,600	
Ditto ...	25th Sept. 1890 and 16th Dec. 1890.	„ ...	200	552	166	...	227	27,467	22nd Jan. 1891.	130	300	175	...	...	17,100	
Ditto ...	26th Jan. 1891.	„ ...	40	50	60	...	..	4,320	„	.....	.....	.....	...	...	.....	
Ditto ...	3rd Feb. 1891.	„ ...	...	150	...	...	...	3,600	10th Feb. 1891.	.....	.....	120‡	60‡	...	3,840	‡ Ditto ditto.
		Total ...	604	930	226	...	227	61,499	.....	720	736	295	60	2,500	69,304	§ Transferred to the Nága Hills.
		Deduct inter-district transfer.	...	...	...	...	...	.....		—*150*§	.....	.....	...	...	—*9,000*	
									Balance ...	570	736	295	60	2,500	60,304	
Total Darrang ...	.. ..	.....	714	1,596	246	...	686	84,782		930	1,268	478	60	4,000	98,368	

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent and the date of supply—continued.

G.—NOWGONG.

District or Subdivision.	INDENT.								SUPPLY.							Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of					Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.	Loose schedules.			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.			
								NOWGONG.								
Nowgong ...	2nd & 17th May 1890.	Assamese ...	842	1,020	...	...	...	75,000	8th July 1890.	864	1,048	...	...	5,000	81,992	
Ditto ...	6th Sept. 1890.	„ ...	152	514	...	...	...	21,456	20th Nov. 1890.	105*	...	...	...	...	6,300	* Supplied from the reserve at Gauhati.
									10th Dec. 1890.	...	240	...	...	...	5,760	
Ditto ...	27th Dec. 1890.	„ ...	125	122	50	...	...	11,028	12th Jan. 1891.	150	368	50	...	...	18,432	
Ditto ...	5th Feb. 1891.	„ ...	100†	100†	...	...	...	8,400	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....	† This supply was indented for chiefly for recopying enumeration books containing a larger number of corrections. This indent was not complied with. The Deputy Commissioner had a small balance after distributing the books to all circles and gardens
Total Nowgong ...		„ ..	1,219	1,756	50	...	...	115,884	.....	1,119	1,656	50	...	5,000	112,484	

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent and the date of supply—continued.

H.—SIBSAGAR.

District or Subdivision.	INDENT.								SUPPLY.								Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.		
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.				
								SIBSAGAR.									
Sibsagar ...	10th June 1890	Assamese ...	450	1,375	...	...	*15,000	75,000	8th July 1890	333	1,019	...	...	10,000	54,436		* For rough use, &c.
Ditto ...	18th Oct. „	„ ...	100	150	...	...	...	9,600	10th Dec. „	...	162	...	...	...	3,888		
Ditto ...	17th Dec. „	„ ...	—*350*	—*825*	100	...	...	—*39,600*	12th Jan. 1891	100	50	100	...	...	8,400		
Ditto ...	7th Jan. 1891	„ ...	...	300	...	...	...	7,200									
Ditto ...	21st „ „	„ ...	100	100	100	...	...	9,600	10th Feb. „	...	...	†50	†20	...	1,400		† Supplied from the Gauhati reserve.
		Total ...	300	1,100	200	...	15,000	61,800	.....	433	1,231	150	20	10,000	68,124		
								JORHAT.									
Jorhat ...	10th June 1890	Assamese ...	322	986	...	...	*5,000	47,984	8th July 1890	239	729	...	...	5,000	36,836		
Ditto ...	19th Dec. „	„ ...	188	464	...	...	...	22,416	12th Jan. 1891	135	...	167	...	...	10,104		
									14th „ „	...	†100	...	...	...	2,400		
Ditto ...	22nd Jan. „	„ ...	93	523	42	...	...	18,636	26th „ „	...	†316	...	...	...	7,584		
									10th Feb. „	...	...	†100	†40	...	2,800		
		Total ...	603	1,973	42	...	5,000	89,036	.....	374	1,145	267	40	5,000	59,724		
								GOLAGHAT.									
Golaghat ...	10th June „	Assamese ...	240	734	...	...	*5,000	37,016	8th July 1890	178	543	...	...	5,000	28,712		
Ditto ...	24th Dec. „	„ ...	110	...	200	...	...	9,000	15th Jan. 1891	110	...	200	...	...	9,000		
		Total ...	350	734	200	...	5,000	46,016	.....	288	543	200	...	5,000	37,712		
Total Sibsagar ...	.....	.....	1,253	3,807	442	...	25,000	196,852	.....	1,095	2,919	617	60	20,000	165,560		

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent and the date of supply—continued.

I.—LAKHIMPUR.

District or Subdivision.	INDENT.								SUPPLY.							Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.			
								DIRRUGARH.								
Dibrugarh	10th May 1890.	Assamese ...	567	457	...	...	...	44,988	8th July 1890	586	472	...	...	2,000	48,488	
Ditto	27th Sep. 1890.	„ ...	—331	—41	...	...	...	—20,844	.. ..	...	..	...	...	...	.....	
Ditto	22nd Nov. 1890.	„ ...	177	246	...	...	...	16,524	10th Dec. 1890.	...	50	...	...	...	1,200	
Ditto	11th Dec. 1890.	„ ...	48	30	..	...	...	3,600	12th Jan. 1891.	177	196	60	...	...	16,044	
									23rd Jan. 1891.	...	125*	...	...	...	3,000	* Supplied from the reserve at Gauhati.
Ditto	19th Feb. 1891.	„ ...	30	50	...	...	...	3,000	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....	
		Total ...	491	742	...	...	...	47,268	.....	763	843	60	...	2,000	68,732	
								NORTH LAKHIMPUR.								
North Lakhimpur ...	10th May 1890.	Assamese ...	189	153	...	...	...	15,012	8th July 1890.	195	158	...	...	1,000	16,492	
Ditto ...	27th Sep. 1890.	„ ...	—139	168	...	...	...	—4,308	10th Dec. 1890.	...	100	...	...	...	2,400	
Ditto ...	27th Nov. 1890.	„ ...	...	85	...	...	...	2,040	12th Jan. 1891.	...	148	...	..	...	3,552	
		Total ...	50	406	...	...	...	12,744	.....	195	406	...	...	1,000	22,444	
Total Lakhimpur ...	.....	.....	541	1,148	...	...	...	60,012	.....	958	1,249	60	...	3,000	91,176	

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent and the date of supply—continued.

J.—NAGA HILLS.

District or Subdivision.	INDENT.								SUPPLY.								Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of					Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books of						Total number of schedules.	
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.	Loose schedules.			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.	Loose schedules.			
								NAGA HILLS.									
Nága Hills ...	27th June 1890	Assamese ...	940	385	...	...	.....	65,640	8th July 1890.	600	250	...	...	.....		42,000	
Ditto ...	2nd Aug. 1890.	,, ...	—*190.*	—*135*	...	...	.....	—*14,640*	....	.....	...	...	...	.....		.....	
Ditto ...	28th Aug. 1890 and 9th Oct. 1890	,, ...	...	...	...	...	800	800	15th Oct. 1890.	.....	...	...	...	200*		200	* Supplied from the reserve at Gauhati.
									27th Nov. 1890.	150†	...	...	...	.....		9,000	† Transferred from Mangaldai.
									13th Dec. 1890.	.....	...	...	...	600		600	
		Total ...	750	250	...	...	800	51,800	.....	750	250	...	...	800		51,800	
		Hindi ...	4	...	...	...	.....	240	.....	10	...	...	...	.....		600	
Total Naga Hills.	.....	.....	754	250	...	...	800	52,040	.....	760	250	...	...	800		52,400	

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each Subdivision at the Preliminary, Final, and Supplementary Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied on each Indent and the date of supply—continued.

K.—KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

District or Subdivision.	INDENT.								SUPPLY.							Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	10 schedules.			
								KHASI HILLS.								
Khasi and Jaintia Hills..	1st May 1890.	Khasi ...	360	104	...	...	300	24,396	30th September 1890.	476	298	...	...	3,200	38,912	
Ditto ...	2nd, 3rd, & 9th October 1890	„ ...	15	466	...	1,000	14,700	36,784	28th Oct. 1890.	...	...	...	1,000	...	10,000	
Ditto ...	18th Nov. 1890.	„ ...	...	...	...	1,000	.....	10,000	22nd Dec. 1890.	...	...	...	1,000	2,000	12,000	
		Total Khasi Forms.	375	570	...	2,000	15,000	71,180	.....	476	298	...	2,000	5,200	60,912	
Ditto ...	1st May 1890.	English ...	5	42	...	...	400	1,708								
Ditto ...	2nd Oct. 1890.	„ ...	...	—2	...	...	40	—8	20th Dec. 1890.	...	15	...	...	...	360	
Ditto ...	22nd Nov. 1890.	„ ...	15*	...	...	...	.....	900		20	...	...	...	...	1,200	* For the enumeration of the cantonment.
		Total English	20	40	...	...	440	2,600	.. ..	20	15	...	...	...	1,560	
		Bengali† ...	...	...	...	...	.....	.....	20th Dec. 1890.	...	60	...	...	...	1,440	† In Bengali, for use in Shillong station.
Total Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	.....	.....	395	610	...	2,000	15,440	73,780	.....	496	373	...	2,000	5,200	63,912	

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III.—Statement showing in detail the number of Schedules indented for for each subdivision at the Preliminary and Final Indents, together with the number of Schedules supplied and the date of supply—concluded.

L.—MANIPUR.

State.	INDENT.							SUPPLY.						Remarks.
	Date of indent.	Language.	Number of Books of			Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of supply.	Number of Books of			Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	10 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	10 schedules.			
Manipur ...	13th May & 15th July 1890.	Manipuri ...	400	1,745	.....	...	65,880	17th Oct. 1890.	338	2,056	120	300	71,124	
Ditto ...	3rd Sept. 1890.	,, ...	—62	313	.....	300	4,092							
Total Manipur ...		.....	338	2,058	.....	300	69,972	.....	338	2,056	120	300	71,124	

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IV.—Statement showing the Supply to, and Drawing from, the Reserve Stock.

A.—SYLHET RESERVE.

Reserve stationed at	SUPPLY.								DRAWING.							Remarks.
	Date of supply.	Language.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of withdrawal.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	
			60 schedules	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.			
									SYLHET RESERVE.							
Sylhet	22nd Aug. 1890.	Bengali ...	...	833	...	...	2,000	21,992	10th Nov. 1890.	...	99	...	...	200	2,576	For Sylhet Municipality.
									15th Dec. 1890.	...	.....	...	...	400	400	„ North Sylhet.
Ditto	10th Dec. 1890.	„ ...	...	399	...	...	...	9,576	16th Dec. 1890.	...	258	...	...	.....	6,192	„ South Sylhet.
									22nd Jan. 1891.	...	250	...	...	.....	6,000	„ Deputy Commissioner, Cachar.
									24th Jan. 1891.	...	30	...	...	.....	720	„ Sylhet Municipality.
Ditto	12th Jan. 1891.	„ ...	...	...	500	...	...	6,000	3rd Feb. 1891.	...	.....	...	...	200	200	„ Karimganj.
									6th Feb. 1891.	...	.....	120	...	800	2,240	„ Ditto.
										...	200	200	...	400	7,600	„ North Sylhet.
									7th to 25th Feb. 1891.	...	395	180	...	.....	11,640	„ Ditto.
Total	.....	.....	...	1,232	500	...	2,000	37,568	Total ...	...	1,232	500	...	2,000	37,568	

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IV.—Statement showing the Supply to, and Drawing from, the Reserve Stock—continued.

B.—DHUBRI.

Reserve stationed at	SUPPLY.								DRAWING.								
	Date of supply.	Language.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of withdrawal.	Number of Books of				Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Remarks.
			60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.				60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules.			
								DHUBRI RESERVE.								
Dhubri	22nd Aug. 1890.	Bengali ...	42	103	...	...	...	4,992	10th Jan. 1891.	42		...	...	...	2,520	For Dhubri subdivision.
Ditto	10th Dec. 1890.	„ ...	...	60	...	...	...	1,440	17th Jan. 1891.	...	163	...	...	...	3,912	Ditto ditto.
Ditto	1st Jan. 1891.	„ ...	...	...	100	...	...	1,200	.....	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	
Ditto	4th Feb. 1891.	„ ...	...	43*	...	...	...	1,032	.....	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	* Returned to stock by Deputy Commissioner, Dhubri.
									17th Feb. 1891.	...	43	100	...	...	2,232	
Total	.....	.....	42	206	100	...	...	8,664	Total ...	42	206	100	...	...	8,664	

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IV.—*Statement showing the Supply to, and Drawing from, the Reserve Stock.*

C.—GAUHATI.

Reserve stationed at	SUPPLY.								DRAWING.							Remarks.
	Date of supply.	Language.	Number of Books of 60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules	Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	Date of withdrawal.	Number of Books of 60 schedules.	24 schedules.	12 schedules.	40 schedules	Loose schedules.	Total number of schedules.	
									GAUHATI RESERVE.							
Gauhati	8th July 1890.	Assamese.	400	497	...	...	1,996	37,924	15th Oct. 1890.	...	.....	...	...	200	200	For Naga Hills.
									20th Nov. 1890.	105	.....	...	...	.....	6,300	„ Nowgong.
										295	.....	...	...	.....	17,700	„ Gauhati.
Ditto	26th Nov. 1890.	„ ...	...	150	...	...	2,000	5,600	14th Jan. 1891.	...	100	...	...	.....	2,400	„ Jorhat.
Ditto	14th Jan. 1891.	„ ...	...	...	500	...	...	6,000	23rd Jan. 1891.	...	125	...	...	.....	3,000	„ Dibrugarh.
Ditto	10th Feb. 1891.	„ ...	...	...	...	150	...	6,000	26th Jan. 1891.	...	316	...	...	.....	7,584	„ Jorhat.
Ditto	20th Feb. 1891.	„ ...	...	600	...	...	...	14,400	26th Jan. 1891.	...	50	...	...	.....	1,200	„ Tezpur.
									30th Jan. 1891.	...	56	...	...	.....	1,344	„ „
									10th Feb. 1891.	...	.....	50	20	.....	1,400	„ Sibsagar.
										...	.....	120	60	.....	3,840	„ Mangaldai.
										...	.....	100	40	.....	2,800	„ Jorhat.
										...	.....	80	...	.....	960	„ Tezpur.
										...	.....	150	30	.....	3,000	„ Gauhati.
									20th Feb. 1891.	...	600	...	...	.....	14,400	„ „
										...	.....	...	...	3,796	3,796	„ „
	Total ...	.....	400	1,247	500	150	3,996	69,924	Total ...	400	1,247	500	150	3,996	69,924	

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APPENDIX D.

SPECIMENS OF THE PRINCIPAL FORMS USED IN THE CENSUS OPERATIONS.

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APPENDIX D.

SPECIMENS OF THE PRINCIPAL FORMS USED IN THE CENSUS OPERATIONS.

(1) PARWANA OF APPOINTMENT OF SUPERVISORS.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

CENSUS OF 1891.

To son of

of mauza pargana police station

You are hereby appointed to act as supervisor of circle No. charge No. and directed to perform your duties as laid down in the Census Act.

Deputy Commissioner.

The

Subdivisional Officer.

(2) PARWANA OF APPOINTMENT OF ENUMERATORS.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

CENSUS OF 1891.

To son of

of mauza pargana police station

You are hereby appointed to act as enumerator of block No. circle No. charge No. , and directed to perform your duties as laid down in the Census Act.

Deputy Commissioner.

The

Subdivisional Officer.

(3) BLOCK LIST.

Village Block No. (Book No.) Circle No.

Serial number of house.	Description (dwelling-house, shop, serai, &c.)	Name of the head member of each house.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4

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(4) ENUMERATION SCHEDULE.

House No. Page No.

Serial number and name.	Religion.	Sect of religion.	Caste of Hindus and Jains, tribe or race of others.	Subdivision of caste, &c.	Male or female.	Age.	Married, unmarried, or widowed.	Parent tongue.	Birth district, province, or country.	Occupation or means of subsistence.	Learning, literate, or illiterate.	Language known by literate.	If any person be insane, deaf-mute from birth, totally blind, or a leper, enter that person as such below.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14

(5) SAMPLE SCHEDULE.

House No. Page No.

Serial number and name.	Religion.	Sect of Religion.	Caste of Hindus and Jains, tribe or race of others.	Subdivision of caste, &c.	Male or female.	Age.	Married, unmarried, or widowed.	Parent tongue.	Birth district, province, or country.	Occupation or means of subsistence.	Learning, literate, or illiterate.	Language known by literate.	If any person be insane, deaf-mute from birth, totally blind, or a leper, enter that person as such below.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1 Kandura ...	Káchári ...	Not returned	Káchári ...	Sonowál ...	Male...	47	Married ...	Káchári ...	Lakhimpur...	Cultivates his own land and sells opium.	Illiterate ...	.....	Leper.
2 Infant ...	Hindu ...	Sákta ...	Káchári ...	Modáhi ...	Male...	Infant ..	Unmarried..	Assamese...	Nowgong...	Shopkeeper, dealer in salt and oil (dependent).	Illiterate ...	.....	Deaf-mute.
3 Sombar ...	Hindu ...	Baishnab ...	Koch ...	Kámtáli ...	Male ...	30	Widower ...	Assamese...	Sibsagar ...	Clerk (Municipal) ...	Literate ...	Assamese, English.	.....
4 Female ...	Musalman ..	Shiah ...	Saiad ...	Saiad ...	Female.	14	Unmarried..	Assamese...	Nowgong...	Vakeel (dependent) ...	Illiterate ...	.....	Insane.
5 Ratibar (V) ...	Hindu ...	Baishnab ...	Dom ...	Nadial ...	Male...	25	Married ...	Assamese...	Sibsagar ...	Fish and betel-seller ...	Literate ...	Assamese...	.....
6 Ram ...	Christian ...	Church of England.	Native ...	Mikir ...	Male...	20	Widower ...	Mikir ...	Nowgong...	Cultivator of his own land and preacher.	Literate ...	Assamese...	.....
7 Sardoka ...	Mikir ...	Not returned	Mikir ...	Ingti ...	Male...	27	Unmarried..	Mikir ...	Kamrup ...	Cultivator of his own land and tea-garden coolie.	Illiterate ...	.....	.....
8 Kali Charan ...	Hindu ...	Sákta ...	Brahman ...	Baidik ...	Male...	29	Married ...	Bengali ...	Dacca (Bengal).	Petition-writer ...	Literate ...	Bengali, English.	.....

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(6) ENUMERATOR'S ABSTRACT.

(Not to be filled up till after the Census on the 26th February 1891.)

Village.	Block number.	Houses.			Persons.								
					Residents.			Visitors.			Total.		
		Occupied.	Empty.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.

(Signed)

Enumerator.

Re-added by { (a) Enumerator of Block No. (b) Enumerator of Block No.

(Signed)

Enumerator.

Certified to have been tested, and the total found correct.

(Signed)

Compiled into Charge Summary on the of 1891. } (Signed) Supervisor.

Charge Superintendent.

(7) HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE.

(FOR EUROPEANS AND EURASIANS.)

House No.

District. Charge

Subdivision, Cantonment, or Town. } { Circle Supervisor

Village, Ward, or Lines. } { Block No. Enumerator

Instructions.—The schedule on the next page is to be filled up under the Census Act by the head occupant of the house or tenement, for all Europeans and Eurasians stopping in the house or tenement on the night of the 26th February 1891, counting also as present persons ordinarily residing in the house but absent for a few hours on duty (except with a running train) and still taking their meals from the house. The head occupant aforesaid should deliver, or have delivered, the schedule, duly filled up and signed, to the enumerator, who will call for it on the morning of the 27th February. Every facility and aid is requested for the enumerator, who will probably make two visits to take the census of the native servants and their families residing on the premises. Before filling up the schedule, the instructions on the last page of this form should be carefully read.

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HOUSE NO. HEAD OF FAMILY HOUSE NO.

Serial number and name.	Religion.	Religious sect or denomination.	Race.	Nationality.	Sex.	Age.	Civil condition,—married, unmarried, or widowed.	Parent tongue.	Birth place.	Occupation or means of subsistence, and for dependents that of the person who supports them.	Learning, literate, or illiterate	Language known by literate.	Infirmities (see Instructions).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14

Certified to be a correct and complete return of all Europeans and Eurasians in this my house (or tenement) on the night of the 26th February 1891.

(Signed)

SPECIMEN SCHEDULE.—(*See Instructions below.*)

Serial number and name.		Religion.	Religious denomination.	Race.	Nationality.	Male or female.	Age.	Married, unmarried, or widowed.	Parent tongue.	Birth place.	Occupation or means of subsistence.	Learning, literate, or illiterate.	Language known by literate.	Infirmities (see Instructions).
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	A. F.	Christian	Church of England.	European..	English..	Male ..	38	Married ..	English..	England	Surgeon, Government service.	Literate	English.	
2	B. J.	Christian	Roman Catholic.	Eurasian..	Eurasian.	Female..	27	Widow ..	English..	Calcutta	Government Pension (civil).	Literate	English.	
3	D. S.	Jew ..	Jew ..	Jew ..	Austrian.	Male ..	40	Unmarried.	Polish ..	Austria.	Broker ..	Literate	English.	Blind.
4	C. T.	Christian	Armenian	Armenian..	British Indian.	Male ..	Infant	Unmarried	English..	Bombay	(Lawyer's clerk).	Illiterate	.....	
5	P. N.	Christian	Methodist Episcopalian.	European..	American	Male ..	48	Widower..	English..	United States.	Piecegoods Merchant.	Literate	English.	
6	A. M.	Christian	Presbyterian.	European .	Scotch ..	Male ..	28	Married ..	English..	Scotland	Tea planter ..	Literate	English.	
7	J. K.	Christian	Wesleyan .	European ..	English..	Male .	32	Married ..	English..	Punjab..	Engineer, Railway.	Literate	English.	
8	H. S.	Christian	Lutheran..	European..	Swiss ..	Male ..	35	Unmarried.	German.	Switzerland.	Watchmaker	Literate	German.	
9	M. O.	Christian	Roman Catholic.	European..	Irish ..	Female .	14	Unmarried	English..	Malta ..	(Army Officer)	Learning	.....	
10	I. V.	Christian	Greek Church.	European..	Russian .	Male ..	52	Married ..	Russian .	Russia..	Sailor ..	Illiterate	.....	

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FILLING UP THE SCHEDULE.

GENERAL.—Enter first the head of the family resident in the house on the night of the census, then the rest of the members of the family, and lastly visitors stopping in the house that night. The last column should be filled in only in case of a person afflicted with one of the four infirmities specified in the instructions below, and column 13 only for such as are shown as 'Literate' in column 12, but in every one of the other columns an entry should be made against the name of each person, no blanks being left. General and vague terms for sect and occupation should not be used. The word 'Ditto' should not be used, but each entry made in full.

Column 1.—Enter the names in order, as prescribed above.

Column 2.—(*Religion*).—Enter the main religion as shown in the specimen schedule above.

Column 3.—(*Religious denomination*).—Enter the sect or denomination, but do not use general terms, such as 'Protestant', 'Episcopalian', &c. If no sect be returned, enter the word 'Unsectarian'.

Column 4.—(*Race*).—Enter European (including Australian, Canadian, American, &c.), Eurasian, or Armenian, &c.

Column 5.—(*Nationality*).—Enter the nationality to which the person considers himself or herself to belong.

Column 6.—(*Sex*).—Enter whether male or female.

Column 7.—(*Age*).—Enter the age *last* birthday, and against children of less than a year old, write 'Infant'.

Column 8.—(*Civil condition*).—Show whether each person, infant or grown up, is married, unmarried or widowed. Persons who have been married, but have no wife or husband living, should be shown as 'widowed'.

Column 9.—(*Parent tongue*).—Enter the language ordinarily spoken in the household of the parents.

Column 10.—(*Birth place*).—If born in India, give the district and province; if born out of India, the country; but do not enter the names of counties, towns, or villages, except in the case of London, or of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, or Rangoon.

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Column 11.—(*Occupation, &c.*).—Enter the occupation of all who do work of any sort, and the source of income of such as live on property, &c. For children of whatever age and for women who do no regular work for wages or profit, enter in brackets the occupation of the head of the family or other person who supports them. If a person has more than one occupation, enter the chief one only, unless one of the other occupations be landholding or cultivation, in which case both should be entered. General terms, such as 'Government Service', or 'Railway Service', 'Commerce', 'Clerk', &c., should not be used, but the exact kind of service or dealing must be specified. Persons temporarily out of employ should be returned under their last or ordinary occupation.

Column 12.—(*Education*).—Enter as 'learning' all who are under instruction whether at home or at school or college. Those who are *not under instruction* but are able to both read and write should be shown as 'Literate', and those of whatever age who are not under instruction, and who do not know how to read and write, or who can read but not write, or who can only sign their own name, should be entered as 'Illiterate'.

Column 13.—(*Language known*).—No entry is to be made in this column except for those shown as 'Literate' in column 12, in whose case English should here be specified, or the language, other than Indian vernaculars, which each person can both read and write best.

Column 14.—(*Infirmities*).—If any person be (*a*) of unsound mind; (*b*) deaf-mute from birth, not from accident or disease; (*c*) totally blind; or (*d*) afflicted with the true or corrosive leprosy, an entry accordingly should be made in this column against that person's name.

(8) BOAT TICKET.

District Name of ghat

Boat No. Name of manjhi (boatman)

The persons on this boat have been enumerated this day.

The 1891. Signature of Boat Enumerator.

(9) TRAVELLER'S TICKET.

Enumerated on the day of Falgun (or 26th February).

Signature.

(10) FORM OF CIRCLE AND CHARGE ABSTRACT.

Charge.	Circle number and name.	Village.	Block number.	Book number.	Occupied houses.	Total population.			Residents.			Visitors.			Remarks.
						Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Total of Circle.															

NOTE.—This form will be printed and copies supplied on indent.

(11) CERTIFICATE ISSUED TO SUPERVISORS.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

CENSUS OF 1891.

To son of of mauza pargana police station

Whereas in the census of 1891, you have creditably performed the duties of supervisor of circle No. charge No. , this certificate is given to you in token thereof.

Deputy Commissioner.

The 1891. Subdivisional Officer.

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(12) CERTIFICATE ISSUED TO ENUMERATORS.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

CENSUS OF 1891.

To son of of mauza pargana

police station

Whereas in the census of 1891 you have satisfactorily performed the duties of enumerator of block No. circle No. charge No. , this certificate is given to you in testimony thereof.

Deputy Commissioner.

The 1891. Subdivisional Officer.

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APPENDIX E.

CONTAINING ABSTRACTION OFFICE RULES, SUBSIDIARY FORMS USED IN ABSTRACTION, ETC., AND STATEMENTS OF THEIR SUPPLY AND EXPENDITURE.

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3. Abstraction test slip	cx
4. Tabulation test slips	cxi
5. Caste totalling slip	cxiii
6. Occupation totalling slips	cxiv
7. Statement of supply and expenditure of abstraction sheets, &c.	cxvi
8. Statement of supply and expenditure of tabulation registers, totalling ledgers, and test slips	*ib.*
9. Statement of supply and expenditure of compilation sheets and caste and occupation totalling slips ...	*ib.*

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Rules for the Guidance of the Abstracting and Tabulating Office.

PART I.

CONSTITUTION OF OFFICE.

There will be two offices, one at Gauhati with 340 men or thereabouts, and one at Dhubri with 200.* Mr. M. N. Ghose will be branch superintendent of the Dhubri Office, and Babu Giris Chandra Das of the office at Gauhati. There will be also a small subsidiary office at Shillong, regarding which arrangements will be made separately.

2. At Dhubri it is proposed to abstract and tabulate the schedules relating to Sylhet and Goalpara, while at Gauhati it is, in the first instance, intended to work at the schedules from the other districts of the Assam Valley and Cachar, and from the Garo and Naga Hills districts.

The schedules from Manipur and the Khasi Hills will be abstracted in Shillong, as it would be very difficult and expensive to get the requisite staff in Gauhati.

3. The office at Gauhati will be divided into the following parts :

(1) *Branch superintendent's room*, including the branch superintendent, two assistant superintendents (one for abstracting and one for tabulating), and a duftry.

(2) *Record room.*—There will be one record-keeper, one assistant record-keeper, and one record-supplier.

(3) *Correspondence.*—There will be one head clerk on Rs. 60, and one clerk on Rs. 30. If experience shows it to be necessary, a third clerk on Rs. 25 will be appointed later on.

(4) *Abstracting and Tabulating room.*—Assuming that 340 men are entertained, they will be distributed as detailed below. Any excess or deficiency on the assumed strength will be discounted by a proportionate increase or decrease in the number of abstractors and tabulators employed on each sheet. The distribution now given is liable to alteration hereafter, should actual experience show that the rate of progress in the abstraction of some sheets is much more rapid than in that of others.

Statement showing the number of Abstractors, Tabulators, &c., who will be employed on each sheet.

Sheet.	Abstractors.	Totallers.	Re-abstractors.	Tabulators.	Total.
I & VII	56	2	16	6	80
II	36	2	8	2	48
III	40	2	12	4	58
IV	48	2	12	3	65
V	15	1	4	1	21
VI	16	1	4	1	22
XI	32	2	8	4	46
Total	243	12	64	21	340

In order to secure independent working, and to prevent all possibility of fudging or comparison of totals, the clerks working on sheets or registers presenting corresponding totals will be seated in six different rooms, as follows:

Room.	Original sheets and totalling.	Re-abstracting.	Tabulating.	Total.
1	V = 16	I & VII = 16	.....	32
2	VI = 17	IV = 12	.....	29
3	I & VII = 58	XI & V = 12	II, IV, & XI = 9	79
4	II & XI = 72	VI = 4	III = 4	80
5	III = 42	II = 8	I & VII = 6	56
6	IV = 50	III = 12	V & VI = 2	64
Total	255	64	21	340

Each room will be in charge of a supervisor, who will be assisted by the head totaller.

4. The office at Dhubri will be similarly constituted, but the strength of each branch will be reduced proportionally to the number of abstractors and tabulators entertained there.

5. The office hours for clerks in the branch superintendent's room and the record room will be from 9-30 to 5-30, or such time as the work of the day is completed, and the same hours will also apply to room supervisors. Persons employed as above will be allowed to leave office for an hour in the middle of the day, the time at which they may avail themselves of this leave being fixed in all cases by the branch superintendents.

The abstracting and tabulating muharrirs and clerks in the English Office will attend office from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. without any interval.

* It was subsequently decided not to open an office at Dhubri, and the whole of the work, with the exception of the Khasi schedules, was carried out in one central office at Gauhati.

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PART II.

DUTIES OF THE BRANCH SUPERINTENDENTS.

The duties of the branch superintendent will be to exercise a general supervision over the whole office.

Supervision of work of record department.

6. He must pay close attention to the proper working of the record department, see that all enumeration books are carefully recorded, that the prescribed registers are kept up, and reports made in accordance with the rules. He must also keep a control over the issue of books for abstraction and re-abstraction, and see that these are afterwards returned with the connected working sheets, and deposited in their proper place on the racks or in the almirahs.

Room supervisors.

7. In the same way, he must constantly go through the different rooms, examining the work of the abstractors and tabulators, and seeing that proper precautions are being taken to prevent fudging. He must satisfy himself that the supervisors are exercising proper supervision, and are acting in accordance with, and keeping up the registers prescribed by, these rules. He must examine the supervisors' registers of attendance, work done, &c., and initial them daily as detailed below.

Correspondence branch.

8. The branch superintendent will also be in general charge of the correspondence department during the absence of the provincial superintendent, and will be responsible for seeing that the work is up to date, and that all orders of the provincial superintendent are duly carried out.

9. In addition to the work of supervision, the branch superintendent will have to control the arrangements for securing accuracy in the returns by means of test slips and re-abstraction.

Test slips.

10. Age periods by sex, civil condition, education, religion, and total population appear in more than one working sheet, and the accuracy of the abstraction of these details can thus be ascertained by comparing the figures shown in the different sheets. To facilitate comparison, a form of test slip has been prepared (Form 1). These forms will be bound up by charges, and must be kept in the personal custody of the branch superintendent, who should fill in the totals from each set of working sheets as he receives them.

11. In case he finds himself unable to fill in all the entries himself, he may depute one of his assistants to fill in one set of entries, but he must take care that this is done immediately under his own personal supervision, and he must in all cases fill in himself the second set of entries with which the comparison is to be made, *e.g.*, if his assistant fills in the figures for Sheet I, he must himself fill in those for Sheet XI A, and so on.

12. The entries for the first abstraction must invariably be made in pencil. When discrepancies are found between two sets of sheets, he must order both to be re-abstracted in an order book in counterfoil to be kept for the purpose (Form 2), and must note the fact in the remarks column of the test slip. The figures obtained on re-abstraction must be entered in black ink. If a third abstraction is found necessary, the figures thus obtained will be entered in red ink. After all entries on the sheet are found to agree either on re-abstraction or otherwise, he will write 'agreed' in red ink in the remarks column, and sign the sheet.

13. In some cases it will be clear in which sheet the error has been made, and it will not then be necessary to order the other sheets to be re-abstracted. Thus, if there is a discrepancy in the total number of males between that shown in Sheet I and the other sheets, all of which agree, it is clear the error must be in Sheet I, and there will be no necessity for ordering on this account a re-abstraction of any of the other sheets.

Re-abstraction.

14. Other details, such as parent tongue, birth place, and infirmities, can only be tested by re-abstraction, and this is also the most convenient method of testing the caste entries in Sheets IV and XI. The exact amount of re-abstraction to be carried out will be fixed from time to time by the provincial superintendent.

Classification registers of occupation, &c.

15. In order to facilitate classification later on, the branch superintendent will keep four registers, showing respectively—

(1) Occupation;
(2) Caste;
(3) Parent tongue;
(4) Birth-place.

Each register will be in book form, and will be divided off into sets of pages by letters cut in the corner, ক, খ, গ, &c.

16. When sets of Working Sheet III are sent to the branch superintendent for entry in his test slips, each sheet must be examined, and every occupation recorded must be entered under the proper letter in the register, unless exactly the same occupation has already been entered from some other working sheet. When two occupations are entered, one of which is connected with agriculture, the dual occupation must be shown separately, and not under either of the separate occupations in question.

17. Similarly, castes and their subdivisions will be entered in the caste register from Sheet IV, parent tongue from Sheet V, and birth place from Sheet VI.

18. The preparation of these registers is perfectly simple, all that is needed being to see (1) that every different entry in the working sheet is recorded, and (2) that the entry in the register is exactly the same as that in the working sheet, which in its turn should be an exact copy of the original entry in the enumeration-book.

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PART III.

RECORD ROOM.

Receipt and storage of enumeration books.

19. The record-keeper and his assistants must be at their post on the 1st March, and must by that time have their shelves ready, and all preparations completed for the receipt, verification, and storage of the enumeration books as they come in.

20. The books will be received from the districts bound up by circles and charges according to the serial order shown in the circle lists. Circle and charge abstracts will also be received with the forms.

21. As soon as they are received, each charge bundle must be opened, and the record department must—

(1) Compare the books received with those shown as issued in the circle list or register of issues, as the case may be.

(2) Examine each enumerator's abstract to see that it has been correctly carried forward into the circle abstract, and that the description of block, &c., given on the latter tallies with that shown on the docket of the enumeration book. At the same time these totals will be copied by the branch superintendent into his test slips.

(3) Remove the enumerators' abstracts from the enumeration-books, tie those relating to each circle together in serial order, and deposit them in their proper place in the almirah.

(4) After this, the books must again be tied up in the proper serial order, and the bundle for each charge placed on its proper shelf (as fixed beforehand) in the record-room. In some districts the charge does not correspond to any administrative subdivision. Where this is the case, the charge bundles will be broken up and re-arranged as ordered, in each case, a separate set of serial numbers being given to all the books in each of the new bundles.

(5) Any discrepancies between the number of books shown in the register as issued and the actual receipts must at once be reported for orders.

22. The whole of this work must be most carefully supervised by the branch superintendent in person. It is absolutely necessary that the recording should be altogether free from mistakes, while every care must be taken to prevent any one employed on the work from keeping copies of the figures shown in the enumerators' abstracts.

23. It will probably be necessary to strengthen the record department by the temporary entertainment of a few additional hands while the books are being unpacked, examined, and recorded. This will be arranged for, if necessary, when the books are received from the districts.

Issue of enumeration books for abstraction, and their return.

24. Enumeration books will be issued from the record-room for abstraction under the branch superintendent's orders to the supervisor of each room. The main principle to be observed is that the work for one district must be finished before that for another is taken in hand. The duties of supervisors in regard to the issue of forms to abstractors are dealt with elsewhere. The present rules relate only to the issue of forms by the record-keeper to the supervisor and their return by the latter to the record room.

25. Ordinarily the books of a whole thana or charge will be issued complete, and will be returned in the same way. Should the work connected with them not be concluded at the close of the day, the books will be placed in the supervisor's locker in the branch superintendent's room, and again taken thence by the supervisor himself next morning. The supervisor will remain responsible for the books until he returns them complete with their connected working sheets to the record-keeper and obtains his receipt for the same.

26. As a rule, no supervisor should be allowed to have the papers for more than two charges in his possession, *i.e.*, for the charge for which the abstraction is going on and for another in readiness for issue to the abstractors when the first is finished.

27. Before returning the forms he must tie up the books by circles and charges in their proper order. The working sheets for each circle should be arranged in serial order, and tied together by a string passed through the top left-hand corner of each sheet. These sets of sheets for circles should then be arranged for the charge in the serial order of circles, and the whole bundle loosely tied up with tape.

28. When the record-keeper issues books, he will take a receipt from the supervisor in the following form:

Received the books of charge No. which I have compared with the circle list extract and found complete.

Signed,

Supervisor of Room No.

When the forms are returned, the record-keeper will examine them to see that they are complete, and that all the working sheets have been given up. When he finds that this is the case he will give a receipt in the following form:

Received from supervisor of room No. the enumeration books of charge No. with abstraction sheets Nos. complete.

Signed,

Record-keeper.

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29. The possession or otherwise of these receipts will be taken as positive proof of responsibility for the forms concerned, and it is, therefore, incumbent on the record-keeper and supervisors to secure all receipts to which they are entitled and to keep them carefully.

30. It is the duty of the record-keeper to see that no charge papers are unnecessarily detained by the room supervisors. He will submit to the branch superintendent at 12 o'clock daily a statement showing the number of charge papers with each room supervisor and the date of issue of each, and will specially bring to his notice all cases in which bundles have been detained for more than two days.

31. As it is inconvenient for the supervisors to leave their rooms during office hours, they should, so far as possible, arrange to take out return bundles of forms either before office opens or after it closes. Should they at other times require, or wish to return, forms, they must send intimation to the record-keeper, who will either go in person to issue or receive the bundles, or will depute an assistant for this purpose. But it must be understood that no forms can ever be issued or returned without the receipts prescribed above.

32. On getting back the forms, the record-keeper will place the enumeration books in their proper place in the record-room, after tying them together as before, and placing the circle list extract at the top.

33. He will make over the working sheets to the branch superintendent for entry in the test slips, and will take a receipt for them. On receiving them back, he will examine them to see that all the sheets have been returned and are properly arranged in serial order by circles and charges. Having satisfied himself on this point, he will give a receipt to the branch superintendent, and will place the sheets in their proper place in the record-room, ready for issue to the tabulators later on.

34. Each set of working sheets for the same charge will be tied up together by circles and charges in serial order. These charge bundles will be pigeon-holed in the almirahs, arranged according to districts. There will be a separate almirah, or set of almirahs, for each set of working sheets.

35. An abstraction register in the following form must be kept by the record-keeper bound up by districts:

District
Subdivision
Charge
Circle Nos. to

Sheet number.	I.	VII.	II.	III.	IV & X.	V.	VI.	VIII.	IX.	XI.	XII.
Date of issue for abstraction											
Date of return											
Date of making over abstraction sheets to branch superintendent for entry in test slips.											
Date of return											
Date of recording enumeration books											
Ditto ditto working sheets											
Specification of sheets issued for re-abstraction with date ...											
Date of return											
Date of making over to branch superintendent ...											
Date of return											
Date of recording enumeration books											
Ditto ditto working sheets											

36. This must be taken daily to the branch superintendent for signature. The latter, after carefully examining it, will initial it, and give instructions to the record-keeper regarding the papers next to be issued for abstraction. One of the most important points is to ascertain whether all enumeration books and working sheets received back from the supervisors have been at once deposited in their proper place in the record-room. The branch superintendent should also note if the progress in abstracting some sheets is excessive compared with that made on the other sheets, and should make proposals with a view to equalising matters by the transfer of muharrirs if necessary.

Issue of enumeration books for re-abstraction and their return.

37. The rules relating to the issue of books for abstraction apply *mutatis mutandis* to re-abstraction also, except that, instead of issuing the books of a whole charge, only those books which have been noted for re-abstraction in the branch superintendent's order slip (Form 2) will be given to the supervisor concerned.

38. The date of issue must be entered in the order slip, which will be placed on the top of the unissued portion of the charge bundle of enumeration books. When the books issued for re-abstraction are received back, they must be put back in their proper place in the charge bundle, and the working sheets sent to the branch superintendent for entry in his test slips.

39. When these are returned by him, they will be pinned on to the original working sheet of the book concerned, or otherwise disposed of as directed by the branch superintendent. The order slip duly filled in will then be sent back to the branch superintendent, who will note the fact in the counterfoil in his order book, and will then file the slip.

40. The only other point requiring special notice in this connection is that no charge bundle of enumeration books must be issued for abstraction into another working sheet, while some of the books of the bundle are in the hands of the re-abstractors.

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There is, however, no reason why different books of the same charge bundle should not be issued at the same time to re-abstractors engaged on different sheets.

Issue of working sheets for tabulation and their return.

41. The principles laid down above apply to the issue of working sheets for tabulation.

They will be issued by charges to the room supervisors under the orders of the branch superintendent.

42. It must be remembered that no bundle of working sheets must under any circumstances be issued for tabulation until the work of re-abstraction in connection with them has been completed.

43. The record-keeper will take receipts for abstraction sheets issued, and give similar receipts when they are returned, as provided in Rule 28 above.

44. He will keep a register, showing the issues of sheets for tabulation into the different registers.

PART IV.

ABSTRACTION ROOMS.

Constitution of rooms.

45. Each room will be in charge of a supervisor, who will be aided by an assistant supervisor and the requisite number of totallers and sorters. Under them will be the abstractors, each of whom will be permanently employed on the same working sheet.

The supervisor and his assistant.

46. The supervisor and his staff must attend office at 9-30 a.m., and get out a sufficient number of books and forms to last for at least two or three hours, in order that the abstractors may all be set to work the very moment they arrive.

47. Each abstractor will bear a separate serial number, under which he will be entered in Registers Nos. 7, 8, 8A, and 9. The desk at which each man sits will be labelled with the same number.

Issue of schedules for abstraction.

48. Every effort must be made to avoid delay in setting each muharrir to work as soon as he arrives in office. To secure this object, the following procedure must be very carefully adhered to.

The room supervisor will sit at his desk with his register of issues (Register No. 9) before him. His assistant will stand beside him with books and forms arranged in serial order by circles ready for issue to the abstractors as they arrive. The books will be in two piles, one consisting of books which had not been completely abstracted when office closed on the previous evening, and the other of new books. As each muharrir arrives, he will go up to the supervisor and state his number and name, which the latter will enter in column 4 of his issue register. He will also state if he left a book unfinished on the previous evening, or not. If so, this book with its working sheet will be picked out from the bundle of unfinished books and made over to him for completion. If not, the assistant supervisor will give him a new book with a blank working sheet, quoting the distinguishing number of the former, which the supervisor will note in columns 1-3 of his issue register.

Registers.

49. When all muharrirs have been supplied with books, the supervisor will write up his attendance register (Register No. 7), and fill in from his issue register columns 1-3 of his register of work done (Register No. 8), separate pages of which will be kept for each muharrir employed. He will then add up the previous day's entries shown against each clerk in column 4 of this register, and enter the total in column 5, from which it will be copied into the abstract register of work done (Register No. 8A).

50. This work should be finished before midday, by which time the supervisor should have made out an abstract statement of the work done during the previous day in the following form:

—	Sheet number.	Total number of ticks.	Average number of ticks per head.
Number of abstractors ...			
Number of re-abstractors ...			

Signed,

Supervisor.

He should send this to the branch superintendent, who will forward it with his remarks to the superintendent of census operations.

51. He need not send his registers to the branch superintendent, but should have them ready for the latter to examine when he visits his room.

52. The branch superintendent should frequently test the accuracy of the entries in the register of work done by comparing them with the working sheets to which they refer. He should also from time to time go round the room with the attendance register, and see if all cases of absence or departure before the hour fixed for closing office have been duly noted in it.

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53. After having written up his registers, the supervisor should go round his room, and watch the abstractors at work, explaining difficulties and putting a stop to any irregularities which he may discover. He should continue these rounds, as opportunity offers, throughout the day.

54. While he is thus engaged, the assistant supervisor will remain at the supervisor's table to take back completed books and issue new ones for abstraction.

Procedure on books being returned.

55. When books are brought back by the abstractors, the supervisor or his assistant will take the book and working sheet, and after initialling the entry concerned in column 6 of the issue register, he will place the book with the working sheet inside it in the totaller's box, and will issue a fresh book to the muharrir for abstraction.

Responsibility of supervisor for having a sufficient supply of books and forms.

56. No delay must, under any circumstances, be permitted to take place in the issue of fresh books for abstraction, and the supervisor must, above all things, be careful to avoid running short of books or forms. As soon as he finds he has only about an hour's supply of either books or forms remaining, he should at once send a totaller, or the assistant supervisor, with a slip to the record-keeper, asking for more books or forms, as the case may be. No excuse will be accepted from any supervisor who is found to have allowed his books or forms to run short.

Totallers.

57. The figures in all sheets filled in by the abstractors must be made over to the totallers for check, and the latter, after checking the sheets, will sign them, and return them to the supervisor, who will then enter the total number of ticks in each sheet in column 4 of the register of work done (Register No. 8).

Return of books and working sheets to the record-room.

58. As soon as all the books in a circle have been abstracted and the working sheets checked, the supervisor must arrange the books and sheets in serial order. The former he will tie up with string lengthways and across, and the latter he will fasten together by a string passed through the top left-hand corner. Having done this, he will send them to the record-keeper, who will give him a receipt as provided for in the record-room rules. Supervisors who are found to allow unnecessary delay to occur in the return of books to the record-room will be severely dealt with.

Procedure at the time of closing office.

59. At the time for closing office he will collect all the books and working sheets, and will tie them up in three bundles, one consisting of books completely abstracted and checked, another of books abstracted but not examined by the totallers, and the third of books not completely abstracted. The working sheets should be placed inside the books to which they relate. He will then lock these up with his forms and unissued books in his box in the branch superintendent's room.

Monthly statement of work done.

60. Immediately after the close of the month, the supervisor must prepare from his Register No. 8A a statement of the work done by each abstractor during the month in the following form:

Month of

Abstraction Sheet No.

Name.	Number of days in month.	Number of days present.	Number of days absent.		Total number of ticks.	Number of sheets in which errors found.	Total number of errors.	Remarks
			With leave.	Without leave.				

61. As soon as he has prepared this statement, he must send it to the branch superintendent with his attendance register and register of work done, and the branch superintendent, after testing the accuracy of the statement by comparison with these registers, will have the pay due to each muharrir calculated, and the pay-bill prepared accordingly.

Abstractors.

62. Each abstractor will be permanently employed on the same working sheet. It is unnecessary to specify on paper the way in which each sheet will be filled in. This will soon be learnt by actual practice. The following rules are, therefore, of a general nature only.

63. Each entry in the schedule will be denoted by a stroke or tick, thus ', in the proper column. When four vertical ticks have been made in a column, the fifth will be made by a stroke across these four.

64. The greatest care must be taken to secure accuracy—(1) by making a tick for each entry in the schedule, (2) by seeing that this tick is made in the proper column. Care must especially be taken in the sheets where age periods appear. If by mistake a tick is made in the wrong column, this will inevitably be discovered on re-abstraction, or when the figures come to be compared with other working sheets, and the mistake will then be punished by a fine.

65. The abstractors must consult the room supervisor regarding any entries concerning which they are in doubt, and the latter will, if necessary, refer the matter to the branch superintendent.

66. In some cases, columns may be found blank. When this is the case, the room supervisor should be consulted. In some cases the proper entry will be obvious, as, for instance, if sex is not shown in column 6 against a person entered as 'female' in column 1, or under a name which is unmistakeably that of a man or of a woman, as the case may be. When the correct entry cannot be ascertained from an examination of the other columns of the schedule, the word 'unspecified' should be entered, except in the following cases: (*a*) if parent tongue is omitted, that of the district shown in column 10 should be entered; (*b*) if occupation is omitted, the abstractor should enter that of the head of the family, *i.e.*, of the first person entered in the schedule; (*c*) if column 12 is blank, the person should be shown as illiterate; and (*d*) if there be no entry in column 13 against a person shown as literate in column 12, the language shown as parent tongue in column 9, and no other, should be entered in the working sheet.

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67. Where an obviously wrong entry is found in the schedule, the exact entry found there should at the time be copied into the working sheet. A report must at the same time be made to the branch superintendent, who will put up a draft to the deputy commissioner or subdivisional officer concerned in the form prescribed for this purpose. When a reply to the reference is received, the superintendent will pass orders, and will direct the working sheet to be corrected if necessary.

68. When the entries in the enumeration book have all been transferred to the working sheet, the latter should be totalled, and at once made over to the room supervisor, who will issue another enumeration book for abstraction.

69. The pay of the abstractors will be calculated as follows:

Half for attendance, *i.e.*, fixed pay.
One-fourth for accuracy,
„ for speed in working, } *i.e.*, payment by results.

A clerk who works carelessly or slowly will, therefore, draw less than the average pay, while one who works with speed and accuracy may draw considerably more than the average pay of his grade.

70. Re-abstraction will be entrusted to the best men among the abstractors. The working sheets used for this purpose will be distinguished from those used for abstraction by being stamped with the word 'Re-abstraction.'

71. Pencils will be supplied to abstractors by the room supervisors, who will get them from the head clerk. One pencil should last an abstractor for three weeks.

APPENDIX.

FORMS TO BE USED BY SUPERVISORS.

Form No. 7.—Attendance Register.

Name.	First		Second		&c.
	Hour of		Hour of		
	Arrival.	Departure.	Arrival.	Departure.	

This register must be written up as soon as all the muharrirs have been supplied with forms, and set to work. The hour of departure need only be noted in, in the case of muharrirs leaving before office closes.

Form No. 8.—Register of Work done.

Name.	Date.	Specification of books re-abstracted.	Number of ticks in each sheet.	Total number of ticks for the day.	Number of errors found in each sheet on re-abstraction.	Total amount of daily error.

Separate pages of this register will be kept for each muharrir employed. Columns 6 and 7 will be filled in from information obtained through the branch superintendent's office from the re-abstraction sheets, which will be communicated daily to the room supervisors concerned. For the purpose of column 4, the total shown on the working sheet may be accepted as correct, as the abstractors will lose more from want of accuracy than they will gain from an inaccurate excess of ticks. The registers must be written up in ink, and all corrections in column 4 must be signed by the branch superintendent.

Form No. 8A.—Abstract Register of Work done.

Name.	First day.		Second day.		Third day.		&c.	Weekly total.	
	Number of ticks.	Number of mistakes.	Number of ticks.	Number of mistakes.	Number of ticks.	Number of mistakes.		Number of ticks.	Number of mistakes.

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This register will be written up in ink from Register No. 8. It will be made use of in calculating the pay of each muharrir employed.

Form No. 9.—Register of Issues.

District

Subdivision

Charge

Circle No.	Book No.	Name of muharrir to whom issued.	Date of issue.	Received back.
1	2	3	4	5

When books are issued, columns 1, 2, 3, and 4 will be filled in. When a book is returned, the supervisor will initial the entry concerned in column 5. Until he does so, the muharrir to whom the book was issued will remain responsible for it.

Form No. 10.—Daily Abstract Statement.

——	Sheet number.	Total number of ticks.	Average number of ticks per head.
Number of abstractors ...			
" of re-abstractors ...			

This statement for each day must be prepared and submitted to the branch superintendent by 12 o'clock of the succeeding day.

Month of

Form No. 11.—Monthly Statement of Work done.

Abstraction Sheet No.

Name.	Number of days in month.	Number of days present.	Number of days absent.		Total number of ticks.	Number of sheets in which errors found.	Total number of errors.	Remarks.
			With leave.	Without leave.				

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ABSTRACTION SHEET CHECK REGISTERS.

SHEET No. I.

Register No. 1.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Total.	0—14.	15—39.	40 & over.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

Register No. 2.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Religion.	Total population.	Total married.	Total widowed.	Total unmarried.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

Register No. 3.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Total unmarried males and females of all religions.	Age.												Remarks.
							Infant.	1 year.	2.	3.	4.	5—9.	10—14.	15—19.	20—24.	25—29.	30—34.	35 & over.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

Register No. 4.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Total married males and females of all religions.	Age.											Remarks.
							60 and over.	55—59.	50—54.	45—49.	40—44.	35—39.	30—34.	25—29.	20—24.	15—19.	1—14.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19

Register No. 5.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Religion.	Males of each religion.	Females of each religion.	Total population of each religion.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

SHEET No. II.

Register No. 1.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Literate.	Learning.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

Register No. 2.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Population.			All religions.	Remarks.
						Total.	Males.	Females.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

Register No. 3.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Total population.						Remarks.
						0—14.	15—24.	25 and over.	Total males.	Total females.	Grand total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

SHEET No. III.

Register No. 1.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Population.			Occupation.	Remarks.
						Total.	Males.	Females.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

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ABSTRACTION SHEET CHECK REGISTERS—*continued.*

SHEET NO. III.

Register No. 2.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Total population.	Age.			Remarks.
							0—4.	5—14.	15 and over.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

SHEET NO. IV.

Register No. 1.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Total population.	Males.	Females.	Religions.	Castes.	Subdivision of castes.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

Register No. 2.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Total population.	Males.	Females.	Literate.		Learning.	Remarks.
									English.	Other.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

SHEET NO. V.

Register No. 1.

Serial No.	Name of abstractor.	Subdivision and district.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Total population.	Males.	Females.	Parent tongue.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

SHEET NO. VI.

Register No 1.

Serial No.	Name of abstractor.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Total population.	Males.	Females.	Birth place.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

SHEET NO. XI.

Register No. 1.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Total population.	Religions.	Castes.	Married.	Widows.	Widowers.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

Register No. 2.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Total population.	Religion.	Age.				Remarks.
								0—9.	10—14.	15—39.	40 and over.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

Register No. 3.

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Charge No.	Circle No.	Book No.	Name of abstractor.	Unmarried.					Remarks.
						0—9.	10—14.	15—39.	40 and over.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

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Form No. 1.
District
Subdivision
Thana or Mauza
Village

ABSTRACTION TEST SLIP.

Charge
Circle
Block No.
Book No.

Signature of writer

Date

MALES.

Religion.	Sheet.	Heading.	All ages.	0-9.	10-14.	15-39.	40 & over.	Sheet.	Heading.	All ages.	0-14.	15-24.	25 & over.
A	I.	Married ...						II.	Learning.				
		Single ...							Literate .				
		Widowed ..											
		Total ...							Total ...				
	XIA.	Married ...						IV.	Learning.				
		Single ...							Literate .				
		Widowed ...											
		Total ...							Total ...				
B	I.	Married ...						II.	Learning.				
		Single ...							Literate .				
		Widowed ...											
		Total ...							Total ...				
	XIA.	Married ...						IV.	Learning.				
		Single ...							Literate .				
		Widowed ...											
		Total ...							Total ...				
C	I.	Married ...						II.	Learning.				
		Single ...							Literate .				
		Widowed ...											
		Total ...							Total ...				
	XIA.	Married ...						IV.	Learning.				
		Single ...							Literate .				
		Widowed ...											
		Total ...							Total ...				
D	I.	Married ...						II.	Learning.				
		Single ...							Literate .				
		Widowed ...											
		Total ...							Total ...				
	XIA.	Married ...						IV.	Learning.				
		Single ...							Literate .				
		Widowed ...											
		Total ...							Total ...				
Grand total...		I.						II.					
		XIA.						IV.					

Sheet.	Total. Males.	0-4.	5-14.	15 and over.
I.				
III.				
V.				
VI.				
Enumerator's abstract.				

General Remarks.

Signed.....

Inspector.

NOTE.—A similar form was used for females.

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TABULATION TEST SLIP No. 1 (TOTAL).

District — Charge.

Subdivision — Circle.

Thana

MALES.

Registers.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Jain.	Buddhist.	Aboriginal.			Grand total.
IV.									
V.									
VII									
XIV									
VI ... Married ...									
Unmarried.									
Widower .									
Total									
XX... Married ...									
Unmarried.									
Widower .									
Total									

Total of Register VIII ... _____ Total.

Total of Register IX ... _____

Orders of Branch Superintendent.

	0—4.	5—14.	15 and over.	Total.
Register V				
Register XV				

NOTE.—A similar form was used for females.

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TABULATION TEST SLIP No. II.—(RELIGION BY AGE AND CIVIL CONDITION).

District Charge

Subdivision MALES. Circle

Thana

All ages.	Register No. V.	Register No. VI.				Register No. XX.				Register No. VII.	Orders of branch superintendent.
		Married.	Unmarried.	Widower.	Total.	Married.	Unmarried.	Widower.	Total.		
Infant											
1											
2											
3											
4											
0—4											
5—9											
Total 0—9											
10—14											
5—14											
Total 0—14											
15—19											
20—24											
Total 15—24											
25—29											
30—34											
35—39											
Total 15—39											
40—44											
45—49											
50—54											
55—59											
60 and over											
15 and over											
Total 25 and over											
Total 40 and over											
Total											

NOTES.—A separate test slip should be used for each religion.
A similar form was used for females.

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CASTE TOTALLING FORM.

RELIGION CASTE SUBCASTE

MALES.

Subdivision and District.		Subdivision and District.	
Silchar		Dibrugarh	
Hailakandi		North Lakhimpur	
Total Cachar		*Total Lakhimpur*	
North Sylhet		North Cachar	
Habiganj		Kohima	
Sunamganj		Mokokchang	
South Sylhet		Wokha	
Karimganj		Total Naga Hills	
Total Sylhet			
Dhubri		Shillong	
Goalpara...		Jowai	
Total Goalpara		*Total Khasi and Jaintia Hills* ...	
Gauhati		Garo Hills	
Barpeta		North Lushai	
Total Kamrup		Traditional occupation.	
Tezpur			
Mangaldai			
Total Darrang		Reference.	
Nowgong		Group No.	
Sibsagar			
Jorhat		Remarks.	
Golaghat...			
Total Sibsagar			

NOTE.—A similar form was used for females.

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OCCUPATION TOTALLING FORM.—MALES.

No.

Subdivision and District.	Total.				Town.				Country.			
	Total.	0—4.	5—14.	15 and over.	Total.	0—4.	5—14.	15 and over.	Total.	0—4.	5—14.	15 and over.
Silchar												
Hailakandi												
Total Cachar												
North Sylhet												
Habiganj												
Sunamganj												
South Sylhet												
Karimganj												
Total Sylhet												
Dhubri												
Goalpara												
Total Goalpara												
Gauhati												
Barpeta												
Total Kamrup												
Tezpur												
Mangaldai												
Total Darrang												
Nowgong												
Sibsagar												
Jorhat												
Golaghat												
Total Sibsagar												
Dibrugarh												
North Lakhimpur												
Total Lakhimpur ...												
North Cachar												
Kohima												
Mokokchang												
Wokha												
Total Naga Hills ...												
Shillong												
Jowai												
Total Khasi and Jaintia Hills.												
Garo Hills												
North Lushai												
Grand total												

Note.—A similar form was used for females.

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COMBINED OCCUPATION TOTALLING FORM.

OCCUPATION No.

SUBDIVISION AND DISTRICT.	35		36		37		38		39		40 and 41		TOTAL.		
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
Silchar															
Hailakandi															
Total Cachar															
North Sylhet															
Habiganj															
Sunamganj															
South Sylhet															
Karimganj															
Total Sylhet															
Dhubri															
Goalpara															
Total Goalpara															
Gauhati															
Barpeta															
Total Kamrup															
Tezpur															
Mangaldai															
Total Darrang															
Nowgong															
Sibsagar															
Jorhat															
Golaghat															
Total Sibsagar															
Dibrugarh															
North Lakhimpur															
Total Lakhimpur															
North Cachar															
Kohima															
Mokokchang															
Wokha															
Total Naga Hills															
Shillong															
Jowai															
Total Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...															
Garo Hills															
North Lushai															
Grand total															

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Statement showing the Supply and Expenditure of Abstraction Sheets, &c.

Language.	No. I.	No. II.	No. III.	No. IV.	No. V.	No. VI.	No. VII.	No. VIII.	No. IX.	No. XI.	No. XIa.	No. XII.	Subsidiary totalling form of Sheet No. I.	Test slip.	Remarks.
Bengali.															
Total supply *	70,800	62,900	64,800	59,000	65,500	62,345	4,525	1,000	1,000	70,700	65,000	600	28,500	43,534	* This includes some Khasi sheets sent through mistake by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bengal, in lieu of Bengali sheets.
„ consumption ..	65,800	54,737	56,800	54,471	47,500	61,945	4,522	997	997	63,700	57,000	598	19,500	27,534	
Balance	5,000	8,163	8,000	4,529	18,000	400	3	3	3	8,000	8,000	2	9,000	16,000	
Khasi.															
Total supply	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	200	900	900	1,800	1,800	50	....	..	
„ consumption ..	1,780	1,795	1,750	1,730	1,765	1,770	50	600	600	1,760	1,760	5	....	..	
Balance	20	5	50	70	35	30	150	300	300	40	40	45	....	..	

Statement showing the Supply and Consumption of Tabulation Registers, &c.

Language.	II.	III.	IV.	V & VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X—XIII.	Xa—XIIIa	XIV.	XV.	XVa.	XVb.	XVI.	XVII.	XIX.	XX.	Remarks.
Bengali.																		
Total supply ..	2,525	2,525	7,412	130,035	32,000	8,050	6,050	905	1,010	16,050	*5,917	20,736	14,587	1,700	1,680	4,000	16,000	* Used for towns and subdivisional totals.
„ consumption	125	125	6,912	102,835	25,000	8,047	6,047	903	1,008	14,050	2,000	20,731	14,582	700	680	3,995	2,000	
Balance ..	2,400	2,400	500	27,200	7,000	3	3	2	2	2,000	3,917	5	5	1,000	1,000	5	14,000	
Khasi.																		In addition to these, Bengali registers were also used for the tabulation of the Khasi abstraction sheets.
Total supply ..	150	150	300	4,000	650	300	300	30	50	450	..	830	830	150	50	200	500	
„ consumption	..	..	300	4,000	610	300	300	30	50	450	..	830	830	130	50	175	500	
Balance ..	150	150	..	....	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	..	25	....	

Language.	XIV Ledger.	XVa Ledger.	XVb Ledger.	Occupation age slip heading.	Blank ruled paper for XV.	XIX Ledger.	XX Ledger.	Covers.	Tabulation test slips. I.	Tabulation test slips. II.	Remarks.
Bengali.											
Total supply ..	5,000	2,004	2,008	1,500	1,000	1,500	3,000	15,000	2,000	6,500	
„ consumption	4,800	1,604	1,558	1,000	900	1,400	100	12,500	1,000	2,700	
Balance ..	200	400	450	500	100	100	2,900	2,500	1,000	3,800	
Khasi.											
Total supply ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	100	400	
„ consumption	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	85	385	
Balance ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15	15	

Statement showing the Supply and Consumption of Compilation Sheets, &c.

Language.	No. I.	No. II.	No. III.	No. IV.	No. V.	No. VI.	No. VII.	No. VIII.	No. IX.	No. X.	No. XI.	No. XII.	No. XIII.	No. XIV.	No. XV.	No. XVI.	No. XVII.	No. XVIII.	Caste totalling form.	Occupation totalling form.	Combined occupation totalling form.
English.																					
Total supply ..	20	35	10	30	30	105	1,100	482	180	310	40	100	200	1,100	35	20	20	100	3,700	1,500	300
„ consumption	10	25	8	24	11	104	1,073	469	178	256	17	65	196	86	13	13	19	11	3,700	1,500	300
Balance ..	10	10	2	6	19	1	27	13	2	54	23	35	4	1,014	22	7	1	89	....	....	..

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APPENDIX F.

DETAILED STATEMENT OF CHARGES INCURRED IN CONNECTION WITH THE CENSUS OPERATIONS OF 1891.

PAGE

1. Statement of expenditure not chargeable against the census grant ... cxviii

2. District expenditure statements—

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Cachar ...	cxviii	Darrang ...	cxxi	Naga Hills ...	cxxii
Sylhet ...	cxix	Nowgong ...	*ib.*	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	cxxiii
Goalpara ...	cxx	Sibsagar ...	*ib.*	Garo Hills ...	*ib.*
Kamrup ...	*ib.*	Lakhimpur ...	cxxii	Manipur ...	*ib.*

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Statement of Expenditure incurred on account of Census Operations, but not chargeable against the Census Grant (vide paragraph 3 of the Census Commissioner's letter No. 69—1890, dated the 21st September 1890.)

——	Total drawn in 1890-91.	Total drawn in 1891-92.	Total drawn in 1892-93.	Grand total.	Remarks.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Salary of the Superintendent of Census Operations (excluding deputation allowances already debited against census grant).	10,944 13 7	9,847 5 10*	3,327 15 9	24,120 3 2	* The Superintendent of Census Operations acted as Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam from 22nd October 1891 to 21st January 1892, and hence pay for this period has not been shown in this statement.
Deduct salary of the substitute of the Superintendent of Census Operations, debited against census grant.	—2,680 2 10	—3,000 0 0	—750 0 0	—6,430 2 10	
Net charge ...	8,264 10 9	6,847 5 10	2,577 15 9	17,690 0 4	
Travelling allowance paid to stationary officials.	1,015 1 0	.....	.....	1,015 1 0	
Total ...	9,279 11 9	6,847 5 10	2,577 15 9	18,705 1 4	

	Rs.	a.
(1) Sylhet	57	12
(2) Goalpara	196	10
(3) Kamrup	51	15
(4) Darrang	48	12
(5) Nowgong	419	12
(6) Khasi Hills	218	2
(7) Garo Hills	22	2
	1,015	1

Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the district of Cachar.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, Rs. 800.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	December 1890.	January 1891.	February 1891.	March 1891.	Grand total.
Establishment—	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Clerks	.....	.....	45 0 0	14 13 5	59 13 5
Remuneration to supervisors ...	.....	.....	.....	16 0 0	16 0 0
Ditto enumerators ...	.....	.....	.....	375 4 1	375 4 1
Total Establishment	.....	.....	45 0 0	406 1 6	451 1 6
Contingencies—					
Petty stationery	.....	.....	.....	25 14 3	25 14 3
Hire of boats	.....	.....	.....	13 8 0	13 8 0
Distribution of forms	.....	.....	.....	15 15 0	15 15 0
Postage charges	10 0 0	.....	.....	.....	10 0 0
Total Contingencies	10 0 0	.....	.....	55 5 3	65 5 3
Grand total	10 0 0	.....	45 0 0	461 6 9	516 6 9

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Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the District of Sylhet.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, Rs. 1,847-14-5.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	July 1890.	August 1890.	September 1890.	October 1890.	November 1890.	December 1890.	January 1891.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment—							
Clerks	26 5 5	44 12 5	7 4 2	4 13 5	84 10 6	47 9 1	64 4 7
Remuneration to supervisors ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ditto enumerators...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total Establishment ...	26 5 5	44 12 5	7 4 2	4 13 5	84 10 6	47 9 1	64 4 7
Allowances—							
Travelling expenses ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Contingencies—							
Lights	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Red ink, &c.	.....	2 11 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Petty stationery	6 0 0	18 5 0	.....	8 5 6	13 0 6	.....	2 5 6
Hire of boats	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Carriage of books to and from steamer ghat, &c. ...	.....	1 10 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 0 0
Distribution of forms ...	.....	.....	.....	1 5 0	.....	.....	.....
Postage charges	1 0 0	.....	.....	23 0 0	2 4 0	18 15 0	.....
Telegram „	.....	1 14 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Miscellaneous	.....	0 8 3	.....	.....	.....	3 0 0	.....
Total Contingencies... ...	7 0 0	25 0 6	.....	32 10 6	15 4 6	21 15 0	5 5 6
Grand total	33 5 5	69 12 11	7 4 2	37 7 11	99 15 0	69 8 1	69 10 1

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	February. 1891.	March 1891.	April 1891.	July 1891.	Grand total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment—					
Clerks	78 1 3	90 8 2	.....	.....	448 5 0
Remuneration to supervisors ...	.....	.....	.....	8 0 0	8 0 0
Ditto enumerators...	42 0 0	9 0 0	.....	30 0 0	81 0 0
Total Establishment ...	120 1 3	99 8 2	.....	38 0 0	537 5 0
Allowances—					
Travelling expenses... ...	.....	2 4 0	.....	.....	2 4 0
Contingencies—					
Lights	.....	0 10 0	.....	.....	0 10 0
Red ink, &c.	18 2 0	2 0 0	3 1 6	.....	25 14 9
Petty stationery	28 8 0	97 15 6	.....	.....	174 8 0
Hire of boats	.....	6 8 0	.....	.....	6 8 0
Carriage of books to and from steamer ghat, &c. ...	2 10 0	7 3 0	.....	.....	14 7 0
Distribution of forms ...	.....	9 13 0	.....	.....	11 2 0
Postage charges	7 0 0	17 4 6	.....	.....	69 7 6
Telegram „	.....	27 7 0	.....	.....	29 5 0
Miscellaneous	0 6 0	12 9 9	.....	2 12 0	19 4 0
Total Contingencies ...	56 10 0	181 6 9	3 1 6	2 12 0	351 2 3
Grand total	176 11 3	283 2 11	3 1 6	40 12 0	890 11 3

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Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the District of Goalpara.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, Rs. 1,200.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	November 1890.	December 1890.	January 1891.	February 1891.	March 1891.	Grand total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment—						
Clerks	.....	.....	.....	30 0 0	45 0 0	75 0 0
Total Establishment ...	.....	.....	.....	30 0 0	45 0 0	75 0 0
Contingencies—						
House-numbering ...	.....	.....	.....	2 12 0	.....	2 12 0
Lights	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 10 0	1 10 0
Red ink, &c.	.....	.....	.....	.....	42 10 2	42 10 2
Petty stationery ...	1 4 0	.....	11 6 0	.....	7 10 0	20 4 0
Hire of boats	.....	.....	8 0 0	.....	25 14 0	33 14 0
Carriage of books to and from steamer ghat, &c. ...	1 0 0	.....	.....	.....	1 10 0	2 10 0
Distribution of forms ...	.....	.....	1 12 0	0 9 0	19 6 0	21 11 0
Postage charges ...	.....	.....	1 4 6	1 0 0	2 0 0	4 4 6
Telegram „ ...	.....	.....	.....	5 10 0	17 9 0	23 3 0
Miscellaneous	.....	.....	7 1 0	.....	13 8 0	20 9 0
Total Contingencies ...	2 4 0	.....	29 7 6	9 15 0	131 13 2	173 7 8
Grand total	2 4 0	.....	29 7 6	39 15 0	176 13 2	248 7 8

Satement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the District of Kamrup.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, Rs. 384.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	January 1891.	February 1891.	March 1891.	Grand total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment—				
Clerks	.....	.....	32 4 0	32 4 0
Servants	24 0 0	.....	20 2 0	44 2 0
Total Establishment	24 0 0	.....	52 6 0	76 6 0
Allowances—				
Travelling expenses	.....	.....	2 3 0	2 3 0
Total Allowances	.....	.....	2 3 0	2 3 0
Contingencies—				
Lights	.....	.....	1 8 0	1 8 0
Red ink, &c.	.....	3 12 0	.....	3 12 0
Petty stationery	.....	14 4 0	8 4 0	22 8 0
Hire of boats...	.....	.....	62 12 3	62 12 3
Carriage of books to and from steamer ghat, &c.	.....	.....	8 14 0	8 14 0
Distribution of forms	.....	.....	30 3 5	30 3 5
Telegram charges	.....	.....	2 4 0	2 4 0
Total Contingencies	.....	18 0 0	113 13 8	131 13 8
Grand total	24 0 0	18 0 0	168 6 8	210 6 8

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Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the District of Darrang.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, Rs. 200.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	November 1890.	December 1890.	January 1891.	February 1891.	March. 1891.	Grand total.
Contingencies—	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*
Red ink, &c. ...	.....	.....	.....	0 12 0	1 13 0	2 9 0
Petty stationery ...	.....	.....	.....	....	8 5 0	8 5 0
Hire of boats	.....	.....	.....	2 8 0	20 6 0	22 14 0
Carriage of books to and from steamer ghat, &c. ...	2 4 0	.....	.....	4 0 0	0 6 0	6 10 0
Distribution of forms ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	71 4 0	71 4 0
Postage charges ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	10 5 0	10 5 0
Telegram „ ...	1 3 0	.....	.....	.. ..	9 14 0	11 1 0
Total Contingencies	3 7 0	.....	.....	7 4 0	122 5 0	133 0 0
Grand total... ...	3 7 0	.....	.....	7 4 0	122 5 0	133 0 0

Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the District of Nowgong.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, Rs. 135.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	October 1890.	November 1890.	December 1890.	January 1891.	February 1891.	March 1891.	Grand total.
Contingencies—	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*
Hire of boats ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14 10 0	14 10 0
Carriage of books to and from steamer ghat, &c. ...	5 0 0	.....	.....	3 5 0	2 8 0	10 0 0	20 13 0
Miscellaneous ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 4 0	5 4 0
Total Contingencies ...	5 0 0	.....	.....	3 5 0	2 8 0	29 14 0	40 11 0
Grand total	5 0 0	.....	.....	3 5 0	2 8 0	29 14 0	40 11 0

Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the District of Sibsagar.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, Rs. 404.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	March 1891.	Grand total.
	Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*
Establishment—		
Remuneration to enumerators, ...	12 0 0	12 0 0
Total Establishment	12 0 0	12 0 0
Contingencies—		
Lights	1 0 0	1 0 0
Red ink, &c.	23 9 0	23 9 0
Petty stationery	20 5 0	20 5 0
Carriage of books to and from steamer ghat, &c. ...	16 3 9	16 3 9
Distribution of forms	11 3 0	11 3 0
Postage charges	28 12 0	28 12 0
Telegram „	3 7 0	3 7 0
Miscellaneous	15 7 0	15 7 0
Total Contingencies	119 14 9	119 14 9
Grand total	131 14 9	131 14 9

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Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the District of Lakhimpur.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, RS. 500.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	January 1891.	February 1891.	March 1891.	Grand total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment—				
Remuneration to enumerators ...	.....	.....	46 0 0	46 0 0
Total Establishment	.....	.....	46 0 0	46 0 0
Allowances—				
Travelling expenses	.....	.....	27 2 0	27 2 0
Total Allowances	.....	.....	27 2 0	27 2 0
Contingencies—				
House numbering	.....	.....	1 2 0	1 2 0
Lights	.....	.....	0 10 9	0 10 9
Red ink, &c.	.....	.....	18 7 0	18 7 0
Petty stationery	.....	.....	13 3 3	13 3 3
Hire of boats	.....	.....	112 8 0	112 8 0
Carriage of books to and from steamer ghat, &c.	1 14 0	.....	8 8 0	10 6 0
Distribution of forms ...	5 2 0	.....	55 6 2	60 8 2
Postage charges	.....	.....	0 2 6	0 2 6
Telegram „	.....	.....	4 2 0	4 2 0
Miscellaneous	.....	.....	1 0 0	1 0 0
Total Contingencies	7 0 0	.....	215 1 8	222 1 8
Grand total	7 0 0	.....	288 3 8	295 3 8

Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the District of the Naga Hills.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, RS. 600.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	January 1891.	February 1891.	March 1891.	Grand total.
Establishment—	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Remuneration to enumerators ...	.....	.....	420 0 0	420 0 0
Total Establishment	.....	.....	420 0 0	420 0 0
Contingencies—				
Petty stationery	30 3 0	0 8 0	1 0 0	31 11 0
Distribution of forms	31 12 0	34 13 0	44 6 0	110 15 0
Total Contingencies	61 15 0	35 5 0	45 6 0	142 10 0
Grand total	61 15 0	35 5 0	465 6 0	562 10 0

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Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the District of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, Rs. 1,100.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	November 1890.	December 1890.	January 1891.	February 1891.	March 1891.	Grand total.
				Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment—						
Remuneration to enumerators .	.....	.....	.....	197 6 8	275 1 2	472 7 10
Total Establishment ...	.....	.....	.....	197 6 8	275 1 2	472 7 10
Contingencies—						
Petty stationery	3 6 0	3 9 0	6 4 0	13 8 3	3 12 0	30 7 3
Distribution of forms ...	11 15 0	2 10 0	1 10 0	3 4 0	9 0 0	28 7 0
Postage charges... ...	.....	.....	.....	10 0 0	10 5 0	20 5 0
Telegram „ ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 10 0	5 10 0
Miscellaneous ...	.....	.....	.....	5 8 0	88 15 0	94 7 0
Total Contingencies ...	15 5 0	6 3 0	7 14 0	32 4 3	117 10 0	179 4 3
Grand total	15 5 0	6 3 0	7 14 0	229 10 11	392 11 2	651 12 1

Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the District of the Garo Hills.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, Rs. 1,050.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	February 1891.	March 1891.	Grand total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment—			
Remuneration to enumerators	25 0 0	811 0 9	836 0 9
Total Establishment	25 0 0	811 0 9	836 0 9
Contingencies—			
Lights	.....	1 0 0	1 0 0
Petty stationery	.....	7 1 6	7 1 6
Distribution of forms	.....	34 12 0	34 12 0
Telegram charges	.....	3 11 0	3 11 0
Miscellaneous	.....	0 3 0	0 3 0
Total Contingencies	.....	46 11 6	46 11 6
Grand total	25 0 0	857 12 3	882 12 3

Statement showing the Expenditure incurred in connection with the Census in the State of Manipur.

BUDGET ALLOTMENT, Rs. 200.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	March 1891.	Grand total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Contingencies—		
Distribution of forms	74 11 0	74 11 0
Total Contingencies	74 11 0	74 11 0
Grand total	74 11 0	74 11 0

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APPENDIX G.

LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES SHOWING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CHUNGLI AND MONGSEN DIALECTS OF THE AO NAGA LANGUAGE.

PREPARED BY MR. A W. DAVIS, I.C.S.

English.	Chungli.	Mongsen.
Man	nisung	ámi.
Male	tebur	abáchangr.
Woman	tetsir	aniti.
Child	tanur	noyáti.
Young man	asongr	chongádi.
Old man	támbur	tsünbár.
Old woman	tantsir	tsenur.
Unmarried girl	áyir	láyáti.
Child (son or daughter)	chir	ningchárá.
Wife	tekinungtsü	neneü.
Husband	tekenungpo	nebayá.
Widow	mitzir	milêr.
Father	obá	ábá.
Mother	ochá	ávü.
Elder brother	oti	áti.
Younger brother	tebu	thü.
Sister	tenü	teti.
Water	tsü	átsü.
Fire	mi	ámü.
Fish	ngo	ángo.
Flesh	shi	ásá.
Sticks	süng	ásüng.
Pig	ák	á-ok.
Rice	chang	áchang.
Dhan	tsak	átsak.
Cooked rice	chi	áchá.
Mat	pákti	ápák.
Bamboo tie	yung	áling.
House	ki	áki.
Door	kishi	kichi.
Bamboo	sungkam	á-u.
Cow	nashi	massü.
Tiger	keyi	ákhu.
Bear	shiam	iram.
Monkey	shitzü	sangá.
Barking deer	messü	metsü.
Sambur	shidzü	shü-ü.
Clean	temárok	temárok.
Dirty	anak	arü.
White	temessung	tenen.
Black	tanák	tanák.
Hot	lemyi	talem.
Cold	temekhung sok	temekhung sok.
Small	teleká	tasuá.
Long	telang	telang.
Short	tatsu	tetsü.
Round	telung	telung.
Sight	tepung	tepi.
Good	táchung	tepung, táru.
Bad	tamáchung	temepung, temaru.
Better	táku	taká.
Sweet	tanang	temeyang.
Sour	tasen	tesen.
Ripe	tamen	tening.
Good-looking	teriprang zungr	teringá pungr.
True	atangchi	tatsá.
False	tiazii	temarak.
Speak	shi-ang	sang.

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LIST OF WORDS, &c.—*continued.*

English.	Chungli.	Mongsen.
Call	cha-ang	chang.
Send	yokong	zükong.
Strike	ásukong	yákong.
Cut	lepong	lepong.
Throw	entokong	enchukong.
Give	áketsüang	kiang.
Take	agiang	tsang.
Eat	chiungong	cháng.
Drink	chimang	yüngong.
See	ngu	ongja.
Look at	riprangang, asitangang	ringang áchang.
Arrive	átung	átung.

English.—Where have you been?
Chungli.—Ná kuleni áur?
Mongsen.—Nang chebá ná wári?
English.—I have been for wood.
Chungli.—Ni süng penê áur.
Mongsen.—Ni ásüng ênwár.
English.—Why did you steal from his house?
Chungli.—Ná kichi tsü pêki tang á-uyá?
Mongsen.—Nang chebá tav pê ki ko fü tsungi?
English.—Have you eaten rice or not?
Chungli.—Nà chi chuing assü má chuing?
Mongsen.—Nang áchà cháng opá?
English.—What are you doing?
Chungli.—Nà kechi sir?
Mongsen.—Nang cheba tari?
English.—I am cooking rice.
Chungli.—Ni chi surotar.
Mongsen.—Ni áchá suroteli.
English.—What ~~*turhari*~~ are you cooking?
Chungli.—Ná kechi án ásur?
Mongsen.—Nang chebá enso suri?
English.—Come back when you have had your food.
Chungli.—Chi chungri arungmá.
Mongsen.—Ácha chungri rangma.
English.—Where have you come from?
Chungli.—Ná kulen nungi áro?
Mongsen.—Nang ko tangi phening rá-i?
English.—I have come from my fields.
Chungli.—Ni álu nungi átokr'.
Mongsen.—Ni álu phening tsukár.
English.—Are your people in the village or have they gone to the fields?
Chungli.—Ná yimr' imták lir assü álu-e áu?
Mongsen.—Nangila yimr' aki ko li sü álu ná wá?
English.—They are in the village.
Chungli.—Kitang lir.
Mongsen.—A ki ko lanu.
English.—Make liquor.
Chungli.—Yi sá-áng ma no.
Mongsen.—Azü sepang ma no.
English.—I am going to pound *dhan.*
Chungli.—Ni tang tsak sen tsü.
Mongsen.—Ni tago átsak siàtili.
English.—This man is very ill.
Chungli.—Nisung pae kangá shirang tsü.
Mongsen.—Ámi pi iyátang telangá mepungr'.
English.—Wash this cloth.
Chungli.—Ssü yá shito-ongmá.
Mongsen.—Assü pi shi chu kong.
English.—What are you looking at?
Chungli.—Ná kechi riprangr, *or* asitangr?
Mongsen.—Nang chebá ringari?

END OF VOL. I.

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